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THE

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ISLĀM

THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 13b, l. 5, read. Nr. 24 and 31, instead of Nov. 24 and 31.
P. 18a, l. 32, read: 1894, Nr. 1, instead of Nov. 1, 1894.
P 38b, l. 4 from beneath: the words "The *Bustān* ... and" are to be cancelled.
P. 74b, l 23, instead of 1385, to be read 1386.
P. 88b, l. 30, instead of Nov. 2, to be read: Sept. 3.
P. 109b, l. 3, read· 637, instead of 620 (Feb. 2, 1222).
l. 49, 64, instead of Nāblūs, to be read Nāblus.
P. 112a, l. 46, 69, instead of v., to be read iv.
P. 203a, l 23, 26, 37, instead of Kaifa, to be read Kaifā.
P. 234b, l. 42, to be added or ISHBĪLIYA
P. 238a, l 9, instead of 275, to be read 235.
l. 62, instead of *i o.*, to be read *della nascita.*
P 256a, l. 33 and 39, read· third, instead of second.
P 272a, l 46, instead of Khallikān, to be read Khallikān.
P. 308a, l. 28, read· two, instead of a.
P 308, addition of the author to the art. SHAMMAR. Palgrave may be relied on for the main facts. He certainly went to Shammar, Kaṣīm and Riyād; Doughty was convinced of this He is untrustworthy in details. He sketched in times, distances, incidents very imperfectly remembered (Kindly communicated by Dr D. G Hogarth).
Art SHAṬṬĀRĪYA Cf. further Muhammad Ghushī b. Hasan b. Mūsā Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, Cod. Calc, especially fol 92 *sqq*, Ethé, *Cat Pers MSS India Office*, N⁰. 1913; Iwanow, *Cat. Pers MSS*, *A S B*, N⁰ 1303, do, *Curzon Coll*, N⁰ 434
P 314b, l 6, instead of Constantine, read. Constantius.
P. 330a, l. 53, 56, instead of Dérenbourg, to be read Derenbourg
P. 389a, Art. SHUʿĀʿ The last sentence is to be read as follows. In the year 1300 of the era of the Seleucids (989 A D), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the 9th and 10th stations set on the 3rd of Shubāṭ, those of the 23rd and 24th rose on the 16th of that month.
P 414b, l 5, instead of 434, to be read 454
P 506b, l 10, Add The place occurs on a map by Rawlinson, in *J R G S*, x (1841).
l 8 beneath, insert According to R Bell (cf. his *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 52, note) *sūra* is derived from Syriac *sūrṭā*, also found in the forms *ṣūrtā* and *sūrtā*, which is used in the sense of "writing", especially "a portion of scripture".
P. 612b, l. 38, instead of: naiveté of his language, when expressing terror, read naiveté of his dialectal language
P 636a, l. 5, instead of *Muḥādirah*, to be read *Muḥāḍara.*
P. 660b, l 2, instead of 1101, to be read 1099
P. 679b, l. 44, instead of Kalāʾūn, to be read Kalāʾūn.
P 689a, l. 18, instead of Černyaev, to be read· Černyiew
P. 735, Art. THAʿLAB. To be added· cf Ign. Kratchkovsky, *Le manuscrit du "kitāb al-muğālasāt" de Taʿlab au Musée Asiatique* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Ac. des sciences de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1930, p 211—217).
P 804b, l. 62, instead of *Orgine*, to be read *Origine.*
P. 855b, l 45, instead of Ghat and Ghadames, read: el-Barkat and Fehout and an important rectification of the frontier in the region of Ghat and Ghadames.
P. 885a, l. 9, instead of ʿUḳud, to be read· ʿUḳūd
l. 10, instead of *Mohammedan*, to be read: *Mohammadan.*
P. 976a, l. 42, instead of Nūḥ I, to be read Naṣr b. Aḥmad.
P. 980a, to the first alinea to be added· The building of the monument of Firdawsī has been taken in hand by the Committee for the Preservation of National Monuments (*Anǧuman-i āṯār-i millī*)
P. 987b, l. 28, instead of Aḥwas, read: Aḥwaṣ.
P. 988b, l. 7, instead of 826, read: 282.
P 990a, l. 17, add: Sismondi (1813), Fauriel (1846), von Schack (1865), Burdach (1918), Singer, Asín (1919) and Nykl (1931) have made enquiries into the possibilities of contact between Orient and Occidens regarding this point.
l. 58, add: Finally the ʿudhrī love became an abstract idea of beauty.
l. 60 *sq.*, read· Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb al-Zahra*; extracts have appeared in my *Recueil de textes inédits* (Paris 1929), p. 232—240; the text will be edited by Nykl, who has also translated the *Ṭawḳ* of Ibn Ḥazm (*The Dove's Neck-ring*, Paris 1931).

P. 994[a], l. 43, to be read. Umaiyad period. Creswell thinks that it was rebuilt by the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; this would lead to its identification with Ḳasr Muḳātil, which was one of the last stations of Husain before Karbalāʾ (cf. my *Mission*, I 47, col. 2).

P. 1048[a], l. 35, instead of Salıer, to be read: Sallıer.
l. 37, after "by", insert: G. R Potter (London 1929, following Derenbourg and Schumann) and by.
l. 60, read. many, instead of any.
l. 63, to be added· cf *al-Muḳtataf*, xxxiv. (1908), p 308 *sq.*

P. 1049[b], l 3, instead of Salıer, to be read Sallıer
l. 9, to be added: and Ph Hitti, in *R. A. A. D.*, x. (1930), p. 513—525, 592—603.
l. 52, instead of 1200, read 1136[b]

P. 1052[b], l. 52, to be added· a Wakūf-Meʿārıf Direction ("Vakufsko-mearıfsha direkcija").

P. 1063, Art. ʿUZAIR To be added to the *Bıbliography* Joshua Finkel, in *Macdonald Presentation Vol*, Princeton 1933, p 162

P. 1177[a], art. YURUKS, *Bıbliography* To be added *Turkmen ʿAshīretlerı*, ed by the General direction of the affairs of the nomads and the emigrants, Istanbul 1334 (by دوفسور فرالنج ومهندس راولنج with the addition "translated from German"), esp p. 33—45 and p 178—184; Ahmet Refik, *Anadolu'da Turk Aşıretlerı (966—1200)*, Istanbul 1930 (contains several documents concerning the Turkish nomadic tribes in the period between 1559 and 1786); Ali Rıza, *Cenupta Turkmen Oymaklarî*, I, Istanbul 1931—1932 (review by T Kowalski, in *Archiv Orientální*, VI 296—304), E M Hoppe, *The Yuruks*, in *J R A S*, 1933, p. 25—28, vols II and III of the work of Ali Rıza have been published at Ankara in 1933, they contain further interesting discussions and photographs regarding the Yuruks.
(F BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

P. 1183[a], l. 22, to be read as follows and Zābag are ruled by the same king. Isḥāḳ b ʿImran, d. in 907, mentions etc ,
l. 7 *ab infra*, in stead of Sumatrabhūmi, read Sumutrabhūmi

P 1183[b], l 24, in stead of *Wai*, read *wai*,
l 32, in stead of eastern, read western,
l. 35, to be added G Coedes, *Les inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijya*, *Bull de l'Ec franç. de l'Extrême-Orient*, xxx, 1930, p 337—380, G Ferrand, *Quatre textes épigraphiques de Sumatra et de Banka*, *J A*, 1932, p 271—326 and the literature cited there
l. 37, in stead of Malaya, read Malayu,

P. 1213[b], *Bibliography*. To be added Malatī (d 377 = 987), *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Radd*, MS Damascus (private copy Makes the chief of the Z a Zaidī, a political opponent of the *saiyids* and the Arabs), Ibn Abi 'l-Hadīd, *Sharh Nahdj al-Balāgha*, Cairo, n. d., II. 310—362 — The Shuʿūbī author Ahmad b al-Muʿallı ʿAmmī, from Basra, has written a *Kitāb Akhbār Sāhib al-Zandj*, which is lost (Astarabādī, *Manhadj al-Makāl*, lith Teheran 1306, p 30). The orthodox Shīʿīs emphasise, as an apocalyptic coincidence, the *zuhūr* of this rebel and the *ghaiba* of their mahdī (Ibn Zainab Nuʿmānī, *Kitāb al-Ghaiba*, lith Teheran, p. 73—75).

S

ṢĀʿ (ṢUWĀʿ; m. or f. in Arabic) a measure for grain "of the value of 4 *mudd* (*modius*) according to the custom of Medīna" (*Lisān*). If the cubical contents of the *ṣāʿ*, like that of the *mudd*, varied with town and district as far as commercial transactions were concerned, the value of the *ṣāʿ* was from the canonical point of view fixed in religious law by the Prophet in the year 2 A.H. when he laid down the ritual details of the orthodox feast of *ʿId al-fiṭr*, which carried with it the compulsory giving of alms called *Zakāt al-fiṭr*, the value of which in grain was one *ṣāʿ* for each member of a family. It was, of course, the *ṣāʿ* of Medīna that was chosen as the standard measure and the *mudd* of Medīna henceforth was called *mudd al-nabī*.

This primitive *mudd* of orthodox Islām was standardised by Zaid b. Thābit, and it is from this standard that the *mudd*'s and *ṣāʿ*'s made henceforth for religious use seem to have been copied more or less accurately. This is, at least, what I have been able to prove for the Maghrib from various documents. According to these documents, the official capacity of the *mudd al-nabī* would be approximately 5 gills and that of the *ṣāʿ* 5 pints.

The Muslim jurists give the following estimates of this measure. For them the value of the *ṣāʿ* is 26 2/3 *riṭl*, the *riṭl* being equivalent to 128 Meccan drams and the dram 50 2/5 grains of barley. We see how lacking in precision this definition is. If there is no *mudd* or *ṣāʿ* available the quantity of grain to be distributed for the *Zakāt al-fiṭr* is measured with the hands held together, half open, with palms upwards.

Lastly, besides this use of the *ṣāʿ* and of the *mudd al-nabī*, these measures are further used in certain measurements required by religious law: 1. to calculate the Zakāt and 2. to measure the minimum quantity of water necessary for an ordinary ablution (*wuḍūʾ*, a *mudd*) and for general (*ghusl*, a *ṣāʿ*).

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries, especially the *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (Beyrout 1870), ii. 1221, col. 1; the treatises on Muhammadan law and the collections of Hadīth; Alfred Bel, *Note sur trois anciens vases en cuivre gravé, trouvés à Fès et servant à mesurer l'aumône légale du Fiṭr* (*Bull. Archéolog.*, Paris 1917, p. 359—387, illustrated), where further references are given. (ALFRED BEL)

SĀʿA (A.), a time, a period of time, especially the hour. Following the custom of the Greek astronomers, a distinction is made between the equal or astronomical (sidereal) hour, *sāʿa falakiya*, which corresponds to a revolution of the heavens of the fixed stars through 15° and is also called *mustawiya* (uniform), and the unequal, curved, *muʿwaǧǧaǧa*, also an hour of time, *zamāniya*, which is the result of dividing day and night each into 12 hours and therefore varies with latitude and season and in the higher latitudes becomes quite absurd. — In the language of religion *sāʿa* is also the hour of death and the hour of the resurrection (see ḲIYĀMA). To measure the course of the hours of day and night "hour-machines" (*ālāt al-sāʿāt*) are used. Just as the German word *Uhr* from *hora* (Greek ὥρα) exists alongside of *horologium* (*horloge*), so in Arabic we have *sāʿāt* and *sāʿa* as names of the clock. Other names may be recognised as corruptions of Greek loan-words, like *binkām* or *pingān* from πίναξ, *mangāna* from μάγγανον, or translations like *ṭurrāḳat al-māʾ* from κλέψυδρα, others are of Persian origin like *ṭargahāra* (from *ṭarkihār* = patena). That the quadrant and the astrolabe were used for measuring astronomical time is well known and will not be discussed here nor will the use of the gnomon or sunclock in its various forms as a horizontal or vertical clock. What we call clocks in the stricter sense are the sand and water clocks and similar mechanisms known from ancient times, which had already been provided by the Byzantines with arrangements to cause balls to fall, to strike bells, to extinguish lamps, to cause figures or musical automatons to work and thus call the attention of a person to the passage of time without his paying special attention or make him hear or see it from a distance. It is noteworthy that the oldest account of a clock from the Muslim East is found in Einhard's *Annals*. He tells us under the year 806/807 that the Emperor Charlemagne's Ambassador Radbert died on the way back from the Caliph's court, while Abdella, the envoy of the "king of the Persians", i.e. the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd arrived with monks from Jerusalem and brought with him a wonderful clock, a description of which is given by Einhard. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser have devoted special attention to the investigation and explanation of Arabic sources. The most important work on clocks is Ismāʿīl b. al-Razzāz al-Djazarī's *Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-Ḥiyal al-handasīya* of the year 602 = 1205/6 (cf. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, p. 137, No. 344; cf. p. 226 *sq.*). The author describes here in all detail of construction ingenious clocks, which get their name from the particular figure that appears on them (ape-clock, elephant-, sharpshooter-, writer-, drummer-clock, etc.). Another important work is Riḍwān b. Muḥammad al-Khurāsānī's treatise on the clock on the Ghairūn Gate at Damascus (cf. Suter, *op. cit.*, p. 136 *sq.*, No. 343). Of clocks with wheels, which first reached the East in the xvith century,

an account is given by Taḳī al-Dīn in a work composed in 1552/3. The clocks of King Alfonso of Castile owe their perfection to Moorish skill

Bibliography: E Wiedemann, *Beiträge SBPMS Erlg.*, iii. (1905), p. 255, v. (1905), p. 408, vi. (1906), p. 11, x. (1906), p. 348, xii. (1907), p. 200, xxxiv (1914), p. 17, lix. (1918/19), p 272; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, *Nova Acta*, vol. c, N⁰. 5 (Halle 1915); do., *Uhr des Archimedes*, *Nova Acta*, vol. ciii, N⁰ 2, E. von-Bassermann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*. (J. RUSKA)

SAʿĀDA (A.) felicity, good fortune. The root *s-ʿ-d* and some of its derivatives is associated in various connections with pre-Islāmic Arab conceptions Its general meaning is given as "auspicious, fortunate (*y-m-n*, opposite *n-ḥ-s*). The proper name Saʿd (feminine Suʿād, see the article SAʿD) may therefore be synonymous with Hebrew names like Benjamin and Gad. Saʿd is also found as the name of a god, Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 65) suggests that al-Saʿīda (a house round which the Arabs used to run) was originally an epithet of al-ʿUzzā. Saʿd followed by the genitive also often occurs as the name of a star (cf. also the articles SAʿD, AL SAʿDĀN) and as the name of a tribe

The form *Saʿdaika* in the *talbiya* formula (which is especially used on the Ḥadjdj but also in the ṣalāt, see the article TALBIYA) may be very closely connected with the root meaning (= *y-m-n*), cf, however, the Arabic dictionaries under *s-ʿ-d*

Saʿāda (also with a following noun in apposition, in the proper name Saʿādat ʿAlī Ḵẖān, see this article) seems to be a specifically Muslim term (opposite: *shaḳāwa*). It is not found in the Kor'ān, in Ḥadīth it has an eschatological colouring (cf *yawm al-saʿāda*, day of the resurrection, Dozy, *Supplément*, s v), especially in connection with predestination It is said, for example, that the people of *saʿāda* are helped by God towards works of *saʿāda* (al-Bukẖārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 83; Muslim, *Ḳadar*, trad. 6, al-Tirmiḏī, *Ḳadar*, bāb 3). As a result of a development of a train of thought common to monotheistic religions, the word in the combination *ahl-al-Saʿāda* = the Muslims (cf. Dozy, *op. cit*) assumes a less exclusive meaning. In court language it means majesty, highness and *Dār al-S* court (Dozy s v) *Der-i Seʿādet* is a name for Constantinople and *Seʿādetlu* a title in the Turkish official hierarchy.

Bibliography in the article itself.

(A. J WENSINCK)

SAʿĀDAT ʿALĪ ḴẖĀN, Nawāb of Oudh (q. v), from 1798 to 1814, on the death of his brother, Āṣaf al-Dawla, in September 1797, a reputed son, Wazīr ʿAlī Ḵẖān, who had been purchased by the late Nawāb but never formally adopted, had been appointed to succeed, but four months later he was set aside as incompetent, and the British Governor-General, Sir John Shore, installed in his place Saʿādat ʿAlī Ḵẖān, who had been living under British protection in Benares since 1776. His reign is noteworthy for the extension of British control over the Oudh territories. A treaty concluded with the late Nawāb in 1775 had placed these territories under the protection of the East India Company, which undertook to provide troops for their defence in return for an annual subsidy; in 1798, a fresh treaty increased the subsidy to 76 lakhs a year and transferred the fort of Allāhābād to the Company as an arsenal, the Company undertaking to maintain a body of 10 000 men for the defence of the Nawāb's dominions both against internal and external enemies. The mutinous behaviour of the Nawāb's troops prompted the new Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley (1798—1805), to propose that this useless and dangerous force, which Saʿādat ʿAlī Ḵẖān had himself declared would be useful only to the enemy, should be disbanded and replaced by the Company's troops. Alarmed by the dangers that threatened his person, Saʿādat ʿAlī Ḵẖān was at first eager for this reform, but afterwards refused his consent, and only in 1801 yielded to pressure and signed the Treaty of Lucknow; this relieved him from all pecuniary obligations to the Company, by the cession of six districts yielding a revenue equal to the cost of the Company's troops, and the Nawāb undertook to introduce into his territories a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to check the ruin that threatened the resources of his country. He carried out his promise so effectually as to leave behind him the reputation of having been the wisest and strongest administrator that Oudh had ever known He died in 1814 and was succeeded by his second son, Ghāzī al-Dīn Haidar.

Bibliography. Sayyid Ghulām ʿAlī, *ʿImād al-Saʿādat*, p. 169—174 (Lucknow 1897), Durgā Prasād, *Būstān-i-Awadh*, p. 99—109 (with portrait, Lucknow 1892), Sir C U Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties relating to India*, I, p. 118—137 (Calcutta 1909), Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823*, I, p. 170—177, 273—283 (London 1826), *A Selection from the Despatches of the Marquess Wellesley*, ed by S J. Owen, p 188—207 (Oxford 1877), H C. Irwin, *The Garden of India, or chapters on Oudh history and affairs*, p 100—111 (London 1880) The following sources appear to be still unpublished Harsukh Rāe, *Madjmaʿ al-Akẖbār* (Brit. Mus., Or 1624), Muhammad Muhtashim Ḵẖān, *Taʾrīkẖ-i-Muhtashim* (Bankipore Public Library, N⁰. 605).

SABʿ, SABʿA, the number seven, which has a special significance for Muslims as for other — Semitic and non-Semitic — peoples. The preference for this number in various conceptions and actions goes back in part to borrowing from Jews, Christians and other peoples but in part was already indigenous among the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs The latter is doubtless true of the sevenfold tawāf around the Kaʿba, the sevenfold course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (cf. SAʿY) and the sevenfold casting of stones at the Ḥadjdj (see DJAMRA i. 1012 *sq.*). Another series of these beliefs is connected with peculiarly Muslim customs and views As early as the Ḳor'ān we find mention of the seven Mathānī (xv. 87), which expression is usually referred to the *fātiḥa*, which consists of seven verses (cf. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 58). The Muslim community bases its right to acknowledge variae lectiones of the sacred text of the Ḳur'ān on one (of many) explanations of the tradition, that the Kor'ān was revealed in seven *aḥruf* (Bukẖārī, *Khuṣūmāt*, bāb 4; *Faḍā'il al-Ḳor'ān*, bāb 4, 27, Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 270—274, Abu Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 22; Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ* bāb

37 etc.; cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 37 *sqq.*). In matters relating to ritual purity the figure three has as a rule the preference (cf. THALĀTH) We are only told that soiled vessels should be cleansed seven times (e. g. Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 89—93; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 37). Ritual prostration should take place on seven parts of the body (Bukhārī, *Aḏhān*, bāb 133, 134, 137, 138; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 227; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 150 etc.). In another case seven alternates with four, namely in the grouping of commands and prohibitions (Bukhārī, *al-Maẓālim wa'l-Ghaḍab*, bāb 5; Muslim, *Libās*, trad. 3 etc ; cf. Bukhārī, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 40; *Haiḍ*, bāb 26, etc.), in the dating of the *Lailat al-Ḳadr* seven is found as well as the, in this case much more frequent, numeral ten (Bukhārī, *Lailat al-Ḳadr*, bāb 2)

On the Christian model the deadly sins are limited to seven (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23; *Ḥudūd*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 144), but other classifications are also found.

In cosmology also the number seven is a favourite, one which may be partly due to borrowing. There are seven heavens and seven earths (Sūra II. 27; Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalḳ*, bāb 2) Hell has seven gates (Sūra xv 44), Medina also ultimately has seven gates (Bukhārī, *Fitan*, bāb 26) Cf. further the article SAB^{c}IYA. The number seven is particularly frequent in medicine and magic. Water was poured over the sick Muhammad in seven waterskins (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 145), ulcerated parts of the body are cauterised seven times (Bukhārī, *Tamannī*, bāb 6) In Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers 1909), p. 154, there is an account of a *djadwal* consisting of 7 × 7 squares, of which the upper row contains the "seven seals". In the same work the text of the amulet of the *sab^{c}a 'uḥūd* is given. (p. 112) Cf further the same book, p 91, 100, 118

Numbers like seventy (*sab^{c}ūna*), seven hundred, etc. have also a special significance. Earthly fire is described as one seventieth part of hell-fire in strength (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalḳ*, bāb 10). The sweat of the children of men on the Day of Resurrection will percolate seventy ells into the earth (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 47). When a sevenfold *istighfār* is mentioned, we are probably to assume New Testament influence in this case (Sūra IX 81) Seventy thousand members of Muḥammad's *Umma* will go straight to Paradise without a day of reckoning (*ḥisāb*, Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Khalḳ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 316; Tirmidhī, *Ḳiyāma*, bāb 12, 16); seventy thousand will enter with radiant countenance (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 18; *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 50, 51; Muslim, *Djanna*, trad. 14—17); seventy thousand through the intercession of a member of the community (Dārimī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 87), seventy thousand in Paradise will be given the appendage to the liver of the fish to eat (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 44; Muslim, *Ṣifāt al-Munāfiḳīn*, trad. 30). The *Bait al-Ma^{c}mūr* is entered daily by seventy thousand angels, who never return there again (Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 42).

We may safely assume that the number seven was regarded as a rounded whole; but it is going too far, following out this conception, to try to derive with Hehn the root *s-b-^{c}* and its equivalents in other Semitic languages from the root *sh-b-^{c}* (work quoted below, p. 92 *sqq.*).

Bibliography: J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im alten Testament* (*Leipzig. Semit Stud*, II. 5, Leipzig 1907) (A. J. WENSINCK)

SABA^{3}, the name of the people and kingdom in South-western Arabia in the first millennium B.C., frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, in Greek, Roman and Arabic literature and especially in the South Arabian inscriptions; the old Arabic sources, which are mainly inscriptions, and isolated references in Greek sources, give us further information regarding the history of Saba' in the first centuries A. D. down to the period of Muḥammad. In Assyrian, on the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions down to the eighth century, *Sab'u* was the name of a country, as was *Shabi(a)t* (also *Shabt(i)*, *Shaba*) in the hieroglyphic texts, although of a comparatively late date In the Bible, *Sh^{e}bā* was the name of a people and country and in the South Arabian inscriptions also *Saba'* means the land or kingdom and people (which is in keeping with the Sabaean constitution).

The oldest known literary references to Saba' are, of course, the Semitic, especially those in the cuneiform inscriptions. While the oldest certain mentions only date from the eighth century, historical documents from Mesopotamia of a much earlier period seem to refer to Saba'. For example *Sabu* in a Sumerian inscription of Aradnannar, Patesi of Lagash, a contemporary of the last kings of Ur, of the second half of the third millennium B C, is perhaps a name for the "land of the Sabaeans". Hommel (in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia 1903, p. 739) speaks of *Sābum* of the time of the kings of Ur (after 2500 B. C) as the *Seba* of the Old Testament ("in Central Arabia"; on this see also *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung*, Munich 1897, p. 37). In the inscriptional narratives of the campaign of Tiglat-Pileser III (745—727) against North Arabia, among the tribes who offered their submission we find Sabaeans mentioned, the oldest certain reference for this people Sargon II (722—705) in his Annals (for the year 715) mentions the Arabs of the desert dwelling afar off, the Queen Samsī of Aribi already mentioned in the narrative of Tiglat-Pileser just quoted and the Sabaean It'amar, who along with others brought rich gifts of tribute (gold, frankincense, jewels, etc.). With the latter name Lenormant compared Ith^{c}amar, the name, known from inscriptions, of several rulers of the oldest period of Saba' Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*[1], (henceforth quoted as *K. A. T.*, p. 55) and Kiepert's (*Lehrb. d. alten Geogr.*, p. 187) suggestion that the reference here is not to the South Arabian Saba' has been rejected by D. H. Müller (*Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, II. (1881), p. 989 (do. in *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 1883, p. 108 against Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, p 303, who sought to locate the Sab'u of Sargon's inscriptions in North Arabia; cf. Winckler in the *M. V. A. G*, 1898, p. 18; but see also W. M. Müller, *Studien z. Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, ibid., p. 36); Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arabiens*, II. Berlin 1890, p. 263 and Grimme (*Mohammed*, Munich 1904, p. 18) from the fact that the tribute consisted of regular South Arabian products deduced that even in Tiglat-Pileser's time, as in Sargon's, the Sabaeans were South Arabians;

others have more recently been inclined again to transfer It'iamar's abode to North Arabia (cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage* in *Der islamische Orient*, ii. Berlin 1909, p. 131, 458).

From Sprenger's point of view, who maintained it to be certain that Arabia was the original home of the Semites (*Leben und Lehre des Mohammad*, i. Berlin 1869, p. 241 *sq* and *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 293 *sq*; following him Schrader, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxvii. 421 and other notable authorities), which is still the view most generally held (cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d Altertums*, i³. 2, p. 386 *sq.*), one can understand his untenable suggestion that the Sabaeans and the Minaeans came from Ḥaḍramōt and that the kingdom of Saba' was founded from Shabwat (*Geogr.*, p 162, 230, 246, 248, 301) More recently Winckler (e. g *K. A. T.*³, 1903, p 7, 11, 136 *sq*, 156, *Die Volker Vorderasiens* in *Der Alte Orient*, i.², 1, 10) and Weber (*Arabien vor dem Islam*, p 3 *sq*; *Westasien* in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, iii 3, 5, 220, 225) have categorically declared Arabia to be the original home of the Semites Hommel (*Grundr der Geogr. u Geschichte des alten Orients*², i. Munich 1904, p. 10 *sq.*, 24, 80, 132) more cautiously sees in Eastern Arabia (including Chaldaea) at least the last starting point for the migration of all the Western Semites. Hartmann, *op cit*, p. 93 *sqq.* has adopted a decided position against this theory of the original home There are well founded reasons against believing that Arabia should be regarded as the cradle of all Semitic peoples Even with this hypothesis and the assumption of an Arab migration based upon it (see most recently *Westasien*, p 226, but also the admission there p. 242) the relation between Arabia and Babylonia does not become absolutely clear The reverse is really more probable, that the superfluous population of the fertile Euphrates region was forced towards Arabia, in the first place to the pasturelands bordering it on the west, from which Semites naturally found their way back from time to time. In spite of Noldeke's arguments (*Die semitischen Sprachen*², Leipzig 1899, p. 11) it is as little probable that North Africa is the home of the Semites (so again Grimme, *op. cit.*, p. 6 *sq*, 9 and other writers) or that there was a south-northward tendency in the immigration of the Sabaeans towards Africa On the contrary there are indications, according to Guidi's view (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in the *Atti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, 1879), which is defended by Jacob (*Altarab. Beduinenleben*², Berlin 1897, p 28 *sq.*), that the southern Euphrates territory was the oldest known home of the Semites, from which in the course of centuries migrations took place towards west and south. The way in which Arabia was peopled from there cannot, of course, be more definitely ascertained Probably the Semites did not penetrate into Arabia by a single route but by two main routes; the one, which may have been taken by the tribes out of whom rose the Minaeans and Sabaeans of the historical period, seems to have led through the arable lands along the west coast to the south, somewhat on the line of the later caravan route, and the other along the western shore of the Persian Gulf to 'Omān and Ḥaḍramōt, roughly in the direction of the later eastern frankincense route. The Sabaeans, or their mother-stock, would naturally keep to the west and south coast regions, which offered the most suitable areas for settlement on account of their good soil and water-supply. According to Hommel, the Sabaeans probably first entered South Arabia from Djōf in in North Arabia in the viiith century B. C. (see *Grundriss*, p. 142).

The Old Testament (Gen., x. 7, I Chr., i. 9) calls *Sh*ebā* the eponym of the land and people of South Arabia, the first son of Ra'mā, therefore a Kushite, but in Gen, x. 28 (I Chr., i. 22) he is called a son of Yoḳṭān and in Gen., xxv. 3 (I Chr., i. 32) a son of Yoḳshān, son of Abraham. These are not, however, references to three different Shebās. a people with such extensive trading connections had obviously intermarried a good deal with neighbours on the sea, on the caravan routes or in the stations and could therefore easily be given different genealogical classifications (Dillmann on Gen., x. 7). According to some, *Sebā* is originally identical with *Sh*bā* and only dialectically differentiated from it to distinguish the African Sabaeans (e.g. v. Kremer, *Die sudarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p 110 *sq*; D H Muller in the tenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebr. Worterb.*).

The etymology of the name Saba' is not certain (on the best known attempts to explain it, — those of Kremer, Hommel, D H. Muller and Glaser — as well as on other points see my more comprehensive treatment of the subject in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realenzycl. der klass. Alter tumswiss.*, s. v. *Saba*, henceforth quoted as *R. E.*, col. 1499. —

The Bible shows that the Sabaeans supplied Syria and Egypt with spices, especially with frankincense, and also exported gold and jewels thither (cf. Psalms, lxxii. 15, Ezek, xxvii. 22; Isaiah, lx. 6; Jerem., vi 20) and the Greek and Roman accounts (see below) agree with this. Other Biblical passages, which describe the Sabaeans as a wealthy trading people — the essential feature of the Biblical account of Saba' — are Ezek, xxxviii. 13, Ps, lxxii 10; Job, vi 19 (referring to Sabaean caravans), i. 15 [where the Sabaeans appear plundering in North Arabia; according to D. H. Müller, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁹, 1889, article *Yemen*, p 738, colonists or caravans, which occasionally combined robbery with trading, at any rate according to a good source (*K. A T*, p. 150, and the story is not a bold poetic fiction, as W. M. Muller, *Studien*, p. 36, note 1 suggests), according to Winckler, *op. cit.* (cf Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 748), in the passage in Job the Sabaeans are thought of as Beduins of the North Arabian desert]. Joel, iii. 8, mentions the Sabaeans as "a people far off" to whom the sons and daughters of Tyre and Sidon will be sold by Judah (cf. the mention of sacred slaves, e g from Gaza in South Arabian inscriptions; see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 421). — To appreciate properly the much discussed story of the Queen of Sheba (I Kings, x. 1, 4, 10, 13; cf. II Chron, ix. 1 *sq*, 9, 12), who is said to have visited Solomon, it is decisive that all that we know of Saba' and Ma'in contradicts the supposition that there were queens there (*K. A. T.*, p. 237) In any case we are not to see in the story evidence of the existence of the rule of queens in Saba', in which Glaser still believed (*op. cit*, p. 380, 384 *sq.*, 403); also E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i. 2, p 23), still less a support for the assumption that the oldest Sabaean inscriptions belong to the ixth or xth century, or that in the time of Solomon there was only one great land of the Sabaeans stretching far to the north (Gla-

ser, *op. cit.*, p. 403). Nor have we to identify in the Sabaean princess a queen of Yareb, the alleged ancestral home of the Sabaeans (Hommel, *Aufsatze und Abhandlungen*, henceforth quoted as *A. A.*, p. 231, note 1, 235, note 1, 272, 312 *sq.* and Weber, *Studien*, i. 32), but in all probability we have simply in the guise of fiction a memory of the existence of queens in North Arabia, of whom for example those of Aribi are known from history to have existed. The motif has also found a place among the Arabs (in Ḳor'ān xxvii. 16 *sq.*) and has been developed in the legend of Bilḳīs [q. v.], Queen of Saba'.

Next in chronological order come the references to Saba' in Greek and Roman literature. In the former the oldest is Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2, a much discussed passage of great importance for history and topography, in which (on good authorities, perhaps even Androsthenes) Saba' and three other South Arabian kingdoms are quoted as the place of origin of spices. In the sentence *γίνεται δ λίβανος καὶ ἡ σμύρνα καὶ κασία καὶ ἔτι τὸ κινάμωμον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων χερρονήσῳ περί τε Σαβὰ καὶ Ἀδραμύτα καὶ Κιτίβαινα* (var. Κατάβαινα) *καὶ Μαμάλι* (var. Μάλι), Σαβά does not mean, as many think, a town (namely Σάβαι, the capital of the Sabaeans), but the land of Saba', just as Ἀδραμύτα means the land of Ḥadramōt (on the form of the name, the Greek representation of which has been wrongly interpreted among recent writers even by Th. Bent, *Expedition to the Hadramut* in the *Proc R Geogr. Soc*, 1895, p 316 and *Southern Arabia*, 1900, p 71 *sq*, see *R. E.*, col. 1300) and Κιτίβαινα Ḳatabān (see the art ḲATABĀN) The expression *περὶ Σαβά* in this passage does not mean "around Saba'", as it has been translated e.g. by D. H. Muller, Hartmann (*op cit*, p. 420), und still more recently, but "in Saba'", i. e "in the land of Saba'."

Theophrastus is obviously mentioning here the three well-known South Arabian territories and a fourth not so well-known, Mamalı, as the areas which produce frankincense (λίβανος, name of tree and resin, also λιβανωτός, name of the resin, Arabic *lubān*; on the other Semitic equivalents see *R. E*, col 1301), myrrh (σμύρνα, μύρον, etc, Arabic *murr*, also found in inscriptions), cassia and cinnamon (*zimt* perhaps not Semitic). On wrong modern interpretations of this passage and the passage of similar content in Herodotos, iii 107, particularly for a refutation of the utterly unfounded proposal to read in Theophrastus ΣΑΡΑ (said to be for *Shahr*, *Shehrāt*) instead of ΣΑΒΑ, and also in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 52, and Solin, 710, *Sara* for *Saba*, and finally on Glaser's (*op cit.*, p. 41 *sq*) extraordinary notion that Theophrastus's statements regarding the South Arabian kingdoms refer to Somāliland in its whole extent, see *R. E.*, col. 1302 *sq.* Noteworthy also are Theophrastus's details (ix. 4, 2—4, 7—10) regarding frankincense and myrrh (as regards which Theophrastus's statement regarding the area which produces them is wrongly limited to Ḥadramōt as a result of the already mentioned misinterpretation of the passage [in the above quoted *Grundriss d. Geographie*, p. 13[illegible] and following it again quite recently], ix. 4, 5 *sq.*; on the Sabaeans as dwellers in a mountainous area, which yields myrrh and frankincense, and as exporters of these products; on the honesty of the Sabaeans in intercourse with one another, which rendered the watching of the spice-bearing trees unnecessary (cf. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, p. 32); concerning the temple of Helios, the most sacred in the land of the Sabaeans, which was used as a place for keeping the whole harvest of myrrh and frankincense, an instructive testimony to the worship of the sun among the South Arabians; for further details, as well as for information regarding the actual occurrence of these spice-trees in South Arabia see *R. E.*, col. 1307 *sq.* and the quotations from and collocation of the travellers' reports in A. Grohmann, *Sudarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 128 *sqq.*, 136 *sqq*, lastly on the attempt to connect Saba' with the land of frankincense, Punt, see *R. E*, col. 1312 *sq*).

The next most ancient Greek authority on Saba' is contained in the much more copious statements of Eratosthenes preserved in Strabo, xvi. iv. § 2, still very important for the historical side of Sabaean studies, which in combination with the Theophrastus passage give a fairly clear picture of the oldest configuration of the South Arabian kingdoms as known to the Greeks and Europeans in general in the time of Eratosthenes. According to this authority, who, like Theophrastus, was able to make use of the results of the campaigns of Alexander as well as itineraries of sailors and caravan-travellers, there lived in South Arabia four main peoples the Μειναῖοι on the Red Sea with their capital Κάρνα, next to them the Σαβαῖοι with their capital Μαρίαβα, then the Καταβανεῖς down to the straits and passage into the Arabian Gulf with the capital Τάμνα, and farthest east the Χατραμωτῖται with their (chief) town (πόλις) Χαβάταιον All these towns were under absolute rulers (kings) and were prosperous. This passage (with the others in Strabo) contains the oldest known account of the respective topographical situation of the four South Arabian kingdoms with a complete list of the four principal nations and the capitals. The Sabaeans, according to Eratosthenes, were neighbours of the Minaeans (see the article MAʿĪN for further information) It does not follow from his statement that the latter lived in the territory on the Red Sea, that he thought the Sabaeans did not also live on the sea, as Glaser (*Skizze*, p. 16) deduced and Weber (i. 9 in the main text) was also inclined to conclude The correct interpretation is in agreement with the evidence of Arabic sources and of other Greek and Roman authors, for example Agatharchides (Diodoros, iii. 46) and Pliny (vi 145) on Sabaean places on the Red Sea and the reference in Stephanus Byzantinus, *Μαρίαβα μητρόπολις Σαβαίων πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ*, referring expressly to the passage in Strabo, in which we can still see the correct idea that Saba' stretched down to the sea. According to the description of Eratosthenes, which naturally begins with the north (this disposes of W M. Müller's doubts, *Studien* etc, p. 36, note 2), Saba' was in his time bounded on the north by the kingdom of Maʿīn, on the south (and south-west) by Ḳatabān and by Ḥadramōt in the east. At that time the land of the Sabaeans stretched to the west and south coasts, as it did in the time of Pliny (vi. 154; *ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus*); only their territory on the south coast, concerning which D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 987, was rather doubtful, was larger. It apparently included the Raidān coast between ʿAden and Ḥawar (according to Glaser, p. 20). Glaser's disbelief in the statement of Theophrastus to the effect that the Sabaeans also owned a part

of the frankincense coast, was unfounded and quite wrong, as well as the alteration in the text which he proposed to suit his hypothesis in two passages in Theophrastus Σαραῖοι for Σαβαῖοι (Glaser, *Punt*, p. 45 *sq* ; cf. above). Pliny also (xii. 52), which Glaser, following Sprenger, had also to alter, repeats that the Sabaeans had possession in the frankincense region, which Sprenger himself acknowledged (*Bemerkungen* etc , *Z D M G*, xliv. 505). Μαρίαβα, the name of the capital of the Sabaeans according to Eratosthenes and Artemidoros, reproduces the Arabic name (inscriptions Maryab, Mārib, in the authors Ma'rib) as accurately as possible with the suffixed vowel *a*.

In the time of Eratosthenes, the part of the west coast south of Saba' and the most westernly part of the south coast was inhabited by the Κατα βανεῖς; the eastern neighbours of the Sabaeans were the Χατραμωτῖται whom he mentions last (see *R E*., col. 1324 *sq* and the article ḲATABĀN)

A comparison of the passage in Strabo with the list of South Arabian peoples in Theophrastus (see above) shows that three of them are mentioned by both authors, the peoples of Saba', Ḥaḍramōt and Ḳatabān, while our two authorities differ regarding the name of the fourth people, whom Theophrastus calls the Μαμάλι (var Μάλι) and Strabo the Μιναῖοι. The assumption of a corruption in the text would easily restore perfect agreement between the two. Mordtmann for example in the *Z D M G*, xxx. 323 has explained Μαμάλι as a corruption of Μιναῖοι and D H Muller also (*R E* in the articles *Arabia*, ii. 348 and *Chatramis*, where Eratosthenes is confused with Pliny, and *Anzeiger Ak. Wien*, 1909, p. 4) has assumed that the reading MAINAIA may be restored with absolute certainty for MAMAAI in Theophrastus, that is to say both authors are referring to the Minaeans But this proposed alteration in the text, which would take the oldest mention of the Minaeans among the Greeks back to the time of Alexander the Great, need not be considered absolutely necessary (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p 138 has also argued against it) The two Greek authors are writing from different points of view the botanist is not so concerned as the geographer with giving a full list of South Arabian kingdoms but is only interested in those regions which yield spices The form Mamali also finds support in the Μαμάλα κώμη of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 5. Sprenger who sticks to Μάλ. (*op cit*, p 92, 263, 266) identifies the latter without giving any evidence with Mahra (as does Hommel, *op cit*, p 137. "probably the Mahra coast") Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p 420, simply takes Mali for the land of the Minaeans without giving the slightest proof.

Following the passage from Eratosthenes, we have in Strabo xvi iv § 5 *sq*. the relatively short account by a later authority, Artemidoros, of the land of the Sabaeans The people — very fortunately (cf. Agatharchides in Photius, § 97 and K Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Minores*, i. 186) — are called "a very powerful people" in whose land myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon grow and on the coast — a fact confirmed by modern travellers — the balsam tree also (cf. Theophrastus, iv. 4, 14 ὀποβάλσαμον) and other aromatic trees and plants. Then follows information regarding the abundance of fruits in the land, regarding the capital Mariaba, laws and duties of the king, commerce and the wealth gained by the Sabaeans through trading, as well as their agriculture and other details, which are repeated in almost the same words by Diodoros (iii. 47) from Agatharchides, who was also Artemidoros's authority — a fact which does not seem to have been appreciated in modern writers, who regard Artemidoros as an independent source. The above quoted reference to the occurrence of frankincense among the Sabaeans seems to be contradictory to Strabo's (xvi., iv. § 2) note φέρει δὲ λιβανωτὸν μὲν ἡ Κατταβανία σμύρναν δὲ ἡ Χατραμωτῖτις, following Eratosthenes; to remove the difficulty it has been assumed sometimes that there was confusion on the part of Eratosthenes and sometimes, as in quite recent writers, that the Ḳatabānians had lands in the frankincense region and that there was later a change in their ownership by which part at least of Ḳatabān passed to Saba'. However possible this may be and however little misgiving one may have about it in this case, it must also be borne in mind that Strabo's sentence cannot be taken from its context and placed in another context as an argumentum ex silentio. From the statement that Katabania produced frankincense it does not follow that Katabania alone produced it and that it was not found elsewhere in South Arabia. Besides the substance of Eratosthenes's remark is only found in Strabo's version

Strabo (xvi., iv. § 23) goes on to give an account of the campaign against South Arabia of Aelius Gallus in the year 24 B C , based on direct information, he is the earliest authority on the campaign (cf also ii 118, xvii 819, Pliny, vi. 160 and Dio Cassius, liii. 29 [= Zonaras, x 33]) The complete failure of this campaign, which was the first and most important direct contact between Rome and distant Saba' and which had been undertaken by Augustus, as Strabo tells us, in the hope of winning the wealth of the Arabs, especially of the Sabaeans, was, as Glaser (*op cit.*, p. 45 *sq*) has already emphasised in contradiction to Strabo's version, the result of the ignorance of the Romans regarding the country and people and the want of any special preparations (on the specialist literature on the subject and modern critics of the eastern policy of Augustus like Flugel, Mommsen, Winckler, Glaser, Weber, Hartmann, on the accounts of the fighting in Strabo and Pliny, the route of Gallus's march — which Sprenger for example gives wrongly — and the minor military successes of the Romans regarding which the accounts differ cf *R E*, col 1344 *sq* , 1380 *sq*.). In disagreement with the usual accounts (in d'Anville, Gibbon, Karl Muller, Sprenger, whom almost all recent writers followed, Kiepert, Mommsen, Zehme, Mordtmann, Aug Muller, D. H. Muller, Winckler, Weber) I only mention here that the farthest point reached by the Roman expedition, which Strabo (§ 24) calls Μαρσύαβα, the town of the Ῥαμ(μ)ανῖται who were ruled by Ilasaros, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v 22 and Pliny vi. 160 call Mariba, was not the Sabaean capital Mārib, as, following Vincent, Forbiger and Ritter, Glaser has again recently (*op. cit*, p. 57 *sq*) rightly emphasised and Landberg also, according to whom (*Arabica*, v. 82) Strabo's Μαρίαβα (as it has generally been written since the time of v Kremer instead of Μαρσύαβα, although without any justification) is undoubtedly the Maryama the ruins of which lie in the district of Baiḥān al-Ḳaṣāb on the Wādī Baiḥān (south-east of Mārib, see the description in Landberg, *op. cit*, p. 21 *sq*.; full information

regarding this district *ibidem*, p. 3—63; the old contrary view is still championed by Grimme, *Mohammed*, p. 20). Glaser was, however, wrong in his attempt to locate this town exactly, which he, thinking of Caripeta in Pliny, vi. 160 which, as Fresnel had already pointed out, recalls the Arabic *khariba* 'ruins', saw in the later Sabaean capital Ṣirwāḥ (west of Mārib). Caripeta, however, goes back not to Khariba but to the place-name Ḥarib. Much more worthy of attention is Landberg's connection of the Ramanite city, — the name of which, it is true, he wrongly reads Mariaba and erroneously considers to be the Mariba Baramalacum in Pliny, vi. 157 — with the Arabic Maryama and with Μαρίαμα in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 37, as well as with Mariamat in the inscriptions, with which is to be identified the Μαρίμαλχα of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 38, presumably the modern Maryama in Ḥaḍramōt (not as Mordtmann–Müller, *Sabaische Denkmäler*, p 104, thought). But he wrongly records it as a city of the Μανῖται, the Arabic Ma'n (p. 24). Landberg is wrong also in his location (in Baiḥān al-Dawla, a district south of Baiḥān al-Ḳaṣāb) of the limit reached by the Roman expedition, mentioned by Dio Cassius, the name of which he wrongly (following Glaser) considered to be Adula Ἄθλουλα, as the name should rather be written, is, according to D. H. Müller's suggestion, the *YTL* (usually read Yathil) of the Minaean inscriptions. Mommsen wrongly (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 22) found a contradiction between the statement of Augustus regarding the terminus of the campaign ("*usque in Sabaeorum fines*") and those of Strabo and Pliny and sought to explain it by saying that Augustus was describing South Arabia with a generalising but not correct expression as the "land of the Sabaeans". The farthest point reached by the expedition was actually — as Augustus rightly says — in the land of the Sabaeans and, according to Strabo, in the land of the Ramanitai i. e of the Radmān or the Rhadami of Pliny, which is in agreement with the *Monumentum* Ilasaros, whose name and person have been wrongly interpreted, is the Ilsharḥ Yaḥḍib, whom we know from inscriptions, regarding whose attitude to the political situation in Saba' during the Roman campaign Hartmann (p. 153 *sq*, 173 *sq*. etc) has made erroneous suggestions (see *R. E.*, col 1371 *sq*.).

The reports of this campaign, the military and political importance of which for the history of Saba' has been very much overestimated by Sprenger, Dillmann and Fabricius, brought the Roman world a better knowledge of the land and people of South Arabia — among other information a correction of the Greek statements hitherto current regarding the spices which Arabia exported. As a result of the information obtained from Gallus, Strabo (§ 24) was able to distinguish the divisions of South Arabia according to the predominant activity or quality of its inhabitants — in contrast to the earlier political division of South Arabia based on Eratosthenes (Strabo, § 2) —, a division made from the social and economic point of view which included for example the caste-system that still exists to-day in Arabia, similar to Pliny's account, vi. 161, who also relies on Gallus. Strabo goes on to deal with family life in South Arabia, including community of women, a testimony, with which passages in the inscriptions have been compared, as evidence for polyandry in Saba', the occurrence of which Hartmann (*op. cit.*, p. 7) has wrongly denied; it must be granted, however, that many inscriptions, when properly interpreted, can no longer be used as evidence for the existence of polyandry.

Copious information regarding the land and the capital, the customs, mode of life and constitution of the Sabaeans and about South Arabia generally are contained in the two excerpts from Agatharchides (*περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης*, vol. 5, probably concluded about the year 132/1) preserved in almost identical terms in the *Bibliotheca* Photius' and in Diodoros (iii. 38—48). Agatharchides was the source used by Artemidoros also. The statements regarding spices which filled the whole land with natural, pleasant odours may be compared with Herodotos, iii. 113, Pliny, xii. 86, and Wrede's report (*Reisen*, p. 80 on the Wādī Muntish, p. 77 on the Djabal Ṣidāra, p. 82 on the Wādī Khilāfat). Noteworthy also is the information he gives regarding the Sabaean royal city Σάβαι, on the constitution, on the laws and duties of the kings, whose rule was hereditary in a particular family (which is confirmed by the South Arabian inscriptions), regarding customs and activities of the people, who are praised as brave soldiers, industrious tillers of the soil and traders and skilful sailors, and regarding the trade with Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia and the resultant wealth and luxury of the Sabaeans which surpassed that of all other Arabs (cf. the above mentioned statements of Strabo following Artemidoros) Σάβαι and Μαρίαβα in Strabo, xvi. iv § 2 (following Eratosthenes), § 19 (following Artemidoros), in Stephanus Byzantinus, s v., as well as *Marebbata* (corrupted from *Mariaba*, according to Mordtmann) in Pliny, vi. 155 are (what Glaser, *op. cit.*, p 58, 62, 153, 287 has not noticed) only two different names of the same town, the capital of Saba', Mārib [q v.]. The name Σάβαι finds an analogy in the fact that Arab writers also sometimes call the Sabaean capital Saba', e. g al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidā', as well as Ibn Khordādhbeh and the Turks (see Mordtmann, *Sabaische Denkm*, p 3, note 1). The statement in Photius that the capital stood on a not high hill has been erroneously doubted by Kremer (*op. cit.*, p 9, note 2) and confirmed by the observation of modern travellers, like Arnaud, Halévy and Glaser (Strabo's remark; "on a hill covered with trees" may be considered a sign of the decline in vegetation). — From the statement in Photius (§ 101, middle of the page) Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xii. 249), Kremer (*op. cit.*, p. 9) and Glaser, *op. cit*, p. 10) have wrongly deduced that the Sabaeans sent out colonies or at least trading settlements into foreign lands, especially India; we are rather to understand trading voyages by sea by *στέλλειν* (intransitive) *ἀπ' οἰκίας*

The literary references to Saba' and Arabia in general, as well as the reports of merchants and travellers, influenced the later literature of the Greeks and that of the Romans from the first century A. D. It is to them — particularly to poets of the time before the expedition of Gallus — that we owe the typical conception of the rich and fortunate Sabaeans in a remote Eldorado I shall here pass over these references in poetic literature, as they have not the importance of independent sources and only observe that as a result of this conception of Saba', the chief country in Arabia, — as is intelligible with poetic lan-

guage — *Sabaeus* gradually came to be used, not with the limited application to Saba', but in the general sense of "Arabian", so that even expressions like Vergil, *Georgica*, i. 57, *molles sua tura Sabaei* (*mittunt*) ii. 117, *solis est turea virga Sabaeis*, etc., are not to be used as arguments in the reconciliation of apparent differences in the nomenclature of South Arabian areas, that produced frankincense, and it cannot be deduced from them that Vergil allotted the frankincense tree to the Sabaeans alone as distinct from other South Arabians.

The amplification of the previous knowledge of the country from first-hand accounts, as a result of the Roman campaign, is also reflected in Pliny's references, which augment the extracts preserved from the older Greek writers by many details, although they are in parts confused and corrupt. The majority of the towns mentioned by him in vi 160, which Gallus is said to have destroyed, can be proved to have existed from the South Arabian inscriptions, or from al-Hamdānī, the first author who mentions them after Pliny, or from other geographical sources Pliny's account, based on new information regarding Arabia, which goes back to Gallus or reached Rome by other ways from time to time, is of historical importance in as much as it mentions a people, not mentioned by Strabo or Agatharchides, who produced a lasting alteration in political conditions in Saba'. After giving (probably from Juba) in vi. 158 the Homeritae after the Minaei (Ma'īn) and Rhadamaei (Radmān) among the Arabian peoples, in 161 Pliny, expressly quoting the explorations of Gallus as his authority for this period, calls attention with the words *numerissimos esse Homeritas* to a fact which forms a turning point in the history of Saba', the rise of the Himyars (Homeritae, the Ὁμηρῖται of the Greeks). This is the oldest reference preserved to the Ḥimyars and their strength At the time of Gallus, political supremacy in South Arabia was no longer in the hands of the Sabaeans under the ancient dynasty of the "Kings of Saba'", but had passed to the Himyars under rulers with the title "Kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān". The definite report of Gallus, who says that the Himyars were a predominating people in South Arabia and the legitimate conclusion that they were at this time already in possession of the hegemony, agrees at once and convincingly with Glaser's deduction (cf *Die Abessinier*, p. 31) from the inscriptions that the beginning of Himyar rule is to be placed in the second — at latest the first — century B. C, and is evidence against the attempt (made by Mordtmann, Mommsen, Hartmann and others) to shift the beginning of the Ḥimyar period to a date after the beginning of the Christian era, nor does it even help the endeavours of others, like Kremer and D. H. Muller, to place it towards the end of the first century B C. Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 38) would not pronounce definitely for this date of about 70 B. C, but talks of "somewhere after 175 B. C, but certainly not after the birth of Christ" it is tempting, he says, to take 115 B C., but there are objections (p. 31 *sq* ; so also Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p. 33, Hommel, *Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes*[3] (Sammlung Goschen, Leipzig 1908, p. 148 and cf here the article ARABIA, i. 377 *sqq*. etc.). Sprenger's (*op cit.*, p. 76 *sq*, 225), Dillmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 204) and Hartmann's (*op. cit.*, p. 469, note 1) hypotheses of the contemporaneousness of and even of a causal connection between the rise of the Ḥimyar power and the Roman campaign thus lose any basis.

A further reference to the kingdom of the Ḥimyars is in Pliny, vi 104, *intus oppidum, regia eius, appellatur Sapphar*, i. e. Ẓafār, the capital of the Himyars. We see, however, from Pliny that the Sabaeans in the time of Juba still held an important position — although they were no longer the lords of Southern Arabia — and the land ruled by them was no smaller in area than in the time of Eratosthenes. Of minor points, we shall only mention here that of Pliny's references (vi. 161) to their economic life and their wealth the expression *agrorum rigua* finds confirmation in the testimony of the inscriptions to the old irrigation works of South Arabia (wells, canals, dams and cisterns) and in the statements of al-Hamdānī regarding irrigation (see below), the mention immediately afterwards of *mellis ceraeque proventus* (cf. Strabo, xvi., iv. § 2) agrees with the fact that almost all the mountain regions of South Arabia are rich in honey (cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 249; Glaser, *op cit.*, p 69 — evidence for honey and wax in the Raidān district; also Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 238; Bent, *Expedition*, p 330, *Southern Arabia*, p 117, Harris, *A Journey*, p 22 and other travellers' narrations, cf the statements in al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, p. 103, 105, 123, 194). The words preceding in Pliny, *silvarum fertilitas odoriferа* (cf Agatharchides in Photius, § 95 and Diodoros) refer to the Sabaean wealth in the frankincense region (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 250), *auri metalla* to the occurrence of gold, namely in the coast regions (cf Agatharchides, § 95, on the land of the Debai rich in gold, Strabo, xvi., iv § 18, Pliny, vi. 150 on the *auri metalla* of the *litus Hamaeum* and especially al-Hamdānī, p. 153, 177 etc on gold mines in South Arabia and modern travellers such as Halévy and Glaser (Glaser, *op cit*, p. 69, *Punt*, p. 77) would look for the gold mines in ʿAsīr only or in Saso (East Somāliland), but there can be no possibility of a reference to East Africa in the Pliny passage. Sprenger, *op. cit*, p 249, would also locate the mines in the interior of the country (see further discussion below). Pliny's note (xii. 58) on the gathering of frankincense may be compared with the statements of Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii. 577). Of importance for the history of civilisation also is the fact reported in xii 54 that the collection of frankincense was considered a religious act, that only the Sabaeans as lords of the land of frankincense and with them the Minaeans were allowed to look upon the frankincense tree (when it was being ceremonially treated), that there were said to be not more than 3,000 privileged families who claimed the hereditary right to the sole possession of frankincense trees for themselves and their descendants: *sacros vocari ob id nec ullo congressu feminarum funerumque, cum incidant eas arbores aut metant, pollui*, where Sprenger (*op. cit*, p. 92) and Glaser (*op cit*, p. 3; *Punt*, p. 44) proposed quite unjustifiable alterations in the text. *Congressus feminarum funerumque* are to the present day in Islām more or less connected with *djanāba* (pollution; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 219). Hartmann, *op cit.*, p. 415, remarks that the passage in Pliny appears to throw some light on the aversion of the Muslims to burning fragrant spices etc. at funerals, which is discussed

by de Goeje (*L'encensement des morts chez les anciens Arabes* in *Actes du 14e Congrès intern. des Orientalistes*, iii./i.), and concludes that it was forbidden in South Arabia to use frankincense in the funeral service, while nothing was known of this in North Arabia, but so early a writer as Pliny, xii. 82 talks of the *hominum etiam in morte luxuria* in Arabia Felix and modern travellers also confirm the use of incense at interments.

It is instructive for the ancient history of South Arabia that Pliny still gives for the time of Juba and Gallus the same four peoples that Eratosthenes gives as the chief peoples with a regal constitution, the Sabaei, Minaei, Catabanes and Atramitae (Chatramotitae); see the articles ḲATABĀN and MA'IN. The words in vi. 154, following the mention of the Sabaeans: *pars eorum* (Sabaeorum) *Atramitae quorum caput Sabota* etc., and xii 52. *Atramitae pagus Sabaeorum in monte excelso, a quo octo mansionibus distat regio eorum turifera* (similarly Solin, p. 710: *Atramitae pagus Sabaeorum*, who is dependent on Pliny, a fact which Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 296 and Glaser, *Punt*, p. 47 have not recognised), show that Ḥaḍramōt in the time of Juba (not only in the first century A D, as Glaser, *Punt*, p 46 thought) had become a part of Saba', and that Saba' extended farther to the east, so that a change in the balance of power in South Arabia had set in while the Sabaean efforts at expansion were being continued (Bent, *Southern Arabia*, p 49, 240, 265 and 269 speaks of ruins of Sabaean antiquity in the coast area of Zafār near Mirbāt) The following words *regia tamen omnium Marelibata* (*Mariaba*, see above) again emphasise Saba''s suzerainty over Ḥaḍramōt and the position of Ma'rib as the capital of the whole kingdom (on erroneous alterations in the text of Pliny and Solin see above). The principal passage on the transport of frankincense is xii. 63 (*tus collectum Sabotam . . . . convehitur . . . . ibi decumas deo quem vocant Sabin mensura non ponderе sacerdotes capiunt nec ante mercari licet*) The frankincense was therefore bound to pass through the capital of Ḥaḍramōt, Sabota (Shabwat in the inscriptions, also mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, now a ruined site between Baiḥān and Shibām) and pay duty there This custom of levying tolls still survives among many tribes, Glaser (*op. cit*, p. 27) informs us. An analogy to the statement that taxes were levied on spices by the temple is quoted by D. H. Muller from the inscriptions, *Burgen*, ii 1024, note 3 (on the inscription Halévy, *op. cit.*, p. 187); see also Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, i. 6 (on Glaser, 480 = Arnaud, 53), compare also Theophrastus's statement (ix 4) regarding the tithes paid out of the frankincense harvest for the priests of the temple of Helios of the Sabaeans (and Landberg, *Dathina*, p. 457 on the harvest tithes to the *Mashā'ikh*). The God Sabis was considered by Mordtmann (*Sabaische Denkmaler*, p. 57) to be the moon-god Sīn, indeed, he later regularly explained the name Sabis as Sīn (*Z D M G*, xliv. 186). Quite recently the Pliny passage has been again referred to the moon-god, sometimes with proper caution, and sometimes as if it were an established fact. Not only, however, has it no connection with the moon-god, but the context of Pliny suggests that Sabis refers to Sabota; besides, Theophrastus speaks of the sun-god, from which it does not, of course, follow that Sabis is to be identified with the sun-god, as do Ritter, Sprenger, Glaser, etc. The name also, in these identifications, would remain unexplained. Probably Sabis is a form of name which appears to have arisen neither through a misunderstanding nor through a corruption of the text, but is simply "the (Lord, God) of Sabota" (Shabwat; either Dhū Shabwat or regularly "Shab(a)wī"; cf. *R. E.*, s. v. Sabis).

It is not the above quoted mention of the Homeritae in Pliny that is to be regarded as the oldest known reference in literature to the Ḥimyars, but the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which is older than Pliny's work, but younger than his principal literary sources, and, indeed, as I have endeavoured to show in *R.E*, col. 1462 *sq.*, differing from previous dates proposed by Dillmann, Mommsen, Hartmann, Glaser etc, seems to have been composed between 40 and at latest 51 A D, probably between 40 and 45. A light is thrown on the political situation by the statement in the *Periplus*, § 23, that Charibael, the lawful king of two peoples, the Homeritae and their neighbours, the Sabaites i e. Sabaeans, was ruling in the capital Saphar. Saba', therefore, was under Ḥimyarite rule at the time of the composition of the work. Saphar is Zafār (near Yarīm), the capital of the "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān", an identification which Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 50, could not upset Ma'rib was no longer the royal capital Σαβαείτης, the Egyptian form for Σαβαῖος, is also found in the Axum inscription and this too supports the manuscript reading Σαβαείτου against the emendation proposed by the editor (Fabricius, p 60 following Salmasius). The Ḥimyarite king Charibael is probably the Karibaʾil Watar Yuhanʿim, King of Saba' and Dhū Raidān, known from inscriptions and coins Hartmann's attempt to identify him (*op cit*, p. 154 *sq*, 173 *sq*) collapses with his baseless premises.

A tremendous revolution in the history of Saba' took place in the period between the erection of the inscription of Adulis (*Corpus inscr. Graec.*, iii 5127 B) in about the first third of the second century A D., about 127, and that of the bilingual inscription of Axum of the middle of the fourth century (before 356). In the former the King of the Axumites mentions that he has waged war from Λευκὴ κώμη (al-Ḥawrā') southwards as far as the land of the Sabaeans. While he was thus forced to halt in his campaign on the northern frontier of Saba', Aizanas (ʿEzānā), who erected the bilingual inscription, already calls himself "King of Axum and Ḥimyar and Saba'", etc The most important parts of South-west Arabia had therefore been conquered by the Axumites since the beginning of the second century A. D. The doubts of Dillmann, Hartmann and others regarding the actuality of this conquest, with the inscriptional testimony for which the mention of ambassadors *ad gentem Axumitarum et Homeritarum* (Cod. Theod., xii. 12, 2) agrees, are unfounded. The fact that Ḥimyar occurs before Saba' in the series of titles enables one to deduce that the former was the kingdom proper, beside which Saba' occupied the second place, having not yet sunk into insignificance. With the official title of the inscriptions may be compared the double title of the Ḥimyar king in the *Periplus*.

The testimony of the Abyssinian inscriptions, that Aizanas was king of Ḥimyar and Saba', agrees, as Glaser (*Die Abessinier*, p. 5 *sq.*) emphasises,

with the fact that the South Arabian inscriptions from the end of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century mention no Yemenī rulers; the latter do not appear again until 378 A. D. and then occur uninterruptedly until the first quarter of the sixth century, when (525) the Abyssinians again conquered South-west Arabia. The foundation of the power of the Axumite kingdom was an interruption of the last period of the South Arabian kingdom, from the beginning of which, about 300 A. D, the kings assumed the longer title "of Saba', Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramōt and Yemnat" in place of the previous title "of Saba' and Dhū Raidān".

From the statements of Ptolemy, who, apart from unimportant references, is the Greek literary source for Saba' that follows the *Monumentum adulitanum* in order of time, it may be deduced that in his map the Sabaeans (VI. 7,23) no longer occupied so large an area as they still did even in the time to which Strabo and Pliny refer, but seem to have become limited to the northern half of their former territory, the Ḥimyarites, on the other hand, occupied a considerable part of the south coast, and other smaller peoples are also mentioned as inhabiting the South Arabian territory, which must have belonged to the Sabaeans as late as the end of the second century A. D. Quite recently the words of Ptolemy: Κορταβανοὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἀσαβᾶν ὀρῶν, ὑφ' οὓς ἡ λιβανωτοφόρος χώρα have been erroneously interpreted to mean that after the Sabaeans the frankincense region was under the rule of the Ḳatabānians, and further assumptions were based on the statement that Ḳatabānians were still settled there, although an independent kingdom of Ḳatabān then no longer existed The lucid syntax and the linguistic practice of Ptolemy, according to which ὑπό with the accusative means "south of", "situated below", shows that it is just the reverse that is the case Ptolemy separates geographically the frankincense region and the homes of the Katabānians. Sprenger (p. 264 etc), from his likewise erroneous point of view, has difficulty with the statement that the Ḳatabānians in the time of Ptolemy were "thrust out of this possession" (cf. the article KATABĀN).

In agreement with the Arabic sources, Ptolemy introduces us to a period of progressive decline of Saba'. The occasional mentions of Saba' in the Greek topographers of the first centuries A. D. are of no independent value. The name Saba' disappears from Greek and Roman literature from the end of the fourth century A. D. After this date we only have an occasional isolated reference to the Homeritae, whose name became gradually applied to the whole of South Arabia.

Only half a century ago, Sprenger (*op cit*, p 246) was able to say that the Greeks and Pliny were the only sources that gave us information regarding the Sabaeans. Our knowledge of the history of ancient South Arabia which, until quite recently, could only be supplemented a little by the isolated references in the Old Testament and the quite insufficient, because utterly unhistorical, traditions of the Arabs, was increased in an extraordinary fashion by finds of inscriptions, principally in South Arabia, and the increasing progress in the study of the ancient history of the east has also thrown new light on the history of Saba'.

Yet the explorer Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 159), famous for his epigraphical finds, does not hesitate to say that the correct interpretation of the few statements in the classical authors is no less necessary than the elucidation of the inscriptions of Saba', and that the latter and the passages in classical writers supplement and explain one another. In any case we must not lose a sense of perspective in face of the decisive importance of the inscriptions for the study of political and cultural history; being the only direct historical source they form our most important material for research into the past of Saba' and South Arabia generally. The history of the opening of this rich and still unexhausted mine of material for research is associated with very few names. Carsten Niebuhr, a member of the expedition sent out by the Danish government in 1763, who travelled through South Arabia from Loḥaiya to Mokhā, Taʿizz and Ṣanʿā', being more particularly engaged in geographical, ethnographical and natural history work, first reported, as the result of enquiries, the existence of old inscriptions in the ruins of Zafār (south-west of Yarīm) near Ṣanʿā' (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94), without having seen the text itself, except for a copy of an inscription which a Dutchman had sent him, after him the first knowledge of South Arabian inscriptions was brought to Europe by Seetzen, a native of Oldenburg, who, stirred by Niebuhr's information, copied inscriptions in and around Zafār on his return from Ṣanʿā' to ʿAden (1810). The copies sent by him to Europe of five short, unimportant, Sabaean texts were published in 1811 and, though at first not understood, formed the humble beginning of the science of Sabaean studies, the future importance of which was as yet quite unrealised Further progress was made by Wellsted (1834/5 (discovery of the inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb on the Ḥaḍramōt coast and of Naḳab al-Ḥadjar), Cruttenden (1836 five short Sabaean fragments in Ṣanʿā'), both Englishmen, by Wrede (1843; but the report of his travels in Ḥaḍramawt and the copy of the Ḥaḍramawt inscription of ʿObne were only published in 1870 from his papers after his death by Maltzan) and others, among whom special mention must be made of Arnaud who in 1843 was the first European to visit Mārib and to pave the way for later more successful discoverers (ignored by Glaser, *Petermann's Mitteil*, 1887, p 27), and there as well as in Ṣanʿā' and Ṣirwāh prepared copies of 56 inscriptions in all, mainly short ones A valuable addition to our knowledge was the acquisition of inscribed stones and bronze plates from ʿAmrān by Choghlan (1860). Gesenius (1841), Rodiger (1841, 1842) and Osiander (1856, 1863/4) then gained renown by deciphering and elucidating the material found. The *Eben Safir* is only of importance as a description of Yemen; this is the Hebrew account of the travels of Jacob Saphir (I., 1861; II., 1866) who went from al-Ḥodaida via Ṣanʿā' to ʿAmrān and then back to ʿAden; the book was first made generally known through D. H. Müller (*Burgen*, I. 6 *sq*) and formed a kind of guide-book for Ḥalévy. A new epoch in the study of inscriptions is marked by the rich results of the memorable journey of Jos Halévy, who, one may say, was the first European since Aelius Gallus to succeed (in 1869) in travelling from Ṣanʿā' right up to the Wādī Nadjrān and entering the land of the South Arabian Djōf, the centre of the ancient Minaean country, and visiting several very ancient Arabian sites, rich in inscriptions, which so far no other European since him has seen. The con-

crete scientific yield of this journey of exploration not sufficiently appreciated by his immediate contemporaries, consisted of 686 copies of inscriptions of which about 50 (some 30 Minaean) were fairly long (published in the *J. A.*, 1872), the most important addition to our store of inscriptions yet made, which, marking a tremendous advance on the initial stages, helped to lay the true scientific foundation for Sabaean research and the knowledge of the sources for the study of the ancient history of South Arabia. Some new inscriptions were made known through the journey of Captain Miles (and Werner Munziger) in the Wādī Maifa'at (1870). The travels of Heinrich von Maltzan (1870/1, in the coast regions of Yemen and Hadramawt), Millingen (1873, from al-Ḥodaida to San'ā'), R Manzoni (1877—80, between 'Aden, Ṣan'ā' and al-Hodaida), Schapira (1879, from 'Aden to Ṣan'ā' and district and back to al-Hodaida) and Harris's more recent *Journey through the Yemen* (London 1893) are not of interest from the epigraphical point of view but from the geographical, Manzoni's work and Maltzan's later contributions are also valuable for the study of dialects. The Austrian S. Langer (1882), who sacrificed his life to the spirit of research on his epigraphical journeys from al-Hodaida first to Ṣan'ā', then to 'Aden, as did Seetzen before him and Huber after him, gained copies of 22 inscriptions (Nos. 19—22 only odd letters). Further details of the history of discovery in Arabia are given in Weber's monographs, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, p 10 *sqq.* (which also contains information regarding the history of civilisation and religion, contents, alphabets and language of the inscriptions) and more especially his *Forschungsreisen in Südarabien bis zum Auftreten Eduard Glasers (Der Alte Orient*, VIII. 4, 1907) and Hommel's account in Hilprecht's *Explorations*, p 693 *sqq* (see also his *Chrestomathie*, p 63 *sqq* with bibliography). A new era in this branch of research was introduced by the Arabian travels of the Austrian Glaser whose epigraphic discoveries (in all over 2,000 inscriptions) far surpassed all previous efforts in this field. D. H. Muller's prophecy (*Burgen*, I. 340) "There will still be courageous men, who will place themselves in the service of science and undertake the exploration of the country and collection of inscriptions", was realised in Glaser in an undreamed-of fashion On his first three journeys alone, (1882—1884 (from al-Hodaida to Ṣan'ā' and from there three tours of exploration north and west from this neighbourhood), 1885—6 (from al-Ḥodaida to Ṣan'ā' and from there to the south-east and east as far as 'Aden, exploration of the ruins of Zafār), 1887—8 (from 'Aden to San'ā' and thence to Ma'rib, where alone he copied nearly 400 inscriptions, while Arnaud and Halévy together only got 44 copies mostly of small fragments), he enriched our knowledge by some 1032 inscriptions, by sketch maps and philological observations and some 616 Arabic manuscripts. A portion of the manuscripts was published by the French Academy (*C. I. S.*, IV, i.—iii), numerous inscribed stones (mostly Minaean) are in London, others in Berlin (published by Mordtmann in 1893). The manuscripts for the most part went to Berlin and to the British Museum (see C. Rieu, *Suppl to the Cat. of Arabic MSS in the B.M.*, London 1894). Of his epigraphical discoveries special mention may be made of the Ḥadaḳān inscription, the great Ṣirwāḥ inscription, one of the most important historical documents from South Arabia (on his fourth journey he brought back a further and perfect squeeze of it), and the two great inscriptions from Ma'rib relating to the bursting of the dam. His fourth journey was the most successful (1892—1894, from 'Aden to Ṣan'ā', from which natives were sent out to prepare squeezes; among the new inscriptions were nearly 100 Ḳatabānian; linguistic studies; acquisition of 251 Arabic manuscripts). A portion of the treasures acquired for Vienna, a valuable collection of 39 inscribed stones, coins, numerous sculptures and other antiquities, was published by D. H Muller. Further particulars are given by Weber in *Eduard Glasers Forschungsreisen in Südarabien* in *Der Alte Orient*, x. 2, 1909 (cf. Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 717, 720 *sqq.*). Glaser could not make further use of the opportunity he still had for further journeys and discoveries because he no longer found the necessary comprehension of the importance of scientific work at the Ministry concerned. Immeasurable treasures were thus irrevocably lost to science.

Working on the epigraphic material that has been gradually accumulating since Halévy's time, Halévy, Praetorius, Mordtmann, D H. Muller, Glaser and others (for details see *Bibliography*) have made important contributions to the elucidation of the language and contents of the inscriptions. As to later journeys of exploration in South Arabia, A. Defler's journey in Yemen in 1887 was only planned to study botany. L. Hirsch, who in 1893 was, so far as we know, the first European to visit Shibām, the modern capital of Hadramawt, and Tarīm, was only studying natural history, with topography and ethnography Soon after him in 1893—4, J. Theodore Bent with his wife travelled in Ḥaḍramōt as far as Shibām and in 1895 in the frankincense country (Zafār to Mirbāt), likewise without being particularly interested in epigraphy. Carlo Landberg in 1896 took a squeeze and photograph of the already known inscription of Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb, the results of his enquiries made in 'Aden in 1895—97 regarding previously little known regions between Yemen proper and Ḥaḍramōt, particularly regarding Daṯḥīna, 'Awālik, al-Ḥādina and also regarding Baiḥān, Maryama, Raidān, Harīb, Timna' and even Shabwa are given in his valuable work *Arabica* (IV. and V). The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy in 1898—9, which was also supported by the King of Sweden, only succeeded in reaching 'Azzān in the Wādī Maifa'at and did not get to Shabwa. While the epigraphical results of this expedition fell behind expectations, its members took the opportunity in 1899 of making linguistic and natural history researches on the island of Socotra (see SOḲOṬRĀ) [G. W. Bury, who went to Baiḥān on behalf of the expedition, brought back from Kohlān (Katabān) squeezes and photographs of inscriptions]. In 1902 W. Hein collected linguistic material in Gishin in Ḥaḍramōt on behalf of the Vienna Academy and at the same time collected information there and later in Vienna from natives regarding Ḥaḍramōt. His collected notes, published without any editing in 1914 after his death, contain much that is new and noteworthy. Hartwig Derenbourg was able from squeezes obtained by the French Academy to publish a few *Nouveaux textes yéménites inédits* in the *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, V. 117 *sqq.*

Glaser's finds, epoch-making of their kind, are not yet completely published (a survey of the inscriptions discovered by Glaser was given so far as then known by Hommel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 59—62; see also Glaser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, i., 1908, 1 A *sq.*) The great work prepared by him on Saba' (announced, for example, in Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 722, and Weber, *Glasers Forschungsreisen*, p. 15, on Glaser's authority) has not yet been published. The great mass of documents left by him (consisting of copies of about 1,000 inscriptions, of geographical and archaeological notes, diaries, sketches and maps), the importance of which may be summed up by saying that it is the first duty of Sabaean studies to arrange them methodically and publish them scientifically, was handed over to D. H. Müller to edit. But neither was he spared to publish this material After his death in 1910, N. Rhodokanakis in Graz was given the task. The latter calls his treatise *Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den sudarabischen Urkunden* (*S. B Ak. Wien*, clxxvii. Abh. 2, 1915, interpretation of inscr. Glaser N° 890 = Halévy 49, Gl 904 = Halévy 51, Gl 1548/9 [Sabaean], Gl 1606 [Ḳatabānian] and Osiander 4, with systematic discussion of the problems of debt, taxation, ownership and legislation raised by the inscriptions) the first preliminary study to the "Corpus Glaserianum", the publication of which the Vienna Academy has in hand, he describes as a second preliminary study the first part of his *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsudarabischen* (*S B Ak. Wien*, clxxviii. Abh. 4, 1915; explanation of passages in the Habish inscription, Glaser 1076 and Gl 480 [cf. above] and especially a grammatical essay on the so-called parasitic *h* in South Arabic, for the phonetic explanation of which he postulates a double accent in Minaeo-Sabaean; the appendix contains annotations to various inscriptions). Next came his *Die Bodenwirtschaft im alten Südarabien* (*Anz. Ak Wien*, 1916, N°. xxvi, a survey of the results of the researches contained in the second part of his *Studien zur Lexikographie* etc.) and the second part itself (*S. B. Ak Wien*, clxxxv. Abh. 3, 1917, discussion of Minaeo-Sabaean inscriptions relating to buildings, boundaries and irrigation, and of inscriptions relating to agriculture with explanatory notes on the dedication and erection of buildings, on legal questions relating to water supplies and the possession of land, on taxation and administration) The next three publications of Rhodokanakis contain hitherto unpublished Ḳatabānian inscriptions: *Ḳatabānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft* (*S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxciv. Abh. 2, 1919, five inscriptions from the Glaser collection: edicts of Ḳatabānian kings on the management of state properties, with a thorough investigation, into Ḳatabānian economy and administration) and *Ḳatabānische Texte zur Bodenwirtschaft*, Series 2 (*S B. Ak. Wien*, cxcviii. Abh. 2, 1922, three inscriptions with far reaching investigations, particularly as regards the third, Glaser 1693 [concerning date, locality and character of the language of the text] with observations on the Hamdānids and dynasties in South Arabia generally, and lastly *Die Inschrift an der Mauer von Ḳohlān-Timna* (*S. B. A. Wien*, cc. Abh. 2, 1924, discussion of the inscription Glaser 1404 [remains of a building protocol], 1397 *sq.* [a criminal and taxation law] and, to explain the *mukarrib* title among the Ḳatabānians, still more texts); on the inscription Gl. 1605 *sq.* see *W. Z. K. M.*, xxxi. 22 *sq.* In *Ḳatab. Texte*, i. 6, note 3, it is mentioned that O. Weber is preparing an abbreviated edition of the "work on inscriptions" left by Glaser. The work collecting all South Arabian inscriptions in which references are also given to earlier, less important publications, is Part iv. of the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (*Inscriptiones Ḥimyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, Tomus I, in four fascicles, 1889, 1892, 1900, 1908; of Tomus II the first two parts, 1911, 1914, have appeared, after the death of H. Derenbourg the editorship was taken over by M[ayer] L[ambert]; Tomus III will contain the Minaean and Katabānian inscriptions). The language of the inscriptions which may be divided into two main dialects, the Minaean and Sabaean, is discussed by Hommel in the *Grundriss*, p. 133 *sqq.*, who includes under the Minaean, along with the Minaean royal inscriptions proper, the Ḳatabān and Ḥaḍramōt inscriptions (so also *Explorations*, p. 728 *sq.*). On the grammar of Minaeo-Sabaean (which he considers the oldest representative of the "Arabic section of the Western Semitic", of which we have coherent texts, *Grundriss*, p. 78 *sq*) see his fundamental account in his *Chrestomathie*, p. 9 *sq.* (on the language see also earlier contributions by D H. Müller, *Encycl. Brit* [9], article *Yemen*, p 740 (brief); Weber, *Arabien*, p 15 *sq.* (popular), on the script see Osiander in the *Z D M G*, xx. 205 *sq.*; D., H Muller, *Sab. Denkm*, p 105 *sq.*, Hommel *Chrestom*, p. 3 *sq*, *Explorations*, p. 730, *Grundriss*, p 145 *sq.* (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 13 *sq.*, *Westasien*, p 235) etc , on the religion, Osiander in the *Z D M G*, vii. 463 *sq* , D. H Muller, *Enc. Brit.*, 741 (*Burgen*, ii. 1032), Hommel, *A A.*, i. 156 *sq* , *Explor.*, p. 733 *sq* , *Grundriss*, p. 85 *sq.*, 143, cf. in this Encycl , i 377 *sqq* (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 18 *sq* [popular], Grimme, *Mohammed*, p. 29 *sq*), on symbols of deities on the monuments Grohmann (see below, *Bibliography*)

Important material is also yielded by the Minaean, Liḥyān, Nabataean and Thamūden (proto-Arabic) inscriptions in North-Western Arabia, which Doughty discovered in 1876—78, and the texts of the copies prepared by Euting (1883/4) — in some cases for a second time, after Doughty and Huber — of the Minaean and Liḥyān inscriptions of al-ʿŌlā (published by D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmaler aus Arabien*, 1889, the Minaean have again been published by Mordtmann, *Beitrage*, 1897).

One of the principal questions raised by the sources for the history of ancient Saba' is what is known as the Minaean question, i. e. the relation in order of time of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings to the Sabaean and with this the relation of the two kingdoms to one another. Working on the material available just before Glaser's travels, D. H Müller (*Burgen*, ii. 955 *sq.*, 981 *sqq.*, 985 *sqq.*) had for the first time attempted to prepare a list of Sabaean rulers (cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133 *sq.*, 137 *sq.*) and divided the history of Saba' into three periods (a survey is given also in the article *Yemen* in the *Encycl. Brit.*). These periods are known as 1) the *Mukarrib* period (the pronunciation *Mukrab* selected by him and afterwards retained of the word *m-k-r-b*, the vocalisation of which is uncertain, the name of the priest-kings, is not to be used;

others read *mukarrab*, *makrub*, *makrib*, plur. *makārib*; see Mordtmann, *Anzeige*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv. 189; Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 65; Hommel, *A. A.*, p. 134; cf. above i. 399 *sqq*; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 132, 599 etc); 2) the period of the kings of Saba', and 3) the period of the kings of Saba' and Raidān. According to him, the beginning of the kingdom of Saba' would be placed in the eighth century B. C., to which period also belongs the mention of the Sabaean Iti'amar in the Sargon inscription, and its end in the first century A D. While the chronology of the Sabaean kingdom and its dynasties may be laid down with an accuracy that is fairly satisfactory, the question of the age of the Minaean kingdom is incomparably more difficult to settle, because there is no clue available for the definite dating of the inscriptions of the Minaean kings In their attempts to arrange also the Minaean kings Mordtmann, *Z D M G*, xlvii. 407 *sq*, Weber, *Studien*, p. 44 *sq* and Hartmann, *op. cit*, p 126 *sq*. (cf. also Hommel, *A A*, p 26, *Chrestomatie*, p. 90, *Grundriss*, p 136) have come to conclusions essentially different from that reached by D H. Müller (*Burgen*, ii 1021 *sq*) before them The latter thought that the two kingdoms of Saba' and Ma'in existed side by side with one another and were rivals (p. 1031) In direct opposition to this view Glaser (in 1889) in the first part of his *Skizze* argued that the Minaean kingdom preceded the Sabaean in time and was destroyed by the latter which thereupon assumed the hegemony over South Arabia. Bearing in mind the number (about 29) of the names of Minaean kings so far discovered and a supposed duration of their rule of about 750 years, he was forced to put the beginning of Minaean rule back before 1500 B. C, indeed, he even went back as far as 2000 B C. (i 55) In several passages of the second volume of his *Skizze* and in later publications he again comes back to the subject of his Minaean theory. He claimed to have proved that the Minaean inscriptions date far back into the second, probably even the third, millennium B. C. (ii. 110; cf. 330). He had no misgivings about supposing that we have to take the Minaean kingdom back to the beginning of the Hyksos period, i.e the twenty-second century B C, Glaser's theory was defended by Hommel (first in the *Beilage zur Munchener Allgem Zeitung*, 1889, N°. 291, and in his later works, e g in the *A.A*, p 2 *sq*, 10, 40, 235, in the *Altisrael Überlieferung*, p. 77, in his *Chrestomathie*, p. 2 (p. 86 further bibliographical references), in *Explorations*, in the *Grundriss*, p. 134, 150, in his *Gesch. des alten Morgenl.*, p. 106, 123, 148, in this Encyclop., i. 399 *sqq*, also notably by Winckler (*M V A. G.*, 1898, p. 19, 43 *sq.*; 1906, p. 89 *sq.*) in his *Geschichte Israels*, his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, in *K. A. T*, p. 140 *sq.*, 150 and in Helmolt's *Westasien*[1], iii. 247 *sq.*) and by Weber (in his monographs [already mentioned], in *Der Alte Orient* and in his edition of Winckler's *Westasien*, p. 235 *sq.*), Grimme, *op cit.*, p. 16 *sq.* and Benzinger, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 16. H. Derenbourg, *Nouveau mémoire sur l'épitaphe minéenne*, Paris 1895, p. 7 also puts the Minaeans before the Sabaeans.

A survey of the essential points in the lively controversy raised by Glaser's bold proposals has been given by Weber, *Studien*, i., and he has at the same time collected everything that seems to support Glaser. Immediately after the appearance of the first part of Glaser's *Skizze*, Halévy raised objections to this Minaean theory; D. H. Müller then reiterated his view (*Beilage zur Munch. Allgem. Zeitung*, 1890, Nov. 24 and 31; *W.Z.K.M.*, viii. 6, 161). The following also declared themselves against Glaser: Mordtmann (*Anzeige*, p. 182 *sq.*; *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 400; *Beitrage*, p. 105 *sq.*, 115); Sprenger, *Bemerkungen*, p. 502 *sq.*; E. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, ii. 382; Lagrange in the *Rev. bibl.*, 1902, xi. 256 *sq*; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. semit. Epigraphik*, ii. 101 *sq.*; Hartmann, *Z. A*, x. 25 *sq.* and in his main work, p. 4, 131 *sq.*; Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, i. 46 *sq.* etc. Meyer further pointed out that all previous assumptions regarding the history of the Semitic alphabet would be upset by Glaser's placing the Minaean inscriptions in the second millennium B. C. We can hardly place the origin of the Phoenician alphabet before 1000 B. C; the date of origin of the Minaean script, which is characterised by the regular, almost technical formation of geometrical figures, is certainly not earlier. This seems at once to take the ground from Glaser's theory. We must describe the dating of this alphabet to 2000 B. C. (Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 109, 146, Weber, *Westasien*, p 163, cf Hommel, *Explorations*, p. 730) or even "at the latest far back into the third millennium" (Weber, *Arabien*, p. 15) as a quite improbable hypothesis, in spite of all that has been ascertained in recent time regarding the oldest form of the Hebrew alphabet. Nor have the speculations regarding the South Arabian epigraphy which have been renewed by the discovery of what are known as the Kenite Sinai inscriptions led to anything Against the views of Hommel, Weber, Winckler, etc. Huart also says regarding the supposed age of the alphabet that the date 1500 is certainly much too high for the period of Minaean rule.

Graeco-Roman tradition also affords arguments on the Minaean question, notably the above quoted testimony of Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. 768, which has already been cited against Glaser by Halevy, D. H. Muller and others and of which Mordtmann has said that he cannot see how this passage is to be explained away. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 9 betrays the precariousness of his case when he says that he must assume without giving any reason that Eratosthenes was probably "mistaken"; i e. in his account true and false, past and present conditions are confused. Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 15 had previously sought to dispose of the contradiction between his views and the clear evidence of Eratosthenes by asserting without proof that the latter was wrongly informed. For the interpretation of this passage, for suspecting which neither Glaser nor Weber give any ground of proof or probability and, indeed, none can be given, it is decisive that according to it all four leading South Arabian peoples — including, of course, the Minaeans whom our author mentions first, as well as the Sabaeans and the other two — were under absolute rulers (*μοναρχοῦνται*). The fact that Eratosthenes gives for the time of his authority irrefutably the same kind of constitution, namely the regal, for Minaeans and for Sabaeans, cannot be disposed of by any artifice. It also shows what value there is in Glaser's assertion (Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 7 *sq.*) "that the classical authors nowhere mention a kingdom, but always only a land of Minaea", or in Winckler's

(*op. cit.*, p. 45) statement that between 500 and 200 B C, there were no Minaeans in North Arabia because there never had been any at any time. Grimme's doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 17) as to whether the Minaeans of the Greeks are the people in question in the inscriptions are also unfounded.

Against Glaser's theory the circumstance is also decisive (cf. Hartmann, *op cit*, p. 131 *sq*, 136) that, as we can deduce with absolute certainty from the mention of kings and kingdoms together in the inscriptions, there were kings of Ma'in and kings of Saba' reigning alongside of one another. To Glaser's argument that the two kingdoms practically never mention each other in their inscriptions, even Weber (*op. cit*, p. 18) was forced to confess that "the Minaeans actually brought themselves on two or three occasions to break the mysterious silence", and the Sabaeans likewise. But this means confessing the impossibility of holding this theory in any form.

Glaser's view that the Minaeans had already begun to decline soon after the Hyksos period (*op. cit*, p. 451) and had sunk into barbarism towards the end of the first century B C. (p 22, 69, 93, 95, 232), or were actually an extinct people (Weber, *Arabien*, p 31) is disposed of by the statement of Artemidoros (Strabo, xvi 776) and extracts by others from Agatharchides (§ 87, 97, in the middle) on the commercial activity and the wealth of the Minaeans and further by Pliny's statement regarding their independent position alongside of Saba' and their competition with the Sabaeans in the frankincense trade (see above), still more palpably by the significant fact that Ptolemy calls the Minaeans alone "a very great people" out of all the peoples of Southern Arabia.

The inscription of the Minaean sarcophagus of Gize, which shows that Minaeans were still supplying spices for the Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic period, and the Minaean and Greek inscription on Delos of the second century B C, which records the erection of an altar to Minaean gods, are likewise, as Praetorius has rightly observed (*Z D M G*, lxiii. 220), unfavourable to Glaser's theory, and, agreeing with the Greek and Roman evidence, are proofs that the people, language and culture of the Minaeans survived into the second century B. C. and certainly to a still later period.

The palaeography and grammar of the inscriptions likewise give no support to the Minaean theory. D. H. Muller was the first to point out that of the Sabaean inscriptions those written boustrophedon belong to the oldest period of Sabaean history and at the same time show the earliest forms of letters. Contradicting Hommel's (*A A*, p 22 *sq.*, *Chrestomathie*, p. 2, 6) suggestion that the Minaean inscriptions are older in grammar and epigraphy than the Sabaean, Mordtmann (*Beiträge*, p 107) held that the Minaean inscriptions that have survived to us are later than the oldest Sabaean texts and older than the Sabaean texts of the later period (*ibid.* p. xi., note 2) and that Hommel's deductions from the palaeography of the Minaean inscriptions were very wide of the mark.

He also insisted (*op. cit*, p. 106, *Z D M G*, xlvii. 400) that the fact that only one of the extant (or so far known) Minaean inscriptions is written boustrophedon, is not very much in favour of the claim for a very high antiquity for these inscriptions in contrast to the Sabaean. It must, of course, be remembered that there are texts written boustrophedon which are later than normal ones written from right to left. But although the Minaean alphabet may show occasional less developed forms, it is recognised (e. g by Weber, p. 11) that the forms of the Minaean letters on the whole agree perfectly with the Sabaean of the oldest period. In spite of the archaic features of the Minaean language in comparison with the Sabaean (on the dialectical distinctions between the two see D. H. Muller, *Burgen*, p. 1009; specially thorough, especially from the lexical point of view, is Mordtmann, *op. cit*, p. 107 *sq.*, *Z D M G*, lii. 400, Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 133, note 3), Hommel, *A. A*, p. 23, asserted that the Minaean inscriptions might nevertheless be later than the Sabaean or contemporary with them, as in them older forms — as happens elsewhere — might have survived into the latest period (see also Mordtmann, p. 115 on the more conservative retention of the older vocabulary in Minaean and (p. xi.) of archaic forms of the script), we need not take account of mixed forms of earlier and later origin occurring in one and the same text.

None of the grounds on which Glaser bases his theory are convincing (they are detailed in Weber, *op cit.*, p 7) That Sabaeans are so rarely mentioned in Minaean texts and Minaeans even more rarely in Sabaean sources, facts on which Glaser and his supporters lay so much stress, is explained partly from the relations of the two rivals (D H. Muller, *Burgen*, p 1031; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 135), partly from the fact that the "subject matter of the inscriptions, which are not in any sense annals, afford little opportunity for mentioning such matters" (Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note 1), as the texts preserved from this period deal mainly with the buildings and religious matters, being occasional or ad hoc inscriptions, and only rarely touch on foreign affairs (Lidzbarski, *op cit*, p 102) But these few references are quite sufficient to settle the main question. It is noteworthy that, although Grimme (*op cit.*, p. 17) still proposed to put the date of the earliest Minaean kings far beyond 1500 B. C., other champions of this theory, in calculating the earliest initial date for the Minaean kingdom, have now gone in the other direction and put it much below Glaser's figure. While Winckler in the first edition of Helmolt's *Westasien*, p. 244 still held that the Minaean period could hardly have begun after 1500 B C. (cf. p. 245), Weber significantly wrote in the second edition in the same passage (p 235) "hardly after 1200 B C." (cf. p. 237, "from about 1200 B C."). Hommel, although he still put the collapse of the Minaean kingdom about 650 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 396), and, according to him, the South Arabian (p. 394) inscriptions "begin from at least 800 B C, but more probably many centuries earlier", also later (here above i. 399 *sqq.*), says that Glaser's assumption would presuppose the placing of the Minaean kingdom from 1200 to 700 B. C. at least (in *Explorations*, p. 729 he still puts it at 1400—700 B. C.), and that at most it may be granted that "the oldest Sabaean inscriptions were contemporary with the latest Minaean" (above i. 399 *sqq.*). On Weber's clever defence, Lidzbarski (p. 101) says that it will hardly gain further adherents for the Minaean theory and Weber himself has to confess (*Glasers*

Forschungsreisen, p. 30) that "no obvious proof for Glaser's view has yet been produced".

Against the theory, in perfect agreement with the Greek and Roman authorities and the ancient South Arabian sources, most readily agreeing with them, and following D. H. Müller, we must insist that the kingdom of Ma'īn existed contemporaneously with that of Saba' and at the very earliest began in the eighth century B C. (see, for example, Mordtmann in *W. Z. K. M.*, viii. 371, Hartmann, *op. cit*, p. 132 etc) Its end did not come about 230 B.C. (so Hartmann, *op. cit.*; similarly Mordtmann, *Anzeige*, *Z D M G*, xliv. p. 184 and *Beitrage*, p. 106. "soon after Eratosthenes"), but it existed at least down to the second century B. C. Saba''s rivalry first with Ma'īn (and Katabān) as well as with the Himyars was of far reaching significance for its history. The period of transition from its oldest period, the so-called *mukarrib* period, the period of the priest-kings, and the next epoch, whose rulers residing in Ma'rib, contemporaries of the kings of Ḳatabān and Ḥaḍramōt, bear the title "kings of Saba'" (expressing the emancipation of the kingship from the priesthood) and whose beginning may be placed about 500 B. C, is represented for us by the great Ṣirwāh inscription (Glaser, N°. 1000) The following (the Himyarite) period, that of the "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān" (from the hill of ancestral citadel of Raidān, the name occurs in Sanskrit also as *Duryōdhana* [in the second book of the *Mahābhārata*]) and the last period (from 300 A. D to the end of the independence of Ḥaḍramōt, that of "the kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān and Ḥaḍramōt and Yemnat") have been sketched above.

At the period of the rise of Islām, Saba' was beginning to disappear from the memory of the Arab world. For Islām, which kindled new wars in the land and brought about the final collapse of the ancient kingdom, the decline of which had been begun by the Persians and Abyssinians, Saba' soon became an echo of the past, indeed, the very essence of the pre-Muḥammadan period, with which only scholars still concerned themselves. The new creed had the greatest interest in obliterating all recollection of the pagan period, not only in the stone monuments which still survived the natural weathering — these were destroyed to provide material for new buildings, or to be burned for lime or sometimes out of sheer vandalism — but also in literature, and even in consigning the ancient language to oblivion. This explains why, as Sprenger (*op. cit*, p. 244) rightly remarks, it would be useless labour to seek for any reliable information regarding the Sabaeans in Arabic sources. The relative value of the various sources for our knowledge of Saba' was estimated with equal accuracy by the most successful discoverer of inscriptions (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii 159) in his verdict that it was not the legendary tradition of the Arabs, containing very little matter of value and usually misleading, and not the poetry of the time shortly before and after Muḥammad, which would give us a true picture of the past, but "simply and solely the ancient inscriptions and the few statements in the classical authors". The relatively scanty references in Arabic authors may be divided for our purpose into two main groups. The one consists of valuable geographical and historical statements regarding architectural remains of Saba''s past and details of ancient Sabaean history, including archaeological matter and the other far less valuable legendary elements, which survived in tradition after the disappearance of Sabaean culture and which also permeated the quasi-historical references to the affairs of the Himyar state which lay nearer in point of time. The supreme authority for information of the first category, who, of all Muslim authors, gives us the most numerous and most valuable items of information regarding Saba', is al-Hamdānī whose "Description of the Peninsula of Arabia" is our main literary source for the geography of Arabia in general and who (he was a Yemenī, a native of Ṣan'ā), out of patriotic interest in the old buildings and other antiquities of South Arabia that still existed in his time, has collected everything associated with them, often, indeed, already interwoven with legend, in his *Iklīl*, a history of Yemen and a description of its antiquities. The part of the eighth book of the *Iklīl*, which still exists, describing the citadels was, edited for the first time (Arabic text and German translation with explanatory notes) by D. H Muller (*Die Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens nach dem Iklīl des Hamdānī*, *S B. Ak Wien*, 1879, xciv. 335 *sqq* and xcvii. 1881, p 955 *sqq*), who added additional notes from the tenth book, which deals with the genealogy of the Hamdān, as well as illuminative passages from the *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-'Arab*. Part i gives in the first place al-Hamdānī's account of Ghumdān and Ṣan'ā'; al-Hamdānī quotes verses on Ghumdān and then gives the story of the foundation of the building by Shem and South Arabian traditions regarding Ṣan'ā'; he goes on to give further information regarding the temperature of the country, the preservation of food in it, details regarding the topography of Ṣan'ā', the ruins of the citadel of Ghumdān, and quotes verses relating to it, which reflect the legends clinging to the castle as a wonder of architecture He next deals with Shibām-Yaskhum, the old monuments and great palaces in Shibām. Shibām Bait Aḳyān (cf. the descriptions in the *Djazīra* and Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 437, iii 248 *sq.*) Next comes the district of Dahr, Bait Ḥanbaṣ (cf. al-Bakrī, ed Wustenfeld, p 198 and the *Djazīra*) Ḥadakān and Riḍā', Ṣirwāh, one of the most celebrated castles of Yemen (verses are quoted), Ghaimān (the Himyar tradition regarding As'ad Tubba' is quoted, given in full in Kremer, *op. cit*, p. 86 *sq*) Dāmigh, Ẓafār and other citadels This is followed by a short list of the citadels of Sarw (highlands of the Ḥimyars) and Hadramōt. Al-Hamdānī's description of Ma'rib and Saba' is important for its subject matter, on the basis of which Muller (in Part ii) endeavoured on several points to throw a brighter light on ancient Saba' and in particular to show that it is the inscriptions which must be used for the reconstruction of the lists of Sabaean kings rather than the statements of Arab tradition Al-Hamdānī's description deals with the state of the remains of the dam, the inundation which spoiled the dam, the citadels of Ma'rib (with quotations from the poets). Al-Hamdānī's unhistorical statements regarding the builder of the dam (Luḳmān b. 'Ād, a mythical personage) are corrected by the evidence of inscriptions which mention Ithi'amar Bayin as the builder. It is worthy of note that Arnaud's description of the remains of the dam and Halévy's report agree with al-Hamdānī's account in the main details. O

the Yemenī citadel of Rawthān (between al-Djōf and Ma'rib) al-Hamdānī says that it at one time belonged to the family of the Nashḳ (on which he also gives information in the tenth book, following him also Nashwān, *Shams al-ʿulūm*; Müller, *op. cit*, ii. 1001, note 3). In the Minaean area he mentions the citadels of Barāḳish and Maʿīn (with quotations from the poets).

The *Djazīra* also contains geographical details regarding the territory of Saba', which, however, no more enables us to form a comprehensive impressive picture than the scattered notices in later Arab geographers, because they consist almost entirely of isolated names; and it is difficult to form a general idea from them. D. H. Müller, in editing the text (2 vols., Leiden 1889—1891) had therefore to struggle with extraordinary difficulties. Glaser, who, like Sprenger before him, had made very great use of al-Hamdānī, was later able to test the readings of this edition on the spot for the areas in which he travelled from his own observations and the evidence of natives.

The few memories of the history of the Sabaean period that have survived in the prose or poetic traditions of the Arabs are beyond the range of our consideration, as they have more or less assumed the form of legend. A. v. Kremer, *op cit.* (cf his *Altarabische Gedichte ueber die Volkssage von Jemen*, Leipzig 1867), has collected the essential matter on the subject. In tradition also we find analogies to the Greek stories (cf. e. g von Kremer, p. 150 on Dhū Fā'ish) The building of the dam at Ma'rib or at least its improvement was attributed to Queen Bilḳīs (cf above), legends also became associated with the inundation. In the division of the pre-Muḥammadan history of Yemen in the Arab historians into three periods (the first down to Tubbaʿ Abū Karib, the second to Dhū Nuwās and the third to Islām) still reflects the actual division into Sabaean, Himyarite and Abyssinian-Persian epochs (Muller, *Burgen*, i. 338). Even the lists of Ḥimyarite kings preserved by these historians have no scientific value and at most give us a few old names which were adopted by the genealogists, but can have no claim to historical accuracy. Besides, these lists of kings refer only to the later period of Ḥimyarite history (*ibid.* ii 981, 997).

More important for us are the items of information found in Muslim literature regarding the social and economic life of ancient and more modern Saba', which link up with the inscriptions and Graeco-Roman sources. The finds made in the country itself are in harmony with the various classical literary sources, which agree in showing that the Sabaeans attained the greatest importance of all Arab peoples of the pre-Muḥammadan period, in particular of the four leading peoples of South Arabia who were known even to the Greeks, these still extant monuments of the once highly developed civilisation, to which Sabaea mainly owed its historical importance, consist of the inscriptions found since Arnaud's journey of exploration, sculptures and remains of colonnades, palaces, temples, city-walls, towers, public works, especially water-works etc, which confirm the brilliant picture of Sabaean culture given by Agatharchides and the writers after him (see above) and at the same time show that even the legends of Islāmic tradition concerning the former glory of the Ḥimyar kingdom have a historical basis. Striking evidence of this in Arabic literature is the above mentioned description of Ghumdān in al-Hamdānī and the poetic references to this much admired citadel (see Müller, *Burgen*, i 345 *sqq.*) as well as to other citadels in Saba', e. g. Salḥīn and Bainūn. Agatharchides's remarks on the splendid buildings of the kings and private individuals in Saba' and the descriptions of Sabaean castles by the Arabs are confirmed by the testimony of the inscriptions, which to a great extent commemorate the building of houses (palaces) and fortifications Of public works built to assist agriculture like barriers and dams, the most celebrated was the dam of Ma'rib. The ancient South Arabians achieved great things in the way of irrigation works in view of the dependence of their agriculture on artificial irrigation. In the South Arabian inscriptions these are frequently mentioned (cf. the references collected by Hartmann, *op. cit*, p. 398 *sq.* and the discussions in Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. (e. g. p. 78 *sq.* etc). Cisterns of the Ḥimyar period may still be seen in South Arabia to day.

This civilisation, on which since Arnaud's time the finds and observations of Halévy and especially of Glaser have thrown new light, owed its rise to the industry and commerce of the Sabaeans, in particular to the cultivation of frankincense The land offered all the necessary conditions for its cultivation According to al-Hamdānī (*Djazīra*, p. 51, 8) Yemen was called *al-Khaḍrāʾ* "the green", on account of its wealth in trees, fruits and crops (cf Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *B G A*, v. 34). Even Agatharchides's description of the richness of the flora of Saba' is quite satisfactorily explained by the natural formation of the country. The healthy, temperate interior of Yemen and Ḥaḍramōt produces a rich vegetation on the slopes of the hills and in the valleys. Accounts of modern journeys also bear testimony to the fertility of the soil of Yemen, and also to diminution in its woods. Al-Masʿūdī's description, based on older authorities, of Saba' as "the most luxurious and most fertile part of Yemen, rich in gardens, plantations and meadows", with a "splendid climate" (cf Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 1) is in close keeping with Agatharchides's praise of the wealth of Saba'.

The uniformity of the temperature in the region of Ṣanʿāʾ is emphasised by al-Hamdānī (Muller, *Burgen*, i. 343) Glaser and other travellers record that the temperature of the higher regions of Yemen is temperate and favourable to vegetation.

A parallel to the statement of Agatharchides that the Sabaeans provided the Ptolemies and Syrians with gold and the Phoenicians with costly wares of the most varied kinds, is found in the Biblical passages already mentioned, relating to the Sabaean exports of frankincense, gold and jewels to Egypt and Syria. South Arabia from the earliest times had been the very land of frankincense and the Sabaeans in particular, as inhabitants of the most fertile parts of the southern half of Yemen and owners of the frankincense country, were naturally destined to trade especially in spices. The idea — expressed in Strabo (xvi. iv. § 19, 22) — that the trade in spices was the source of the wealth of the Sabaeans is already found in I Kings, x. 1 *sq.* Adana was the great centre for trade with India and Egypt (Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία,

Periplus, p. 26; Ptolemy, vi. 7, 9; Mela, iii. 8, 6; Pliny, vi. 159; Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 5), and 'Aden [q. v.] still is "the natural centre of the circle formed by Africa, Arabia, Mesopotamia and India" (W. Schmidt, *Das sudwestl. Arabien*, Frankfurt a. M. 1913, p. 101, who, like Mommsen, *Romische Geschichte*[3], v. 611) wrongly speaks of a destruction of Adana by the Romans in the first century A. D.). The references in inscriptions to sacred vessels of gold and silver, mediaeval finds of gold (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 79; cf Müller, *Burgen*, ii. 1008, *Sudarabische Studien*, p. 135 *sq.*, Sprenger, *op. cit*, p 56 *sq*), modern gold-washing, reported by Halévy and Glaser, and lastly the archaeological finds of Sabaean silver and gold coins and gems (on gems see al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, Müller, *Burgen*, i. 366, 374, *Sudarabische Altertumer*, Vienna 1899; Glaser, *op. cit*, p. 367, Landberg, *Arabica*, v. 128, on finds of coins see Schlumberger, *Le trésor de Sanâ'*, Paris 1880, D. H. Müller, *Sudarabische Altertumer*, Vienna 1899, pp. 65—78, Pl. xiv; E. S G. Robinson in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp 365—368, G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins of Arabia*, 1922, passim; do., *Ancient Coins of South Arabia*, in the *Proceed. of Brit. Acad*, London 1915), all corroborate the accounts preserved in Diodoros from Strabo (following Agatharchides) of gates, walls, ceilings, pillared walls of Sabaean houses embellished with gold, silver and jewels, and of the gold and silver drinking vessels and other valuable household utensils and (the above-mentioned) Greek, Roman and Arabic literary references to the occurrence of natural gold (and silver, according to al-Hamdānī [cf Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 283 *sq.*] and other sources, also to modern authories [*ibid*, p. 158]).

Research has recently been devoted to the economic life of ancient South Arabia also Rhodokanakis was the first to deal systematically with economic and the associated legal questions from the inscriptions (*Die Bodenwirtschaft* in *Studien*, vol. ii., and in his later [above mentioned] articles). From these studies it is clear that there existed in ancient South Arabia a strict system of regulation and administration of agriculture, dictated by national interests, especially a strict regulation of the distribution of water and of the actual tilling of the soil, and we gain an insight into a strictly regulated organisation of labour, into conditions of ownership and legal views, into the economic organisation of the state and of the temples. Historically important is the fact that the system of land administration and the constitution were (in the main at least) the same in all ancient South Arabian states.

Rhodokanakis's investigations into the economic conditions inspired A. Grohmann to his researches the results of which he has given in his work already mentioned (an earlier specimen was given in his *Die altorientalische Agrarwirtschaft* in the *Berichte des Forschungsinstitutes fur Osten und Orient*, ii. Vienna 1918, p. 34 *sq*). It deals with the land (geology, climate, water-supply), population, indigenous products (especially aromatic plants), mineral wealth, hunting, cattle-rearing and agriculture. Especially valuable are the many references from inscriptions and literary sources and from records by travellers (including works by Glaser still in manuscript). Grohmann gave himself a much wider subject than W. Schmidt, who laid most stress on economic geography in his work (above quoted) and writes with special knowledge on modern trade and commerce; his historical observations suffer from the fact that he is not an Orientalist.

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iii. 41 *sq.* (from his papers: *A. v. Wrede's Reise in Ḥadhramaut*, by H v. Maltzan, Braunschweig 1870, with plate); K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., Berlin 1847 (comprehensive survey based on all then known accounts of Arabia); *Eben Safir* (see above); J. Halévy, 1) *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yemen*, *J. A*, 1872, series 6, vol. xix. (*Itinéraire*, p 8 *sqq*, *Classement des inscriptions*, p. 60 *sqq.*, *Inscriptions Sabéennes*, p. 129 *sqq.*, *Traduction*, p. 489 *sqq.*), 2) *Voyage du Nedjran*, *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1873, series 6, vol. vi., 1877, vol. xiii ; S. B. Miles and W. Munzinger, *Account of an Excursion into the Interior of Southern Arabia*, *J. R Geogr. Soc.*, 1874, xli.; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Sudarabien*, Braunschweig 1873; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1874, xliv.; R. Manzoni, *El Yemen, Tre anni nell' Arabia Felice*, Rome 1884; H. Kiepert, *Schapiras Reise in Yemen* in *Globus*, 1880, xxxviii. 183 *sqq.*; S. Langer, *Reiseberichte aus Syrien und Arabien*, Vienna 1883; E Glaser, 1) *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Ḥâschid*, *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.*, 1884, xxx. 170 *sqq.*, 204 *sqq.*, 2) *Von Ḥodeida nach Ṣan'â*, ibid , 1886, xxxii. 1 *sqq.*, 33 *sqq*, 3) *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, *M. G. G. W.*, 1887, p 18 *sqq*, 77 *sqq.*, 4) *E. Glasers Reise nach Marib*, by F. Hommel, *Beil. z. Munch. Allg. Ztg*, 1888, N°. 293, 294, 5) *Bericht uber die vierte Reise*, *Mittel. der Ges. z. Forderung deutscher Wissensch. ... in Bohmen*, Nov. 1, 1894, 6) *Bericht uber einen Vortrag Glasers uber seine vierte Reise*, *Beil. z. Munch. Allg. Ztg*, 1894, N°. 97, 7) *E. Glasers Reise nach Mārib*, ed by D. H. Müller and N Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913 (*Sammlung E. Glaser*, i.); A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1887; F. T. Haig, *A Journey through Yemen* in the *Proc R. Geogr. Soc*, 1887, vol. ix , (Harris see above), L. Hirsch, 1) *Reisen in Sud-Arabien*, *Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leiden 1896 (on it cf. Glaser, *Peterm Mitt*, xliii. 1897, *Litteraturber.*, p. 37 *sq.*), 2) *Neue Wanderungen in Yemen* in *Globus*, lxxiv. (1898), ii 204 *sqq.*, 221 *sqq.*; C. Landberg, *Die sudarab Expedition der Akad. der Wissensch in Wien*, Munich 1899; D. H Müller, 1) *Die sudarab. Expedition der Akad. in Wien*, Vienna 1899, 2) *Zur Geschichte der sudarab. Expedition*, Vienna 1907; P. Charnay, *Une excursion au Yémen*, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Anvers*, 1899, xxiii. 79 *sq.*; A. Bardey, *Rapport sur El-Yemen*, *Bull. de Géogr. hist.*, 1899; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, *Z G. E. B.*, 1902, p 593 *sqq* ; W. Hein, 1) *Vorlaufiger Bericht uber die Reise nach 'Aden und Gischin*, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1902, xxxix, 107 *sq.*, 2) *Sudarabische Itinerarien*, *MGG Wien*, iv. 1914, p. 32 *sqq.*; A. Beneyton, *Mission d'études au Yémen* in *La Géographie*, xxvii., 1913. — From Glaser's still unpublished papers Grohmann very frequently quotes his diaries and "in addition also G. W. Bury's description of his journey to Baiḥān in 1899" (*op. cit.*, p. ix.; p. 56, note 1: *Expedition to Bèḥân*, *MS.*; also p. 4, note 1 etc.; Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915; also passim: *The Land of Uz*, London 1911, and *Notes*); also Glaser's unpublished essay *Ostjemen und Nordḥaḍramaut*, p. 139 etc. — The following are exclusively concerned with present day conditions in the area once covered by the ancient Sabaeo-Ḥimyar kingdom which roughly corresponds to the modern Yemen (from about 19° N. Lat., Djebel Tathlith, to the south coast and in the east as far as Ḥawra): Zwemer, *Arabia*, Chicago 1901; Raif Fuad-Bey, *Land und Leute im heutigen Jemen* in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1912, lviii , part 2; E. Behn, *Jemen, Grundzuge der Bodenplastik und ihr Einfluss auf Klima und Lebewelt*, Diss. Marburg 1910, apart from meteorological, astronomical and natural history researches and several monographs by Glaser, Bent and others. W. Schmidt's and A Grohmann's books have been already mentioned. On commercial activity on the south coast at the present day information is given by the *Report of the Aden Chamber of Commerce* (Aden from 1898 onwards). To the works mentioned in the beginning of the bibliography we may here add the following: J. Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, *J A*, 1873, series 7, vols i.; ii.; A Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit 100 Jahren*, Halle 1875, D. H. Müller, 1) *Sudarabische Studien*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1877, lxxxvi. 103 *sqq* , 2) *Epigraphische Denkmaler aus Abessinien*, *Denkschr. Ak Wien*, xlii. (1894), E. Glaser, 1) *Zwei Inschriften uber den Dammbruch von Mārib*, *M. V. A G* , 1897, 2) *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, Munich 1906, 3) *Die Abessinier in Arabien*, Munich 1895, 3) *Punt und die sudarabischen Reiche*, *M. V. A. G*, 1899, p. 51 *sqq* ; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich 1904, Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; J. Tkač, *Saba* (*R. E.*, s v., cols. 1298—1511 where this material has been dealt with by me with special reference to Greek and Roman literature).

The earlier publications of inscriptions (Bird, Fresnel [to supplement the statement *R. E*, col. 1400, reference should be made to col. 1402 ' the copies as well as the transcriptions of the inscriptions with the philological observations 194 *sq.* in letters to Mohl are from Fresnel], Prideaux, Rehatsek, Langer [published by D. H Muller, *Z D M. G*, 1883, xxxvii. 319 *sq.*], Mordtmann, Derenbourg, etc.) are given in greater detail in the Paris *Corpus* (see above) and in the more recent publications. Of these we will mention the more comprehensive here: J. H. Mordtmann, 1) *Ḥimjarische Inschriften und Altertumer in den Konigl. Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1893, 2) *Musée Impérial Ottoman*, *Antiquités Himyarites* . . ., Constantinople 1898 ; D H Müller, *Sudarabische Altertumer im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum*, Vienna 1899; H. Derenbourg, 1) *Les monuments sabéens et himyarites du Musée .... de Marseille*, *Rev. Archéol*, 1899, series 3, vol. xxxv; 2) *Répert. d'Epigraphie sém.*, i. (1901 *sq*), ii. (1907). Of the *Inschriften der sudarabischen Expedition der Akademie in Wien* (collected in 1899) so far only a few have been published (in the publications of Rhodokanakis). — For Sabaean studies, the researches made on the modern dialects of South Arabia are also important. Beginnings were made as early as H. v. Maltzan in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1873, xxvii. and others have followed him. Count C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i , *Ḥaḍramoût*, ii., *Dathina* (Leiden 1901—1913) are valuable. Rich material is contained in the "*Schriften der südarabischen Expedition*" of the Academy in Vienna,

i.—x. (1900—1910, Somālī, Mehrī, Ḥaḍramī, Soḳoṭrī, Ẓfār, ed. by L. Reinisch, D. H. Müller, A. Jahn, N. Rhodokanakis) finally M. Bittner's *Studien* on Mehrī, Soḳoṭrī and Shḥawrī in *S B Ak. Wien*, clxii. 1909 *sqq.* (J. Tkatsch)

[All previous works on the extensive ancient coinages of South Arabia have been superseded by G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia in the British Museum*, London 1922, pp. xliv.—lxxxiv., 45—80, Plates VII—XI, L and LV. A full bibliography is given on p. xlv. It is now certain that the greater part of the coins hitherto vaguely classed as "Himyarite" are really Sabaean and that small groups of coins may also be attributed to the Minaeans and Katabānians. — Editorial].

ṢABANDJA, chief place of the *nāḥiya* of the same name, picturesquely situated on the South-eastern bank of lake Ṣabandja which is well known for its clear water and its many fishes S. belongs to the *wilāyet* Stambul and to the Sandjaḳ Ismīd It is the residence of a *Mudīr* and has about 8000 inhabitants (of whom three-quarters are Muslims), 15 mosques, 2 *Madrasa*'s, 15 schools and about 1200 houses (cf V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* iv. 378) Of the history of the town little is known, there are remains from the Byzantine period, not however from antiquity. The origin of the name is obscure; Ewliyā Čelebī reports that a certain Ṣabandjī Ḳudja founded the town (cf *Travels*, transl. by J v. Hammer, London 1850, ii. 91), but this report is probably not trustworthy and the personage mentioned is apparently a *hero eponymus*. More trustworthy seems the statement that the grand-wezīr of Sulaimān the Great, Ṣārī Rustem Pasha, founded a mosque, a public bath and an inn with 170 rooms in the town, a statement which concords with local tradition (cf. M. Kleonymos and Chr. Papadopoulos, *βιβυνικά*, Constantinople 1861, p. 41) The place was only of some importance as a post-station, nowadays it is a railway halting-place. Of greater importance is the lake, especially because of the projected canalisation which was planned long ago, but never was carried out Pliny (*Epist. ad Trajanum*, ed Kukula, Leipsic 1912, N°. 41, 42, 61 and 62) mentions ancient remains (*op cit.*, p 290 28), he proposed to Trajan to bring about a communication with the Gulf of Ismīd. The lake is 15 km long and reaches a breadth of 5 km, it occupies an area of 98 sq km and has a circumference of 36 km (cf. Cuinet, o.c. iv. 334). It is already mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xvvi. 8, 3 under the name of lacus sumonensis (= suphonensis?; cf. W. Tomaschek (*S B Ak. Wien*, vol. 124, 1891, N°. 8, p. 7) In mediaeval authors the mountain at the lake is called Siphones (G. Pachymeres, ed. Bekker ii. 332. 8), Siphon (Anna Comnena who calls the lake *Βαάνη λίμνη*; cf ed. Reifferscheid ii. 72, 23; the reading *Βοάνη λίμνη* in Euagrius ii. 14 is to be corrected into *Κιανή λίμνη*; cf. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier in *Revue de l'instruction publ. en Belgique* xl. [1897], p. 13-15 and *Byz. Zeitschrift* vi. 457), Sophon (Georg Cedrenus, *Hist.*, ed. Bekker ii. 371, 628; Skylitzes, p. 710; Niceph. Bryenn. p. 77, 79, 82; Michael Att., p. 189; Theophanes, p. 610). Ṣabandja is perhaps a popular transformation of Sophon.

The project of the canal (see above) was discussed several times, but without succes, in the Muslim era, e. g. during the reign of Murād III in 999/1591 (the year 909 in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 666, 12 is due to a printer's error and has given rise to mistakes, cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reiches*, iv. 200 note; further during the reign of Muṣṭafā III in 1578 and later also (cf. Baron de Tott [Tóth], *Mémoires*,, i. 97). Cf. further the

Bibliography: On Ṣabandja: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Siyāḥat Nāme*, Constantinople 1314—18, ii. 171 *sq.*, 459 *sqq.*, v. 74; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p. 666, 673, 11; transl. M. Norberg ii. 493 (cf. J. Otter, *Voyage* ii. 45); *Le voyage de M d'Aramon par Jean Chesneau*, Paris 1887, p 61 *sq.*; J. B Tavernier, *Voyages* i. 6; P. Lucas, *Voyages* i. 204 *sq* ; Fr. La Boullaye-le-Gouz, *Voyages et observations*, Paris 1653: Sacabangi; R Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii. 95; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien* i. 669 *sq.*; J. A. Cramers, *Asia Minor*, Oxford 1832, i. 188; James Mouier, *Journey through Persia* etc, London 1812, p. 408 (on the projected canal under the wezīr Koprulu); Rémi Aucher Eloy, *Relations de voyages en Orient*, Paris 1843, ii. 376, W. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii. 25, J v. Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise*, Pesth 1818, p. 128—142 (with copious materials on the projected canal); Ch. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, i. 51; X Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie*, Paris 1859, i 23 (cf *Courier de Constantinople*, May 29th 1847 and *Das Ausland*, 1855, p 415—418); an illustration in Léon de Laborde, *Voyage de Syrie* etc, Paris 1838, *sqq.*, N°. xvii. plate —. On the projected canal, cf. J. Solch in *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geographen der Universitat Leipzig*, i (1911), p 36—56, C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. 669 *sqq* ; *Revue historique ottomane* (*T O E M*), iii. (1328), p 948 *sqq.*; J. B. Tavernier, i. 6; Alberi, *Relazioni*, 3rd series i. 420; Wāṣif i. 162 (year 1177/1758) also in J. v Hammer, *Umblick*, p. 177. — In Selānikī's *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1281, p. 277, 282 *sq.* the lake is called Ajāz golu instead of Iyān golu; cf. lacus Ivanis in Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm*, p. 57, 18 (from this form preceded by the usual *εἰς* the name could be derived as well); J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte d. Osm. Reiches*, i. 72, 578; iv. 200 (after Selānikī); F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipsic 1924, p. 93 *sq*, 245; W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 188. (Franz Babinger)

SABBIḤ, title of Sūra lxxxvii. of the Ḳurʾān, which is also called al-Aʿlā, after the last word of the first verse.

AL ṢĀBI', Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī was an adherent of the sect of Ṣābi'ans [see the art. ṢĀBI'A] and was born on the 5th of Ramaḍān, 313 A.H., according to the most trustworthy authority, his grandson Hilāl, while the *Fihrist* gives the year 320, which is certainly too late a date. His father Hilāl was a skilful doctor and in the service of Tūzūn, who died in 324 A. H. Ibrāhīm was brought up to the same sciences as other members of his family, who were all skilled in medicine, astronomy and mathematics. He is stated to have made an astrolabe of the size of a large silver coin for al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAbd Allāh, the Wazīr of the Būyid Amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla. At an early date, however, he gave up these pursuits and became

a secretary in the State-chancellery, and here he came into prominence when the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla (died 356 A.H.) sent a messenger to the Wazīr al-Muhallabī asking him to draw up without loss of time a letter to Muḥammad b. Ilyās, governor of Kirmān, to ask his daughter in marriage for prince Bakhtiyār, the later Amīr 'Izz al-Dawla. The Wazīr, his friends and secretaries had been having a heavy drinking-bout and only Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' was capable of drawing up the desired document, which found general approval. He must have come prominently to the notice of Mu'izz al-Dawla, who in the year 349 A H on the death of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibn Thawāba appointed him chief secretary of the department of State-documents (Dīwān al-Inshā'). The Amīr tried his utmost to convert him to Islām, offering him even the post of Wazīr as a reward, but he refused and remained true to his religious convictions till his death. However, he was a man of good manners and complied as such as much as possible with Muslim customs and fasted during the month of Ramaḍān, besides, his knowledge of the Ḳur'ān was perfect and he quoted from it frequently in his official letters Upon the death of Mu'izz al-Dawla he retained his post in the Chancellery under his son 'Izz al-Dawla and in the year 364 A. H. when the latter's uncle 'Adud al-Dawla came to Baghdād it was part of Ibrāhīm's duty to draw up the contract for an amicable settlement about their respective positions 'Adud al-Dawla had at first been very favorably disposed towards Ibrāhīm and invited him to come to Shīrāz, which he refused to do as he feared his relations during his absence might be converted to Islām. The document, however, contained terms which offended 'Aḍud al-Dawla, especially as 'Izz al-Dawla was given the prerogatives of his father Mu'izz al-Dawla, which incurred the hatred of 'Aḍud-al-Daula. The quarrel between the uncle and his nephew was disastrous for Ibrāhīm, for when 'Izz al-Dawla was killed in 367 A. H. and 'Aḍud al-Dawla entered Baghdād, he was apprehended on Saturday, the 26th of Dhu 'l-Ka'da. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had vowed that he would have him trampled to death by elephants, but several prominent persons, among them the Wazīr al-Muṭahhar b 'Abd-Allāh interceded for him and he was cast into prison, where he lingered several years. To give him a chance to regain the favour of 'Aḍud al-Dawla he was ordered while in prison to write a history of the Būyid dynasty, which was to have the title *Kitāb al-Tādjī*, after the new title of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Tādj al-Milla. The Amīr made it his business to read the sheets of the work himself as they were composed and to make such corrections as he desired. Ibrāhīm, annoyed at the mode in which the work was composed, had the indiscretion to tell a friend upon his enquiry how the work was proceeding, that what he was writing was lies and bagatelles which he was scribbling. This remark was conveyed to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and only the death of the latter saved Ibrāhīm from violent death. After the accession of Sharaf al-Dawla he was released from prison on the 20th of Djumādā I, 371 A. H. He was compelled to live the remainder of his days in retirement and died on Thursday the 12th of Shawwāl, 384 at the age of 71 years. Some authorities state that he attained the age of 91 years, but both the date of his death and his age are confirmed by the superscriptions of the elegy which the Sharīf al-Raḍī composed upon his death (ed. Beirut, i. 294; British Museum, Add. 25750 and Add. 19410). He was buried in the Shūnīzī cemetery at Baghdād. The elegy of al-Raḍī was a token of a long and sincere friendship and when reproached about mourning an unbeliever, he replied that he mourned him for his personal merits. The poem is also quoted in extenso by Tha'ālibī in the Yatīma (ed. Damascus, ii. 81—85). Of the works of Ibrāhīm the *Kitāb al-Tādjī* is lost, but it is quoted occasionally by later historians e. g Mirkhwānd, *Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Būjeh* (ed. Wilcken, Berlin 1832), p. 13 of the Persian text, and anonymously by Ibn Miskawaih, Arabic text ii. 21—22, 23, 53, 59, 86, 87, 404 The genealogy of the Būyids quoted by Mirkhwānd *l. c*, seems to confirm the statement of Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a (i. 224, 12) attributes the *Kitāb al-Tādjī* erroneously to Sinān b Thābit Ibrāhīm's other works are: 2) a history of his own family, which is also lost. His reputation rests rather upon his 3) *Rasā'il* or official letters which were collected and have come down to us (MS. Leiden 345, Paris 3314) and of which many examples are quoted in the *Yatīma*, the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, the *Ṣubh al-A'shā* of Ḳalḳashandī and the *Ma'āhid al-Tanṣīṣ*. They are historically of the highest importance as they supplement our knowledge of the period of the decay of the caliphate. Though the Persian influence is noticeable in the diffuseness of his style, it is free fom Sadj', and lucid when compared with later specimens of the same art. 4). His poems, of which ample specimens are quoted in the works mentioned above and in many anthologies, are not to be distinguished from the productions of other poets of his time. They contain verses in praise of notable persons of the age, among them the wazīr al-Muhallabī (died 358 A H), al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abd Allāh, wazīr of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (committed suicide in 369 A H.), 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Sābūr b Ardashīr, wazīr of Bahā' al-Dawla (deposed 381 A. H), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf, successor of Sābūr, Shams al-Dawla (reigned 372—388) and others; among his elegies is one upon his son Sinān.

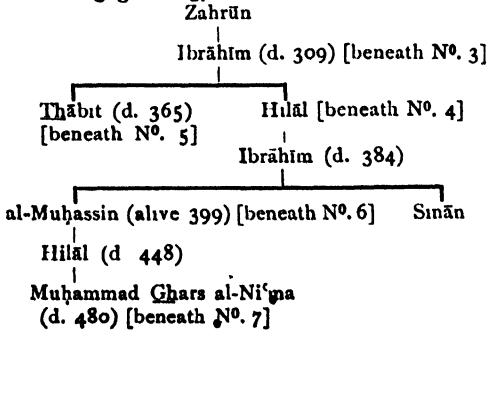
Bibliography Fihrist, 134; Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* (ed Damascus), ii 23—86, i 14, 69, 187, 188, 190, 528, Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), No. 12 = Cairo 1310, i 12; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, i 324—358; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 397, ix 11, 74, 226; Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Constantinople, ii. 136), Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, Introduction, p. 3, Ḳiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*; Muḥammad Bakir, *Rawḍat al-ḏjinān* (ed. Teherān), p. 45 and 141; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Ṣālihānī, p. 307; Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. Cairo), i. 40; *Ma'āhid al-Tanṣīṣ* (ed. 1316), i. 53, 154—161, 174, 227, 257; ii. 114—115. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 149; Chwolson, *SSabier* (St. Petersburg 1856); Brockelmann, *Gesch arab. Lit*, i. 96; Casiri, *MSS. in the Escorial*, i. 405; Nizam al-Din, *Introduction to the Djawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt of Muḥammad 'Awfī* (Dissertation Cambridge, Univ. Libr). (F. KRENKOW)

2. HILĀL B. AL-MUḤASSIN AL-ṢĀBI', the grandson of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl was born in Shawwāl 359 A. H. and was a Sabi'an like the other members of his family. His mother was the sister of the physician and historian Thābit b. Sinān b. Ḳurra. He was the first member of his family who forsook

his old faith and became a Muslim. This was in the year 399 in consequence of a dream he had. He was secretary of Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf, who at his death had with him on deposit the sum of 30,000 dīnārs. He was afraid to make use of the money, fearing the interference of the wazīr Mu'ayyid al-Mulk al-Ḥasan al-Rukhkhadjī (died 430 A H); but when the latter found it out, he allowed him to keep the money. He did not use it, however, as he was in State-employ and left it to his son Ghars al-Niᶜmat. He died on Thursday the 17th of Ramaḍān, 448 A.H. The nine works which he composed have all been lost except the fragments edited by H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1904. They consisted of the following: 1) *Taᵓrīkh*, a history in continuation of that of his father-in-law Thābit b. Sinān, containing the events of the years 360—447. Of this the fragment published contains events of the years 389—393 only, and the portion preserved makes us regret the loss of the remainder. He relied for the earlier parts upon much valuable information supplied by his grandfather, who for so many years had access to all the most important documents 2) *Kitāb al-Wuzarāᵓ*, a continuation of the works of al-Ṣūlī and al-Djahshiyārī Of this only the beginning is preserved in the printed edition and some of the most important lives of wazīrs are lost. This work is quoted under the title *Kitāb al-Aᶜyān wa'l-Amthāl* by Ibn Ẓāfir in the *Badāᵓiᶜ al-Badāᵓih* (Cairo 1316, i. 63, 169; ii. 102), where fragments of a later portion are preserved Ibn Khallikān calls this work by the longer title *Kitāb al-Amāthil wa'l-Aᶜyān wa Mutanaḍḍa 'l-ᶜAwāṭif wa'l-Iḥsān* and states that it is in one volume and contains pleasant stories and rare anecdotes 3) *Ghurar al-Balāgha fi'l-Rasāᵓil*, a collection of his own epistles 4) *Kitāb Risālāt ᶜan il-Mulūk wa'l-Wuzarāᵓ*, a collection of official letters, resembling that of his grandfather. 5) *Kitāb Rusūm Dār il-Khilāfa*, probably an exposition of the various public offices in Baghdād 6) *Kitāb Akhbār Baghdād*, chronicle of the city of Baghdād 7) *Kitāb Maᶜāthir Ahlihi*, chronicle of his own family. 8) *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, a manual for secretaries, probably after the model of the work with the same title by al-Ṣūlī. 9) *Kitāb al-Siyāsa.*

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Wuzarāᵓ*, Introduction, p 5—7, 13, Khaṭīb, *Taᵓrīkh Baghdād*, Ms. B. M.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wustenfeld, N⁰. 756 = Cairo 1310, ii. 202.; Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Thamarāt al Awrāḳ* (Cairo 1304), i. 76, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 501 and 749, v. Kremer, *Denksch. Ak Wien*, xxxvi. 283—362; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschr.*, 198; Brockelmann, *Gesch Arab. Litt.*, i 323

Other members of the family according to the following genealogy were



3. Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn was a skillful doctor and came from al-Raḳḳa to Baghdād where he died on the 20th of Ṣafar, 309 A. H. Ibn Abī Uṣaibiᶜa, i 227; Ḳiftī, *Ḥukamāᵓ* (ed. Cairo 1326), p. 55.

4. Hilāl b. Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn Abu 'l-Ḥusain, the father of Ibrāhīm, was a clever physician and in the service of the amir Tūzūn. Ḳiftī, *Ḥukamāᵓ* (ed. Cairo), p. 229.

5. Thābit b. Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn, also a physician, was an old man when ᶜAḍud al-Dawla came to Baghdād in 364 A.H. Though at first not well received he was later granted a pension and died the 11th of Dhu'l-Ḳaᶜda, 365 A. H. He was born at al-Raḳḳa on the 27th of Dhu'l-Ḳaᶜda, 283 A. H. Ibn Abī Uṣaibiᶜa, i. 227—230; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i. 341.

6. Al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm Abū ᶜAlī transmitted the books of Sinān b Thābit b. Ḳurra. Ibn Abī Uṣaibiᶜa, i. 224—227; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i. 339 *sqq*.

7. Muḥammad b Hilāl Abu 'l-Hasan Ghars al-Niᶜma, son of the historian Hilāl. He was born in 416 A H. and inherited at the death of his father valuable property which was valued at 12,000 dīnārs; he lived a very quiet life and by improving his wealth he was worth 70,000 dīnārs when he died in 480 A. H. His children soon squandered this wealth, and with him the glory of his family ended. He had founded a small library of 400 volumes of which Ibn al-Aḳsāsī was made librarian, but the latter proved to be dishonest and sold many of the books. Ghars al-Niᶜmat was also for a time in the chancellery of the caliph al-Ḳāᵓim. He tried to continue the history of his father, but it was only a small volume and became towards the end very succinct, probably because he dared not write all he wanted to say. According to al-Ṣafadī, Hibat-Allāh b. al-Mubārak accuses him of having included many falsehoods in his history. We cannot verify this as all his works have been lost. His other works were 2) *al-Hafawāt al-Nādira min al-Mughaffilīn al-Maḥẓūẓin wa'l-Saḳaṭāt al-Bārida min al-Mughaffalin al-Malhuẓin* which contained historical tales, and 3) *Kitāb al-Rabiᶜ* which was after the model of the *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarat* of al-Tanūkhī Ibn Khallikān (ed. Cairo 1310), ii. 202; Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Ḥukamāᵓ* (ed. Cairo), p. 77; Ṣafadī, *Wāfi 'l-Wafayāt*, British Museum, MS. Or 5320, fol 110r.

(F. Krenkow)

Al-Ṣābi'a, the Sabaeans. This name has been given to two quite distinct sects 1 the Mandaeans or Subbas, a Judaeo-Christian sect practising the rite of baptism in Mesopotamia (Christians of John the Baptist); 2. the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān, a pagan sect which survived for a considerable period under Islām, of interest for its doctrines and of importance for the scholars whom it has produced.

The Sabaeans mentioned in the Ḳorᵓān, who are on three occasions placed along with the Jews and Christians among the "people of the book", i.e. possessors of a revealed book, are apparently the Mandaeans. The name must come from the Hebrew root *ṣ-b-ᶜ* "to plunge, to immerse", by loss of *ᶜain* and must mean 'baptists', those who practise baptism by immersion. The pagan Sabaeans, who did not know this rite at all, may have adopted this name as a measure of precaution to secure the advantages of the toleration accorded by the Ḳorᵓān to Jews and Christians.

Arab writers from the fourth century A. H. onwards very frequently mention the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān and always with interest. Al-Shahrastānī devotes a very long section to them and the exposition of their doctrines. He classes them among those who admit spiritual substances (*al-rūḥāniyūn*), especially the great astral spirits. They recognise as their first teachers two philosopher-prophets ʿAdhīmūn (Agathodemon = the good spirit) and Hermes who have been identified with Seth and Idrīs respectively. Orpheus was also one of their prophets. They believe in a creator of the world, wise, holy, not produced, and of inaccessible majesty, who is reached through the intermediary of the spirits. The latter are pure and holy in substance, in act and state; as regards their nature, they have nothing corporeal, neither physical faculties nor movements in place nor changes in time. They are our masters, our gods, our intercessors with the sovereign Lord, by purifying the soul and chastising the passions, one enters into relations with them. As to their activities they produce, renew and change things from state to state, they cause the force of the divine majesty to flow down towards the lower beings and lead each of them from his beginning to his perfection. Among them are the administrators of the seven planets, which are like their temples. Each spirit has a temple; each temple has a sphere and the spirit is to his temple as the soul is to the body. Sometimes they call the planets fathers and the elements mothers. Their activity consists in moving these spheres and in acting upon the elements and the physical world through them; from this result the mixtures in the compositions, then the corporeal faculties. The general beings proceed from the general spirits and the particular from the particular spirits, thus rain in general has its spirit, its spiritual master, and every drop of rain has its own. They preside over the phenomena of the world, winds, storms, earthquakes and give to each being its faculties and lay down laws for it; their condition is very spiritual and analogous to that of the angels.

Al-Shahrastānī distinguishes between the Sabaeans who worshipped the stars, called temples, directly and those who worshipped idols made with hands (*ashkhāṣ*, persons), representing the stars in temples made by man. There is a very curious note on the temples and idols of the Sabaeans, as well as on their ceremonies in al-Dimishkī, (*Cosmographie*, ed A. F. Mehren, 1866); the shape of the temples, the number of the degrees, the colour of the ornaments, the material of the idols and the nature of the sacrifices varied with the planets, and this is interesting for the history of the liturgy. Here and elsewhere we find the accusation of human sacrifices made, which undoubtedly is not to be maintained. The Jewish philosopher Maimonides says he had seen idols which resembled those of which al-Dimishkī speaks. Al-Shahrastānī further tells us that all the Sabaeans had three prayers; they purified themselves by ablution after contact with a corpse, forbade the flesh of swine, dogs, birds with talons and pigeons. They did not have circumcision, allowed divorce only by decree of the judge and forbade bigamy.

The Sabaeans were at first scattered throughout the north of Mesopotamia and had their principal centre at Ḥarrān, the ancient Carrhae; their liturgical language was Syriac. The Caliph Maʾmūn thought of persecuting and destroying them; but their intellectual merits gained them toleration. Towards 259 (872) the celebrated Thābit b. Ḳorra, having had a quarrel with his co-religionists, was excommunicated at Ḥarrān and came to Baghdād, where he founded another branch of Sabaeanism. The Sabaean community in Baghdād lived for some time in peace; but the Caliph Ḳāhir began to persecute them and forced Sinān, son of Thābit, to embrace Islām. In about 364 (975) the Sabaean Abū Isḥāḳ b. Hilāl, who was secretary to the Caliphs Muṭīʿ and Ṭāʾiʿ, caused an edict of toleration to be issued in favour of his co-religionists of Ḥarrān, Raḳḳa and Diyār Moḍar and protected those of Baghdād. In the xith century A. D. there were still many Sabaeans at Baghdād and at Ḥarrān. In 424 (1033) there was left only a temple of the moon, which formed a citadel at Harrān; this temple was at that date taken by the Alid Egyptians. After the middle of the xith century A. D. all trace of the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān is lost; we still find them at Baghdād till the end of this century.

The great men who have rendered this sect illustrations are. Thābit b. Ḳorra, the eminent geometrician, original astronomer, translator and philosopher, Sinān b Thābit, physician and meteorologist; other physicians and astronomers of the same family, Thābit b. Sinān and Hilāl b. al-Muhassan, historians, Abū Isḥāḳ b. Hilāl, vizier, and other members of the family; al-Battānī (Albategnus), the celebrated astronomer; Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin, mathematician, Ibn al-Waḥshīya, the author of *Nabataean Agriculture*, although professing to be a Muslim, in every way belonged to the Sabaean school; Djābir (Geber), the famous alchemist, about whom, it is true, there is very little known for certain, was probably a Sabaean. Finally it may be mentioned that these scholars are quoted on mineralogy by al-Dimishkī.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SABĪL, a way, road, or path, is used in the *Ḳurʾān* (1) literally, e. g. *man istaṭāʿa ilaihi sabīlan* (Sūra iii. 91 etc.) "he who is able to journey thither"; (2) figuratively, as in the expression *sabīl-Allāh*, for which see DJIHĀD; (3) figuratively, in the sense of the true way, the Apostle's way, as in the passage *yā laitanī ittakhadhtu maʿa 'l-rasūl sabīlan* (Sūra xxv. 29) "Oh! would that I had taken with the Apostle a path!" i. e. his

path, or the true path; (4) figuratively, in the sense of a means of attaining or acquiring an object, or a way out of a difficulty or trouble, as in the passage *aw yaǧʿalu 'llāhu lahunna sabīlan* (Sūra iv. 19) "or God make some way for them"; (5) in the expression *ibn al-sabīl* "a son of the road", that is a traveller, or wayfarer, mentioned as a fit object of compassion, or charity The word is now applied also to a public drinking fountain The great merit naturally attached in arid countries and tropical climates to the provision of wells, cisterns and fountains for thirsty travellers is recognized in Islām, as in most oriental religions, and it is possible that the use of *sabīl* in this sense is suggested by the expression *Sabīl-Allāh*, applied to any work undertaken for the sake of God.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.

(T. W. Haig)

SABĪL ALLĀH. [See ǦIHĀD].

SABʿĪYA "Sevener", the name of various Shīʿa groups who restrict the number of visible Imāms to seven. Confusion came upon the legitimist Shiʿa, who believe that the character of Imām is transmitted by divine providence from father to son, when about 145 (762) Ismāʿīl, the (eldest?) son of the sixth Imām Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [q. v.] died before his father. While the majority replaced Ismāʿīl by another son of Ǧaʿfar, Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh in the series of the twelve visible Imāms of the Ithnā-ʿasharīya [q v.], "twelvers", and others attached themselves to the otherwise less prominent sons, Muhammad, ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAlī, the strictest legitimists remained faithful to Ismāʿīl They denied that he died before his father's death. The evidence brought forward in support of this view seems to have impressed even their opponents, for the latter found it necessary, in order to dispose of Ismāʿīl, to attack his character; they said that, on account of his evil life, his father had withdrawn from him the right of succession at first intended for him. These accusations, particularly that of wine-drinking, can be explained as an attack on the slackening of the law by the Seveners directed back against the Imām who gave them their name.

From the first the Sevener movement was not a united one. A Mubārakīya sect "stood fast" by Ismāʿīl, so that for them he is the last Imām and the Mahdī [q v.] But the majority continued the imāmate down to his son Muḥammad, who becomes *Ḳāʾim al-Zamān* [q v.] with the official title of al-Tāmm "finisher", a title which, in some of the minor systems, seems to be prejudiced by the fact that he is in turn followed by invisible Imāms, known only to the initiated. In spite of the position of Muḥammad al-Tāmm, however, the name of Ismāʿīl remains attached to the main groups. In their hierarchic view therefore the Seveners belong to the many "Wāḳifīya" "those who stand fast". This is, in part, naturally, explained by the political conditions of the period. In 145 the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr had put down the rising at Medīna led by al-Nafs al-Zakīya Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī; in the following year, the latter's brother, Ibrāhīm of Baṣra, also fell. The ʿAlid question was thus disposed of for the time and with such success that even in these activist circles, who chose their Imāms from the vigorous ʿAlids, who actually took to the sword, a "Ǧārūdīya" sect "stood" by al-Nafs al-Zakīya as the concealed Mahdī. The tendency to hope for a return increased still further among the legitimists, who were bound by their dogma to definite persons, as it would have been useless to carry on into active history an imāmate which had really become hopeless. There were "some who stood fast" by each of Ismāʿīl's brothers; the Mūsāwīya, nicknamed Mamṭūra, "rained upon", often called simply the Wāḳifīya, became of some importance. Strictly speaking, such groups also come under the head of Seveners. But, as a rule, Sabʿīya is used identically with Ismāʿīlīya [q v.]. For them steadfastness did not develop into the abandonment of political aims — although it was over a century before this became apparent — but rather into the very skilful plan of retaining the very effective idea of an Imām given by sacred birth and yet rejecting the individual that chance brought forward in the person of the often very incapable first-born of the seed of ʿAlī and Ḥusain. The Sevener movement thus attained considerable importance in secular history also, through men who appeared as *dāʿī* [q. v.] of the hidden seventh Imām, Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl, like Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ, or his successor, who came forth from concealment, like the Fāṭimid Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn, or as his "return" himself, as Ṭabarī iii. 2218, the narrates of the Ḳarmaṭian missionary Yaḥyā b. Dhikrwaih). Karmaṭians, Fāṭimids, Assassins and the Ismāʿīlīs of India, Persia and Central Asia are the groups through which the Sevener movement finds its place in secular history, but the Druses also and in a way the Mutāwila and Nuṣairīs also may be traced back to the old Sabʿīya.

The Sabʿīya itself, however, is quite as much a religious — and an independent religious — movement as a political one. The remarkable feature that the number of Imāms was fixed at seven at the same time with the different sons of Ǧaʿfar is more simply understood if we assume that the political reasons already mentioned were further supported by a point of view which periodicated all cosmic and historical happenings by the sacred number of seven. The example of the Khaṭṭābīya, who worshipped Ismāʿīl's father, Ǧaʿfar, as a god, shows that in the early days of development of the Sabʿiya the deification of Imāms was not entirely unprecedented. We cannot, of course, in the circumstances deal with the theology of the Seveners. We only know of a single one out of the different systems and even that is often obscure, through being known only from hostile representations. We may claim for the Seveners as their individual contribution to theology a gnostic cosmogony in which names and things are often, however, not used consistently. The steps of emanation are (1) God, (2) universal intelligence (*ʿaḳl*), (3) universal soul (*nafs*), (4) primeval matter, (5) space or the pleroma, (6) time or the kenoma, (7) the world of earths and man. This number seven recurs in the lower world in the 7 prophets or *nāṭiḳ* "speakers" in the redemption story: Adam is the first *nāṭiḳ*, but as a rule not the first man; then follow Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and Muḥammad al-Tāmm. Between each two of these *nāṭiḳ* there are inserted seven "silent ones", *ṣāmit*, of whom the first, as special helpers of the *nāṭiḳ*, under titles like *fātiḳ*, "releaser", or *asās*, "foundation", are particularly

important because it is only through the esoteric exposition attributed to them that the teachings and laws of the *nāṭiḳ* receive their true meaning or are completely explained. These *fātiḳ* are Seth — which reminds one of the gnosis of the Sethians — Shem, Ishmael (son of Hagar), Aaron, Peter, ʿAlī and the seventh is the inaugurator of the particular Sevener group in question, e. g. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn. Alongside of the *ṣāmit*, there is a further lower hierarchy arranged in sevens or twelves, notably the *ḥudjdja* [q. v.] and the *dāʿī*. The system is, however, very much upset by a theory of incarnation which actually equates the seventh Imām to God; thus Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, p. 288 reports, on the authority of a man who had been for a period engaged in Ismāʿīlī propaganda, that the latter had been expected to see in Muḥammad al-Tāmm Him who had revealed himself to Moses. In several groups, e. g the Indian Ismāʿīlīs, the cosmogony and with it the periodication after the sacred number seven has fallen into the background and ʿAlī has become God as the first Imām. The way thus leads from the Seveners on to the ʿAlī Ilāhī [q v.]. Starting with ʿAlī, they count right down to the 47th Imām, Agha Khān Muḥammad Shāh. Next to the Imām and in history often surpassing him in importance here is the *ḥudjdja*. Muḥammad the Prophet appears as the *ḥudjdja* of ʿAlī. But he is substituted for political reasons for Salmān al-Fārisī, who is really intended.

For salvation the recognition of the concealed Imām known only to the initiated is absolutely necessary; consequently the "instruction" of them attains increased importance and they are accordingly also called Taʿlīmīya. Initiation into the esoteric religion takes place through 7 or 9 initiatory stages. Ibn Ṭāhir, *l c*, 282 *sqq.* mentions (1) the *tafarrus*, the "exact investigation", a psychological method not particularly skilful, or almost a means of working oneself entirely into him who is to be won and of placing oneself on common ground with him. Then (2) the adept is "shown" in the *taʾnīs* the whole "beauty" of his previous belief with the suggestion that it is much more splendid than he has suspected hitherto, after which (3) in the *taṣḳīḳ* he becomes "shaken by doubt" that he is not yet fully conscious of his belief. After such anthroposophical spiritual guidance, the moment arrives at which the novice is "bound" and "attached" to the secret authority with the formula that real knowledge only exists in the Concealed One and his organs through (4) the *rabṭ*. and (5) the *taʿlīḳ* In (6) the *tadlīs* the real esoteric meaning is by allegorical explanations brought out of the external covering of the letter, under which all historical prophecies and laws are "obscured". (7) The "grounding" *taʾsīs* can now begin in a novitiate proper of some length, after the expiry of which the disciple (8) subscribes himself body and soul by "agreements sealed by oaths", *mawāthīḳ bilaimān*, to the bond, in return for which he is "released" in the (9) *ḵhalʿ* and *sulḵh* from all earlier dogmatic restraints and all external legislation outside these obligations.

The whole system is deliberately supported for form's sake on Ḳorʾān passages, which is the more easily done in consequence of the frequently obscure allusions made in the sacred book. Thus the adept is surprised to learn from Ḳorʾān xv. 99, "serve thy Lord till certainty comes to thee", that his previous worship of God has only been a preliminary step. The passages in which the word *bāṭin* "inner" occurs are made to supply *dicta probantia* for an extravagant, and of its kind not exactly original, system of allegory, including an extensive alphabetic kabbala, which is not limited to the mysterious letters of the Sūra's and to names of Imāms or dogmatic formulae. — It has not contributed to the elucidation of the relations of Muslim sects that one group is called after many features and that, for example, the Seveners are also included as Bāṭinīya [q. v.] along with other bodies of quite different tendencies, like the Khurramīs (see KHURRAMĪYA) and Mazdakīs, and often even described as *the* Bāṭinīya and on this account called by their opponents by the corresponding nickname Muʿaṭṭila, "emptiers, nihilists".

The actual origin of the speculative ideas of the Seveners is, so far, hardly better known to us than to the Muslim authors, whose opinions must be taken with particular caution as their point of view was vitiated by hatred of the heretics. The Sunnī symbolists usually insist on Jewish or Christian, still more Sabaean and especially Parsī, origin, but as a matter of fact they already suspect also a connection with Hellenistic philosophy and Hermetic writings. The point still requires investigation as to how Neo-Platonic speculations, Parsī mysteries and such myths as are found in the Christian "treasure-cave" came to be clothed in a Ḳorʾānic covering and developed into Islāmic gnosis. The part played as an intermediary by the "Pure Brethren", *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [q. v] remains also to be investigated.

All classes of Seveners are very unfavourably criticised by the Muslims, even by the Shīʿīs. They are regarded as extreme "exaggerators", *ghulāt* [q v.] and usually are considered to be beyond the pale of Islām, so that some symbolists do not quote them at all. The main reason is that they drop the divinity of Allāh and the finality of Muhammad's prophecy. It is, however, due to the great elasticity of Muslim names of sects, and to a polemical rather than matter-of-fact frame of mind that they are also called Dahrīs [q. v.] and associated with the materialists, who are essentially different from them. A contributory cause of the unfavourable opinion held of them was, of course, the bitterness felt at their revolutionary aims and their underground political propaganda in the name of the seventh Imām, but still more at their casting off the external law of religion, which is usually dismissed as sheer libertinism; the accusations commonly made against secret sects of sodomy and nightly orgies with wine and community of women also play a great part in the charges made against them. The charges of religious, moral and political nihilism made against them have also found a way into the European literature of the subject. Further investigation, which does not refuse to consider the possibility of syncretism, recognising that every religious system that has become concrete is a syncretic formation with ramifications, will alone be able to show how far the theology, or if one prefers the term, the theosophy of the Sevener movement represents an intelligible reaction against the theology of the God of Islām, so aloof from man, and in how far the libertinism, said to be general and certainly existing in many, is an attempt to

meet the disjointed total of the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa with a system of ethics, such as is taught by Nāṣir i-Khusraw, for example, in verses 373 *sqq.* of his *rūshanā-i nāma*, regarding the seven sins of character and the seven cardinal virtues; in this investigation it will not much matter whether the "book of illumination" was written when the poet had already attained a very important place in the hierarchy of the Seveners as *ḥudjdja* of the Ismāʿīlīs, or whether it was written before he joined them, and reveals the attitude of mind which definitely decided him to join this body. Individual bodies of the Seveners, like the Assassins and Ḳarmaṭians, were certainly extremely intolerant to other Muslims; but in contrast to this we have the tolerant and wise administration of many of the Fāṭimids in Egypt. Some groups are occasionally said to have been communist, but this is certainly not a general feature While in the fourth and fifth centuries the Muslim writers report their spread and their propagandist activities in the whole Muḥammadan world, the old groups have long become consolidated. But their ideas continued to be effective and were carried from Persia far to the north and from India especially to East Africa. In spite, however, of the consciousness of connection with the old Seveners, the nature of their beliefs has been essentially transformed. The political aspect has disappeared and the religious side is not so aggressive. It is noteworthy that the modern Sabʿīya are often just those who are the strongest supporters of the feeling of solidarity in Islām.

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(R. Strothmann)

ṢABR (A.). The significance of this conception could hardly be conveyed in a West-European language by a single word, as may be seen from the following. According to the Arabic lexicographers, the root *ṣ-b-r*, of which *ṣabr* is the *nomen actionis*, means to restrain or bind; thence *ḳatalahu ṣabran* "to bind and then slay someone". The slayer and the slain in this case are called *ṣābir* and *maṣbūr* respectively. The expression is applied, for example, to martyrs and prisoners of war put to death; in the Ḥadīth often to animals which — contrary to the Muslim prohibition — are tortured to death (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Dhabāʾiḥ*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣaid*, trad. 58; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 171). The word has a special technical application in the expression *yaminu ṣabrin*, by which is meant an oath imposed by the public authorities and therefore taken unwillingly (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 27; *Aimān*, bāb 17; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 176).

In the Ḳor'ān derivations from the root *ṣ-b-r* frequently occur, in the first place with the general meaning of being patient. Muḥammad is warned to be patient like the Apostles of God before him (xxxviii. 16; xlvi. 34· "for Allāh's threats are fulfilled", is added in xxx. 60). A double reward is promised to the patient (xxiii. 113; xxviii. 54; cf. xxv. 75). In xxxix. 16, it is even said that the *ṣābirūn* shall receive their reward without *ḥisāb* (which in this case is explained as measure or limitation).

The conception is given a special application to the holy war (e. g. iii. 140; viii. 66); in such connections it can be translated by endurance, tenacity. The eighth stem is also used in almost the same sense, e.g. Sūra xix. 66: "Serve him and persevere in his service". The third stem is also found (iii. 200; cf. below).

The word is next found with the meaning resignation, e. g. in the Joseph (xii. 18) where Jacob, on hearing of the death of his son, says: "Now goodly resignation is fitting" (*faṣabrun djamīlun*).

Sometimes *ṣabr* is associated with *ṣalāt* (ii. 42, 148) According to the commentators, it is in these passages synonymous with fasting and they quote in support the name *shahr al-ṣabr* given to the month of Ramaḍān

As an adjective we find *ṣabbār* in the Kor'ān, associated with *shakūr* (Sūra 14, 5 etc); cf thereon al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*: "It is well with the man who is resigned when misfortune afflicts him, grateful when gifts of grace become his"; and Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 64: "Wonderful is the attitude of the believer; everything is for the best with him; if something pleasant happens to him, he is thankful and this proves for the best with him; and if misfortune meets him, he is resigned and this again is for the best with him." The ideas of *ṣabr* and *shukr* are also associated in al-Ghazālī, cf. below.

The later development of the conception is, of course, also reflected in the commentaries on the Ḳor'ān; it is difficult to say in how far these interpretations are already inherent in the language of the Ḳor'ān. In any case, the conception *ṣabr*, in all its shades of meaning, is essentially Hellenistic in so far as it includes the ἀταραξία of the Stoic, the patience of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation of the ascetic; cf below. In place of many other explanations of the commentators, we will give here only that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, Cairo 1278, on Sūra iii. 200). He distinguishes four kinds of *ṣabr*: (1) endurance in the laborious intellectual task of dealing with matters of dogma, e. g. in the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, *ʿadl*, *nubuwwa*, *maʿād* and disputed points; (2) endurance in completing operations one is bound or recommended by law to do; (3) steadfastness in refraining from forbidden activities; (4) resignation in calamity, etc. *Muṣābara* is, according to him, the application of *ṣabr* to one's fellow-creature (like neighbours, people of the Book), refraining from revenge, the *Amr bil-maʿrūf wa'l-nahy ʿani 'l-munkar*, etc.

The high value laid upon *ṣabr* is also seen in the fact that Ṣabūr is included among the beautiful names of Allāh. According to the *Lisān* (s. v.

ṣ-b-r), Ṣabūr is a synonym of *ḥalīm*, — with the difference that the sinner need not fear any retribution from the Ḥalīm, but he is not sure of such leniency from the Ṣabūr. Allāh's *ṣabr* is in the Ḥadīth increased to the highest degree in the saying that no one is more patient than He, towards that which wounds His hearing (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 3).

In the Ḥadīth, *ṣabr* is, in the first place, found in general connections like: to him who practises *ṣabr* Allāh will grant *ṣabr*, for *ṣabr* is the greatest charisma (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 50; *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 20; Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, III. 93), in the Ḥadīth also, *ṣabr* is applied to endurance in the holy war. A man asked Muhammad "If I take part in the Djihād with my life and my property and I am killed *ṣābiran* and resigned, rushing forward without fleeing, shall I enter Paradise?" And Muhammad answered: "Yes" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, III. 325), the word is found in other passages in the sense of enduring, e. g. towards the public authorities "after my death ye shall suffer things, but exercise *ṣabr* until ye meet me at the heavenly pool" (*ḥawḍ*) (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 53; *Fitan*, bāb 2, cf. *Aḥkām*, bāb 4, Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 53, 56 etc.). The word here usually has the meaning of resignation as in the oft recurring saying. "The (true) *ṣabr* is revealed at the first blow (*innamā 'l-ṣabr ʿinda 'l-ṣadmati 'l-ūlā*, or *awwali ṣadmatin* or *awwali 'l-ṣadmati*, al-Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 32, 43, Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad 15, Abū Dā'ūd, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 22 etc)

Significant, in other respects also, is the story of the epileptic woman who asked Muhammad for his *duʿā'* for her healing, he replied to her that if she refrained from her request and exercised *ṣabr*, paradise would be her portion (al-Bukhārī, *Mardā*, bāb 6, Muslim, *al-Birr wa'l-ṣila*, trad 54). The word is often found in this connection associated with the proper word for resignation, viz. *iḥtisāb* (e g al-Bukhārī, *Aimān*, bāb 9, Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad. 11); with this should be compared the following *ḥadīth ḳudsī* "If my servant is deprived of the light of both his eyes, I grant him paradise in compensation" (al-Bukhārī, *Marḍā*, bāb 67; Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, III. 283)

In conclusion we may remark that in the canonical Ḥadīth the meaning renunciation is exceedingly rare, which receives so great an importance in ethico-ascetic mysticism (cf. what has already been said above on Sūra 2, 42, 148) Bāb 20 of al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Riḳāḳ* (which, like the chapter *zuhd* in the other collections of traditions, represents the oldest stage of this tendency in Islām) has in the *tarḏjama*... ʿUmar said: "We have found the best of our life in *ṣabr*." Here we already can trace the Hellenistic sphere of thought for which renunciation was the kind of life fitting the true man, the wise man, the martyr.

What the Kor'ān and Ḥadīth say about *ṣabr* recurs in part again in ethico-mystical literature, but the word has here become, so to speak, a technical term and to a very high degree, as *ṣabr* is the cardinal virtue in this school of thought. As with other fundamental conceptions (see the series of definitions of Ṣūfī and Ṣūfism in Nicholson's essay in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1905), we find numerous definitions of *ṣabr*, definitions which often point rather to fertility of imagination than give an exhaustive exposition of the idea, but are of great value for the light they throw upon the subject like lightning flashes. Al-Ḳushairī in his *Risāla* (Būlāḳ 1287, p 99 *sq.*) gives the following collection. — "The gulping down of bitterness without making a wry face" (al-Djunaid), — "the refraining from unpermitted things, silence in suffering blows of fate, showing oneself rich when poverty settles in the courts of subsistence"; — "steadfastness in fitting behaviour (*Ḥusn al-adab*) under blows of fate" (Ibn ʿAṭā'), — "bowing before the blow without a sound or complaint"; — "the *ṣabbār* is he who has accustomed himself to suddenly meeting with forbidden things" (Abū ʿUthmān); — "*ṣabr* consists in welcoming illness as if it were health"; — "steadfastness in God and meeting His blows with a good countenance and equanimity" (ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān), — "steadfastness in the ordinances of the Book and of the Sunna" (al-Khawwāṣ); — the *ṣabr* of the mystics (literally. lovers) is more difficult than that of the ascetics" (Yaḥyā b. Muʿāḏh), — "refraining from complaint" (Ruwaim); — "seeking help with God" (Dhu 'l-Nūn), — *ṣabr* is like His name (Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ), — "there are three kinds of *ṣabr*, *ṣabr* of the *mutaṣabbir*, of the *ṣābir* and of the *ṣabbār* (Abū ʿAbd Allāh b Khafīf), — "*ṣabr* is a steed that never stumbles" (ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib), — *ṣabr* is not to distinguish between the condition of grace and that of trial, in peace of spirit in both, *taṣabbur* is calm under blows, while one feels the heavy trial" (Abū Muhammad al-Djurairī; cf. *ἀταραξία*).

This literature, besides play on words and definitions, is also fond of producing shades of meaning by prepositions Al-Shiblī asked a man. "what kind of *ṣabr* is the most difficult for him who practises it?" He answered "*al-ṣabr fī 'llāh*". Then al-Shiblī said "No". The man "*al-ṣabr lillāh*". Al-Shiblī "No" The man. "*al-ṣabr maʿa 'llāh*". Al-Shiblī "No" The man: "But what then?" Then al-Shiblī said. *al-ṣabr ʿani 'llāh*", and he added an explanation which threatened to drive his interrogator crazy (al-Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, p. 100, 9)

Al-Ghazālī treats of *ṣabr* in the fourth part of the *Iḥyā'*, which describes the virtues that make blessed, Book II. We have seen that already in the Kor'ān *ṣabr* and *shukr* are found in association. Al-Ghazālī discusses the two conceptions in the second book separately, but in reality in close connection. He bases the combination, not on the Ḳor'ānic phraseology, but on the maxim "belief consists of two halves the one *ṣabr* and the other *shukr*" This again goes back to the tradition: "*ṣabr* is the half of belief" (cf. the traditions given above which also associate *ṣabr* and *shukr*).

Al-Ghazālī comprises the treatment of *ṣabr* under the following heads (1) the excellence of *ṣabr*, (2) its nature and conception; (3) *ṣabr*, the half of belief; (4) synonyms with reference to the object of *ṣabr*; (5) kinds of *ṣabr* as regards strength and weakness; (6) opinions regarding the necessity of *ṣabr* and how man can never dispense with *ṣabr*; (7) convalescence of *ṣabr* and means of attaining it. — This division is virtually adopted by Bar-Hebraeus in his *Ethikon* for the *Mesaibĕrānūṯā* (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove*, Leiden 1919, p. cxvii—cxix).

Only the following out of these sections can

be given here. *Ṣabr*, like all religious *maḳāmāt*, consists of three parts, *maʿrifa*, *ḥāl* and *ʿamal*. The *maʿārif* are like the tree, the *aḥwāl* the branches and the *aʿmāl* the fruits. Out of the three classes of beings man alone may possess *ṣabr*. For the animals are entirely governed by their desires and impulses; the angels, on the other hand, are completely filled by their longing for the deity, so that no desire has power over them and as a result no *ṣabr* is necessary to overcome it. In man, on the contrary, two impulses (*bāʿiṯ*) are fighting. the impulse of desires and the impulse of religion; the former is kindled by Satan and the latter by the angels. *Ṣabr* means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.

Ṣabr is of two kinds: (a) the physical, like the endurance of physical ills, whether active, as in performing difficult tasks, or passive, as in suffering blows, etc.; this kind is laudable; (b) the spiritual, like renunciation in face of natural impulses. According to its different objects, it is called by synonyms like *ʿiffa*, *ḍabṭ al-nafs*, *šuǧāʿa*, *ḥilm*, *saʿat al-ṣadr*, *kitmān al-sirr*, *zuhd*, *ḳanāʿa*. From this wide range of meaning we can understand that Muhammad, when asked, could answer: "*īmān* is *ṣabr*". This kind is absolutely laudable (*maḥmūd tāmm*).

As regards the greater or less strength of their *ṣabr*, three classes of individuals are distinguishable (a) the very few in whom *ṣabr* has become a permanent condition, these are the *ṣiddīḳūn*, the *mukarrabūn*, (b) those in whom animal impulses predominate; (c) those in whom a continual struggle is going on between the two impulses, these are the *muǧāhidūn*, perhaps Allah will heed them. One of the gnostics (says al-Ghazālī) distinguishes three kinds of *ṣābirūn*. those who renounce desires, these are the *tāʾibūn*, those who submit to the divine decree, these are the *zāhidūn*, those who delight in whatever Allāh allows to come upon them, these are the *ṣiddīḳūn*.

In section VI, al-Ghazālī shows how the believer requires *ṣabr* under all circumstances, (a) in health and prosperity, here the close connection between *ṣabr* and gratitude is seen, (b) in all that does not belong to this category, as in the performance of legal obligations, in refraining from forbidden things, in whatever happens to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

As *ṣabr* is an indication of the struggle between the two impulses, its salutary effect consists in all that may strengthen the religious impulse and weaken the animal one. The weakening of the animal impulse is brought about by asceticism, by avoiding whatever increases this impulse, e. g. by withdrawal, (*ʿazla*) or by the practice of what is permitted, e. g. marriage. The strengthening of the religious impulse is brought about (a) by the awakening of the desire for the fruits of the *Muǧāhada*, e g. by means of the reading of the lives of saints or prophets; (b) by gradually accustoming this impulse to the struggle with its antagonist, so that finally the consciousness of superiority becomes a delight.

Bibliography. Besides the references in the text, see also: Sprenger, *Dict of the Techn Terms*, i. 823 *sqq*.; M. Asín Palacios, *La mystique d'al-Gazzali* in the *M. F. O. B.*, vii. 75 *sqq*.; R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairis Darstellung des Ṣufitums*, *Turk. Bibl.*, xviii., Berlin 1914, Index; L. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, Index; do., *Essai sur les origines ..... de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, Index. (A. J. Wensinck)

ṢABR or **Ṣabir**, the aloe, the dried juice from the leaves of a group of African aloes belonging to the Liliaceae; a bitter drug and strong purgative, described as early as by Dioscurides, which is highly esteemed in Arab medicine. At the present day the aloe of Sokoṭrā is considered the best quality. Al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p 81) gives a good description of the plant; and a description of how the sap is obtained is given by al-Nuwairī, see also the lexicons (Lane, *Lexicon*, ii. 1645)

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, iii 448, I. Low, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii. 148 *sqq* , Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ, *Kit. al-Abniya ʿan Ḥakāʾik al-Adwiya*, ed. Seligmann, p 164, transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, Halle 1893, p. 227; Ibn al-Baitār, transl. Leclerc, ii. 361—367, E. Wiedemann, *Beitr* , xlix; *SBPMS*, 1916, p 20. (J. Ruska)

SABT, the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew Shabbāt, the name of the Jewish day of rest According to the Ḳorʾān, Sūra iv. 153, the Sabbath was imposed upon the Jews on Sinai as a binding law, according to Sūra xvi. 125, upon those "who have differences of opinion regarding this", by which expression, according to the commentators, either the Jews or — which is more probable — the Jews and Christians are intended. Sūra vii. 163—166, ii. 61, iv. 50 contain allusions to a legend, according to which Jewish sabbath-breakers were punished by being turned into apes (or swine). This story is said to have happened at Aila (on the Red Sea) in the reign of David.

Muḥammad did not adopt the Sabbath commandment, on the contrary, he definitely rejected it. That the reason for it given in the Bible, namely that God rested from his labours on the seventh day, did not appeal to him, is indicated in the Ḳorʾān (l. 37) and in the Ḥadīth they are very fond of referring to this, as Goldziher shows in his essay quoted below. It is on this alleged "rest of God" that the reproach of anthropomorphism, continually made against the Jews, is very frequently based, as a result of the tendency of anti-Jewish polemics to culminate more and more on this point, the seventh day acquired an actually unfavourable character in many traditions and was characterized as a "day of deceit and treachery", or as a day intended for evil things.

That on the other hand the Jewish Sabbath formed the model for the institution of the Friday service may be regarded as certain. Tradition contains definite evidence of this (Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 *sq*). In its later development the Friday observance borrowed many of the Jewish Sabbath laws or at least adopted features that recall them, but Friday never acquired the character of a day of rest. For further information on this see the article DJUMʿA.

Bibliography: Besides the commentaries on the Ḳorʾān passages mentioned see especially: — I. Goldziher, *Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam (Gedenkbuch z. Erinnerung an D. Kaufmann)*, Breslau 1900, p. 86—105; do.,

Islamisme et Parsisme, *R. H. R.*, xliii. (1901), 27—28; Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus* in *Der Islam*, iii. (1912), p. 378 *sqq.* (= *Islam-Studien*, Leipzig 1924, i. 477 *sqq.*), W. Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judentum und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1922), p. 55 *sq.* (J. L. PALACHE)

SABTA. [See CEUTA].

AL-SABTĪ, AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR AL-KHAZRADJĪ ABŪ ʾL-ʿABBĀS AL-SABTĪ, a holy man famous for his virtues and his miracles, born at Ceuta in 540 (= June 24, 1145—June 12, 1146) and died on Monday Djumādā II 6, 601 (= Jan. 31, 1205) at Marrākish where he was buried near the Tāzrūt gate. He studied more particularly under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhkhār, the pupil of the celebrated Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ of Ceuta. He was eloquent and had no difficulty in convincing his questioners, he was very pious and used to recite the Ḳurʾān by day and night; he recommended the giving of alms. He himself kept nothing out of the numerous gifts he received, except what sufficed for his needs and those of his family for one day only He returned good for evil and showed compassion to widows and orphans. At the beginning of his career he lived in a *fundūḳ*, where he taught and with his fees provided for the wants of foreign students. He used to go through the streets of the town reprimanding and even beating those who did not say their prayers.

The memory of the saint remained very vivid among the people but became surrounded by numerous legends. Thus he is said to have prophesied the capture of Ceuta by the Christians to punish his compatriots for their ill-treatment of him, legend relates that after his departure from this town, he was very badly received by the holy men of Marrākish who feared that his cult would one day eclipse theirs; he has actually become the principal patron saint of this town. But his power extends much farther. The popular belief in Morocco sees in him the master of the winds who is invoked at sea to calm a storm and to raise the necessary wind during a calm In many places in Algeria as well as in Morocco, the first measure of new grain is given to the poor in his honour.

Bibliography: Ahmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, p 31; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, Leiden 1858—61, ii. 68, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, iv. 355—61, Anon., *al-Dhakhīrat al-sanyā*, Algiers 1921, p 42, Ahmad b Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *al-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312, i. 209; Ibn al-Mawaḳḳit al-Misfiwī, *Taʿṭīr al-Anfās fi ʾl-Taʿrīf bi Shaikh Abi ʾl-ʿAbbās*, Fās 1336, do, *al-Saʿādat al-abadiya fi ʾl-Taʿrīf bi Mashāhīr al-Ḥaḍrat al-Marrākushiya*, 1341, p. 115.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

AL-SABUʿ, *Ṣūrat al-Sabuʿ*, the constellation of the Wolf, and *Ṣūra Ḳiṭus Sabuʿ al-Baḥr*, constellation of Cetus, Κῆτος (cf al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Berl. Ms. or. 8°. 275, p. 207 a and 220 ab). The *Ṣūrat al-Sabuʿ* with the Arabs (just as with Ptolemy) consists of 19 single stars, none of which is of more than the third magnitude (according to modern star catalogues the brightest are of 2 8 and 2 9 magnitude). The Greeks called the constellation (undefined) τὸ Θηρίον (= the beast); but even among the oldest Babylonians the suggestion of a *raging* beast seems to have been present. The name is in Babylonian (mul) UR.BE (= (mul) Ur-idim), but in Sumerian: 𒀭 (kakkab) kalbu shegû, which means "raging dog" (*Wolf* probably = Lupus + Centaurus to the north-east); cf. F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Ergänzungen (Münster 1913/14, p. 28, 32, 223); *al-Sabuʿ*, which is also used for Lion is in Arabic probably the direct reproduction of the Greek: τὸ θηρίον; J. J. Scaliger, as a matter of fact, is said to have found on his Turkish planisphere the name *al-Asada*, the lioness, applied to it.

The animal was formerly thought of in close connection with the centaur. The latter was thought to hold the animal by the forefoot. The Arabs then called the stars of the two configurations, on account of their accumulation *al-Shamārīkh* (= branch of palm with bunch of dates, or a bunch of grapes).

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), p 278—280; Fr. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntnis der Sternnamen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 138 (to be used with care). (C. SCHOY)

ṢĀBŪN soap (cf. English soap), has penetrated through Latin *sapo* and Greek σαπών as a loan-word to the East also According to Pauly-Wissowa, (*Realenz. d. klass. Altert*, second series, iii. 1112, the ancients were not acquainted with our soap; in Pliny *sapo* means a hair-dye (*rutilandis capillis*) and also medical salves; for cleansing purposes certain poor earths were used, which were sometimes perfumed. There can, however, be no doubt that soap came into use in the middle ages along with other lathery lotions and in addition to its uses for cleansing the person and for washing was much used for external application in medicine. The statements made regarding its manufacture in Lane, *Lexicon*, iv. 1649 sound quite modern; the "Maghribī" soap, which is not cut into pieces but looks like boiled starch, is apparently our soft soap.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Baiṭār, French transl. by Leclerc, ii. 359; Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ, *Kit. al-Abniya ʿan Ḥaḳāʾik al-Adwiya*, ed Seligmann, p. 166, transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, p. 228 (J. RUSKA)

SĀBŪR. [See SHĀPŪR]

SĀBŪR B ARDASHĪR, ABŪ NAṢR, vizier of the Būyid Bahāʾ al-Dawla [q. v.]. Sābūr was appointed vizier in 380 (990—991). He did not, however, remain long in office, for he was dismissed in the following year, but in 382 (992—993) was restored to his former rank. At the same time Bahāʾ al-Dawla also appointed Abū Manṣūr b. Ṣāliḥān vizier and the two then acted jointly as viziers of the Būyid Emīr. After some time, however, the Dailamī troops began to show their dissatisfaction with Sābūr; his house was sacked and he had to go into hiding (383 = 993—994). As his colleague Ibn Ṣāliḥān was not inclined to fill the office alone, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad was given the post of vizier; but as soon as the Dailamīs had settled down again Sābūr came back. In 386 (996—997) Bahāʾ al-Dawla again appointed him vizier; this time he remained only two months in office and then went to al-Baṭīḥa. His public activities did not come to an end with this, however, for by the year 390 (999—1000) we again find him in Baghdād as vizier of Bahāʾ al-Dawla. In Muḥarram of the following year (December 1000) the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and demanded that

they should be paid before taking the field. Sābūr had to fly; hostilities developed between the Turks and the rest of the populace in which the Sunnīs took the side of the former and it was only after much bloodshed that the riots were quelled. After Sābūr had fled, he wrote to Bahā' al-Dawla and laid the blame for what had happened on an 'Alid, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, and his companions and then appeared before Bahā' al-Dawla in Shīrāz and secured permission from him to arrest them. But when he went to Wāsiṭ to carry out this plan, he was outwitted and had to abandon it. In the meanwhile Abu 'l-Ḥasan had made his peace with Bahā' al-Dawla and when in the beginning of Djumādā I, 392 (end of March, 1002) Sābūr appeared in Baghdād, the latter had played his last card, so that he left the city within the same month and retired again to al-Baṭīḥa. He died in 416 (1025—1026). In the first period of his vizierate — in 381 (991—992) or, according to another statement, not till 383 (993—994) — he had founded a great library, to which he is said to have presented over 10,000 volumes This existed down till Tughrulbeg's entry into Baghdād when it was set on fire.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ix 54 *sq*, 64, 67 *sq*, 71, 90, 115, 119, 246; *The Historical Remains of Hilāl as-Sābi* (ed. Amedroz), see Index

(K. V. Zetterstéen)

ṢĀD, the fourteenth letter of the usual Arabic alphabet (numerical value 90; cf. the article ABDJAD) How the now usual form of Ṣād developed out of the Nabataean (still closely resembling the primitive Semitic form) form of the letter may be seen from plate I of the article ARABIA, ARABIC WRITING). As to its pronunciation, Ṣād was even in ancient times and still is an unvoiced, velarised (and according to Meinhof "stopped") alveolar spirant, in which a groove is formed on the front part of the tongue. All these elements (except perhaps the last) were recognised and described as early as Sībawaihi Of our European sounds the French *s* in *son* is nearest to it, if we add the so-called *iṭbāḳ* (velarisation: according to Meinhof, with "stopping" at the same time — Sībawaihi only notes the transition from *ṣ* into *s* (and further into *z*) before *d* (for example, *maṣdar* instead of *maṣdar*); at the present day it is also found before other voiced consonants (cf. Egyptian Arabic *zughayyar* < *ṣughayyir*). For further information see Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre* (see Index). Cf. also Mattson, *Études phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth*[2] (Upsala 1911), p. 24 *sq*. and especially C. Meinhof, *Was sind emphatische Laute, und wie sind sie entstanden?* in the *Zeitschr. f Eingeborenensprachen*, xi. 81—106 (especially p. 83—86). — Ṣād is also the title of Sūra xxxviii of the Ḳor'ān.

(A. Schaade)

SA'D, constellation of good fortune, a common name in Arab astronomy for small groups of stars. They are all in the three adjoining constellations of Pegasus, Aquarius and Capricorn and usually consist of two, sometimes of three or four stars of low magnitude. Four groups form four successive stations of the moon, namely 22. *Sa'd al-dhābih* = *α β* in Capricorn, 23. *Sa'd bula'* = *μ ν ε* in Aquarius, 24. *Sa'd al-su'ūd* = *β ξ* in Aquarius and 25. *Sa'd al-akhbiya* = *γ ζ π η* in Aquarius. A further four belong to Pegasus: *sa'd al-bahā'im* (*ϑ ν*), *sa'd al-humām* (*ζ ξ*), *sa'd al-nāzi'* (*λ μ*) and *sa'd al-maṭar* (*η ο*). Lastly *sa'd al-mulk* = *α ο* in Aquarius.

Bibliography: L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 114, 191 *sqq*., 289.

(J. Ruska)

SA'D B. ABĪ WAḲḲĀṢ, an Arab general. His father's full name was Mālik b. Wuhaib b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra. Sa'd, who had become a convert to Islām at the age of seventeen (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 31; Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, introductory chapter, bāb 11), was one of the oldest companions of the Prophet, being a special favourite of his and one of those who had been promised Paradise (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 193; ii. 222); he took part not only in the battles of Badr and Uḥud but also in the campaigns that followed. When al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, who assumed command in al-Hīra after the departure of Khālid b. al-Walīd, in view of the danger threatening of an encounter with the Persians, asked the Caliph 'Omar for reinforcements, the latter at first appeared inclined to take command of the army himself, probably simply in order to stir up the enthusiasm of the Muslims; in the end, however, he did not do so but gave the post of commander-in-chief to Sa'd, according to one version because Djarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Badjalī, who had already been sent to the 'Irāḳ to support the hard pressed Muslims, would not consent to be subordinate to the Bakrī al-Muthannā In spite of his proved bravery and ability, the Beduin al-Muthannā, who had not adopted Islām till after the death of Muhammad, would, in view of the well known jealousy among the Arab tribes, probably have proved less suitable as commander-in-chief than Sa'd who belonged to an old Meccan family and was known to be one of the most faithful followers of the Prophet. Sa'd advanced against the Persians with a large army and encamped at al-Ḳādisīya [q. v., ii. 611 *sqq*.] on the frontiers of Persia and Arabia. Here — probably in the first half of the year 16 (summer of 637) — a great battle was fought, which is said to have lasted several days; the details of it have been much elaborated by the Arab historians. Illness prevented Sa'd from taking part in the battle personally and he had to confine himself to directing the whole operations, which, however, was not quite in accordance with the traditional Arab custom. After the Sāsānian leader Rustam had fallen, the slaughter ended in the complete defeat of the Persians and Sa'd was now master of the whole of 'Irāḳ al-'Arabī; nor were the Persians able to hold permanently al-Madā'in [q v.], the capital of the provinces east of the Tigris. The young Sāsānian king Yezdedjird had to flee and abandon his capital to Sa'd. When the latter entered the city, he obtained countless booty and made al-Madā'in his headquarters for the time being. At the end of the same year his nephew Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ again inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Persians at Djalūlā [q. v.].

To this period also belongs the foundation of Kūfa To Sa'd likewise is due the credit of having made a strong military camp here, which in course of time grew into an important city; Sa'd was appointed first governor of the rapidly growing settlement. He seems, however, not to have paid

due attention to the Caliph's insistence on the maintenance of old-fashioned simplicity. At any rate we are told that Sa'd built a splendid palace in Kūfa modelled on the Ṭāḳ-i Khusraw at al-Madā'in; but when 'Omar, who feared the injurious influence of Persian luxury on the simple habits of the Arabs, heard of this, he is said to have administered a sharp rebuke to Sa'd and even to have had the palace burned by Muḥammad b. Maslama. Sa'd was dismissed from his post as early as the year 20 (640/641) because the fickle and turbulent inhabitants of Kūfa — of all possible elements, Arabs and Persians, Jews and Christians — accused him of being unjust and tyrannical. When, however, Muḥammad b. Maslama appeared in Kūfa by the Caliph's order to investigate Sa'd's conduct in his office, only one or two individuals dared to appear against him. Nevertheless Sa'd was dismissed and 'Ammār b. Yāsir appointed his successor; but the latter only remained a short time in office and was followed by al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [q. v.] The great military and administrative services of Sa'd were, however, later fittingly recognised by 'Omar. When on his deathbed the latter empowered six of Muḥammad's most trusted companions to choose a new ruler within three days, he chose Sa'd as one of his advisers and is even said to have added that if Sa'd was not given the office himself, he would recommend the future Caliph to compensate him with a governorship, because he had been removed from his post neither for incompetence nor for treacherous conduct. Following this suggestion, 'Othmān in 25 (645/6) restored to him the governorship of Kūfa, again, however, he was dismissed after a short period of office and his place given to al-Walīd b 'Uḳba b. Abī Mu'ait. After the assassination of 'Othmān, Sa'd was requested to come forward as a claimant to the throne but declined, because he wished to live in peace, nor was he inclined to take any steps to take vengeance on the murderers When 'Alī was chosen Caliph, Sa'd declined to pay homage to him and retired to his estate in al-'Aḳīḳ, where he lived till his death remote from politics, which one of his sons made a reproach against him (Muslim, *Zuhd*, trad. 11; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i 168, cf 177). According to the usual statement he died in 50 (670/671) or 55 (674/675), aged about 70 He is said to have left vast wealth behind him and was buried in Medīna.

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SA'D B. MU'ĀDH B. AL-NU'MĀN B. IMRU' AL-ḲAIS B. ZAID B. 'ABD AL-ASHHAL AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-AWSĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad's. He was head of the great clan of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal in Medīna. Sa'd was won over to the new faith by Mas'ab b. 'Umair, who accompanied the twelve Medīna participants in the first meeting at al-'Aḳaba [q. v.] when they returned home and made a successful propaganda for Islām. From the very first he showed great zeal for the faith and when Muḥammad undertook an expedition against Buwāṭ, he appointed Sa'd (or, according to a different report al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b Maẓ'ūn) to be his deputy in Medīna. The latter carried the standard in the battle of Badr and with Sa'd b. 'Ubāda [q v.] he went to the assistance of the Prophet when the latter was wounded in the battle of Uḥud. Like Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and Usaid b. Huḍair, he protested against the negotiations with the Ghaṭafān in the "war of the ditch", but was soon afterwards severely wounded in the hand by the arrow of a Ḳuraishī. After the retreat of the confederates Muhammad decided to rid himself of the troublesome Banū Ḳuraiẓa and began to besiege them in Medīna, although their only crime lay in the fact that they had remained neutral during the "war of the ditch". The negotiations, which they were soon forced to begin with the Prophet, ended in their surrendering unconditionally, probably in the hope that they could save themselves through the intervention of their former allies, the Awsīs. When Muḥammad asked them whether they would leave the decision to a man of the tribe of Aws they declared their readiness to do so. Sa'd, who lay mortally wounded in the mosque where he was being tended by a woman, was then asked for his opinion and after he had secured a promise from the Prophet and all present that they would obey his decision implicitly, he declared that the men should be killed, the women and children sold as slaves and their property divided. The verdict was put into execution the next day. Over 600 Jews are said to have sacrificed their lives for their faith and soon afterwards Sa'd also died of his wound; he is represented in Tradition as a glorified hero of the faith.

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SA'D B MUḤAMMAD. [See ḤAIṢA BAIṢA].

SA'D B. 'UBĀDA B DULAIM B ḤĀRITHA B ABĪ ḤAZĪMA B. THA'LABA B. ṬARĪF AL-KHAZRADJĪ, a contemporary of Muḥammad's. The distinguished and prosperous Sa'd was one of the few people who were able to write in Arabia in his time; he was besides celebrated as a fine swimmer and archer. In the history of Islām we first meet with his name in the accounts of the second meeting at al-'Aḳaba [q. v.] where he is mentioned among the nine Khazradjīs who were chosen to be guarantors (*naḳīb*) of the new converts. He then fell into the hands of the Meccans and was severely handled by them; it was only through the intervention of two Meccan friends, to whom he had once done valuable service, that he succeeded in escaping. During Muḥammad's expedition against al-Abwā' [q. v.] Sa'd remained

behind as his deputy in Medīna. In the battle of Badr, according to the most reliable authority, he did not take part; on the other hand he was at the battle of Uḥud where with Saʿd b. Muʿādh [q. v.] he tended the wounded Prophet. In the other military enterprises of Muḥammad also, he proved himself an exceedingly energetic champion of Islām, and several times acted as standard-bearer. In particular he distinguished himself by great liberality. During the siege of the Banū Nadīr he distributed dates among the Muslims at his own expense; the troops besieging the Banū Ḳuraiẓa were likewise supplied with provisions by him. He supported the expedition to Tabūk by a particularly handsome contribution. When the Prophet began secret negotiations with the two chiefs of the Ghaṭafān in the "war of the ditch", ʿUyaina b Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b ʿAwf and promised them a third of the next date-harvest of Medīna if they would retire and the Ghatafān declared their readiness to do so, his plan met with opposition from those Muslims who were inclined for fighting, the most ardent opponents of the attempt to bring about an agreement are said to have been Saʿd b ʿUbāda, Saʿd b Muʿādh and Usaid b. Hudair In the intended campaign against Mecca which led to the treaty of al-Ḥudaibiya Saʿd's energy and thirst for fighting were clearly seen. Although he insisted that Muḥammad should take the necessary precautions and provide the Muslims with the necessary weapons, the Prophet declined to follow his advice After the death of ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiy [q. v.] Saʿd became undisputed head of the Khazradjīs and it need cause no surprise that he was proposed as successor to the Prophet. As soon as the news of Muhammad's death had spread through Medīna, the Aws and Khazradj assembled, Saʿd addressed them and recommended some one among the Anṣār The majority of those present were already inclined to pay homage to him at once Then other Muslims appeared, notably Abū Bakr and ʿOmar, and after fairly heated negotiations which threatened to end in open fighting, Abū Bakr received homage as Caliph. Henceforth Saʿd retired from public life and later went to al-Hawrān where he died "two and a half years after the accession of ʿOmar" i e. about the year 15 (636/637).

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SAʿD B ZANGĪ ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN, Salgharid Atābeg of Fārs According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* he claimed the throne at the death of his elder brother, Takla b. Zangī, but his claim was contested by his cousin Ṭughril, the son of his father's elder brother Sunḳur, who had founded the dynasty. Ṭughril retained the royal title for nine years, but throughout that period warfare between him and his cousin continued without a decisive result for either, the country was wasted and depopulated, none would till the ground, and famine and pestilence smote the people. At length, in 599/600 (1203), Saʿd captured his cousin and ascended the throne of Fārs according to Mīrkhwānd this happened in 693 A. H., after Ṭughril had been defeated by Takla) but at the beginning of his reign the famine was so sore in the land that the strong slew and ate the weak, and even when the famine had abated the pestilence remained, but Saʿd gradually restored prosperity to his people, and, having completed this task, conquered Kirmān from the Shabānkāras. In 612/13 (1216) he invaded ʿIrāḳ, but was taken prisoner by the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, and in order to regain his freedom was obliged to pay a ransom of two thirds of a year's revenue of his kingdom, to surrender Iṣṭakhr and Ashkūrān, and to agree to pay tribute annually. On his return to Shīrāz his son Abū Bakr, who had occupied the throne during his captivity, opposed his restoration, and a battle was fought between father and son, in which Saʿd was wounded in the eye with an arrow, but the citizens admitted him into the city by night, and he seized and imprisoned his son When Sulṭān Djalāl-al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh passed through Fārs on his return from India in 1224 he interceded for Abū Bakr, and succeeded in persuading Saʿd to release him.

Saʿd b. Zangī died in 629/630 (1231), or, according to Mirkhwānd on the 21st of Djumādā I 623 (May 20th 1226), and was succeeded by his son, Abū Bakr.

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SAʿD AL-DAWLA. [See HAMDĀNIDS].

SAʿD AL-DĪN. [See SAʿDIYA].

SAʿD AL-DĪN B. ḤASAN DJĀN. [See KHODJA EFENDI].

SAʿD AL-DĪN AL-ḤAMAWĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUʾAIYAD B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN B MUḤAMMAD B. HAMAWAIH, born in 587 (1191) or 595 (1198/9). The surname of al-Hamawī has nothing to do with the town of Hamā but comes from his great-grandfather Hamawaih or Hamōye; in some old texts the more correct form Hamūyī is found (*ḥ-m-w-y-y*). According to al-Yāfiʿī, he was a native of Djuwain. In his youth he joined in Khwārizm the Dervish body called *Dhahabīya-i Kubrawīya* which had gathered round the great Ṣūfī Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā and he became one of the twelve great *Khalīfa* of the *Shaikh*. Like many of the latter's disciples he emigrated during the period of Mongol domination. After leading a retired and devout life in Syria in the Djabal Ḳāsiyūn, he returned to Khorāsān and settled at Baḥrābād. He died on Friday 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (on the day of the *ʿId al-ḳurbān*) in 658 A. H. (Nov. 10, 1260), according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, or in 650 (Feb. 11, 1252), according to the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (whose statements are based on al-Yāfiʿī). His tomb is also at Baḥrābād.

Saʿd al-Dīn was one of the famous mystics of his time. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳonyawī took part while a young man in his mystic gatherings. Al-Yāfiʿī also speaks of his disciples, of his miracles and of sayings attributed to him. In the collections of legendary lives we read that his soul quitted his body for 13 days. Saʿd al-Dīn composed mystical poems in Arabic and Persian, especially *rubāʿī*; he was also the author of several treatises on the

taṣawwuf, such as the *Maḥbūb al-Awliyāʾ* and the *Sadjandjal al-Arwāḥ wa-Nuḳūsh al-Alwāḥ*; according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, this last work was written at Ḥimṣ. In the opinion of several Muslim authors who deal with mysticism, however, these treatises are very obscure because of the great number of veiled allusions.

His son Sulṭān al-Muḥaddithīn Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had been summoned from Baḥrābād by the Amīr Nawrūz, at the time of the conversion of Ghāzān Khān to Islām (*Dawlat-Shāh*, ed. Browne, p. 213, on the authority of al-Banākatī). Down to the eleventh century of the Hidjra (eighteenth A.D.). We find at Baḥrābād dervishes whose *silsila* dated back to Saʿd al-Dīn; among them was Muʿīnī-i Djuwainī, author of an imitation of the *Gulistān* (Dawlat-Shāh, p. 241) The Ṣūfī Mawlānā Saʿd al-Dīn of Baḥrābād, mentioned by al-Nawāʾī continually recited the sayings of the Shaikh. The tradition of the Yasawīs wrongly regards him as one of the *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Yasawī

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(Koprülü Zāde Fuʾād)

SAʿD AL-DĪN KÖPEK or Göbek (in early texts and inscriptions: *K-ụ-b-k ibn Muḥammad*), a very important personage in the history of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor. There is a tradition according to which he was himself a convert to Islām but this is contradicted by the fact that his father was called Muḥammad. His origin and date of birth are unknown. We first meet with him as *tardjumān* in the palace of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳubād and next, in connection with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's building operations at Ḳubadābād (on this place and its buildings see Khalīl Edhem, *Ḳaiṣarīye Shehri*, Constantinople 1334, p. 50), as *miʿmār* and as *amīr shikār*. As the office of *amīr shikār* was of considerable importance in the Saldjūḳ palaces, we may deduce that in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Saʿd al-Dīn was already one of the most important personages in the state. Indeed, there still stands in a plain three hours from Ḳonya on the road from Ḳonya to Aḳ-Sarai a large *khān* which Saʿd al-Dīn built, the interior of which was completed in the last year of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (638 = 1237); at that date then he already occupied an important position. It is not, however, till the early years of the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw that we find Saʿd al-Dīn playing an important part in history. He had attached himself to Ghiyāth al-Dīn and supported the latter's claim to the throne against ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḳilidj Arslān; it is to his influence also that we must attribute the fact that Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḳīr Khān, one of the Amīrs of Khwārizm, who had taken refuge with the Saldjūḳs and who was governor of Siwās, was accused of belonging to ʿIzz al-Dīn's party and imprisoned. As a result of that event the Amīrs of Khwārizm, settled in Asia Minor, laid waste the Saldjūḳ empire with thousands of Khwārizmīs and went on into Syria and Mesopotamia where after numerous adventures they were in the end wiped out completely (cf Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, ed. Blochet, Paris 1900, p. 211; Koprulü Zāde Fuʾād, *Anadolu da Islāmiyet*, p. 60). With the principal amīrs of the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Saʿd al-Dīn was an accomplice of this Sulṭān in the execution of his mother-in-law, Malika ʿĀdilīya, and her two sons; in this way he attained considerable influence. Ibn Bībī and the historians who follow him are wrong in making Saʿd al-Dīn exclusively responsible for these crimes, which were repeated in 634/5 = 1238/9. As public opinion was greatly shocked by these happenings, Saʿd al-Dīn Kopek was appointed commander of a military expedition; in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 635 (July–Aug., 1238) he captured Shumaishāṭ. Profiting by the influence, which this victory secured him, he succeeded in having great amīrs like Ḥusām al-Dīn Kaimarī and Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyār put to death But the Sultān, who, on the one hand, wished to clear himself of the general repugnance which he had inspired by putting all the responsibility on Saʿd al-Dīn and, on the other, was anxious to get rid of an accomplice who threatened to become dangerous, had him put to death treacherously. Ibn Bībī gives a detailed account of this.

The great *khān* of Saʿd al Dīn already mentioned is known among the people as the *Zāzādīn Khāny*. This imposing structure measuring 200—240 feet long and 200 feet broad is now in ruins. At the outer gate is an inscription of 634 A. H. dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw. Tradition says that Kopek Oghlu, who played a certain part in the history of Amasia during the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed I, was a grandson of Saʿd al-Dīn and that at the place now called Kopek Koyi in the vicinity of the town there is a *čiftlik*, which belonged to the family. This tradition, however, is devoid of definite proofs.

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SAʿD AL-FIZR is the name by which a large section of the tribe of Tamīm is named. The curious name *Fizr* has received no satisfactory explanation and the philologist Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī asserts that he never met any person who could explain it. Some lexicographers explain it as meaning "more than one", others as "goats", but we may assume that Ibn Duraid is correct when he derives it from the verb "*fazara*" with the meaning "to split" and that "*fizr*" means "a chip" or "fragment". The Arab genealogists give the name of the common ancestor as Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm and relate tales to account for the curious name which amount to the following: Saʿd had much cattle which he ordered his sons, by different mothers, to take to pasture; they refused and he invited the kindred tribesmen

of Mālik b. Zaid Manāt to come and rob the camels. Then when only goats remained he gave his sons the same order and they again refused to take them to pasturage. In his anger he called Arabs of every tribe together (or, according to another version, took his animals to the fair of ʿUkāẓ) and asked them to take each one goat as plunder (*intahaba*), but allowed no one to take more than one. Thus the goats were scattered all over the country and this is said to be the origin of the proverb: "I shall not do that till the goats of al-Fizr (are collected again into one herd)". The goats are probably imagined to have had the *wasm* or brand-mark of his clan. The underlying idea appears to be that the divisions of this tribe were found scattered over the whole of Eastern Arabia. The tribe of Tamīm is mentioned in the remotest antiquity, centuries earlier than the Arab genealogists can imagine, and the genealogies in their case are more ficticious than with other tribes, and all they can serve is to show which of the clans shortly before and after the introduction of Islām felt to possess a certain relationship. The poet al-Akhtal says: "In every wādī are Saʿd" pointing to their wide distribution. Of the many subdivisions mentioned by genealogists only those derived through his sons Kaʿb and al-Hārith appear to have had a claim to pure descent, while the descendants of the other sons, ʿAbd Shams, Djusham, ʿAwf, ʿUwāfa and Mālik were called the "Abnāʾ". There were doubts as to the purity of their descent, they were settled in Bahrain and had largely intermixed with the Persian settlers when this province was under Persian rule. They were as regards numbers perhaps the largest Arab tribe and for this reason played an important part in the wars shortly before Islām and during the conquests and many persons mentioned in the early times of Islām were members of the various clans of Saʿd al-Fizr. They sided with ʿAlī during the struggle for the caliphate and were most prominent during the unruly times in Khurāsān under the later Omaiyads and appear to have settled in Persia in large numbers Others emigrated to North-Africa and the Aghlabī rulers of Ifrikīya claimed descent from them. The many subdivisions cannot be enumerated here, but it must be stated that the genealogists are far from unanimous in the affiliation of the various sections, and their names disappear early from history under the general name of Tamīm. — Importance may be attached to the tribe of Saʿd al-Fizr and their nearest kindred clans for having spoken that Arabic which forms the basis of the classic Arabic of literature, as the earliest philologists seem to have framed the rules of Arabic grammar upon the dialect of Tamīm. This was no doubt on account of their widespread diffusion through which their dialect was understood in most parts of Arabia.

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ṢAʿDA, a town in South Arabia, the capital of the district of the same name in Yemen. It lies on the pilgrim road from Mekka to Ṣanʿāʾ, 60 parasangs (180 miles) or five days' journey from the latter town. In the days of paganism the town is said to have been called Djumāʿ and to have been built on the site later occupied by Ḥiṣn Talammus built by the Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Aḥmad b. Sulaimān b. al-Muṭahhir. According to al-Hamdānī, the name Ṣaʿda owes its origin to the following circumstance. — a man from the Ḥidjāz, who was passing by the strong castle that stood in Djumāʿ and lay down exhausted beside it, marvelling at its height called out twice *laḳad ṣaʿʿadahu* "he has raised it in fine fashion". Similar popular etymologies are found in other places. Six minutes south of the modern Ṣaʿda lay the village of al-Khānik, where the ruins of a great reservoir for irrigating the land and of other buildings survived into Muslim times. Near Ṣaʿda is also the town of al-Ghail, which name al-Bīrūnī would regard as the ancient name of Ṣaʿda.

Saʿda was and — in spite of the catastrophes that have overwhelmed it — still is a flourishing, populous and wealthy town, in which merchants from all parts, especially from al-Baṣra, met. The principal industry of the city has always been the dressing of hides and sole-leather which was exported mainly to the Ḥidjāz and Yemen, and the manufacture of leather water-skins of particularly fine quality. For Ṣaʿda lies in the very centre of very vast plantations of the ḳaraẓ tree (*acacia Arabica W*), the leaves of which are used in dressing leather In Ṣaʿda excellent lances (ṣāʿidī) and spear-heads used also to be made Iron, which was brought to Ṣaʿda from the vicinity in the form of dust and was purified there, must have been used for the latter. Iron is still found near Ṣaʿda. Gold used also to occur in the neighbourhood — at al-Ḳufāʿa —. The flourishing trade of the town and the busy caravan traffic as well as its native industry yielded large sums in dues and taxes to the treasury of the Zaidī Imāms, whose capital it was. Yāḳūt estimated the yield at 100,000 dīnārs. The Imāms al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain (d 298 = 910/911) and Yūsuf b Yaḥyā (d. 430 = 1012/13) are buried in Ṣaʿda.

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ṢADĀḲ. [See MAHR].

ṢADAḲA, alms, is so called, according to the Arab writers, from the verb *ṣadaḳa*, because the Muslim's almsgiving shows the sincerity (*ṣidḳ*) of

transliteration of the Hebrew word *ṣĕdāḳā*, which meant originally "honesty", but was used by the Pharisees for what they considered the chief duty of the pious Israelite, namely almsgiving, a meaning which it still retained at the time of the coming of Islām and afterwards. Its proper sense is, therefore, voluntary or spontaneous almsgiving or what we call "charity"

Arabic authors, however, use the word *Ṣadaḳa* in two different senses. In the first place it is frequently employed as synonymous with *Zakāt* [q. v.], that is, the legal poor-rate, which is involuntary, and of which the amount is fixed. It is so used in the Ḳor'ān, IX 58 *sqq*, 104 *sq*. (see Lane, s. v.). It is so used also in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik ibn Anas, in which, in the *Kitāb al-Zakāt*, *Ṣadaḳa* is substituted for *Zakāt*. He does this apparently when it is a case of *Zakāt* upon quadrupeds (*mawāšī*, camels, flocks and herds), but also in other cases. In Buḳhārī, on the other hand, *Ṣadaḳa* seems to be put for *Zakāt* quite indiscriminately, and the two words are used simultaneously as synonyms Instances will be found in the notes to Houdas and Marçais' translation. Thus in *bāb* 31 of the *Kitāb al-Zakāt* the two words are used indifferently. Bukhārī uses *Zakāt* where Mālik uses *Ṣadaḳa* (e g *bāb* 43), he quotes the tradition "There is no *Ṣadaḳa* on less than five *dhawd* of she-camels" in the same form as Mālik, yet speaks of the *Ṣadaḳat al-Fiṭr* where Mālik uses the usual *Zakāt al-Fiṭr*. The same failure to distinguish between the two words is found also in later writers, both legal and historical (e. g Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, III 42, after Ṭabarī). If there were any doubt as to the identity of the *Ṣadaka* and *Zakāt*, it would be removed by the fact that the six or seven classes of persons who are entitled to benefit by them are the same in each case, namely, the poor and needy, those engaged in the work of distributing the *Ṣadaka* or *Zakāt*, Muslim captives in enemy hands, debtors, those engaged in the *Ǧihād*, travellers, and (originally) the *Muʾallafa Ḳulūbuhum*.

The proper use of the word *Ṣadaka* is, however, as has been said, in the sense of voluntary almsgiving In this sense it is, for the sake of distinction, called *Ṣadaḳat al-Taṭawwuʿ* ("alms of spontaneity") Ibn al-ʿArabī thus defines this *Ṣadaka*. "Voluntary *Ṣadaḳa* is an act of worship arising from free choice mixed with authority; and if it be not so then is it no voluntary *Ṣadaḳa*, for the man makes it obligatory upon himself, just as God makes mercy obligatory upon Himself towards those who repent, and corrects those who do ill in ignorance".

Ṣadaḳa appears to be used in this sense in the remaining passages of the Ḳor'ān where it occurs, other than the two cited above Alms may be given openly (II. 273), so long as this is not done for ostentation (II. 266); but alms given in secret are better. There is more profit in alms than in usury (II. 277), but they must be given with goodwill (II. 265). Those who are disposed to be charitable must not be discouraged (IX. 80), but the reverse (IV. 114). Voluntary alms, of which the amount was left to the giver, were prescribed to be given before interviewing the Prophet, but this impost was remitted provided the interviewers had paid their *Zakāt* (LVIII. 13, 14). Alms might also be given in place of some other obligation, such as that of shaving the head after the pilgrimage (II. 192). These passages naturally form a basis for much that is found in the succeeding writers. In the *Kitāb al-Zakāt* of his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* Mālik ibn Anas frequently cites a certain "Letter" of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in regard to the *Ṣadaḳa*. This unfortunately refers to the *Ṣadaḳa* in the sense of *Zakāt* only. Mālik himself treats of the *Ṣadaḳa* in its etymological sense along with a variety of other matters in the closing paragraphs of his work. He does not use any distinctive term such as *Ṣadaḳat al-Taṭawwuʿ*. What he says is as follows. Under the heading "Inciting to almsgiving" he records a saying of Muḥammad: „Whoever gives an alms out of honest gain (and God accepts only the honest) is only placing it in the palm of the Merciful, and He will make it grow for him, just as one of you lets his weanling foal or camel grow until it becomes like a mountain". Anas ibn Mālik [q. v.] used to tell how Abū Ṭalḥa, who was the richest Anṣārī in Medīna, prized above all his wealth a well beside the mosque, from which Muḥammad was in the habit of drinking. When the verse "You shall never win piety until you spend of what you love" (III 86) came down, he wished to give this well. Muhammad, however, persuaded him to keep it in his own family. Zaid ibn Aslam is the authority for the prophetic saying· "Give to the beggar, an if he come upon a mare". The wives of the believers are exhorted not to look down upon the alms given by their neighbour, "even if it be the burnt leg of a sheep". ʿĀʾiša [q. v.], when fasting, gave to a beggar the only loaf she had with which to break her fast. She received the timely present of a sheep. To some who were ever begging Muḥammad gave, but with the reproof that "the best of gifts is endurance". It was when speaking from the pulpit about almsgiving and about refraining from begging that the Prophet used the oft-quoted saying "The upper hand is better than the lower hand". Mālik interprets that the upper hand is the hand that spends and the under hand is the hand that asks ʿUmar even refused his stipend on the ground that Muḥammad had advised them not to take anything from another. Muhammad explained that he was speaking of asking for gifts. ʿUmar replied that he would never ask, nor would he refuse what came without asking. Muhammad also said· "By Him in whose hand my life is, it were better for one of you to take a rope and gather fuel upon his back, than to beg from one to whom God has given of his bounty, whether he give or refuse". A certain Asadī who had encamped in the Baḳīʿ al-Ghaṛḳad [q. v.] was urged by his family to seek something of Muḥammad. He went and found another applicant being sent away with the words: "The beggar who possesses an ounce of gold or its equivalent is guilty of importunity (*ilḥāf*)", the Prophet adding that he had nothing to give. Mālik explains that an ounce is 40 dirhams. He adds that the Asadī returned to his family without begging, but when the Prophet received fresh supplies, he was not forgotten.

Under the heading "What is disliked in regard to alms" Mālik notes that the family of Muḥammad may not accept alms, which are only "the offscouring of mankind" (*awsāḵḵ al-nās*). It was not lawful for Muḥammad to give alms out of the *Ṣadaḳa* (that is, the *Zakāt*). He might give only of his own. So too Aslam wished a man to

request of ʿUmar to let him ride one of the she camels of the "Ṣadaḳa", but the other asked him if he would like to drink the water in which a person had washed himself. Aslam exclaimed: "God forgive you! Do you say the like of this to me?" The other replied: "Alms are but the offscouring of men, which they wash from off them". There is some slight confusion here between the two senses of *Ṣadaḳa*. So far Mālik.

Al-Bukhārī in the following century deals with *Ṣadaḳa* in both its senses in the xxivth book of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, on *Zakāt*, without perhaps being aware that he is speaking of two different things. Of the voluntary almsgiving he says in various *bābs*, that alms is the duty of a Muslim. If he lack the means to give alms, he must work and gain them. If he cannot find work, he must at least refrain from ill, and this will be counted to him for alms. The alms given should be according to his means, out of the surplus of his possessions. They must be given with the right hand, and not given to the wrong person. A wife may give alms out of her husband's substance, and a slave out of his master's. Begging is not to be indulged in; but alms may be taken from the rich and given to the poor. Almsgiving atones for sin.

Al-Ghazālī discusses almsgiving in the *kitāb asrār al-Zakāt* of the *Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm*, especially in the 8th *wazīfa*, in which he defines the proper recipient of alms He must be ascetic, learned, truthful, uncomplaining, necessitous and related to the giver In the 4th *faṣl* he takes up *Ṣadaḳat al-Taṭawwuʿ*. After recounting sayings ascribed to Muhammad and others, he comes to the question raised in the Ḳorʾān, whether it is better to do alms in secret or openly. Those who prefer to give in secret, say that this preserves the self-respect of the recipient, and does not cause people to talk, nor excite the envy of others. Others hold that alms given openly prevent mistakes and misunderstanding, promote humility, and so on. Ghazālī, like Sir Roger de Coverley, decides that much may be said on both sides, and that all depends on circumstances and motives. He then turns to the question whether it is better to accept *Zakāt* or *Ṣadaḳa*. Some prefer the former because it is a legal due, and does not place those who accept it under an obligation. On the other hand the recipient of the *Zakāt* may not be worthy of help, and the element of friendliness is eliminated Once more Ghazālī declines to make a general rule. Cases differ.

Ibn al-ʿArabī deals with this matter in the *Futūḥ al-Makkiya*, in *bāb* 70, on "the secrets of the *Zakāt*". He also discusses the question of secret or open alms. His definition of voluntary alms has been given above.

The Shīʿite views of *Ṣadaḳa* and *Zakāt* are similar to those of the Sunnīs, but, while both debar the family of the Prophet from benefit of *Zakāt*, the Shīʿites permit them to share in the *Ṣadaḳa*.

Care for the poor is a characteristic of the Semitic peoples, but the Arabs were not troubled by the feeling of pity It is possible, therefore, that the provision made for those in need, whether by voluntary or involuntary aid, may have been borrowed from the Hebrews. Cf. Tobit, xii. 8 *sq.*; Matt. vi. 3, which certainly appear to be quoted. Alms are not a feature of Arabia before Islām, but Freytag gives (xxiv. 5) the proverb: "The best alms are words".

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ṢADAḲA B. MANṢŪR B. DUBAIS B. ʿALĪ B. MAZYAD, SAIF AL-DAWLA ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ASADĪ, ruler of al-Ḥilla. After the death of his father in 479 (1086/1087), Sadaḳa was recognised by the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān as lord of the territory of Malik Shāh on the left bank of the Tigris. During the fighting between Sulṭān Barkiyārūḳ and his brother Muhammad, Ṣadaḳa was at first on the side of the former, but when Barkiyārūḳ's vizier, al-Aʿazz Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Dihistānī, demanded a large sum of money from him in 494 (1100/1101) and finally threatened him with war, Ṣadaḳa abandoned Barkiyārūḳ and had the *khuṭba* read in name of Muḥammad. The Sulṭān then tried to win him back by peaceful means; but Ṣadaḳa demanded that the vizier should be handed over to him and as Barkiyārūḳ could not grant this, the negotiations fell through. Instead of agreeing with Barkiyārūḳ, Ṣadaḳa drove the Sultān's governor out of Kūfa and himself occupied the town. In the following year al-Ḥilla [q. v.] was founded, previously the Banū Mazyad had lived in tents.

When Gümüshtekin al-Ḳaiṣarī by Barkiyārūḳ's orders appeared in Baghdād in the middle of Rabīʿ I, 496 (end of December, 1102), Īlghāzī b. Urtuḳ, Muḥammad's governor there, made an alliance with Ṣadaḳa. In the meanwhile the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir had Barkiyārūḳ again proclaimed Sulṭān; nevertheless Ṣadaḳa still declined to acknowledge his suzerainty. Soon afterwards Barkiyārūḳ's name was again dropped from the *khuṭba* and the imāms confined themselves for the time being to praying for the Caliph only without mentioning by name either of the two contending Sulṭāns. But the war was continued; by Rabīʿ II, 496 (January, 1103) Gümüshtekin had to evacuate Baghdād and as he was unable to hold out in Wāsiṭ either, Muḥammad was again recognised as Sulṭān in both cities. Ṣadaḳa then extended his power over a great part of the ʿIrāḳ; in the same year, he took the town of Hīt on the Euphrates, which Barkiyārūḳ had granted as a fief to one of his followers, and appointed his cousin Thābit b. Kāmil governor of it. In Shawwāl, 497 (June–July, 1104), Wāsiṭ met the same fate and here Muhadhdhib al-Dawla al-Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khair was appointed governor. Next came the turn of Baṣra, which had fallen into the hands of the Saldjūḳ Ismāʿīl b. Arslān-djāḳ during the war between

Barkiyārūḳ and his brothers. It was not till after the death of Barkiyārūḳ that Sulṭān Muḥammad was able to think of dislodging Ismā'īl from it and in 499 (1105/1106) he asked Ṣadaḳa to fight him In Djumādā I of the same year (Jan.–Feb., 1106) Ṣadaḳa took the field against Ismā'īl, who was soon forced to surrender, whereupon Ṣadaḳa appointed one of his grandfather Dubais's Mamlūks named Altūntāsh to govern Basra. But as the latter was very soon surprised and captured by Beduin bandits, the Sulṭān himself appointed another governor in his place. In Ṣafar, 500 (Oct., 1106) Kaikubādh b Hazārasp al-Dailamī, lord of Takrīt, had also to yield. After the death of Barkiyārūḳ, Muḥammad had sent the Emīr Aksunḳur al-Bursukī [q v.] to Takrīt to occupy the town As Kaikubādh would not obey, he was besieged. After several months had passed, he saw the impossibility of holding out any longer, and sent to Ṣadaḳa and surrendered the city to him. Warrām b Abī Firās was then appointed governor of Takrīt. But Muḥammad could not always look on quietly while Ṣadaḳa's power kept growing, especially as the latter never had any scruples about affording shelter to anyone who had fallen into disgrace with the Sulṭān. When Abū Dulaf Surkhāb b. Kaikhusraw, lord of Sāwa, took refuge with him and Ṣadaḳa refused to hand him over, long negotiations between Ṣadaḳa and the Sulṭān only resulted in an open breach between suzerain and vassal. The Sulṭān set out in person from Baghdād with a large army and in the fierce battle which was fought (according to the most usual statement) in the latter half of Radjab, 501 (beginning of March, 1108) Sadaḳa was killed at the age of fifty-nine Like his ancestors he bore the title "Malik al-'Arab"; the highest praise is given him by Arab poets and historians for his virtues, notably his liberality and readiness to give assistance, and he is rightly described by A Muller (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii 122) as "a true Beduin, brave, stubborn and wily".

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(K. V. Zetterstéen)

AL-SA'DĀN, the two lucky stars, Jupiter and Venus in contrast to the two unlucky stars (*nahsān*), Saturn and Mars Jupiter is called the great good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-akbar*; whoever is born under his rule will be among the happy ones in the future life and distinguished for devoutness, fear of God, uprightness and continence. Venus is called the little good fortune, *al-Sa'd al-aṣghar*; whoever is born under Venus may expect good fortune and success in this life, in all worldly pleasures, such as food and drink and especially in all love and matrimonial affairs.

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(I. Ruska)

SA'DĪ, Shaikh Muṣliḥ-al-Dīn, whose renown is second to that of no Persian poet, was born at Shīrāz in 580/1184. His father was in the service of the Salghurid Atābeg, Sa'd b. Zangī, from whom the poet took his *Takhallus*, or poetical pseudonym, of Sa'dī. It has been suggested that this name was taken from Sa'd II, son of Abū Bakr and grandson of Sa'd I, but this is improbable, for Sa'd II did not begin to reign until shortly after Sa'dī, who was then sixty-seven years of age and had already written much, returned to Shīrāz from his travels, and he reigned for no more than twelve days He had no opportunity of doing anything to earn Sa'dī's gratitude, whereas his grandfather had been the patron of the poet's father. Sa'dī began his studies in the famous Nizāmīya College at Baghdād, and continued his education by studying the mysticism of the Ṣūfis under Shaikh 'Abd-al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (Djīlānī) [cf. the art.], with whom he made the pilgrimage to Mekka — a duty which he is said to have performed no less than fourteen times. Of his long life of 102 (lunar) years he spent the first thirty in study, the second thirty in travelling and the composition of poetry, the third thirty in religious seclusion and the completion and arrangement of his poems, and the last twelve in supplying wayfarers with food and water and in discourse on mysticism.

In the course of his travels he visited Asia Minor and India, and in both countries bore arms in djihād against the misbelievers. He says of himself:

I have wandered afar in the ends of the earth,
I have consorted with all sorts and conditions of men,
In every corner have I found both pleasure and profit,
From every harvest have I gleaned a sheaf.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Martyr Prince Muḥammad Khān, governor of Multān on behalf of his father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, invited Sa'dī to visit India once more, and the poet was detered only by his age from setting out on his travels again Of his wit many stories are told Khwādja Humām al-Dīn, a rich citizen of Tabrīz and himself a poet, meeting him in the public baths, asked him whence he came, "From Shīrāz," said Sa'dī "It is strange that there should be more Shīrāzīs than dogs in Tabrīz", said the Khwādja "It is not so at Shīrāz", replied Sa'dī, "for there Tabrīzīs are less than dogs". The Khwādja left the bath but met Sa'dī again in the street "Do they recite the verses of Humām in Shīrāz?" he asked the traveller. "Yes", said Sa'dī, looking at the handsome youth who was fanning the Khwādja, "especially this

"Between me and my beloved Humām stands as a veil;
It is time for me to draw this veil aside".

His wit betrayed him. "You are Sa'dī", exclaimed the Khwādja. "Yes", was the reply; and the delighted Khwādja, having begged his pardon, took him home and feasted him royally.

Sa'dī died at Shīrāz in September, 1292, at the great age of 102 lunar or nearly 99 solar years, and is buried in the environs of the city.

His best known works are the *Būstān* (Garden), written in 1257, and the *Gulistān* ("Rose-garden"), written in the following year, which are read wherever Persian literature is studied. The former is a collection of poems on ethical subjects and the latter is a collection of moral stories in prose.

plentifully interspersed with verse. He has also a *dīwān* or volume of *ghazals* (short odes), a number of *Ḳaṣā'id* (long odes), and collections of poems known as *Ṭayyibāt* (Pleasantries), *Hazlīyāt* (jests) and *Ḵẖubthīyāt* (obscenities). He is regarded as the master of the *ghazal*, or short ode. An unknown poet has written·

"There are three prophets in poesy,
Despite the saying. "There shall be no prophet after me";
One in encomium, one in the *ḳaṣīda*, and one in the *ghazal*;
They are Firdawsī, Anwarī and Saʿdī".

Bibliography. Dawlatshāh, *Taḏhkirat al-Shuʿarā'*, ed E G. Browne (1901), Luṭf ʿAlīb Āḳā Ḵẖān Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, MSS., Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i-Guzīda* (Gibb Memorial Series)
For further details see beneath (T W. Haig)

Literary History. All MSS. of Saʿdī's works are based on the redaction of ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Abū Bakr of Bīsutūn who flourished 50 years after Saʿdī's death. They are divided into a Persian-Indian and a Persian-Turkish family. On the first is based the Calcutta edition of the *Kulliyāt* in two volumes (1791 and 1795), containing also the preface of that redactor. Vol i of this edition begins with the seven so-called *Risāla*'s, prose treatises of mystical and ethical contents. In the same volume follow *Gulistān*, *Būstān* and *Pand-nāma* (generally not considered as Saʿdī's own work; cf. Ethé, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii 295; it is a *maṯhnawī* after the fashion of ʿAṭṭār's *Pand-nāma*). Vol. ii. contains the *Dīwān*, comprising the Arabic and Persian *Ḳaṣīda*'s (lyrical, didactical and panegyrical), the *Marāṯhī*, the *Mulammaʿāt* and *Tarḏjīʿāt* and the four collections of odes Finally the *Ṣāḥibīya* or *Sāhibnāma*, *Mukaṭṭaʿāt*, *Ḵẖabīṯhāt*, *Mudhikāt*, *Rubāʿīyāt*, *Mufradāt* All *Kulliyāt*, published since in Persia and India have about the same division.

Besides the many biographical works on Persian poets, Saʿdī's own works are valuable material to complete our knowledge of his life and the development of his literary production. Thus he must have composed a good deal of the *Ḳasīda*'s in later age, as they are addressed to personalities whom he had known only after his return to Shīrāz. If the four groups of odes have been arranged after the different periods in Saʿdī's life, in which they have originated, the *Ṭayyibāt*, the *Badā'iʿ* and the *Ḵẖawātim* are all to be placed after the poet's return to his native town; they contain a few allusions to events and persons connected with his later life. On the other hand, the *Ghazalīyāt-i Ḳadīm* appear to be a work of his youth. All this, however, is rather uncertain The alphabetical arrangement according to the final letters of each poem makes chronology impossible, but some MSS., constitute an exception, e. g. the oldest known MS. described by Ethé under No. 1117 on p. 655—659 of his *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Indian Office* (No. 876; cf. also p. ii. of White King's Introduction to his edition of the *Ṭayyibāt*, Calcutta 1919); so a careful examination of the older arrangement might give some results The *Ṣāḥibnāma* (ed. and transl. by W. Bacher, *Saʿdi's Aphorismen und Sinngedichte*, Strassburg 1879) containing moralizing poems, was dedicated to the Ṣāḥib-Dīwān Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī and belongs equally to the last period of Saʿdī's life.

In the short stories of *Gulistān* and *Būstān* (also called *Saʿdī-nāma*) there occur many personal recollections of the author. In his monograph on Saʿdī, Massé has tried to restore a biography based on those informations. But he seems to have trusted Saʿdī's veracity too much. The truth of many of these stories has been doubted before (Barbier de Meynard, Rückert) and Saʿdī himself declares that whoever has been much about in the world, may lie a good deal. If we are not wholly to distrust the author, he must have lost his father in an early age, being old enough, however, to remember some of his wise lessons. The anecdote in the *Gulistān* about the poet's visit to *Ḳaṣhgar*, when he was still very young, sounds rather improbable and has puzzled many orientalists, certainly the easiest way is to consider the whole story as fantastical (cf Schaeder in *Der Islām*, xiv. 187). To the period of Saʿdī's youth must equally have belonged his sojourn in Syria as a prisoner of the Franks in Tripoli (Massé suggests of the siege of that town in 1221) and his ephemeral marriage with the daughter of a paternal friend who redeemed him from slavery. It is impossible to follow him closely during the period of his long journeys (± 1226—1255); it seems probable that he visited Central Asia, India, Syria, Egypt, Arabia (many of the short stories relate experiences in the desert on the way to or from Mecca), Abyssinia, Morocco. In India Saʿdī pretends to have passed through the well-known adventure in the temple at Somanāt, where he discovered the priest's trick in deceiving the people and afterwards killed him in order to escape his vengeance. This story too, however, has many intrinsic improbabilities (*Būstān*, ed. Graf, p 388 *sqq*) Saʿdī's second marriage in Yemen is also to be placed in this second period. In the last period of his life he was, as the *Ḳaṣīda*'s prove, in relation with the Atabak Abū Bakr ibn Saʿd ibn Zangī, on whose death he composed an elegy († 1260) and whom he has celebrated in the first pages of the *Būstān*. There is the Arabic *Marṯhīya* on the fall of Baghdād and in the same period his panegyrics on the Mongol conquerors and their satellites. The *Ṭayyibāt* are dedicated to the last Atabak of Fārs, Saldjūḳshāh. There are also *Ḳaṣīda*'s dedicated to Anḳiyānū, the Mongol governor who succeeded that prince, and also to Saʿdī's exalted patrons ʿAṭā Malik and Shams al-Dīn Djuwainī (an anthology of these panegyrics is to be found on p. 67—70 of the Persian introduction to the Gibb Fund edition of the Djahān-Gushā). As in Saʿdī's works there is no allusion whatever to the tragical death of both the brothers Djuwainī (1282 and 1283) Massé thinks that the poet must have died before or very shortly after these events, in that case the informations of the biographers, varying between 1291 and 1292 give too late a date. Now if, as most authors do, the year 580/1184 is adopted as the year of Saʿdī's birth (Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 526), he may not yet have reached 100 (solar) years.

Saʿdī's tomb is outside Shīrāz, a little farther off than that of Ḥāfiẓ. The tombstone is not old, the original one having been destroyed by a fanatical *muḏjtahid*, as Saʿdī is generally believed to have been a Sunnī. It is probable for this same reason that Saʿdī's tomb lies rather deserted, whereas many Shīrāzians have chosen for the place

of their last repose the neighbourhood of Ḥāfiẓ (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 281). According to the colophons in the oldest MSS., the name of the author must have been Musharrif al-Dīn ibn Muṣliḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd-Allāh (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, ii. 595).

Ethé (*Grundriss der Ir. Phil.*, ii. 292) counts Saʿdī among the poets that first have combined the originally separated mystical and didactical tendencies in Persian poetry. With Saʿdī the didactical, moralizing element is predominant; to this it is that he owes his great popularity.

There is no doubt that he was well versed in the "science" of mystics. Besides ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was his teacher in Baghdād (*Būstān*, ed. Graf, p. 150). According to an anecdote told by Aflākī (transl. by Huart, i. 238 *sq.*), he even might have met with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (cf *Būstān*, p. 165 *sqq.*). For him as for other poets the often paradoxical mystical ideas must have been valuable literary material. The question whether Saʿdī was himself susceptible of mystical feelings is probably to be answered in the negative, as his practical nature made him more inclined towards a moralizing attitude, in which he made mysticism only serve a higher moral conception of earthly life. In many instances he puts moderate common sense against exaggerated zeal for the life to come. In his *Būstān* the lofty mystical sentiments of the *Mathnawī* or the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭair* should not be sought for. Saʿdī often speaks of the Ṣūfī's, but his attitude towards them is always more that of a moralist than of a fellow-mystic. His practical mystical ideal is realized in the *Ṣāḥibdilān*, the truly wise people who do not care for the outer appearances of this world, without, however, despising it wholly. For it is precisely the world's perishableness that makes it valuable as a rare ruby, and in many places Saʿdī shows himself a good Muslim, when he finds in the variety and beauty of earthly existence a reason for great thankfulness towards the Creator. He preaches a moderate fatalism and disapproves of exaggeration in the religious life. "Don't be more pious than Muḥammad!"

As a moralist Saʿdī gained much profit from the vicissitudes of life through which he had passed. His knowledge of the world gives to his ideas and opinions a cosmopolitan character, reached by no other Persian poet. It is due, probably, to this fact, together with the elegance of his style, that he has earned his great popularity in his own country and abroad, so that he has been compared with Horace, Rabelais and Lafontaine Saʿdī looks upon the world with sympathetical humour and is seldom satirical; and he can never enough exhort his readers to follow his moral counsels. Now these moral precepts, chiefly to be found in *Gulistān*, *Būstān* and *Pand-Nāma*, are far from being uniform. For common mortals the author cites in the *Pand-nāma* a number of virtues and vices; as the chief virtue he seems to regard "goodness" (*nīkī*), great sympathy for our fellow-creatures without any egotistic view. He that obtains the qualification of good is really immortal. On the other hand Saʿdī's social morals are sometimes quite different; here revengefulness is sometimes recommended instead of mercifulness, insincerity instead of veracity. Man is admonished to guard by all means his independance from other people. Especially for princes several machiavellian precepts are given (the 2nd part of the 6th *risāla* is a short treatise on politics, dedicated to Anḳiānū), and for derwishes again other moral norms exist.

The different aspects of Saʿdī's morality make it difficult to believe in his sincerity, the more so as his morality is considerably compromised by the obscenities uttered in some chapters of the *Gulistān* and in the *Khabithāt*, though, in an introduction to this collection, he tries to excuse himself in saying that he could not withdraw from an order given to him to compose these poems. However, with a Persian poet it is often difficult to separate what belongs to himself and what must be regarded as a concession to the taste of his patrons and of the public. The favour he has met with all through the eastern world should always be taken into serious consideration before judging too severely his character. In any case he has shown himself in all his humanity and he has amply satisfied the predilection for moralizing in literary form, which the Persians have had since pre-islamic times.

Moreover, his elegant style, his ease of expression, the way in which he knows how to make attractive the most tedious moral maxims, in short his art, would have been enough to gain him the admiration of his countrymen. The *Khawātim* are considered to be his most perfect compositions, the Arabic *Ḳaṣīda*'s are less appreciated by orientalists Arabic and Persian lines follow alternately in his *Mulammaʿāt*, and in one of his poems he uses 16 different languages and dialects (Bacher in the *Z D M G*, xxx 89).

In Persia Saʿdī's *Dīwān* is more read and appreciated than the *Būstān* and the *Gulistān* (Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 281). Still, nowadays, many Persians know one of both these works by heart and quite a number of Persian poets have followed Saʿdī in writing similar works They are enumerated by Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ii 297 The most famous of the imitations of the *Gulistān* is Djāmī's [q v] *Bahāristān* But none of them has been able to surpass the originals in popularity.

Outside Persia Saʿdī's influence has been great in Indian and in Turkish literature. After the Calcutta edition the poet's works have often been printed in India, without and with commentaries by Indian scholars. The *Gulistān* has been translated several times into Hindustānī, the best known being the translation of Afsōs (1802) Garcin de Tassy's assertion that Saʿdī must have been the first Hindustānī poet has been definitely refuted now (cf. Browne, *Literary History*, ii. 533). But a certain relation between Saʿdī's way of composition, especially in the *Gulistān*, in which a prose story is everywhere followed by a short poem, and the old well known literary form of Indian tales, admits on the one hand of the supposition of Indian influences on Saʿdī himself and may explain on the other hand his popularity in Hindustān.

Turkish translations of Saʿdī's works were made at an early date. The *Būstān* was translated in 1354 by the learned Taftāzānī (Gibb, *History of Ott. Poetry*, i. 202) and there exists a translation of the *Gulistān*, made in 1391 by

Saif al-Sarayī in the Turkish dialect of Egypt (MS. Leiden, N°. 476 in Dozy's *Catalogus*, i. 355; cf. also *Millī tetebbu'lar medjmū'asī*, Sept.–Oct., 1331, p. 133). The Turkish poet Kemāl Pāshā Zāde († 1534) imitated the *Gulistān* in his Persian *Nigāristān*. Sa'dī belonged to the poets whose works were much studied during the early period of Ottoman literature. In a way he has even been of some influence on the development of modern literature in Turkey, as Ziyā Pāshā, in his autobiography, tells that it was only when he read the *Gulistān* that he discovered what language was (Gibb, *Hist. of Ott. Poetry*, v. 53). In his *Kharabāt* (ed. Constantinople 1291, i. p. 22 of the introduction) Ziyā Pāshā puts Sa'dī above all other Persian poets. "When one reads the *Būstān*, then only does one understand what the world is like". He does not doubt of Sa'dī's sincerity and admires in him the fact, that even in his panegyrics he is still courageous enough to remind the mighty of the earth of moral precepts During the xix^th century several other Turkish translations have appeared. Turkish scholars have also undertaken to write commentaries on *Būstān* and *Gulistān*, such are Surūrī († 1561), Sham'ī, Sūdī (both at the end of the xvi^th century), Hawā'ī, al-Bursawī and others. In the xix^th century some of these commentaries were printed

The existing translations of the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān* and sometimes of other of Sa'dī's works, in all modern languages, prove sufficiently the great renown he has obtained beyond the boundaries of Islām First, the *Gulistān* became known through the French translation by André du Ryer (Paris 1634), followed by several editions in Latin (by Gentius, Amsterdam 1651), German (by Olearius, Hamburg 1654), Dutch (transl. from Olearius) and English (by Sullivan in 1774). The *Būstān* appeared later. In the xvii^th century Thomas Hyde is said to have made a translation of it. The oldest printed translation is in Dutch (Amsterdam 1688) by D. H(avart) So in West-European literature Sa'dī became familiar as early as the xvii^th century, mention need only be made here to the works of Lafontaine, Voltaire and Goethe.

The latest monograph on Sa'dī is Henri Massé's *Essai sur le poète Saadi* (Paris 1919), a dissertation for the doctorate of the Alger University. In his *Thèse Complémentaire*, called *Biographie de Saadi* (Paris 1919) Massé gives a very valuable bibliographical survey, to which reference may be made here. Since that date a new edition of Sa'dī's odes has begun to appear: Sir Lucas White King, *The Odes of Sheikh Muṣliḥu -d-Dīn Sa'dī Shīrāzī* Part I (*Ṭayyibāt*), Fasc. i (1919), ii. (1920), iii. (1921), published at Calcutta in the Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, N° 1424.

(J. H KRAMERS)

AL-SA'DĪ, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'IMRĀN B. 'ĀMIR, the historian of the Songhai kingdom in the Sūdān, belonged to an old family of scholars in Timbuktu where he was born on 1st Djumādā II, 1004 (1596); here he received his education from Aḥmad Bābā [q. v.]. On the conclusion of his studies he sought with his brothers a sphere of activity in Djenne [q. v.], the old commercial town which at that time rivalled Timbuktu as a commercial and intellectual centre. Here in 1036 (1626) he succeeded in obtaining the post of Imām of the Sankore Mosque, i. e. of the mosque in the foreign quarter, having previously acted as deputy for his predecessor in the office. He extended his knowledge of the world at the end of 1039 (July 1630) by a journey to the Fulbe kingdom of Māsina north of Djenne on the left bank of the Niger, which at that time included the island of Djimbala in the Niger. It was the Ḳāḍī there who had invited him, but he received such an honourable reception from the Sulṭān himself and the notables of the kingdom, that he repeated his visit three years later. On this occasion he rendered diplomatic services to the Sulṭān by settling a feud between him and one of his vassals. He and his family, however, suffered a good deal from the tyranny of the Moroccan governors in Djenne. In 1044 (1634) one of his brothers was banished from his new home to Timbuktu and he had to go back there to intervene on his behalf. Two years later he himself was even dismissed from his office On complaining to the Pasha in Timbuktu, the latter gave him this much satisfaction that he dismissed the Ḳā'id who had been his enemy. But he gave up further claim to his office and preferred to live as a private individual and occasionally placed his knowledge at the disposal of the smaller vassals in the southern Songhai kingdom as secretary and teacher. In 1056 (1646), however, the Pasha of Timbuktu, Muḥammad b. Muhammad b. 'Othmān, summoned him to be his Secretary of State, and he seems to have held this office under Muḥammad's successors also till his death. On several expeditions on which he had to accompany the Pasha, he became acquainted with the north and east of the Songhai kingdom which he did not hitherto know. He then decided to write a history of his native land which he entitled *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*. He introduced his work with the early history of the tribes of the Songhai, Melli and Tuareg, and of the towns of Djenne and Timbuktu In 1853/54 Barth was able to make extracts from the smaller half of this history in Timbuktu and G. Ralfs published these in a translation in the ZDMG, ix 518 *sqq*. He interspersed these remarks with numerous ethnographical digressions — introduced as *'ādāt* —, which Barth omitted. In chapter x he gives a survey of the scholars of Timbuktu as a supplement to Ahmad Bābā's *Dhail al-Dībādj*. The history proper begins with the establishment of Muslim rule by the Khāridjī Sunnī 'Alī in the ninth (fifteenth) century He then describes the rule of the orthodox Askiyā dynasty and the conquest of the kingdom by the Moroccans and their dominion down to the death of the author. The style is much interspersed with colloquialisms and is faulty in other respects also. The date of completion of the chronicle is given by him as Monday, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 5, 1063 (Oct. 28, 1653). On the following day he added a list of officials as an appendix. In a further appendix he detailed happenings down to Djumādā I 16, 1066 (March 14, 1656). He seems to have died soon afterwards. A continuation to his work, a history of the Moroccan governors in the Songhai kingdom entitled *Tadhkirat al-Nasyān*, was written in 1164 (1751) by an unnamed author, who was born in Timbuktu in 1112 (1700) and was a grandson of the Emīr Muḥammad b. Sūwū.

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Sūdān, ed. O. Houdas and Edm. Benoist, *PELOV*, series 4, xii. (Paris 1898); *Documents Arabes relatifs à l'histoire du Soudan. Tedzkiret en Nisyān fi Akhbār Molouk es-Soudān*, ed. by O. Houdas and Edm Benoist, *P. Ec. Lang. Or. Viv.*, series 4, xix. (Paris 1899).

(C. BROCKELMANN)

SA'DIANS (BANŪ SA'D), the name of the dynasty of Sharīfs in Morocco which in 1544 (951) replaced the Waṭṭāsid dynasty on the throne of Fās.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the expeditions of the Portuguese and Spanish against the Muslim lands in Spain or North Africa had raised to a great pitch the fanaticism of the Berbers and of the Arabs who reacted violently under the leadership of holy men, sharīfs [q. v.] and marabouts [q v].

In a country organised according to tribes or divided into numerous little states of a feudal character, among peoples whose only link of solidarity was the bond of religion and who were often at war with one another, the powerless rulers had had to submit to the Christian invaders Then under the influence and the guidance of marabouts, knowing only Islām, acting in its name and not in that of the State which they ignored, centres of resistance were formed nearly along the whole length of the coast of North-west Africa. In this revolution those dynasties which had not tried, or had not been able, to direct the movement into regular channels were swept away, new powers, with the support of the religious party, in their place established themselves, notably the Turks in Algiers and the Sa'dian Sharīfs or Banū Sa'd in al-Sūs (district in Southern Morocco). Chronicles and traditions are quite in agreement regarding the fortunes of the latter.

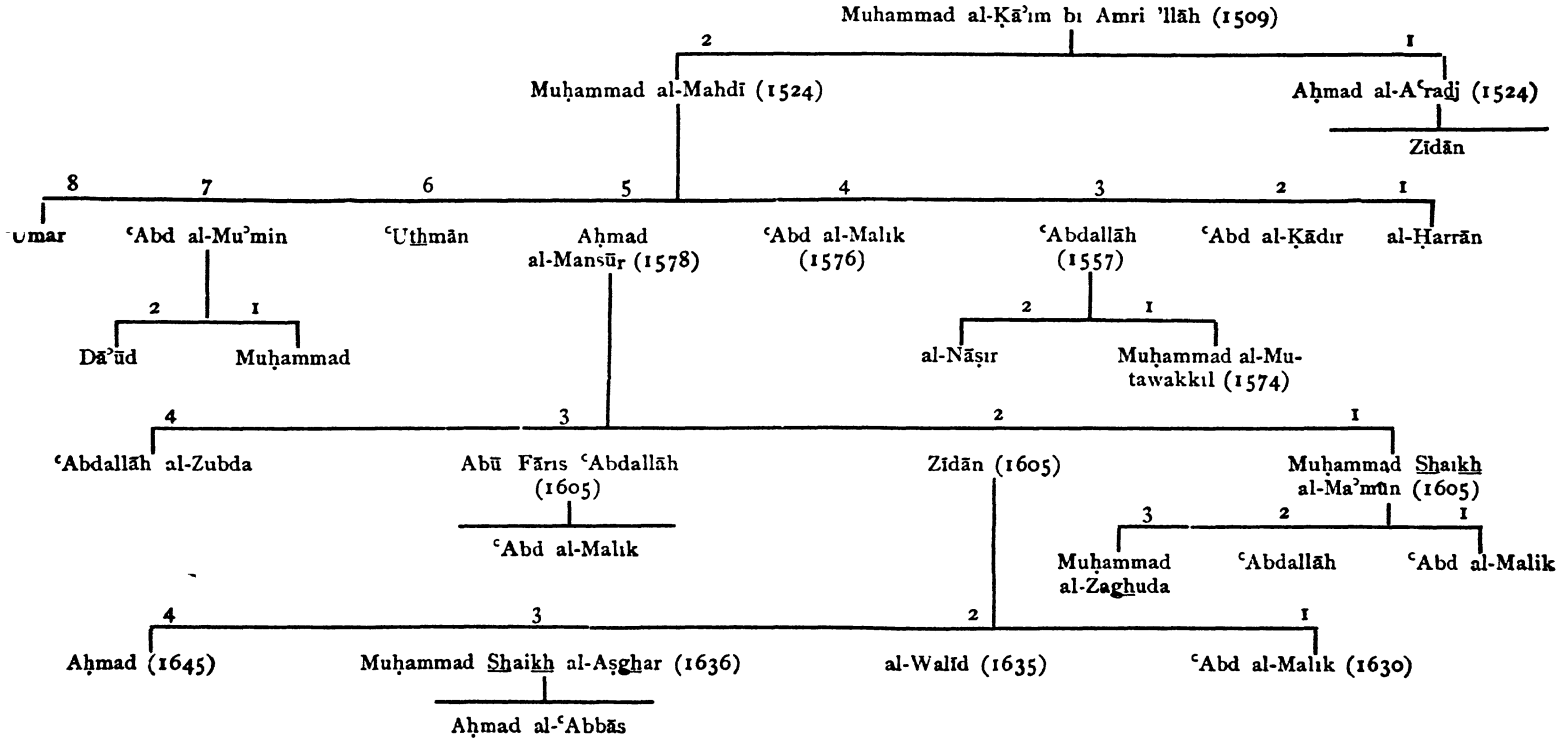
The first of the Banū Sa'd to come to power was a certain Muhammad surnamed al-Mahdī and al-Kā'im bi Amri 'llāh He practised magic, it appears. He had been put by Sidī 'Abdallāh U-mbarek, the most important holy man in al-Sūs, at the head of the tribes fighting against the Portuguese in this area. Some successes gained against the Christians and rather tactless pecuniary assistance given by the Wattāsid Sultān of Fās to the two sons of the sharif consolidated the latter's position. He took advantage of this to extend his power to the north of al-Sūs and had himself proclaimed sovereign in 1509 (915). He died at Afughāl in al-Haha about 1517/18 (924).

Aḥmad al-A'radj and Muḥammad (also surnamed al-Mahdī), his two sons, succeeded him They fortified themselves first at Tarudant, capital of al-Sūs, on account of the inroads of the Christians who were masters of the coast to the south of Anfā (Casablanca); then they made an alliance against them with the governor of Marrākesh. The assassination of this governor enabled them to seize the town where Ahmad al-A'radj was installed as ruler. The activities of the two sharifs had been facilitated by the conflict of duties and the rivalries between the Portuguese agents Nunho Mascarenhas and Yaḥyā ben Tahfūfa, their task was rendered still more easy when the latter, taken by surprise and killed, was disposed of. Henceforth masters of the capital of Southern Morocco and strongly supported by the majority of the marabouts, they gave offence to Muḥammad al-Bortgali, the Waṭṭāsid Sultān of Fās, who laid siege to them several times in Marrākesh but without success until he died in 1525 (971). Competition arose on the death of this ruler between three claimants to the throne from his family and the result was anarchy, civil war and progress by the Christians. The new Waṭṭāsid Sultān Aḥmad in order to have freedom of action against the latter treated with the Sharīfs, abandoning to them the government of Marrākesh and of its territory. But they feeling strong enough broke the agreement. The Sultān took the field against them and was defeated at the battle of Bū Aḳba (July, 1536/942). Fighting between the various tribes became more and more frequent, the country threatened to sink into anarchy while the menace of invasion by the Christians was always hanging over it. Then the marabouts intervened to impose peace by dividing the kingdom between the two rival factions. This is what was done.

Rivalry then broke out between the two brother Sharīfs Muhammad al-Mahdī seized the lands of Aḥmad al-A'radj and exiled him, then continued the struggle with the Sultān of Fās, whose capital he took for the first time (1550/957). The Waṭṭāsids were interned at Tarudant, but one of them, the former claimant Bū Hassūn, a refugee first in Spain, then at Algiers, succeeded in procuring the intervention of the Turks. With their support he captured Fās and was proclaimed there But the massacre of the Waṭṭāsids at Tarudant and the assassination of Bū Hassūn left the Sharīf Muhammad sole master of Morocco. He once more entered Fās where he was definitely proclaimed Sultān in 1554 (951). This prince, energetic, clever and adroit, and gifted with the qualities of an organiser, may be considered the real founder of the dynasty of the Banū Sa'd. He demanded from trade and from industrial monopolies the resources which war did not supply him in sufficient quantities In exchange for his produce, England supplied him with arms. His successors followed his example in this respect. He also supported the policy of Spain against the Turks, which cost him his life, for they assassinated him in 1557 (965). His son 'Abd Allāh, called al-Ghālib, succeeded him, followed the same policy and tried to counteract the preponderating influence of the religious party. He died in 1574 (981). His son Muhammad al-Mutawakkil had to fight for his throne against his two uncles, 'Abd al-Malik known as Mūlāy Mulūk, and Aḥmad. It was a rare thing on the death of a Moroccan sovereign when the 'ulamā' of Fās proclaimed as his successor the same person as the 'ulamā' of Marrākesh. When one of the claimants was supported by the Turks, the other immediately sought the assistance of the Christians. This was a necessity imposed by the difficulty of obtaining military supplies. The Turks had another important reason for interfering in the affairs of Morocco, this was the claim of the Moroccan Sharīfs to exclusive legitimacy in the government of Islām as sharīfs descended from the Prophet and this meant a great deal to the Sultāns in Stambul.

The Christians, pursuing their policy of occupying the coast, took advantage of the confusion to get ports ceded to them. Their lack of a Muslim religious policy enabled the religious party to exasperate more and more the inhabitants of various districts and to bring about a divorce between them and the sovereigns of the Maghrib.

Genealogy of the Sa'dian Sulṭāns[1])



1) The figures in brackets give the date of the first proclamation of the ruler.

The Arab tribes and the Berber tribes, never quite reconciled to one another, favoured sometimes one and sometimes the other pretender. Like the Christians, the Turks charged dearly for their services, and sometimes, to weaken their neighbours still more, lent their help to several competitors at the same time.

Mūlāy Mulūk, supported by the Turks of Algiers, was proclaimed ruler of Morocco. But Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil attacked him with Portuguese assistance A famous battle took place at Wād Makẖāzin (battle of the three kings) in which the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, his ally Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil and Mūlāy Mulūk were all three killed. The ex-pretender Aḥmad was then proclaimed sovereign of Morocco with the support of the Turks (1578 = 986).

The latter is known as Aḥmad al-Mansūr, or Aḥmad al-Dẖahabī. He kept on good terms with the Turks and took advantage of the respite offered him by the Portuguese and Spaniards, who were exhausted or occupied in Europe, to conquer the Sūdān. This was the most remarkable episode in the history of the dynasty. This ruler died of the plague in 1603 (1012) His three sons at once disputed the succession; the one, Muḥammad Shaikh, known as al-Ma'mūn, was the candidate of Philip III, Zīdān, proclaimed at Fās, was supported by the Turks while Abū Fāris was proclaimed at Marrākesh The latter succeeded in defeating his rival of Fās, who took refuge with the Turks, then tried to reconquer Morocco from the south. But the people of Fās preferred to submit to al-Ma'mūn who was proclaimed in 1604 (1013). The assassination of Abū Fāris by 'Abd Allāh, son of al-Ma'mūn, disposed of one of the rivals but the struggle between the two surviving brothers continued. Zīdān was proclaimed and dethroned three times in all

The marabouts, to whom the Banū Sa'd had at first owed their elevation to the throne, took advantage of the situation to strengthen their personal power in their sphere of influence Their attitude forced the Sultāns to take action against them. In 1610 (1018) the cession of Larache to the Spaniards by al-Ma'mūn became the signal for general risings. Piracy against the Christians developed at Tetwan and at Salā (Sla) [q. v.]. An adventurer, Abū Maḥallī, seized Tafilalt, Dra'a and Marrākesh. He was threatening to occupy the whole of Morocco when he was killed in 1613 = 1021. In the north-west the town of Sla and the surrounding country accepted the rule of a marabout, al-Ayāshī.

Sulṭān Zīdān continued to reign, buffeted about by all these troubles, and died in 1627 = 1038 His three sons, 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd and Muḥammad Shaikh al-Aṣghar, were equally the plaything of Christians, Turks and marabouts for over nine years The latter reigned at this time quite without restraint: a certain 'Alī Bū Domaiya was master of al-Sūs; Tafilalt was ruled by a creature of the Turks, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; the marabouts of the Zāwiya of Dila ruled Tedla and the region of Fās; al-Ayāshī, champion of the holy war against the Christians, had added al-Gharb and al-Ḥabaṭ to his territory. Muḥammad Shaikh al-Aṣghar succeeded in getting himself proclaimed at al-Marrākesh in 1636 (1045) but he was confined to this one town of his. Even there Karrūm al-Ḥādidī, a kind of mayor of the palace, seized the power on the death of the Sulṭān. He imprisoned Aḥmad al-'Abbās, son and successor of the ruler Muḥammad Shaikh, and put him to death (1654 = 1064) With the latter the Sa'dian dynasty disappeared, after lasting about a century, just at the time when that of the 'Alawī Sharīfs, originally of Tafilalt, began to establish themselves in the north of Morrocco.

Order of succession.

1. al-Ḳā'im, proclaimed in 1509 in al-Sūs;
2. { Muḥammad al-Mahdī, proclaimed with his brother in 1524; Aḥmad al-A'raj, proclaimed with his brother in 1524,
3. Muḥammad al-Mahdī alone; he was proclaimed at Fās in 1554;
4. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālib, proclaimed in 1554;
5. al-Mutawakkil, proclaimed in 1574;
6. 'Abd al-Malik, also called Mūlāy Mulūk, proclaimed in 1576;
7. Ahmad al-Manṣūr, proclaimed in 1578;
8. { Abū Fāris 'Abdallāh, proclaimed in 1605; Zīdān " " " Muḥammad Shaikh al-Ma'mūn, proclaimed in 1605;
9. 'Abd al-Malik b. Zīdān, proclaimed in 1630,
10. al-Walīd, proclaimed in 1635;
11. Muḥammad Shaikh al-Asghar, proclaimed in 1603. He died in 1654 His son, Aḥmad al-'Abbās, never reigned but was assassinated in the same year, with him the line became extinct.

Bibliography· A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, and the sources quoted on p. iv. *sqq.*, do., *La Dynastie marocaine des Beni Waṭṭâs*, Constantine 1920, pp. 113—234, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, especially pp. 87—140 on the historians of the dynasty of the Sa'dians, E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, especially the extract from the chronicle of al-Djannābī, pp. 285—354, and the anonymous chronicle of the dynasty of the Banū Sa'd, pages 360—457; S Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, London 1894, pp. 60—62. (A. Cour)

ṢADĪḲĪ, the name given by Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore (1197—1213 = 1782—99) to a gold coin of the value of two pagodas, weighing 106 grains (6 86 grammes). The name is derived from the well-known epithet of Abū Bakr [cf. the art. ṢIDDĪḲ], in accordance with Tīpū's custom of naming his denominations after khalīfas or imāms.

(J. Allan)

SA'DĪYA or Djibāwiya, an order of dervishes named after the founder Sa'd al Dīn al-Djibāwī, i. e. of Djibā, "between the Ḥawrān and Damascus". His death-date is variously given as 700 and 736 A. H.; and the accounts which we have of him are clearly fabulous. According to the *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i. 34, his father was the Shaikh Yūnus al-Shaibānī, a pious man, whom in his youth he disobeyed, becoming a leader of banditti in the Ḥawrān; owing, however, to his father's prayers he was favoured with a vision which resulted in his conversion. The authority followed by Depont and Coppolani makes him practise severe asceticism, and visit various sanctuaries, including Mekka; after this he returned to Syria, and founded in Damascus the order which bears his name, but which is traced by a *silsila* through

Djunaid, Sarī Saḳaṭī and Maʿrūf al-Karkhī to the Imāms of the Prophet's house.

In the *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, the author of which died in 1092 A. H., the Banū Saʿd al-Dīn appear as a society (*ṭāʾifa*) in Damascus, noted for their piety; there they held a service in the Umaiyad Mosque after the Friday prayer, and they possessed a *zāwiya* in the district Ḳubaibāt, whence the descendants of the founder took the name Ḳubaibātī (i. 33 and ii. 208). The biography of Muḥammad known as Ibn Saʿd al-Dīn, who became shaikh of the society in 986 A. H. (ibid., iv. 160), seems to suggest that the institution began with him; for it records how having begun life as a trader he was miraculously converted at Mekka. With him one of his brothers was associated, and the two divided the duties of the headship between them; presently domestic disputes arose, and this Muḥammad became sole head of the society, in which capacity he acquired vast wealth, and became the most influential personage in Damascus He died in 1020, and was succeeded by his son Saʿd al-Dīn, who died on pilgrimage in 1036.

In this account the Banū Saʿd al-Dīn specialized in the cure of insanity. "On a scrap of paper they draw some lines anyhow, and the patient is cured thereby (i. e by drinking the water in which the scrap has been immersed). In order to drink it he must abstain from everything spirituous; they then write an amulet which the patient is to use (wear on his person) after he has drunk the potion. The words which they signify by the lines and which they write on the amulet are the *basmala*".

At some time — possibly later than this period — the society spread to Egypt and Turkey; Depont and Coppolani give a long list of its meeting-places in Constantinople and the neighbourhood. They regard the Saʿdiya as a branch of the Rifāʿiya, but the authorities of J. P Brown make of it an original order, and, indeed, second in the list. He states (p. 56) that the Saʿdi's have twelve *teiks* in their cap, wear turbans of a yellowish colour and perform on foot The cloth of the cap which covers the head is in six gores (p. 214), and they wear long hair. They are supposed to possess special powers over snakes.

In Lane's time the order was well represented in Egypt, and on the day preceding the night of the Mawlid practised the ceremony called *dōsa*, wherein the shaikh of the order rode on horseback over the backs of the dervishes, who lay flat on the ground with their faces downwards for the purpose. It was supposed that none of them suffered any harm in consequence. This ceremony was forbidden by the khedive Tawfik. After the *dōsa* there used to be an assembly wherein some of the dervishes ate live serpents; according to Lane, the serpents had first been deprived of their poisonous teeth or rendered incapable of biting; all that was eaten of the serpent was the head to the point about two inches further back where the thumb of the dervish pressed. By the time of Lane's second visit this practice had been forbidden by the shaikh of the order on the ground that such food was unlawful. The *dōsa* was then followed by a *dhikr*, where in the formulae employed were *Allāhu ḥayy* and *Yā Dāʾim*.

The *dōsa* resembles performances by Ṣūfīs of a much earlier period, who were supposed to override natural laws in a variety of ways. Egyptian historians do not appear to allude to it, unless al-Djabartī have it in mind when he commends the Khalwatīya system for not enforcing on its members more than they can bear (i. 294 ult.). It does not therefore seem possible at present to say when or whence it was introduced. The practice of snake-charming, whereby followers of the order are said to make their living still in Egypt, is attributed to the founder and explained by fables connected with his conversion.

Writers on Ṣūfism pay little attention to this order, though it is just mentioned in the *Djāmiʿ al-Uṣūl*, without any specification of its doctrines or practices. The founder is mentioned neither in the *Ṭabakāt* of al-Shaʿrānī, nor in the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of al-Djāmī, who suggests that one Saʿd al-Dīn al-Hamawī, d. 650 A. H., was the founder of a society It would seem then that the society began with a medico-magical aim, and by process of development became a mystical order.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, Cairo 1284; Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1871; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1886

(D. S. Margoliouth)

SĀDJ, the teak tree, *tectona grandis*, a large tree belonging to the verbenaceae with broad lancet-like leaves, "like the shields of the Dailam". It is found principally in the drier parts of Further India, in Burma, Siam and Java and, according to Arabic sources, also in East Africa (Zandj). The dark coloured hard wood resists, as no other does, the effects of sea-water and has therefore from ancient times been the best wood for shipbuilding Nor is it attacked by insects. The main markets for it were Basra and Egypt. Ibn al-Baiṭār (transl Leclerc, ii), p. 233, mentions the use in medicine of the powdered wood and of an oil obtained from the fruit.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, iii. 166, 167 (with illustrations); al-Masʿūdī (ed. Paris), iii. 12, 56. (J. Ruska)

SADJʿ is the name given to a peculiar mode of rhetoric in which at short intervals words occur which rhyme, though it is distinguished from poetry (*Shiʿr*) by not being bound by a regular rhythm or metre. Probably this was the earliest mode of elevated expression practised by the Arabs before the development of the regular metres. There is ample evidence that it was this mode of expression practised by the Kāhins [q v.] of the times of Paganism for their oracles, though the examples cited in the Sīra of Ibn Hishām and in the traditions can hardly have been handed down correctly. We can safely believe Ibn al-Kalbī that the Arabs remembered nothing of their ancient poetry except that which was composed very shortly before Islām (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. Cairo 1332, p. 12, 5) and we must assume from this, that no very ancient Sadjʿ has been preserved. I believe, however, that we are safe in allowing that the various Talbiyāt, or shouts uttered by pilgrims to the many shrines, as recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī (*Aṣnām*, p. 8) and elsewhere, are handed down correctly as they must have been in vivid memory at the beginning of Islām. Such Talbiyāt were, no

doubt, ancient ritual property of the tribes and go back to remoter antiquity than the Sadj^c-speeches of Ḳuss b. Sā^cida and other rhetoricians of pre-islāmic times. We are told that Ḍamra b Ḍamra, al-Aḳra^c b. Ḥābis and others used to give their judgments in Sadj^c when they acted as judges (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i. 113, 9). Muḥammad reproved a man who used Sadj^c by saying: "Do you speak Sadj^c like the Kāhins of Paganism?" (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i. 112, 20), he also prohibited it to be used in prayers (Bukhārī, ed. Juynboll, iv. 194, 2). Yet the most striking of Sadj^c is the Ḳur'ān itself, especially the older Sūra's are kept in the same tone as the specimens of the oracles of the Kāhins quoted by Ibn Hishām, as e. g. the oracles of Shiḳḳ and Satīḥ (*Sīra*, p. 11 etc.). Later authors, Djāḥiẓ, al-Ḳālī and others delight in citing descriptions of weather, persons etc in Sadj^c attributed as a rule to anonymous Beduins. These quotations are probably in all cases inventions by philologists to enable them to explain the many difficult words, which could not have been accumulated as easily in a forged poem of regular metre There was, however, from early time a predilection for this style of prose, which found its fullest development in the literature of the Maḳāmāt of Badi^c al-Zamān, Harīrī and their imitators. The style unfortunately found its way into letter-writing, and while the earliest specimens of letters, both private and official, are remarkably free from Sadj^c, with progress of time its use increased to such an extent, that both private and official correspondence became conspicuous for the volume of rhymed sentences with very little meaning It was considered the height of accomplishment in a secretary to write in Sadj^c. The style was called Mamzūdj but the matter was the same Sadj^c invaded other branches of literature, even the chronicles, of which conspicuous specimens are in Arabic the *Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī* and ^cImād al-Dīn's writings and in Persian the history of Waṣṣāf. In both these works everything is sacrificed for the jingling rhymes. This exuberance of Sadj^c may be due to the bad taste of the Persians who from ^cAbbāsid times increasingly took a larger share in Arabic letters; the disease seems to spread gradually towards the West and has become one of the main causes why so much of Muhammadan literature, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or any other language under their influence, does not appeal to European tastes

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (ed. Cairo, 1310), i. 111—118; Abū Hilāl al-^cAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā^catain* (ed Const. 1320), p. 199—203; Marzūḳī, *Azmina* (ed. Haidarābād 1332), p 179 *sqq.*, and the Arabic dictionaries s. v. *Sadj^c*.

(F. KRENKOW)

SADJĀḤ, Umm Ṣādir bint Aws b. Ḥikk b. Usāma, or bint al-Ḥārith b. Suwaid b. ^cUḳfān, prophetess and soothsayer, one of several prophets and tribal leaders who sprang up in Arabia shortly before and during the *ridda*. The genealogy, which her history proves to be the true one, shows that she belonged to the Banū Tamīm. On her mother's side she was related to the Taghlib, a tribe which comprised many Christians. She was a Christian herself, or at least had learnt much concerning Christianity from her relatives. Next to nothing is known concerning the import of her revelations and doctrines; she delivered her messages from a *minbar*, in rhymed prose, and was attended by a *mu'adhdhin* and a *ḳādjib*. Her name, or one of her names, for God was "the Lord of the clouds" (*rabb al-saḥāb*).

Sadjāḥ came to the fore in 11 A. H., after Muḥammad's death. One account of her exploits describes her as a Taghlib upstart, who had arrived from Mesopotamia at the head of a band of followers belonging to Rabi^ca, Taghlib, the Banū al-Namr, the Banū Iyād, the Banū Shaibān; she found the Tamīm divided, in consequence of the Prophet's death, by deep internal strife between apostates, Muslims and those who wavered between revolt and allegiance to Medīna, and succeeded in converting by her revelations and uniting under her command both branches of Ḥanẓalah (the Banū Mālik and the Banū Yarbū^c), which she intended to lead against Medīna. The extent of her influence on the Tamīm seems, however, to have been much greater than this version, intended to minimize their share in the *ridda*, would have us believe. The prophetess was no outsider, she really belonged to the Tamīm, as the end of her career implies, and had gained, probably for some time before Muhammad's death, the support of her whole tribe, whose conversion to Islām had been mainly a matter of expediency, easily shaken off.

Sadjāḥ's forces began by attacking the Banū Ribāb, in obedience to one of her revelations, and were severely beaten Repairing to al-Nibādj (in Yamāma) they suffered a second defeat at the hands of the Banū ^cAmr, and Sadjāḥ had to promise that she would leave the territory of the Tamīm. Followed by the Yarbū^c, she decided to join the prophet Musailima, who still controlled most of Yamāma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore her own. Their encounter happened at al-Amwāh or at Hadjr Musailima was menaced by the Muslim army, and the neighbouring tribes threatened to shake off his authority, so that the arrival of a vanquished, ambitious and desperate colleague, accompanied by many armed followers, proved a trying, indeed a dangerous visitation. There is no reliable account of the meeting: according to one version, the strange couple came to an understanding, recognized each other's mission and decided to unify their two religions and their worldly interests, they were actually married, and the prophetess stayed by Musailima to the hour of his tragic death. Al-Ṭabarī preserves obscene and very probably fictitious details concerning this union, which must have been rather a political alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to these legends, was celebrated in the same walled garden where Musailima was to meet his death.

Other accounts of the meeting are that Musailima, after having married Sadjāḥ, cast her off, and that she returned to her people; a third version does not mention the marriage, and says that the prophet tried to persuade his rival and would-be ally to attack the Muslims, hoping thus to get rid of her; on her refusal he offered, if she consented to depart, half the year's crops of Yamāma; she declined to go unless he promised half of the next year's harvest as well, set off with the first part of the booty, and left her representatives with Musailima to wait for the rest, repairing to her kinsfolk. The second part of the ransom was never collected, as Musailima was vanquished and massacred by Khālid before the next harvest.

Whatever the outcome of Sadjāḥ's relations with

Musailima, her own career was either merged into his, or cut short by repulse, and we hear nothing more of her mission. According to all accounts, she went back to her native tribe, and lived obscurely amongst them. On Ibn al-Kalbī's authority we learn that she embraced Islām when her family decided to settle in Baṣra, which had become the principal centre of the Tamīm under the Umaiyads, lived and died there a Muslim, and was buried with the customary prayers and ceremonies

Bibliography al-Ṭabarī (ed de Goeje), i 1911—1920; al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p 99—100; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xviii. 165, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, ii., App , p 73; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarb*, vi 13—15, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, A. H 11, § 160—164, 170—173, A. H 12, § 92—93 , Fānī, *Dābistān*, transl Shea and Troyer (London 1843), vol. iii.

(V. Vacca)

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ Abu 'l-Fadl (according to others Abū ʿAbd allāh or Abū DJaʿfar) Muhammad b. Ṭaifūr al-Ghaznawī, reader of the Ḳor'ān, died about 560 = 1164/5. While he also occupied himself with Ḳor'ān exegesis and grammar, he is mainly known by his works on the recitation of the Ḳor'ān At quite an early period a beginning was made with distinguishing different kinds of pauses in reciting the Kor'ān [see the article ḳirā'a]. Al-Sadjāwandī further developed the system in his work on this subject entitled *Kitāb al-Wakf wa'l-Ibtidā'*. He divided the possibilities of allowing a pause to intervene into 5 categories and in addition instituted as an abbreviation for each a letter of the alphabet 1) *wakf lāzim (m)*, 2) *w. muṭlak (ṭ)*, 3) *w djā'iz (dj)*, 4) *w. mudjawwaz liwadjhin (z)*, 5) *w. murakhkhaṣ ḍarūratan (ṣ* or *ḍ)*. His system was soon generally adopted in a somewhat extended form and therefore in the later eastern copies of the Ḳor'ān (except the Maghribī) we find pause marks, which are either placed according to his system or are at least dependent on it.

Bibliography Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flugel, iii. 326, iv. 284, v 170, vii. 858; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mufassirīn*, ed. A Meursinge (Leiden 1839), No. 98; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fi ʿUlūm al-Ḳur'ān* (Cairo 1287), i 105 *sq.*, S. de Sacy, *Notice d'un traité des pauses dans la lecture de l'Alcoran* (*N. E*, ix. 111—116); Th. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i. 387 *sq*

(R. Paret)

AL-SADJĀWANDĪ Sirādj al-Din Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd, jurist, belonging to the Ḥanafī school and flourishing about the year 1200 A. D. His *Kitāb al-Farā'iḍ*, known as *al-Farā'iḍ al-Sirādjiya* or briefly *al-Sirādjiya*, which deals with the law of inheritance, is celebrated and widely used and regarded as the principal work on this field. The author himself was the first to write a commentary on it and since then it has been frequently edited and annotated by other scholars down to the present time, sometimes also in Turkish and Persian.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, i. 248, ii. 207 *sq.*, 562, iii. 325, 376, 384, 482, iv. 399—406; G. Flugel. *Ibn Ḳuṭlūbugā's Ṭabaḳāt der Hanefiten* (*Abhandlungen der D. M. G.*, vol. ii., No. 3), No. 166; R. Basset, *Les manuscrits arabes de la Zaouyah d'El Hamel*, No. 31 (*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, x. 58—64); G. Flügel *Die Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten* (*Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der kgl Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, iii., 1881) 318; Brockelmann, *G A L.* i. 378.

(R. Paret)

SADJDA, Prostration (see Sudjūd). The word has almost the same value in practice as our "adoration". It is used as the title of two sūra's (xxxii and xli) which are distinguished from one another by the opening letters; the second is called *ḥ-m al-Sadjda*, because it begins with the letters *ḥ-m* The ideas and the subject in these two sūra's are analogous; the Prophet presents the revealed book, praises the pious who believe, give alms and perform the ṣalāt, threatens the impious and reveals the signs of God in nature. Noldeke puts these two sūra's down to the third period in the second the Prophet is said to have had in view the conversion of the Meccan notable ʿOtba b. Rabīʿa Sūra xxxii was also called *al-Maḍādjiʿ* "couches" and *al-Djuruz* "barren soil", Sūra xl *Fuṣṣilat* "They believe only in our verses; when they are recited to them, they fall prostrate or rise from their couches calling upon their Lord" Pious readings and night prayers were already in use among the devout at the period when these sūra's were published.

Bibliography. The Ḳor'ān and its commentaries, Th. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, Leipzig 1909. (Carra de Vaux).

SADJDJĀDA (a , plural *sadjdjādjid*, *sadjdjādjia sawādjid*), the carpet on which the *ṣalāt* is performed. The word is found neither in the Kor'ān nor in the canonical Ḥadīth, the article itself, however, was known at quite an early period, as may be seen from the traditions about to be mentioned. In the Hadīth we are often told how Muḥammad and his followers performed the *ṣalāt* on the floor of the mosque in Medīna after a heavy shower of rain with the result that their noses and heads came in contact with the mud (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 135, 151, Muslim *Ṣiyām*, trad. 214—216, 218 etc) This shows that at the time when such traditions arose the use of these carpets was not so general that people dated their origin as far back as the time of the Prophet. With this may be compared the fact that in a series of traditions the saying is put into Muhammad's mouth that it was his privilege in contrast with the other prophets that the earth was for him *masdjid wa-ṭahūr* (e. g. al-Bukhārī *Tayammum*, Bāb 1; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56, etc.). Al Tirmidhī (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 130) also tells us that some faḳihs prefer the *ṣalāt* on the bare earth and in modern Egypt and Morocco persons of the lower orders do not use these mats at all.

The canonical Ḥadīth gives us the following picture. Muḥammad performs the *ṣalāt* on his own garment, protecting his arms against the heat of the soil during prostration with one of its sleeves, his knees with one end and his fore-head with the *ʿimāma* or *ḳalansuwa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalā* bāb 22, 23; Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 191; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i. 320). On the passage quoted from Muslim, al-Nawawī observes that, according to al-Shāfiʿī, it is forbidden to prostrate oneself on the garment one is wearing. Al-Bukhārī (*Ṣalā* bāb 22) tells us that Muḥammad performed the *Salāt* on his quilt (*firāsh*).

The Hadīth also informs us that the *ṣalāt* was performed on mats; e. g. al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 131, where a *bisāṭ* is mentioned (so also Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāmat al-Ṣalawāt*, bāb 63; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 232, 273; iii. 160, 171, 184, 212); in the latter passage it is observed that this *bisāṭ* was made out of palm-leaves, *ḏjarīd al-nakhl*. Al-Tirmidhī adds that most scholars permit the *ṣalāt* on *ṭunfusa* or *bisāṭ*. A similar mat of palm-leaves on which the *ṣalāt* was performed is called

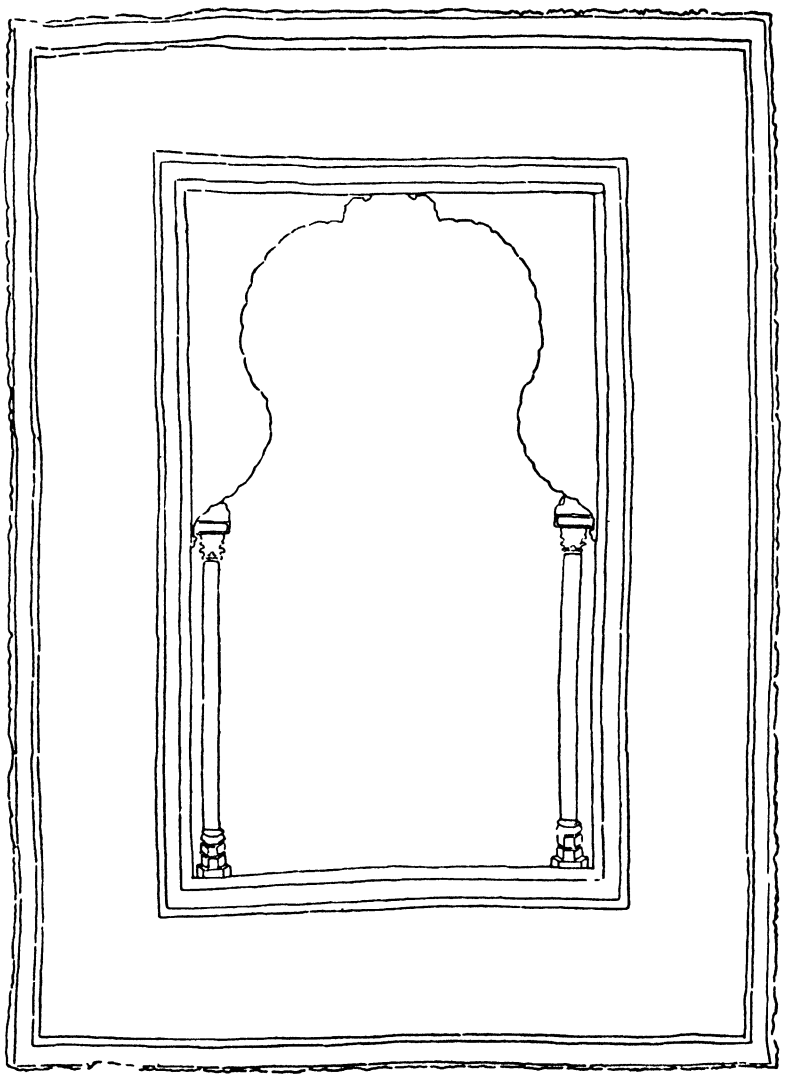


Fig. 1
Turkish Sadjdjāda
1.72 × 1.27 M.
Turkey, 16th century [1])

1) Reproduced from F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in Munchen 1910* (Munich, F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1912). Here the characteristic outlines are given only.

ḥaṣīr (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 20; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 52, 59, 130 *sq*., 145, 149, 164, 179, 184 *sq*., 190, 226, 291). This tradition is also found in Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 266; al-Nawawī observes on this passage that the fakīhs generally declared the performance of the *ṣalāt* permitted on whatever grows out of the earth. It is, however, that at the end of the third (ninth) century dressed skins of animals were already being used (*farwa maṣbūgha*).

At the same time we frequently find it mentioned that Muḥammad performed the *ṣalāt* on a *khumra* (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 270; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 120;

ii. 91 *sq.*, 98; al-Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, bāb 43; Ibn Saʿd, I/II. 160). The distinction between *k̲humra* and *ḥaṣīr* appears to have lain not in the material of which they were made but in the size. According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī's marginal glosses to Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 63, 64, the *k̲humra* afforded just sufficient room for the prostration, while the *ḥaṣīr* was of the length o a man.

The word *sadjdjāda* is found a century afte the conclusion of the canonical Ḥadīth literature Al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v., explains *sadjdjāda* t be synonymous with *k̲humra*. In his *Supplé ment*, Dozy quotes passages from the 1001 Night

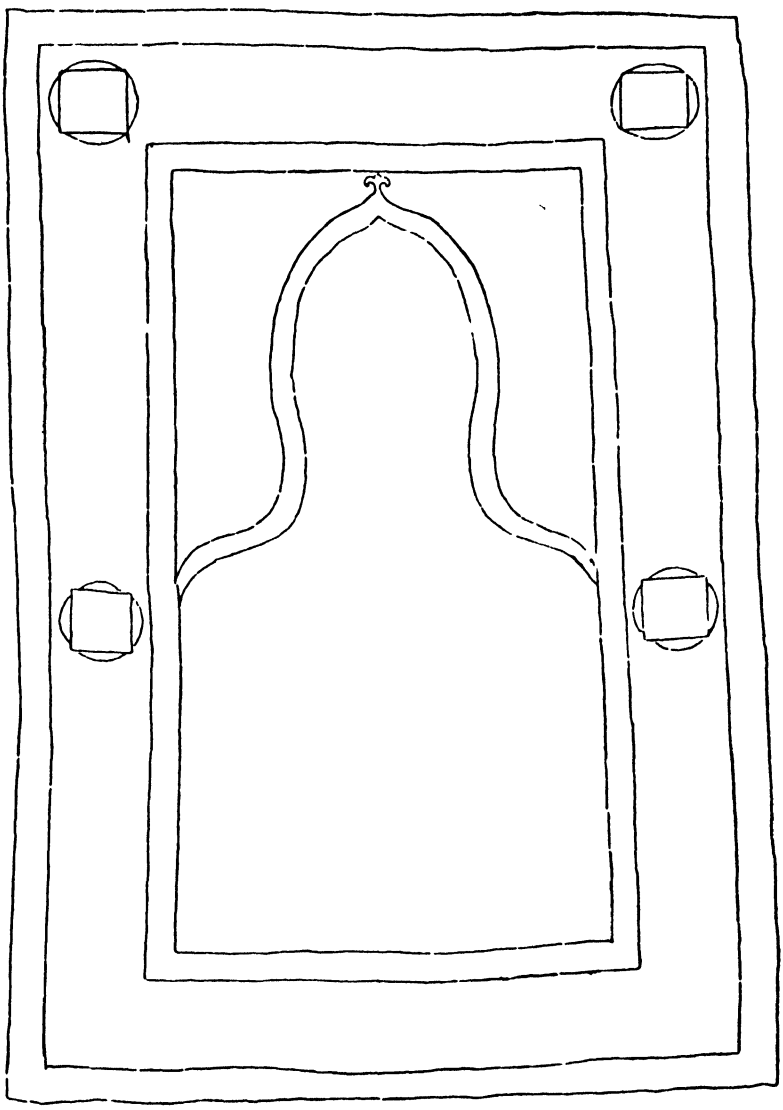


Fig. 2
Persian Sadjdjāda
1.58 × 1.10 M.
Persia, 16th century

and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The latter mentions among the customs of the inmates of a certain *zāwiya* in Cairo that the whole body went to the mosque on Friday, where a servant had laid his *sadjdjāda* ready for each one (ed. Paris, i. 73; cf. 72). The same traveller tells us something similar regarding Mālli, where every-one sends his servant with his *sadjdjāda* to the mosque to lay it ready on his place. He adds that they were made out

In modern Mekka every one in the grea mosque performs the *ṣalāt* on a *sadjdjāda*, usu ally a small carpet, just large enough for th *sudjūd*. After use it is rolled up and carried o on the shoulder. The lower orders believe that i is not advisable to leave the *sadjdjāda* unrolle after use as Iblīs would seize the opportunity t perform the *ṣalāt* on it. Well-to-do people hav sometimes their *sadjdjāda* kept by a servant

all general. In place of a carpet a towel is sometimes used, for example the one which has been used for drying oneself after the *wuḍūʾ*. The lines woven in the carpet are not symmetrical but run to a point on one of the short sides which is placed in the direction of the *ḳibla* [q. v.]; cf. below Lane's "niche" (this information has been given me orally by Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje).

In Morocco the common people do not make any use of the *S.*; the middle classes favour small

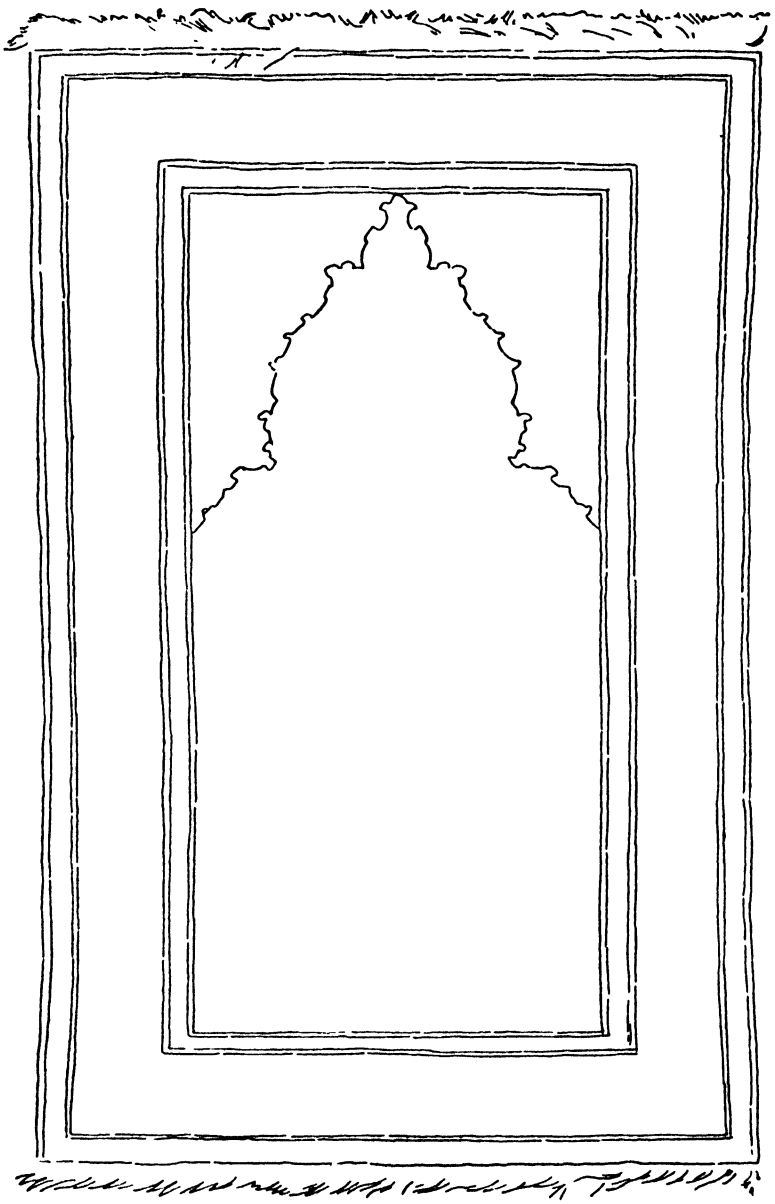


Fig. 3
Indian Sadjdjāda
1.56 × 1.06 M.
India, 17th century

felt carpets (*lābda*) like saddle cushions, just large enough for performing the sudjūd. They are especially used by the faḳīhs, so that they have almost become one of their distinctive marks. They fold them and bear them under their arm in an ostentative way, wherever they go, and sit down on them especially when visiting Christians. Certain faḳīhs from Morocco, when travelling in Algeria, even refuse to sit down on anything besides their *lābda*, a pretentiousness which hurts the feelings of people in Algeria. In the latter country the *S.* is very rarely used, except among

the heads of the ṭarīḳa's and various *marabout*'s. Here the *Sadjdjāda*'s usually consist of simple skins of goats or gazelles. The common people ascribe miraculous powers to these skins; in legends the *marabout*'s are often represented as using them in order to have themselves transferred thereon to Mekka or to walk on the waves. Occasionally the pilgrims bring home from Mekka *sadjdjāda*'s analogous to those described above by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje; these rugs are nowadays often imported from Europe. The pilgrims do not seem to attach to them any particular value (this information has been given me by Prof. H. Basset)

According to Lane, *sadjdjāda*'s (carpets) are imported from Asia Minor into Egypt and used there only by the rich to perform the *ṣalāt* upon and also as saddle-covers. They are about the size of a wide hearth-rug. A "niche" is represented upon it, the point of which is turned towards the *ḳibla*. Persons of the lower orders often perform the *ṣalāt* upon the bare ground simply; and they seldom immediately wipe off the dust which adheres to the nose and forehead as a result of prostration (cf. the well-known traditions regarding the traces of the *sudjūd*), but when a person has a cloak or any other garment, which he can decently take off, he spreads it upon the ground.

The usual practice in the Dutch Indies is described by Snouck Hurgronje. A number of long narrow mats and carpets are placed broadwise on the floor of the mosque before the beginning of the services. After the service these are rolled up and laid aside (*De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indie*, Baarn 1913, p 10, *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV/II. 366). But it is usual here also to bring one's own mat to the mosque

As Dr. J. H. Kramers tells me, the carpet which covers the floor of the Aya Sofya is divided up by patterns into separate *sadjdjāda*'s, but in performing the *ṣalāt* this separation is not observed.

In the chapel in the Seraglio in Constantinople, in which are preserved the relics of the Prophet, the alleged *sadjdjāda* of Abū Bakr is preserved (d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787—1820, I 267) In Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Turc-français*, we find, s. v., a number of Turkish phrases in which the *sadjdjāda* plays a part.

The *sadjdjāda* has assumed special significance in the religious societies and in the Dervish orders. Among the latter — at least in Egypt — the word has become synonymous with order in the expression *Shaikh al-Sadjdjāda*, which is applied to the head of an order in Egypt.

In the terminology of these societies, *sadjdjāda* alternates with *bisāṭ* (cf. above) and expressions borrowed from other languages. According to the hierarchic legend, Gabriel brought Adam a *sadjdjāda* made out of the skins of the sheep of Paradise, on which he had to kneel during the *shadd* ceremony. This *sadjdjādat al-khilāfa* was the one used by all succeeding generations in the same ceremony; Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī are especially mentioned. From ʿAlī it has been passed on to the shaikhs of the order down to the present day. The Shaikh therefore sits on this *sadjdjāda* during the *shadd* ceremony and the expression *bisāṭ al-ṭarīḳ(a)* makes the *sadjdjāda* in a certain sense the throne of the whole order. Before the beginning of the *shadd* ceremony it is spread by the *naḳīb* whose duty this is. The Shaikh sits down ceremonially after its seal, as it were, has been broken by its being spread out. The candidate on whose account the ceremony is being performed stands, on the other hand, on the *bisāṭ al-ḳiyām*ʿ. From the descriptions it is not always clear, whether by candidate is meant an ordinary novice or rather a *naḳīb*.

A whole series of mystical interpretations is associated with the *sadjdjāda* or *bisāṭ*. Head, feet, etc. are ascribed to it as to a living animal; it has four letters, which are connected with the elements, references are found to the *sadjdjāda* of the paths of salvation and the *tawḥīd* profession is called the *sadjdjāda* of the faith. Accounts are given of the material of which the *sadjdjāda*'s of various people were made or are made, as well as of their colour (cf. the picture in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 170.

Bibliography. In addition to the works quoted in the text cf. also Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Index (s. v. *seggâdeh*), J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London 1868, p. 196; H. Thorning, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis des islam. Vereinswesens, Turk. Bibl*, xvi., Berlin 1913, Index; P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten* in *Der Islam*, 1916, vi. 149 *sqq*., F. Taeschner, *Aufname in eine Zunft*, *op. cit*., p. 169.

(A. J. Wensinck)

SĀDJIDS, a family which takes its name from the founder of the dynasty, Abu 'l-Sādj, and which ruled in Ādharbaidjān under the nominal suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs at the end of the third (ninth) century and the beginning of the fourth (tenth) It comprised five rulers.

1 Abu 'l-Sādj Dīwdād b. Yūsuf Dīwdest, a native of Oshrusana, a Turkish general in the service of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who was appointed to take charge of the road to Mecca in 242 (856), returned to Baghdād in 252 (866) and was then sent to recover the taxes in al-Sawād on behalf of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b Ṭāhir, he was then appointed governor of Aleppo and Kinnasrīn under al-Muʿtazz in 254 (868) and of al-Ahwāz in 261 (874—875); in this capacity he wished to fight the Zandj, who, having defeated his son-in-law, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, had seized al-Ahwāz. Having taken the side of Yaʿḳūb b. Laith, the Saffārid, he lost his estates after the defeat of the latter by the vizier al-Muwaffaḳ in 262 (875—876). He was then recalled to Baghdād, but died on the way at Djundai-Sābūr in 266 (879—880).

Dīwdād in Persian means "given by the demon" and *Dīwdest* "he who has the hands of a demon". The alternation of *ī*/*ā* which is sometimes found in the manuscripts indicates an old pronunciation *dēwdād*, *dēwdest*

2. His son Muḥammad Afshīn Abū ʿUbaid took Mecca from the lieutenant of the chief of the Zandj, Abu 'l-Mughīra ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī in 266 (880). Three years later he attacked Djidda and captured two ships filled with money and munitions from al-Makhzūmī. He was given the governorship of Anbār, Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt and Raḥba. On the death of Aḥmad b. Tūlūn [q. v.] in 270 (883—884) he tried to conquer Syria in alliance with Isḥāḳ b. Kendādjiḳ. They were assisted in this enterprise by the army of the Caliph, which defeated the Egyptian forces at Shaizar, but was itself defeated as the result of an

ambuscade at the battle of the mills (*ṭawāḥīn*). After a quarrel with Isḥāḳ b. Kendādjıḳ, Muḥammad turned towards Khumārawaih, defeated his former ally on the Euphrates and conquered Mawṣil. In 274 (888) he quarrelled with the Egyptians, lost a battle near Damascus in Muḥarram, 275 (May–June, 888), lost Ḥimṣ, Aleppo and al-Raḳḳa and retired to Takrīt He took the field again and defeated, before Mawṣil, Isḥāḳ b. Kendādjıḳ, who was pursuing him.

In 276 (889—890) al-Muwaffaḳ appointed him governor of Ādharbaidjān He then took Marāgha from ʿAbdallāh b Ḥasan al-Ḥamadhānī (280=893) and was sent by the Caliph to carry gifts — a royal crown and other presents — to the Bagratid Sempad, king of Armenia His brief rebellion against al-Muʿtaḍid in 284 (897) ended in his prompt submission and cost him nothing He took Ḳars, which belonged to Sempad, as well as his capital Tovin. They then made peace. Muhammad died of the plague at Berdaʿa in Rabīʿ I, 288 (March, 901).

3. Yūsuf, brother of Muḥammad Afshīn, after having forced his nephew Dīwdād, son of N⁰ 2, to betake himself to the Caliph's court, entered into friendly relations with Sempad, and made an alliance with him; he then took the side of Kakig Ardzrūnī, captured several fortresses, put Sempad to death who had surrendered to him, captured Rai, Kazwīn, Zandjān, Abhar from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Sulūk, governor for the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad. He defeated the troops sent against him by the Caliph in 305 (917—918). He was, however, forced to give up Rai. He defeated Muʾnis, who took refuge in Zandjān in 307 (919), but the latter defeated him before Ardabīl, took him prisoner, treated him with consideration and brought him to Baghdād. He was set free in 310 (922) and was granted the governorship of Rai and Ādharbaidjān. The Caliph appointed him to fight the Ḳaramatians, but he was defeated and taken prisoner in the first battle, in spite of his valour. He was put to death with all the prisoners.

4. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 315 (Feb., 928) Abu 'l-Musāfir Fath, son of Muhammad Afshīn, was given his uncle's governorship and remained governor till his death; he was poisoned at Ardabīl by one of his slaves in Shaʿbān, 317 (Sept., 929).

5. His son Abu 'l-Faradj was a general of the Caliphs and a friend of the first Amīr al-Umarāʾ, Ibn Rāʾiḳ.

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ṢADR AʿẒAM (for *ṣadr-i-aʿẓam*), strictly "the greatest of the high dignitaries", a title which from the time of Sulaimān the Magnificent has been borne by the first minister or "grand vizier" of the Ottoman empire, also called *ṣadr-i-ʿālī*, *ṣāḥib-i-dewlet*, *destūr-ı-ekrem*, *ṣadāret-penāh*, *āṣaf-ı-aʿẓam* (from the name of the legendary minister of Solomon), etc. (cf. below). Earlier he was called wezīr (see WAZĪR), then *wezīr-i-ewwel* (*aʿẓam*, *ekber*). After the suppression of the "viziers of the dome" (*kubbe wezīrleri*) under Aḥmad III, the *Ṣadr aʿẓam* were appointed by no fixed rule, at the Sulṭān's pleasure The official chosen received and kept always by him a gold ring with the Sulṭān's seal. In his capacity of *ṣāḥib-ı-muhr*, he was the plenipotentiary (*wekīl-i-muṭlak*) of the sovereign in civil and military matters and made appointments to all the military (*ehl-ı-seyf*) and civil (*ehl-ı-ḳalem*) offices The legal officers (*ʿulemā*) were under the Shaikh al-Islām [q. v.], appointed, like the *Ṣadr aʿẓam*, by the Sulṭān himself.

The *Ṣadr aʿẓam* presided over the *Dīwān*, held monthly audiences, received the principal officials twice a week, made rounds (*ḳol*) periodically and rendered assistance in case of fire. He had the right to eight guards of honour (*shāṭır*), twelve led horses (*yedek*), a barge with thirteen pairs of rowers, with a green canopy. When he appeared in public the *čawush* shouted acclamations (*al-ḳīsh*), the formula of which was Byzantine in origin. He had the privilege of being able to go to the Sulṭān personally at any hour of the day or night.

In case of war, the *Ṣadr aʿẓam* could become commander-in-chief — *Serdār-i-ekrem* (*ekhem*) — and carried with him the standard of the Prophet (*Sandjaḳ-ı-sherīf*) [q. v.]. A deputy (*ḳāʾim maḳām*) [q. v] replaced him in the capital.

Like the Khedive of Egypt, the *Ṣadr aʿẓam* had the right to the honorary epithet of *dewletli ferkhametli*, or "Highness", besides the other epithets to which he was entitled· *sāmī*, *ʿālī* "sublime" and *āṣafī*. Like the *ḳapudan pasha*, before the reforms of Mahmūd II, he wore a white hat (*ḳalawi* for *ḳullāwi*), shaped like a truncated pyramid with rounded corners, adorned with an oblique band of gold.

The office — *ṣadāret-i-ʿuzma* (*kubrā*) — was insecure and ephemeral. The dismissed *Ṣadr aʿẓam* handed over his seal at an audience and went into exile, when he was allowed to live. Not being hereditary, the office was only exceptionally continued in the same family (the *Köprulu*).

After the constitution of 1908 the Grand Vizier became responsible to parliament; the Sulṭān continued to nominate the *Shaikh al-Islām* as well as the *Ṣadr aʿẓam* and it was the latter who chose his other colleagues. These two dignitaries, however, disappeared with the Sulṭān himself in 1922 (law of Angora of Nov. 1). The last *Ṣadr aʿẓam*, Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, died at Nice on Oct. 6, 1923. The President of the Council is now called *Bash Wekil*, a title which Maḥmūd II had tried to establish in 1838.

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ṢADR AL-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM, known as MULLĀ ṢADRĀ, a Persian theologian and philosopher of the Ṣafawid period. He was the son of a governor of Fārs and owed his epithet to his superior merit; he is still called Ākhūnd, "master". Born at Shīrāz, he spent a long time in retirement among the mountains of Ḳumm, travelled in Persia and was a pupil, at Iṣpahān, of Shaikh Bahā'ī and of Amīr Muḥammad Bāḳir Dāmād, after the instructions of Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findiriskī.

When Allāh-Wardikhān, governor of Fārs, had finished building the madrasa erected by him in Shīrāz, he asked Ṣadrā, then at Ḳumm, to return to his native land and made him professor in his new foundation.

Mullā Ṣadrā restored the teaching of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna); to escape persecution from the *muḏtahid*, he concealed his doctrines by the use of the *kitmān* under deliberately obscure expressions. Among his pupils were Muḥsin Fā'id, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and Ḳādī Sayyid al-Ḳummī. He seven times made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died at Basra in 1050 (1642) on his way back from the seventh.

A prolific writer, he wrote some twenty volumes, of which some are commentaries on different chapters of the Ḳor'ān, a dissertation on authentic traditions, fifty treatises on theodicy, forty-four works on obscure points of doctrine, written in the mountains of Ḳumm, and four books of travels quoted by Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān. The British Museum possesses the *Ṭaʿn ber muḏtahidīn*, a polemic against the teachers of canon law and a defence of the dervishes, and *al-Wāridāt al-Ḳalbīya* "the intuitions of the heart".

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AL-ṢAFĀ, a mound at Mecca which now barely rises above level of the ground. The meaning of the name is like that of the name of the eminence al-Marwa, which lies opposite to it. "the stone" or "the stones" (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* to Sūra ii. 153).

As is well known, Muslims perform the *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa in memory, as the legend relates (e g al-Bukhārī, *al-Anbiyā'*, bāb 9), of the fact that Hādjar ran backwards and forwards seven times between these two eminences to look for a spring for her thirsty son. — It is certain that cults were located at al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa even in the pagan period. According to most traditions there were two stone idols there, Isāf on al-Ṣafā and Nā'ila on al-Marwa, which the pagan Arabs on their *saʿy* used to touch. On the origin of these images the following story is given in the commentary of Nīsābūrī on Sūra ii. 153, and al-Shāfiʿī gives his approval to it: Isāf and Nā'ila were guilty of indecent conduct in the Kaʿba and were therefore turned into stones, which were placed on the two pieces of raised ground al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to be a warning to all. In course of time the origin of the stone figures was forgotten and people began to pay them divine worship. — According to another tradition there were copper images there (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 26); according to a third story demons lived on the two hills who shrieked at night (given in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*).

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ṢAFAD, a town in Upper Galilee, 30 miles East of ʿAkkā and N. E of the Lake of Tiberias, about 1600 feet above sea level on a hill which al-Dimashkī calls Kanʿān (so also Cuinet) and which is called Djibāl ʿĀmila in Yāḳūt, iii. 399 (whose statements are otherwise wrong; on this see Gaudefroy–Demombynes, p. 23). It was only through the Crusades that it first attained importance, for before the xiiith century it is not mentioned by any Arab geographer But it must have already existed in the second century as Sephath is found in the Jerusalem Talmud (Tract. Rosh Hashana, ii 2, in Schwab's translation, vi. 75), it is probably also identical with Σαφ in Josephus, *Bellum Judaeorum*, vol. ii., ch. xx. § 6. The older Arabic orthography *Ṣafat* or *Ṣifat* agrees with this Al-Ḳalḳashandī gives etymological notes on both forms of the Arabic name.

Ṣafad is one of the places where the Crusaders built fortresses to defend the strip of coast conquered by them against the amīrs of Damascus and later against the Ayyūbids, with the fortress of Belvoir (= Shafīḳ Arnūn) it formed a point of support for the hinterland of ʿAkkā. Its history is therefore closely associated with that of Acre. The citadel probably built about 1140 by the Crusaders was the special property of the Templars (al-Dāwiya), in 1157 King Baldwin of Jerusalem was forced to take refuge there when he was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn's troops as he returned from the town of Bānyās. After Saladin's great victory over the Crusaders at Ḥaṭṭīn (1187) he laid siege to Ṣafad and took personal direction of the operations next year, when he succeeded in capturing the town after five weeks' resistance on the 14th of Shawwāl, 584 (Dec. 6, 1188). Saladin's biographer, Ibn Shaddād, describes in great detail how Saladin unceasingly took part in the siege operations. The garrison went off to Tyre. This capture was considered very important by the Muslims as the town lay "in the midst of their lands" (Ibn al-Athīr) In 1219 or 1220 the fortress was razed to the ground by the Muslims as they feared that the Franks might capture it again and, indeed, in 1240 Ṣafad was actually ceded by al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, Sulṭān of Damascus, by treaty to the Templars (as was Shafīḳ Arnūn also) because Ismāʿīl thereby hoped to gain the Franks as allies against his cousin, the Egyptian Sulṭān. After the Khwārizmī storm had swept over Galilee in 1244, the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baibars [q. v.] advanced against the fortress and took it after eleven days' siege in 1266 (Shaʿbān 19, 664 = May 26, 1266, according to Ibn al-Athīr; the European sources put it some years later). The whole garrison was put to death in spite of the pledge given. Baibars also strengthened the defences and built a mosque there. ʿAkkā next fell in 1291.

Under the Mamlūks Ṣafad remained an important centre. It was the capital of one of the large *mamlaka*'s or *niyāba*'s into which Syria was divided. The *niyāba* of Ṣafad comprised the whole of Galilee with ʿAkkā. The town itself was the seat of a *nāʾib* and was a centre of literary life, as the nisba *al-Ṣafadī* of several Arab authors shows, notably that of the biographer Khalīl b Aibak, who was born there in 696 (1296); the geographer al-Dimashkī is said to have died there in 1327 (Mehren, p. vi, infra). In this period there also flourished al-ʿUthmānī, chief Ḳādī of the *mamlaka* of Safad (d 780 = 1378; cf. Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab Litt.*, ii. 91), who wrote a *Taʾrīkh Ṣafad* now lost. Ṣafad was at the same time an important centre of Rabbinical learning

The town gradually began to lose in importance After surrendering to the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm I in 1516 without striking a blow along with other towns in Palestine, the old *niyāba*'s at first remained intact but later, in the xviiith century, the whole of Palestine belonged to the great pashalīḳ of Damascus. Ṣafad was the capital of a sandjaḳ to which also belonged ʿAkkā and Tyre (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). During this period Ṣafad several times belonged to the sphere of influence of the Druse Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn of the Lebanon, who used it as a fortress to protect his possessions in Galilee. At Ṣafad in 1633 is also said to have taken place the battle in which ʿAlī, the son of the Amīr, was killed

When about 1750 ʿAkkā again became important under Shaikh Ẓāhir, the strategic importance of Safad also increased once more Ẓāhir himself came from Ṣafad where his father, Shaikh ʿUmar al-Zaidānī, had been representative of the Amīr Bashīr, under his rule the town was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake (1759) Ahmad Djazzār, who succeeded Ẓāhir in ʿAkkā in 1775, at the same time conquered Safad, and Bonaparte before his unsuccessful siege of ʿAkkā had first to take Ṣafad (1799), where he entrusted the authority to a son of Ẓāhir. Djazzār later revenged himself on the town by completely destroying the Jewish quarter

The most important events of the xixth century were the earthquakes of 1819 and 1837 which wrought great damage After the Turkish administrative reforms of 1880 Ṣafad became the capital of a ḳaḍāʾ in the sandjaḳ of ʿAkkā in the wilāyet of Bairūt It is now within the mandated area of Palestine

The population has varied greatly in course of time. In the xivth century it was a town of average size (Abu'l-Fidāʾ). After the earthquake of 1759 it was an almost deserted village (Volney). The later figures vary very much, which is probably due to the fact that the figures for the town and the ḳaḍāʾ were not kept separate. The population of the town in 1900 may be put at 15,000, of whom about a third are Jews. In 1492 there were still about 10,000 Jews there. After this their numbers declined very much down to the middle of last century, when a great influx of Moroccan, Algerian and Persian Jews took place, which has been increased since 1880 by Zionist immigration. Ṣafad is also a place of pilgrimage for Jews. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (p 568), when the Jewish tribes immigrated the tribe of Zabulon is said to have settled near Ṣafad. In the vicinity of the town there are now many Druses (according to v. Oppenheim, 15,000 in the district of ʿAkkā and Ṣafad); their immigration from the Lebanon had already begun in al-Dimashkī's time.

The town itself is built on three hills, of which the Jews inhabit the north. The Muḥammadan part has four fair-sized mosques. In the valleys between the hills and on the slopes down to the lake of Tiberias lie fields and gardens belonging to the town, which yield rich crops of wheat, maize, olives, tobacco, cotton and many kinds of vegetables. The splendid view over the lake is generally admired. The ruins of the fortress lie high up the hill and are called *al-Ḳalʿa* or *al-Ḳulʿa* Practically nothing is left of the castle of the Crusaders; of the more recent defences there are still to be seen only the foundations of a strong round tower, probably that which was built by Baibars (according to al-Dimashkī, while Conder and Kitchener consider it one of Ẓāhir's buildings) Below, close to the fort, is a well, of which al-Dimashkī gives a detailed description

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ṢAFADĪ, ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN KHALĪL B. AIBAK B. ʿABD ALLĀH ABU 'L-SAFĀʾ was born in 696 or 697 = 1296/97 (*Durar al-Kāmina*, MS (B. M., Or. 3034) has about the year 694 A. H.). He was of Turkish descent and, according to his own statement, his father did not give him a good education and it was only when he was 20 years of age, that he began the pursuit of studies. He wrote a very nice hand as is proved by several autographs which have come down to us. He attended the lectures of the very best teachers of his time, among whom are named the grammarian Abū Ḥaiyān and the poets Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ibn Saiyid al-Nās and Ibn Nubāta. Later he became an intimate friend of the renowned authors Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī and Tādj al-Dīn al Subkī. His first post was that of secretary in his native town

of Ṣafad, then at Cairo, later he was secretary at Halab, al-Raḥba and finally he was in charge of the treasury at Damascus. He was of pleasant manners but towards the end of his life became deaf. He died at Damascus on the 10th of Shawwāl 764 = 1362/63. He was a most prolific author and stated himself in his autobiography that his compositions would fill 500 volumes and that the amount he had written as secretary would come to at least double that quantity. His biographers content themselves with mentioning only the most important of his works, many of them being nearly worthless compilations of verse and prose from modern authors. Besides a prodiguous quantity of verse in his own anthologies and works of contemporary and later authors, the following works have come down to us either complete or in part. All are practically compilations from earlier authors, which he very frequently states faithfully 1) *Al-Wāfī bi'l-Wafayāt*, an enormous biographical dictionary in about 30 volumes, of which some are found in many libraries, though I doubt whether the complete work has been preserved. Some volumes are numbered, but volumes with the same contents have at times different numbers, from which it appears that the material of the work was divided into volumes of varying size by different scribes (for the contents of some volumes see Horovitz, *M. S. O. S. As.*, x/II. p. 45, while the newer MSS. in the British Museum contain. Or. 6587 ʿAlī, Or. 6645 Muhammadūn, 5320 other Muḥammadūn). We find in the *Wāfī* many biographies for which we should look in vain in other works of a similar nature and a full index of the names of the persons of whom biographies are found in the known volumes, would form material for a volume of considerable size. The introduction to this work was published by Amar, *J. A.*, 1911–12, in vols. 17—18 and 19. The most exhaustive account of the *Wāfī*, based upon all known manuscripts, is by G. Gabrieli in *R. R. A. L.*, Series 5, vols xx to xxv *sqq* From this it appears that the work is preserved practically complete, except for two gaps and the preserved parts contain over 14,000 biographies. 2) *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, an extract from the preceding work in six volumes, containing biographies of contemporaries This work has been largely extracted by Ibn Ḥadjar for his *Durar al-Kāmina*. MSS. are probably in the Escorial (No. 1717) and Berlin, while the volumes in the Aya Sofia (No. 2962–70) appear to be parts of the *Wāfī* It is quoted in the printed edition (Cairo 1305) of the *Ṭabakāt al-Khiṭṭat al-Ṣūfiya* of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Wāsiṭī under the title of *Taʾrīkh Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*. 3) *Masālik al-Abṣar fi Mamālik al-Amṣār*, a book on geography, a MS of which is in the Sādiḳīya library in Tunis. 4) *Tārīkh al-Awāfī*, probably another extract from the *Wāfī*, also in MS. in the same library as the preceding 5) *Tuḥfat Dhawī 'l-Albāb*, an Urdjūza on the rulers of Egypt to his own time, abbreviated from a work of Ibn ʿAsākir. 6) *Nukat al-Himyān fi'l-Nukat al-ʿUmyān*, biographies of celebrated blind persons. This work has recently appeared in print in Egypt in a very careful edition, based upon 4 MSS. It was edited by Aḥmad Zeki Pasha and dated 1911. After explaining that Ṣafadī was induced to write this book through finding a short account of blind persons of note in the *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* of Ibn Ḳutaiba and a work of al-Djauzī, he enlarges on the etymology of blindness and its limits. The principal portion of the work is occupied by a large number of biographies arranged in alphabetical order, among which figure a number of valuable notices of men of all ages of Islām. 7) *Kitāb al-Shuʿūr fi 'l-ʿŪr*, biographies of persons who had lost one eye. 8) *Aḥsan al-Sawādjiʿ min al-Nādī wa'l-Rādjiʿ*, containing letters addressed by him and to him, giving in many cases the dates. The first letter in MS. (Brit Mus., Or. 1203) is dated 745 A.H. 9) *Munshaʿāt*, a collection of his own epistles. 10) *al-Tadhkirat al-Ṣalāḥīya*, a collection of extracts from other works, interspersed with his own compositions. It is difficult to ascertain of how many volumes the work consisted; the good old MS. (India Office, Arab. 3799) contains vols. 48 and 49. From these it appears that each volume commenced with the exposition of some verses of the Ḳurʾān, then was followed by extracts of the most varying character. For example B. M., Or. 1353, the contents of which were given by Flügel, *Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 538—544, contain the *Kitāb al-Itbāʿ wa'l-Muzāwadja* of Ibn Fāris, not used by Brunnow for his edition of that work, on fol. 53v—77v, examples of the poetry of al-Bākharzī on fol. 77v and following; MS. Brit Mus., Or. 7301 (named on title-page *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Addād*), contains extracts from the medical work of Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mahmūd al-ʿAṭṭār entitled *Iḳtiḍāb fi'l Masʾala wa'l-Djawāb* (fol. 55r) MS. India Office, Arab. 3799, contains in vol. 48 extracts from the autograph *Dīwān* of Amīn al-Dīn Djūbān al-Ḳawwās entitled *Naḳḳ al-Wakāʾiʿ wa Raḳḳ al-Wasāʾiʿ* (fol. 20v—26v), extract from the book *al-Tadjannī ʿalā Ibn Djinnī* of Abū ʿAlī Ibn Fūradjdja (fol 71v), extract from the *Rūznāmadj* of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (fol. 90v). Extracts of this work are found printed in the *Thamarāt al-Awrāḳ* of Ibn Ḥidjdja (Cairo 1304), vol. II. 182, 183, 184 and 192 11) *Dīwān al-Fuṣaḥāʾ wa Tardjumān al-Bulaghāʾ*, an anthology composed for Malik al-Ashraf. 12) *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa Damʿat al-Bākī*, life of a paederast with poems to the boy he loved. This worthless composition has been printed repeatedly, first 1274, then 1280 in Tunis, later in Constantinople and Cairo, showing that the work is appreciated in many countries of Islām 13) *al-Ḥusn al-Sarīḥ fi Miʾat Malīḥ*, another worthless anthology containing a hundred poetical quotations by contemporary poets and the author himself upon pretty youths. 14) *Kashf al-Ḥāl fi Waṣf al-Khāl*, another small collection of poems containing words which have different meanings if vocalised differently. 15) *Ladhdhat al-Samʿ fi Ṣifat al-Damʿ*, a similar collection of verses of the author and contemporaries on tears in 37 chapters. 16) *Al-Rauḍ al-Nāsim wa'l-Thaghr al-Bāsim*, a similar collection of erotical extracts 17) *Kashf al-Tanbīh ʿala'l-Waṣf wa'l-Tashbīh*, anthology of metaphorical verses. 18) *Rashf al-Zulāl fi Waṣf al-Hilāl*, anthology of verses on the New Moon (vide No. 33). 19) *Rashf al-Rahīḳ fi Waṣf al-Ḥarīḳ*, a maḳāma on wine. 20) *Al-Ghaith al-Musadjdjam fi Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam*, commentary on the poem of Ṭughrāʾī. He explains first every word, then the rhethorical figure quoting many verses, principally by modern poets. The work has also the title *Ghaith al-Adab alladhī insadjam fi Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-ʿAdjam* (printed Cairo 1305 in two vols. 4to). 21) *Kitāb al-Arab min Ghaith al-Adab*, extract of the preceding work

(printed in Cairo without date, but recently). 22) *Kitāb Tawshīḥ al-Samᶜ bi Inkisāb al-Damᶜ*, printed in Cairo s. d.; perhaps similar or identical with N⁰. 15. 23) *Nuṣrat al-Thāʾir ᶜala ʾl-Mathal al-Sāʾir*, against the well-known work of Ibn al-Athīr entitled *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*; cf Hoogvliet, *Spec. Div. Script.* (Leiden 1839), p. 153. 24) *Dhinān al-Dhimās fi ᶜIlm al-Badīᶜ*, paranomasia consisting principally of the author's own verses (printed Constantinople 1299). 25) *Ikhtirāᶜ al-Khirāᶜ*, explanation of obscure verses lexicographically and as to their rhethorical figure. 26) *Faḍḍ al-Khitām ᶜani ʾl-Tawriya waʾl-Istikhdām*, on metalepsis and the use of words which can be altered so as to give different meaning. 27) Commentary on the work of Ibn al-ᶜArabī entitled *al-Shadjarat al-Nuᶜmānīya fiʾl-Daulat al-ᶜUthmānīya*, prophecies about the Turkish dynasty. 28) *Ṭauḳ al-Ḥamāma*, abbreviation of the commentary of Ibn ᶜAbdūn on the poem of Ibn Badrūn. 29) *Tamām al-Mutūn fi Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaidūn*, commentary on the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaidūn, no doubt inspired by the work of his master, Ibn Nubāta. 30) *Kitāb Ghawāmiḍ al-Saḥāḥ*, a small work on the obscurities of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī (autograph in the Escorial, N⁰. 192, dated 757 A. H.). 31) *Nadjd al-Falāḥ fi Mukhtaṣar al-Saḥāḥ*, abbreviation of the *Saḥāḥ*, omitting the evidentiary verses and correcting errors. This work he completed in Ramadān 757 A. H. 32) *Haly al-Nawāhid ᶜalā mā fi ʾl-Saḥāḥ min al-Shawāhid*, explanation of the evidentiary verses quoted in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*. 33) al-Suyūṭī composed a work containing verses of Ṣafadī and his contemporaries on the new moon, which he extracted from the *Tadhkira* of Ṣafadī and gave it the same title as N⁰. 18, when he discovered this he re-named his book *Raṣf al-Laʾālī fi Waṣf al-Hilāl*. This book was printed in Constantinople in the *Tuhfat al-Bahiya*, p. 66—78.

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2⁰. Al-Ḥasan b Abī Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh al-Hāshimī al-Ṣafadī appears from casual remarks in his work to have been an intimate courtier of the Egyptian Sulṭān al-Nāṣir b. Ḳalāʾūn It has been impossible to find any biography in any of the accessible works dealing with the history of his time. He must have died early in the eighth century of the Hidjra as the last events recorded in his history are dealing with the year 711 = 1311/12 or perhaps as late as 714. From a statement fol. 62v Brit. Mus. it appears that he composed the history in the year 716. He probably had held earlier an appointment in the office of the wazīr for he tells (MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 69v) that in the year 694 he received instructions from the wazīr Ibn al-Khalīlī to investigate a case of cannibalism during the famine which prevailed in Egypt during that and the following year. He composed a short history of Egypt which in the Paris MS., N⁰ 1706 has the title: *Nuzhat al-Mālik waʾl-Mamlūk fi Mukhtaṣar Sīra man waliya Miṣr min al-Mulūk*, while in the other Paris MS., N⁰. 1931, 22 it has the erroneous title of *Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, yet the London MS. has another title from which it appears that probably the first is the correct one. The earlier part beginning with the natural and other advantages of Egypt gives a very succinct account of the earlier rulers consisting mainly of anecdotes, but the chief interest lies in the portion which deals with the Turkish Sultans; here he gives exact dates and facts which supplement our knowledge of the closing years of the 7th century of the Hidjra. Perhaps the account of the great flood in Baᶜlabak in 717 found in the London MS. may be by him, but it is not found in the other two copies. The MS. in the British Museum written for the Egyptian caliph al-Mutawakkil proceeds to give events down to 795, but from fol. 113v it contains only matter concerning the family of the owner of the manuscript, first a genealogy of al-Mutawakkil (fol 113v) and then a long list of his children, first the boys then the girls, indicating in each case the date and hour of their birth, and in cases where they died before 794, the dates of their death The last entry by the same hand but with different ink records the birth of a son, in 795 A. H., the 25th of Shaᶜbān. The three MSS. all contain the same work in spite of their varying titles. Brit. Mus, Add 23326, Paris 1706 and 1931, 22.

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(F. Krenkow)

Ṣafar, name of the second month of the Muhammadan year, also called *Ṣ. al-khair* or *Ṣ. al-muẓaffar* because of its being considered to be unlucky (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese*, i 206, do, *Mekka*, ii 56) The Muhammadan Tigrē-tribes pronounce the name Shafar, the Atchehnese Thapa. According to Wellhausen in the old-Arabian year, Ṣafar comprised a period of two months in which Muharram (which name, according to this scholar is a Muslim innovation) was included As a matter of fact, tradition reports that the early Arabians called Muharram Ṣafar and considered an ᶜumra during the months of the Ḥadjdj as a practice of an extremely reprehensible nature. They embodied this view in the following saying: *Idhā baraʾa ʾl-dabar waᶜafa ʾl-athar wa ʾnsalakha Ṣafar ḥallati ʾlᶜumra li-man ᶜtamar*, i. e.: When the wounded backs of camels are healed and the vestiges [of the pilgrims] are obliterated and Safar has passed, then the ᶜUmra is allowed for those who undertake it

Bibliography: E. Littmann, *Über die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate* in *Der Islam*, viii. (1918) 228 *sqq.*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese* i. 194 *sq.*; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 95; Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, bāb 34, *Manāḳib al-Anṣār*, bāb 26 and Ḳasṭallānī's commentary.

(A. J. Wensinck)

Ṣafawids, the most famous and glorious of the native dynasties of Persia since the introduction of Islām, which takes its name from Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāḳ [q. v.], from whom its founder, Ismāᶜīl Ṣafawī [cf. Ismāᶜīl I], was sixth in descent. The family had long been settled at Ardabīl [q. v.] as hereditary spiritual instructors of the people, and at

the end of the sixteenth century Ismāʿīl, after the death of his two elder brothers, extended his authority by degrees over Shīrwān, Ādharbāidjān, ʿIrāḳ and the rest of Persia, "the ground having been assiduously prepared by widespread politico-religious propaganda". The Shīʿa doctrine had always been popular in Persia, but Ismāʿīl was the first ruler to make it the state religion, and to propagate it among the Turkish tribes of the north, whom he enlisted in his service and distinguished by giving them red hats, whence they were known as Ḳizil-bāsh (Red-heads). He virtually extinguished the Sunnī religion in Persia. He died on May 24, 1524, and was succeeded by his son, Ṭahmāsp I, who repeatedly expelled the Uzbegs from Khurāsān, waged a not entirely unsuccessful war against the ʿUthmānlī Turks who, under Salīm I, had defeated his father, and helped Humāyūn to recover his Indian throne. On his death in 1576 the throne fell, after a contest, to his fourth son, Ismāʿīl II, a worthless and debauched tyrant, during whose shameful reign the kingdom was a prey to intestine strife and foreign aggression, but on his death he was succeeded by his youngest son, Shāh ʿAbbās I (1585—1628), justly entitled the Great, who restored Persia to her legitimate place in the Islāmic world. He inflicted on the Turks a defeat which deterred them from molesting his kingdom, he drove the Uzbegs and Turkmāns from Khurāsān, and he recovered Kandahār from the emperor of India. He was just and tolerant, he imported an industrious colony of Armenians from Djulfā [q.v.] on the Araxes to Isfahān, where they built and inhabited the suburb of New Djulfā, he encouraged trade and intercourse with western nations, and he was a liberal patron of architecture. His grandson, Ṣafī I, who succeeded him, and reigned for fourteen years, was a bloodthirsty tyrant who disgraced the throne of his ancestors and was devoid of either justice or humanity. His armies repelled the raids of the Turkmāns in Khurāsān, but in his reign Kandahār was recovered by the emperor of Dihlī. The Turks, encouraged by the disorders which his tyranny engendered, recovered Baghdād and even occupied Ṭabrīz, but were compelled by the severity of the winter and the scarcity of supplies to withdraw from Ādharbaidjān. Ṣafī recovered Erivān from the Turks, and died in 1642, when he was succeeded by his son, ʿAbbās II [q v.], then only ten years of age. ʿAbbās recovered Kandahār from Shāh Djahān of Dihlī, and a movement of his troops against an Uzbeg chief on the Khuārāsān frontier caused the Indian forces to evacuate Balkh The relations of Persia with Turkey were greatly improved in his reign, and intercourse with the western powers was extended. He died on Oct. 26, 1666, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ṣafī, who frustrated an attempt of the amīrs to exclude him from the throne, and assumed the name of Sulaimān. He was an enlightened and tolerant monarch and welcomed the ambassadors of European powers, even of the Russians, whose habits disgusted him. His health was always poor, but he reigned for twenty-nine years, and on his death in 1694 was succeeded by his son, Sulṭān Husain, a weak prince who permitted ecclesiastics to conduct all affairs of state. Those who refused to conform to the state religion — that of the Shīʿa — were persecuted, and this fatuous policy provoked the hostility of the Afghāns who held Ḳandahār for the King of Persia, so that in 1709 Mīr Wais, governor of that province, proclaimed his independence. In 1722 Maḥmūd, son of Mīr Wais, invaded Persia and besieged Iṣfahān. Famine compelled the city to surrender, and Maḥmūd deposed Sulṭān Ḥusain but died soon afterwards. In 1729 Ashraf, the brother and successor of Maḥmūd, was expelled from Persia, and Nādir Ḳuli [see the art. NĀDIR SHĀH] placed Tahmāsp III, of the Ṣafawī family, on the throne, but shortly afterwards deposed him as being unfit to reign, and caused his son, then only eight months old, to be proclaimed under the title of ʿAbbās II. The child died soon afterwards and on Feb 26, 1737, Nādir Shāh's assumption of the royal title extinguished the Ṣafawī dynasty.

Bibliography Muḥammad Muḥsin Mustawfī, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, MSS.; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, E. G. Browne in *J.R.A.S.* for July 1921 p. 395 *sqq.*; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Amsterdam 1735, *Grundriss der iran. Philol*, II. 579—85, with references on p. 588, P. Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London 1921), II. 158—230; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in modern Times*. Chap. I—IV, Cambridge 1924.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-SAFFĀḤ [See ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS]

ṢAFFĀRIDS, a dynasty founded by Yaʿḳūb b. Laith al-Ṣaffār which originated in Sadjistān and reigned in Persia for thirty-three years. Yaʿḳūb, who was a coppersmith (*ṣaffār*) by trade abandoned his handicraft and became a brigand, but his chivalrous conduct in his predatory calling, attracted the favourable attention of Ṣāliḥ b. Nasr (or Naḍr), and he gave him the command of his troops. Yaʿḳūb rebelled against Dirham b Naṣr. In 253 (867) he was master of the whole of Sīstān. Having thus established himself in Sīstān he captured Herāt, and Muhammad b Tāhir b. Ahmad, governor of Khuārāsān, attempted to divert his attention from this town by bestowing on him the government of Kirmān. In 253 (867), however, he recaptured Herāt and took some Ṭāhirids prisoner He sent an embassy with magnificent presents to the Caliph al-Muʿtazz, tried to take possession of the province of Fārs, defeated the governor ʿAlī b. al-Husain and entered Shīrāz, without injuring the population. Then he returned to Sadjistān without establishing his power in Fāsr. — He then turned to the domain of the princes (*rutbīl*) of al-Rukhkhadj In 256 (870) he conquered Balkh, Bāmiyān [q. v.] and Kābul. In 257 (871) Yaʿḳūb again tried to take possession of Fārs. In order to turn his attention from this province, al-Muwaffaḳ gave him Balkh, Ṭukharistān and Sind in fief. In 259 he marched against Naisābūr, which he captured in Shawwāl. There he took Muhammed b. Ṭāhir prisoner. After an unsuccessful expediton in Ṭabaristān, he finally remained in possession of Khorāsān. The Caliph however, refused to acknowledge him. This induced him to conduct his army trough Khūzistān against Baghdād, after having defeated the governor of Fārs. He was in his turn defeated at Dair al-ʿĀḳūl, retired to Khūzistān and died at Djundāi Shābūr (Shawwāl 265 = June 879) where his tomb is still shown.

He was succeeded by his brother ʿAmr [q. v.], whose descendants maintained themselves in Sīstān till 1163.

Bibliography: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīḫ-i-Guzīda* (Gibb Memorial Series); Mīr Ḫwānd *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (Ṭihrān lithographed edition; Yaʿḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 605, 616; *B.G.A.* i. 245—247 = ii. 302 *sqq.*, cf. index, Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) iii., 1500—1926, passim, Masʿūdī (Paris ed.) viii. 41 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḫallikān (ed Wustenfeld), Nº. 838; Noldeke, *Sketches from East. Hist*, p. 176 *sqq.*, Barthold, *Zur Gesch. der Saffariden* (*Festschr. Noldeke*) i. 171 *sq.*; Lang in *Z.D.M.G.*, xli. 262.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-ṢĀFFĀT, title of Sūra xxxvii. of the Ḳurʾān, after the first word *wa'l-Ṣāffāt*.

SAFI, more accurately Asfī, ethnic Masfīwī, a port in Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean, a few miles south of Cape Cantin, at the top of a very open bay. Safi has about 21,000 inhabitants of whom 3500 are Jews and a thousand Europeans.

Safi does not seem to date back to any great age. Al-Bakrī (ixth century A D) mentions it without attributing any great importance to its al-Idrīsī in the next century says it is a fairly busy port but the roads are not at all safe. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a ribāṭ arose there. But the importance of Safi really date, only from the coming of the Portuguese, who, continuing their progress along the Moroccan coast, settled there in 1507. There they established a stronghold which in 1510 resisted a vigorous attack, with the help of a local chief, Yaḥyā ben Tafūf, who seems to have been a personage of considerable importance, the Portuguese for several years made Safi the principal centre of their operations. They established a regular protectorate there, gradually winning over the neighbouring tribes and daily advancing their outposts and their razzias further afield. They ultimately reached the very gates of Marrākush. But Portugal, with her hands full elsewhere, especially in the Indies, could not long sustain such an effort, on the other side too, the holy war movement gradually increased in force and the administration, in difficulties for funds, forced to exploit more and more the subdued country, became worse and worse. In 1516 the governor Lope de Barriga was taken prisoner, in 1517 Yahyā b. Tafūf was killed in an ambuscade. The attacks of the Shorfa became more and more serious and after 1534 the question began to be considered of evacuating Safi and Azemmour (which had been occupied in 1513), to concentrate the defence on Mazagan They were forced to this solution of the problem in December 1541 after the loss of Agadir in March of that year. The evacuation was made in good order under the direction of Joanno de Castro

The Saʿdī Shorfa having occupied Safi made it their principal port: as a matter of fact it is the nearest to Marrākush, which was their usual residence. Safi thus attained great importance in the xvith and xviith centuries, a considerable part of the Christian trade was centred there. When the ʿAlawids seized the power and moved their capital to the towns of the north, Meknes or Fās, Sale became the busiest port and Safi lost a great deal. In the xviiith century, however, Christian merchants were still numerous there; the representative of France, it may be noted, lived there for several years. In the xixth century its decline became more marked. It is now a fairly busy little town from which are exported the agricultural products of the rich country of the ʿAbda, of which Safi is the centre. Of the ancient ribāṭ it has retained the name of one of its two quarters while the name of the other is commemorated in walls for the most part Portuguese.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and historians of Morocco (al-Slāwī in particular — cf. the bibliography to the article MOROCCO) see the Portuguese chronicles; Pedro de Salazar, *Historia en la cual se cuentan muchas guerras entre Cristianos e infideles* (1550); Diego de Torres, *Hist. des Cherifs*; Marmol, transl. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667, ii. 78—93; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1787; among contemporaries see especially de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), passim; cf. also Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth Century*, London 1904, Cour, *Les Beni Waṭṭas*, Constantine 1920. (HENRI BASSET)

ṢAFĪ, FAḪR AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN AL-WĀʿIẒ AL-KĀSHIFĪ, with the *takhallus* ṢAFĪ, son of the preacher and man of letters al-Ḥusain al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī (d. 910 = 1504/5), a Persian author. From the preface to his work *Laṭāʾif al-Tawāʾif* it appears that he was a prisoner in Herāt for a year and in 939 (1532/3) entered the service of Shāh Muhammad, prince of Ghardjistān where he composed the *Laṭāʾif*. He must therefore have died after 1533, the exact date is not known any more than that of his birth.

Works: 1) a romantic poem, *Maḥmūd u Āyāz*, as far as is known the oldest poetic version of the theme; 2) *Rashaḥāt-i ʿAinu 'l-Ḥayāt*, a *tadhkira* of the Naḳshbandī Shaikhs, ed. Taschkent 1329, finished in 919 (1513/4), a Turkish translation of it appeared at Constantinople in 1236, at Būlāḳ in 1256 (Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran. Phil.*, ii. 365), 3) the above mentioned *Laṭāʾif al-Tawāʾif*, also called *Laṭāʾif al-Zarāʾif*, a narrative work found in a considerable number of manuscripts in European libraries, which contains in 14 bābs anecdotes regarding individuals of various classes of society (extracts in Schefer's *Chrest. Pers*, i. 106 *sqq.*).

Bibliography. Ethé in the *Grundr. der Iran Phil.*, ii. 250, 332, 334, 365, Sachau-Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian... Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i 428 *sqq.*; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 353, 757, do., *Supplement*, p. 69, Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der Herz. Bibl. zu Gotha*, p. 121; do., *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, cf. Index iii. under ʿAlī Ibn al-Husain; de Goeje, *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugd. Bat*, v. 295. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN (Shaikh), ancestor of the Safawids [q.v.] in Persia, was born at Ardabīl [q v.] in 650 = 1252/3, the son of Ḫwādja Kamāl al-Dīn ʿArabshāh and Dawlatī, said to be in the twenty-fifth line of descent from ʿAlī and in the twentieth from Mūsā al-Kāzim, the seventh Imām (on his genealogy see E. G. Browne in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1921, p. 397 and *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawīya*, Berlin 1924). He was the fifth of seven children and his father died when he was six years old. He is described as a serious youth who grew up without comrades and early devoted himself to religious exercises. As he found no one among the learned men of Ardabīl who pleased him as

a teacher he went to Shīrāz with the intention of attending the lectures of Shaikh Nadjīb al-Dīn Buzghūsh (d. 678 = 1279), but the latter died before he arrived there He made the acquaintance of pious dervishes and devout men, including Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī and Amīr ʿAbdallāh, who finally referred him to Shaikh Zāhid, i. e. Tādj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Rawshan Amīr b. Bābil b. Shaikh Bundār al-Kurdī al-Sandjānī of Gīlān, who was reported to live on the Caspian Sea. He is said to have spent four full years searching for him and ultimately discovered him in Hilya-kirān in the Khānbalī district of Gīlān Shaikh Zāhid gave him a kindly welcome and Ṣafī al-Dīn remained 25 years with him until Zāhid died at the age of 85. Ṣafī al-Dīn then became his successor in Zāhid's brotherhood until he in turn passed away, likewise aged 85, on Monday, Muharram 12, 735 = Sept. 12, 1334. Shortly before his death he had made the pilgrimage to Mekka and had previously designated his son Ṣadr al-Dīn as his successor. On his return he became ill, lay for twelve days in bed and then passed away. He had two wives, Bībī Fāṭima, daughter of Shaikh Zāhid, and the daughter of Akhī Sulaimān of Gilkhwarān. The former was the mother of 1) Muhyī al-Dīn, who died in 724 = 1324, 2) Ṣadr al-Dīn (born April 27, 1305 = Shawwāl, 704, died 794 = 1392), Safī al-Dīn's successor and 3) Abū Saʿīd. The second wife bore him two sons, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn, as well as a daughter, who was given in marriage to Shaikh Shams al-Dīn, a son of Shaikh Zāhid

Ṣafī al-Dīn was the founder of the Dervish order of the Ṣafawīs which later attained political control of Persia. The organisation and history of this brotherhood have not yet been thoroughly investigated It is closely connected in its political and religious history with the dervish bodies which later appeared in Anatolia and became powerful there, like the Akhīs and the Bektāshīs [q. v] Its members later wore as a badge a twelve-gored cap of scarlet wool (later called *tādj-i ḥaidar*, cf *Islam*, xi 83), from which comes the Turkish name *kïzïl-bash* "red head" Of the religious system of the order it is certain that its later point of view was that of the Shīʿa, although it is said that Ṣafī al-Dīn himself, the founder, was a Sunnī (cf. E G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 43 *sq.*, following the *Ahsan al-Tawārīkh*). Safī al-Dīn received numerous adherents from Persia and especially from Anatolia (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, p 403—4) and it is to him that the order owes its great prestige in Ṣūfī circles and its later great extension, which was ultimately to prove almost fatal to the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: The principal source is Ibn al-Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafāʾ*, lith. Bombay 1329 = 1911; MSS in the British Museum, Add. 11745 and in King's College, Cambridge (cf. E. G. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 35), this work, of which Browne, *op cit.*, p. 38 *sq.*, gives an excellent survey, deals exclusively with Safī al-Dīn's influence and neglects almost entirely the merely biographical data of his career. The *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawīya*, extracts of which have been given by E. G. Browne in the *J R.A.S.*, 1921, p. 395—418 (cf. thereon F. Babinger in the *Islam*, xii. 231 *sqq.*), and published by him in Persian at the Kavianī press in Berlin in 1924, is also important; on it see the earlier article by von Khanikoff in the *Mélanges Asiatiques ... de St. Pétersbourg*, i. 850—853. On further Persian literature see P. Horn in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii., Strassburg 1896/1904, p. 586 *sq.*, and v. Khanikoff in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 543 *sq.* On Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn cf. especially the very full account by E G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 3—44; on his order, the Ḳïzïl-bash, and their connections with Anatolian dervish orders see F. Babinger, *Scheych Bedr ed-Dīn*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 78 *sqq.* (*Isl.*, xi. 78 *sqq.*), with the sources there quoted and also do., *Marino Sanuto's Tagebucher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Ṣafawiyya* in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 28—50.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

ṢAFĪYA BINT ḤUYAIY B. AKHṬAB, Muḥammad's eleventh wife, was born in Medīna and belonged to the Jewish tribe of the Banu 'l-Nadīr, her father and her uncle Abū Yāsir were among the Prophet's most bitter enemies. When their tribe was expelled from Medīna in 4 A. H., Ḥuyaiy b. Akhtab was one of those who settled in Khaibar, together with Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ, to whom Safīya was married at the end of 6 or early in 7 A. H.; her age at this time was about 17. There is a tradition that she had formerly been the wife of Sallām b. Mashkam, who had divorced her.

When Khaibar fell, in Safar 7, Safīya was captured in a fortress, al-Ḳamūs or Nizar, together with two of her cousins. In the division of the spoils she had been assigned, or actually given, to Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī, but when Muhammad saw her he was struck by her beauty, and threw his mantle over her as a sign that he had chosen her for himself He redeemed her from Diḥya against seven heads of cattle, and induced her to embrace Islām. Her husband was condemned to a cruel death by Muḥammad for having refused to give up the treasure of the Banu 'l-Nadīr; the desire of marrying Ṣafīya may have influenced the Prophet, for the nuptials were celebrated with unseemly haste, either in Khaibar itself or at al-Ṣabhāʾ, some 8 miles from it, on the way back to Medīna Safīya's dowry consisted in her emancipation, and she assumed the veil (*ḥidjāb*), thus establishing her position as a wife, which at the beginning appears to have been questioned.

In Medīna Ṣafīya received a cold welcome: ʿĀʾisha and Muhammad's other wives showed their jealousy with slights upon her Jewish origin. She seems to have lived aloof from her surroundings, for we find no further mention of her in the years preceding Muḥammad's death, except in an episode that shows how, during his last illness, she expressed her devotion to him, and was criticised by the other wives With the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima she was, however, on good terms.

In 35 A. H. Safīya sided with ʿUthmān; while he was besieged in his house she made an unsuccessful attempt to reach him, and she used to bring him food and water by means of a plank placed between her dwelling and his. When ʿĀʾisha asked her to be present at ʿUthmān's last interview with ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair, which took place in her house, Ṣafīya went, and tried to defend the unfortunate Caliph.

She died in 50 or 52, during Muʿāwiya's caliphate, leaving a fortune of 100,000 dirham in land and goods, one third of which she bequeathed to her sister's son, who still followed the Jewish faith. Her dwelling in Medina was bought by Muʿāwiya for 180,000 dirham.

In Cairo there is a XVII. century mosque dedicated to Sitt Ṣafīya, which gives its name to the surrounding quarter.

Bibliography. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 354, 653, 762, 766; Ibn Saʿd, VIII. 85—92; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I. 379, 415, II/1. 29, 34, VIII. 223; al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, I 173, Lammens, *Moʿâwia*, p. 246. (V. VACCA)

AL-ṢAḤĀBA. [See ASḤĀB].

SAHARA (AL-ṢAḤRĀʾ), an African desert Ṣaḥrāʾ is the feminine of the adjective *aṣḥar*, "of a fawn colour". The word is applied by some writers to a combination of stony soil, steppes and sands (cf. al-Idrīsī, ed. de Goeje, p 37 note), while the word *muḍjdjība*, is more particularly applied to areas covered with moving sands and absolutely devoid of water (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 137, transl. Reinaud, II. 190). Leo Africanus uses it as a synonym for desert in general (Schefer I, 1 5)

The Sahara lies between Barbary, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Marmarica in the north, the Sūdān in the south, the Atlantic in the west and the Nile valley in the east. Some geographers even extend it as far as the Red Sea, and thus link it up with the Arabian deserts. Its area, if we leave out Egypt, may be estimated at three million square miles, or a quarter of the total surface of Africa.

The Sahara, as a whole, may be regarded as an ancient "plain" concealed in many parts by more recent geological formations Its surface, far from being uniform, presents considerable variations of level. Some parts, in the vicinity of the Egyptian border, in the south of Tripolitania and in the south of Tunisia, are below the level of the sea, in other parts, however, there are high plateaux, and mountain ranges, for the most part of volcanic origin, tower up (Tibesti, Air, Hoggar), some of whose summits are over 10,000 feet high (Tibesti) On the whole, we may say that low-lying areas predominate in the western Sahara and the heights in the eastern.

The desert character of the Sahara is primarily due to the climate of this part of Africa Rains are very rare and irregular there; the extreme dryness of the air produces an intense evaporation, which reduces to a minimum the rising of springs to the surface. The great variations of temperature and violence of the winds result in the break up of the rocks and the denudation of the surface. The conditions of animal and vegetable life are, in consequence, extremely precarious. It is, however, right to make a distinction in this respect between the border zones and the desert strictly speaking. In the north, indeed, the fairly abundant rainfalls have allowed the development of a zone of steppes suitable for stock-rearing, of which the high plateaux of Algeria show the most perfect type; in the south a border of savannah and bush rolls almost without interruption from the Atlantic to the Nile basin, and forms the transitional link between the Sahara and the fertile regions of Equatorial Africa. This is the "Sūdānese Sahara", in which the desert character lessens gradually as one goes southwards. The Sahara, properly so called, occupies the whole area between these two zones and even in the north reaches to the Mediterranean in the region of Sidra and Marmarica It presents very different aspects in its different parts. Sand-dunes cover enormous tracts (cf the article ʿAREG), separated from each other by rocky plateaux (Hamada), bounded by steep slopes. In other parts we find river valleys, usually dried up, called *wādī* (weds) or flat plains of a soil sometimes perfectly uniform (Reg) as in the Algerian Sahara, sometimes filled with pebbles which makes walking very difficult, as in the Libyan desert. The most desolate parts are the "Tanezruft", absolutely sterile regions and totally without springs. On the other hand, wherever we find surface water and wherever sheets of subterranean waters are sufficiently near the surface to be reached by wells or irrigation channels, there have arisen centres of population and cultivation, known as "oases", some isolated, others grouped like the islands of an archipelago: Fezzān, Kawar, Wed Rir (*wādī Rīgh*), Zibān, Tidikelt, Tuāt, Gurara, Tafilelt etc.

The Arab authors only give us fragmentary and often vague information regarding the Sahara. The only region that they know with any exactness is the northern zone, adjoining Ifrīḳīya and the Maghrib, the zone in which Ibn Khaldūn (*Les Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I. 120; transl. de Slane, I 190) includes Tafilelt, Tuāt, Gurara, Fezzān and even Ghadames. The Arabs, however, do not agree as to the bounds of the Sahara. Al-Bakrī, for example, says that the sands mark the beginning of the "lands of the blacks" (*Masālik*, Algiers 1911, p 21; transl. de Slane, p. 49). Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, makes it clear that this country is separated from Barbary by a vast region of deserts, "in which one is in danger of dying of thirst"; here and there also we find some notes on the parts of the deserts traversed by caravan routes (e. g. on the western Sahara; cf the description of the desert called *Nīsar* or *Tīsar* by al-Idrīsī, *Yosr* by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ) or the accounts of commercial centres like Tadmakka, Audaghost (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

Leo Africanus gives a resumé of the data supplied by his predecessors. He identifies the Sahara with the Libya of the ancients (Bk. i. 5) and attempts a division into regions based on their populations. He distinguishes five different areas in the Sahara: (1) the desert of the Zenaga (زناغة), from the ocean to the salt beds of Tegaza; (2) the desert of Wanzīgha from the salt-beds of Tegaza at the Air in the east to the desert of Sidjilmāsa in the north; (3) the desert of the Targa (ترقة = Tuareg), bounded in the west by Ighidi, in the north by Tuāt, Gurara and Mzab, in the south by the kingdom of Agades; (4) the desert of the Lamṭa bounded on the north by the deserts of Wargla and Ghadames, in the south by deserts which reach as far as Kano; (5) the desert of the Bardāwa lying between the desert of the Lamṭa in the west, the desert of Awdjila in the east, Fezzān in the north, Bornū in the south (Leo Africanus, Bk. VI.; transl. Schefer, III. 267 *sqq.*).

In spite of the sparsity of its resources, the Sahara has always been the home of man. The discovery on numerous places, at a great distance from one another, of wrought flints, pottery, rock carvings, etc. testify to the presence of man there

at a very remote epoch. The ancients gave these Saharan people the name of Ethiopians (Herodotos) or Libyans. They peopled the Sahara in the strict sense of the word, while Fezzān was occupied by the Garamantes, negroids, perhaps related to the present day Bornūans. In the northern border zone, Berbers of a white stock lived, gradually, however, the negroes were pushed southwards and had to give way to the whites According to E. Gautier (*Le Sahara*, p. 93 *sqq.*) this ethnic change was the result of the introduction into North Africa in the Imperial period of the camel which supplied the Berbers with the indispensable means for the conquest of the Sahara. In any case, from this time onwards the Berbers never ceased to advance into the interior. When the Arabs came, the Zanāta were already settled in the oasis of the Wed Rir, while the Ṣanhādja were leading a nomadic life to the south of the great Atlas as far as Senegal. In the fifth century A. H. the Almoravids [q. v.] ruled the whole of the western Sahara. Three centuries later the Berber tribes (Guadala, Lamṭūna, Urzīga, Masūfa, Lamṭa and Targa) formed from west to east a cordon stretching to the borders of the land of the negroes (Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 21; transl. de Slane, p 104). The advance continues in the centuries following. In the sixteenth century A D the Tuareg occupied the Air, in the seventeenth and eighteenth they settled in Adrār and reached the banks of the Niger.

Arab penetration followed the Berber penetration. In the first century A. H the Arabs first arrived in Fezzān; during the period following, they found their way into the central Sahara and into the western Sahara, as missionaries and merchants. But it was the Hilālī invasion that brought in whole tribes, who, finding the Maghrib too small for them, overflowed into the desert, thrusting forward the Berber tribes and forcing them to go further south, so that by the time of Ibn Khaldūn, Arab tribes were occupying the border country north of the desert. Certain later happenings contributed to the diffusion of the Arab element, for example the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, which brought refugees even as far as Shingit in Adrār, and the conquest of the Sūdān by the Saʿdians at the end of the sixteenth century A. D. The Arab expansion has gone on into our own times; witness, for example, the settlement in Bordū about 1820 of the Awlād Sulaimān (Uled Sliman), who came from the shores of the Gulf of Sidra. The existence of fairly active commercial relations between the two sides of the Sahara has always contributed to facilitate this infiltration From the early centuries of the Hidjra, caravan routes connected Fezzān with Tchad, Southern Tunisia with Nigeria, and the extreme Maghrib with the empire of Ghāna. In the seventh century A. H. Walata was in regular connection with Morocco and Tuāt, Kanem with Ifrīkīya. In the sixteenth century A. D. Timbuktu traded with Morocco and Tunisia; in the nineteenth the routes from Tripoli to Bornū and Wadaï were still busy and Arab traders were settled at all the caravan stations.

This Arab and Berber penetration has, however, been checked from time to time by return offensives by the Sūdānese. At more than one period, indeed, negro empires have extended over the Sahara. The Soninke empire of Ghāna stretched over all Mauritania; the Mande empire reached to Tuāt; the authority of the Sulṭāns of Kanem has been recognised around Wargla, that of the Askia of Gao even to beyond Timbuktu.

This ebb and flow of peoples has left its trace in the present ethnography of the Sahara. We find in it the elements of white and black, either pure or altered by mixture in different degrees. The first, numerically the most important, is represented by the Arabs and the Tuareg [q. v.]. In spite of the differences of origin and of language which distinguish them, they both present some features in common. They lead the same kind of life, a purely nomadic one, to which a kind of secular selection has wonderfully adapted them; as regards politics, they have not advanced beyond the rudimentary organisation into tribes and confederacies of tribes. Their geographical areas, however, are quite distinct The Tuareg predominate in the Central Sahara from which they have advanced, gradually mixing more and more with black blood, as far as the bend of the Niger. The Arabs predominate on the frontiers of the Maghrib and especially in the western Sahara, which they have arabicised, and where their intermarriage with the Berbers has given birth to a mixed population, the Moors. The families who have preserved their Arab descent almost intact and who bear, as a rule, the name of "Ḥasan", constitute an aristocracy among them, while the other sections of the population, with the exception of some groups of Ṣanhādja and Almoravid descent, are treated as an inferior caste (cf. the article MAURITANIA).

The black population also includes elements of various origins. The aboriginal population, gradually thrust back by the whites, seems to be represented at the present day only by the Tibu [q. v.], who, numbering barely 10,000 or so, occupy Tibesti and the neighbouring regions [see the article TIBESTI]. The vast majority consists of individuals of different origins (Hausa, Bornūans, etc.), whose ancestors were settled in the Sahara as the result of the Sūdānese conquests, or who have been brought into the country as slaves. The intermarriage of these negroes among themselves and with Berbers seems to have given birth to a particular type, the "hartanī" (plur.: *harratīn*), among whom black blood predominates; they play a very important part in the economy of the Sahara, especially in the villages and oases of the Northern Sahara. In contrast to the essentially nomadic white, the black is a settler; he cultivates the oases, a work for which the whites are unfitted by their inclinations as well as their physiological organisation. The black tiller of the soil secures for the nomads the means of subsistence, without which they could not do, but he is kept by them, whether Arab or Berber, in a state of dependency and service.

If it has not opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the relations between the Mediterranean region and the Sūdān, the Sahara has been no more a barrier to the diffusion of Islām, the progress of which coincides with that of the white element in the desert. Introduced into Fezzān in the first century A. H., Islām was spread by the Arab traders, who frequented the caravan routes and commercial centres, and by the nomad Berbers, like the Lamṭa and the Lamṭūna. The conquests of the Almoravids gained for Islām a vast

area in the western Sahara and up to the borders of the Sūdān. This Islām, quite superficial by the way, like that still professed by the Tuareg, allowed traces of previous beliefs and practices contradictory to Ḳor'ānic law to go on; on the other hand, it met with centres of resistance like the Tuāt, where Judaeo-Berbers maintained themselves till the fifteenth century A. D. At this period the religious revival which began in North Africa had its repercussions in the Sahara. Marabouts and Shorfa, coming for the most part from Morocco, appeared in all places of any importance, exterminated all who differed from them, preached the orthodox doctrine and themselves became founders of Marabout factions, whose members enjoyed great material and moral prestige. The activity of the religious brotherhoods became added to that of individuals, and is still felt at the present day. The western Sahara is under the influence of brotherhoods attached to the Ḳādirīya order and, in a smaller degree, to the Tidjānīya; the eastern Sahara to that of the Sanūsīya.

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SAHĀRANPŪR, a city of northern India, situated in 29° 57′ N. and 77° 33′ E., was founded about 1340, in the reign of Muḥammad b Tughlaḳ, and was named after a local Muhammadan saint, Shāh Haran Čishtī The city and district suffered severely during the invasion of Tīmūr, and in 1526 Bābur traversed them on his way to Pānīpat, and some local Mughal colonies trace their origin to his followers Muslim influence gained much by the proselytizing zeal of ʿAbd al-Kuddūs, who ruled the district until the reign of Akbar. In the reigns of Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān, Sahāranpūr was a favourite summer resort of the court, owing to the coolness of its climate and the abundance of game in its neighbourhood. Nūr Djahān had a palace in the village of Nūrnagar, which perpetuates her name, and the royal hunting seat, Pādshāh Mahall, was built for Shāh Djahān After the death of Awrangzīb the district suffered severely from the inroads of the Sikhs, who massacred Hindūs and Muslims indiscriminately, until, in 1716, they were temporarily crushed by the imperial authority. The upper Doāb then passed into the hands of the Sayyids of Bārha, and on their fall in 1721 into those of several favourites. In 1754 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī conferred it on the Rohilla, Nadjīb Khān, as a reward for his services at the battle of Kotila. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and Marāṭhās. His son Ẓābiṭ Khān revolted from Dihlī, but was reconciled, and his son Ghulām Kādir, who succeeded him in 1785, established a strong government and dealt firmly with the Sikhs. He was a coarse and brutal chief and in 1788 he blinded the emperor Shāh ʿĀlam and was justly mutilated and put to death by Sindhya Sahāranpūr remained nominally in the hands of the Marāṭhās, but actually in those of the Sikhs, until its conquest and occupation by the British after the fall of ʿAligaṛh and the battle of Dihlī in 1803.

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(T. W. HAIG)

ṢĀḤIB, the participial form of *ṣ-ḥ-b*, to be the companion of, meant originally to be on equal terms of friendship, and was especially used of all those who came into contact with Muḥammad, and died in the faith of Islām [cf the art. *Aṣḥāb*]. But also in Muslim literature it often has the common meaning of companion. Muhammad calls himself *ṣāḥibukum* when he addresses his companions, and the Kaisar is called *Ṣāḥib al-Rūm*, the governor of al-Busrā *Ṣāḥib al-Buṣrā* By 167 = 783/84 the Caliph al-Mahdī created an Inquisitor and gave to him the title of *Ṣāḥib al-Zanādiḳa*. Still, for Governors, the term Ḥākim was preferred. It is probable that the sacred association with the Prophet's Companions led to this preference.

The term Sāhib is used universally in India to-day to designate Europeans, and is a formal mark of respect. When applied to Indians of high station it is an added honour, e. g Khān Sāḥib.

Curiously enough the Arabic feminine form is seldom in use, and not in an honorific sense. In the Creed of Al-Ashʿarī (Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Al-Ashʿarī's*, p. 133 *sqq*) he says of God "He has taken to Himself no companion (sāhiba)". This use, however, is very exceptional. In India at present the feminine is obtained by prefixing Madam, with an elided d, and pronouncing *memsahib*, and this is the form by which all European women are addressed.

On the use of *ṣāḥib* in the Mekkan dialect, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichworter*, N⁰. 23

Bibliography· D B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology* (London 1903), Index, I. 111. R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London 1907), W. Muir, *The Caliphate* (Edinburgh 1915) (T CROUTHER GORDON)

ṢĀḤIB ḲIRĀN, a title, meaning "Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction" *Ḳirān* means a conjunction of the planets, *Ḳirān al-saʿdain* (cf. the art SAʿDĀN) a conjunction of the two auspicious planets (Jupiter and Venus), and *Ḳirān al-nahsain* a conjunction of the two inauspicious planets (Saturn and Mars). In the title the word refers, of course, to the former only. The Persian i of the *iḍāfa* is omitted, as in *Ṣāḥib-dil*, by *fakk-i-iḍāfa*. The title was first assumed by the Amīr Tīmūr, who is said to have been born under a fortunate conjunction, but with whom its assumption was, of course, an afterthought. After his death poets and flatterers occasionally applied it to lesser sovereigns, even to so insignificant a ruler as Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, of Aḥmadnagar, but it was officially assumed by Tīmūr's descendant, the emperor Shāh Djahān, who styled himself *Ṣāḥib Ḳirān-i-Thānī*, "the second Lord of the Conjunction".

Ṣāḥib-Ḳirān was also, in Persia, where it has since been corrupted into *Ḳirān* or *Ḳrān*, the name of a coin of 1000 *dinārs*, the tenth part of a *tūmān*.

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(T. W. HAIG)

ṢAḤĪḤ, sound, free from defect or blemish, is the name given to (a) a tradition whose chain of guarantors or transmittors is unassailable, and (b) the collections which contain nothing but *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions, namely those compiled by al-Bukhārī [q. v., i. 783] and Muslim b. al-Ḥadjdjādj.

(a) The *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition, according to al-Djurdjānī (d. 816) embraces categories so wide apart as the *musnad* (supported by authorities resting on the prophet) and the *fard* (peculiar to one district or one reporter).

(b) The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī contains 7,397, or, according to other authorities, 7,295 traditions. These were selected by the author from the 600,000 *ḥadīth* current in his day and the 200,000 it is asserted that he memorized. A remarkable feature of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* is the chapter heading or *tardjama* which is often tendencious and sometimes misleading; e. g. when he prefaces a tradition which professes to record the equal efficacy of a pilgrimage to the mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem with the words "Of the superiority of prayer in the mosques of Mecca and Medina". (*Bāb Faḍl al-Ṣalāt*, ed. Krehl, i. 299)

The contents of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* are practically the same as al-Bukhārī's except that the *isnāds* differ considerably; and instead of the chapter headings so characteristic of al-Bukhārī, the author gives us a valuable preface in which he discusses the conditions which a tradition must fulfil before it can be regarded as authentic.

Both works (al-Bukhārī's more systematically) are planned to provide, where possible, apostolic *ḥadīth* on which to ground the existing laws and regulations of Islām. So great waxed the reputation of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* that it was regarded as a charm against shipwreck and other calamities and the author's tomb became the resort of believers in distress.

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(ALFRED GUILLAUME)

SĀḤIL is a reversed word, of the measure *fāʿil* instead of the measure *mafʿūl*, and its original meaning is "abraded (by the sea)". Hence, the shore of the sea or of a great river, a sea-shore, sea-coast, or sea-board; also a tract of cultivated land, with towns or villages, adjacent to a sea or great river, and the side of a valley.

Bibliography: The lexica s. v.

(T. W. HAIG)

SĀHIR, DJELĀL, a notable modern Ottoman poet and author. Born in 1883 in Constantinople, the son of Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha who died in Yemen, he early showed literary inclinations and a talent for declamation. Through his writings he was very soon able to procure for himself a prominent position among Turkish men of letters. He acted as a teacher of French and of belles-lettres and was for a time employed in the Foreign Office. Later he acted chiefly as editor of various periodicals, e. g. the literary part of the *Therwet-i funūn*, the ladies' newspaper *Demet* (the Nosegay), founded by him in 1909 but which expired after 7 numbers, the *Feḏjr-i ātī*, the *Turk sozu*, the *Muṣawwer Muḥīṭ*, the monthly *Bilgi* (knowledge), also founded by him (1913) — he was president of the *Turk Bilgi Dirneyi* —, the *Iḳtiṣādīyet Meḏjmūʿasy* (journal of national economy) (1916), etc. His undeniable flair for practical business is in remarkable contrast to his sensitive, elegiac, very tender style of poetry. He takes first place among the younger poets as regards perfection of language and depth of feeling. The euphony of his verse is fascinating. As a prose writer a simple and brilliant diction best fits him.

With a sure instinct he at once attached himself to the modern school of the *Therwet-i funūn* (*Tewfīḳ Fikret — Ḫālid Ziyā*) He actively championed the simplification of the language. As regards prosody, however, he adhered strictly to the old classical form (*ʿarūḍ*). That for a period he also wrote in the national metre which counts the syllables (*parmak ḥisābi*), obeying the national tendency, was only an interlude. His early period of extravagant and fantastic descriptions of nature was followed by a transition to psycho-analysis. His true sphere, in which he is considered a master, is woman and love, which he sings in an inexhaustible variety of ways. He celebrates them in inspired, indeed feverishly tender poems. For him "the poem is a woman and woman a poem". This praise of woman is done in a perfectly pure, morally noble and ideal way. Only reluctantly does he turn to other themes, although here also he has produced many fine poems. A certain tendency to the morbid, to weltschmerz, foreboding of death and longing for death is strongly marked in him. It is no wonder that many, while fully recognising the merits of his charming personality, cannot regard him as a poet such as New-Turkey needs in her period of transition.

With the constitution a somewhat more vigorous national tone entered his work. Since then he has been above all a champion of women's rights, for which he fights with tongue and pen. He was president of the *Feḏjr-i ātī* (the coming dawn), Sturm und Drang club, which, comprising about 20 men of letters of the *therwet-i funūn* circle, endeavoured to control the direction of development of Turkish literature but collapsed owing to internal dissentions after only seven months. Besides numerous poems and articles in the most varied papers and periodicals he has published the following books: a collection of poems entitled *Beyāḍ Kolgeler* ("White Shadows") (1325) and the collections of mingled prose and poetry entitled *Buhrān* ("*Crisis*") (1325) and *Siyāḥ* ("black") (1328), all in the series, so important for modern literature, called *Edebīyāt-i ḏjedīde Kutub-ḫānesi* (Nos. 13, 19 and 27); and a work entitled Sīmūn. His *Istambol içun mebʿūṯ nāmzedlerimiz*, published anonymously in 1335, contains political and satirical verses.

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1328, p. 376—7; *Newsāl-i millī*, Constantinople 1330, p. 243—247; Rā'if Nedjdet, *Ḥayāt-ı Edebiye*, 1909—1922, Constantinople 1922, p. 44—45 and 169—170, Reshīd Thuraiya, *Edebiyāt-i Djedīde* and the *Kyrā'at-ı edebiye* (ed. by Djelāl Sāhir and Mehmed Fu'ād), both the latter Constantinople 1328; *Österreichische Rundschau*, vol. 46; part 6, Vienna 1916: *Aus dem Osmanenreiche. Literarische Beitrage, gesammelt von Djelāl Sāhir*; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Turkei*, Leipzig 1910; do., *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, *M. S. O. S. As.*, xix, Berlin 1916, p. 154—166; xxi., ibid. 1918, p. 43—44; do., *Dichter der neuen Turkei*, Berlin 1919, p. 88—91; O. Hachtmann, *Die turkische Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1916, p. 29—30; Th. Menzel, *Die turkische Literatur*, in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1924, p. 316.

(TH MENZEL)

SAHL B. HĀRŪN, an Arab author and poet who flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century A. H (= beginning of the ninth century A. D). According to the *Fihrist*, he was of Persian descent and born in Dastmaisān, between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ Al-Ḥuṣrī makes him come from Maisān, which is quite near it, and gives him also the *kunya* Abū 'Amr (on the margin of the *'Iḳd*, ii. 190). The name of his grandfather is variously given Rāmnūy, Rāhyūn (both in the *Fihrist*) or Rāhīyūnī (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 24, cf also van Vloten's note to p. 10 of his edition of al-Djāḥiẓ' *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*) Sahl later settled in Baṣra from which he is said to have taken his *nisba* (al-Ḥuṣrī), the *Fihrist*, however, calls him al-Dastmaisānī. Exact details of his life are lacking and we have to rely mainly on anecdotal references. He held high offices in the Chancellery at the Caliph's court. We find him already in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, secretary to the Barmecid Yaḥyā b. Khālid, whom he is said to have succeeded as *ṣāḥib al-dawāwīn* (Ibn Badrūn). Whether he retained this high office under al-Amīn, we do not know, but under al-Ma'mūn he was again in great esteem although the latter had at first little regard for him. By revealing his Shu'ūbī predilections, he then gained the Caliph's favour Along with other men of letters such as Sa'īd b Hārūn and Salm (or Salmā, cf. *Fihrist*) he was engaged by al-Ma'mūn in his treasury or house of wisdom (*khizānat al-Ḥikma*, *Dār al-Ḥikma*).

Sahl b. Hārūn was a fanatical adherent of the Shu'ūbiya [q. v.]; it was no doubt as such that he gained the favour of the Barmecid Yaḥyā, whom he praises in some much quoted lines for his absteniousness, just as the same sentiments later gained him favour with al-Ma'mūn (cf. the anecdote in al-Ḥuṣrī, *op. cit.*). Together with Ibn al-Muḳaffa' and others, Sahl belongs to those authors who continued Persian tradition in Arabic literature. As an author, Sahl was popular in his day for two kinds of literary product. He wrote a *Kitāb Tha'la wa-'Afrā* (so in the *Fihrist*; other sources give very varied spellings of these words), in this work he imitates the celebrated book of fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q. v.] by making animals speak and also retaining its divisions into sections. Al-Ḥuṣrī (*op. cit.*) gives a few quotations from this book. Sahl was next famous for his praise of avarice and misers. The only work of his that has survived is a *Risālat al-Bukhalā'*; it is incorporated in the *'Iḳd* (iii. 335 *sq.*) and forms the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* of Djāḥiẓ. In this *Risāla* Sahl defends avarice or rather wise frugality and economy, the rational form of avarice, as al-Djāḥiẓ says. It is dedicated to Sahl's nephews who had reproached him with some remarks he had made in praise of avarice. It is very probable that these remarks were made in the *Kitāb Tha'la wa-'Afrā*, as is suggested by the above mentioned passage in al-Ḥuṣrī. Sahl was (according to al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalā'*, p. 114) with Abū Rahmān al-Thawrī the first to devote a special book to avarice; this style of book was later imitated by several authors, e. g. by al-Djāḥiẓ himself. Goldziher sees in his praise of avarice a Shu'ūbī attack on the national Arab virtue of generosity. He is also said to have written several *Rasā'il* on this subject and al-Ḥuṣrī thinks he wished to show his literary power thereby. An anecdote reports that the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [q. v.], who had sent him by Sahl a treatise on avarice dedicated to him, replied that he had taken the lesson given him to heart; and therefore did not send him the expected reward.

The list of Sahl's other works is given in the *Fihrist*, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-Bayān*, i. 24) mentions three: *Kitāb al-Ikhwān* (in the *Fihrist*. *K. Asbāsiyūs fī Ittiḥād al-Ikhwān*), *K. al-Masā'il* (perhaps the same as *K. Dīwān al-Rasā'il* of the *Fihrist*) and *K al-Makhzūmī wa 'l-Hudhalīya* (the same in the *Fihrist*) The greater part of his works presumably belonged to the domain of belles-lettres; the *Kitāb Tadbīr al-Mulk wa 'l-Siyāsa* mentioned in the last place in the *Fihrist* shows, however, that Sahl also dealt with political science He was also esteemed as a poet, as some poems of his quoted by various authors show. According to the *Fihrist*, however, he did not leave more than 50 pages of poetry Besides his reputation as a wit, he seems to have achieved fame as a connoisseur (anecdote in Ibn Khallikān), indeed, in Arabic literature there is connection between the *Bukhalā'* and the *Akala*

Sahl b. Hārūn found his greatest admirer and successor in his younger contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ [q. v.] who even published several books under his name and in his *K. al-Bukhalā'* followed him in taking avarice as his subject. He praises Sahl as a brilliant representative of all branches of literature (*K. al-Bayān*, *loc. cit.*); whether he was personally acquainted with him is a doubtful question. Sahl's name later became widely known through the *1001 Nights*.

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 120 etc.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, v. 238 *sq.*; al-Djāḥiz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, Būlāḳ 1313, i. 30, ii. 150, do, *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1900; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293, iii. 335 *sq.*; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Adāb wa Thamr al-Albāb* (on the margin of the *'Iḳd*), ii. 190 *sq.*, iii. 142; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, p. 243 *sq.*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 226, Fasc. iii. 29 *sq.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—77, i. 159; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p. 523; Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, i. 14, 161; Silvestre de Sacy in the *N. E.*, x. 139, 160, 173 *sq.*, 267; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 516;

Irānian influence on Moslem Literature, transl. from the Russian of M. Inostranzew by G. K. Nairman, Bombay 1918, p. 32, 169 *sq.*

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD SAHL B. ʿABDALLĀH B. YŪNUS, a Sunnī theologian and mystic, whose language was Arabic, born at Tustar (al-Ahwāz) in 203 (818) and died in exile at Baṣra in 283 (896).

A pupil, through his master Ibn Sawwār, of strict Sunnīs like Thawrī and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, Sahl was above all an ascetic of a very strict moral discipline. He was also a theologian with a vast store of intellectual knowledge.

Of his life, apparently quiet and solitary, only one detail is known: his exile to Baṣra at the time of the revolt of the Zindj (about 261=874) when the ʿulamāʾ of al-Ahwāz condemned his doctrinal treatise on the obligatory character of contrition (*tawba fard*).

Sahl wrote nothing, but his "thousand sayings", collected and edited by his pupil, Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d 297/909), presented sufficient dogmatic coherence to give rise to a theological school, the Sālimīya [q. v]. It is from Sahl that this school derives its characteristics. experimental introspection practicing the rites of worship and a technical semi-gnostic vocabulary tending to monism.

Sahl's argumentation is purely dialectic (*istidlāl*, *aṣl*, *farʿ*) like that of the mutakallimūn; he does not yet argue in syllogisms in the Greek fashion as his old pupil Ḥallādj [q. v.] was to do after leaving him. In psycho-physics he teaches that man is composed of four elements (*hayāt*, *rūḥ*, *nūr*, *ṭīn*), that the *rūḥ* is superior to the *nafs* (against the view of the Hellenisers) and that it survives after death (against the view of Mubarrad).

In Kurʾānic exegesis each verse has four meanings, literal (*ẓāhir*), allegorical (*bāṭin*), moral (*hadd*) and anagogical (*muṭṭalaʿ*), he admits the Imāmī theory of *dhafr*. The examples of the prophets should be meditated upon in order that we may gradually attain their state of soul.

For Sahl, as for Ibn Karrām and al-Ashʿarī, the "Islāmic community" comprises all believers, provided they turn towards the *ḳibla* (the Sunnī view; opposed to that of the Muʿtazilīs and Imāmīs). The word "faith" (*īmān*) signifies at once acquiescence with the lips (*kawl*), conformity of conduct (*ʿamal*), identity of intention (*nīya*) and inner enjoyment of the real (*yaḳīn*).

The true worshipper of God ought first to obey the state and strictly observe the rites: "to love is to extend obedience" (al-Tustarī, also, said "*perinde ac cadaver*"). He is bound to produce actions, in imitation of the Prophet (semi-Muʿtazilī notion of *iktisāb*, opposed to the quietist *tawakkul* of Shaḳīḳ and Ibn Karrām), but he ought continually to turn towards God (*Allāh ḳiblat al-nīya*) with incessant contrition (*tawba farḍ fī kull waḳt*). The analysis that Sahl makes of the stages of the voluntary act, derived from that of al-Muḥāsibī and adopted by al-Ghazālī, remains classic. In the supreme degree the ascetic "expatriated" from the world ought to possess the essential reality of God (*yaḳīn*) beyond rites of worship (*ghayba bi 'l-madhkūr ʿan al-dhikr*); an adumbration of the Ḥallādjī doctrine of mystic union.

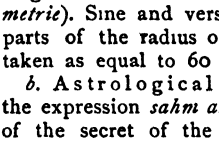
In eschatology Sahl uses with discretion the semi-gnostic data of Imāmī origin; the "column of light" (*ʿāmūd al-nūr*, *ʿadl maḵẖlūḳ bihi*), a kind of "mass of primordial adoration", composed of all the souls of saints to be (as opposed to ordinary men, *adamīyūn*), an adumbration of the *nūr muḥammadīya* of the later mystics. The saints alone are predestined to possess *sirr al-rubūbīya* or *sirr al-anā*, "mystery of the sovereign personality", or "divine right to say 'I'". This idea is an adumbration of the *huwa huwa* [q. v]. From it Sahl deduced the probability of final rehabilitation for Satan; an idea later developed by Ibn al-ʿArabī and ʿAbd al-Karīm Djīlī [q. v.].

The *dhikr*-formula which Shaikh Sanūsī ascribes to Sahl (*Salsabīl*, s.v *Suhūlīya*) is of modern origin.

Bibliography. Sahl al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Naʿsānī, Cairo 1326 (artificial compilation); Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Saḳallī (who wrote in Ḳairawān in 390/999 and also left a *ṣifat al-awlīyāʾ*), *Sharḥ wa-bayān limā ashkal min kalām Sahl*, and *Kitāb al-muʿārada wa'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-firāḳ min kalām Sahl*, MS. Kopr. 727, Stambul; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, London 1911, Index, s. v ; R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfitums*, Berlin 1914, Index, s. v ; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines ..... de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 264—70, do., *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, Index, s. v.

(L. MASSIGNON)

AL-SAHM, the arrow. *a*. Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular *c b* in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called *al-sahm*, the versed sine (*al-djaib al-maʿkūs*) of the arc *a b*; the sine (*al-djaib al-mustawī*), which corresponds to our sine, is *a c*



(see — in addition to many other passages — *Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (ed. v. Vloten), p. 205. The versed sine played a much more important part in the older mathematics from the Hindus onwards than it does in modern mathematics (cf. e. g. A. von Braunmühl, *Geschichte der Trigonometrie*). Sine and versed sine are measured in the parts of the radius of the circle, the latter being taken as equal to 60 parts or = 1.

b. Astrological term: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī says that the expression *sahm al-ghaib* (the arrow, the hitting of the secret of the future, see *op. cit.*, p. 327, 338, 410) is astrological. (E. WIEDEMANN)

c. Astronomical term: *Ṣūrat al-Rāmī*, constellation of Sagittarius, and also *al-Ḳaws*, bow of Sagittarius (cross-bow), a southern constellation of the ecliptic, which, according tos Ptolemy and the Arabs, consists of 31 stars mainly of southern latitude, which are almost all of the 3rd to 6th degrees of magnitude. Ptolemy gives only star 24 of Sagittarius (Arabic: *rukbat al-yad al-yusrā*, elbow of the left arm) the magnitude 2—3, while al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Berl. MS. 275, fol. 205*b*) gives magnitude 2 for stars 24 and 23 (*kaʿb al-yad al-yusrā* = knuckle of the left hand); of Sagittarius in Ulug Beg, however, except star 3 of Sagittarius (*ʿala 'l-djānib al-djanūbī min al-ḳaws* = the one south of the bow), which, according to him, is 3—2 in magnitude, they are only of the 3rd or lower degrees of magnitude. This 20 *s* Sagittarii is really of 1.9 magnitude (on *ʿUrkūb al-rāmī* see C. A. Nallino, *Opus astronomicum*, ii. 163). The following stars af Sagittarius are also noteworthy: *Naṣl al-sahm*

= point of the arrow, and the so-called "eye of the archer", *ʿAin al-rāmī*, or, according to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*), *al-Saḥāb al-muḍaʿʿaf ʿala 'l-ʿain* = the nebulous double-star which is in the eye. Neither in al-Bīrūnī nor in Ulug-Beg is there any mention of ostriches (the ostrich going to drink and coming back from drinking) which are mentioned by L. Ideler (see below).

Among the Greeks Sagittarius was called ὁ τοξότης, among the Romans Sagittarius, Sagittifer and Arcitenens. There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians or Babylonians knew of *al-Ḳaws* as a bow-constellation. The bow-constellation of the latter was the bow shaped-group of stars ε δ τ Canis majoris + κ λ Puppis.

Bibliography. L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternamen* (Berlin 1809), p 183—191, F. W. V. Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnahmen* (Leipzig 1796), p. 83; al-Ṣūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes composée au milieu du dixieme siècle de notre ère par Abd al-Rahman al-Sûfi*, transl by H. C. F. C. Schjellerup (St. Petersburg 1874), p. 30; E. B. Knobel, *Ulugh Beg's Catalogue of Stars* (Washington 1917), p. 40, 105. (C. SCHOY)

ṢAḤNA, a little township in the Persian province of Kermānshāh on the great road between Kangāwar and Bīsutūn. The district of Ṣaḥna contains about 28 villages inhabited by settled Turks belonging to the tribe of Khodābandelū (of Hamadān) At Ṣahna there are a few Ahl-i-Ḥaḳḳ (see the article ʿALĪ ILĀHĪ), who are in touch with their spiritual superiors in Dīnawar (see DĪNAWAR), a frontier district in the north. Ṣaḥna must not be confused with Senne, the capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, the former residence of the Wālīs of Ardilān [q v]. Quite near Ṣahna on the steep bank of the stream are two funerary chambers carved out of the rock and dating in all probability from the Achaemenid period. A Saḥna (with *S*, not with *Ṣ*) near Anbār [q. v.] is mentioned by Yāḳūt.

Bibliography. E. Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851, i. 413; Čirikov in the *Putevoi journal* of 1848—1852, St Petersburg 1875, was the first to give a description of the two tombs, Rabino, *Kermanchah RMM*, vol. xxxviii, March 1920, p. 1—40; E Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin 1920, p. 8 (detailed description of the principal tombs. (V MINORSKY)

SAḤNŪN, ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. SAʿĪD B. ḤABĪB AL-TANŪḴHĪ, was nicknamed Sahnūn after the name of a sprightly bird on account of his quick wit. His father Saʿīd had come as a soldier from Ḥims to Ḳairawān, where Saḥnūn was born in 160 = 776/77. Apparently his father was not rich but Saḥnūn enjoyed the teaching of the best scholars of his native city, especially al-Buhlūl b. Rāshid (d. 183, Ibn Farḥūn, p. 104), and when Saḥnūn went to Tunis to pursue his studies there his teacher wrote a letter of recommendation to ʿAlī b. Ziyād (d. 183) in consequence of which ʿAlī, out of respect for al-Buhlūl, used to come to the lodgings of Saḥnūn to teach him what he had learned from Mālik. In the year 178, according to his son Muḥammad, he went to Egypt to study under the pupils of Mālik b. Anas and met there ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim, Ibn Wahb and Ashhab, who were prominent followers of Mālik. This was the year before the death of Mālik and Saḥnūn had brought with him from Ḳairawān the portions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik which Anas b. al-Furāt had heard under the master. When some questions arising out of the study of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* were discussed before ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim, Saḥnūn required further information and he was asked why he did not travel to hear Mālik himself. He replied that his poverty and lack of money alone prevented him. This association with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was of far-reaching consequences for the spread of the Mālikī school of law in the West. Most authorities place the journey of Saḥnūn to the East in 188, but this is an evident error, as it is also stated that he went there during the life of Mālik, who died in 179 A. H. He later had the gratification of travelling further and performed the pilgrimage in company of ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Ashhab and Ibn Wahb riding on the camel behind the latter. Later he visited also al-Medīna and Syria studying under the most prominent followers of Mālik. He returned to Ḳairawān in 191 and made it his calling to spread the doctrines of Mālik. Some of his biographers state that he was the first who introduced these doctrines into the West, but before him ʿAlī b. Ziyād, al-Buhlūl and Asad b. al-Furāt had taught the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* or at least parts of it. Saḥnūn worked out the doctrines in a large work, the *Mudawwana*, the basis of which was the text of Asad b. al-Furāt, which he commented by questioning ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḳāsim upon the most trivial points. Here the acumen of Ibn al-Ḳāsim and Saḥnūn come into prominence. Saḥnūn asks· "Is this point confirmed by tradition or the teaching of Mālik?" and Ibn al-Ḳāsim answers. "This was the teaching of Mālik" or "this is my own opinion" (hadhā raʾyī). We see that great scope was given in the *Mudawwana* to rational judgment and no attempt is made to introduce genuine or forged traditions to affirm a point of law. In consequence the *Mudawwana* is quite a readable book in clear language and a safe guide to the genius of the compiler and his teacher. When Wahb, a foster-brother of Saḥnūn, died, Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād, who preceded Sahnūn in the office of judge, said the prayers and Saḥnūn refused to say them after him because Ibn Abi 'l-Djawād was a Muʿtazilī. When the ruler Ziyādat Allāh (reigned 201—223) heard of this he commanded the governor of Ḳairawān to give him 500 stripes. His wazīr ʿAlī b. Ḥumaid hearing this stopped the messenger bearing the order and went to the amīr to get the sentence revoked. He pointed out that al-Buhlūl had succumbed to a similar punishment (in 183) inflicted by order of the governor Muḥammad b. Muḳātil. Ziyādat Allāh then forgave him. During the short usurpation of Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab (231—232) he introduced the inquisition about the creation of the Ḳurʾān and Saḥnūn fled from Ḳairawān to the hermitage of an ascetic named ʿAbd al-Raḥīm at Ḳaṣr Ziyād. Aḥmad sent a courtier named Ibn Sulṭān to arrest Saḥnūn, because he knew that the latter hated Saḥnūn, like most courtiers, on account of his severe criticism concerning the licentious life at Court. The malevolence of Aḥmad, however, made Ibn Sulṭān to lean towards Saḥnūn. He was apprehended and led captive to Ḳairawān, but when they were about a mile from the city they received news that Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab had regained his

power and that Aḥmad had been killed. This caused Saḥnūn to be liberated. One of the first acts of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab was to depose the Ḳādī ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Djawād. This act met with the approval of Sahnūn, who exclaimed in the presence of both: "May God reward the amīr for freeing the people of their oppressor". Muḥammad now, in 233 A. H., offered the office of judge to Saḥnūn who for a whole year, refused to accept it but finally accepted it in Ramaḍān 234. He said on that occasion to his daughter Khadīdja. "To-day thy father has been stabbed without a knife". Others had proposed Sulaimān b. ʿImrān for the post, but he refused, saying that while Saḥnūn lived no one else was competent to fill the office. Saḥnūn accepted no presents or salary from the amīr, but defrayed his expenses and those of his officials from the poll-tax imposed upon non-Muslims. To perform his duties as judge undisturbed he had a room built adjoining the mosque and admitted only the litigants and their witnesses. One of his first acts was also to exclude all heretical sects from the mosque, as there were many Ṣufris, Ibāḍīs and Muʿtazilīs at Kairawān, he was also the first to appoint a regular Imām for the mosque and the first who placed pledged property with trustworthy persons in the town, while up to his time pledges had been kept in the house of the judge. Saḥnūn as a judge treated all parties with the utmost courtesy and did his utmost to appease any fears of litigants and witnesses by telling them to say frankly what they knew In answering legal questions he was very careful, as he believed that hasty replies led to more trouble than anything else. Biographers of later times know of many *karāmāt* (blessings accruing through his influence), which proves the veneration in which he was held. He died on Sunday the 6th or 7th of Radjab, 240 A. H. and his death in spite of his great age caused general consternation in Kairawān. Brockelmann in his History of Arabic Literature says that it was due to Asad b. al-Furāt and Ibn al-Ḳāsim that the doctrine of Mālik spread in the West, but, as already mentioned, the merit is principally due to the work of Saḥnūn in arranging and publishing the *Mudawwana*, which, though based upon the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, is a much more comprehensive work. Manuscripts are comparatively scarce, but the work has been printed in two editions in Cairo, one in 4 volumes 4to printed 1324/5 and the other in 16 parts dated 1905/6 in 8vo There exist in private hands seven parts written on parchment in Ḳairawān about the year 400, which I have been able to consult and which, I hope, will find their way into a public library.

The work of Saḥnūn being too large for quick reference was abbreviated by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zaid (died 386 A. H.), whose work has been printed several times. I have also seen an early manuscript written before 400 A. H., in private ownership, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudawwana*. This work contains also a few additions by Ibn Abī Zaid. Another abbreviation is by Abū Saʿīd Khalaf b. al-Ḳāsim al-Azdī al-Barādhiʿī, who was one of the principal pupils of Ibn Abī Zaid. He re-arranged the abbreviation in the order of the *Mudawwana* and omitted the additions of Ibn Abī Zaid. This work has found many commentators (Ibn Farḥūn, ed. Fās, p. 115). Among the many commentaries written upon the *Mudawwana* is one by Saḥnūn's son Muḥammad, 2) by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Khālik al-Suyūrī, who died in Ḳairawān in 460. 3) By Abū Ishāḳ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿImrān al-Fāsī, who died in 443. 4) Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Rabaʿī, who died in Sfāx in 478. 5) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh. 6) Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Zarwīlī al-Sughair, who died in 719. The latter's commentary consists of 12 volumes. Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rushd wrote an exposition of difficult passages of the *Mudawwana* entitled *al-Muḳaddamāt al-mumahhidāt*, which has been printed in Cairo (1325) in two vols. 4to.

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SAḤŪL, a village in South Arabia, in Bilād al-Kalāʿ in the Yemen, half a day's journey from Zafār. Saḥūl, which was called *Miṣr al-Yemen* on account of its wealth in corn, was celebrated for the Saḥūlī cloaks (*saḥūlīya*) made there of white cotton.

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ṢAHYŪN. [See SIHYAWN]

ṢĀ'IB, MĪRZĀ MUHAMMAD ʿALĪ, whose *takhallus* was ṢĀ'IB, a Persian poet, born about 1012 (1603) near Isfahān, hence called Isfahānī, though also called Tabrīzī, because his father Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm came from Tabrīz This ʿAbd al-Raḥīm moved to ʿAbbāsābād near Isfahān, where he was appointed *kadkhudāy* of the merchants of ʿAbbāsābād. Ḥakīm Ruknāyī Kāshī and Ḥakīm Shifāʾī Iṣfahānī are mentioned as Ṣāʾib's masters in poetry. He spent a considerable time in India, where the governor of Kābul, Ẓafar Khān, became his patron and obtained his introduction to the court of Shāh Djahān. He afterwards followed Ẓafar Khān to Kashmīr, whence he ultimately returned home to Persia. Shāh ʿAbbās II gave him the title *Malik u 'l-Shuʿarā*. He died at Iṣfahān in 1080 (1677) but other dates are also given (see *Catalogue Bankipore* iii. 148).

Ṣāʾib was one of the most prolific Persian poets of the later period; Oriental critics place him very high; according to them, he was the creator of a new style. His works are, in addition to a romantic poem, *Maḥmūd u Āyāz* (Ethé in the *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, ii. 250), ḳaṣīda's, ghazal's (in Persian and in Turkī), mathn awī's and shorter

poems. On account of the great bulk of his *Dīwān* anthologies from it have been compiled: *Wādjību 'l-Ḥifẓ-i Mīrzā Ṣā'ib* of Darwīsh ʿAmilā al-Balkhī; *Mir'ātu 'l-Djamāl*; one author makes the remarkable assertion that these anthologies were compiled by the poet himself (*Cat. Bankipore*, III. 149). The *Dīwān* was published in Lucknow in 1292 A. H.

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SA'ĪD B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. SAʿĪD B AL-ʿĀṢ B. UMAIYA B ʿABD SHAMS B ʿABD MANĀF B ḲUṢAIY, governor of Kūfa and Medīna. At the death of Muhammad Saʿīd was about nine years old, his father had fallen among the unbelievers at Badr Saʿīd was a member of one of the most prominent families of the Kuraish and was especially noted for his liberality and eloquence. He was held in high respect by ʿOthmān and when the latter had decided to establish a definite text for the Koʾrān, Saʿīd was nominated to the committee appointed for the purpose. In the year 29 (649/650) or 30 (650/651) ʿOthmān appointed the young and inexperienced Saʿīd to be governor of Kūfa in place of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba who had made himself impossible During his governorship he undertook expeditions against Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān and suppressed unrest there but aroused unpopularity among the people of Kūfa by his aggressive demeanour. The Kūfans complained, but without success, to the Caliph, but when Saʿīd's attitude continued to give cause for discontent ten men of Kūfa, among them the respected and influential Mālik al-Ashtar, appeared before ʿOthmān and demanded the dismissal of Saʿīd, who was with the Caliph at the time. ʿOthmān declined to pay heed to the complaint and ordered Saʿīd to return to his post at once. But al-Ashtar was not satisfied with this; he returned without delay to Kūfa and stirred up the easily roused inhabitants, and when Saʿīd was on his way back to Kūfa, al-Ashtar's emissaries met him with a strong force and compelled him to return to Medīna at once. Al-Ashtar then went into the mosque in Kūfa and proclaimed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [q. v.] governor on his own initiative. After those present had taken the oath of fealty to the Caliph, al-Ashʿarī agreed to be chosen as governor and ʿOthmān confirmed the appointment. Saʿīd had remained in Medīna and when the rebels attacked the Caliph in his house Saʿīd fought for him until he was himself severely wounded. When Ṭalḥa, al-Zubair and ʿĀʾisha left Mecca after the assassination of ʿOthmān and went to Baṣra to raise the troops there for their cause Saʿīd at first went with them; but when he reached Marr al-Ẓahrān or, according to another authority, Dhāt-ʿIrḳ, he declined to accompany the others any farther, because he did not believe in the honourable intentions of the two leaders of the enterprise, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair, and endeavoured to dissuade the others from the project. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam contradicted his assertions, but al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba joined Saʿīd, whereupon these two with a few others separated from the other members of the party. Saʿīd then settled in Mecca and did not take part in the battle of the Camel nor in the battle of Ṣiffīn During the reign of Muʿāwiya he was governor of Medīna alternately with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam Marwān filled the office first; then came Saʿīd's turn and when he was dismissed the former received the post again. But after a time he was again dismissed and Saʿīd once more appointed his successor Saʿīd died on his estate in al-ʿAḳīḳ, according to the most usual statement in 59 (678/679), according to others, as early as 53 (672/673) or 57 (676/677) or 58 (677/678).

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, ed Sachau, V. 19 *sqq.*; al-Nawawī (ed. Wustenfeld), p. 281 *sq* , Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, II. 309 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, II. N° 5058; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), see Index, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), III and IV passim, al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 119, 198, 280, 322, 328 *sq.*, 334, 336, al-Yaʿḳūbī (ed Houtsma), II 152, 190, 192, 207, 267, 283 *sq* , Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI. 118 *sqq.*, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, see Index. (K V Zetterstéen)

SAʿĪD B. **AWS.** [See ABŪ ZAID].

SAʿĪD B. **MASʿADA.** [See AL-AKHFASH].

SAʿĪD B. ZAID B ʿAMR B. NUFAIL ..... B KAʿB B. LUʾAIY, one of Muhammad's earliest companions. His mother was Fātima bint Baʿdja b. Umaiya of the clan of Khuzāʿa. His *kunya* is Abu 'l-Aʿwar or Abū Thawr He was one of ʿUmar b al-Khattāb's cousins and at the same time his brother-in-law through his wife, who was ʿUmar's sister, as well as through ʿUmar's wife who was his sister. He assumed Islām before Muhammad entered the house of Zaid b. al-Arḳam and ʿUmar's conversion is said to have taken place under the influence of Saʿīd and his family.

His father, Zaid b. ʿAmr, was one of the *ḥanīf*'s; he was much interested in monotheism, refused to worship idols, warned his contemporaries against idolatry and confessed the "religion of Abraham" (cf. ZAID B. ʿAMR). It is said that he died in the year when the Kaʿba was rebuilt, an event in which also Muḥammad is said to have taken part.

Saʿīd migrated with the Muslims to Medīna, where Muhammad allied him with Rāfiʿ b. Mālik al-Zuraḳī, or, according to others, with Ubaiy b. Kaʿb.

When the rumour of the return of the ḳuraishite caravan from Syria reached Medīna, Saʿīd, together with Talha b. ʿUbaid Allāh, was sent on scouting service. They met the caravan at al-Hawrāʾ and hurried back to Medīna to report the news. But Muḥammad was already on the way to Badr and the battle took place without their taking part in it. They nevertheless obtained their portion from the booty. Saʿīd was present at all the other *maghāhid* and distinguished himself in the battle of Adjnādain (13 A. H.), where he was at the head of the cavalry, in the battle of Fiḥl (13 A. H.), where the infantry was under his command, and in the battle of the Yarmūk (15 A. H.).

At ʿUmar's death Saʿīd belonged to those who promoted ʿUthmān's election as Caliph. Yet he was not content with his government, though he did not join the ʿAlid party.

He died in 50 or 51 A.H. in ʿAḳīḳ near Medina, where he was buried. It is said that he reached the age of over 70 years. According to others, he died as governor of al-Kūfa under Muʿāwiya.

Saʿīd never played the first role in the Muslim community. He was honoured because of his early conversion and belongs to the ten who were promised Paradise (*ʿashara mubashshara*) Muhammad is sometimes (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 187 *sq*) represented as ascending mount Ḥirāʾ or Uhud with some of his companions. As the mountain begins to tremble, he says "Stand fast, oh mountain, for on thee walk a prophet, a *ṣiddīḳ* and witnesses" Then he proceeds to beatify his companions, among whom Saʿīd mentions himself in a veiled manner in some traditions. Some of the forms of this report remind us of Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain (Matthew 17).

Saʿīd belonged to those whose curse (*duʿāʾ*) is efficacious. This is illustrated in the story of a woman who, being cursed by him, became blind and was drowned in a well into which she happened to fall because of her blindness.

Saʿīd's musnad, i e the traditions handed down on his authority, is to be found in Ahmad b. Hanbal's *Musnad*, i. 187—190

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(A. J Wensinck)

SAʿĪD PASHA, called Kuçuk (the "little", not so much to indicate that he was particularly small in body as simply to distinguish him from numerous other Saʿīd's), was with the reformer and organiser Ahmed Midhat Pasha the greatest statesman in Turkey of the last half century. He was born in 1254 (1838) in Erzerūm and died in Constantinople on March 1, 1914, he was the son of ʿAlī Nāmīḳ Efendi, at one time "controller of expenditure on the eastern frontier" and trusted adviser to the governor of the day, who had been for a period consul and later Turkish chargé d'affaires in Teheran (d Oct. 4, 1853), Saʿīd came from a pure Turkish family of Angora, the Sebʿa-zāde. He is buried in the cemetry in Eyyūb near the Ḥaẓret-i Khālid mosque. His twin brother Reshid died prematurely and his younger brother Mehmed Ferīd at his death in 1882 was *Taḥrīr-i Emlāk Mudīri*.

Saʿīd received his early education in Erzerūm. When 16 he entered the civil service there, in which he was destined to have a brilliant career and pass through all stages up to the very highest office. Two years later he was moved to a post in the military administration of Anatolia, then came in the course of his duties to Constantinople, where his versatility procured him a post in the office of the Supreme Council He accompanied the Inspector-General to Salonica, Monastir, Janina and Tirkkala. He next became general-secretary for Janina, and then for Salonica, after which he filled successively the offices of Director of the Imperial Printing Press in Constantinople, Manager of the official newspaper, *Taḳwīm-i Waḳāyiʿ*, General-Secretary to the Council of State, to the Ministry of Commerce, to the Grand Vizierate, to the Ministry of Education and in 1875 Councillor of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture and Member of the Commission on reforms. From Sept. 1, 1876, to Jan. 10, 1878, he occupied the important and influential position of trust of First Secretary to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

After acting for a short time as Wālī of Angora and of Brussa (Khudāwendigār) he became Grand Vizier in 1879, an office which he filled nine times in all, a record attained by no other Grand Vizier, although, as regards length of tenure of the office, many others have considerably exceeded his total period of 7 lunar years and 15 days. He was also at different times Minister of the Civil List, of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs and of Justice.

The list which he himself gives of his first seven periods of office as Grand Vizier, in his *Ṣadr-i sābiḳ Saʿid Pashanïñ ghazetalarle neshr ettiyi mektūblerïñ sūretleri-dir. sene* 1324 (1908), a collection of his articles published in the *Ṭanïn* and in the *Ṣabāḥ*, contains a number of discrepancies in the dates which we shall endeavour to remedy here. The dates are not without importance for the history of the Young Turk movement.

Saʿid Pasha was Grand Vizier (after the introduction of the so-called Constitution of Midhat the title "First Minister" was used until Saʿīd in 1882 again introduced the traditional title Grand Vizier, *Ṣadr aʿẓam* [q. v.]) as follows

1) October, 1879—June, 1880;
2) September, 1880—May, 1882;
3) June, 1882—November, 1882,
4) December 2, 1882—September 25, 1885;
5) June 9, 1895—October 3, 1895;
6) November 18, 1901—January 15, 1903;
7) July 22, 1908—August 6, 1908. restoration of the Constitution,
8) October 4, 1911—December 30, 1911,
9) December 31, 1911—July 17, 1912.

Saʿīd was a trustworthy guide to his country at a very difficult time, the period of continual endeavour to link up with modern European development, although his abilities as statesman and organiser could not obtain full scope in view of the special conditions of the times. He was a statesman of the old school, conservative, but quite friendly to reforms. To ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd he was a faithful and indispensable councillor and he seems to have brilliantly seconded him in his aim of gathering all power into his own hands and making the Yïldïz the political centre of gravity to the exclusion of the Sublime Porte. At all events he is silent in his "Memoirs" regarding his activities as First Secretary to the Sultān, although the Young Turks for a time laid special emphasis on his work during this period. He seems also to have been not unconnected with the notorious document in defence of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's regime by Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi (*Üss-i Inḳilāb* and supplement *Zubdet al-Haḳāʾiḳ*, 1877 and 1878) Except for Aḥmed Weffḳ Pasha, Saʿīd was the only real personality among the creatures of the Sulṭān and he was able to retain the respect and esteem of both friends and opponents.

In a way quite unusual in a Turkish statesman he laid stress on his pure Turkish blood and on a specifically Turkish patriotism. He sought as far as possible to limit the spread of foreign influence in Turkey although he was regarded as Anglophile and progressive. On Dec. 4, 1895 he had to seek refuge in the British Embassy at Constantinople to escape an order from the Sulṭān for his arrest.

until ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd gave a written guarantee of safety. He spent the next six years, however, in his *konaḳ* in Nishāntash in a retirement which was practically confinement to the house until he was again summoned to power.

During his "English flight" he drew up his scheme for writing his reminiscences, although he could hardly expect to publish such a work during the regime of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

In spite of many attacks by the court camarilla, among whom he had many opponents, and the open enmity of Kāmil Pasha, his great antagonist from 1886 to 1913, he had been able to make himself indispensable; in any situation of particular difficulty they always came back to him, who possessed an unusual degree of energy and an unfailing breadth of vision in matters of policy, in spite of his submissive disposition. He never prejudiced himself in the slightest but retired as soon as his own views became too much in contrast to those of the Sultān. As early as 1896 he had had the courage to demand an independent responsible ministry.

At the outbreak of the revolution of 1908 he was entrusted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd with the restoration of the constitution. But he retired as soon as the Young Turks demanded an entire change of system and complete breach with the past and handed over the Grand Vizierate to Kāmil Pasha. But when the Italian campaign in Tripoli had to be settled and the Balkan War, which had taken so unexpectedly a tragic turn as a result of the destruction of the whole organisation of state and army in Turkey by the doctrinaire Young Turks, seriously threatened the stability of the Empire, it was again Saʿīd who was called upon to save what was still left to save His power of adaptation was so great that he was now regarded as a Young-Turkish statesman.

In the first three sessions of the new parliament he was President of the Senate In this capacity also he presided over the National Assembly in S Stefano on April 22, 1909, which declared that the proceedings of the besieging army were in accordance with the wishes of the people, whereupon ʿAbd al-Hamīd was deposed on April 27, 1909.

When the Young-Turk party came to political power, he became President of the Council of State but later handed over this office to Khalil Bey and retained only the presidency of the Senate, which he had received after the assassination of Maḥmūd Shefḳat Pasha in succession to the Albanian Ferīd Pasha on June 11, 1913. He was still President when he died after a month's long illness at the age of 76.

Saʿīd is probably the first Turkish statesman who left his memoirs, a work of the first historical importance. It was published in 3 volumes in Constantinople (1328) under the title *Saʿīd Pashanīñ Khāṭirātī*, but this does not seem to be complete. The circumstances of the time prevented these reminiscences being fully utilised; although biassed in many directions, they form documentary material of inestimable value for contemporary history and were published to defend his policy, when he took refuge in publicity. Only Kāmil Pasha, whom he exposed more than any other of his opponents (d. Nov. 14, 1913 at Larnaca in Cyprus), at once replied in his pamphlet *Kāmil Pashanīñ Aʿyān Beʾisi Saʿīd Pashaya Djewābleri*, 2nd ed., Constantinople 1328, and followed this up with his own memoirs, *Ṣadr-i sābiḳ Kāmil Pashanīñ Khāṭirātī*, Constantinople 1329; *Taʾrīkh-i siyāsi-i Dewlet-i ʿaliye*. Zihni Pasha also replied ("Presentation of the Truth", Constantinople 1327).

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(Th Menzel)

SAʿĪD PASHA, Viceroy (Khedive) of Egypt from 1854 to 1863 Muḥammad Saʿīd, youngest son of Muhammad ʿAlī Pāshā, was born in 1822 His father had a very high opinion of this, his fourth, son whom he sent when only 19 to Constantinople to conduct negotiations regarding the tribute to be paid by Egypt.

Saʿīd, who was francophil, was not on good terms with his nephew and predecessor, ʿAbbās I [q v] The latter had done everything possible to induce the Porte to alter the law of succession formulated by the Sulṭān's firmān in favour of Muhammad ʿAlī and to secure the succession in direct line for his own descendants by abolishing the law by which the eldest living descendant of the founder of the dynasty was always called to succeed to the throne Saʿīd would thus have been excluded but ʿAbbās died before he could realise his project. By an intrigue, however, the death of ʿAbbās was kept secret for a week and it was only then that Saʿīd was able to enforce his claim to the throne (July, 1854).

Saʿīd was a well intentioned prince and quite popular, although he had not the energy of his father, perhaps on account of his indifferent health. In November, 1856, he created a kind of Council of State, composed of princes of the blood, four generals and four high dignitaries. He relaxed the extreme centralisation of the administration instituted by Muḥammad ʿAlī and contributed considerably to relieve the economic position of the people by promulgating an agrarian law which granted all his subjects the right henceforth to own landed property and to dispose of it freely (1858). It was he who first attempted to abolish the trade in negro-slaves (visit to Khartūm in 1857). In the reign of Saʿīd as in that of his predecessor the policy of expansion southwards was not continued. The Sūdān received certain privileges and prince Ḥalīm was appointed governor. Saʿīd kept up the Egyptian contingent of 18,000 men which ʿAbbās had sent to reinforce the Turkish army in the Crimean War and he also allowed a regiment of fallāḥīn to take part in an expedition sent by Napoleon III to Mexico. By making it, however,

possible for the fallāḥīn to obtain the rank of officer, he began the gradual diminution of the power of resistance of the Egyptian army.

In his reign the railway between Cairo and Suez was finished and a telegraph concession granted to the Eastern Telegraph Company. The Bank of Egypt was founded in 1854. The most important act of his reign was undoubtedly the concession which he granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps in 1856 to construct the Suez Canal. Although English diplomacy was able for two years to prevent the Sublime Porte from ratifying the concession, it was owing to the perseverance of the Khedive that the work could be begun in 1859, the necessary labour being supplied by levies raised by conscription from the fallāḥīn. The town of Port Said situated at the northern exit of the canal is called after Sa'īd Pāshā.

Finally, it was in the reign of Sa'īd that Egypt's foreign debt originated. The financial embarrassment resulting from the military help given to Turkey and from public works necessitated a loan of over £ 3,000,000 sterling from a London banking-house. This was the first step on the disastrous path later followed by Ismā'īl Pāshā.

In 1860 Sa'īd Pāshā travelled to Europe, during his absence his place was taken by the heir presumptive Ismā'īl Pāshā, his nephew He died at Alexandria on Jan. 17, 1863, and was buried in that town.

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AL-ṢA'ĪD or Sa'īd Miṣr, the Arabic name for Upper Egypt. The region thus named extends from the south of Cairo to the cataract of Assuan: at the present day the expression has no administrative significance and, indeed, has not had since the time of the Mamlūks. Besides, the political frontier of Egypt now extends to within reach of Wādī Halfā, thus including the whole of Lower Nubia. The expression, however, is still used, for it preserves a very marked geographical distinction, which contrasts the long narrow valley of the Nile above Cairo to the large fan-shaped area of alluvial deposits of Lower Egypt, in Arabic, the low country (*asfal al-ard*). Indeed, the word Ṣa'īd has always been limited in application to the cultivated regions bordering on the river, excluding the Faiyūm and the Oases of the Libyan Desert This strip, about 600 miles long, extremely narrow in places (3 to 6 miles on an average), reduced to the bed of the river only at certain points between Edfū and Assuan, reaches its maximum breadth in the neighbourhood of Banī Suēf (15 miles). Upper Egypt is now divided into 8 *mudīrīyas* called, with one exception, after their chief towns: Gizeh (Djize), Banī Suēf, Faiyūm, Minya, Asyūṭ (to which are attached the Oases of Dākhle and Khārge), Girgā (chief town Sōhāg), Ḳenā and Assuan.

The Arabs after the conquest of Egypt retained the division into pagarchies, which they called *kūra*'s, a transcription of the Greek χώρα. Upper Egypt corresponded to the duchies of Arcadia and the Thebaid, a memory of which is still retained in the division of the Ṣa'īd into *a'lā* (upper) and *adnā* (lower); Yāḳūt even makes three divisions *Ṣa'īd a'lā* from Assuan to Akhmīm, an intermediate region stretching northwards as far as Bahnasā and the *Ṣa'īd adnā* which stretched to Fustāt. As a matter of fact there were three Byzantine duchies, of which two were in the Thebaid, and the frontier between the latter lay south of Panopolis (Akhmīm).

If we compare the list of the *kūra*'s preserved by al-Maḳrīzī with that of the pagarchies given by Hierocles, we find that the alterations are quite insignificant. In course of time certain towns fell into decay and gave place to younger ones; for example Philai which became supplanted by Assuan. An administrative redistribution took place under the Fāṭimids. They introduced a division into large provinces (*'amal*) which has survived in its main lines to the present day. The nine or ten provinces of the Fāṭimids, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, corresponded to the eight *mudīrīya*'s of to-day. The most notable differences were the following the provinces of Atfīhīya and of Būsīrīya combined into one province from the Mamlūk period under the name of Aṭfīḥīya have given place to the *mudīrīya* of Banī Suēf. Minya has succeeded to Bahnasā, now an insignificant town. The former districts of Ashmūnain and Manfalūt (the latter intermittently) have gone to increase the province of Asyūt. In the south we still find the two mediaeval subdivisions but their capitals have been removed from Akhmīm and Ḳūṣ to Girgā and Kenā On account of the frequent Nubian inroads, Assuan down to the end of the Mamlūk period was considered as a limes (*thaghr*) without administrative autonomy, being under the governor of the province of Ḳūṣ, whose authority extended eastwards as far as 'Aidhāb The Oases sometimes formed an independent province and sometimes were administered by officers who held them as *iḳṭā'* (as part salary).

Although we find under the Fāṭimids the title *wālī 'l-Ṣa'īd al-a'lā*, we cannot say with certainty that the reference is not to the governor of the province of Ḳūṣ, which was in the middle ages the most important in Upper Egypt. It is certain, on the other hand, that under the Mamlūks the various provincial governors were under a governor-general of Upper Egypt called at first *kāshif al-wadjh al-ḳiblī*, then *nā'ib al-wadjh al-kiblī* when Barḳuk gave this official the rank of *nā'ib al-saltana*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī gives the following account of the administration of Upper Egypt at the beginning of the ixth/xvth century. two governors of different ranks shared the authority there, alongside of the *nā'ib*, who administered the Nile valley, there was a *kāshif*, who governed the Faiyūm and the province of Bahnasā, the latter having at its head a *wālī*. Below the *nā'ib*, who lived at Asyūṭ, there were three governors of the first class, at Ashmūnain, Ḳūṣ and Assuan, and three of the second class, at Gizeh, Aṭfīh and Manfalūṭ.

Under Turkish administration Upper Egypt comprised 24 kāshiflik, a list of which is given us by Vansleben.

The population of Egypt has almost doubled in the last 35 years:

1882	6,818,000	inhabitants
1897	9,734,405	"
1907	11,287,359	"
1917	12,750,918	"

Although none of the great centres of population are in Upper Egypt, the figures for certain towns are quite high and a comparison with the figures for 1897 shows that the towns of the Ṣaʿīd have in general prospered in the last 20 years except in the extreme south: Asyūṭ 51,431 (compared with 42,000); Madīnat al-Faiyūm 44,000 (31,000), Minya 34,945 (20,400); Banī Suēf 31,986 (15,000), Ḳenā 23,357 (27,500); Sōhāg 20,760 (14,000); Gizeh 18,714 (16,820); Ḳūṣ 13,000 (14,200), Assuan 11,293 (13,000). The population was greater in the middle ages as we may deduce from the figures given for the deaths during the drought of 806 (1403); there were 17,000 deaths at Kūṣ, 11,000 at Asyūṭ, 15,000 at Hū, now a wretched little hamlet about 20 miles west of Ḳenā.

The settled population of Upper Egypt is in the main autochthonous, whether converts to Islām or Jacobite Copts. The latter are especially numerous in the Ṣaʿīd, especially between Asyūṭ and Esne. Al-Kalḳashandī and al-Maḳrīzī give in detail the list of Arab tribes who were settled in Upper Egypt, the principal were the Balī, Djuhaina, who penetrated right into Central Africa, and especially the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim, whose ultimate emigration into North Africa is celebrated in history. Their old names do not seem to have survived and the descendants of these tribes are now known by other names *(Fāwaiya, Maʿʿza, Banū Wāṣil, Aṣṭuwānī)*. The Banu 'l-Kanz alone, an isolated branch of the Rabīʿa, still exist in the Assuan region under the name of Kunūz. There is no longer any trace of the Berber tribes who accompanied the Fāṭimids into Egypt (Luwāta, Hawwāra). On the other hand, we still find in the southern part of Upper Egypt the nomadic Bedja who have often been identified with the ancient Blemmyes. Their principal subdivisions at the present day, the *ʿAbābde* and the *Bisharīn*, lead a nomadic life in the Arabian desert from the latitude of Asyūṭ to beyond Nubia, leading a miserable existence on the products of their camels and goats

The Bedja played an important role during the period of Arab domination, for they held the flourishing port of ʿAidhāb where one embarked for Djidda, Yemen and the Indies. This town was linked by caravan routes with Assuan, Zafū and Ḳūṣ; this last road Kūṣ—ʿAidhāb was the most frequented and assumed considerable importance during the Crusades from 460 to 660 (1068—1262), for it was the usual road for pilgrims. This road is now nothing but a memory This is not the case with the Kenā—al-Koṣair road, which is still in use at the present day the starting point on the Nile used to be Ḳūṣ, which had taken the place of the ancient Cofitos (Ḳeft). The Bedja country aroused the cupidity of the Egyptian government which under the Mamlūks succeeded in exploiting on its own account the gold mines of al-ʿAllāḳī in Lower Nubia Farther north in the desert between Ḳeft and Assuan (granite quarries) the Mamlūk sulṭāns also worked an emerald mine. The valley of the Nile in the strict sense of the word, an alluvial formation, is an excellent soil for the growth of cereals. agricultural development has been improved in recent years by the construction of the barrages of Assuan, Esne and Asyūṭ which allow more perfect use to be made of the waters of the Nile. Industry is almost non-existent here and here again we have a contrast with the prosperity in the middle ages. The looms (wool for clothes and carpets, cotton, silk and linen) were then extremely numerous. we may mention those of al-Ashmūnain, Akhmīm, Asyūṭ and Bahnasā.

Muḥammadan art is poorly represented in Upper Egypt. at Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūṭ and Girgā, however, we find mosques with a certain amount of character We must also mention the mosques of al-Bāb and Bilāl, south of Assuan, built of unbaked bricks which have a minaret surmounted by a small dome — a fairly frequent type in this region even in the villages (e g. Shanhūr, south of Ḳūṣ) The Fāṭimid minbars of Kūs and Bahnasā should not be omitted. As to epigraphy, Asyūt, Ḳūs and Sōhāg have preserved Kūfic inscriptions and we find Mamlūk decrees at Edfū, Minya, Madīnat al-Faiyūm, Asyūt, Sōhāg, Kūṣ and Ḳūṣīya. This is not the place to discuss the monuments of ancient Egypt· it is sufficient to say that the Arab authors describe the temples in their fashion and have localised here a series of legends We may note, however, that they paid no attention to the buildings of Thebes-Carnac and that in compensation we have a fine description of the temple of Akhmīm, destroyed in the xvth century.

Djaʿfar Adfuwī, a writer of the viiith century A. H , composed a dictionary of famous men of Upper Egypt, preceded by a brief geographical summary, the *Tāltʿ al-Saʿīd* (publ. in Cairo 1333 = 1914), its interest is not great. In the domain of folklore, we may note the stories of Ibn al-Hawā at Assuan, of Abu 'l-Haddjādj at Luḳsor, of the princess of China at Girgā, to which we may add the legend of the serpent of the Djabal Harīdī.

Without going into details, the following is a rapid enumeration of the main historical facts relating to Upper Egypt. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs became an established fact after the fall of Babylon and Alexandria. Al-Balādhurī mentions treaties made with certain towns of Middle Egypt. The Arabs seem to have taken no notice of the Faiyūm for some time and their advance towards this region must have been impeded by very heavy fighting which gave rise to the historical novel, the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* In 23 (644) there was an unsuccessful invasion of Nubia which was resumed in 27 (648) and concluded in 31 (652) by an advantageous treaty, which ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz renewed in 100 (719). A census of the population was taken in 112 (730), the governor of Egypt, al-Walīd ibn Rifāʿa, took charge of this in person and conducted a six months' tour of inspection of Upper Egypt as far as Assuan and we possess a papyrus containing his instructions. During the Umaiyad period, the Saʿīd seems to have enjoyed more peace than the Delta which was often agitated by risings; one is noted for 121 (739). It was in Upper Egypt that the Umaiyad dynasty collapsed in the person of its last Caliph, Marwān. There was a rising of the Umaiyad pretender Diḥya ibn Musʿab who became master of the whole of the Saʿīd in 167 (784); he was defeated and put to death in 169 (785), Upper Egypt felt the consequences — though less than the

Delta — of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. There was a rising of the Bedja in 241 (855) and a successful expedition against them under Muḥammad al-Ḳummī. Some years later ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUmarī invaded the gold-mining area and ultimately declared himself independent there, he was put to death but the contingents of the Rabīʿa which he had taken there remained amalgamated with the Bedja. In 256 (870) there was an unsuccessful rising led by Ibn al-Ṣūfī at Esne and Akhmīm. In 308 (920) a Fātimid invasion, fighting at al-Ashmūnain and Bahnasā The king of Nubia invaded the Oases in 339 (950), took Assuan in 345 (956) and in a third expedition in 353 (964) advanced as far as Akhmīm. Towards the end of the IVth century, Abū Rakwa rose against the Caliph al-Ḥākim. Order was disturbed after the great dearth in the reign of al-Mustanṣir. Badr al-Djamālī set out in person for Upper Egypt to re-establish peace (inscriptions at Asyūṭ and Esne). Towards the end of the Fāṭimid period, several statesmen, like Ṭalāʿi ibn Ruzzīk and Shāwar, served their apprenticeship to political life in Upper Egypt. It was against Shāwar, who was assisted by a body of Franks, that Shīrkūh fought the battle of al-Bābain near al-Ashmūnain This region continued to be much disturbed by Fāṭimid propaganda, which was kept up in the extreme south by the Banu 'l-Kanz. Saladin subjected them in 568 (1173) sending his brother Tūrān Shāh against them, who advanced as far as Ibrīm. Other risings were crushed with great severity in 570 (1174) and in 572 (1176). There was a very serious rebellion in the whole of the land in 651 (1253), led by an important individual, the Sharīf Ḥisn al-Dīn Thaʿlab, which was an episode in the struggle between the Arab tribes and the Mamlūk government. In 671 (1272) and in 674 (1275) Baibars intervened in the domestic affairs of Nubia and sent an army which reached Dongola, which was again occupied by a second expedition in 686 (1287). Upper Egypt in 701 (1302) suffered from the brigandage of the Arab tribes, which necessitated the despatch of a powerful force against them. They were suppressed in a most bloody fashion. During the anti-Christian movement of 721 (1321) churches were destroyed in the provinces of Atfīh and Bahnasā, at Minya, Asyūṭ, Kūs and Assuan. Violent disturbances are again mentioned in 815 (1412), mainly at Assuan, and again in 825 (1422) The reign of Kā'it-Bey was filled with risings by the Hawwāra tribe which it took three years to subdue (881—883 = 1476—1478) As to the events after the Turkish conquest and especially the rising of ʿAlī Bey and the French occupation, information will be found in the European travellers and historians

Bibliography See the articles dealing with subjects referred to in this article, the indices to Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam (ed. Torrey), al-Kindī, al-Makrīzī (ed. Inst. franç.), Abu 'l-Mahāsin, the Guide Joanne, Baedeker's *Egypt*, Murray's *Egypt*. Cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv. 24—27, 64—69; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii. 201—211, Massignon, *Notes sur les études archéologiques* and *Deuxième note*, *BIFAO*, vi. 2—13, ix. 4—11; Wiet, *Les inscr. ar. d'Égypte*, *Comptes rendus Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lett.* (1913), p. 503—504; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, *MIFAO*, xxxvi. 15—16, 117, 129, 131, 147—148, 153, 156—157, 170—192, 227—229 (with a vast bibliography); Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 1923, p. 119—121, 125—126.

(G. WIET)

SAÏDA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 110 miles from Oran and 60 miles S. S. E. of Mascara, 2900 feet above sea-level, on the Wādī Saida, a branch of the Habra, in a fertile and well-watered country, suitable for the cultivation of cereals and vines. Population: 12,232 inhabitants of whom 5,410 are Europeans. Saïda is the chief town of a mixed commune of 42,469 inhabitants of whom 39,500 are natives.

Owing to its position on the very edge of the high plateaux, Saida has always been of considerable military importance. There was a Roman station here. ʿAbd al-Kādir built a fortress here in order to control the nomad tribes of the district, but destroyed it on the approach of the French in 1841. In 1844 General Lamoricière, struck by the advantages of this position, built a stronghold $1^1/_4$ miles north of the Saïda of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, around which the modern town has grown up. (G. YVER)

ṢAIDĀ. [See SIDON].

SAIF B DHĪ YAZAN, of the Ḥimyarite royal line, played a part in Arabian history in the expulsion of the Abyssinians from South Arabia, where they had held sway since the time of Dhū Nuwās. Native tradition records that he first sought assistance against the foreign yoke of the Abyssinians at the Byzantine court and later at the court of the Persian Khusraw The latter, however, would not risk anything in an enterprise with such hopeless prospects, so he only gave Saif a number of criminals out of the jails under a leader named Wahriz to assist him. The Abyssinians under Masrūk were defeated and driven out of the country by them and Saif's countrymen who rose against the foreign yoke, whereupon Saif was installed by the Persians as king. From this tradition and several Arabic poems relating to the story there results as a certain historical fact that Saif b. Dhī Yazan conquered the Abyssinians with the help of the Persian king Khusraw Anūshirwān, broke their rule over Yemen and held sway over the land of his ancestors under a Persian protectorate. His victory over the Abyssinians may be dated about 570 A D. The victory over the Abyssinians is wrongly ascribed not to Saif himself but to his son Maʿdīkarib.

That South Arabian history and with it the story of Saif b. Dhī Yazan was studied and transmitted among the Muslims from the beginning of the Islāmic period onwards we know from several sources. It is, therefore, no wonder that Saif b. Dhī Yazan found a place in the Arab saga on account of his successful struggle with the Abyssinians, who in the period of Islām particularly became dangerous and lasting enemies to the new international movement starting in Arabia. In the romance which bears his name, the *Sīrat Saif ibn Dhī Yazan*, the war between the Muslim Arabs and the pagan negroes and Abyssinians occupies considerable space The king of the latter, whose conflict with Saif b. Dhī Yazan runs almost throughout the book and forms a considerable part of the subject matter, gives us a clue to the date of origin of the *Sīra*. He is called Saif Arʿad and corresponds to the Ethiopian king Saifa Arʿad whom we know from history and who reigned in

Abyssinia from 1344—72. From this reference we may deduce with considerable certainty that the existing versions of the *Sīra* date from about the xvth century, in any case not earlier than the end of the xivth century. The rest of the positive and negative data agree with this, while telling practically nothing separately and having only some value when taken cumulatively, among them are several clearly discernible borrowings from the cycle of the 1001 Nights. It does not, of course, follow that the whole romance arose at this time; isolated parts may very well have been composed and put into circulation earlier. The place of origin of the *Sīra* is Egypt, to be more definite Cairo. This is clear from the many personal and place-names which all point to localisation mainly in Egypt and in part even presuppose an accurate knowledge of its topography. This statement is not invalidated by the occurrence of a few place-names from Damascus and its neighbourhood. As regards contents also, Egypt is the most satisfactory place of origin of the romance; the strong undercurrent of superstition and belief in the marvellous is perhaps also an indication of an African birthplace for the romance.

The contents of the book are in keeping with the fact that it was composed and related, if not by the people, at least for them It is therefore easily explained why we find alongside the good Muslim general tendency so many ideas which are rather to be described as pagan, and which can only with difficulty and superficially be brought into harmony with Muslim principles. The new religion of Islām did not by any means penetrate so quickly or thoroughly among the masses as among the educated classes, whose intellectual sustenance was for the most part confined to a science and literature permeated to a great degree by Islām; among the masses the old beliefs and customs did not have any counterpoise great enough to have driven them out. As has already been mentioned, in the *Sīrat Saif* a great part is played by the war of the Muslim Arabs against the pagan Abyssinians and negroes As it is assumed to be known by every one that the hero of the struggle, Saif b Dhī Yazan, lived in the pre-Islāmic period, he has first of all to be transformed into a warlike predecessor of Muḥammad and a professing Muslim. The generally accepted possibility of obtaining a glimpse into the future by magic oracles, dreams etc., and by the guidance of pious shaikhs disposes of the difficulty. Saif, like his father Dhū Yazan before him, becomes convinced of the truth of Islām before Muḥammad's coming and is won over to the new religion. In his struggle mainly directed against the Abyssinians and negroes the antagonism of race now gives place to that of religion. On his many wanderings and campaigns in the lands of men and djinns he spreads by force the religion of Islām, often with the support of helpful spirits. As Muḥammad has not yet appeared, in place of his name in the profession of faith we find that of Ibrāhīm, the *Khalīl-Allāh*. The campaigns thus are no longer waged for the satisfaction of the ambitions of Saif and the Arabs but with the object of gaining recognition for the unity of Allāh and his "friendship" with Ibrāhīm. As soon as the quondam enemies satisfy this demand by repeating the profession of faith, they are accepted into the Muslim community. The superiority of the Semitic over the Hamitic race is, of course, not thereby done away with. It is the South Arabians in particular and in them the alleged ancestors of the later Muslims of Egypt, who have the honourable task of preparing the way for the last and greatest prophet, while the Abyssinians and negroes either remain in their ancient paganism and thus show themselves unworthy of Islām or with their adoption of Islām play a passive rather than an active role in the religious movement. It is further remarkable that in the whole romance there is not the slightest trace of the Abyssinians professing Christianity. While the worship of Saturn is ascribed to them, the other non-Muslim religions are traced back to the worship of fire, of idols, rulers claiming divine worship, and of different animals (a ram, an ostrich, cows, bugs, hens). Many of these notions may have originated in the unlimited fancy of the narrators, but in part at least vague memories of the old Egyptian mythology may have crept in. The mention of fire-worship points to the old Persian religion. A knowledge of Christianity gleams through only in the mention of crosses, sometimes of stone, which are worshipped and at which oaths are taken. The motives of the *Sīra* are not exhausted with the stories of the spread of Islām. The common people are also interested in profane history and in stories of events with as much action as possible. Thus in the romance we find stories of the origins of famous towns, places and buildings, of the bringing of the river Nile into Egypt etc. We further find an account of the many travels and adventures which Saif b Dhī Yazan and his sons, paladins and spirits have to go through, of the love affairs of Saif and others which continually appear in new guise, of the splendid buildings, regions and men which are described to the hearers, and of much else. The imagination that is called upon to arouse the astonishment of the public becomes unbounded towards the end of the *Sīra*, as the extraordinary is in the end no longer effective and must be surpassed again. Considerable space is further taken up — as already mentioned — by magic and superstition and all connected with it. Mention is very often made of divination by sand to ascertain the unknown past, present and future Purely magical also is the oft recurring idea that from the act of Saif's marriage with his first wife Shāma the destruction of the Abyssinians and negroes will result, and the latter therefore endeavour to prevent the marriage at any cost. Countless are the magic treasures mentioned in the course of the story, the possession of which assures wonderful powers or control over powerful spirits. Dangerous magicians form the greatest obstacles to the spread of Islām. Their power is not denied, only they are weaker than their colleagues on the Muslim side, and if this is not the case, al-Khiḍr, the helper of the Muslims in need, takes up the cause of those commended to his charge and overcomes the powerful magicians. When they are converted their activities do not cease, but they place all their skill and knowledge at the disposal of the new religion. Belief in spirits is exceedingly prominent in the *Sīra*. Endless troops of djinns of all classes fight for or against Islām. They are in much closer relationship with men than in the period after Muhammad's preaching and constitute a considerable if not the greatest part of Saif's followers. If we were to cut out of the *Sīra* all the passages that deal with or are

connected with spirits or magic, we should have barely half of it left.

Taken all in all, the *Sīrat Saif b. Dhī Yazan* gives a faithful picture of the popular mind in Muslim Egypt at the end of the middle ages and forms therefore a valuable source for the history of Islām in its widest sense.

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(R. PARET)

SAIF B ʿUMAR AL-ASADĪ AL-TAMĪMĪ, an Arab historian, who, according to the *Fihrist* (ed. Flugel, I. 94), composed two books *Kitāb al-Futūh al-Kabīr wa 'l-Ridda* and *Kitāb al-Djamāl wa-Masīr ʿĀ'isha wa-ʿAlī*. Neither of these books has survived to our times. Al-Tabarī, however, was still able to use Saif as principal authority for the period of the *Ridda* and the early conquests (ed. de Goeje, I. 1794—3255) i.e. from 11—36 A. H. A fairly full discussion of Saif's value as a historian is given by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI. 3—7 He is not favourable to Saif Although he impresses us by the wealth of his details, it is evident from a comparison of his data with those of other Arab historians and with the Christian chroniclers that his ʿIrāḳ tradition is less reliable than that of the Ḥidjāz. Caetani makes a critical use of the fragments of Saif in the course of his *Annali*, indices to vols. III., iv. and v, s. v. Saif b. ʿUmar

Bibliography see the references in the article, cf. also Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt*, I. 516.

SAIF AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-HASAN ʿALĪ IBN ḤAMDĀN, the most important ruler of the Hamdānid dynasty, lord of Aleppo, famous for his military activities, his struggle with the Greeks and the protection which he gave to scholars.

He was born in 303 (915/916) or perhaps in 301. He was the grandson of Ibn Hamdān, who owned the fortress of Māidīn and rebelled against the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 281. His father Abu 'l-Haidja' in 302 received the governorship of Mawṣil and of Mesopotamia from the Caliph al-Muktadir, he fought against the Karmatians in 315 and saved Baghdād by having the bridge of al-Anbār destroyed. His power increased under al-Ḳāhir, he perished during the troubles in Baghdād in the course of which the Caliph was deposed.

Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī at first owned Wāsiṭ and the country round it; his eldest brother held Mawṣil. In 330, under al-Muttaḳī, these princes took part in the murder of Ibn Rā'iḳ, who was entitled Amīr al-Umarā', the Caliph then gave this rank to the prince of Mawṣil; he gave him the surname of Nāṣir al-Dawla and to his brother ʿAlī that of Saif al-Dawla. Nāsir al-Dawla only held the office of Amīr al-Umarā' for thirteen months in Baghdād; he was dispossessed of it by the Turk Tūzūn. The situation of the Caliphate was then very precarious and the empire divided into numerous factions. The Caliph, wishing to escape from the tutelage of Tūzūn, asked for the protection of the Ḥamdānid princes. He took refuge with his harem and all his court at Mawṣil and went from there to al-Raḳḳa in 332. Tūzūn begged him to return to his capital and made him many promises of loyalty. The Caliph consented against the advice of Saif al-Dawla; but hardly had he reached the neighbourhood of Baghdād than he was seized by Tūzūn, who deposed and blinded him in 333. The Caliph's stay with the Ḥamdānid princes had cost them enormous sums.

The same year Saif al-Dawla took Aleppo from a lieutenant of al-Ikhshīd, who was ruler of Egypt. The latter sent against him an army commanded by Kāfūr. Saif al-Dawla met this army near Ḥims and then besieged but did not take Damascus. In the following year 334, al-Ikhshīd having died at Damascus, Kāfūr, the negro eunuch, went back to Egypt Saif al-Dawla seized the opportunity to attack Damascus again, which he captured He then advanced on Egypt, took Ramla, but encountered the Egyptian forces, who defeated him on the Jordan. A peace was concluded between him and the Ikhshīdids; the Ḥamdānid prince retained Aleppo and the Egyptians Damascus.

In 337, Saif al-Dawla carried war into the land of Rūm and from this date till his death, a period of nearly twenty years, never a year passed without his invading Greek territory or fighting some battle with the Greeks. He was defeated this year, the Byzantines took Marʿash and massacred the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs. In 339 he advanced a considerable distance into the land of Rūm, captured several strongholds and great booty; but as he returned, the Greeks closed the passes against him and regained the baggage and prisoners they had lost Saif al-Dawla, with a few companions, succeeded in escaping (al-Massīsa expedition). In 342, he took the field against the Praetorian-prefect Barzos Focas, who had collected a large army which included Russians, Bulgars and Khazars, and defeated him outside Marʿash He captured Constantine, son of Focas, and brought him to Aleppo. The latter died in captivity. By Saʿd al-Dawla's orders the Christians gave him a magnificent funeral In 343 Saif al-Dawla again defeated Focas near the castle of al-Ḥadath, which he rebuilt. This fortress was destroyed again three years later In 347, the Greeks Basil and Yānīs, sons of Tsimitsès, captured Sumaisāt and inflicted a severe defeat on Saif al-Dawla near Aleppo. Seventeen hundred Muslim horsemen were taken captive to Constantinople.

In the same year, Saif al-Dawla arranged a peace between his brother, Nāsir al-Dawla, and the Būyids who had taken Mawṣil. He guaranteed them the payment of an annual tribute and kept Mawṣil for his family along with Raḥba and Diyār Rabīʿa

In 351, Nicephoros, now Praetorian-prefect, advanced on Aleppo with 200,000 men; a battle was fought near the town before the gate of the Jews, in which Saif al-Dawla was defeated. The town was captured, except the citadel, which held out, defended by Dailamites. The Greeks took 1,200 prisoners, whom they put to death at once, ravaged the country, plundered and destroyed the palace of Saif al-Dawla which lay outside the town; after a week they retired.

Next year Saif al-Dawla was paralysed in hand

and foot. Nevertheless he continued to fight the Greeks and defeated them, notably in the vicinity of Aleppo, to which they had returned in 353. In 355 he presided over an important exchange of prisoners on the banks of the Euphrates. He died at Aleppo in 356 of retention of the urine. His body was brought to Maiyāfāriḳīn and buried in the *turbe* of his mother outside the town. He had given orders for a brick made of soil that he had won in his campaigns to be placed under his head in his coffin.

Saif al-Dawla was a strong-minded prince, little liking advice, but brave, generous and eloquent; like other members of his family he was a poet. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin and Ibn Khallikān quote a delicate little poem on the rainbow by him, which gives a very high idea of his talents. He surrounded himself with poets and scholars. The most celebrated are the sceptical poet al-Mutanabbī, who was his panegyrist and afterwards that of Kāfūr, and al-Fārābī, the great philosopher and musician, who died while accompanying him on a journey to Damascus. The author of the "Book of Songs" (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*) dedicated to him the autograph manuscript of this celebrated work.

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SAIF AL-DAWLA. [See ṢADAKA B. MANṢŪR].

SAIF AL-DĪN AL-BĀḴHARZĪ, ABU 'L-MAʿĀNĪ SHAIKH SAʿD AL-DĪN SAʿĪD B MUẒAFFAR AL-BĀḴHARZĪ, a native of the Bākharz district between Nīshāpūr and Herāt (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 357) After having finished his studies, he joined the great Ṣūfī Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā at Khwārizm. The latter after interrupting Saif's second retreat (*arbaʿīn*) sent him to Bukhārā as *khalīfa*. Al-Bākharzī occupies an important place among the *khalīfa*'s of Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā; he lived for a considerable time in Bukhārā where he attained great fame and gathered round him a large number of disciples; he even took the surname of Shaikh ʿĀlam. The mother of the Mongol emperor Mangū Khān, Sirḳūytay Bīki (or Siyurkhokhataitai Beigi, according to Blochet) (d. in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 649 = Febr.–March, 1252; see *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 256), had, during her son's reign, given 1.000 *bālish* of silver to build a *madrasa* at Bukhārā and had entrusted its administration to Saif al-Dīn al-Bākharzī (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876, i. 188). This shows the fame of the Shaikh in his life-time, just as some anecdotes in the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* testify that he was an object of veneration on the part of the great men and princes of his time. Well-known Ṣūfī's of the period, like Khwādja Gharīb and Ḥasan al-Bulghārī, showed him respect (al-Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt ʿAin al-Ḥayāt*, Turkish transl., p. 37—38) His mystic Persian quatrains are very popular among the dervishes. The death of the Shaikh, according to the most probable tradition, took place in 658 (1259/60). His tomb is at Bukhārā, at Fatḥābād, the place where his *tekke* is situated. His poems are preserved in several manuscript collections: 51 of his quatrains have been published in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1905, lix. 345—354 by S. Khuda Bakhsh.

This monastery of the Shaikh in the suburb of Fatḥābād remained famous for centuries. His descendants there held the rank of shaikh Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited the *tekke* in the VIIIth century A H , found as Shaikh there Yaḥyā al-Bākharzī, grandson of Saif al-Dīn, and relates that a repast was prepared for him at which the principal inhabitants of the town gathered together and Turkish and Persian songs were recited in addition to the recitation of the Ḳor'ān and sermons. A Persian writer who visited Bukhārā in 1316 (1898/9) says that the tomb and the monastery of the Shaikh are half a *farsakh* from the Ḳarshī gate (cf the article BUKHĀRĀ) and face the east, and that the *tekke* and the monument were built in 788 (1385) by order of Tīmūr and ornamented with tiles of precious faience, since then, however, these tiles have been torn off and sold. He adds that the descendants of the Shaikh are buried there along with the calligrapher Mīr ʿAlī The tradition of the Yasawīs, according to which Saif al-Dīn al-Bākharzī was a follower of Ahmad al-Yasawī, is contradicted by historical facts.

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(KÖPRULU ZĀDE FUʾĀD)

SAIF AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ. [See GHĀZĪ].

SAIFĪ, Mawlānā, of Bukhārā, is also known as ʿArūḍī, "the Prosodist," from his work *ʿArūḍ-i-Saifī*. Little is known of his life, but he lived for many years at Hirāt, at the courts of the Tīmūrids, Sultān Abū Saʿīd (1459—1469), great-grandson of Tīmūr and grandfather of Bābur, and Abu l-Ghāzī Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā (1473—1506), great-grandson of Tīmūr's second son, ʿUmar Shaikh Mīrzā. As a poet he was of little consideration, and his poems are trivial. His fame rests on his work *ʿArūd-i-Saifī*, ed. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867 ("Saifī's Prosody"), also known as *ʿArūd-i-Kāfiya* (the amply sufficient Prosody) and *Mīzān al-Aṣhʿār* (the Measure of Poems), written, as he tells us, to supply the want of a work on an art which was a favourite subject of discussion between him and his friends. The poet Djāmī had already written on this subject, but Saifī's work is the fuller and more detailed of the two, and is one of the best works on Persian prosody which we have. Saifī died in 1504.

2. Saifī was also the *takhallus* or pen-name of

a poet of Nīshāpūr, the encomiast of Takash Khān, Khwārezm Shāh.

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SAIḤĀN, one of the larger mountain rivers in the south-east of Asia Minor, the Saios of the ancients. It rises on the Ḳoramaz Daghī not far from Ḳaiṣarīya (cf. Meḥmed Edīb, *Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj*, Stambul 1232, p. 41, also al-Mas'ūdī in the *B. G. A.*, viii 58, 7 *sqq*, 183, 7 *sqq* "at the town of Saiḥān ... not far from Malaṭya"), enters the Cilician plain of Adana, which lies on its bank, whence it makes straight for the sea, receiving a number of tributaries on its way; it enters the sea by several mouths (the *Capita Sari* of the ancients) below Tarsus. On the course of the river which remained for long uninvestigated see Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, i 293—299, and C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, ii. 133. The name Saiḥān is most probably, like the name of the neighbouring river Djaiḥān, an "arbitrary transference" (cf. Noldeke in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xliv. 700), an assimilation to the Muslim names of the two Central Asian rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. The Saiḥān was considered one of the rivers of Paradise (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, ed. Paris, ii. 358 *sq.*, *B. G. A.*, viii 295, Yāḳūt, i. 179, ii. 82, iv. 558, 579, al-Istakhrī, *B. A. G.*, i. 63, 64, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii 122, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 165, 166, 168) Under the Umaiyads it was one of the rivers on the frontier against the Byzantine empire, at which prisoners taken during the Arab wars of conquest were ransomed. There was a famous bridge over the Saiḥān between al-Massīṣa and Adana called Djisr al-Walīd, which dated from the time of Justinian and was renovated in 125 (743) and again in 225 (840) (cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 131 *sq.*). See also the article DJAIḤĀN.

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SAIḤŪN. [See SIR DARYĀ].

SAIMARA. [See SEIMERE].

ṢĀIN-ḲAL'A, a little town and district in southern Ādhaibaidjān, on the right bank of the Djaghātū. In the south the boundary runs a little over the river Sāruḳ, a tributary on the right bank of the Djaghātū. In the north it is bounded by the district of Ādjarī, in the east by the province of Khamse. The name is derived from the Mongol *sain* = good.

Population The Turkish Afshar tribe, of which a part had to emigrate to Urmia to make room for the Čāidawrī (Čārdowli) tribe of Lūr origin (the district of Čardawr on the Seimeire) whom Fath 'Alī Shāh brought from Shīrāz at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief of the Čārdowlī lives at Mahmūddjik and commands about 5,000 men. The town of Sāin-Kala has 2,500—3,000 inhabitants and a small bazaar. In 1830 it was destroyed by a Kurdish invasion under Shaikh 'Ubaidallāh. Sāin-Ḳala, formerly occupied by a Persian garrison, guarded the entrance to Ādhaibaidjān through the Djaghātū valley. The caves of Kereftū with a Greek inscription described by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 538—552, Ritter, ix. 816) as well as the site of Takhti Sulaiman (the ancient Gazaka; al-Shīz of the Arabs, cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 108) are in the territory of the Afshars of Sāin-Ḳala. The lake of Čamlı Gol (near the village of Bāderlī) with a floating island is likewise well known A section of the Afshars belong to the Ahl-i Ḥakḳ sect (cf the article 'ALI ILĀHI) the local chiefs of whom in Bent's time lived at Nazar-bābā and Gendjābād (cf. V. Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Ḥakk*, (*R. M. M.*, 1920, xl.—xli 19—97; reprint of the *R M M*, 1922, p. 53, 76).

Another fortress of the same name on the river Abhar, east of Sultānīya, and mentioned in the fourteenth century by Mustawfī (see Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliph*, p. 222), should not be confused with this Sāin-Kala.

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SA'ĪR. [See AL-NĀR].

SAI'ŪN (Sē'ūn, Sēwūn, Seyōn, Sēōn), a town in Ḥadramōt in South Arabia on the side of the hill of the same name, four hours' ride from Shibām on the right bank of the Wādī Masīla. The town lies in the centre of luxurious vegetation;

far and wide one can see palm-groves and well-tilled fields with *ṭeʿām* and wheat. The town is surrounded by a wall, is densely populated and has about 4,500 inhabitants The streets are broad and clean. Within the town also there are fields and palm-groves, mainly the endowments of the mosques, of which there are said to be not less than 300 in the town. The most beautiful were built by families of the Sayyids after whom they are named; among them are the mosque of Ḥabīb ʿAbdallāh Saḳḳāf with a fine dome and a beautiful carefully whitewashed minaret, a cemetery and a garden of palms and dōm-trees surrounded by a wall. The mosque of Ṭāhā is kept in the same way and has also a garden. Of the other mosques the Mashhūr with its beautiful pierced minaret and the al-Riyād of Ḥabīb ʿAlī al-Habshī Bā ʿAlawī are worthy of mention. The saint is very hospitable and is said to feed no less than 6,000 persons once a year. He was the founder of a new centre of Muslim learning here which came to overshadow the old celebrated school of Tarīm. Contributions from all parts, especially from Java and India, came to the support of the school which ʿAlī built at his own expense and maintained himself at first. It now enjoys great prestige far and near. The palace of the Sultān lies on an eminence surrounded by a wall with projecting *kūt*'s and flanked by round towers, while the roof is crowned by three watch-towers. Immediately adjoining it are the principal mosque and the bazaar.

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(Adolf Grohmann)

SAIYID (A., plur *Sāda*), a prince, lord, chief, or owner one who is eminent by means of his personal qualities, his possessions, or his birth. In this last sense it is used throughout the Muslim world almost exclusively of the descendants of Muḥammad (see the art. Sharīf). It occurs only twice in the Kurʾān, where it is used once (iii. 34) of John the Baptist, and once (xii. 25) of the husband of Zulaikhā By the Arabs it is applied not only to men, but to the *ḏjinn*, to animals, and to inanimate objects. A verse refers to "*ḏjinn*, who are aroused by night, summoning their chief (sayyid)", the wild ass is called the sayyid of his female, and al-Zadjdjādj calls the Kurʾān *Sayyid al-Kalām*, "the paragon of speech". Of its application to non-Muslims the best known instance is Rodrigo Diaz, "el Cid Campeador". But for Sīd, Sīdī etc. cf. the art. sīd.

Bibliography E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.

(T W. Haig)

al-SAIYID al-ḤIMYARĪ, Abū Hāshim, Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh (according to others Rabīʿa Mufarrigh), born in 105 (723) at Baṣra, an Arab poet, belonged to an Ibāḍī [q. v.] family, but quite early in life he went over to the Shīʿa "by the grace of God", as he prided himself. He became an adherent of the Kaisānīya sect [q. v.], but not only did he expect with them the return of their Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, but held the doctrine of metempsychosis etc. in both forms, belief in the *radjʿa* (return in human form) and the *tanāsukh* (change into animal form). He even proclaimed himself the reincarnation of the Prophet Jonah. His attitude on religious and political questions forced him to move from Basra to Kūfa, but did not prevent him, after the rise of the ʿAbbāsids, from offering them poetical tributes also: he enjoyed the favour of al-Manṣūr in particular. He also placed his art at the service of provincial governors, e. g. Abū Budjair of al-Ahwāz. Poetical talent was hereditary in his family; his grandfather Yazīd had been dreaded as a satirist, who had lashed the governor Ziyād with his lampoons. He himself was distinguished not only as a prolific composer (over 1,000 kaṣīda's by him are said to have been current among the Banū Hāshim), but also for the gracefulness of his language. Like Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, he avoided embellishing his poems with strange words, but aimed rather at being generally understood. With the latter and al-Bashshār, he is considered the most distinguished of the later poets, but the peculiarity of his political and religious views prevented the wider circulation of his poems, of which not even a *Dīwān* has survived. He died in Wāsiṭ in 173 (789).

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(Brockelmann)

al-SĀḲ, the leg, the thigh, is used in several senses in Arab geometry. (1) *Sāḳ* means the perpendicular of a right-angled triangle, (2) the side of an equilateral triangle. Thus we find in al-Bīrūnī for example (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 3rd Maḳāla, Ch. 1) *muthallath HBC*, *al-mutasāwī sāḳai HB*, *HC*, (3) *Sāḳ* means the foot or the leg of a pair of compasses and is then synonymous with *riḏl* (foot) This is shown by the following text "And you place the compass's "foot" on the line on the wall which is near the meridian and this span is the curve of the *inḥirāf*. Place this arc in the compasses in such a way that one of its legs stands in one and the other in the other end of the angle (arc) (Muh. Sibt al-Māridīnī († 1495 Cairo), *On the calculation of tables for the construction of Munḥarifāt* (*inclining sundials*) (Oxford MS., Bodl. Or. II, N°. 285, fol. 26, 70). (4) The Western Arab astronomer Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Marrākushī († c 1260 in Morocco) speaks in his *Ḏjāmiʿ al-Mabādī wa'l-Ghāyāt* (transl. by J. J. Sedillot and published by. L. Am. Sedillot under the title *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, Paris 1834—35, p. 446) of a *Sāḳ al-ḏjarāda* (locust-leg) and means by this an hour-line traced in the plane by a cylinder, whose course in the plane has some resemblance to the shape of a locust's leg. (5) In names of constellations we also find the word *Sāḳ* used to name a star, in the leg of an animal (or man), e. g. *Sāḳ*

al-ᶜUwā (ɣ Bootes), *Sāḳ pāi* = Ophiuchus 20, *Sāḳā al-Asad* (in Leo = Arcturus and Spica).

(C. SCHOY)

ṢAḲĀLIBA, Slavs. The name *Ṣaḳāliba* (the singular forms are *ṣaḳlab*, *ṣaḳlabī* and *ṣiḳlābī*, also with initial *s* instead of *ṣ*) is usually applied by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages to the peoples of various origins who lived in the lands adjoining the territory of the Khazars, between Constantinople and the land of the Bulghārs. See the articles BULGHĀR, KHAZAR, SLAVS.

The Slavs of al-Andalus. In Muslim Spain the word in its plural form is found very early as the generic name of the foreign private bodyguard of the Umaiyad Caliphs of Cordova. Originally, it was applied to all the prisoners brought by German armies back from their expeditions against the Slavs and then sold by them to the Muslims of al-Andalus. But as early as the time of the traveller Ibn Ḥawḳal, the name Ṣaḳāliba was given in Spain to all the foreign slaves enrolled in the army or appointed to various services in the royal palaces and harems. The geographer tells us that at the time he went through the Iberian Peninsula, the "Slavs" who were there did not come only from the shore of the Black Sea but also from Calabria, Lombardy, the country of the Franks and from Galicia Indeed, it seems that they were largely supplied by the raids conducted by Maghribī and Andalusian pirates on the European shores of the Mediterranean. Those who were intended to guard the *ḥarīm* were the objects of a special trade in the hands of Jewish merchants who had important "manufactures d'eunuques", to use Dozy's expression, in France and particularly at Verdun. The majority of these prisoners were still young men when they arrived in Andalusia. They very soon began to speak Arabic and became Muslims.

Their number soon became very large. According to al-Maḳḳarī, in the reign of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III, successive censuses of them in the capital gave the figures 3,750, 6,087 and 13,750. In spite of their condition of servitude, we find them at this time holding a considerable position in society. Some attained wealth and even owned vast estates and had slaves of their own. They became cultured through contact with the brilliant Andalusian civilisation; among them were scholars of note, poets and bibliophiles and one of them — if we may believe Ibn al-Abbār and al-Maḳḳarī —, Ḥabīb al-Ṣiḳlābī, composed in the reign of Hishām II, a whole book devoted to the merits of the literary Slavs of Andalusia, it was called *Kitāb al-istiẓhār wa 'l-mughālaba ᶜalā man ankara faḍā'il al-Ṣaḳāliba*.

Like the praetorians in the Roman empire and the ᶜAbīd at a later date in the Morocco of the Sharīfī dynasties, the Slavs in Spain, in proportion as their numbers increased and they occupied a more important place in Andalusian society, came to play a predominating part in politics. It is in the reign of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III that we first find them definitely occupying high civil offices in the state and even military commands. The Caliph used them to counterbalance and combat the influence which the Arab aristocracy had retained in his empire. He thus had no hesitation — in spite of the discontent in his court — in trusting to the Slav Nadjda in 939 the command of the expedition which he sent against the King of Leon — an expedition which, however, ended disastrously in the catastrophes of Simancas and Alhandega and the pursuit of the Muslim army by the forces of Ramiro II and his allies of the kingdom of Navarre.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān III's successor, al-Ḥakam II, allowed the Ṣaḳālība a no less important role in his empire and his indifference to their more and more arrogant or even insolent conduct did not fail to arouse the wonder of the chroniclers of the reign of this enlightened prince. At his death the Slavs felt themselves masters of the situation. According to the author of *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, there were then in the palace over a thousand eunuchs and at Cordova a body of Ṣaḳālība guards was entirely at the disposal of two very important individuals, Fa'ïk al-Niẓāmī, grand master of the wardrobe, and his assistant Djawdhar, grand jeweller and grand falconer. These two Slav eunuchs kept the death of al-Ḥakam secret and tried to prevent the proclamation of the heir-presumptive, who was still an infant; but they were opposed by the viziers al-Muṣḥafī and Ibn Abī ᶜĀmir, whose popularity was only increased by punishing them.

Space will not allow me to trace in detail the part played by the Slavs during all the period of the decline of the Umaiyad Caliphate of Spain; we find them taking part in all the plots hatched at Cordova, or in the rest of Andalusia, sometimes on the winning side, sometimes on the losing, but showing always the same spirit of initiative, the same ambition and the same despotism, we may mention from among them the eunuch Khairān who, at the beginning of the eleventh century A. D, was the leader of the Slav party in the capital.

After the end of the Caliphate of Cordova, the Arab historians are much less detailed regarding the political and social role of the Slavs in al-Andalus, but it is probable that the latter, having by now been Muslims for several generations, became absorbed in the rest of the population and lost, along with the memory of their foreign origin, the importance which they had been able to claim in the period of decline of the Umaiyads of Spain.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SAḲĀRYA (sometimes Ṣaḳārya), a river in Asia Minor. It rises near Bayāt in the north-east of Āfiyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār. In its eastward course it enters the wilāyet of Angora through which it runs to a point above Čahmaḳ after receiving on its left bank the Saiyid Ghāzī Ṣū and several other tributaries on the same side. It then turns northwards describing a curve round Siwri Ḥiṣār. Here it receives on the right bank the Engürü Sūyu from Angora and near this confluence the Pursaḳ on the opposite bank. A little to the south of this point is the bridge of the Eski-Shehir–Angora rail-

way. Farther on, towards the north, the Saḳārya receives on its right bank the Kırmır Sū and then taking a sudden turn it runs westwards to Lefke, traversing the wilāyets of Kutahia and Khudāwendigār. At Lefke the Saḳārya is joined on the left by the Gok Ṣū from Būrsa. After Lefke it turns sharply to the north, entering the sandjaḳ of Izmid near Mekedje, having now run 250 miles The most flourishing part of its course now begins, and we have fine crops of cotton, wheat, vegetables, besides vineyards and the rearing of silkworms It now runs in a north-easterly direction through the ḳaḍā's of Geiwe, Ada Bazār and Ḳandere, to enter the Black Sea near Indjirlı. The stretch of its course in the sandjaḳ of Izmid is 70 miles, near Ada Bazār it receives the waters of the Mudirni Ṣū from Ḳastamūni on the right bank and of the Čarkh Ṣū from lake Ṣabandja on the left, $1^1/_4$ miles north of Geiwe is a bridge of six arches built by Sulṭān Bāyazīd I and at Lefke Ewliyā Čelebi (iii. 11) also mentions a fine bridge of wood The train crosses the river four times between Izmid and Biledjik.

The Saḳārya is the ancient Sangarius (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopadie*, Ser. 2, 1, col. 2269) it has changed its course since the Byzantine period, as is shown by the great bridge built by Justinian over it in 561, which is now two miles from Ada Bazār. This bridge is now called *Besh Kōpru* (in classical times Pentegephyra or Pontogephyra, see Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 214, 215), but at the present day the river no longer runs below its arches

The Saḳārya is not navigable, its lower course is only used for transporting to the Black Sea the wood from the thick forests of the neighbourhood In prehistoric times the river ran westwards into the Sea of Marmora, the lake of Sabandja and the Gulf of Izmid mark the track of its ancient course. In 909 (1503) Sulṭān Salīm I conceived the idea of reestablishing communication between the Saḳāria, the lake (the level of which is above that of the river) and the gulf in order to bring more easily to his capital the wood required for the building of his fleet. Being convinced of the feasibility of the project by the report of experts, he gave orders for its execution but the opponents of the scheme were able to frustrate it by the argument of the *rishwet* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Constantinople 1145, p. 660).

For a period, in the reign of Osman, the Saḳārya formed the frontier of his territory on the west and south and for his conquests he had to cross the river (for example for the capture of Ak-Ḥiṣār in 1308; see ʿĀshīḳ Pashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1332, p. 12, 24). Since then the Saḳāria had not played an important part in Ottoman history until the famous battle on the Saḳārya from Aug. 24, to Sept. 10, 1921, when the Greek army was defeated in a last great effort to reach Angora. By the counter-offensive of Sept. 10, the Greeks were thrown back to the west of the Saḳārya and forced to take up the line Eski-Shehir–Afyūn-Ḳara-Ḥiṣār. In August, 1922, the Turkish army was victorious for a second time near the Saḳāria; this was the beginning of the Turkish offensive which ended in the complete reconquest of Anatolia.

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AL-**SAKĪNA** is a loan-word borrowed from the Hebrew (*shekīnā*). There it signifies the presence of God, in the purely spiritual sense, sometimes made clear by a sign like fire, cloud, or light, which can be appreciated by the senses. Muḥammad was apparently not quite clear regarding the true meaning of the word, when he says (Sūra ii. 249) that the *sakīna* along with some relics was in the sacred ark of the Israelites. Possibly he associated with this Hebrew loan-word conceptions from pagan demonology, many Ḳurʾānic exegesists at any rate give here quite a djinn-like description of *sakīna* (cf. al-Ṭabaī, *Tafsīr*, ii 385 *sq.*, it is noteworthy that on this point Wahb b. Munabbih relies on a Jewish source, he also confuses the ark of the covenant with the oracle of the ʾUrīm Wetummīm). Where else the word is found in the Kurʾān, it is generally explained by the commentators as the subjective condition of peace of soul and security (see the commentaries on ix. 26, 40, and xlviii. 4, 18, 26). From this a secular meaning of the word gradually develops *sakina* means the quality of calm and dignity in character (e g al-Bukhārī, *Badʾ at-Khalk*, bāb 15) and then simply to keep quiet, e. g at the *ṣalāt* (al-Bukhārī, *Djumʿa*, bāb 18) or at the *ifāḍa* (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, bāb 94). Besides this there is a change of meaning of the word in its religious use as the Jewish meaning of the word gradually penetrates into Islām Thus the *sakina* is said to come benevolently down when the Kurʾān is recited (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān*, bāb 11 and 15). As among the Jews the Rūaḥ Haḳḳōdesh, which rests on the Prophets, gradually develops out of the *shekīnā*, so we find in Islāmic writers also *sakīna* occasionally used with the meaning "Holy Ghost" (see Goldziher, p 149 *sq.*).

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SĀḲIZ, the Turkish name of the island of Chios (corrupted from the Greek σἰς Χίον) and at the same time the word for mastic (μαστίχη) which is only found on this island and is obtained in excellent quality from the *Pistacia Lentiscus* L. and was very popular in the East as a valuable drug in the middle ages and, indeed, still is in modern times. How old the form *sāḳiz* is, is shown by the occurrence of the word as an appellative in Kuman and Old Turkish (Houtsma, *Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, p. 37) and in Persian (Josaphat Barbaro, *Viaggio in Persia* — Anno 1471 —, Venice 1543, p. 59[b]: Syo è luogo molto nominato ne la Persia, & in tutte quelle parti & è chiamato Seghex, che vuol dir in nostro idioma mastico; Vullers, *Lexicon pers.-lat.*, s. v. sekiz). In Syriac also mastic is called *kiyā* i. e. Chios from its place of origin (Low, *Aramdische Pflanzennamen*, p. 70). By the reverse process the Arabs have named the island from its best known product "mastic island" (*Djazīrat al-Maṣṭiki*); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*,

ed. Reinaud, ii/1. 268 and al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 228, the first Arab geographers to mention it, know it only by this name.

In the middle ages Chios had attained very great importance as a station on the sea-route for pilgrims and merchants to eastern lands (Palestine, Syria and Egypt). On the decline of the Byzantine empire in the second half of the middle ages the rich island became exposed to the raids of the petty Saldjūḳ princes of the opposite coast of Asia Minor and in 1089 Tzachas, father-in-law of Ḳïlïdj Arslān I and lord of Smyrna, which is not far away, succeeded in establishing a temporary footing there (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, vii. Ch. 8). In 1303 the Emperor entrusted the Catalan mercenaries with the defence of the island against the raids of the Turks (Muntaner, *Chronik*, Ch. 203 and 206; Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, ii 344, 346). A few years later — in 1307 or 1308 — and after the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria had usurped rule over Chios (from 1304) 30 "Turkish" ships laid waste the island (Pachymeres ii. 510) and Martino Zaccaria, who had succeeded Benedetto Zaccaria in 1314, had much hard fighting with the Turks, in 1329 he was dispossessed by Andronicus III but by 1346 another Genoese, the Admiral Simone Vignosi had seized the island, which remained till 1566 under the rule of the Giustiniani, the family of the Genoese "Maone" of Chios, as the legal successors of the conquerors called themselves. But in order to maintain their position the latter were forced to pay tribute to the local Turkish dynasts in Asia Minor and later to the Ottoman Sulṭāns and occasionally to support them with their fleet They paid the Aidin-oghlu 500 ducats yearly and the same to the Sārukhān-oghlu of Magnesia The first intercourse with the Ottomans was of a hostile nature: after the overthrow of the petty princes of Aidin, Ṣāruḵhān and Menteshe, about the year 1397, Bāyazīd I stopped the export of corn from Asia Minor to the islands of the Archipelago and with 60 ships undertook a campaign against Chios and laid the island waste with fire and sword (Ducas, ch. xiii). After the capture of Smyrna by Tīmūr (Dec., 1402) the Maonese, like the Frankish lords of Lesbos, did not fail to pay homage to the conqueror (Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Calcutta edition ii. 482, Ducas, ch xvii, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, Madrid 1782, p. 230). They repeatedly lent their galleys to Sulṭān Meḥemmed I and his successor Murād II for the defeat of Djunaid (1415 and 1421), the yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 ducats. After the fall of Constantinople the Maonese hastened to pay homage to Meḥemmed the Conqueror; the Sulṭān left them their autonomy but raised the tribute to 6,000 ducats and some years later, as the result of an encounter of the islanders with the admiral of Gallipoli, to 10,000 ducats, with 2,000 in addition to dignitaries of the Porte. The island was able to retain its independence for over 100 years but when it fell two years in arrears with the tribute, this omission and the fact that it served as an asylum for escaped Christian slaves was used as a pretext for sanctions. At Easter 1566 the Admiral Piāle Pasha landed unnoticed on the island and took possession of it without a blow being struck. The churches in Castro were destroyed or turned into mosques and the Genoese dignitaries led away into a miserable captivity. It was said that the Greek population, dissatisfied with Frankish rule, had called in the Turks. On the intercession of the French Ambassador, the exiles received permission to return a few years later and the island was granted a limited degree of self-government (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, p. 37b *sq.*; Leunclavius, *Annales*, p. 110 *sq.*; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 50, 123; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, ii. 900 *sqq.*). Very serious consequences, especially for the Frankish inhabitants, followed the disastrous attempts of Virginio Orsino, Duca di Bracciano, who landed in April, 1599, with five Tuscan galleys in Castro, but had to begin an ignominious retreat a few hours later. The efforts of the French Ambassador de Brèves secured for the Catholics the preservation of their churches; the skulls of 400 soldiers whom the Tuscan admiral had left in the lurch on the mainland on his retreat, long adorned the battlements of the fort of Castro (Naʿīmā, *Tārīḵh*, ed 1280, i 212, Sandys, *Travailes*, London 1658, p 9 *sqq.*, D[es Hayes de] C[ourmenin], *Voyage de Levant en l'année 1621*, Paris 1632, p. 346 *sq.*, Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni*, p. 766 *sqq.*; v. Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv. 297 *sq.*). In July, 1681, the harbour of Castro was the scene of an encounter between a French squadron and Tripolitanian corsairs, in which many buildings in the town and several mosques were destroyed by the fire of the ships' guns (Zinkeisen, *op. cit.*, v. 43; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, vi. 371 *sqq.*).

During the great war of the allied Austrians and Venetians against Turkey at the end of the xviith century, the town of Chios was temporarily occupied by the Venetians under Antonio Zeno, the fort of Castro capitulated after a short resistance on Sept. 21, 1694, but after a few months the Venetians were forced to retreat after the unfortunate naval battles at the Spalmadore islands, 9 and 18 Feb., 1625. The Roman Catholic inhabitants were accused by the Orthodox of having brought about the foreign invasion and they lost what remained of their privileges, their churches were closed and handed over to the Greek Orthodox (Rāshid, *Tārīḵh*, i. 199a *sq.*, 207b—209a; Rycaut, *History of the Turks*, London 1700, p 518, 525 *sq.*; Kantemir, *Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reichs*, Hamburg 1745, p. 646 *sqq.*, 661 *sqq* ; Sathas, Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλάς, Athens 1869, p. 401 *sqq.*, 414 *sqq*). But the island was far more seriously affected by the Greek war of independence On March 22, 1822, Samiote irregulars landed on Chios and besieged the Turkish garrison in the fort of Castro; on April 11, the Ḳapudan Pasha Naṣūh Zāde ʿAlī appeared with a strong fleet, relieved the besieged garrison, who had put up a heroic defence under the *Muḥāfiẓ* Waḥīd Pasha, and drove out the Samiotes The defenceless island was terribly punished and, although only a few natives had joined the Samiotes, it was ravaged like an enemy country with fire and sword Of the over 100,000 inhabitants which Chios numbered at the beginning of the century, 23,000 are said to have been massacred and 47,000 carried off into slavery. The responsibility for these excesses was assumed by Waḥīd Pasha in his report to the Sublime Porte; the Ḳapudan Pasha, who had in vain opposed them, was blown up by Kánaris in the night of 18/19 June before Çeshme with his flagship; Waḥīd Pasha was degraded and banished to ʿAlāya (Djawdat, *Tārīḵh*, xii. 40—48; K. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, Leipzig 1870, i. 250 *sqq.*).

The prosperity of the island was destroyed and to this day it has not recovered from this catastrophe. Chios was visited by a severe earthquake on April 3 and 11, 1881; the number of dead was estimated at 5,000, that of the injured at 1,000 (*S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, p 801 *sqq.*). As a result of the Balkan War the island was ceded to Greece in 1913.

Under Turkish rule Chios in the older period was under the jurisdiction of the Ḳapudan Pasha; later it formed a sandjak of the wilāyet of the archipelago (*Djazā'ir Baḥr-i Safīd*); in 1910 its population (almost exclusively Greek, a few Jews) was estimated at 80,000 souls.

The Chiotes have been famous from early times for their intelligence and enterprise; especially as merchants and bankers but also as physicians, apothecaries and skilled gardeners, they were scattered all over the Levant; of their scholars the learned Leon Allatius and the Hellenist Korais have attained a European reputation. The products of their industries (silks, the so-called *khiṭā'ī*, a cotton cloth) were much in demand; among the products of the soil we might mention mastic and southern fruits of all kinds.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, ABŪ BAKR YŪSUF B ABĪ BAKR B. MUḤAMMAD Sirādj al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī was born in Transoxiana on the 2nd of Djumādā I 555 A. H He was originally a metal-worker and excelled in engraving dies, from which art he received his *laḳab* al-Sakkākī, and making intricate locks One day he had made an inkstand furnished with a lock, the whole weighing no more than a kīrāt, which he presented to the ruler of his country, whose name is not mentioned by the biographer. He was suitably rewarded, but soon another man came to the audience and great honour was shown to him, this amazed Sakkākī, and upon enquiry, he was told that the man was a person of learning. Seeing that learning was in greater honour than handicraft he decided to become a scholar himself. His first studies were far from successful and his ill success made him lose heart and only when he saw how the perpetual dropping of water had made a hollow in a rock, did he take up his studies again. There is exceedingly little known of his life, the names of neither his teachers nor pupils are known, no doubt on account of the Mongol invasion of his native country towards the end of his life. He is reckoned among the Hanafī lawyers; two of his teachers in that branch, Sadīd al-Khayātī and Mahmūd b Sa'īd b. Mahmūd al-Hārithī, are mentioned and also one of his pupils, Mukhtār b. Mahmūd al-Zāhidī, the author of a Ḥanafī lawbook entitled *al-Kinya*. He died in the village of al-Kindī near the town of Almāligh (Almāliḳ of the geographers) in Ferghāna in the year 626 A. H. As a Turk he is credited with some Turkish poetry, but his reputation rests upon his work in Arabic, the "*Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*", which is the most comprehensive book on rhetoric written up to his time. In spite of its great reputation, manuscripts of the book are scarce, as it was early superseded by the abridgement and commentary of the third part of the work written by al-Ḳazwīnī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, which has become the standard work on the subject and has in turn become the subject of numerous commentators. Another reason why the *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* became superseded is, no doubt, its very difficult language which at times is quite obscure on account of long sentences such as are unusual in Arabic, and which might point to Greek influence if such could be assumed. It may be that Sakkākī had also studied the translations of Greek philosophical books, being a contemporary of the celebrated Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and it is perhaps not without signifi-

cance that, sparing as he is in mentioning any authorities, he frequently refers to statements of al-Rummānī who is reported to have indulged in philosophical theories on grammar. The book is fortunately accessible in two printed editions (Cairo 1317 in 4⁰ and Cairo 1318 in 8⁰), which, though printed without points, so necessary for this work, enable us to study it. The original plan of the author was to divide the book into three principal sections: morphology, grammar and rhetoric, to which he has added other branches akin to the subject. The part dealing with morphology is preceded by a chapter on phonology, teaching theoretically the proper pronunciation of the Arabic sounds, while in the part dealing with exposition and rhetoric he embodies chapters on *Badīᶜ*. Though he attempts to classify the subjects scientifically, his divisions vary both in their titles and in the numeration. The first book is divided into three *Faṣl*'s, while the second is divided into several *Faṣl*'s and *Bāb*'s, those towards the end not being numbered. The chief portion on Rhetoric is divided into *Ḳānūn*'s and these again into *Fann*'s. The part dealing with *Bayān* or eloquence has two *Aṣl*'s and five *Faṣl*'s and again several unnumbered chapters. The third *Faṣl* on Metaphorical expressions is divided into six *Ḳism*'s and at the end some additional chapters not numbered. Here the author says, he ought to finish his book, but as what follows really belongs to the art of Rhetoric, he adds long expositions on *Istidlāl* or Reasoning by deduction and a lengthy account of the art of poetry, with the usual details of the metres etc. The work was too extensive and too badly arranged to serve as an easy hand-book, in consequence the abbreviation and commentary of al-Kazwīnī under the title of *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* soon superseded this work and the latter with its many commentaries, especially those by al-Taftāzānī entitled *al-Muṭawwal* and *al-Mukhtaṣar*, have held sway in Arabic literature till the present day. The *Miftāḥ al-ᶜUlūm* has been the subject of numerous commentaries, in addition to those named, among others one by Maḥmūd b. Masᶜūd al-Shīrāzī (died 726 A. H.), which deals with the third part only, another commentary on the third part is by al-Djurdjānī, who completed it in 803 A. H.

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(F. KRENKOW)

AL-**SAKKĀKĪ**, an Eastern Turkī poet, born in the last quarter of the eighth century, was celebrated in the first half of the ninth century at the court of the Tīmūrids in Transoxania. The only information regarding this poet of whom we know neither the date of birth nor of death, is found in the *Maḏālis al-Nafāᵓis* of al-Nawāᵓī. Al-Sakkākī was himself a native of Transoxania and achieved his fame in Samarḳand. He is believed to be buried in the vicinity of this town. Al-Nawāᵓī in the *Maḏālis* alleges that al-Sakkākī's poems do not justify his fame. In the introduction to his *Khuṭba-i Dawāwīn*, the same author says that al-Sakkākī composed a complete *Dīwān* and is famous in Turkestān. On the other hand, in his *Muḥākamat al-Lughatain* he says that al-Sakkākī cannot be compared with the Persian poets, although he acknowledges his claims as one who spread Čaghatāi literature, like Luṭfī, for example, author of a Turkī *Dīwān* and a *Gul we Naurūz*, also in Turkī. The uncertainty regarding his life and the period in which he lived has led several modern writers to confuse him with the famous scholar Abū Yaᶜḳūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī (see e. g. Nadjīb ᶜĀṣim and Meḥmed ᶜĀrif, *ᶜOṯmānlī Taᵓrīkhi*, Constantinople 1335, p. 275). In the British Museum is an incomplete copy of the *Dīwān* of al-Sakkākī; the *ḳaṣīda*'s which it contains and which are dedicated to the Tīmūrid Khalīl Sulṭān (d. in 812/1408), to the great Sūfī Khwādjā Pārsā (d. in 822/1418), to Ulugh Beg (814/1410—850/1445) and to the great Amīr Arslān Khwādjā Tarkhān, general of Ulugh Beg, apparently the principal patron of the poet and himself the author of several poems in Turkī which still survive (Nadjīb ᶜĀṣim, *Hibat al-ḥaḳᵓiḳ*, Constantinople 1334, p. 92—94), give us a fairly clear picture of the period and surroundings of the poet. In the various dictionaries of Čaghatāi we find passages quoted from al-Sakkākī; in the MS. N⁰. 4757 of the Aya Sofia written in Uigur characters, which contains, among other things, the *Hibat al-Ḥakāᵓiḳ*, there are three of his *ghazal*'s. The poet, who had not yet been forgotten when al-Nawāᵓī visited Samarḳand (870—873 = 1465—1468), played an important part in the history of Čaghatāi poetry in spite of the fact that he was not an artist of the power of Luṭfī or Ḥaidar al-Khwārizmī (cf. the art. TURKEY [language and literature]).

Bibliography al-Nawāᵓī, *Maḏālis al-Nafāᵓis*, second maḏlis (manuscripts); do., Introduction to the *Khuṭba-i dawāwīn* (MS. of Nūr-i ᶜOthmānī, N⁰. 3880), do, *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, Der-i Saᶜādet, Constantinople 1315, p 64, Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 284, Koprulu Zāde Fuᵓād, *Ilk Mutasawwifler*, Constantinople 1918, p. 198.

(KOPRULU ZĀDE FUᵓĀD)

SAḲḲĀRA, an Egyptian village, 15 miles S. W. of Cairo, Lat. 29° 75′, Long 31° 13′, situated near the left bank of the Nile halfway between Djīze and Dahshūr. It measured 790 feddān (according to Ibn al-Djīᶜān, *al-Tuḥfa al-sanīya*, p. 144, see also de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 675) and its valuation (according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, Būlāk 1309, iv. 133) was 10,000 dīnārs. Pococke in his travels found it a rather poor village at the foot of the hills, with a mosque and a few clusters of date-palms. The name in Arabic means "falcon's nest", but it is no doubt a corruption of the name of the old Egyptian god of death, Seker or Sokar (*Socharis*), "the coffined one", who presided over the great cemetery on the Western Plateau. The extensive ruins (5 miles in length and 1 mile in width) of this famous necropolis exhibit every conceivable variety of sepulchral monument, notably tombs of the Ancient Empire (described by Mariette, *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd series, xix. 8 *sqq.*).

Of the twenty odd pyramids of the Saḳḳāra group an outstanding one is the so-called Step Pyramid (*al-haram al-mudarradja*), which is in reality a transitional maṣṭaba. This, which is regarded as the oldest extant monument of its kind, was designed, it is believed, by Imhotep ("Imouthes")

the prime minister of King Zoser of the third dynasty (H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1923), i. 276). It is 197 feet high, and is roughly constructed of small stones quarried in the neighbourhood, and having eleven successive layers of masonry with six steps with sloping sides. It is not oriented (Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, London 1891, p. 28 *sq.*). The interior is a congeries of chambers and branching passages, many of them the work of Arab tomb-robbers. One of such depredators named Aḥmad al-Nadjdjār ("The Carpenter"), c 820 A. D., has left his name in red ink behind him on the walls of a neighbouring pyramid The Pyramid of Pepi I is known locally as the Pyramid of Shaikh Abū Mansūr, while the Pyramid of Teti is believed by the natives to be in the vicinity of the place of Joseph's incarceration, and for that reason is known as the "Prison Pyramid". Another tomb in the same pyramid field is named by the Arabs *Maṣṭabat Fir'awn*, "Pharaoh's Throne".

Regarding the "Prison of Joseph", there is a quotation in al-Maḳrīzī to the effect that it is at Būṣīr (al-Sidr), whose pyramids ʿAbd al-Laṭīf describes (see the art. BŪṢĪR). But De Sacy (*op. cit.*, p. 206) considers that these include the pyramids of Saḳḳāra as known to us (De Sacy mistakenly writes the name as *Sakhara*, although he afterwards corrects this in a foot-note, *ibid*, p. 675) This would agree with the textual addition (see de Sacy, p. 671, note 6) which states that Saḳḳāra is one of the dependences of Būṣīr The "Prison of Joseph" was a regular place of pilgrimage The Faḳīh Abū Isḥāḳ al-Marwazī said: "If a man comes from ʿIrāḳ to visit it I shall not reproach him for undertaking the journey" (al-Maḳrīzī, p. 610) And there is a record in al-Masiḥī's chronicle of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 415 A. H. (May 13—June 11, 1024) that the populace of Cairo thronged the streets with drums and trumpets demanding from the merchants money to take them to the "Prison of Joseph". On the merchants' refusing, the matter was laid before the Khalīfa (ʿAlī ibn Hākim bi-amri 'llāh) who ordered the merchants to pay the customary annual sum for the purpose Thereupon the processional march to the "Prison of Joseph" took place led by the grand Ḳāḍī ʿIzz al-Dawla (al-Maḳrīzī, *ibid*, p. 610 *sq.*).

Near the Saḳḳāra pyramids are to be seen the remains of the celebrated Serapeum or Apis Mausoleum, where, in the rock-cut tombs below, the mummified carcases of the sacred Apis-Bulls worshipped at Memphis were enshrined in huge sarcophagi of Assuan granite. The chapels built above the vaults formed the Serapeum proper Thither a wonderful *Dromos* or Avenue of Sphinxes led. Fresh excavations in 1911—12 revealed the remains of the early Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias (see *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, register). The well-known wooden statue, in Būlāḳ, of the *Shaikh al-Balad* came from Saḳḳāra (see F. B. Zincke, *Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Khedives*, London 1871, chap. ix.).

Bibliography: Besides the works referred to in the text: J. M. Hartmann, *Edrisii Africa* (Gottingae 1796), p. 501; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Historiae Aegypti Compendium* (Oxford 1800); R. Pococke, *Description of the East* (London 1733), i. 48 *sqq.*; Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London 1762), ii. 13, E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Nile* (London 1895), p. 237 *sqq.*; Baedeker, *Egypt*; the al-Maḳrīzī references are to the *Description topographique de l'Égypte* in the *Mission Achéologique Française au Caire*, vol. ii., *Travels of Ali Bey* (London 1816), ii. 25.

(J. WALKER)

SAḲḲIZ, a town and district in Persian Kurdistān, administered sometimes from Senne, sometimes from Tabrīz and situated on the upper Djaghātū east of Bāne. The inhabitants are Kurds (Mukrī). In religion they are Shāfiʿī Sunnīs, there are also adepts of the Naḳshbandī Shaikhs. The family of local Khāns is related to that of the Wālīs of Ardilān The town has 1200 houses, 2 mosques, a bazaar, etc. The district (with its dependency Mīrede) comprises 360 villages. According to the census of 1296 A. H, there were 34,024 people in the district. The government taxes amounted to 6305 tumāns a year. Cf. ʿAlī Akbar Waḳā'iʿ-nigār, *Ḥadīḳa-i Nāṣirīya* (manuscript history of Persian Kurdistān written in 1309 A. H.).

(V. MINORSKY)

SAḲṢĪN, a place on the Dniepei (according to Ibn Saʿīd, quoted in Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p. 205), also located on other rivers e. g. on the Jaik (cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 116) and on the Volga (according to Westberg, cf. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, p. 56) It is situated in 67° E. Long and 53° N Lat., a town سعسن, without *yā'*, is said to exist in 162° 30′ E. Long. and 40° 50′ N. Lat, but this must be another place. East of Saḳsīn lies the town of سوء (v l. موء) which belongs to the territory of Saḳsīn (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op cit.*, p. 202). According to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 670, the fortress of Manḳashlāgh is between Khwārizm and Saḳsīn and the lands of the Rūs near the sea of Tabaristān (Caspian Sea). Further information is given in Hamdallāh Mustawfī (cf. *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Series, xxiii). Saḳsīn and Bulghār (this combination is frequent in other authors also) are in 32° = 750 farsangs distant from Mekka (text, p. 10; transl., p. 10); the eastern frontier of Īrān, which begins in Sindh, runs to the frontier of Saḳsin and Bulghār (p. 21 = 23 of the transl.), Khwārizm, Saḳsīn and Bulghār are east of the Caspian See (p. 239 and 231); Saḳsīn and Bulghār are two small towns in the sixth clime, much land belongs to them and they export furs (p. 259 and 252). Al-Yazdādī in Ibn Isfandiyār (Gibb Mem. Series, ii. 33 *sq.*) says that in his time Āmul was the market for the wares of Saksīn. Merchants from the ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Khorāsān and India came to Āmul to purchase there The voyage by boat from Āmul to Saḳsīn took three months but the return journey only one week because the former was up stream and the latter down. Ibn Isfandiyār wrote probably at the beginning of the xiiith century. We see that there is no agreement regarding the situation of the place: on the one hand it is said to be on the Dnieper and on the other east of the Caspian Sea; while Yāḳūt seems to place it among the Rūs, al-Ḳazwīnī in *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 402 *sq.*, calls it a town of the Khazars; he says it is large (contrary to Mustawfī), inhabited by 40 tribes of the Ghuzz, with a large number of strangers and merchants in addition. The climate is cold, the inhabitants are Muslims, for the most

part Ḥanafīs, although there are also some Shāfi'īs. The houses are covered with roofs of pine-wood. The river of Saḳsīn is larger than the Tigris and rich in fish of a kind only found there, which are sold at the rate of 100 *mann* for a half *dānaḳ*: these fishes yield train-oil and isinglass. The currency there is lead, of which three Baghdād *mann* = 1 dīnār. Sheep cost $^1/_2$ *dānaḳ* each, rams $^1/_4$ (*ṭassūdj*); there is also much fruit. Al-Gharnāṭī relates that the river is frozen in winter and can be crossed on foot. So far al-Ḳazwīnī's account of the place, an excerpt of which is given by al-Bākuwī, a geographer of the fifteenth century (quoted by d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 346, note 1); but al-Bākuwī adds that in his time the town no longer existed (*op. cit.*: "Sacassin est à présent submergée; il n'en reste aucunes traces, mais près de là existe maintenant une autre ville, le Sérai de Barca, résidence du souverain de cette contrée").

In the history of the Mongol period Saḳsīn is several times mentioned conquered by Čingiz Khān (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol xiv., part i. 572, cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 255), it belonged to the territory of Tūshī, his eldest son (*Ta'rīkh-i Djahāngushā*, Gibb Mem. Series, vol xvi., part i. 31; *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, i. 375) Ogotai shortly after his accession sent an army to Ḳipčāḳ, Saḳsīn and Bulghār (*Ta'rīkh-i Djahāngushā*, i 150); the *Djānib-i Saksīn wa-Bulghār* is mentioned as Bātū's territory (*ibid.*, i. 205). The descendants of Khān Barkah (d. 1626 A.D, Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 205) afterwards lived there We have already seen that it no longer existed in the fifteenth century. The "*Serai of Barca*", mentioned in al-Bākuwī in connection with it, is probably called after the reigning family. The combination *Saḳsīn i Rūm* is found in a Persian poem, which the rebel Atsīz sent to king Sandjar (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, i. 488).

The name Saḳsīn may — at least in European sources — also denote the inhabitants of the place. This is perhaps the case with the *Saxi* in Joannes de Plano Carpini, vii. 3, although the Mongols could not conquer them according to this writer, which is contradictory to the Persian sources. In the passage from a Russian Chronicle which is quoted by Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 21 in the note — here also there is a reference to the Mongol wars — we find *Saksini* alongside of *Polowci* as the name of a people.

Bibliography (besides the Oriental sources already quoted): Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 541; Ch. d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, the Hague—Amsterdam 1834—1835, i. 346, 446, ii. 15, 113 (in the last two passages as the name of a people), d'Avezac, *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin*, Paris 1838, p. 180 *sq.*; Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 21, 116 *sq*, Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, London 1888, i. 296, 300, 305, Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde* etc., Pesth 1840, p. 7, 9, 15, 28, 89, 99; do., *Geschichte der Ilchane* etc., Darmstadt 1842, i. 419, ii. 246 *sq.* (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĀL (P.), a year, a word also used by the Turks. It is normally the time that elapses between two successive passages of the vernal equinox by the sun, the astronomical year; but the word is also used to designate anniversaries of births, of arrivals, etc. Solar, lunar, astronomical and civil years are distinguished; the civil year is 365 days, the astronomical year 365 days, 5 hours, 49′ (Handjéry).

SĀL-NĀME (P. and T.), literally: year-book, annual, almanac, calendar; the term *rūz-nāme* from *rūz* "day" is also used, the Arabic word for calendar is *taḳwīm*. The Turks make great use of tables whether annual or perpetual; the latter cover a period of 80 to 85 years; they are in the form of little rolls or tiny volumes usually written with great care and in ink of several colours. They give the year in the eras of Alexander, of Christ, of Diocletian and in the Djalālī era, the era of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Malik Shāh, the name of the year in the Turco-Mongol animal cycle, a horoscopic table, the Muslim, Jewish, Christian and Persian feasts, the correspondence with the Syrian months, astronomical and meteorological predictions, the dates at which the principal agricultural operations should be performed, as well as other operations. The *Mu'adhdhins* use tables called *zīdj* or *taḳwīm* to know the canonical hours and the new moons. M. d'Ohsson quotes a highly esteemed calendar from the xviiith century A.D made in Turkey by Dārendewī which covered the period 1192—1277 A.H. *Sāl-nāme* is also the name of the official annuals (gazetteers) of the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography. d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. ii., Paris 1788, p. 160—162; Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un Calendrier turc*, in *A Volume of Oriental studies presented to Professor E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922. (CARRA DE VAUX)

SALĀ, in dialect Slā (ethnic *Salāwī*, dial. Slāwī), or, following the official French orthography commonly used, Salé, the English Salé, Saleh or Sallee, is a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of and on the north bank of the river Bū Ragrāg. On the other bank just opposite stands Rabāṭ The estuary of the river serves as the harbour of the two towns. Sale, the less important, has about 20,000 inhabitants of whom 2,000 are Jews.

The name is ancient, but the Punic Sala and the Roman Sala Colonia did not stand on the same site, the remains of the Roman Sala can still be seen near the modern Shāla (Chella), a few miles up the river and on the other bank. It is not till the Idrīsid period (ixth century) that the new Salā (Salé) first appears, distinct from old Sala (Chella) then in ruins. At the beginning of the xith century it was the capital of a little Ifrānid kingdom, which fought with the Barghawāta [q.v.], heretics settled to the south of the Bū Ragrāg There was already at this time a ribāṭ built against these heretics on the south bank, where Ribāṭ al-Fath was afterwards built (Ibn Ḥawḳal). In the middle of the xiith century, Salā, if we may believe al-Idrīsī, was a fine and strong town with rich bazaars, a harbour frequented by Spanish ships, which brought oil in exchange for foodstuffs; entrance into the river was already very difficult.

The building of Rabāṭ by the Almoḥads opposite Salé does not seem to have done much harm to the latter. It is from this period that the great mosque dates and Salé remained prosperous while Rabāṭ declined after the death of Ya'ḳūb al-Manṣūr. It fell into the power of the Marinids in 649/1251 and after several vicissitudes Ya'ḳūb b. 'Abd Allāh, a member of the reigning family of the Marīnids, declared himself independent there. The

Christians from Spain entered it by surprise in 658/1260. The Sulṭān Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb the Marīnid drove them out again after a few days, closed its ramparts and built the Sea-Gate still visible to-day. The Marīnid sovereigns on several occasions mobilised on the left bank of the Bū Ragrāg the troops intended for the holy war, had an arsenal at Salé where ships were built, and beautified the town We may specially note the beautiful madrasa built by Abu 'l-Ḥasan. A little later, Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent several years there and wrote of its charm.

In the course of the great wars waged by the Spaniards and Portuguese in the xvth and xvith centuries, Salé was one of the few points on the Moroccan coast where they could not gain a footing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century when expelled by the edicts of Philip III (1609) the Spanish Moors took Rabāṭ, Salé, slipping from the rule of the Sherifs, became independent under the Mudjāhid al-ʿAyāshī in 1627. It became his base for attacking al-Mamora (al-Madhīya) which was held by the Spaniards. Salé played a part in the feuds which divided the town and ḳasba of Rabāt, then fought unsuccessfully against one and the other, until when al-ʿAyāshī was killed and the three towns fell into the hands of the Marabouts of Dilā' (1641) Salé recognised the authority of Ghailān (1660) and after the defeat of the latter by al-Rashīd became finally incorporated in the lands of the Filalī dynasty in 1666

This disturbed century was also the age of piracy. The Corsairs of Salé were famous, but under the name of Salé at this period the Europeans comprised the three towns and the pirates in reality almost all came from the Kasba of Rabāt and from Rabāṭ. These three towns, strange as it may appear, formed at the same time the principal commercial port of Morocco Down to the end of the xviiith century this was the usual route by which travellers and merchandise from Europe went to Fās and it was on several occasions the residence of diplomatic representatives of the Christian powers.

As compared with Rabāt, the administrative capital of Morocco, Sale is now a quiet little town where many scholars live It is also a market for the tribes who live on the north bank of the Bū Ragrāg.

Bibliography: Besides the geographers and Arab historians of Morocco cf. especially P. Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires* ², Paris 1649; *Relation de la Captivité du sieur Mouette*, Paris 1682; Chénier (who was consul at Salé), *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, 3 vols., Paris 1787; and among modern works: *Villes et tribus du Maroc*, *Rabat et sa région*, part i., Paris 1918, de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc* (in course of publication), especially *Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas*, series i, vol. v., Paris 1920, Introduction; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920; Henri Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella*, Paris 1922; H. Terrasse, *Les Portes de l'arsenal de Salé*, in *Hespéris*, 1922, p. 357—372. (Henri Basset)

SALADIN, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf I, was the son of the Amīr Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb (see Aiyūbids), born in Takrīt in 532 (1138) His father moved shortly — according to others a few years — after his birth to Syria and was appointed governor of Baʿalbek by Zangī [q. v.] and remained on there (with one third of the town and its appanages as a fief) after the Būrid Atābeg Abaḳ [see Būrids] had seized the town. Saladin and his brothers were brought up there. When 17 years old he came with his father to the court of Nūr al-Dīn when the latter had captured Damascus in 549 (1154) (on the occupation of Baʿalbek and Damascus see the introduction to *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit* in vol. iii. of *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1899—1905*, Berlin 1925). It is remarkable how little is known regarding Saladin's youth and education; he played no part at the court of Nūr al-Dīn; the Amīr Usāma, who lived there, did not even know him, as we see from his biography. He first came into the public eye when in 559 (1164) "in spite of his reluctance" (as Abū Shāma reports without giving any reasons) Shīrkūh [q v] took him with him on his first campaign against Egypt Shāwar, the vizier of the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid [q v], had been displaced by a rival, Dirghām [q. v], and had applied for assistance to Nūr al-Dīn, Atabeg of Syria. He promised the latter a third of the revenues of Egypt, while Dirghām had asked king Amaury I of Jerusalem for support and had promised him a vast tribute. Dirghām was defeated and slain before Amaury could give him any assistance, and Shāwar restored to the vizierate. As the latter did not fulfil his promises, Shīrkūh, to gain his dues, ordered Saladin to occupy Bilbā'is [see Bilbīs] and the district and collect the taxes there Fierce fighting was the result. Shāwar, finding himself in a tight corner, called in king Amaury to help him, so that Shīrkūh and Saladin were forced to entrench themselves in Bilbā'is. The town was so well defended by the two that Shāwar and Amaury could not take it. While this was going on, Nūr al-Dīn captured the important fortress of Hārim and advanced on Bāniyās so that Amaury was now forced to retire to Syria in order to prevent Nūr al-Dīn from making further captures. He had agreed with Shirkūh that the latter should withdraw from Egypt and leave Shāwar in possession. Shīrkūh arrived in Syria with Saladin in the beginning of 560 (towards the end of 1164) with his forces intact. The main result of the campaign was that it gave Nūr al-Dīn and his men a clear idea of Egypt, its wealth and relative strength. Shirkūh was attracted by the idea of conquering the land and settling there but Nūr al-Dīn did not wish to split up his forces in view of the war with the Crusaders. It was only three years later when Shāwar made a new alliance with Amaury that Shīrkūh received orders to begin a second campaign against Egypt and again he took Saladin with him (October 1168) "in spite of his reluctance at first". His first objective was the occupation of the bank of the Nile; after overcoming the difficulties of the march and eluding the Franks he reached the south of Cairo and built a fortified camp near Djīze; very soon afterwards, Amaury arrived with his troops and encamped opposite him at al-Fusṭāṭ. At the same time he concluded an agreement regarding subsidies with the Caliph himself. Amaury then attacked Shīrkūh and forced him to retreat to Upper Egypt. At Babān he forced Shīrkūh to make a stand and the latter, after some hesitation, gave battle on the advice of Saladin and some of the Amīrs; he succeeded in beating Amaury, while

Saladin put to flight the Caliph's troops. Shīrkūh was not in a position to follow up this victory; he retired with Saladin to Alexandria and left the latter there with half his army while he himself went to Upper Egypt to collect tribute. This was Saladin's first independent command. Amaury advanced on Alexandria with his own and the Egyptian forces, while the fleet of the Crusaders watched the coast. Saladin had difficulty in holding the town against the Franks, who put up huge siege artillery, and therefore called upon Shīrkūh for assistance. The latter returned by forced marches and never pitched his camp until he was before Cairo. He then entered into negotiations with Amaury for peace which was concluded in the middle of Shawwāl, 562 (beginning of August, 1167); he bound himself to return to Syria with Saladin, prisoners were exchanged, Saladin was received hospitably in Amaury's camp and the Christians visited Alexandria. Both sides claimed the victory; Amaury left a garrison in Cairo as well as an office for the collection of his tribute. The fear of Nūr al-Dīn's successes may have been the main reason for the conclusion of the treaty. Amaury did not keep the peace. His advisers induced him to invade Egypt only 14 months later and his garrisons in Alexandria and Cairo advised him to take possession of Egypt definitely He therefore advanced on Bilbā'īs, took the town on Muharram 29, 564 (Nov 2, 1168) and had nearly all its inhabitants put to death This act of barbarity estranged the Egyptians from him. He next marched against Cairo. To protect the town the vizier Shāwar had the suburb of al-Fusṭāṭ (cf. above i. 817 *sqq.*) set on fire It is said to have burned for 54 days and the smoke which it raised prevented Amaury from besieging Cairo from an advantageous position The Caliph had with all speed sent messengers for assistance to Nūr al-Dīn, while Shāwar negotiated with Amaury. Nūr al-Dīn sent Shīrkūh and with him Saladin, who was still impressed by the sufferings during the siege of Alexandria and only with reluctance decided to go. He was supplied with men, horses and arms. Amaury sought in vain to intercept Shīrkūh and on Rabī' II 1, 564 (Jan. 2, 1169) he began his retreat, a few days later Shīrkūh appeared before Cairo and was hailed as a rescuer, Shāwar, however, remained hostile to him and plotted to take him and his Amīrs prisoners on the occasion of a feast. When Shīrkūh and his men learned of this treachery, Saladin decided to get rid of him. He seized Shāwar when riding in the vicinity of Cairo and had him executed. The Caliph, delighted at being freed from his tyrannical vizier, appointed Shīrkūh his successor on Rabī' II 17, 564 (Jan 18, 1169). But Shīrkūh died only two months later and the Caliph, who thought that Saladin, owing to his good nature, would be a complacent servant, appointed him vizier with the title "al-Malik al-Nāṣir" (March, 26 = Djumādā II, 25) In a letter of congratulation Nūr al-Dīn recognised him as commander of the Syrian troops. Henceforth the greatness of Saladin is revealed. The power, that had become his through favourable circumstances, found a highly gifted man who knew how to use it. If he had hitherto hesitated to devote his life to warfare, so that Nūr al-Dīn had almost to force him to take part in the campaigns against Egypt, if he had hitherto cared for nothing so much as theological discussions and appeared in public as little as possible, as we saw, and had even indulged in forbidden wine, all this either ceased (like wine-drinking) or (like the theological discussions) was only exercised as a pastime in hours of recreation. His path lay clearly marked before him: to secure power for himself and his family, to put down the Shī'a and to fight the Crusaders to the utmost. He was able to attain these aims to a great degree, because, quite apart from his own ability and valour, the ground was prepared for him. But for the previous work of Nūr al-Dīn, and the diplomatic ability of his father Ayyūb, but for the decline of the Fāṭimid Caliphs and the sluggishness of the Egyptian people, but for the internal feuds of the Crusaders, he could never have achieved the great successes of his life to the same extent, in view of the initial lack of unity among the Muslim rulers He was a politician rather than a general, amenable to the advice of capable advisers, clever and fortunate in the choice of his colleagues, without ever allowing power to leave his own hands. Two men of learning, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [q.v.] and later 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [q v.], both noted for the style and grace of their correspondence, conducted his cabinet as viziers and were in constant correspondence with the highest officials and with rulers who were Saladin's friends. The number of Saladin's letters and the fulness of the political reports contained in them is overwhelming. At a later date, from 584 (1188), the Kādī Ibn Shaddād [q. v], his biographer, entered his service as private secretary

In Egypt, Saladin took a firm grasp of the reins of government and aroused the enmity of the black guards (Nubians and Abyssinians) who had been brought to Cairo as mercenaries, had risen to power under the weak Caliphs and filled influential positions at court and in the government. They were joined by all, who, being ardent Shī'īs, were predisposed to be dissatisfied with Saladin as a Sunnī. The Caliph's major-domo sent to king Amaury for help, but as the messenger was captured, the plan fell through The eunuch was executed and the Caliph's palace placed under the protection of men who could be relied upon. The negro guards thereupon mutinied in Cairo and Saladin to overcome them had their quarters burned down. They escaped to Djīze and were there wiped out by Saladin's troops The Franks, who could not reconcile themselves to his rule, as they with good reason regarded it as a threat to Jerusalem, had sent envoys urgently begging for assistance to France, Germany, England, the Byzantine Emperor and the Pope and had succeeded in getting a fleet with troops sent from Constantinople and an auxiliary force from South Italy. The Byzantines and the Franks decided by mutual agreement to capture Damietta [q. v.] first and then to march on Cairo. Saladin sought assistance from Nūr al-Dīn, as he had to defend himself on one side against the Franks and Byzantines, on the other possibly against the always turbulent Egyptians. He also asked that the reinforcements should be sent under the command of his father, just as he had already called other members of his family to his side in Cairo. The successes of the Franks and Byzantines would perhaps have been greater if the siege had not been too far prolonged by the energy of the defenders. The Byzantine army began to suffer from shortness of commissariat and Amaury, doubting if he could gain a complete victory, preferred t

negotiate with Saladin and to conclude peace for a considerable sum of money. Envy and fear may have worked together upon him. In the meanwhile Nūr al-Dīn had invaded the Ḥawrān [q. v.] and prepared himself against the counter-attacks of the Franks, but a terrible earthquake in the summer of 565 (1170) which wrought tremendous devastation in the Syrian cities forced Franks and Muslims alike to lay down their arms and take up the task of rebuilding the shattered cities. In the following year (566) Saladin made a raid into Palestine and advanced as far as Ramla and ʿAsḳalān [q. v.], then retired to Egypt to prepare for the taking of the port of Aila [q.v.] on the Red Sea and gradually to secure communications between Egypt and Palestine, in the same year he succeeded in taking Aila. In the next year (567) he fulfilled Nūr al-Dīn's desire by omitting the mention of the Fāṭimid Caliph in the Friday ṣalāt and continuing to name the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid died, whether of a natural death is uncertain, Christian writers say that he either committed suicide or was put to death by Saladin's brother, Tūrān Shāh, by the former's orders. Nūr al-Dīn is said to have been very pleased at the end of Fāṭimid rule When the news of the extension of his territory was conveyed to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph he sent robes of honour to Nūr al-Dīn but not those befitting the latter's position (as a suzerain), so that, although he did put them on, he immediately sent them on by the Caliph's envoy to Saladin.

The relations between Saladin and Nūr al-Dīn were soon to become clouded. Saladin in Cairo was too independent for him; his father and his brothers were with him so that Nūr al-Dīn had no hostages in his power When Saladin wanted to take up his scheme for securing the communications between Egypt and Palestine, he proposed to Nūr al-Dīn to besiege Shawbak and Kerak [q.v.] and set out to do so, but when Nūr al-Dīn departed for Kerak Saladin was advised by his Amīrs not to go to him as they feared for his safety. Taking their advice, he turned back and excused himself by pleading the unsettled condition of Egypt Nūr al-Dīn was furious at this and collected troops against Saladin. When this became known at Saladin's court, a section of his Amīrs advised him to fight, but his father, who feared the great prestige of Nūr al-Dīn, advised him to write a submissive letter so that tolerable conditions were once more restored. But their mutual mistrust was not overcome, so that the two cities mentioned (Kerak and Shawbak) were not captured, nor did Saladin at this time support his suzerain against the Crusaders to the best of his ability. In the next year Saladin went to Kerak, but withdrew again, pleading his father's illness, when Nūr al-Dīn approached. In this difficult situation Saladin resolved to create a position of security for himself and his family in a way which would satisfy Nūr al-Dīn. In 569 (1173/4) he sent his brother Tūrān Shāh against the sectarian ʿAbd al-Nabī, who had taken possession of the Yemen. Tūrān Shāh succeeded in driving him out and conquering the Yemen He had himself mentioned in the *ḵhuṭba* as ruler next to the Caliph and sent messengers to Saladin, who in turn notified Nūr al-Dīn and the Caliph. Nevertheless Saladin's position was still threatened, especially as he had again to face a rising in the spring of this year. Nūr al-Dīn now decided to take the field against him, especially as it vexed him that the strength of the Crusaders was increased because Saladin held back. He had already collected an army (see AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ, the Zangid) when he was attacked by a severe illness in Damascus and died in a few days on the 11th of Shawwāl (May 15). Saladin was thus relieved of a great anxiety and was now free to develop his power. He then recognised Nūr al-Dīn's eleven-year-old son al-Malik al-Ṣālih Ismāʿīl (see AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ, the Zangid) and devoted himself to fighting the Normans of Sicily, who had appeared before Alexandria with a strong fleet at the end of the year 569 (1173/4). They landed their crews but within three days they were defeated and for the most part killed with the help of troops sent to reinforce the strong garrison. Saladin captured enormous booty. King Amaury also had died shortly before, so that Saladin was left secure in possession of vast power and could devote himself entirely to the object of his life, the struggle with the Crusaders. He began by turning his attention to Syria, to which he was summoned by the Amīrs in Damascus in 570 (1174). He found the position there unsatisfactory in as much as there was no single guiding will among the Muslims He rightly considered it, as Nūr al-Dīn had done before him in a similar situation (see BŪRIDS), absolutely necessary to gain the real power in Syria, even if for the time being it was as vassal of Ṣālih Ismāʿīl, whose guardian he endeavoured to become. Things went against him at first when he took the field against Ismāʿīl's Amīrs from whom he claimed to be going to liberate Ismāʿīl. Aleppo itself resisted him as did Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Baʿalbek. Ismaʿīl's uncle al-Ghāzī came from Mesopotamia with a large army so that Saladin was ready to make a peace favourable to Sālih Ismāʿīl. As his conditions were not accepted, Saladin found himself forced to fight. He declared himself independent and dropped Sālih Ismāʿīl's name from the *ḵhuṭba* The decision was in his favour, for the enemy were completely defeated at Ḳurūn Ḥamā. Saladin behaved with great moderation: he left Ṣālih Ismāʿīl, who seemed quite harmless to him, in possession of Aleppo and gave Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Baʿalbek, which surrendered to him without a blow, to relatives as fiefs. Then, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 570 = May, 1175) he was, at his own request, granted by the Caliph rule (*bi 'l-saltana*) over Egypt, Nubia, the Yemen, the Maghrib from Egypt to Tripolis, Palestine and Central Syria and henceforth considered himself as *Sulṭān*, as Abu 'l-Fidāʾ expressly mentions, and was also regarded as such by his contemporaries. He did not, however, adopt the title as such; he calls himself *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn*. A last attempt by the Zangid party to overthrow Saladin ended after several battles and a third siege of Aleppo with a peace towards the end of 571 (end of June, 1176) by which Saladin was finally left in possession of the lands conquered by him. He next besieged in his citadel an ally of Ismāʿīl's, the so-called Old Man of the Mountain, the Shaikh Sinān of the Assassins [q. v.] in Masyad, who had sent his Assassins against him several times; but he could not take it as the fanatical Assassins defended it vigorously. He raised the siege and received from Sinān a promise that he would not attack him again. This danger also was thus disposed of and Saladin returned to Egypt.

He considered the building of the Citadel, which

he began in this year, a very important task in Cairo (see the art. CAIRO, i. 824 *sqq*). In Djumādā I, 573 (November, 1177) he suddenly made a rapid march into Palestine and laid waste the country round Gaza and Ascalon. King Baldwin IV opposed him but had to withdraw in face of Saladin's apparent superiority. Saladin's troops thereupon dispersed to plunder the country while Baldwin collected the Templars and many Knights under the leadership of Raynald of Kerak and again appeared upon the scene. Saladin had first of all to collect his numerous forces. The armies met to the south of Ramla. The Knights distinguished themselves by great bravery so that Saladin suffered an annihilating defeat on the 1st of Djumādā II, 573 (1177) in spite of his superiority. The victory was so surprising that the Crusaders ascribed it to a miracle. Saladin himself is said narrowly to have escaped capture; his nephew, other leaders and learned men of his retinue were taken prisoners. A great thanksgiving was held in Jerusalem in honour of the victory One consequence of this defeat was that in the next year (574 = 1178) King Baldwin built a fortress at the Banāt Yaʿkūb bridge over the Jordan, which gave him control over the river Jordan and the plain as far as Bāniyās, without Saladin being able to prevent him Saladin, who had in vain offered the king an indemnity of 100,000 dīnārs if he would leave off building, had to attack this fortress. He sent his ablest general, ʿIzz al-Dīn Farukh-Shāh, his nephew, against Baldwin, who suffered a reverse at the end of 574 (May, 1179) A year later, Saladin succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon him at Marḏj ʿAyūn on Muharram 2, 575 (June 10, 1179), a large number of distinguished Franks were captured. Two months later Saladin took the fortress at Jacob's Ford and levelled it to the ground. The next year brought no fighting on a large scale. In Muharram, 576 (June, 1180) Baldwin concluded a two years' truce with Saladin. Next year Nūr al-Dīn's son, Ismāʿīl of Aleppo, died. His successor, in keeping with his dying wish, was his cousin ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd, a capable soldier, who, however, exchanged Aleppo for Sinḏjār with his brother Zangī II to obtain a consolidated dominion. In the meanwhile war had broken out between Saladin and the Franks as a result of the continued raids made by Raynald de Châtillon, prince of Kerak, on caravans going to Egypt. Zangī II, on the other hand, made peace with the Franks. Saladin, however, endeavoured to obtain sole control of the Muslim lands and used the next few years to conquer the rest of Syria (Aleppo), in Safar, 579 (June, 1183), and to gain the suzerainty of Mesopotamia by occupying the most important towns and restoring them as fiefs. While there was no lasting peace with the Crusaders, fighting on a large scale was avoided by both sides and in the same year a four years' peace was concluded between Baldwin V, guardian of Raymond III of Tripolis, and Saladin. Soon afterwards Baldwin V died and his successor, Guy de Lusignan, ascended the throne in the following year in spite of Raymond's objections. Peace was again disturbed by Raynald de Châtillon, who from Kerak fell upon a large caravan and refused to give any satisfaction or compensation. Saladin was exceedingly angry and at the end of 582 (Feb., 1187) invaded the region of Kerak and summoned his Egyptian troops to protect the pilgrims returning from Mekka, while his Syrian troops concentrated at Ḥārim. The Crusaders recognised the terrible danger. Guy made peace with Raymond, troops arrived from all sides so that Guy was able to collect an army of 20,000 men and take up a position in Ṣaffūrīya. On Rabīʿ II 17, 583 (June 26, 1187) Saladin arrived south of Lake Genezareth and captured the town of Tiberias after six days' siege; the citadel alone held out. Raymond in vain warned the Crusaders against leaving their well sheltered position with its ample water supply during the frightful heat. His enemies, who believed that he had come to an arrangement with Saladin, advised the king to attack the Sulṭān. He ordered an advance to be made towards Tiberias and encamped the night at Ḥaṭṭīn [q. v.] where the army did not even find sufficient water. In spite of very great bravery the Crusaders were completely defeated, the king and a considerable number of his Knights captured. While Saladin gave the king a friendly reception, he slew with his own hand Raynald, the disturber of the peace, and had all the Templars and Knights of St. John executed by his Amīrs and Kādis. Just as the battle of Kurūn Ḥamā had secured him rule over Syria, the decisive battle of Ḥaṭṭīn gave him Palestine with Jerusalem. The fortress of Tiberias, Nazareth, Samaria, Sidon, Beirut, Batrūn, ʿAkkā [q. v.], Ramla, Gaza and Hebron fell He then advanced on Jerusalem and took Bethlehem, Bethania and the Mount of Olives in Radjab, 583 (Sept., 1187) Saladin first of all encamped to the west of the town, the inhabitants of which defended themselves bravely, but when he attacked the city from a more favourable position in the north and used the catapults and ballistas it had to capitulate at the end of the month. People of means were able to ransom themselves; those who could not pay were sold into slavery but several thousands were released on the intercession of Muslim and Christian persons of standing as were a large number of the poor by Saladin himself. Only a few sick people were allowed to stay as well as those who pledged themselves to pay a poll-tax. Everything associated with the Christian religion was destroyed, the Ḳubbat al-Sakhra (Dome of the Rock) and the Aḳṣā mosque were restored and hospitals and schools built in memory of the great event, numerous Ayyūbid princes increased the splendour of these days by their presence and their rich foundations. It may be said that the whole of Islām joined in celebrating the capture of Jerusalem, which had been so ardently desired. The consequence of this victory was that Saladin gained possession of the cities and fortresses still Christian by force or by capitulation; only Antioch, Tripolis, Tyre and a number of smaller towns and castles remained in possession of the Christians. The remainder of the year was unfortunate for Saladin; he made the mistake of giving his weak, overtired army no time to recuperate but went on to besiege Tyre. Here he suffered a severe reverse owing to the brave defence of the garrison and his mishaps at sea. ʿAkkā was rebuilt and fortified for him after long consultations by his Amīr Ḳaraḳush [q. v.], who had already proved his worth by building the citadel of Cairo. Saladin, after a futile attempt to take Kawkab, then went to Damascus and in Rabīʿ II, 584 (June, 1188) he summoned the

Muslim princes of Syria and Mesopotamia with their troops for a new campaign. In the course of the fighting that followed Lādhiḳīya, Djabala [q. v.], Ṣahyūn, Sarmīn and Burzīya were captured and a seven months' truce was concluded with Bohemund III of Antioch. Saladin on the 1st of Ramaḍān of the same year returned to Damascus and dismissed his allies from Mesopotamia but kept his own forces under arms in order to conquer Ṣafad [q v.], Kawkāb, Kerak and Shawbak. This campaign was long but successful and ended on the 1st of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, 585 (Dec. 11, 1189) with the capture of all these places.

On learning of the capture of Jerusalem Gregory VIII proclaimed a Crusade and after his death Clement III continued his efforts. All hostilities between European rulers ceased and steps were taken to secure a rapprochement between Philip II of France and Richard I of England. The first reinforcement sent by the new Crusaders was a fleet despatched by William of Sicily, which relieved Tripolis and henceforth formed a support for the Palestine seaports. Gradually larger and smaller bodies set out from Europe for the Holy Land and all landed in Tyre The Emperor Frederick I undertook a Crusade with numerous, well equipped troops, he went via Constantinople after he had in vain challenged Saladin to hand over Jerusalem. The Emperor Isaac of Constantinople, who had made an alliance with Saladin which proved ineffective, could not prevent his passage The Franks, reinforced by the continued new arrivals, began the siege of 'Akkā on Radjab 14, 585 (Aug. 28, 1189), which is considered one of the greatest military operations of the Middle Ages King Guy de Lusignan and the Count of Montferrat, who had been taken prisoners at the taking of Jerusalem, had been released by Saladin at the request of Queen Sibyl as early as Djumādā I, 584 (July, 1188) on pledging themselves not to fight again against him, after having been released from their oath by the patriarch, they began the siege of 'Akkā relying on the help of Frederick I of Germany, Richard I of England and Philip II of France and supported at first by continual arrivals of Crusaders from many countries of Europe Saladin's energy was now revealed in its fullest development and in this several years' struggle the Crusaders learned to know and appreciate the great Sultān.

King Guy led the Franks up to 'Akkā after two months' preparations and Saladin arrived next day. The struggle for the city was waged by land and sea. The Crusaders had the advantage that the garrison was almost always cut off from the sea and suffered from lack of food. Besides, although the Crusaders at 'Akkā were joined by only very few German Knights owing to the death of Frederick I, they were given a decided superiority over the Saracens by the arrival of the army of Philip and more particularly that of Richard I and by the regular arrivals of ships with food and soldiers. They also had very fine siege artillery while the Muslims on their side had very clever artificers to make their fire-bombs. Saladin had the advantage of the single command, although his army was weakened by the long years of war so that even the relief of the garrison in 'Akkā could not be of much avail to him and his own army finally mutinied. The Crusaders were hampered by their quarrels with one another and the rivalries of King Guy and the Count of Montferrat as well as those of Richard and Philip. The succeeding years were full of fighting by land and sea. Saladin in vain endeavoured to get new forces from the East through the intervention of the Caliph On the 7th of Djumādā II, 587 (July 12, 1191) the garrison capitulated of its own accord without waiting for Saladin's decision. The fortress and all the prisoners in it were to be handed over and the garrison released on payment of 200,000 pieces of gold. When the money had not been paid at the end of a month, Richard had 3,000 prisoners put to death. This cruel deed, which was condemned by Christian chroniclers also, resulted in all the Christian prisoners in the hands of the Muslims being slaughtered. Richard soon afterwards captured Kaisārīya [q. v] and fortified Jaffa, while Saladin destroyed the fortress of Ramla. Negotiations for peace henceforth went on almost without interruption between the two combatant parties; the principal agent in them was Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil. The principal demands were the cession of Jerusalem and the surrender of the Holy Cross; Richard, who was full of romantic ideas, afterwards proposed that his sister should marry 'Ādil, who was to rule over Jerusalem; he followed a policy of reconciliation which gradually led to peace He knighted al-Malik al-Kāmil [q. v.], 'Ādil's son. After several more battles peace was concluded on Sha'bān 23, 588 (Nov. 2, 1192). Lydda and Ramla were divided, Ascalon razed to the ground and the Crusaders allowed to make pilgrimage to the Holy Places unarmed. The main cause of the conclusion of peace on Richard's side was his illness and his desire to return to England, as well as the cessation of reinforcements from Europe. In spite of the exertions of the whole of Europe the greater part of Palestine had become Muslim under Saladin, except for the strip along the coast, and communication between Palestine and Egypt secured, Saladin was on friendly terms with Bohemund of Antioch Saladin was able to enjoy peace during the few months that he still had to live; he strengthened Jerusalem, then went leisurely to Damascus, where he was welcomed with rejoicings by the people towards the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da (end of November) He spent the winter there with his family; he fell ill in Safar, 589 (February, 1193) and died 14 days later at the age of 55. His eldest son received Damascus, his second Aleppo, another Egypt and his brother 'Ādil North Arabia and Mesopotamia. The unity of his dominion disappeared within a few years after his death. It is not likely that, even if he had lived longer, he could have induced his family to come to an intelligent arrangement. During his lifetime, however, he hardly ever had to fight against one of his own family His authority, based on his ability, kindness and piety, could not be assailed. Covetousness was remote from his character; twice — at the death of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-'Āḍid and at the death of the Atābeg Nūr al-Dīn — he had an opportunity to acquire great wealth. He distributed the Caliph's treasures to his troops and retainers and did not touch Nūr al-Dīn's wealth but gave it to his son. He was fanatical against the Crusaders as a body but not as individuals and not against the subjected Christians of his empire, although when he came to the throne he at first enforced more strictly the regulations regarding dress for Christians and Jews. He followed

the same course as Nūr al-Dīn and may (see the art. AIYŪBIDS) be claimed as a champion of the Sunnī reaction against Shī'ī (Persian) fashion in architecture, style and writing of official documents. In the last years of his reign the personal relations between Muslims and Christians were good; it appears that some Muslims were actually knighted by Richard, e.g. al-Malik al-Kāmil, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil. Saladin was beloved and respected by his people and with Sulṭān Baibars [q. v.] and Hārūn al-Rashīd [q. v.] is to this day the most popular figure in the East In Europe he is considered the pattern of chivalry and, as a matter of fact, he never was unnecessarily cruel but was often magnanimous in releasing prisoners and bestowing gifts (e. g. the citadel of 'Azāz to the young sister of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, several villages to Bohemund of Antioch after the peace with Richard I). The Arabs have with only one exception (a chapter in the romance of Baibars) not given Saladin a place in ballad or romance, whereas very soon after his death he touched the fancy of English minstrels in connection with Richard, although they depicted him in an unfavourable light, in the poetry of the French and Italians he is described more favourably. Modern novelists like Scott in his *Talisman* and Lessing in his *Nathan der Weise* have introduced him into their works, to the former he is a vigorous Oriental ruler while the latter depicts him with as fine feelings as a European He was a friend of theological learning, a patron of scholars and a builder on a grand scale as he showed in the Citadel of Cairo and in the restoration of the buildings in Jerusalem.

The epigraphical materials concerning S. have been treated in a detailed study by G Wiet, *Les Inscriptions de Saladin* (*Syria*, iii 307—328)

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SALAF (A.) or SALAM (A). is regarded by law as a permissible purchase (*bai'*). The purchaser in this case has to pay the purchase money in advance while the seller, on the other hand, is only required to deliver the article purchased after the expiry of a definite period. That which is sold must be a thing which can be replaced, not simply mentioned by kind but accurately described in the contract. The place where delivery is to be made must also be exactly defined. According to the Shāfi'ī school it is not necessary to define the date of delivery expressly in the contract, if this has not been done, delivery can be demanded immediately. In the view of the other *Fiḳh*-schools, however, it is absolutely essential to state a short period at least for delivery. The *faḳīh*'s in the Ḥiḏjāz usually called this kind of purchase *salam* but in the 'Irāḳ the name *salaf* was usual.

Bibliography al-Bāḏjūrī, *Ḥāshiya, 'alā Sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī*, Būlāḳ 1307, i. 365 *sqq*. and other Fiḳh-books; al-Dimashḳī, *Rahmat al-Umma fi 'khtilāf al-A'imma*, Būlāḳ 1300, p 74 *sqq*.; E. Sachau, *Muḥamm. Recht nach schafi'itischer Lehre*, p. 301 *sqq*.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL)

SALĀM (A.), verbal noun from *salima*, "to be well, uninjured", used as substantive in the meaning of "peace, health, salutation, greeting", on the statements of the older Arab lexicographers see the *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv. 181—183, passim.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Ḳor'ān, especially in the Sūras, which are attributed to the second and third Mekkan periods. The oldest passage that contains *salām* is Sūra xcvii. 5, where it is said of the *Lailat al-Ḳadr*. "It is peace until the coming of the dawn". *Salām* is also to be taken in this meaning in Ḳor'ān l. 33, xv. 46, xxi. 69, xi. 50. *Salām* means peace in this world as well as in the next. In the latter meaning we find it used in the expression *Dār al-Salām*, "the abode of bliss" for Paradise (Sūra x. 26, vi. 127). In the Medīna verse v. 18 which is addressed to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* we find the expression *Subul al-Salām*, the paths of bliss (cf. Isaiah, lix. 8: *Darak Shālōm*).

But *salām* is most frequently used in the Ḳor'ān as a form of salutation. Thus in Sūra lvi. 90 (first Mekkan period) the people of the right hand are greeted by their companions in bliss with *Salāmun laka* "Peace be upon thee" (according to al-Baiḍāwī;

for other explanations see the *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 184, 8 *sqq.*; and the art. ALLĀH). *Salām* (Sūra xxxvi. 58, xiv. 28, x. 10, xxxiii. 43) or *Salām ᶜalaikum* (xvi. 34, xxxix. 73, xiii. 24) is the greeting which is given the blessed in Paradise or on entering Paradise (cf. also xxv. 75); *Salāmᵃⁿ salāmᵃⁿ* in Sūra lvi. 25 (other reading *Salāmᵘⁿ salāmᵘⁿ*; cf. xix. 63) is presumably also intended as an auspicious exclamation (other interpretations in al-Baiḍāwī) Those on the Aᶜrāf [q. v.] call to the dwellers in Paradise *salām ᶜalaikum* (vii. 44). *Salām* is also the greeting of the guests of Ibrāhīm and his reply (li. 25, xi. 72; cf. xv. 52). Ibrāhīm takes leave with *Salām ᶜalaika* (xix. 48) from his father, who threatens him. In Sūra xx. 49 Mūsā in his address to Firᶜawn is made to use the expression *al-salām ᶜalā man ittabaᶜa 'l-Hudā* "peace be upon him who follows the righ guidance". According to the first explanation in al-Baiḍāwī, *al-salām* here means the greeting of the angels and guardians of Paradise; but as these words are not at the beginning of the speech, an other interpretation prefers to consider it as an affirmative sentence and to take *salām* as "security from Allāh's wrath and punishment" (cf. al-Baiḍāwī on the passage and the *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 183, 7 *sq*). *Salām ᶜalaikum* "peace be upon you" is found in Sūra vi 54 at the beginning of the message which the Prophet has to deliver to the believers and in Sūra xxvii. 60 a *salām* is uttered over Allāh's chosen servants As a benediction *salām* is also used repeatedly in Sūra xxxvii, where at the end of the mention of each prophet a *salām* is uttered over him (verses 77, 109, 120, 130, 181, cf. also xix. 15, 34). *Salām* may be used in an ironical sense in Sūra xliii. 89 at parting from the unbelievers and *salām ᶜalaikum* in Sūra xxviii. 55 (other interpretations in al-Baiḍāwī) This might perhaps hold of *salāmᵃⁿ*, Sūra xxv 64, also, with which the servants of the Merciful reply to the ignorant (*ǧāhilūn*), but the commentators take it in the sense of *tasallumᵃⁿ or barā'atᵃⁿ*. In Sūra lix 23 (Medinese) *al-salām* occurs as one of the names of Allāh, which al-Baiḍāwī interprets as *maṣdar* used as *ṣifa* in the meaning of "the Faultless" (for other explanations cf. *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 182, 7 *sqq.*, 20 *sqq.*). *Al-Salām* in the expressions *Dār al-Salām* and *Subul al-Salām* is therefore also interpreted as a name of Allāh (cf. al-Baiḍāwī on Sūra vi. 127, x. 26, v. 18, *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 182, 2 *sq.*). The word has even been taken to mean Allāh in the formula *al-salām ᶜalaikum* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib* on Sūra vi. 54, Cairo 1278, iii. 54, 21 *sq.*; *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 182, 8 *sq.*). It is improbable that the greeting is intended in *alḳā 'l-salāma* in Sūra iv. 96; another reading is *al-salama* as in the similar expression in iv. 92, 93, xvi. 30, 89.

The denominative verb *sallama* is first found in the Medina chapters, namely Sūra xxxiii. 56, where it is recommended to utter *ṣalāt* [q. v.] and *salām* over the Prophet, and in xxiv. 27, 61 (see below).

At quite an early period the view became established among the Muslims that the *salām* greeting was an Islāmic institution. This is, however, only correct in so far as the Ḳor'ān recommends the use of this greeting in a late Mekkan passage and in two Medīna passages: in vi. 54 it is commanded to the Prophet: "If those come to you who believe in Our signs say: "Peace be upon you" (*Salāmᵘⁿ ᶜalaikum*). Your Lord hath laid down a law of mercy for himself"; and in xxiv. 27: "O ye believers, enter not into dwellings" which are not your own before ye have asked leave and said *salām* (*wa-tusallimū*) on its inhabitants etc.; similarly xxiv. 61: "If ye enter dwellings, say *salām* upon one another (*fasallimū*) etc. (cf. a similar prescription Matth., x. 12, Luk., x. 5), iv. 88, where the more general expression for greeting (*ḥayyā*) is used, is also referred to the *salām* salutation. But Goldziher has pointed out (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlvi. 22 *sq*) and quoted passages from poets in support of the view that *salām* was already in use as a greeting before Islām. The corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic expressions *Shālōm leḵā*, *Shelām lāḵ* (*leḵōn*), *Shelāmā ᶜalāḵ*, which go back to Old Testament usage (cf. Judges, xix. 20, 2 Sam., xviii 28, Dan., x. 19, 1 Chr., xii. 19), were also in use as greetings among the Jews and Christians (cf. Dalman, *Gramm. d. jud.-palastin. Aramaisch*², Leipzig 1905, p. 244), according to *Talmūd Yᵉrushalmī*, *Shebiᶜiṯ*, iv. 35ᵇ, *Shālōm ᶜalēkim* was Israel's greeting. Cf. also Peshitta Mt., x. 12, xxvi 49, Luk., x 5, xxiv 36, Joh., xx. 19, 21, 26, and Payne Smith, *Thes. Syriacus*, col. 4189 *sq.*) A very great number of Nabataean inscriptions further show the use of *sh-l-m* to express good wishes in North-west Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula (*C. I. S.*, II, *Inscriptiones Aramaeae*, i N⁰. 288 *sqq*, twice repeated in N⁰. 244, 339, thrice repeated in N⁰. 302) and the Arabic *s-l-m* frequently occurs in the Safaite inscriptions as a benedictive term. Cf. E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der Ṣafâ-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1901, p 47, 52 *sq*, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70; do., *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York–London 1905, Safaitic Inscr., N⁰. 5, 8, 12, 15, 69, 128, 134.

If the line *salāmaka rabbanā fī kulli faǧrin* quoted in the *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, xv. 183, 5 from below, were genuine and really by Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory use of the *salām* formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lidzbarski's suggestion (*Ztschr. fur Semitistik*, i. 85 *sqq*) that *salām* reproduces the idea expressed by *σωτηρία* need not be discussed here but his explanation of *Islām* as the infinitive of a denominative verb *aslama* formed from *salām*-*σωτηρία* ("to enter into the state .... of *salām*"), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Ḳor'ān as *aslama waǧhahu li 'llāh*-*aslama li-Rabb al-ᶜālamīn* etc.

Muḥammad must have placed a high religious value on the *salām* formula as he considered it the greeting given by the angels to the blessed and used it as an auspicious salutation on the prophets who had preceded him. A *salām*, like that in the *tashahhud* (see below) or like the salutation of peace which closes the *ṣalāt* and has its parallel in the Jewish *tephillā* (cf. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islam. Gebets u. Kultus* in the *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, ph.-h. Kl., 1913, N⁰. 2, p. 18), may have been from the first an essential feature of the ritual of divine service. According to a tradition (al-Bukhārī, *al-Isti'dhān*, bāb 3, *al-Adhān*, bāb 148, 150), originally they uttered the *salām* at the close of the ṣalāt on Allāh, on Ǧibrīl, Mīkā'īl and other angels. With the

remark that Allāh is himself the *salām* (cf. Ḳor²ān, lix. 23) the Prophet disapproved of this and laid down what should be said in the *tashahhud* [q.v.]; the *salām* utterance belongs to it in the form given below. On varying traditions regarding the *tashahhud* see al-Shāfiʿī, *Kit. al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 103 *sqq.*; cf. also Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien* etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, l 102).

In the ritual of the *ṣalāt* as legally prescribed the benediction on Allāh and the *salām* on the Prophet, on the worshipper and those present and on Allāh's pious servants precede the confession of faith in the *tashahhud* (*al-salāmu ʿalaika, ayyuhā 'l-nabiyu, wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi wa-barakātuhu; al-salāmu ʿalainā wa-ʿalā ʿibādi 'llāhi 'l-ṣāliḥīna*). Among the compulsory ceremonies of the ṣalāt there is also at the end of it the *taslīmat al-ūlā*, the fuller form of which consists in the worshipper in a sitting position turning his head to right and left and saying each time *al-salāmu ʿalaikum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*. Cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī ʿalā matn Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1321, i. 168, 170;

The preference of the Ḳor²ān for the *salām* formula and its liturgical use may have contributed considerably to the fact that it soon became considered an exclusively Muslim greeting (*tahīyat al-islām*). As already mentioned above, the Ḳor²ān prescribes the *salām* on the Prophet to follow the *taṣliya*. Tradition reports that the latter endeavoured to introduce it. When ʿUmair b. Wahb was brought before him and gave him the pagan greeting (*anʿimū ṣabāḥan*), the Prophet said. "Allāh has given us a better greeting than thine, namely *al-salām*, the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 472 *infra sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1353, 10 *sqq.*) Those around him are also said to have been eager to introduce this greeting. Al-Wāḳidī relates that ʿUrwa b Masʿūd, who immediately after his conversion wanted to convert his own townsmen in Ṭa²if to Islām, called the attention of the Thaḳif, who saluted in the heathen fashion, to the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise, *al-Salām* (Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, v. 369, Sprenger, *Das Leben .... des Mohammad*, iii. 482, Goldziher, *Muh. Stud*, i. 264) According to Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Mughira b. Shuʿba instructed the deputation to Muḥammad from the Thaḳif how they were to salute the Prophet, but they would only use the greeting of the Djāhilīya (Ibn Hishām, p. 916, 5 *sqq.*; al-Ṭabarī, i 1290, 9 *sqq*, Sprenger, *op cit*, iii. 485; Goldziher, *loc. cit.*) The Jews are said to have distorted this greeting with respect to Muḥammad to *al-sām ʿalaika* "death to you", whereupon the Prophet answered *wa-ʿalaikum* "and to you" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān*, bāb 22, *al-Adab*, b. 38; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 206). According to Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 163, 15), Abū Dharr was the first to greet the Prophet with the Muslim greeting. In the same author (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 82, 2) we find *salām ʿalaikum* at the beginning of a letter from Muʿāwiya to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

The expressions which could be used were *salām* or *salām ʿalaikum* (*-ka*) or *al-salām ʿalaikum*. Umm Aiman is said to have used simply (*al-*)*salām* to the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, viii. 163, 7 *sq.*, 9 *sq*). In the Ḳor²ān the use of *salām ʿalaikum* preponderates Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī endeavours to explain that the indefinite form is preferable and expresses the conception of perfect greeting (*op. cit.*, ii. 500, 35 *sqq.*, iii. 512, 11 *sqq.*). Following him al-Shāfiʿī is said to have preferred *salāmun ʿalaika* in the *tashahhud* (*op. cit.*, iii. 512, 35); but the Shāfiʿī school also allows the definite form here (al-Bādjūrī, *op. cit.*, i. 168; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 12 *sq.*). The formula *al-salām ʿalaikum* was, however, much used as a greeting. This undetermined form is expressly prescribed in the *taslīma* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit*, ii. 501, 5; al-Bādjūrī, *op. cit*, i. 170; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182, 13 *sqq.*). As a return greeting *wa-ʿalaikum al-salām* became usual (for further details on this inversion see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit*, ii. 500, 29 *sqq.*, iii. 512, 21 *sqq*). According to Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, iv/i. 115, 19 *sq.*), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar replied with *salām ʿalaikum*.

According to some traditions, Muḥammad had described the expression *ʿalaika 'l-salām* as the salutation to the dead and insisted on being greeted with *al-salām ʿalaika* (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2395; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Athar*, Cairo 1311, ii. 176 below). The first named form of the greeting is actually found in elegiac verses (*op. cit*, ii. 177; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 182). But there are also traditions in which the Prophet greets the dead in the cemetery with an expression beginning with (*al-*)*salām* (al-Tabarī, iii. 2402, 10 *sqq*; Ibn al-Athīr and *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *loc. cit.*). ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar also on returning from a journey is said to have saluted the graves of the Prophet, of Abū Bakr and of his father with *al-salām ʿalaika* (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit*, iv/i. 115, 5 *sqq.*).

The *salām* formula was very early extended by the addition of the words *wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi* or *wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi wa-barakātuhu*. The first extension became used in the *taslīma* and the second in the *tashahhud* (cf. above) Applicating the Ḳor²ānic commandment (iv. 88: "when ye are saluted with a salutation, salute the person with a better than his or at least return it") it is recommended (*sunna*) in the return greeting to add the wish of blessing and benediction or occasionally, when replying to a simple *salām*, only the former (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Istiʾdhān*, bāb 16, 18, 19). If anyone is saluted with the threefold formula, he must reply with the same (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Sūra iv. 88, *op. cit*, ii 502, 14 *sqq*). According to Lane (*Manners and Customs*[3], i. 229, note), the threefold formula was very common as a return greeting in Egypt, cf. also Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*[2], Milan 1913, p 121. In Mekka it is comparatively rarely used, the reply usual there is *weʿalēkum es-salām war-raḥma (we-raḥmatu 'llāh* or *wal-ikrām)*; cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter u Redensarten*, The Hague 1886, p. 118. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii. 788, note) thinks that the longer form recalls the priest's blessing in Num., vi. 24—26. The application of *ʿalaikum* to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i. e. the person, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii 501, 19 *sqq*, cf. iii. 513, 17 *sqq.*).

At the conclusion of a letter the expresssion *wal-salāma* (*ʿalaika, -kum*) is often used, e g. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i./ii. 27, 17, 27, 28, 2, 5, 23, 29, 13, 21. Al-Ḥarīrī (*Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 208, 9 *sqq.*) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (*salāmun*), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used at the beginning. — *Wal-salām* has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

In keeping with Ḳor'ān xx. 48, it became usual to use the form *al-salāmᵘ ʿalā man ittabaʿa 'l-hudā* to non-Muslims when necessary (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, ii. 501, 26 *sqq.*, iv. 706, 19 *sq.*). It is found, for example, in letters ascribed to Muḥammad (al-Bukhārī, *al-Isti'dhān*, bāb 24; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i/ii. 28, 10 *sq.*; cf. line 6 there at the beginning of the letter *salāmᵘⁿ ʿalā man āmana*). Papyri of the year 91 (710) bear early testimony to its use (*Papyri Schott–Reinhardt*, i, ed. by C. H. Becker, Heidelberg 1906, i. N⁰. 29, ii. 40 *sq.*, iii. 87 *sq.*, x. 11, xi. 7, xviii. 9). A letter from Muḥammad to the Jews of Maḳnā concludes, however, with *wa 'l-salām* (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit*, i/ii. 28, 23); similarly a letter to the Christians in Aila (*ibid.*, p. 29, 12 *sq*) In Ḥadīth also a tendency is noticeable not to deny the *salām* greeting, at least as a reply, to unbelievers and the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *al-Tafsīr*², v. 111 *sq.*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*).

On the rules and limitations regarding salutation cf. the article TASLĪM.

Salām means also a *ṣalawāt* litany, which is pronounced from the minarets every Friday about half an hour before the beginning of the midday service before the *adhān*. This part of the liturgy is repeated inside the mosque before the beginning of the regular ceremonies by several people with good voices standing on a *dikka* (Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien*, etc. in the *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 103 *sq.*; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 117). The same name is given to the benedictions on the Prophet which are sung during the month of Ramadān about half an hour after midnight from the minarets (Lane, *op. cit*, ii. 264).

The auspicious formula *ʿalaihi 'l-salām*, which, according to the strictly orthodox opinion, like the *taṣliya*, should only follow the names of Prophets, but was more freely used in the earlier literature (cf. also al-Bukhārī, *al-Isti'dhān*, bāb 43 *Fāṭima ʿalaiha 'l-salām*), was used by the Shīʿa without limitation of ʿAlī and his descendants also (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, i. 121 *sqq.*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *op. cit*, iii. 511 *sqq*)

The Sunnī's of British India make a magical use of the so-called seven *salām*'s which refer to Sūra xxxvi. 58, xxxvii. 77, 109, 120, 130, xxxix 73, xcvii 5. In the morning of the festival of Ākhir-i Ćahār-shamba (see ĀKHIR) they write the seven *salām's* or have them written with saffron-water, ink, or rosewater on the leaf of a mango-tree or a sacred fig-tree, or of a plantain. They then wash off the writing in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (Djaʿfar Sharīf—Herklots. *Islam in India or the Qānūn-i Islām*, new ed by W. Crooke, London 1921, p. 186 *sq*).

On coins *salām* (sometimes abbreviated to *s*) means "of full weight, complete" (cf. J G. Stickel, *Das grossherz. Orient Munzcabinet zu Jena (Handb. d. Morgenl. Munzkunde)*, Leipzig 1845, i 43 *sq*; O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musulman Numismatics*, London 1904. p 10.

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SALAMA B. RADJĀ', governor of Egypt from Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 161 (August 30 to September 27, 778) until Muḥarram 162 (October 778).

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 492, 493; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vi. 38, 39; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, iii. Series Arabica, ed. A. Grohmann, i/ii. 119, 120. (A. GROHMANN)

SALĀMA B. DJANDAL, a poet of pre-islamic times, was a member of the clan al-Ḥārith, which belonged to the large division Saʿd al-Fizr of the tribe Tamīm. He is numbered among the excellent poets of the Djāhilīya of whom only few poems are preserved. He must have flourished during the second half of the sixth century of our era, as the most prominent event in his life recorded is about his brother Ahmar (sometimes misspelled Aḥmad) When ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, the chief of the tribe of Taghlib, made his raid south, Aḥmar was made a prisoner by ʿAmr, but released without ransom upon the petition of Salāma (*Dīwān* of ʿAmr, Introduction to poem N⁰. 2, *Aghānī*, ix. 183, 18). Whether there is an error on the part of Arab tradition is not certain, but in the *Dīwān* of Salāma we are told in the notes on poem N⁰ 8 (edition Cheikho) the same thing happened to Aḥmar with a certain Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAmr b Marthad. The latter probably belonged to the Ḳaisī clan of ʿAmr who resided as allies (*ḥulafā'*) among the tribe of Shaibān, or he may have belonged to the celebrated Yamanite family of Marthad. In his longest poem Salāma refers to the death of al-Nuʿmān, king of al-Ḥīra, who was trampled to death by elephants at the order of the Persian king Parwēz (*Dīwān*, N⁰. 3, v. 39, *Aṣmaʿiyāt*, N⁰. 53, v 39) Further the *Naḳā'id* of Djarīr and Farazdaḳ give two poems by Salāma, not in the *Dīwān*, in which he celebrates the victory of Djadūd, in which the clan of Minkar, also a division of Saʿd al-Fizr, defeated the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il These two events place the life-time of Salāma towards the end of the sixth century. The time of his death cannot be fixed, he did not live to the time of Islām and none of his descendants appear to be named in the biographies of early Muslims.

Cheikho is mistaken when he assumes that Salāma is identical with the renowned chief Salmā b Djandal b. Nahshal, the latter being of the clan Nahshal b Dārim and related to Mudjāshiʿ, the ancestor of the poet al-Farazdaḳ. Salāma is reputed to excel in the description of horses. His collected poems have come down to us in two old manuscripts, which were edited by Cheikho in 1920. This *Dīwān* contains only nine poems or fragments of such, 135 verses in all, to which the editor has added a further 36 verses collected from various sources and to which I can add only one verse quoted in the *Kitāb al-ʿAin* (ed Baghdād), p. 108. We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of most of the verses. The poet speaks in them of departed youth which unfortunately is no guide to his age, as such statements belong to the ordinary phraseology of such poems. That he mentions Allāh (N⁰. 1, v. 12) I should not take as a sign of later interpolation, as I believe that before Muḥammad some form of monotheism through the influence of Christianity and Judaism was widespread in Arabia, though the form al-Ilāh is probably the correct form in earlier times. He mentions swords of Buṣrā and al-Madā'in, which are seldom or never mentioned in verses of later times, as swords were no longer obtained from there. That he mentions writing or even inkstands and parchment (N⁰.

, v. 2) is not at all strange as these things were nore widely known than is generally admitted His poetry has otherwise the stamp of what is alled Bedouin poetry, a rather unfortunate designation as it gives a wrong impression (cf. the rt. SHĀʿIR). The text of the *Dīwān* is a combination of the Baṣrian (Aṣmaʿī) and the Kūfic Abū ʿAmr al-Shaibānī) school, of whom the latter vill generally be found more reliable, but unortunately the recensions are not kept apart in his case to discern any differences. It would be wrong to assume that they collected the poems; heir work was the commenting of the text which hey found handed down by earlier scholars. The dition by Cl. Huart (*J. A.*, 1910) is superseded by that of Cheikho (Beyrouth 1920), which contains all that is known about Salāma

Bibliography *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, N°. 22, text and translation; ed. Cairo, i. 54; ed. Thorbecke, N°. 20; *Aṣmaʿīyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, N°. 53, Muḥammad b. Sallām, ed Hel- (Leiden 1916), p. 36, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. 147—148, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed de Goeje, p. 147; Poètes Chrétiens, ed. Cheikho, p. 486—491. Verses of Salāma are cited in most books dealing with ancient Arabic poetry e. g. in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* 40 times.

(F KRENKOW)

SALAMANCA, the capital of the Spanish province of Salamanca, on the right bank of the river Tormes, 172 miles by rail N.W. of Madrid, with a population of 25,690 (1900). In the Roman period the city was constituted a military station, being the ninth on the Via Lata, which was the great highway of Spain, running from Merida to Saragossa. Trajan built a magnificent bridge there, the original piers of which still exist. Like the rest of Spain the city suffered from the Gothic invasion.

It was a greater change for the city, when Mūsā, the governor of Africa, appeared with 8,000 picked men in Southern Spain (712), and began a methodical campaign in the Peninsula. Capturing Seville, Carmona and Merida, he covered the road that many a Roman legion had tramped before him, until he came before Salamanca. The city, which once had all the dignity and defiance of a Roman fort, offered but a poor resistance to the Muslim warriors But although the district was now in the hands of foreigners, the inhabitants found their masters not impossible tyrants. If they paid their tax, and followed their faith, without unduly propagating it, their lives and their property were safe. Indeed, they soon found that a new intellectual life had come to the city, and they had to bow before the classical and oriental learning of the invaders. It is by no mere chance that Salamanca boasts of the oldest and largest university in Spain. Its foundations were laid by the unpromising pioneers of Islām.

Ibn al-Athīr states that in May 757 A.D. (24 A H) King Alphonso opened an attack on the Moors, and drove them out of Salamanca, but this does not seem to have been anything more than a predatory raid. The city, however, was never a Muslim possession in the sense that Cordova or Seville was. It certainly was considered an admirable piece of work of Ibn Abī ʿAmr, when in Sept. 977 he succeeded in capturing the suburbs of the city from the Christians, for he was rewarded with the title of Dhu 'l-Wizārataln and a princely salary. So the fate of Salamanca wavered from decade to decade, until finally through internal disunion, and the more determined hostility of the Spanish Christians, Moorish pride and power were swept from the city in 1055, never more to be re-instated.

The University, founded officially in 1220 by Alphonso IX of Leon, was in itself sufficient to give distinction to Salamanca, through all the succeeding centuries, until the great battle of 1812, when Wellington settled the fate of the French in the Peninsula.

Bibliography: — Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, index; Villar y Macias, *Historia de Salamanca*, 3 vols., Salamanca 1887; H Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols, London 1895; Lapunya, *La Universidad de Salamanca y la cultura española en el siglo XIII*, Paris 1900, Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1861; al-Makkarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl, P de Gayangos, O. T. F., London 1840.

(T CROUTHER GORDON)

SALAMĪYA, a small town in Syria in the district east of the Orontes, about twenty-five miles S. E. of Hamā and thirty-five (a day's journey) N. E. of Ḥimṣ (for the exact situation cf Kiepert's map in Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i. and part ii. 401) It lies in a fertile plain 1500 feet above sea level, south of the Djabal al-Aʿlā and on the margin of the Syrian steppe. The older and more correct pronunciation was Salamya (al-Istakhrī, *B G A*, i. 61, Ibn al-Fakih, *B G A.*, v. 110) but the form Salamīya is also found very early (al-Mukaddasī, *B G.A.*, iii. 190; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B G.A*, vi. 76, 98) and it is now the form almost universally in use (cf. also Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 123, and Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 169 *sq.*). The *nisba* from the name is Salamī. The town seems to be the ancient Salamias or Salaminias, which flourished in the Christian period, but the references of the classical authors to this place are uncertain. Yāḳūt (iii. 123) gives a popular etymology. The town, he says, was originally called *Salam-miʾa*, after the hundred surviving inhabitants of the destroyed town of al-Muʾtafika

The situation of the town was important as an outpost of Syria, where main routes from the steppe (Palmyra) and ʿIrāḳ joined; but it was never of any great military importance. It was conquered by the Arabs in the year 15 A. H. and became one of the towns of the Djund of Ḥimṣ; it was only after 1500 in the Mamlūk period that it was placed in the district of Ḥamā for administrative purposes In the second century of the Hidjra, after the victory of the ʿAbbāsids, the descendants of the ʿAbbāsid Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās settled in Salamīya. The town is said to be most indebted to Ṣāliḥ's son, ʿAbd Allāh, who rebuilt it and made arrangements for the irrigation of the neighbourhood. This ʿAbd Allāh was held in high esteem by his cousins, the Caliphs. He married the sister of al-Mahdī and became governor of the ʿIrāḳ. This Caliph visited him in Salamīya and was astonished at ʿAbd Allāh's dwelling there (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 500). There are also other references to the fact that many "Hāshimīs" lived in Salamīya.

Almost nothing has survived of this period, There is the foundation inscription of a mosque

on a stone (not *in situ*) at the entrance to the citadel. It is probable that this inscription is dated 150 (767) and that it belonged to a mosque founded by those Hashimīs, which may have been destroyed about 290 (902/3) by the Ḳarmaṭians. Still another inscription dating from an ʿAbbāsid has been found in the citadel; according to Littmann's probable suggestion, it belongs with two other inscriptions to the period from 280 (893) (or, for another view, see M. Hartmann in the *Z. D. P. V.*, xxiv. 55). The fact that Salamiya was the centre of an important branch of the Hāshimīs and the isolated position of the town perhaps account for the fact that about 250 (864) it became the secret centre of Ismāʿīlī propaganda. It is difficult to ascertain who was the first Grand Master of the Ismāʿīlīya to settle in Salamīya; in any case it does not seem to have been so early as ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn himself (as de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, Introd., p. 71, 166 supposes), for the latter, as de Goeje (*Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain*, Leiden 1886, p. 19) makes probable, was probably never in Salamīya. The first leader to be sent here was apparently Ḥusain b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn (de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 21), whose son, Saʿīd ʿUbaid Allāh, destined to become the first Fāṭimid Caliph, was born in Salamīya in 259 or 260 (873/74) (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wustenfeld, N°. 365), according to a biassed statement in Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 22), ʿUbaid Allāh was the son of a smith in Salamīya whose widow afterwards married Husain When Ḥusain died about 270 (883/4) his brother Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn, also known as Ibn Shalaghlagh, became Grand Master and guardian of his nephew ʿUbaid Allāh, till his death (about 280 = 893/4) ʿUbaid Allāh continued to reside in Salamīya till 289 (902) when he set out on his successful journey to North Africa (de Goeje, *op. cit*, p. 64). In the next year the town was practically wiped out by the Ḳaimaṭians from ʿIrāḳ under their leader Ḥusain, who had assumed the title of Mahdī. Of all towns in Syria, Salamīya, as home of the former companions in faith and later bitter enemies of the Karmatians, was treated the worst (de Goeje, *op. cit*, p. 50). Soon afterwards, however, the Syrian towns were reconquered by the Caliph. It is not impossible that the quadrangular citadel in the centre of the town goes back to the Ismaʿīlī period, according to van Berchem, it belongs to an early period architecturally.

In the fourth (x^th^) century, Salamīya must have been in an area inhabited by Bedouins (Saif al-Dawla's campaign; cf. Hartmann in the *Z D P.V.*, xxii. 175, 176) At the end of the fifth (xi^th^) century, it was included in the possessions of the brigand chief Khalaf b. Mulāʿab (M. Hartmann reads Malāʿib), who acknowledged Fāṭimid suzerainty. There is evidence of this in an inscription in Kūfic characters on the door beam of the mosque of 481 (1088). According to Ibn al-Athīr (x. 184), Khalaf took Salamīya in 476 (1083); he was then already master of Ḥimṣ. But in 485 he lost Ḥimṣ and the lands that went with it to the Saldjūḳ Ṭutush, brother of Malik Shāh. In the inscription Khalaf says that he has erected a *mashad* on the tomb of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djarū, whose servant (*ṣāni*ʿ) he calls himself (Khalaf is very fully dealt with by M. Hartmann, *Z D. P. V.*, xxiv. 58—65).

During the Crusades Salamīya is never mentioned as a fortress but frequently as a meeting-place for the Muslim armies. Politically it has always shared the fate of Ḥimṣ [q. v.]. Thus it passed to Riḍwān, son of Ṭutush, in 496 (1102/3). In 532 (1137/8) the Atābeg Zangī, who was then besieging Ḥimṣ, set out from Salamīya on his campaign against the Greeks at Shaizar (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 36 *sq.*) and in 570 (1174/75) Saladin obtained the town together with Ḥims and Ḥamā from the Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zaʿfarānī (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 276). In 626 (1229) we find al-Malik al-Kāmil in Salamīya as a starting point for ʿIrāḳ; the lord of Ḥamā came there to submit to him. Two years later, al-Kāmil gave the town to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, who rebuilt the fortress of Shumaimish north of it on one of the peaks of the Djabal al-Aʿlā (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 318, 329) which had been destroyed by the earthquake of 1157 (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900, p. 21).

In 1299, the Egyptian army was defeated at Salamīya by the Mongols under Ghāzān; the battle was followed by the brief Mongol occupation of the city of Damascus.

In the eighth (xiv^th^) century, Salamīya was part of the important frontier lands (called al-Sharḳīya) of the *mamlaka* of Damascus Abu 'l-Fidā', in whose territory as lord of Hamā the town lay during the Mamlūk period, mentions an aqueduct between Salamīya and Hamā. In 726 (1326) he went with his troops to clear out this channel (autobiography of Abu 'l-Fidā' in the *Rec. des Hist. des Crois*, *Hist Orient*, i. 168, 185) This aqueduct no longer exists. Perhaps it is the same as is mentioned by al-Dimashkī (p. 207) as in existence between Ḥimṣ and Salamīya and built by the ʿAbbāsid ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ. At this time Yāḳūt (iii. 123) speaks of seven prayer-niches near Salamīya below which some *tābiʿūn* were buried; he also mentions the tomb of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, the companion of the Prophet.

Under Turkish rule, the town ceased to be of importance In the middle of the nineteenth century it was entirely deserted, probably on account of the lack of adequate protection against the Bedouins. But an Ismāʿīlī Shaikh from the Nusairī mountains settled there and succeeded in settling the place with his followers. The Shaikh, whom van Berchem met in 1895, was a young man who traced his descent from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maimūn. These Ismāʿīlīs in a short time made the town very prosperous, which induced the Turkish government (in 1892) to create a special ḳaḍā of Salamīya in the sandjaḳ of Ḥamā in the wilāyet of Beirūt. The population of the ḳaḍā is given by Cuinet (1896) as 53,084, of whom the smaller half are Muslims and the larger Christians. The town itself is said by the same authority to have 6,000 inhabitants, in addition to the Druzes (by whom he probably means the Ismāʿīlīya). The irrigation is excellent; the crops of the district consist mainly of corn and legumes.

On the fortress of Shumaimish see van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 171, 173.

Bibliography: The Arab geographers originated in the text from the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*; R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Halil aṣ-Ẓāhirīs "zubdat kašf al-mamālik"*, a Tübingen dissertation of 1907, p. 42 *sq.*, 60; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 75; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the*

Moslems, London 1890, p. 510, 528; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 66; M. Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der syrischen Steppe*, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii. 151 *sqq*, xxiii. 108 *sqq.*; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i., Cairo 1914, p. 167—171; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens Orientaux*, iii. 298 (Ibn Shaddād), 546 (*Mir'āt al-Zamān*), 592 (Kamāl al-Dīn), v 180 *sq.* (Abū Shāma); M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i., Berlin 1899, p. 124 *sq.*, 305; V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1896, p. 436, 453 *sq.*; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, iv. 2609. On the inscriptions cf. Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique accomplie en 1864—1865 dans le Nord de la Syrie* (*Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, second series, iii. 345; M. Hartmann, *Die arabischen Inschriften in Salamya*, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxiv. 49—68; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York 1905, p. 169—178; M. v. Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften* (*Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien, gesamm. v. M. von Oppenheim*, i = *Beitr. z. Ass. u. sem. Sprachw.*, vii./i, Leipzig 1909, p 32—34.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SALĀMLIK (A.-T.) (Turkish pronounciation. Selamlïḳ),

1) Reception-room in Turkish houses of the upper classes, derived from *salām*, greeting, welcome. In the general plan of this type of house (*konaḳ*) there is an ante-room or court behind the main door, at one side of which a stair-case leads up to the *selamlïḳ*, *mā-bain* [q. v] and to the corridor (*sofa*), which together form the part of the house allotted to the males On the other side of the court is the entrance to the harem [q.v.], there also is the swivel-box (*dolab*) through which the women communicate with the harem kitchen. Although Selamlïḳ originally meant only the room in which the guests are welcomed, the word has come to receive the wider general meaning of the whole of the men's apartments as opposed to the harem or haremlik. It thus coincides more or less with the ἀνδρών or ἀνδρονῖτις of the Greeks. Barbier de Meynard, *Dict Turc-Français*, Paris 1886, mentions a room called *Ḥarem-selamlïḳ* which is situated between the two parts of the house and cannot be entered by strangers; it is therefore probably another name for the *mā-bain*.

In Turkish houses of the lower classes it seems that strangers were not admitted at all (Hans Dernschwam's *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 134); there was therefore no selamlïḳ there.

In northern Mesopotamia where wood is scarce the rooms of the houses are hollowed out of sandstone and a kind of dome of stone and clay put over them. Moltke, *Briefe aus der Turkei*, Berlin 1893, p. 242, describes this type of house where one of these domed rooms is selamlïḳ, another *harem*, another a stable, etc.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, ii. 199 *sq* ; Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople, Domestic Manners of the Turks*, 3 vols., London 1845, iii. 173—175.

2) A ceremony in Constantinople on the occasion of the ceremonial visit of the Sultān to a mosque for the Friday service.

That the Ottoman Sultāns were accustomed to pay a ceremonial visit to a mosque on Friday is often mentioned by travellers. Every Friday they visited one or other of the so-called Sultān's mosques (*ǧawāmi'-i Salāṭīn*) where they had their boxes or stalls. While at an earlier period the high officers of state used to accompany the Sultān, etiquette since the time of Ibrāhīm I has only expected the court officials to go. The streets through which the procession went were usually guarded by Janissaries and the reception in the mosque by the Aga of the Janissaries and the administrator of the mosque was very ceremonious. In winter it was usually the Aya Ṣofya, as the mosque nearest the palace, that was visited.

D'Ohsson assumes a connection between the Sultān's visit to the mosque and his dignity of *Imām* in his capacity as caliph at the *ṣalātu 'l-ǧuma* but adds that the Sultān never himself appears as *Imām*. This view is quite in agreement with d'Ohsson's ideas on the caliphate, but perhaps this ceremonial visit to the mosque should rather be regarded as an imitation of similar ceremonies at the Imperial Byzantine court.

Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sultān always appeared on horseback on this occasion (picture of the year 1788 in Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840). Only a very few Sultāns omitted the ceremony, as their non-appearance would have aroused resentment among the populace. From the time of Maḥmūd II it was the custom for the Sultān to drive in a carriage (cf. von Moltke, *Briefe aus der Turkei*, Berlin 1893, p lxx).

The name selamlïḳ for this ceremony seems only to date from the second half of the xixth century. The word has presumably nothing to do with the meaning "reception room" but is rather to be connected with the expression *selam durmaḳ* "to present arms"; it belongs therefore to military terminology. Aḥmad Wāfiḳ Pāshā in his *Lehče-i 'Oṯmānī* (1306 = 1889) paraphrases it as *bimsh ǧuma ālāyī*.

The ceremony became particularly important in the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II The Sultān was surrounded by a brilliant body-guard, of which his faithful Albanians in their costly uniforms formed the centre, along with the Ertoghrul regiment mounted on white horses. From the time he lived in the Yïldïz palace the Selamlïk was usually held in the Ḥamidīye mosque. Formal audiences were held after it, to which great political importance was attached, while the display of pomp and splendour was intended to impress the foreigners invited. The holding of the ceremony was announced on each occasion in the official gazette *Taḳwīm-i Weḳā'i'*.

It became less important after the reign of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and after the abolition of the sultānate by the General National Assembly in November, 1922, in Angora, 'Abd al-Maǧīd, who now retained only the dignity of Caliph, retained the selamlïḳ ceremony, which fact is of significance for the character given to it since d'Ohsson's day. The last selamlïḳ took place on Febr. 29, 1924 (1342) in the mosque of Dolma Baghče and was little more than a parody of its former splendour. There was not even music and the carriage was drawn by only two horses (the *Waṭan* newspaper of March 1, 1924).

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1787—1820, i. 205, iii. 328.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SĀLĀR (P.), commander. From the older Pahlavi *sardār* there arose as early as the Sāsānid period the form *sālār* with the well-known change of *rd* to *l* and compensatory lengthening of the *a* (cf. *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, I[a] 267, 274). The synonymous word in modern Persian (*serdār*) is not a survival of the ancient *sardār*, but is a modern formation; indeed, the elements from which the ancient word was composed still exist in the modern language. The old Armenian took over the Pahlavi *sālār* in the form *salar*; the form *sardār* which would give **sardar* in Armenian is not found in the latter language. A latter, probably modern Persian loan-word in Armenian is *(spa) salar* with *l* instead of *ł*. On this and on other late Armenian forms cf. Hubschmann, *Arm Gramm*, I. 235 and 239. In the first of these two references the Pahlavi combinations of the word are also given. On the etymology cf. also Horn, *Grundriss der neup. Etymologie*, p. 153; Hubschmann, *Persische Studien*, p 72; Junker, *The Frahang i Pahlavīk* (1912), p 37 and 79.

The term which is primarily military (cf. *sipāh-sālār*, commander of an army; *sālār-i ǧang*) is transferred to several court offices, e. g. *sālār-i khʷān* (and *khʷān-sālār*), Steward; *sālār-i-bār*, Marshal; *ākhūrsālār*, Master of Horse. We need not trouble here with what else the native Persian lexicographers say about the word (cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, s v.), it may be noted, however, that expressions like *ǧahān sālār* for "king" belong to the language of poetry and the meaning "old" (*kahun u sāl-khʷarda*) (which, as far as I know, has not yet been found anywhere) is perhaps based on an incorrect etymology which connects the word with *sāl* (year). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SĀLĀR DJANG is the title by which Mīr Turāb ʿAlī, a Sayyid of Persian descent and one of the greatest of modern Indian statesmen, was best known He was born at Ḥaidarābād in the Dakan on January 2, 1829, and, his father having died not long after his birth, was educated by his uncle, Nawwāb Sirādj ul-Mulk, Minister of the Ḥaidarābād State He received an administrative appointment in 1848, at the age of 19, and on his uncle's death in 1853 succeeded him as Minister of the State. He was engaged in reforming the administration until 1857, the year of the Sepoy mutiny, when the Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dawla, died and was succeeded by his son Afḍal al-Dawla. The news of the seizure of Dihlī by the mutineers greatly excited the populace, and the British Residency was attacked by a turbulent mob, aided by some irregular troops, but throughout the darkest days of the rebellion Sālār Djang not only remained true to the British, but strengthened the hands of his master and suppressed disorder. The services of the State were recognized by the rendition of three of the districts assigned in 1853 on account of debts due to the Company, and by the cession of the territory of the rebellious Rādjā of Shorāpūr. In 1860 and again in 1867 plots to estrange the great Minister from his master and to ensure his dismissal were frustrated by two successive British Residents, and Sālār Djang remained in office. In 1868 an attempt was made to assassinate him but the assassin was arrested and executed, despite Sālār Djang's efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentence. On the death of Afḍal al-Dawla in 1869 Sālār Djang became one of the two co-regents of the State during the minority of his son and successor, Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī Khān, and on January 5, 1871, he was invested at Calcutta with the insignia of the G. C S. I. In November, 1875, he and other nobles represented the young Niẓām at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India, and in April, 1876, he visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria. He received the honorary degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford and the Freedom of the City of London. In January, 1883, he was engaged in making preparations for the contemplated visit of the Nizām to Europe, but on February 7, after entertaining Duke John of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was visiting Ḥaidarābād, on the Mīr ʿĀlam Lake, he was attacked by cholera, and died on the following morning, regretted by all. Though always known by his first title, Sālār Djang, he bore the higher titles Shudjāʿ al-Dawla and Mukhtār al-Mulk.

Bibliography Syed Hossain Bilgrami, *Memoir of Sir Sālār Jang*, *Shujāʿ ud-Daula*, *Mukhtār ul-Mulk*, *G. C. S I.* (Bombay 1883); Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C Wilmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H H. the Nizam's Dominions* (Bombay 1883).

(T. W. HAIG)

ṢALĀT, the usual name in Arabic for the ritual prayer or divine service The translation "prayer" simply is not accurate, the Arabic word *duʿāʾ* corresponds to the conception prayer (Snouck Hurgronje has several times drawn attention to this distinction; *Verspreide Geschriften*, I 213 *sq*, II. 90, IV/I. 56, 63 *sq.*, etc). The word does not seem to occur in the pre-Korʾānic literature Muḥammad took it, like the ceremony, from the Jews and Christians in Arabia. In many Kūfic copies of the Ḳorʾān and often in later literature also in connection with the sacred book it is written صلوة. It is very often assumed that this orthography represents a dialectic pronunciation (Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 255; Wright–de Goeje, *Arabic Grammar*, I. 12 A, Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*[6], p. 7). The writing of a *wāw* in place of the *alif* which one would expect is found, it is true, in several other words belonging to the language of the Ḳorʾān; but with the exception of *ribā* (ربوا) only in the termination *āt* (or *ōt*), so frequent in Aramaic. The view that in forms like صلوة, زكوة etc. Aramaic influence has been at work should therefore always be borne in mind (Fränkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, p. 21).

The etymology of the Aramaic word *ṣelōṯā* is quite transparent. The root *ṣ-l-*ʾ in Aramaic means to bow, to bend, to stretch. The substantive *ṣelōṯā* is the *nomen actionis* from this and means the act of bowing, etc. It is used in several Aramaic dialects for ritual prayer, although it can also mean spontaneous individual prayer, which in Syriac at least is usually called *bāʿūṯā*. Muḥammad took over the word *ṣalāt* in this sense from his neighbours and the Muslim ṣalāt shows in its composition a great similarity to the Jewish and Christian services, as will be shown in greater detail below. — The verb *ṣallā* is a denominative derived from the substantive *ṣalāt* with the meaning "to perform the ṣalāt".

It is clear that at first Muḥammad had not the material available in ample measure for the ritual. The texts which were recited and sung in the solemn litanies of the Christians and Jews in their services were lacking to him This fact may still be deduced from the celebrated tradition regarding the revelation of Sūra xcvi., according to the common view, the first that was revealed to him. To the command of the angel urging him to recite he replied. "I have nothing to recite". The divine part of this dialogue, which so troubled Muḥammad, is then said to have at once become the first text for recitation, and it was followed by others with longer or shorter pauses.

Although the ṣalāt is nowhere described or exactly regulated in the Ḳor'ān, it can be assumed that its characteristic features have not changed in the course of development of the worship. The indications in the Ḳor'ān of its various component parts lead us to believe this. The standing position is everywhere presupposed in the ṣalāt, alternating with inclinations (*rukūʿ*) and prostrations (*sudjūd*) How closely the ṣalāt was bound up even in the Mekkan period with the recitation of the Kor'ān is seen from the fact that in Sūra xvii. 80 the morning salāt is called *Ḳor'ān al-Fadjr*. On the other hand we find the recitation of the Ḳor'ān by itself also associated with prostration (Sūra lxxxiv. 21)

That at this period praises already constituted a very considerable part of the *ṣalāt* is clear from Ḳor'ānic passages like Sūra xx. 130 and xxiv. 41, where *tahmīd* and *tasbīḥ* are mentioned in the closest connection with the ṣalāt

From the mention of the *ṣalāt* and the verb *ṣallā* in the oldest Sūra's (e g. lxxv. 31, lxx. 23, cvii 5, lxxiv 44, cviii 2) it may be further seen that we can assert that this rite was an accompaniment of Islām from the earliest times and that Caetani's sceptical reflexions and hypotheses do not give sufficient weight to the Kor'ānic evidence (cf. *Annali*, *Introduzione*, 219 note — in part in connection with similar views of Grimme) How much Muhammad disturbed the Mekkans with his new religion may be seen from Sūra xvii. 110, where he is recommended by Allāh not to perform the salāt too loudly, which is interpreted by tradition — and, no doubt, rightly — to mean that his unbelieving fellow-citizens molested him for holding his services too noisily This is in agreement with the fact that in the period during which Muhammad is continually advised to imitate the example of the earlier prophets and model himself on their patience, attention is regularly called to their also having summoned those around them to hold the ṣalāt (e. g. Sūra xxi. 73, xix 32, xiv. 40, xix. 56, xx. 132).

In the Ḳor'ān the ṣalāt is very frequently mentioned along with the *zakāt*; the two are obviously considered the manifestations of piety most loved by Allāh (e.g. Sūra ii. 77, 104, 172, 277, iv. 79, 160, v. 15, 60 etc.). In Sūra ii. 42, 148 the believers are exhorted to seek help in *ṣalāt* and *ṣabr*. *Ṣabr* [q. v.] is interpreted in this connection as fasting. There is further in the Ḳor'ān no trace so far of the five "pillars" which later attained such an important position. The *ṣalāt* is an expression of humility (Sūra xxiii. 2) which latter was considered throughout the Hellenistic world as the attitude to the deity most befitting man. Punctual observance (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the ṣalāt is repeatedly enjoined (vi. 92, xxiii. 9, lxx. 34; cf. lxx. 22) and neglect (*sahw*) is censured (cvii. 5). In Sūra iv. 104 a similar injunction is given the following justification: "for the ṣalāt is a *kitāb mawḳūt*" i.e. "a regulated ordinance of religion". It is blamed in the Munāfiḳūn [q. v.] that they perform the ṣalāt without zeal and with eye-service only (Sūra iv. 141). The limitation and later interdiction of the use of wine owed its origin to the fact that over-indulgence disturbed order at divine service (Sūra iv. 46).

As has already been observed, we may assume that the essential features of the later ṣalāt were in existence from the very beginning. We know only very little about peculiarities of the ṣalāt and its accompanying phenomena in the oldest period of Islām. A ritual ablution (cf. the articles GHUSL, ṬAHĀRA, WUDŪʾ) before the ṣalāt is prescribed in Sūra v. 8, the *ntdāʾ* for the ṣalāt is mentioned in v. 63 and in lxii 9 for the Friday ṣalāt. A special salāt in case of imminent danger is described in Sūra iv 103 (see below under *Ṣalāt al-Ḫawf*) Praises of Muhammad and the *Taslīm* form the conclusion of the later salāt. This practice can be justified by Sūra xxxiii 56, where it is written "Allāh and his angels bless the Prophet; ye who believe, bless him and bring him salutations of peace". The Friday ṣalāt is mentioned in lxii. 9 in the words "O believers, when the call to the ṣalāt occurs on Fridays, haste ye to the invocation (*dhikr*) of Allāh and quit trafficking. This is better for ye when ye know."

In these circumstances it is intelligible that Muhammad laid great stress on those who showed themselves ready to adopt Islām being at once initiated into the practice of the salāt Tradition thus reports that he sent As'ad b Zurāra or Mus'ab b. 'Umair to the Medinese for this express purpose and that the latter was the first to hold the Friday service with them (see A J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 *sqq*, and C H Becker in *Der Islam*, iii 378 *sq*). In Muhammad's messages to the tribes of Arabia the ṣalāt is frequently inculcated as a Muslim duty (see J Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammeds an die Stamme Arabiens* in the *M S O S. As*, xix, reprint, p. 16, 19, 38, 58, 77 etc). According to Muslim tradition, the establishment of the number five in the daily salāt dates back to the beginnings of Islām. It is connected with Muhammad's ascension to heaven (see the article ISRĀʾ). When Muḥammad is taken up to the highest heaven fifty ṣalāts daily are imposed on his community by Allāh. Muhammad leaves the presence of Allāh with this commission, on his way back he meets Mūsā who asks him what Allāh has imposed on his community. When Mūsā hears the orders he says "Return to thy Lord for the community is not able to bear this." Allāh then alters the fifty to twenty-five. On his way back Muḥammad tells Mūsā of the alteration and receives the same reply The same processes are repeated until finally the number remains at five (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 259, 263; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 45, al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1; Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 194; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 315 (ter), iii 148 *sq*., 161, cf. Ibn Sa'd, I/i. 143 etc.). The scene bears some similarity to Genesis, xviii. 23 *sqq*., where Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorra is described. — On the other hand, in a widely disseminated tradition we are told that

Gabriel came down five times in one day and performed the ṣalāt in Muḥammad's presence and the latter on each occasion imitated the angel (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad. 166, 167; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 1, al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 1, 10, 17; Ibn Mādja, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1, al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 2; Mālik, *Wuḳūt*, trad. 1; etc.) This idea cannot, however, survive literary and historical criticism. In a short but searching study Houtsma has come to the following conclusions (*Iets over den dageliykschen çalat der Mohammedanen* in the *Theologisch Tydschrift*, 1890, xxiv. 127 *sqq*) How the Mekkan practice was regulated is seen from Sūra xi. 116: "And hold the ṣalat at the two ends of the day as well as at the ends (?) of the night". With this Sūra xvii. 80 agrees, where a morning ṣalāt, a salāt when the sun declines and the night salāt (*tahadjdjud*) are prescribed; cf. Sūra xxiv. 57, where the *ṣalāt al-fadjr* and the *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'* are mentioned. Then we find appearing suddenly in the Medīna Sūra iii. 239 the "middle salāt" (*al-wusṭā*). This must therefore have been added in Medīna to the two usual salāts and probably after the example of the Jews, who also performed their *tefilla* three times a day.

We thus arrive at three daily salāts in Muhammad's life-time. The question how the number five came to be fixed upon is answered by Houtsma, who says that the two midday salāts (*ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr*) and the two evening salāts (*maghrib* and *ʿishā'*) are duplications of the *wustā* and *ʿishā'* respectively, duplications which are easily explained from the lack of accurate means of defining the times for the salāt as in Muhammad's life-time (cf. E Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, *Abh Pr. Ak W*, 1913, N°. 2, p 10 *sqq*.). Goldziher, on the contrary (*Islamisme et Parsisme* in the *R.H R.*, 1901, xliii 15), assumes Persian influence in settling the number at five. Caetani called attention to the fact that the number five was not yet firmly established in ʿUmar II's time (*Annali*, *Introduzione*, § 219 note, with reference to Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii 20, 29) Thereon it should be noted that ʿUmar's admonition to ʿUrwa to be careful was not concerned with the number five but with the exact fixing of times. The latter, as a matter of fact, is also a subject of discussion in canonical Tradition, which deserves a separate investigation. When the theory of the five obligatory daily ṣalāts became firmly established cannot be exactly settled as yet. According to Ibn ʿAbbās, Muḥammad "combined" in Medīna several ṣalāts, e. g. the *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr* ṣalāt on the one hand and the *maghrib* and *ʿishā'* ṣalāt on the other, without his being on a journey or threatened by danger (Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 49) Asked for Muhammad's presumed reason, Ibn ʿAbbās replied that he did not wish to expose any members of his community to (the danger of) sinning (by overburdening them) (ibid., trad. 50; cf. 54, 55). In another version of the same ḥadīth we read: "We were wont in Muḥammad's life-time to combine ṣalāts in twos (ibid., trad. 58). Al-Nawawī's commentary on the passages quoted (ed. Cairo 1282 A. H, ii. 196 *sq*.) is instructive for the difficulties which these traditions prepared for the 'Ulamā' and how they were able to overcome them. To us, such traditions are an indication that the number of daily ṣalāts had not yet been fixed at five in Muḥammad's lifetime.

In the canonical Hadīth the number five is found in numerous traditions. In the schools of law there is no difference of opinion on this point. We shall therefore have to place the origin of this theory before the end of the seventh century.

The five compulsory ṣalāts are named as follows, according to the time of day at which they are observed (see the article MIḲĀT). *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-Fadjr*; *Ṣalāt al-Ẓuhr*; *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr*, *Ṣalāt al-Maghrib*, *Ṣalāt al-ʿIshā'*, often also called *Ṣalāt al-ʿAtama*, but the latter name is often condemned as unfit (Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 228, 229; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 78; al-Nasā'ī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 23; etc.).

II

Every Muslim who has attained his majority and is *compos mentis* is bound to observe the five daily salāts (*al-maktūba*, in contrast to the voluntary salāts, which are called *nāfila* or *ṣalāt al-taṭawwuʿ*). The obligation is suspended for the sick. Salāts omitted must be made up (*kaḍā'*). The theories of the Shāfiʿī school on this point are given in al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 309—316 (ii 178 *sqq*) According to the strict theory (which in Islām has in very many cases little or nothing to do with practice), any one who deliberately omits the ṣalāt because he does not recognise it as a legal duty is to be regarded as *kāfir* Even deliberate neglect without any such theoretical basis makes him liable to the death penalty [cf ḲATL] (see al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn*, ed. v. d. Berg, i. 202; cf. Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrāzī, *K. al-Tanbīh fi 'l-Fikh*, ed. Juynboll, p. 15).

Several preliminary conditions must be fulfilled for the performance of a valid salāt

The requisite ritual purity must be restored, if necessary, by *wuḍū'* [q v], *ghusl* [q v] or *tayammum* [q.v]. The dress worn should fulfil the legal regulations which aim at the "covering of the privy parts" (*satr al-ʿawra*) This means that in men the body must be covered from the navel to the knees, in free women the whole body except the face and hands. The latter regulation is remarkable, because it is in striking contrast to the popular European opinion regarding the compulsory veiling of Muslim women (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire dwalingen* in the *Verspreide Geschriften*, i 295 *sqq*) In the Hadīth the question of dress, like so many others, has not yet reached a uniform formulation Sometimes only the covering of the privy parts is mentioned (e g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10), and sometimes the saying is ascribed to Muḥammad that the shoulders also should be covered (e. g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 175); sometimes the use of the scanty *ṣammā'* is expressly mentioned in this connection (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 322 etc.) and at the same time we are told that the ṣalāt in one *thawb* is permitted or even quite common (e g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 77, 80—82); on the other hand it is said that one who owns two *thawb* should put them on at the ṣalāt (e.g. Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 82; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 148).

The ṣalāt need not be held in a mosque but may be celebrated in a dwelling-house and any other place; the authority given for this is the saying of Muhammad that he was granted

the privilege that for him the earth was *masdjid wa-ṭahūr* (e g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56). Tombs are excepted (e.g Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 208, 209) and unclean places, like slaughter-places etc. (e. g. al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳit al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 141).

The place where the salāt is performed is marked off in some way from the surrounding area by a *sutra*, on this cf. the article SUTRA. A *sadjdjāda* [q. v.] is used as a rule. Attention has also to be paid to the direction of Mekka; cf the article ḲIBLA.

The ṣalāt proper consists of the following elements, our description of which is based on the Shāfiʿī practice.

The *nīya* (= intention, q v) is pronounced aloud or in a low voice, with an announcement of the ṣalāt which one intends to perform: it corresponds to the Jewish *kawwānā* (cf. Mittwoch, *op. cit*, p. 16; A. J Wensinck, *De intentie in recht, ethiek en mystiek der semietische volken* in the *V M A W.*, series 5, vol. iv). Then are pronounced the words *Allāhu akbar*, the *takbīrat al-iḥrām*, which begins the consecrated state (cf. the article IḤRĀM). Mittwoch has compared this formula with the benedictions of the Jewish *tefilla* (*op. cit.*, p. 16 *sq*). The ṣalāt is performed standing. Mittwoch points out that the Jewish *tefilla* is called *ʿamīdā* (*op. cit*, p. 16). It is sunna to utter a *duʿā'* or a *taʿawwudh* after the *takbīra* (see *Minhādj*, i. 78) Then follows the recitation which usually consists of the *fātiha*. In the Hadīth the importance of this *ḳirā'a* is expressed in the maxim *lā ṣalāt liman lam yaḳraʾ bi-fātihati 'l-kitāb* (e g al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 95, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 34—36, 42). In a congregational ṣalāt it is the custom for only the *fātiha* to be recited along with the Imām, if the latter begins with the second *ḳirā'a*, those present have to listen (cf. *Minhādj*, i 80). In the Hadīth are numerous statements as to whether recitation should be loud or low, e g al-Bukhārī, *Kusūf*, bāb 19, Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 89, al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāh*, bāb 27—29, 80, 81 etc ; cf al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 96, 97, 108; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 47—49, al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāh*, bāb 27, 28, 80 etc.

Next comes the *rukūʿ* which consists in bending the back till the palms of the hands are on a level with the knees (the Jewish *kerīʿa*, see Mittwoch, *op. cit*, p. 17 *sq.*; cf. also the pictures of the various attitudes in the salāt in Lane's *Manners and Customs* in the chapter on *Religion and Laws* and in Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 76). The upright position is then resumed (*iʿtidāl*), as soon as the head is raised after the *rukūʿ*, the hands are uplifted and the worshipper pronounces the words "Allāh heeds him who praises him." This is found quite early, even in Ḥadīth (e. g al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 52, 74, 82, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 25, 28, 55, 62—64 etc).

There have been differences of opinion regarding the raising of the hands in *ṣalāt* and *duʿā'*. Some say that Muḥammad used to lift up his hands at the ṣalāt (e g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 83—86, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 21—26; Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 114—126; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 1—6, 85—87; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 93, 255, 289 etc.) Importance is attached (as may be seen in the passages just quoted) to giving the height to which it is permitted to raise the hands Besides raising the hands the spreading out of them also occurs (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 130). It is also evident from the passages of Ḥadīth quoted that the raising of the hands took place not only after the *rukūʿ* but also in other parts of the ṣalāt. This ritual gesture was made with special preference at the ṣalāt for rain (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Duʿā*, bāb 34, 35; Muslim, *Istisḳā'*, trad. 5—7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 104, 153, 181 etc.). Occasionally the *rafʿ al-yadain* is declared permitted for no *duʿā'* except the *istisḳā'* (e g. al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, bāb 52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 243). What value was given this rite may be seen, for example, from the fact that Muḥammad is made to perform the *wuḍū'* before raising the hands in the *duʿā'* (al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 55). This all becomes quite clear when we reflect that the raising of the hands is as it were a measure of coercion used by man towards the Deity, as Goldziher has shown in his *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet* (*Noldeke-Festschrift*, i. 320) The Sunna further associates with the *rukūʿ* the *ḳunūt* [q.v], which in parts falls into the same category as the raising of the hands, as Goldziher has also shown in the essay just mentioned.

The next "pillar" of the salāt in order is the prostration (*sudjūd*), which was also one of the rites of the Jewish (Mittwoch, *op cit*, p 17 *sq.*, *hishtahawāyā*) and of the Christian service (Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 104 *sq.*), for further details see the article SUDJŪD Next the worshipper assumes the half-kneeling, half-sitting position, which in Arabic terminology is usually called *djulūs* (cf. Juynboll, *op. cit*, p 76, fig. 7) Then comes another *sudjūd*

The ceremonies from the recitation of the *fātiha* to the second *sudjūd* inclusive constitute a *rakʿa*. It is to be noted that in the Hadīth literature at least this terminology still varies a good deal Sometimes *rakʿa* seems to be used in the same sense as *sadjda*, sometimes (and this is the regular usage later) *rakʿa* is the more comprehensive term, applied to the middle part just described of the whole *ṣalāt* Only the history of the Muslim ritual, which has still to be written, will make clear the exact state of affairs. The most usual (in Ḥadīth also) terminology gives the number of *rakʿa*'s for each ṣalāt, viz. for the *ṣalāt al-fadjr*, 2; for the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*, 4; for the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*, 4, for the *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, 3; for the *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'*, 4. Muslim tradition even says that the salāt originally consisted of two *rakʿa*'s, that this number was retained for the salāt on journeys, but four was fixed for the normal ṣalāt (e. g al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1, Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 1—3, etc.) Mittwoch (*op. cit.*, p. 18 *sq*) assumes Jewish influence on the original choice of two *rakʿa*'s.

The statement that this or that salāt consists of so many *rakʿa*'s means that the introductory rites which precede the first *ḳirā'a* and those which follow the second *sudjūd* (see below) need only occur once in the ṣalāt in question while, on the other hand, the ceremonies in between are repeated so many times.

The rites which follow the second *sudjūd* are the *tashahhud*, the profession of faith, which is pronounced sitting. That the rule just mentioned for the repetition of certain parts of the ṣalāt only developed gradually is evident from a tradition which ascribes to Muḥammad the pronouncement that the *tashahhud* should be repeated every two *rakʿa*'s (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 211).

Then comes the ṣalāt on the prophet whi

consists of eulogies in which occurs the much discussed formula *Ṣallā 'llāhu ʿalaihi wa-sallama*. These formulae are pronounced sitting. The worshipper remains seated for the concluding ceremony, the *salām* or *taslīmat al-taḥīl*, which ends the consecrated state. The fullest version of it is, according to al-Nawawī (*op. cit*, p. 91 *sq*) · *al-salām ʿalaikum wa-raḥmatu 'llāhi*; but it may also be abbreviated. It is pronounced twice, once looking to the right and a second time to the left. It is considered a salutation to the believers, but it is also referred to the guardian angels present (cf. Sūra xvii 80) On analogies in the Jewish service see Mittwoch, *op. cit*, p. 18.

The different ceremonies of the salāt are classified according to their importance or their obligatory or sunna character. Al-Nawawī (*op. cit*, p. 74 *sqq*) numbers the following among the *arkān al-ṣalāt*. *nīya*, *takbīrat al-iḥrām*, *ḳiyām*, *ḳirāʾa*, *rukūʿ*, *iʿtidāl*, *suǧūd*, *ǧulūs*, *tashahhud*, *ḳuʿūd*, *al-salāt ʿala 'l-Nabī*, *salām* and (13) the correct order of succession (*tartīb*). The other ceremonies — some of which are mentioned above — are considered sunna by him. Cf. Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, p. 25

It is the many sunna ceremonies which, according as they are abbreviated or carried through in great detail, give each salāt its peculiar character and in particular affect its length. This is true especially of the eulogies interspersed (see Maulvi Muḥammad ʿAlī, *The Holy Qurʾān*, 2nd ed., Lahore 1920, p. II) and of the *ḳirāʾa*; for the recitation of the *fātiha* may be followed by the recitation of further chapters from the Koʾrān. The Ḥadīth has much to say on this subject It appears that the great zeal of many imāms in this respect has often been a burden to the faithful. Complaints on the subject are said to have been made to Muḥammad and he is said to have readily admitted their justice. "Reflect", he is said to have warned the Imāms, "that there are weak and old men among you" (e. g al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 179—190; Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 122, 123 etc) We even find him quoted as describing the Imām concerned as a *fattān* (tempter) (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 60, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii 308). Praise is also given to Muḥammad because no one went through the ṣalāt more completely and in a shorter time than he did (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 279, 282 and many other passages)

It is natural that the correct order of the ceremonies in the salāt is considered one of its pillars by the faḳīhs. But we are justified in supposing that there was still considerable variation in this long after Muḥammad's death Such unintentional deviations from the usual number and order of the ceremonies are discussed in the Fiḳh and Ḥadīth — the *enfant terrible* of the Fiḳh — supplies the historical background for them. Both say that these unintentional deviations in minor points are made good by the performance of additional *rakʿa*'s or *saǧda*'s. With what painful accuracy the Fiḳh deals with this subject may be seen, for example, from al-Nawawī (*op. cit.*, p. 90 *sqq*) Ḥadīth, on the other hand, is content, as a rule, to say that Muḥammad, who was later also credited with such deviations, in these cases used to perform two additional *saǧda*'s, which are called *saǧdatā 'l-sahw* (e. g. Muslim, *Masāǧid*, trad. 85; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 12, 37, 42; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 88; *Sahw*, bāb 4 etc.). Al-Bukhārī in the heading to bāb 32 of the chapter *Ṣalāt* preserves the memory of less minutely regulated conditions.

The Fiḳh also defines quite minutely what actions and contingent states of body destroy the validity of the ṣalāt (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 103 *sqq.*; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, p. 28 *sq.*) The Ḥadīth records that at first the believers used to talk freely with each other during the ṣalāt and greeted Muḥammad and one another, but that the Prophet put an end to this licence (al-Bukhārī, *al-ʿAmal fi 'l-Ṣalāt*, bāb 2—4) The old state of affairs is strikingly illuminated in the oft told story of how Muḥammad performed the ṣalāt with Zainab's little daughter hanging round his neck, when he came to the *suǧūd* he, it is said, put down the child and took her up again when he arose (e. g al-Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 106; Muslim, *Masāǧid*, trad 41—44; al-Nasāʾī, *Masāǧid*, bāb 19). In another tradition it is related how Ḥasan and Ḥusain jumped on Muḥammad's back during his *suǧūd* (e g Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 513) These were the good old days which the faḳīhs clearly did not wish back again.

III

Besides the five daily salāts there are some that are not compulsory, al-Ghazālī divides them into three categories *sunna*, *mustaḥabb* and *taṭawwuʿ* (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1302, i 174), some of them may have come into use after Muḥammad's death and were therefore never given legal force, others had already fallen somewhat into desuetude in Muḥammad's lifetime.

The latter is true of the night-ṣalāt (*ṣalāt al-lail*) This name is the most usual in the Ḥadīth, while in the Ḳoʾrān *tahaǧǧud* (Sūra xvii. 80) is used. The etymology (the "waking") of this word suggests a close connection with the Christian vigils and especially with the custom of keeping awake (Syriac *shahrā*), which was much cultivated among ascetics and mystics of Western Asia. We have quite a minute knowledge of this rite from Syriac ascetic literature, in it the keeping awake is in itself a very meritorious work; it is usually combined with the reading of scripture, meditation and ritual prayer. We must imagine the *tahaǧǧua* to have been something similar In the description of the nightly exercises in the *Laīlat al-Ḳadr*, and in the nights of Ramadān in general, the name *ḳiyām* is preferably used, which shows that great value was put upon standing and waking in themselves

That such nightly exercises were zealously carried through in the oldest Muslim community is clear from the *Ḥadīth*. For further details see the article TAHADJDJUD Here we shall only say that even in Muḥammad's lifetime these exercises has been deprived of their obligatory character (Abū Dāʾūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, bāb 17, 26, al-Nasāʾī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, bāb 2; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 165).

The night-ṣalāt is closely connected with the *witr*. This word means "uneven" and the rite really consists in the addition of one *rakʿa* to the even number of *rakʿa*'s in the night-ṣalāt. For further information see the article WITR. How varying the practice was in the oldest community with regard to the daily ṣalāts may be seen from the statements regarding the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā*, the only one in the forenoon. In Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal,

i. 147, the time is fixed in the following way. Muḥammad used to perform the *ḍuḥā* when the sun had risen the same distance from its starting point as it is distant from its place of setting at the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. Some make Muḥammad recommend the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* (al-Nasāʾī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, bāb 28; *Ṣiyām*, bāb 81; al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 151; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, ii. 175, 265 bis, 271, etc.) and perform it regularly (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i. 89, ii. 38), it is even said that it was *farīḍa* for him and *sunna* for the Muslims (do., i. 231, 232, 317 bis). Others again say that Muḥammad only performed this ṣalāt once or that the authority in question only saw him do it once (al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 41; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 80, 81, Abū Dāʾūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, bāb 12; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, iii. 156); or that Muḥammad only performed it on returning from a journey (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 75, 76) Such statements are supported by the traditions which say that the great authorities like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar did not perform the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* (al-Bukhārī, *Taḥaḏḏud*, bāb 31, al-Dārimī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 152). The last named goes so far as to call it a *bidʿa* (= innovation, a strong word) (Muslim, *Ḥaḏḏ*, trad. 220; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, ii. 128 *sq*., 155)

The ṣalāts before and after the obligatory ones, usually consisting of two *rakʿa*'s, are very numerous. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-faḏr* al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 15; Abū Dāʾūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, bāb 6. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Ẓuhr*. al-Bukhārī, *Taḥaḏḏud*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 105, 106 Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr*, but care should be taken to avoid coinciding with the sunset (see the article MIKĀT) Abū Dāʾūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, bāb 8, al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 53; cf. *Maghāzī*, bāb 69. Before and after the *Ṣalāt al-Maghrib* al-Bukhārī, *Taḥaḏḏud*, bāb 35, 25 (six *Rakʿa*'s after the *Salāt al-Maghrib* al-Tirmiḏhī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 203) After the *Ṣalāt al-ʿIshāʾ*. al-Bukhārī, *Taḥaḏḏud*, bāb 25. But it is reported even of Muḥammad that he did not observe all these voluntary salāts every day, the number is usually fixed at 16 or 12 (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i. 111, 142, 143, 146, 147 *sq*). In addition there are such *rawātib* on different days of the week and month (see al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, i. 174 *sqq*. in bāb 7 of the chapter *Ṣalāt*) and on different occasions, such as on entering a mosque, returning from a journey (al-Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 60, Muslim, *Musāfirīn*, trad. 74).

IV

One may perform the daily salāt by oneself; but it is recommended to perform it with the community (on differences of opinion on this question see al-Nawawī, *op. cit*., i. 126 *sq*). In any case, according to al-Nawawī, there is no obligation on women; it is even not recommended for them. In the Ḥadīth the advantages of the congregational ṣalāt are strongly emphasised (e. g al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 29—31, 34, Muslim, *Masāḏjid*, trad. 245—259, 271—282; al-Nasāʾī, *Aʾimma*, bāb 42, 45, 48—50, 52). The mosque is at the same time recommended as the place of assembly, although not obligatory, nor does the validity depend on a certain number of participants being present. In Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (*Tanbīh*, p. 31, cf. Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 5) it is said that two persons can hold a *ḏjamāʿa*. Very often ṣalāts performed by three individuals are described (e.g. Muslim, *Masāḏjid*, trad. 269).

One is recommended to go quietly to the ṣalāt (al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 20, 21, 23; Muslim, *Masāḏjid*, trad. 151—155) It is also considered particularly meritorious to take one's place some time before the commencement of the ṣalāt and to wait some time after its conclusion (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 266, 277, 289 *sq*., 301). If anyone comes so late that he can only take part in one *rakʿa* he has nevertheless "achieved the ṣalāt" (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 29; Muslim, *Masāḏjid*, Trad. 161—165 etc., the opposite view is held by Mālik, *Wukūt*, trad. 16). Even if one enters the mosque after already performing the salāt concerned by oneself, one should take part in the ṣalāt with the congregation (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 56; al-Tirmiḏhī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 49). The opposite view, however, has also its supporters (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 57). The frequently mentioned rule is that one should make up in private for what one has missed in the *ḏjamāʿa* (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 237, 238, 239, 270, etc.).

The worshippers arrange themselves in rows (*ṣaff*) on the closed and good order of which much stress is laid (al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 71, 72, 74—76, 114, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 122—128, Abū Dāʾūd, bāb 93—100, Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 3, 112 *sq*., 114, 122, etc). The places in the front row have special advantages (al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 9, 73; Muslim, *Salāt*, trad 129—132), within this row again the places on the right of the *Imām* are especially recommended (Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 34). This, however, is true only of men, women are advised to take their places in the last row (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 247, 336, 354, 370). The *ṣalāt al-ḏjamāʿa* is conducted by an imām who takes up a position before the front row, or, if there are only two individuals present besides him, between the two or so that one is on his right and the other behind him (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 98, al-Nasāʾī, *Taṭbīḳ*, bāb 1; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i. 451).

It is laid down that one should copy the Imām exactly (al-Bukhārī, *Aḏān*, bāb 51—53, 74, 82 etc). Anyone who neglects this rule exposes himself to punishment from God (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, ii. 425, Mālik, *Nidāʾ*, bāb 57).

Mittwoch (*op cit*, p. 22, cf. thereon Becker in *Der Islam*, iii. 386 *sqq*) has pointed out that the Imām corresponds to the *shᵉlīaḥ haṣ-ṣibbūr* at the Jewish service. At the latter as in Islām the duties can be carried through by any member of the community qualified to do so. In Muḥammad's lifetime the position in Medina was that it only happened exceptionally that the Prophet did not conduct the salāt During his last illness and also on other occasions when he was absent Abū Bakr is said to have usually represented him. The Ḥadīth loves to expand itself on this point; in this we have probably to consider many things as reflections of the events after Muḥammad's death. The conducting of the ṣalāt was then of tremendous importance as is clear from the manifold meanings of the word Imām. The leader of the *ḏjamāʿa* in the mosque of the Prophet was naturally also the leader of the community in political matters. Gradually there came about a separation of the functions but the Caliph and the leader of the smallest village *ḏjamāʿa* alike retain the title of *imām*.

While the Imām — at least in the days of the early Caliphs — was appointed to the mosque

of the Prophet, in the provinces an alternation in the exercise of the duties was more to be expected. In the canonical Ḥadīth we look in vain for a regular usage in the provinces Perhaps it may be concluded from this that in the first century of the Hidjra no regular usage had yet developed. If a number of persons assemble for the *djamāʿa*, sometimes it is said that the oldest (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 17, 18, 35, 49, 140; *Djihād*, bāb 42; al-Nasāʾī, *Adhān*, bāb 7 etc), sometimes the one with the best knowledge of the Ḳorʾān should conduct the ṣalāt (Muslim, *Masādjid*, trad 289—291; al-Nasāʾī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, iii. 24, 34, 36 etc.). Slaves and freedmen could perform the duties (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 54). In a Zaidī tradition there is even a mention of women as Imām ("*Corpus Juris*" *di Zaid ibn ʿAlī*, ed. Griffini, Nº. 189). The question behind whom one may perform the salāt is also discussed in the Fiḳh books and in the collections of traditions (al-Nawawī, *op. cit*, p. 131 *sqq.*; al-Bukhāī, *Adhān*, bāb 56; Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 63)

The responsibility of the Imām (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, ii. 232, 284, 377 *sq*, etc.) as well as his heavenly reward are laid stress upon (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 58; Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, bāb 47). One should retire if some one is there who has greater authority in religious matters (al-Nasāʾī, *Aʾimma*, bāb 3, 6). No one should thrust himself on the people (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62, al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 149) The Imām is not to be a stranger but a local man (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 65; al-Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 147, Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-Djamāʿa*, bāb 15)

The direction of the *djamāʿa* gradually developed into a more or less definite office In Egypt the Imām is often a small tradesman or a schoolmaster (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p 96 *sq.*). In the larger mosques there are two imāms appointed who are paid out of the funds of the mosque. In Mekka we find the most distinguished scholars and quite insignificant individuals alike acting as Imām (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 234, note). In the Dutch East Indies the duties are often performed by the *panghulu*, who also holds juridical offices (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 116 *sq*, 177; *De Atjèhers*, i. 89) See further the article MASDJID.

Besides the five daily salāts there are special services to be held by the community on certain occasions. The first place among these is occupied by the Friday ṣalāt; for a description of which see the article DJUMʿA For the ṣalāt on the two feasts see the article ʿID, for the ṣalāt for rain see ISTISḲĀʾ and for the *Ṣalāt al-Kusūf* see KUSŪF. Here we shall only say that much ancient and popular matter has survived in these divine services.

Of quite another kind, i. e. special or short forms of the true Muslim ṣalāt, is the salāt on journeys, which consists of two *rakʿa*'s. The jurists naturally devote much attention to the question of what is meant by a journey. Another alleviation on journeys consists in the combination of two or more ṣalāts into one (*djamʿ*). The Ḥadīth has much information on the subject (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *Taḳṣīr al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 6, 13—19; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 42—58 etc.). As mentioned in section I, it is said that Muhammad combined several ṣalāts in Medīna; on the significance of such statements cf. what is said there and also al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 159 *sq.*

A special ṣalat, already described in the Ḳorʾān, is that which is held when danger threatens from the enemy (Sūra iv. 102—104). The deviation from the usual ritual consists mainly in the fact that the believers are arranged in two rows of which one keeps watch with weapon in hand during the *sudjūd* of the other, they repeat this in turn until all have performed the *sudjūd* The *tashahhud* is then recited by them all together. If the enemy is to be expected from another direction than that of the *ḳibla*, the ritual is modified as conditions demand (for further information see e g. al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, p. 181 *sqq*) In this case also the ṣalāt may be abbreviated (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, trad. 4, 5, al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt al-Khawf*, bāb 4, 7, 23, 24, 26, 27). There is even mention of a *Ṣalāt al-Khawf* of only one *rakʿa* (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i 237, 243)

In conclusion we must here deal briefly with the ṣalāt for the dead (*al-ṣalāt ʿala ʾl-maiyit*, *ṣalāt al-djināza*). It is a common duty (*farḍ al-kifāya*) which can only be omitted in exceptional cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, i 138, note 3). In some traditions the ṣalāt is ordered for every dead Muslim (Ibn Mādja, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 31, al-Nasāʾī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 57) In the Hadīth (al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 23, 85, *Tafsīr*, Sūra 9, bāb 12, 13, Muslim, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, Trad. 25 etc) it is related how Muhammad held the salāt for the dead ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiy, the arch-munāfik, and was reproved by ʿUmar for doing so. Therefore Sūra ix. 85 was revealed: "and never perform the salāt for one of them who dies and stand not at his grave, for they are unbelievers against Allāh and His Messenger and they die as *fāsik*" (on the legal definition of the conception of *fāsik* see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr*, ii. 97).

In the Hadīth it is further related that Muhammad omitted the ṣalāt in cases where the deceased had committed suicide (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad 107, Abū Dāʾūd, *Kharādj*, bāb 46). Al-Nawawī, *op cit.*, p. 225, says, however, that no exception was made in this case. The Ḥadīth also tells us that Muhammad refused to hold this salāt unless the debts of the deceased had already been paid (al-Bukhārī, *Hawālāt*, bāb 3, Abū Dāʾūd, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 9, Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 290, 399). In law therefore the mourners are recommended to settle this matter quickly (al-Nawawī, i. 221). In the Ḥadīth we find contradictory statements regarding the question whether Muhammad held the *ṣalāt al-djināza* on behalf of those who had been legally executed (Abū Dāʾūd, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 47, al-Nasāʾī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 63, 64). We shall hardly be wrong if we suppose that this salāt also retained certain pre-Muhammadan customs (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion* in the *Verh. A. W.*, New Series, vol. xviii., Nº. 1, Chap. 2 and 3). According to Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (ed Juynboll, p 47 *sq*), the following is the order of the ṣalāt for the dead. the Imām stands at the top of the bier in the case of a man, at the bottom in the case of a woman (this is the old tradition; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 63, Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 87, 88 etc.); he pronounces the *niya* and utters four *takbīr*'s with hands raised, at the first he recites the *fātiḥa*, at the second he utters the eulogy on Muḥammad, at the third he pronounces the *duʿāʾ*

for the dead man, at the fourth a *duʿāʾ* for those who take part in the service; the two *taslīma*'s conclude the ceremony.

Difference of opinion prevails regarding the place where the *ṣalāt al-ǧanāʾiz* should be held. There are indications that in the ancient Medīna the *muṣallā* [q. v.] was used, for example in the case of the service for Naǧāshī [q. v.], who died in Abyssinia (al-Bukhārī, *Ǧanāʾiz*, bāb 4, Muslim, *Ǧanāʾiz*, trad. 63, 64). In Ibn Saʿd, I/ii. 14, it is said that the *ṣalāt* was held by Muhammad in the home of the deceased. People therefore thought it an innovation when the body of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās was brought into the mosque at the request, it is said, of ʿĀʾisha or of the widows of the Prophet. ʿĀʾisha is said to have replied to the complaints that were made: "How short is the memory of the people. Muḥammad was indeed wont to hold this ṣalāt in the mosque" (Muslim, *Ǧanāʾiz*, trad. 99—101). Muslim's commentator, al-Nawawī, gives on this passage (as al-Zurkānī does on Mālik, *Ǧanāʾiz*, triad 22) the points of view of the different schools with reference to the legal category in which they place the holding of this *ṣalāt* in the mosque (on the question cf also *Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, p. 2—4) In any case it is the custom in various parts of the Muslim world to-day to perform this salāt in a mosque (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 526; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 189). In Atjeh, on the other hand, as is usually also the case on Java, it takes place in the front part of the enclosure before the house of the deceased (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 423, do, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv.[1] 242). This is at least permitted by the law although not recommended (it depends on the *madhhab*).

The body is not necessarily present at the salāt. In Mekka it is the custom to hold the *ṣalāt al-ǧināza* for residents who have died away from home (*Mekka*, ii 189) Justification may be claimed for this practice in the widespread tradition according to which Muḥammad held a service in Medīna for the dead Naǧāshī (cf. above).

V

The question of the significance of the salāt is usually approached in a one-sided fashion by European critics. They like, it must be admitted, to follow Ranke in placing a high value on the salāt as a disciplinary measure and certainly it is difficult to appreciate this too highly A considerable part of the life of the community must have centred in and around the ṣalāt in Medīna in Muḥammad's life-time and through it the transformation of the old Arab mind into the Muslim must have taken place. The same phenomenon was afterwards repeated in the provinces of the Caliphate. The salāt must have been one of the most effective formative elements in the communities

The European, on the other hand, usually forms his judgment of the salāt from his own point of view; the Protestant misses the intensification, the Roman Catholic the imposing ceremonial.

Both attitudes are wrong from scientific standpoint. Whoever wishes to gain a clear idea of the significance of the ṣalāt must ask the question: "what does it mean to the Muslim?"

This question may be partly answered by observing the enthusiasm for the ṣalāt displayed by Muslims in different countries. The results of such observations almost everywhere go to suggest that there are few Muslims who regularly observe the five daily ṣalāts (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/i 8, 16). In the Dutch East Indies the Achehnese so prominent in the *Ḏiʿhād* [q. v.] only take part in small numbers in the congregational ṣalāt; in Banten (Java), in Palembang (Sumatra) and in isolated parts of the Archipelago on the other hand we find it much more religiously observed (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/ii. 343 *sq.*; *De Atjèhers*, i. 89 *sq*.).

Lane's remarks regarding the ṣalāt in Egypt (*Manners and Customs*, p. 98) are important: "The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator — humble and downcast, yet without affected humility or a forced expression of countenance".

A rich source for the study of the significance of the salāt in the religious life is to be found in the literature. For the first two centuries it is mainly the Hadīth that we have to use In the enumeration of the five pillars of Islām the salāt always appears in the second place (al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, bāb 2, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 19—22; in passing it may be noted that the first pillar is variously given) In the so frequently recurring story of the untutored Bedūn who suddenly asks Muhammad the question. "How shall I be saved?" the latter answers with a list of the duties imposed by Islām upon the believers, viz.: five ṣalāts daily, fasting in Ramadān and zakāt (al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, bāb 34, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 8) In other traditions also, which enumerate the obligations of a Muslim, as, for example, in the commission given to Muʿādh b. Ǧabal when he was sent by Muhammad to Yemen, we find mentioned besides the *tawḥīd* or the service of Allāh the five salāts and the zakāt (e g. al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 29—31). Here the ḥaǧǧ and the fasting in Ramadān are omitted In the scale of the most meritorious works the ṣalāt often appears in the first place (al-Bukhārī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 5; cf. Ibn Mādja, *Taharāa*, bāb 4, al-Dārimī, *Wuḍūʾ*, bāb 2). The strict observation of the five daily salāts secures admission into Paradise (al-Nasāʾī, *Iḳāma*, bāb 6, Mālik, *Ṣalāt al-Lail*, trad. 14 etc.). The omission of the ṣalāt is a bridge to unbelief and heathenism. "between man and polytheism and unbelief lies the neglect of the ṣalāt" (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 134; cf. al-Nasāʾī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 8).

The cleansing power of the salāt is allegorically described in Tradition. "The ṣalāt is like a stream of sweet water which flows past the door of each one of ye, into it he plunges five times a day, do ye think that anything remains of his uncleanness after that?" (Mālik, *Ḳaṣr al-Ṣalāt fi 'l-Safar*, bāb 91; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 71 *sq.*, 177, ii 375, 426, 441, iii. 305, 317 etc.). It is described without allegory in the equally well-known tradition: "an obligatory ṣalāt is a cleansing for the sins which are committed between it and the

following one" (*op. cit.*, ii. 229; as is well known grievous sins are usually excluded from the cleansing effect of pious exercises (*op. cit.*, ii. 359).

We have just quoted the tradition according to which the observation of the daily ṣalāts secures entrance into Paradise. The following utterance goes still further: "He who knows that the ṣalāt is a compulsory duty will enter Paradise" (*op. cit.*, i. 60). At the final reckoning on the Day of Resurrection the more or less faithful observance of the ṣalāt will be a consideration of the first importance. "The first thing to be dealt with is the ṣalāt; if this point is in order, the man has attained bliss; if not then he is lost (cf. al-Nasā'ī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 9; al-Tirmiḏhī, *Mawāḳit*, bāb 188, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 161 *sq.*, 171, ii. 290 etc.).

The ṣalāt should be performed devoutly with concentrated attention. It is often related how Muhammad put away one of his garments because figures woven on it distracted his attention at the ṣalāt (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 14; al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳibla*, bāb 20; cf. bāb 12).

That the salāt does not, as is sometimes said, imply only the performance of a duty but that the heart is in it too is seen from the following tradition: Muhammad said: "Of wordly things women and perfume are dearest to me and the salāt is the comfort of my eyes" (Ahmad b Ḥanbal, iii. 128 bis, 285). Weeping at the salāt is also sometimes mentioned (Abū Dā'ūd, *Salāt*, bāb 156, al-Nasā'ī, *Sahw*, bāb 18, Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 188, iv 25 bis, cf 26)

By far the most significant characteristic of the ṣalāt is the one which we find in two different settings, namely that the salāt is intimate conversation with Allāh On the one hand it is found in the Ḥadīṯ, in which spitting in the direction of the *Ḳibla* during the salāt is forbidden, the reason given being that the ṣalāt is intimate conversation with Allāh (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 39, *Mawākit*, bāb 8, Muslim, *Masāḏid*, trad 54, Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii 34 *sq*, 144, iii. 176, 188, 199 *sq.*, 234, 273, 278, 291 etc.). On the other hand we find it expressed in the following form "If one of ye performs the ṣalāt he is in confidential converse with his Lord; at that time he ought to know exactly what he says in this way with his Lord; therefore no one should drown the voice of another at the recitation" (Aḥmad b Hanbal, ii 36, 67, 129). An illustration to this utterance is given in the following *Ḥadīth kudsī*: Allāh says. "I have divided the ṣalāt into two halves between Myself and My servant, one of which belongs to Me while the other is for My servant and My servant obtains what he asks". The Messenger of God said "recite! when the servant says: "Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds!", Allāh says: "My servant hath praised Me", when the servant says: "to the Merciful and Compassionate", Allāh says: "My servant hath glorified Me"; when the servant says. "to the Lord of the Day of Judgment", Allāh says: "My servant hath praised Me", when my servant says: "Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help", Allāh says: "this verse is between Me and My servant and he receives what he has prayed for"; when the servant says: "lead us the right way, the way of those whom Thou favourest, with whom Thou art not angry and who do not err", Allāh says: "This belongs to My servant and he receives what he has prayed for" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 460).

That the ṣalāt was also used as a means of healing is not remarkable in view of similar phenomena in other religions (Ibn Mādja, *Ṭibb*, bāb 10; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 390, 403). At the same time we may mention the *Ṣalāt al-Ḥāḏja*, which is observed to secure the attainment of some ardently desired object (al-Tirmiḏhī, *Witr*, bāb 17), and the *Ṣalāt al-Istiḵhāra* [see ISTIḴHĀRA] before a more or less important decision (al-Bukhārī, *Tahaḏḏud*, bāb 25; Abū Dā'ūd, *Witr*, bāb 31, al-Tirmiḏhī, *Witr*, bāb 18, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 344 etc.).

The description of the salāt as *munāḏāt* is characteristic of the meditative tendency found even in the oldest Islām (on this see especially L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922); it has certainly been one of the main avenues by which mysticism entered Islām from without.

One of the oldest Muslim mystics, al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 = 857), wrote a tractate on the significance of the ṣalāt (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259, note 1) and the philosopher al-Tirmiḏhī (d. 285 = 898) expounded the mystical side of the salāt in 42 aphorisms (quoted in Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 259) Among the more modern mystics the salāt gives place in importance to *Dhikr* and *Wird*. Al-Kushairī does not devote a separate chapter to it in his *Risāla*. In al-Hudjwīrī it appears as especially suitable for novices, who are to recognise in it to some extent a reflection of the whole mystic way. To them the *ṭahāra* represents the conversion, the *ḳibla* the dependence on spiritual leadership, the recitation the *dhikr*, the *rukūʿ* humility, the prostration self-knowledge, the *tashahhud* the *uns*, the *taslīm* renunciation of the world. Of the real mystics everyone sees something different in the ṣalāt to one it is a means to *ḥuḍūr* with God, to another to *ghaiba* (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl Nicholson, *Gibb Mem. Ser*, xvii. 301 *sqq.*). Al-Hudjwīrī, however, also emphasises the affection of various Sūfīs for the salāt.

Of the philosophers, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) is only to be mentioned here, who wrote a short treatise on the ṣalāt (*Fī 'l-Kashf ʿan māhiyat al-Ṣalāt wa-ḥikma Tashrīʿihā* in *Djāmiʿ al-Badā'iʿ*, Cairo 1335 (1917), p 2—14). According to him, the essence of the ṣalāt is the recognition of God in His existence and necessity of it. It is exoteric or esoteric according to the character of the believer who performs it The law-giver knew that not all men can ascend the steps of the spirit. Such men therefore require corporal discipline and compulsory mortification, to keep their natural impulses in check. This is the exoteric side of the ṣalāt. Its true esoteric significance is the *mushāhadat al-Ḥaḳḳ* with pure heart and a soul which is liberated and purified from desires (*amānī*). Ibn Sīnā then proceeds to deal with the saying that a man at prayer is in intimate converse with his Lord (see above). This can, he says, only happen outside of the material world. Those who are in this state of mind are spiritually in the presence of God and they gaze upon the deity (*al-Ilāh*) in a real vision. The ṣalāt is therefore a real *mushāhada* and a pure worship, i.e. the real divine love and spiritual vision.

Al-Ghazālī's chapter *Ṣalāt* has in the *Iḥyā'* in the *Rubʿ al-ʿIbādāt* a position between *Ṭahāra*

and *Zakāt* (as in the Fiḳh). As with the other *ʿIbādāt* it should be observed in this case also with what painful accuracy he describes the legal regulations (ed Cairo 1302, i. 140 *sqq.*) and how on the other hand he raises the ṣalāt to an ethico-mystical level which sufficiently meets all the demands of intensification After what has been said above in II and III, we need only briefly survey here the latter side of his exposition. The inward *maʿānī* which bring the life of the ṣalāt to perfection are the six following. the presence of the heart (*ḥuḍūr al-ḳalb*), understanding, respect (*taʿẓīm*), reverence (*haiba*), hope and humility (*ḳayā'*).

Particularly significant are his remarks on the presence of the heart (p. 145). The fakīhs demand the presence of the heart only at the *takbīr*; according to the *Fuḳahā' al-mutawarriʿūn* and the *ʿUlamā' al-Ākhira*, on the other hand, the heart should be present at the whole ṣalāt. But only very few succeed in achieving this. The ideal ṣalāt is that of Hātim al-Asamm, who said "When the time for the salāt arrives, I perform a copious *wuḍū'* and go to the place where I want to perform the salāt. There I sit till my limbs are rested, then I stand up, the *Kaʿba* straight in front of me, the *ṣirāṭ* under my feet, Paradise on my right, Hell on my left and the Angel of Death behind me, and I think that this ṣalāt is my last. I then stand wavering between hope and fear, join in the *Takbīr* and *Taḥḳīḳ*, recite with *Tartīl*, perform the *Rukūʿ* in submission and the *Sudjūd* in humility, sit on my left thigh, spread out the upper part of the left foot and fix the right one on the great toe and accompany this with *Ikhlāṣ*. Then I do not know whether my salāt has been graciously accepted by Allāh or not (p. 139, 7 *sqq.*)

Al-Ghazālī lays down his ethical point of view in the sentence If his salāt does not restrain a man from evil and wrong-doing, he only obtains estrangement from God by it (cf. Sūra xvi 9).

In the chapter on "the useful remedies for securing the *ḥuḍūr al-ḳalb*" distracting thoughts are given as the principal obstacles which divert attention at the salāt. These enemies are to be overcome by fighting their causes These are of two kinds, external and internal The external causes of distraction (*ghafla*, in the Syriac mystics *fehyā*) come from the organs of sense One therefore ought to prevent these from being distracted. The *mutaʿabbidūn* therefore perform the ṣalāt in a dark cell with only sufficient room for the *sudjūd*. Ibn ʿUmar is said not to have allowed a single object in this cell. The internal causes of distraction exercise a much stronger effect They have their root in earthly cares, thoughts and occupations But desires have the most powerful influence. They are to be fought by meditation on the future world. All preparations for the ṣalāt and all its parts should be connected with the *Ākhira*. At the *adhān* one should think of the *nidā'* on the Day of the Resurrection. At the covering of the *ʿawra* one should enquire whether there is no internal *ʿawra* etc.

The highest goal of the ṣalāt is complete absorption in the Deity by humiliating oneself. Sufyān al-Thawrī is reputed to have said: „If a man does not know humility, his salāt is invalid". This is laid down in two special sections (*Bayān Ishtirāṭ al-Khushūʿ wa-Ḥuḍūr al-Ḳalb*, p. 145 *sq.*, and *Ḥikāyāṭ wa-Akhbār fī Ṣalāt al-Khāshiʿīn*, p. 157 *sq.*). In the latter he shows by several examples how much the great leaders used to be absorbed in their ṣalāt

(A. J. Wensinck)

SALGHURIDS, one of the dynasties known as Atābaks, or Regents, which arose on the ruins of the empire of the Saldjūḳs. Salghur was the chief of a band of Turkmāns who migrated into Khurāsān and attached themselves to Tughril Beg [q. v], the first of the Great Saldjūḳs. Būzāba [q.v], one of Salghur's descendants, was killed in battle by Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd, the fourth of the Saldjūḳ kings of ʿIrāḳ and Kurdistān, and his nephew, Sunḳur b. Mawdūd, rose against the Saldjūḳ and in 1148 established his independence in Fārs, where he founded a dynasty which ruled for more than 120 years but seldom enjoyed complete sovereignty, being tributary first to the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ, then to the Shāhs of Khwārizm, and lastly to the Mongols. Sunḳur died in 1161 and was succeeded by his brother, Zangī b. Mawdūd, who was molested at the beginning of his reign by his cousins, the Atābaks of Syria, who claimed the throne of Fārs After overcoming them he did homage to Arslān b. Ṭughril I, Saldjūḳ of ʿIrāḳ, who confirmed him as ruler of Fārs On his death in 1175 he was succeeded by his elder son, Takla, who remained tributary to the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and reigned for twenty years. On his death in 1194 the throne was claimed both by his cousin Ṭughril, the son of Sunḳur, founder of the dynasty, and by his younger brother, Saʿd b. Zangī [q. v.]. Tughril first gained possession of the capital and assumed the royal title, but Saʿd maintained the contest for eight years, during which period the kingdom was devastated and depopulated. In 1203 Saʿd captured Tughril and ascended the throne During the early part of his reign he was occupied in restoring prosperity to his country, which had been wasted by famine and pestilence Meanwhile the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ had been overcome by the Shāhs of Khwārizm, who in 1194 had annexed their country. Saʿd attacked ʿAlā al-Dīn Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, but was defeated and taken prisoner by him, and as a condition of his release was obliged to cede Iṣṭakhr and Ushkunwān, and to agree to pay the tribute which had formerly been paid to the Saldjūḳs. He is famous as the ruler from whom the great poet Saʿdī took his *takhallus* or pen-name He reigned for twenty-eight years, and on his death in 1231 [but cf. SAʿD B. ZANGI] he was succeeded by his son Abū Bakr, who had attempted to usurp the throne during his father's captivity and had been for this offence condemned to imprisonment, from which he was released at the instance of Djalāl al-Dīn Mangobartī, Shāh of Khwārizm. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom, but was obliged to pay homage and tribute first to Ogotāī Khān, supreme Khān of the Mongols as son and successor of Cingīz Khān, and afterwards, in 1256, to Hulāgū, the Mongol Il-Khān of Persia. Ogotāī Khān conferred on him the title of Ḳutlugh Khān Abū Bakr died in 1260, and was succeeded by his son, Saʿd II, who reigned for no more than twelve days, when he died and was succeeded by his infant son, Muḥammad, whose nominal reign was ended by his death in October, 1262 The child was succeeded by his cousin, Muḥammad Shāh, son of Salghur, the younger son of Saʿd I. Muḥammad Shāh was overthrown and put to death on July 18, 1263, and

was succeeded by his younger brother, Saldjūḳ Shāh b. Salghur, who was defeated and slain by the Mongols in December, 1264. Fārs had been tributary to the Mongol Il-Khān of Persia since 1256, but Saldjūḳ's cousin Abish Khātūn, daughter of Sa'd II, was raised to the throne and permitted to reign alone for a year, at the end of which time Mangū Tīmūr, the fourth son of Hulāgū, married her, and ruled her kingdom in her name, and it was not until her death, in 1284, that the dynasty came to an end.

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SALḤĪN, Silḥīn, the residence of the Sabaean kings in Mārib in South Arabia, the capital of the kingdom of Saba'. The name of this castle is already mentioned in the ancient South Arabian inscriptions. In the foundation inscription Glaser 482/3, which is placed on the temple of Almaḳah (called Haram Bilḳīs by later generations and lying due S.S E 50 minutes from the modern village of Mārib), King Karība'īl Wātir Yuhan'im of Saba' and Hālik'amar, son of Karība'īl, speaks of renovations in this temple which were undertaken for the good of the castle of Salḥīn (*Slḥn*) and of the city of Mārib (*Maryab*) The inscription Osiander 31, 3 speaks of a dedication in favour of the donors of the inscription, who are obviously to be regarded as lords of the castle, and of the castle of Salḥīn. In the inscription of king Ilīsharaḥ Yaḥdib (*Bibl Nat*, N°. 2) Salḥīn is mentioned along with the ancient castles of Ghumdān and Ṣirwāh The Sabaean inscriptions Glaser 828—30, 12, 870—872, 5, 1076, 13 *sq*, 1082, 13 are very interesting They record a treaty of friendship concluded between the Sabaean king 'Alhān Nahfān and his sons on the one side and king Gadarat of Habashāt on the other. The passage in question runs: "and that Salḥīn and Zurarān and 'Alhān and Gadarat shall be like brothers in truth and fidelity". D. H. Muller (*Epigraphische Denkmaler aus Abessinien*, p. 76, *Sudarab. Altertumer*, p. 9) has rightly pointed out — against J. H. Mordtmann and M. Hartmann — that this juxtaposition is to be interpreted to mean that Salḥīn and Zurarān represent the ancient residence of the kings of Saba' and Ḥabashāt. The suggestion put forward by M. Hartmann (*Die Arabische Frage*, p. 158) that Salḥīn is the modern Ḥaram Bilḳīs is further disposed of by the fact that the latter has been proved to be the ancient temple of Almaḳah and is called 'Awm in the inscriptions (N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II. 7) and has therefore nothing to do with Salḥīn.

The importance of this ancient royal palace of the Sabaean kings is also shown by the fact that the Ethiopian king 'Ēzānā (Αἰζανας, about 350 A.D) in the great inscriptions of Aksūm (N°. 4, 3, 6, 2, 7, 2, 8, 3, 9, 2, 10, 3/4, 11, 3) bears the name of the castle of Salḥīn among his official titles, just as the Emperors of Austria used to call themselves Counts of Habsburg. The name Salḥīn appears there in the Greek text as Σιλεη (Σιλεην), in the Ethiopian as *Salḥēn*, in Sabaean *Slḥnᵐ* and *Slḥ*. There was therefore a twofold pronunciation, Silḥīn and Salḥīn, even in ancient times. E. Osiander, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1856, x. 26, shrewdly connected the former name with that of the town שִׁלְחִים in the tribe of Judah (Joshua, xv. 32). The form *Slḥ* is of interest because the same name is also found in the great inscription of Ṣirwāḥ (Glaser 1000 B, 5g) which is perfectly preserved and contains over 1,000 words (*baithu slhm*) and presumably indicates likewise the royal castle of Mārib.

Poetry and folklore have woven their legends round the ancient castle as round many others. To the successors of the ancient Sabaeans it seemed the work of demons or devils, who built it in 70 years by Solomon's command for the Ḥamdanid king Dhū Bata', when Solomon married Bilḳīs This is, however, only one story. According to others, Salḥīn was built in 80 years by order of one of the Himyar rulers (*Tubba's*). Others again say that a castle was built in the royal residence of Salḥīn in Mārib, which belonged to the kings of the Himyars, it was built by order of Bilḳīs, queen of Saba', daughter of Hadhād, and in it her wonderful throne stood which is mentioned in the Ḳor'ān, Sūra xxvii 23 It was also said that Solomon built the palace for Bilḳīs. It should be mentioned that al-Hamdānī as well as Nashwān al-Himyarī expressly describe Salḥīn as a royal residence or capital of Mārib.

There was no longer anything left of this castle in the Muslim period The waves of the Ethiopian conquest (525 A.D.) no doubt swept over this ancient royal residence, which had already lost most of its former importance with the transference of the capital of the kingdom from Mārib to Zafār. Salḥīn, as well as Bainūn, Ibn Hishām tells us, was destroyed by the Ethiopian general Aryāṭ

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i., Munich 1889, p. 35, 36, 88, 89, 95; ii., Berlin 1890, p. 500—502, do., *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte Alt-Abessiniens*, Graz 1894, p. 21, 23; do., *Reise nach Mârib* (Collection Eduard Glaser, i., ed. by D. H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913), p. 138, 139; *M.V.A.G.*, 1923, xxviii. 97, 98; C. Conti Rossini, *Sugli Ḥabašāt*, *R.R.A.L.*, 1906, xv. 49; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, *II*, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 149, 158; F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii. 654, 666 and note 1.

(Adolf Grohmann)

al-ṢALĪB (A., plural *Ṣulub*, *Ṣulbān*), the cross This general meaning occurs in several special applications, e. g. to the *wasm* branded in the skin of camels in the form of a cross etc. In the sense of the chief Christian symbol the word may have been taken over from Aramaic where it has the same form. It does not occur in the Ḳor'ān. In Ḥadīth it is used in eschatological descriptions ʿĪsā (Jesus) will reappear in the last days, combat the Antichrist (al-Dadjdjāl), kill the swine and break the cross into pieces (al-Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 49, Muslim, *Īmān*, Trad. 242, 243; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33, Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii 240, 272 etc). On Doomsday all religious communities will appear before Allāh with their symbols or idols. The Christians will follow the cross and, on their confession that they did worship the Masīh ibn Maryam, be thrown into Hell (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24).

Further al-Bukhārī speaks of a *thawb muṣallab*, a garment or cloth into which the form of the cross was woven, and which ʿĀ'isha removed on Muhammad's order, because it distracted his attention from the *ṣalāt* (*Ṣalāt*, bāb 15).

Lexicographers call the cross the *ḳibla* of the Christians; apparently they were acquainted with the Christian custom of praying before the crucifix.

In ʿUmar's treaties with the inhabitants of several towns of Palestine a special *amān* for their churches and crosses was granted them (al-Ṭabarī, i 2405 *sqq.*). A document belonging to a late period of tradition and of doubtful authenticity prohibits the public use of the cross as a Christian symbol (Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber*, p 165 *sq* ; Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 137; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Anno 17, § 174 *sq*).

In the debate between Christian and Muslim doctors at the court of al-Ma'mūn the Christian worship of the cross is one of the controversial points between the combatants (cf. A. Guillaume, *A Debate between Christian and Moslem Doctors* in the *Centenary Supplement to the J.R.A.S.*, October 1924, p. 242).

In the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 583 (1187) the Muslims captured the *Ṣalīb al-ṣalabūt* "the cross of the crucifixion", a cross in which a piece of the true cross was incorporated (*Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens orientaux*, i. 685) See further the articles ʿĪsā and NAṢĀRĀ. In Christian Arabic literature the Christian legends concerning the cross, its recovery etc. have found their place. The verb *ṣalaba* denotes the Oriental form of crucifixion as a capital punishment.

On the diminutive form Ṣulaib cf. this article.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

ṢĀLIḤ, a prophet who was sent to the Arab people Thamūd. He is, as usual, depicted as a sign and a warning in the style of Muḥammad; he demanded that his countrymen should turn to him and pray to Allāh alone (Sūra 7, 71, 11, 64, 26, 141); he called their attention to the benefits received from God (7, 72, 51, 43) and prided himself on seeking for no reward from them (26, 145). But they rejected him abruptly, called him bewitched (26, 153), a man like themselves, who could make no claim to revelations (54, 24), they could not surrender the religion of their fathers (11, 65) and scorned the idea of a day of judgment (69, 4). His appearance produced a schism in the people (27, 46) for only the weak believed in him, while the strong scoffed at him (7, 73). The only new feature was that they had placed their hope in him before he irritated them by his preaching (11, 64), which, if based on some corresponding incident, would be an interesting contribution to the history of Muḥammad. Then follows the special story of this prophet. Allāh sent them as a sign a she-camel (17, 61) and Ṣāliḥ begged them to allow it to feed unharmed and to share water with it (7, 71, 26, 155, 54, 28). But they lamed it and killed it (7, 75, 11, 68, 26, 157) through the hand of a particularly godless individual among them (91, 12, 54, 29) and scornfully asked Ṣāliḥ to inflict the threatened punishment (7, 75). He told them to hide three days in their houses (11, 68), then a tremendous storm broke out (11, 70, 51, 44; according to 7, 76 an earthquake, cf. also 54, 31, 69, 5) and on the following morning they lay dead in their houses. In the later Muslim stories of prophets these brief features are elaborated in various ways

This story has a certain amount of foundation in fact in as much as the Thamūd, according to 7, 72 the successors of the ʿĀdīs, were an ancient Arab tribe known also from other sources (see the art. THAMŪD). The dwellings which the Thamūd had hewn out of the rocks (89, 8, 7, 72, 26, 149), often mentioned in the texts, the remains of which were still visible (29, 37), are undoubtedly the tombs, containing remains of human bones, hewn in the rocks of al-ʿŪla (see AL-ḤIDJR), which has led Philippe Berger to the further supposition that the word *kafrā* (tomb) found in the inscriptions there may have been explained as *kufr* (unbelief) But whence Muhammad got the name Sālih and the story of the camel cannot be ascertained It is further remarkable that the stories of Ṣāliḥ and Hūd [q. v.] are in contradiction to the usual teaching of Muḥammad in the Mekkan period to the effect that no prophet had been sent to the Arabs before him (28, 46, 32, 2, 34, 43, 36, 5). The stories of these two prophets are found in the earliest Mekkan Sūras e.g. 53, 51 *sq* , 85, 17 *sq.*, 89, 8, 91, 11 *sqq.*, and frequently recur in the following sections, on the other hand they disappear in the Medīna revelations except for the brief enumeration in 9, 71

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al-Anbiyāʾ or *ʿArāʾis al-Madjālis*, Cairo 1290, p. 58 *sqq*; Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892—95, ii. 80; Philippe Berger, *L'Arabie avant Mahomet d'après les inscriptions*, Paris 1885; The Qurʾân, transl. Palmer *(Sacred Books of the East)* i. 147 *sq*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii/i. A. H. 9 § 34; cf. Register. (FR. BUHL)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL, son of Sulṭān al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in the year 598 (1202) He is not mentioned in connection with the division of the lands which his father made among his brothers. He is mentioned for the first time in 623 (1226) as a partisan of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā; he is described as lord of Bosrā. After Muʿazzam's death he attached himself to his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd, by whose side we often find him fighting. He was with him in the battle at Damascus in 626 (1229) and when Dāʾūd was forced to capitulate, he was left in possession of his fief Boṣrā. In the next year, we find him in the service of his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, who sent him to the siege of Baʿalbek, which he was to take from al-Malik al-Amdjad Bahrām Shāh, Ismāʿīl forced the latter to surrender after a long siege. On the death of his brother Mūsā in 635 (1237), he inherited Damascus and he began to play a more important if afterwards despicable part As he had good reason to fear his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil, Sultān of Egypt, he concluded an alliance with the Aiyūbid princes of Syria (except with the prince of Hamā). He then prepared to stand a siege as he had already news of the advance of al-Kāmil and his nephew Dāʾūd His resistance availed him little, he had soon to surrender Damascus and received in compensation Baʿalbek and al-Biḳāʿ, while Boṣrā also remained to him

The remaining part of his life is so closely associated with the careers of his nephews al-Malik al-Sālih Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb and Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II, that the reader may be referred to their biographies. Ismāʿīl was killed in Cairo in the year 648 (1250) when fighting with Sulṭān Yūsuf in the battle of ʿAbbāsa against the Egyptians. He repeatedly allied himself with the Khwārizmīs and the Franks out of selfish ambition and love of power to the detriment of his subjects and fellow-Muslims.

Bibliography: See the article AL-MALIK AL-SĀLIḤ NADJM AL-DĪN AIYŪB. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL, son of Sultān Muhammad al-Nāṣir [q v] of the line of Kalāʾūn, was chosen Sulṭān at the age of 17 after the deposition of his brother Ahmad (743 = 1342) whose cruelty had aroused the fury of the Amīrs. He was considered a virtuous and pious young man, but later fell under the destructive influence of his harem. After making new appointments to the principal administrative posts in the provinces, his next task was to put an end to the intrigues of his brother Ramaḍān, who was soon captured and executed. He then proceeded to fight his brother Aḥmad in Kerak, which cost great efforts and expenditure in troops. He tried to gain the Bedouins of the neighbourhood to his side to make it difficult for Aḥmad to get supplies, but the latter's watchfulness foiled the attempt. On the other hand Ismāʿīl feared he would lose support as even his vizier was in secret negotiation with Ahmad. In the beginning of 744 (1344) he appointed another Amīr vizier and sent an expedition to Kerak, by which he finally captured the town and took the citadel also, when reinforcements arrived in the beginning of 745. Aḥmad was taken prisoner. A few days later he was strangled in prison. The struggle with Aḥmad had occupied all Ismāʿīl's time and means, so that he had neglected everything else. He is a typical example of the decline of Oriental dynasties. His time and strength were entirely absorbed in wars against his brothers and in excesses. As a result of the great expenditure at court, the revenues of the state declined and often the requisite money was not available for necessary military expeditions. His weakness was taken advantage of by the regular enemies of the Mamlūk kingdom, the Amīr of Mekka and of the Yemen, the dynasts of Asia Minor and the Beduin chiefs of Northern Syria, who rebelled against the governors in their lands under the Sultān's suzerainty. On the other hand the authority of the Caliph and of the Sultān remained unbroken in the remoter East and in India. Muhammad b Ṭughlak of Dehlī sent the Caliph an embassy to ask for investiture and declared himself vassal of the Sulṭān; he also asked for some people learned in the law to be sent to him to enable his subjects to become better acquainted with the principles of Islām. His requests were readily acceded to Sultān Ismāʿīl was so deeply affected by the struggle with Ahmad and his execution that he could not recover, he died in 746 (1345) after two months' illness when still only 20.

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AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NADJM AL-DĪN AIYŪB, the eldest son of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, son of Aiyūb, was born in 603 (1207). His father designated him successor in 625 (1228) and made him his representative in Egypt, while he was away on his campaigns in Syria At this time (Rabīʿ I, 626 = February, 1229) al-Kāmil ceded Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick for ten years The relations between Aiyūb and his father were disturbed in 628 (1231) by the slanders of one of al-Kāmil's wives who wanted to get the succession in Egypt for her son al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr She accused Aiyūb in a letter of trying for the throne while his father was still alive, as he had enlisted over 1,000 Mamlūks of his own. Al-Kāmil, secured by the peace with the Emperor, returned to Cairo to take the reins of power into his own hands again In 629 (1232) political conditions (the advance of the Tatars and of the Khwārizmīs up to the frontiers of the Empire) caused him to go to Syria and he gave the command of the army to Aiyūb in order to get him out of Egypt in this way.

Al-Kāmil achieved his object on this campaign of getting Mesopotamia into his own hands, as a strong bulwark against the Tatars and Khwārizmīs, and granted his son Aiyūb Ḥiṣn Kaifā as a fief and later, in 633 (1236), the towns of al-Ruhā (Edessa) and Ḥarrān conquered by him in addition.

Aiyūb's position with regard to the Tatars and Khwārizmīs cannot have been an easy one. He allied himself with the latter and took them into his service with the permission of al-Kāmil. In 635 (1238) he received Sindjār and Naṣībīn in addition to his other territory. So long as al-Kāmil was alive, Aiyūb was master of the east and no one dared attack him. This state of

affairs was altered, however, when al-Kāmil died in the same year (635) in Damascus, which his brother al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl had ceded to him two months before in return for Baʿalbek and Boṣrā. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil II was recognised in Cairo as al-Kāmil's successor and al-Malik al-Djawād Yūnus appointed governor of Damascus in his name. Aiyūb received the news of his father's death while he was besieging Raḥba; he at once raised the siege, but met with opposition from the Khwārizmīs who were in his service. Enraged at the thought of their booty escaping them, they were going to seize him and he had to take to flight. The Sulṭān of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, also tried to capture him, besieged ʿĀmid and divided the towns which Aiyūb possessed between Syrian and Mesopotamian princes even before he had captured them. Luʾluʾ, the ruler of Mosul, was also hostile to Aiyūb. He besieged him in Sindjār, where he had taken refuge. In this perilous position, Aiyūb was saved by the intervention of his highly esteemed Ḳāḍī, who regained for him the help of the Khwārizmis. This made it possible for him to relieve Sindjār and inflict a terrible defeat on Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ. Next he raised the siege of ʿĀmid and routed the Sulṭān of Rūm. Mesopotamia was now secured to him. In the next year (636) he was invited by al-Malik al-Djawād, governor of Damascus, to exchange Damascus for Sindjār, Rakḳa and ʿĀna, as the latter did not feel his position safe from Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil of Egypt Aiyūb handed over his eastern possessions to his son al-Muʿazzam Tūrān Shāh, while he granted the Khwārizmīs Harrān, al-Ruhā and the province of Djazīra. He then accepted the invitation, went with his army to Palestine and occupied Damascus

Sultān al-ʿĀdil and Prince Dāʾūd of Kerak decided to take the field against him But a number of the Amīrs abandoned the Sultān, whose love of pleasure had made him unpopular, and decided to join Aiyūb. Daʾūd himself offered his support on condition that he was given Damascus When Aiyūb refused, he returned to al-ʿĀdil. The Caliph, continually threatened by the Tatars and Khwārizmīs, had a lively interest in the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of Aiyūbid power generally, but he sent an envoy to Aiyūb in vain to negotiate a peace. In 637 (1240) Aiyūb left Damascus with 5,000 men and went to Nāblus to prepare for his advance on Egypt there He had also endeavoured to secure the support of his uncle, Ismāʿīl, who pretended to agree but deceived him by false messages (see Sobernheim, *Baalbek zu islamischer Zeit*, p. 9 of the reprint, and the account in al-Maḳrīzī, transl. Blochet, p. 445, and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ under the year 637) But Ismāʿīl made a secret agreement with the prince of Ḥimṣ and by promises tempted Aiyūb's troops to desert him and come to him in Damascus. Finally Aiyūb was left almost alone. In the meanwhile Dāʾūd of Kerak had again quarrelled with Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil and had begun negotiations with Aiyūb. But when he learned that Aiyūb was almost alone in Nāblus, he went thither with his army, took him prisoner and sent him to Kerak. He treated him well and refused to hand him over to his brother al-ʿĀdil. In the meanwhile the treaty between al-Kāmil and Frederick II regarding the occupation of Jerusalem had expired. Dāʾūd felt himself strong enough to take the city by force from the Franks, who would not hand Jerusalem over voluntarily. After a twenty-one days' siege, he succeeded in taking it in Djumādā I, 620 (Feb. 2, 1222); he destroyed its fortifications, which the Franks had rebuilt during the last months of their occupation.

Aiyūb's fortunes now began to turn. When, in spite of long negotiations between Dāʾūd, Ismāʿīl and al-ʿĀdil, no alliance was achieved, an agreement was made between Aiyūb and Dāʾūd through the intermediary of the prince of Ḥamā. Aiyūb was released in Ramaḍān of the same year and went with Dāʾūd to Jerusalem, where they concluded a treaty. Aiyūb was to receive Egypt, Dāʾūd Syria and the eastern provinces. The combination of the two princes naturally caused al-ʿĀdil great anxiety. He persuaded Ismāʿīl of Damascus to take the field against the two allies, while he himself went with an army to Bilbāʾīs. A section of the Mamlūks, the Ashrafīya (called after al-ʿĀdil's uncle, al-Ashraf Mūsā), were dissatisfied, deposed him and sent him as a prisoner to the citadel of Cairo; after some hesitation they offered the crown to Aiyūb, with the request that he should come at once to Bilbāʾīs. Aiyūb and Dāʾūd went at once to Egypt and everywhere received a hearty welcome from the Amīrs. After Aiyūb had occupied Cairo, he was recognised as ruler in the Friday *khuṭba* and later confirmed by the Caliph in a diploma. Al-ʿĀdil was kept prisoner in the citadel and not put to death till 645 (1247) when he declined to move to the fortress of Shawbak, as the Sulṭān ordered. Aiyūb was now secure in the possession of Egypt. In the East (Mesopotamia) his son Tūrān Shāh guarded his interests. The third member, Damascus, was still lacking to give him practically the empire of Saladin once more.

He therefore did not hand over to the unreliable Dāʾūd the lands between Egypt and Syria which he had occupied, nor Shawbak and Jerusalem, but declared the treaty of Jerusalem had been extorted from him. He avoided an open breach, however, by promising him Damascus as an independent possession when they would have conquered it together. In the next year (638 = 1240) Aiyūb busied himself securing the foundations of his rule in Egypt. He put down the rebellious Beduins in Upper Egypt, had the Amīrs whom he could not trust arrested one after the other and gave their fiefs to his own Mamlūks, it was then that he began the buildings on the present Nile (Bahr) island of Rōḍa (which was then still a peninsula): his palace and the barracks for his Mamlūks called Baḥrīs, who gave their name to the first Mamlūk dynasty (see the art. BAḤRĪ).

In the same year fighting broke out between Aiyūb and his enemies. Dāʾūd realised that he would never get any increase of territory from him and Ismāʿīl rightly felt himself threatened when Aiyūb sought to gain possession of Damascus. In the East Luʾluʾ, prince of Mosul, was reinforced and had taken ʿĀmid from Aiyūb's son, Tūrān Shāh, so that the latter now had only Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Ḳalʿat al-Haiṯham Ismāʿīl and Dāʾūd concluded an alliance with the Franks, in which they ceded them Tiberias, Shakif Arnūn and Ṣafed, and allowed them to purchase arms in Damascus. Relations between the Muslim and Christian leaders became so close that they did many things for each other. Thus the Franks handed over the prince al-Djawād, who had taken refuge with them, for a sum of

money to Ismāʿīl, who at once put him to death. Dāʾūd and Ismāʿīl in their turn warned the Franks of a mutiny of Muslim prisoners in Shakīf Arnūn, so that they moved the prisoners to ʿAkkā and put them to death there. The Franks and Ismāʿīl's troops now marched together against Aiyūb. The armies met between Ghazza and Ascalon. But when the Muslim troops went over to Aiyūb, the Franks were defeated and lost many prisoners, who were employed in the building operations on the island of Rōḍa in Cairo. The prisoners, however, were liberated by the peace concluded in the same year, which was a very favourable one for the Franks. They were allowed to retain their possessions in Palestine and Syria.

While in the next few years, Aiyūb kept out of Syria, fighting on a small scale went on with great cruelty between Dāʾūd and the Franks In 641 (1243) negotiations were going on between Aiyūb and Ismāʿīl, Aiyūb's son, al-Malik al-Mughīth, was to be liberated from his imprisonment by Ismāʿīl and Aiyūb was to be recognised as sovereign in the Friday prayer. But when Ismāʿīl learned that Aiyūb was secretly stirring up the Khwārizmīs against him, the negotiations fell through and before the end of the year Ismāʿīl and Dāʾūd had made a close alliance with the Franks and ceded to them large tracts of Palestine with Jerusalem and the holy Muslim places there. Dāʾūd, that most ardent enemy of the Christians, had to see the mass read in the Sakhra and hear bells rung in the Aḳṣā mosque. Aiyūb summoned the Khwārizmīs to help him against these allies and they came next year (642), temporarily occupying Jerusalem and wreaking frightful devastation. Aiyūb sent an army from Cairo to support the Khwārismīs Ismāʿīl in turn sent troops to the Franks who joined forces with them The hostile armies met at Ghazza in a terrible battle, in which the Khwārizmīs and Egyptians won a decisive victory. The Khwārizmī booty was countless As a result of this victory, the Egyptian troops were able to conquer Jerusalem and Palestine again, and they remained in Muslim hands down to 1918 Dāʾūd could only retain Kerak, al-Salt and Adjlūn. The Egyptian troops besieged Damascus, which held out for a long time. Ismāʿīl did not capitulate till next year (643 = 1245), surrendered Damascus and limited himself to Baʿalbek, Boṣrā and their dependencies In view of these successes the Khwārizmīs expected high pay and as this was not to their satisfaction they entered the service of Ismāʿīl and Dāʾūd and laid siege to Damascus on their behalf, which was defended by one of Aiyūb's generals and still held out at the beginning of 644 (1246). To put an end to the Khwārizmī terror, the princes of Aleppo and Himṣ, who had so far shown little sympathy for Aiyūb, sent their troops against the Khwārizmīs They were thereby forced to raise the siege and to go to meet the Aleppo troops. In the battle of Ḳasab the Khwārizmīs were severely beaten; one of their leaders was killed and another put to flight. Ismāʿīl sought refuge in Aleppo and enjoyed the protection of the ruler there, Yūsuf II, but lost Baʿalbek to Aiyūb: his sons and wives were taken prisoner to Cairo.

Dāʾūd also was deprived of all his possessions except Kerak and likewise sought refuge in Aleppo He appointed his youngest son his deputy. The ruler of Aleppo cherished a continual distrust of Aiyūb. He tried to secure himself against any further advance of the latter by getting prince al-Ashraf to hand over Ḥimṣ to him in 646 (1248) after a two months' siege.

Aiyūb, full of wrath, went to Damascus to fight Yūsuf II and sent one of his generals to Ḥimṣ to recapture the town from al-Ashraf. On his arrival in Damascus he heard of the arrival of the Crusaders, whom Louis IX had led against Damietta. This induced him to conclude a peace at once with Yūsuf through the intermediary of the Caliph. Although he was very ill, he set off in a litter and soon arrived in Ashmunain He could not prevent the landing of the Crusaders and the capture of Damietta, as the discipline of his army had become slack through his illness The Beduin tribe of Kināna, to whom was entrusted the guarding of the district, fled like cowards, because they thought they had been abandoned by the Sultān's troops.

Shortly before his death Aiyūb heard with joy that the older sons of Dāʾūd, who, dissatisfied with the transference of authority in Kerak to their younger brother, had attacked and taken prisoner the latter, were handing over the government of Kerak to him in exchange. He at once sent one of his Amīrs thither with troops to take over the fortress Aiyūb died on Shaʿbān 15, 647 (Nov 23, 1249), on his successor and the result of the Crusade see the art. SHADJAR AL-DURR). He was a skilful politician but no general, at least he hardly ever led his troops in person. His great ambition was to found an empire like Saladin and al-Kāmil, which should consist of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. By the end of his life he had achieved a considerable part of this, but the independent principality of Aleppo and the principality of Moṣul were not under his influence. He strengthened his position by the formation of a corps of Mamlūks, a measure of expediency for the moment, but which, as often in similar cases, brought about the ultimate fall of his dynasty (see the art. SHADJAR AL-DURR) He himself kept his Amīrs and officials firmly in control; they never dared speak unasked in his presence. He took a great interest, indeed an extravagant pleasure, in building. His palaces on the Nile peninsula Rōda, in Kabsh and his madrasa were famous in their day. He founded the town of Sālihīya as a frontier-fortress in Egypt.

Bibliography Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol iii ; also the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NŪR AL-DIN ISMĀʿIL of the line of Zangī, son of the Atābeg of Aleppo and Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn [q v], son of Zangī, succeeded his father on the throne in 569 (1173) at the age of eleven. A few weeks previously his circumcision had been celebrated with great ceremony and alms for the poor on a particularly large scale. His name was mentioned in the Friday prayer and put on the coins without opposition from the Amīrs in Damascus and Aleppo or from Saladin [q.v.]. Only his cousin Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzī of Moṣul, who was about to come to Nūr al-Dīn with troops which the latter intended to use against Saladin, seized the opportunity to occupy with his army the towns in the Djazīra belonging to Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks likewise thought it a suitable occasion and advanced on the fortress of Bāniyās. In this difficult situation the Amīrs had either to appeal to Saladin for help or come to terms with the enemy. They did the latter, left

Saif al-Dīn al-Ghāzī in possession of his conquests and made it clear to the Franks that they would only be unnecessarily irritating Saladin, who had suppressed the rising in Egypt and had no longer cause to fear Nūr al-Dīn. The Franks received an indemnity in addition and then retired. By the alliance with al-Ghāzī the centre of the administration was transferred to Aleppo and Ismāʿīl brought there in security, the regency and the government were taken over by capable men. The Amīrs of Damascus, whose influence was thus lessened, called in Saladin; the latter, enraged at the weakness shown in face of the Franks and at the surrender to al-Ghāzī, wrote Ismāʿīl a letter full of reproaches for not having asked his assistance. Just as earlier it had to be Nūr al-Dīn's endeavour to gain possession of Damascus in place of the weak Būrid Abak (see the art. BŪRĪ), so now it became absolutely necessary for Saladin to have the real power in his own hands. Formally he continued to profess himself Ismāʿīl's faithful liegeman. When he reached Damascus the citadel was not handed over to him; Raihān, one of Ismāʿīl's eunuchs, only surrendered it after several months' negotiations when Saladin again declared himself Ismāʿīl's faithful servant. No arrangement was come to between Saladin and Ismāʿīl, on the contrary the Aleppo government was secretly negotiating with the Franks. Saladin resolved to take the offensive. He captured Hamā and Hims and in Djumādā II, 570 (end of 1174) proceeded to besiege Aleppo But al-Ghāzī had asked Gumushtikīn as Ismāʿīl's ally for assistance The latter sent troops which, united with the Aleppo force, advanced on Hamā and threatened Saladin from the rear. Ismāʿīl, who cannot be denied the possession of a certain natural ability, conjured the people to defend him, the orphan, to the utmost as an act of gratitude for the benefactions of his father Moved by his appeal the citizens of Aleppo defended the town by sorties and held out on this occasion and later ones also; indeed, the people of Aleppo were unique in Syria in frequently showing a feeling of independence and a certain pride in their citizenship The commander of Aleppo, Gemishtikīn, was as unscrupulous in the struggle with Saladin as he was brave; he had even asked Sinān, the chief of the Assassins [q v.], to send his notorious murderers against Saladin. But they did not succeed in murdering Saladin and they suffered death for their attempt. Gemishtikīn had also gone so far as to release Count Raymund of Tripoli, who was a prisoner in Aleppo, and induced him to attack Hims. In this dangerous situation Saladin declared himself ready to hand over Hims and Hamā on condition that he was allowed to retain Damascus, as governor for Ismāʿīl. This offer was foolishly not accepted as al-Ghāzī was relying on getting the help of his brother ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī II. But the latter did not join in as he was on friendly terms with Saladin Saladin's army met their opponents at Ḥamā and he gained a decisive victory which settled the fate of Syria For a second time he besieged Aleppo, which he invested more tightly on this occasion, and forced Ismāʿīl to make peace in Shawwāl, 570 (1175). He retained Ḥamā, Ḥims, Damascus and several of the larger towns. Ismāʿīl was left only with Aleppo. This victory was of great importance because Saladin declared himself independent of Ismāʿīl and omitted Ismāʿīl's name from the Friday prayer and from the coins. Soon afterwards an envoy from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustaḍī arrived in Ḥamā and presented Saladin with the diploma of Sultanate (al-Salṭana) over Egypt and Syria in addition to the usual robes of honour. In the next year (571) there was fighting between Saladin and the Zangid princes after the conclusion of which Saladin again laid siege to Aleppo in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the same year. But the garrison and the civilian population defended themselves so bravely that he had to withdraw and definitely conclude peace at the beginning of the year 572 (July, 1175) The conditions of the earlier treaty were confirmed. Soon afterwards, at the request of his young sister, Ismāʿīl was ceded the castle of ʿAzāz by Saladin.

Henceforth there was peace between Saladin and Ismāʿīl The latter is even said by one authority to have intended to help Ismāʿīl to attain greater power again but was dissuaded by his Mamlūks from this Ismāʿīl seems to have been really satisfied with the secure possession of Aleppo. Of military enterprises there is further to be recorded an expedition against the territory of Djabal Summak (west of Aleppo; see Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, II. 21) in 572 (1175), the inhabitants of which wanted to join Sinān, the "Old Man of the Mountain", and the siege of Hārim, which he had to take from Gemishtikīn, whom he had for long been unable to trust. Gemishtikīn was convicted of having brought his treasure out of Aleppo and of having carried on negotiations with the Franks regarding the surrender of Ḥārim Ismāʿīl thereupon had him seized and soon afterwards put to death in 573 (1176). But the Franks held by their treaty with Gemishtikīn, advanced on Ḥārim in 574 and reduced the town to great straits Ismāʿīl sent it reinforcements on the appeal of its citizens and finally induced the Franks to withdraw on payment of an indemnity and by threatening to surrender the town to Saladin. He then had the town transferred to himself and appointed a governor. In 576 Ismāʿīl became very ill and designated ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd, prince of Mosul, as his successor, as he was unmarried and without direct descendants (and al-Ghāzī had died shortly before), because he thought him capable of withstanding Saladin. In the following year (577 = 1180) Ismāʿīl died. At his accession he was so young that he could not have been blamed for having lost his lands. How far he was responsible for the particularist policy by alliances with the Franks, cannot be decided. He kept possession of Aleppo with a strong hand. He seems from childhood to have been popular with his subjects and he was always bravely defended by them and his death was honestly lamented.

Bibliography: The fullest account is the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Historiens Orientaux*, I., Abu 'l-Fidā' and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil al-tawārīkh*, II, Ibn al-Athīr, *Histoire des Atabecs*, III., Kamāl al-Dīn, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, transl. Blochet, Paris 1900; and the literature of the Crusades quoted under SALADIN. (SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN ḤĀDIDJĪ, son of Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (see the art. SHAʿBĀN) of the line of Sulṭān Kalāʾūn, succeeded to the sulṭānate on the death of his brother ʿAlī as a boy of 6 in 783 (1381). Some months later he

was deposed on Ramaḍān 19, 784 (Nov. 26, 1382) by the Atābeg Barḳūḳ, as the kingdom required a man and not a boy on the throne. Ḥādjdjī was sent back to the harem and Barḳūḳ, as had been arranged before, was appointed Sulṭān (on the events down to the restoration and second deposition of Sulṭān Ḥādjdjī see the art. BARḲŪḲ). In 791 (1389) Ḥādjdjī, who was now 13, was once more installed as Sulṭān but badly treated and not allowed to interfere in the government by his Atābeg Yelboghā. It is related how he appointed his tailor court-tailor and gave him a robe of honour. The latter was robbed of his robe of honour, then beaten and imprisoned and only with difficulty liberated by one of the great Amīrs. The Sultān was very angry at Yelboghā's shameful treatment of him, even his father's old Mamlūks and the eunuchs and chamberlains were removed from him. He was relieved when Mintāsh (see the art. BARḲŪḲ) came into power again and allowed him more liberty. When Mintāsh afterwards began the campaign against Barḳūḳ in Syria, he took the Caliph and the Sultān with him to show the righteousness of his war against the rebel. This step was to prove to his disadvantage. While Barḳūḳ was beaten in the decisive encounter, he captured the insufficiently defended tent with the Caliph, the Sultān and the Kādīs Success was therefore on his side and in addition he was victorious in a second battle He hastened with his important prisoners to Cairo where in the meanwhile one of his supporters, the Amīr Butā, had seized the citadel and had him named as Sulṭān in the Friday prayer Ḥādjdjī was deposed by the Caliph by Barḳūḳ's orders He was allotted an abode in the citadel but was honourably treated by Barḳūḳ who frequently visited him In later years Barḳūḳ gave up these visits as Ḥādjdjī, who was of a cruel disposition, ill-treated his slave-girls and had music performed and songs sung to drown their cries He also took to drink and heaped insults on Barḳūḳ when he visited him. The family of the great Kalā'ūn ended with this unworthy scion.

Bibliography. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 538—540, 556—571; *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Paris MS Ar. 2068—2073.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ SALĀḤ AL-DĪN ṢĀLIḤ, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir of the line of Ḳalā'ūn, was chosen Sulṭān when 14 years old in place of his brother Ḥasan as a result of quarrels among the Mamlūks in 752 (1357). The feuds between the Amīrs did not cease in his reign, the eternal quarrel between the governors of the Syrian provinces and the dignitaries of the court in Cairo was also an important factor. When on his campaign in Syria he had succeeded by his prestige in withdrawing their supporters from the rebels and defeating them, the quarrelling among the cliques in Cairo broke out again. His addiction to pleasure prevented him from conducting the government himself to prevent the predominance of anyone Amīr with his followers. He thus fell a victim to the intrigues of the Amīrs; he was deposed in 755 (1354) and his brother Ḥasan recalled to the throne.

Bibliography: Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v. 490—499; *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Paris MS. Ar. 2068—2073 under al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ.

(SOBERNHEIM)

ṢĀLIḤ B ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABBĀS AL-ʿABBĀSĪ was born in Sawād or in the highlands of al-Balḳā' in the year 92 (710/11); he, along with Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Djurdjānī, commanded the expeditionary force sent to Egypt in pursuit of the last Umaiyad Caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and on Muḥarram 1, 133 (Aug. 9, 750) was appointed governor of this province On Shaʿbān 1, 133 (March 4, 751) he was recalled from Egypt and given the governorship of Palestine after installing his companion-in-arms Abū ʿAwn as his successor in Egypt. But by Rabīʿ I, 136 (Sept, 753) he was again given the governorship of Egypt along with the control of the finances of the country and was further appointed governor of Ifrīkiya so that the whole of the Maghrib was united under his rule. On Rabīʿ II 5, 136 (Oct. 8, 753) he entered Egypt but had to return to Palestine within a year and half on Ramaḍān 4 of the following year (Feb. 21, 755) as a result of a rebellion in Egypt and again handed over the governorship of Egypt and the financial control of the country to Abū ʿAwn. He had next to exchange Palestine for Syria (141 = 758/9) He undertook two campaigns against the Byzantines and died at Kinnesrīn or at ʿAin Ubāgh at the age of 58 after appointing his son al-Fadl governor of Hims

The name Ṣālih is found on two glass measure-stamps in the Fouquet collection in P. Casanova, *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet*, *M.M.A F.*, 1893, vi. 370, N°. 140, 141, and on copper coins of Ḥalab of the year 146 (763/4), and 148 (765/6) in H. Nutzel, *Katalog der orientalischen Munzen in den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 328, N° 2083/84, and p. 329, N°. 2086, cf also Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-i islāmīye Ḳatalogy*, p 284, N°. 769, 770, S. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus.*, *Cat. Orient coins*, i.200, ix. 94

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

ṢĀLIḤ B. MIRDĀS ABŪ ʿALI ASAD AL-DAWLA — see his genealogy in his biography in Ibn Khallikān, transl. by de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 631 — was one of the most important Beduin chiefs of the Nearer East in the fifth century A. H. His tribe was the Kilābī, who migrated under his leadership northwards from the ʿIrāḳ to Aleppo in the beginning of the fourth century and gained him this principality (see the art. ḤALAB). We know little of his character and private life but he seems to have been a brave and resolute man. He is mentioned for the first time in 399 (1008) as the ally of the otherwise unknown Ibn Muḥkam, when the latter appealed to him for help in defending Raḥba which he had captured. The alliance was not a close nor a loyal one. After a certain amount of friction, a reconciliation took place between the two leaders in which Ṣāliḥ married Ibn

Muḥkam's daughter. He continued to have his residence in Ḥilla, as Ibn al-Athīr expressly mentions. In spite of the family links which united them, the friendship with Ibn Muḥkam did not last. In the same year Ṣāliḥ had his father-in-law murdered, seized Raḥba and administered it in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph in Cairo whom he recognised as his suzerain in the Friday prayer In the next year (400 = 1009) he was involved in the affairs of Aleppo for the first time (see the art. ḤAMDĀNIDS). Manṣūr Mu'taḍā al-Dawla, son of the Ḥamdānid Mamlūk Lu'lu', was ruling there but his position was challenged by the pretender Abu 'l-Hidjdjā, grandson of Sayf al-Dawla. The latter had taken the Kilābīs into his service but they had gone over to Manṣūr who had promised them large tracts of land. In consequence it was easy for Manṣūr to beat the Ḥamdānid. But when the Kilābīs became pressing in their demands for their reward and invaded and plundered his lands, he had recourse to an old stratagem. He invited the Kilābī chiefs to a feast to discuss the matter, fell upon them and killed some and took the others prisoners. The story that 1,000 Kilābīs were killed on this occasion in addition to the chiefs may be an exaggeration. Ṣālih had so far to humiliate himself as to declare his wife to be divorced in favour of Mansūr For three years he languished in chains It was not till 405 (1014) that he succeeded in escaping, in chains, as some say, or, as others report, after sawing them through with a file that had been smuggled unto him. After lying in concealment for some time he gradually collected the Kilābīs around him again and attacked Mansūr. The latter was defeated, captured and put into the same chains, the story goes, as he had bound Ṣālih with. He was then released on certain conditions and handed over 5,000 dīnārs, 70 pounds of silver and 500 robes, but did not fulfil the condition that he should pay the Kilābīs half the revenues of Aleppo for the year 405 and marry Sālih to his daughter. The Kilābīs then laid siege to Aleppo and Manṣūr, who could not trust Fath, the commander of the citadel, fled to the Byzantines in 406 (1015) Fath came to terms with Sālih and delivered Aleppo over to ʿAlī b Ahmad al-ʿAdjamī, the Fāṭimid governor of Apamea The Caliph, angry at the flight of Manṣūr, recognised ʿAlī as governor, lauded Fath and Sālih to whom he gave the honorary title of Asad al-Dawla and granted him the promised half of a year's revenue of Aleppo (On the governors of Aleppo to the year 406—411 see above, p. 229 *sq.*). The rule of the Fāṭimids with their continually changing governors aroused the discontent of the Beduin tribes, who combined against Fāṭimid authority in 414 (1024) (see above II. 229 *sqq.*). Ṣālih conquered Aleppo, Ḥims, Baʿalbek and Sidon in the next two years and his authority stretched to beyond Anah on the Euphrates. When the power of the Fāṭimids increased again, the Caliph Ẓāhir sent a new army in 420 (1029) under Anushtikin al-Dizberī against whom Sālih took the field He fell in the battle of Ukhuwāna on the Jordan; his son Naṣr (see the art. SHIBL AL-DAWLA) escaped with a portion of the army and retained rule over Aleppo. Ṣālih's importance lies in the fact that he led his tribe from Mesopotamia to Aleppo and gave them permanent settlements there.

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ṢĀLIḤ B. ṬARĪF. We know very little definitely about this individual, the prophet of the Barghawāṭa of Tāmasnā (the western coast of Morocco) and the founder of their heresy, or at least it was he to whom it was attributed. According to the information transmitted by al-Bakrī and which later writers simply reproduce, Ṭarīf b. Shamaʿūn b. Yaʿḳūb b Isḥāḳ was one of the companions of Maysara, promoter of the Khāridjī insurrection in the Maghrib in the eighth century A. D. and the leader of a section of the Zenāta and of the Zwāgha; then he was recognised as their chief by the people of the Tāmasnā among whom he settled. His son Ṣālih succeeded him, declaring himself to be the prophet — the *Ṣāliḥ al-muʾminīn* of the Koʾān — sent to complete the mission of Muḥammad. He elaborated his doctrine, which he kept secret, then set out for the East leaving his power in the hands of his son al-Yās and saying that he would return under his seventh successor. Al-Yās in his turn kept this teaching secret and was succeeded by his son Yūnos who preached it and spread it by force of arms in the course of the third century A. H. in the lands now comprised in western Morocco, but the chronology is extremely vague The descendants of Ṣālih b. Tarīf continued to reign over the Barghawāṭa down to the period of their defeat by the Ifrānids of Salé (beginning of the xiᵗʰ century), then by the Almoravids (end of the xiᵗʰ century) and lastly by the Almoḥads (middle of the xiiᵗʰ century) — According to other traditions, hostile to the Barghawāta, Sālih was of Jewish origin and born at Barbāt in Spain, whence the name Barghawāta given to his followers. But these traditions are of no value. It may be asked if this enigmatic figure Salih is really the author of the heresy of the Barghawāta or rather if Yūnos, who spread it, did not, in order to give it more prestige, place it to the credit of his grandfather who had mysteriously disappeared and whose return was predicted. This would be quite in keeping with the psychology of the Berbers. An account of the teaching of Ṣālih b Ṭarīf will be found in the article BARGHAWĀṬA.

Bibliography: The only really important Muslim source is al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, p. 134—141; cf also René Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910, p. 48—51. The remainder of the Bibliography will be found in the article BARGHAWĀṬA.

(HENRI BASSET)

SALĪḤ. Arab historians and genealogists are unanimous in stating that the tribe or clan Salīḥ were the first Arabs who founded a kingdom in Syria, though the three princes mentioned by them appear not to be named on inscriptions or by Greek and Syrian authors. There is also doubt as regards their affiliation with other tribes; some reckon them to Ghassān, while others say they were a branch of Ḳudāʿa. Their first ruler is named al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr b. Mālik who was succeeded by his son Mālik after whom followed the latter's

son ʿAmr, the last of his line. This much seems certain that they were considered as being of South Arabian descent and that they were Christians as might be expected from their receiving their appointment from the Greek emperors. Arab historians tell us that they used to levy a poll-tax of two dīnārs upon all their subjects. One of their officials, named Sabṭa, came to levy this tribute upon a man belonging to the tribe of Ghassān named Djuʿ, who instead of paying killed him. This led to prolonged wars between Salīḥ and Ghassān with the result that the latter became established as rulers of the Syrian Arabs, the first ruler of whom was al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, surnamed Muharrik [cf GHASSĀN]. Though deprived of the royal authority the tribe appears to have remained in Syria for a long time, for we find the tribe of Salīḥ mentioned as late as the year 13 of the Hidjra among the Arab tribes who fought on the side of the Greeks against the invading Muḥammadan army. They are also stated to have formed part of the army of the legendary queen al-Zabbāʾ and we must probably consider as being of the same tribe the last king of Hathra (al-Ḥaḍr) who is named Ḍaizan or Saṭirūn, who was killed by Sabur after a prolonged defence of his capital, which was only taken through the treachery of his own daughter Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī knows another king of Mesopotamia named Ziyād b. al-Hayūla (or Habūla) who was a contemporary of the Kindite king Ḥudjr b. Ākil al-Murār. The kings of Mesopotamia of this tribe are also mentioned under the collective name al-Ḍadjāʿim which, according to Noldeke, may be identical with descendants of Τοκοη who is referred to by Greek authors From all it seems possible that we have to date the time of their kings approximately round the year 400 A. D. Exact and reliable information about them cannot be expected from Arab sources, there was certainly a historical foundation but legend has obscured considerably all real facts.

Bibliography. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xi. 161, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wustenfeld, p 51 (ed. Cairo, p 35 and 215), Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii 177; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, ed. Cairo, ii. 278; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p 314, al-Maidānī, *Amthāl*, ed. Cairo 1310, i 156, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Baghdād, p. 243; Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 115; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Constantinople, i. 76, Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen, Register*, p. 405; Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, p 35; Noldeke, *Die ghassānidischen Fursten aus dem Hause Gafna's* (*Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1887) passim. (F. KRENKOW)

SĀLIM (A.), well preserved, intact. In the Ḳurʾān the word *sālim* is found only in Sūra lxviii. 43 in the quite general meaning: "shame comes upon them (the unbelievers) for they were asked to worship, while they were still in safety (*wahum sālimūna*)". *Sālim* is for the rest used by the interpreters of the Ḳurʾān to explain the divine name *Salām* of frequent occurrence there; this is said to be equivalent to *Sālim* = free from *āfāt* (calamities). Similarly *ḳalb salīm* (Sūra xxvi. 89) is explained as free from *kufr* (cf. Sūra xxxvii. 82). — In general *sālim* means free from defects and faults in cases where these might be found. For example in medicine, *sālim* is equivalent to *ṣaḥīḥ*, sound, free from illness, and *djurh sālim* is also used of a light wound. — Applied to money *sālim* means unclipped coins of full weight, or a sum of money free from charges or deductions.

Sālim is especially used as a grammatical term, again synonymous with *ṣaḥīḥ*. In accidence (*ṣarf*) a word is *sālim* when none of its radicals is one of the weak letters (*hurūf al-ʿilal*) or a hamza and there is further no gemination (*taḍʿīf*). The same condition holds for syntax (*naḥw*) but in this case only of the last letter of the word; weak letters may occur in other positions and the word still remains *sālim*. For example, the root *nṣr* is *sālim*, *rmy* is not, for the *ṣarfiyūn* as well as for the *nahwiyūn*, but *byʿ* only for the *nahwiyūn* and *islanḳā* (to lie on the back, root *slḳ*) only for the *sarfiyūn*

These examples are given by al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, and, following him, by Muḥ ʿAlā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s v The so-called sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) plural is occasionally called *djamʿ sālim* — The prosodists give the name *sālim* to a metre, whose feet (*adjzāʾ*) have no *ʿilal* and *zihāfāt*, e g *kabd*, *kaff*, *khabn*, etc ; cf. the article ʿARŪD and the dictionaries, s v., e g. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xv. 183 middle, and *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, viii. p. 339 top, 343. (WALTHER BJORKMAN)

SĀLIM, MEHMED EMĪN, called Mīrzā-zāde, an Ottoman jurist and biographer of poets He was the posthumous son of the Shaikh al-Islām Mirzā Mustafā Efendi (cf. Ṣubhī, *Taʾrīkh*, fol 65, and *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*, Stambul 1334, p. 403 *sq.*), born in Stambul, became *muderris* and ascended the ladder of legal office, became judge of Mekka in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda, 1134 (began Aug 13, 1722), Ḳādī of Stambul in Djumādā I, 1143 (began November 12, 1730), military judge of Anatolia, received in Rabīʿ II, 1146 (began August 12, 1733) the office of military judge of Rumelia (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. d Osm. Reiches*, vii. 434) and in 1148 (began May 24, 1735) was banished to Chios In 1149 (began May 12, 1736) he was sent as judge to Mekka for the second time and later transferred to Tripolis in Syria with "bailey money" (*aʿpalik*, q.v), in 1151 (began April 21, 1738) he received orders to go to Damascus, but died on the way in Muḥarram, 1152 (began April 10, 1739) at Mufrik near Damascus. A memorial stone was erected to him on his father's grave in Shahzāde-bashī at Stambul. Sālim was the author of numerous translations of and commentaries on theological works, of a Turkish-Persian dictionary and of a book on the Holy War, *Nail al-Rashād fī Amr al-Djihād* (printed Constantinople 1294 = 1878), finished in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 1145 (began June 13, 1732), written by order of Sultān Maḥmūd I [q v.]. He also translated into Turkish the universal history of al-ʿAinī [q v.] (d. 855 = 1451), *ʿIḳd al-Djumān fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*. Eight volumes of the original MSS. of this work, planned to fill ten volumes, are in Stambul in the Nūr-i ʿOthmānīye library. Sālim's main work is his *Tedhkire-i Shuʿarāʾ* dealing with 410 poets and metrists, written in 1133 (began November 2, 1720) and continued by Faṭīn [q. v.] (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vi. 560, N⁰. 14633; original MS. in the library of Khālis Efendi at Stambul; MS. in Vienna; cf. G. Flügel, *Katalog*, ii. 401, and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 243, N⁰. 140), which was printed (726 pp.) at Stambul in 1315 (1897).

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii. 3;

Ṣubḥī, *Ta'rīkh*, Stambul 1198, fol. 65; *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 2494; Brusalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlī mu'ellifleri*, Stambul 1338, ii. 335, Faṭīn, *Teḏhkire-i Shu'arā'*, Stambul 1271, p 177 *sq* , J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vii. 434. (Franz Babinger)

SĀLIM b. **MUḤAMMAD** b. Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Naḏjā' al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī, a Mālikī faḳīh and traditionist born in Sanhūr, came to Cairo at the age of 21, rose to be Muftī of the Mālikīs and died on 3 Djumādā II 1015 = Oct. 7, 1606. Of his numerous works only his Ḥāshiya on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl has survived, s. E. Fagnan, *Catalogue général des Mss. des bibl. publ. de France*, Dep. viii., Algiers, N°. 1162—4· it was no longer much used even in Muḥibbī's time.

Bibliography· Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, ii. 204; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (ed Flugel), vii. 876; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fes 1317, p. 157 (on the margin of Ibn Farhūn), *al-Dībādj al-muḏhahhab*, Cairo 1329, p. 126, Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du cheikh Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsy* (*Actes du IV Congr. intern des Or. Alger*, 1905, Paris 1908. III partie, suite) p. 487 § 304. (Brockelmann)

SĀLIM b. **SAWĀDA** al-Tamīmī, governor of Egypt from Muḥarram 1, 164 (September 6 780) till the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 164 (August 25, 781).

Bibliography: al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* (ed. Rh. Guest, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xix., London 1912), S 123, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Annales* (ed T. G. J. Juynboll) i. (Leiden 1855), 438—441; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 307, F Wustenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen* (*Abh. G. W. Gott.*, xx. 1875) p. 12. (Adolf Grohmann)

SĀLIMĪYA, a school of dogmatic theologians with mystic tendencies which was formed among the Mālikī Sunnīs in Baṣra in the iii^rd^—iv^th^ century A.H.

Founded by Sahl al-Tustarī [q v.] who died in 283 = 896, it takes its name from his principal disciple, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sālim (d. 297 = 909), and his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Sālim (d. 350 = 960) who succeeded one another at its head. The second Ibn Sālim, a friend of the Kor'ān exegesist Ibn Muḏjāhid, is well known from the eulogies of his pupil and successor Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 380 = 990) in his *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb* and from the criticisms of his adversary Abū Naṣr Sarrādj (d. 377 = 987) in his *Luma'* (ed. Nicholson).

The main theses of the Sālimīya have been preserved for us by their Hanbalī adversaries, particularly Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā (d. 458 = 1066) who enumerates sixteen of them (ten were given in the *Ghunya* attributed to Kīlānī):

(a) God never ceases for a moment to be creating; his uncreated efficiency *(taf'īl)* makes him thus equivalently present everywhere, especially in the elocution of every reader reading the Ḳur'ān.

(b) God has an uncreated will *(mashī'a)* and created decisions *(irāda)* by which the faults of created beings are causalized without his wishing their culpability; Satan in the end obeyed God; at the Day of Judgment God will appear in a human form, transfigured, immediately perceptible by all creatures (*taḏjallī*; see the article Ḥulmānīya).

(c) The practice of the law is realised by an effort of voluntary adaptation (*iktisāb*, opposed to the quietism of the Karrāmīya), endurance is superior to enjoyment; the prophets are superior to the saints, wisdom is identical with faith.

(d) Mystical union consists for the believer in gaining consciousness of his personality, of the divine "ego" in the proportion in which he has been pre-eternally invested with it (*sirr al-rubūbīya*).

The Hanbalī polemicists, from Ibn al-Farrā to Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn Taimīya, with perspicacity denounced the semi-Mu'tazilī affinities and the monistic tendencies of these theses, which al-Ḥallādj, al-Ash'arī and Ibn Khafīf had criticised from the first in different degrees.

Nevertheless the Sālimīya, being with the Karrāmīya the only Sunnī theologians to support belief in the personal survival of the soul (between death and the resurrection), it is to them that the majority of Sunnī mystics, from Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, have liked to turn Al-Ghazālī in the second period of his life designed his *Iḥyā'* on the lines of the *Ḳūt* of a Sālimī, al-Makkī. The semi-Ismā'īlī school of Andalusian mystics of the sixth century — from Ibn Barraḏjān (d. 536 = 1141) and Ibn Kasyī to Ibn 'Arabī [q v.] — owes, as Ibn Taimīya has pointed out, several of its monist formulae to the Sālimīya. Other Sālimīya theses have been traditionally preserved in the order of the Shādhilīya [q. v.]

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SALMĀ [See Adja']

SALMĀN, Khwādja Djamāl al-Dīn, son of Khwādja 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, was born at Sāwa (whence his *nisba* Sāwadjī) at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His father, who was a scribe in the service of government, gave him a good education and he gained the favour of Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg, the Djalā'ir of 'Irāḳ, by an ode which he composed in his praise. Shaikh Ḥasan and his wife, Dilshād Khātūn, made him tutor to their son Shaikh Uwais, at whose court he held a high position as the most distinguished poet of the age, except Ḥāfiẓ. Of his poetry Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla of Samnān said. "The pomegranates of Samnān and the poetry of Salmān have no equals", and it has also been said that "the works of Salmān are a book in which students of poetry and the genius of poets will find all that will profit them". In some of his verses he satirized 'Ubaid Zākānī, a poet who had written some very scurrilous odes, and afterwards encountering 'Ubaid on a journey, fell into converse with him. 'Ubaid, when he discovered who his companion was, told him that he had intended to visit Baghdād in order to repay him with interest, and the two poets became fast friends, but Salmān always went in fear of 'Ubaid's tongue and pen.

Salmān was not exempt from the rapacity of

his class. One night, after a drinking party at court, Uwais sent a slave with a candle in a golden basin to light him home. The next morning the king sent for the basin and received a verse in reply:

"Last night the candle was consumed, and in my lamentation

I too shall be consumed, if the king demands the basin".

The poet was allowed to keep the basin.

As a reward for an ode which he wrote in answer to the odes of Khwādja Ẓahīr Fāryābī, Salmān received two villages in the Rai district and some land in the neighbourhood of Sāwa, his native town, in Suyūrghāl, and in his old age he retired from court and lived in peace on his estate.

Uwais, who ruled over ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaidjān, died in 1374 and Salmān emerged from his retirement and mourned for some time over his patron's grave, chanting an elegy which he had composed on him. Salmān himself died at an advanced age in 778 (1376).

[Salmān wrote both epical and lyrical poetry. There exist of him two *Mathnawīs*, viz. *Firāknāma*, composed in 761 (1359) on demand of his patron Sulṭān Uwais, and *Djamshīd u Khwarshīd*, an imitation of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, written in 763 (1362). His lyrical works contain *Ghazals*, *Rubāʿīs*, *Ḳiṭʿas*, and the *genre* in which he excelled, *Ḳaṣīdas*. In this latter kind of poetry, notable in the artificial *Ḳaṣīda* (*Ḳaṣīda-i maṣnū*) he surpassed even his greatest predecessor Dhu 'l-Fiḳār of Shīrwān. Of poetical figures, Salmān cultivates especially the *Tawshīh*, i. e the incorporation of a smaller poem into a longer one (cf. Ibn Ḳais, *Muʿdjam*, Gibb Mem Ser. x., p. 362 *sqq*). Many of the *Ḳaṣīdas* are reflexes of historical events of the time. Salmāns *Ghazals* could not, in the eyes of Persian critics, win the renown of his *Ḳaṣīdas*.

A lithographed Bombay edition of his *Kullīyāt* is mentioned by Browne, *Hist. of Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 261]

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SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ, a companion of the Prophet and one of the most popular figures of Muslim legend. According to one tradition, the most complete version of which among the many that exist goes back to Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, he was the son of a *dihḳān* of the Persian village of Djaiy (or Djaiyān; cf. Yāḳūt, ii. 170) near Iṣfahān. According to other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rāmhurmuz and his Irānian name was Māhbēh (Māyēh) or Rūzbēh (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 217, 277) Attracted by Christianity while still a boy he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk and having changed his teachers several times arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā in Central Arabia seeking the Prophet who was to restore the religion of Ibrāhīm, the imminence of whose coming had been predicted to him by his last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbī Bedouins, who were acting as his guides through the desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occasion to go to Yathrib where soon after his arrival the *hidjra* of Muḥammad took place. Recognising in the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk had described to him, Salmān became a Muslim and purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after being miraculously aided by Muḥammad himself to raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salmān is associated with the siege of Medīna by the Mekkans for it was he who on this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (*khandak*) by means of which the Muslims defended themselves from the enemy. But, as Horovitz (see the *Bibliography*) has shown, the earliest accounts of the *yawm al-khandak* make no mention of Salmān's intervention, the story of which was probably invented in order to attribute to a Persian the introduction of a system of defence the name of which is of Persian origin The other references to the career of Salmān (his part in the conquest of the ʿIrāḳ and of Fārs, his governorship of al-Madāʾin etc) are equally devoid of authority and almost all date from the historian Saif b. ʿUmar, the bias of whose work is well known Indeed, the fame of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality he is the prototype of the converted Persians (just as the Abyssinians and the Greeks are represented by Bilāl [q v., i. 718] and Ṣuhaib respectively), who played such a part in the development of Islām; as such he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the *Shuʿūbīya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, i. 117, 136, 153, 212) What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him member of his own family (*ahl al-bait*), his annuity is equal to that assigned to Hasan and to Husain, the grandsons of the Prophet etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Medīna slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Ṣūfism along with the *Aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffa* (*Kitāb al-Luma*ʿ, ed. Nicholson, p. 134—135) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at latest in the ivth century A. H.; cf. Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vii. 321). it is still pointed out in the vinicity of the ancient al-Madāʾin, at the place called after him Selmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbāndur suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617 (*Viaggi*, ed. Gancia, Brighton 1843, i. 394), was renovated by Sulṭān Murād IV (1623—1640) and

ecently restored (in 1322 = 1904—1905) (Herzeld-Sarre, *Archdol. Reise im Euphrates- und Tirisgebiet*, ii. 262, note 1, based on information given by the learned Mesopotamian journalist Ḳāẓim al-Dudjaılī; and cf. *ibid.*, p. 51 [topographical sketch] and p. 58). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Shīʿīs who do not fail to visit it in returning from Kerbelā (cf. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p. 426—428). Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Iṣfahān, where there is evidence of his cult in the vith century (Yāḳūt, ii. 170), and elsewhere (for Lydda in Palestine cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, ii. 108).

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the *futūwa* and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of tradition, which makes him the Prophet's barber (H. Thoming, *Studien zu Bast Wadad et-Taufîq*, Diss. Kiel 1913, p 33—37 and 85—90 = *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, *Turkische Bibliothek*, vol. 16, Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philol.*, ii. *lxvi*, *lxxxiii*.). He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (*silsila*) in various religious orders Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries Musulmanes*, p. 91) The veneration accorded to Salmān among the Sunnīs is naturally exceeded among the Shīʿīs not only do they attribute to him a mass of *aḥādīth*'s in honour of ʿAlī and his family but among the extremist sects he is placed immediately after ʿAlī in the series of divine emanations. The Nusairīya make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters A (ʿAlī), M (Muhammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (*bāb*) (cf. Dussaud, *La Religion des Nosairis*, p. 62, Goldziher, *A. R. W.*, xii. 88).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35 or 36 A.H., a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historian's tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of ʿAlī (end of 35 A.H.). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islām after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity 00, 300, 350 and even 553 years (Goldziher, *Abhandl*, ii., *lxvi*.)

Bibliography (besides that mentioned in the course of the article) Ibn Hishām, p. 136—142 (= Ibn Saʿd, iv. 1, 53—57; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 441—444, Pseudo-Balkhī, *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-'l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. by Cl. Huart, p. 110—113, 345, 673, 677; Ibn Saʿd, iv/1. 53—67, al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, Index s. v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii 328—332, and other collections of biographies of the Companions; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, v. 399—419 (35 A.H, §§ 541—598) and index to vols. i.—ii., iii.—v., do., *Chronographia Islamica*, i. 383 (35 A. H, § 73); C Huart, *Selmân du Fârs* in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris 1909, p. 297—310; do, *Nouvelles recherches sur la légende de Selmân du Fârs* in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, Section des sciences religieuses, 1913, J. Horovitz in the *Isl.*, 1922, xii. 178—183. (G. Levi Della Vida)

SALMĀS, a district in the province of Adharbāidjān in Persia, to the north-west of the Lake of Urmiyah and having an area of 25 miles (N. to S.) by 40 (E. to W.). To the south the chain of the Awghān (Afghān)-dagh with its pass Wergewīz (6,150 feet high) separates Salmās from the district of Urmiyah (Urūmī); the eastern portion of the Awghān-dagh forms the lofty promontory of Ḳara-bāgh [q.v.] which runs out into the Lake; at the end of it is the fortress of Guwerčin-Ḳalʿa. In the west the Harāwīl range (in Turkish Araʾul) separates Salmās from the Turkish district of Albaḳ; the pass of Khānasūr is 7,900 feet high. To the north Salmās marches with Khoi, in the north-east with the district of Gunei ("exposed to the sun"; former administrative name Arwanaḳ-wa-Anzāb) which lies on the north bank of the lake and has Ṭasūdj as its capital. Salmās consists of the fertile plain watered by the Zola-Čai and of the mountainous districts of Čahrīḳ, Shinetāl and Shepirān.

The region of Salmās has been inhabited since very early times to judge by the remains of Khaldic (Vannic) buildings. Later it formed part of the province of Persarmenia belonging sometimes to Atropatene and sometimes to Armenia. Faustus Byzantinus includes the region of Salmās in the province of Kortčēkh. Constantine Porphyrogenetos mentions Σαλαμάς alongside of Χερτ (now Khoi).

Al-Muḳaddasī describes Salmās as a fine town with good markets and a stone mosque; the population in the fourth (xth) century was of Kurd origin. In Yāḳūt's time the town was in ruins, among natives of the place he mentions Mūsā b. ʿAmrān, a learned man who died in 380. According to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, the city wall, 8,000 paces in circumference, was rebuilt by the vizier Khādja Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh in the reign of Ghāzān. The taxes of Salmās in the viiith (xivth) century amounted to 39,000 dīnārs At the present day there is no town named Salmās. The passages in the Muslim writers must refer to the hamlet known as Kuhna Shahr ("the old town") in the north-west of the district on the road from Albaḳ and Ḳotūr. There are at Kuhna Shahr about 1,000 families of Shīʿīs who speak the Azerī dialect of Turkish, 100 Armenian families and a Jewish colony, always the sign of an old established settlement in Persia. The fact that the tower of Mīrī-Khātūn is situated near Kuhna Shahr is equally significant.

The modern capital is Dilmān (written Dīlmaḳān), the name of which seems to indicate some connection with the Dailamīs of Gīlān (cf. the art. DAILAM) some of whose little forts are at Shahrizūr etc. (cf. Yāḳūt, s. v. Dailamastān). There are at Dilmān 1,400 houses (in 1852 only 300) and 8,000 inhabitants (almost all Shīʿīs). The town advantageously situated at the intersection of the routes in the centre of the plain is surrounded by walls of earth and has 5 gates. It has 11 mosques (those of Aghā, of the Shaikh al-Islām, of Hādjdjī ʿAlī Riḍā, Hādjdjī Ṣādiḳ Aghā, Ḳanlı, Shīrli, etc.) and a *tekkīya* of dervishes founded by Rawshan Efendi (whose seal bore the date 1251 A. H.; cf. Véliaminof Zernof, *Scheref-Nāmeh*, 1860, i. 18).

The plain of Salmās about 1850 (Čirikow) had 51 villages with 3,310 houses. Their number towards 1900 had risen to 108 with a population of over 50,000 of whom 63 2% were Shīʿīs, 13% Sunnīs, 22.5% Christians and 1.3% Jews. Alongside of purely Muslim villages or those with a mixed population, there were Christian villages of fair size. Armenians (Ḳalʿa-sar, Haftuwān, Peryādjik) or Syrians (Khosrowa, Patāwur, etc.). The Catholic (Chaldaean) Syrians were found mainly at Khosrowa, a prosperous hamlet of 500 houses with

2 churches (one built in 1844), the see of a bishop and of a Lazarist mission. As early as 1281 a bishop of Salmās was present at the *χειροτονία* of the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yalabaha (Assemani, ii. 456) at Baghdād. The inhabitants of Khosrowa were converted to Catholicism in the course of the eighteenth century. Among the Muslims of Salmās there are a few Lek, who came originally from southern Kurdistān but claim to have come to Salmās from Iṣfāhān. The representatives of the different races and religions agreed very well together and were only disturbed by the inroads of Kurds who came down from the mountains to plunder in the plains. The exports and imports of Salmās before the war amounted to a million gold roubles. The exports consisted of wax, almonds, skins and cattle. The Russo-Turkish fighting and the period of trouble that followed the war from 1918 onwards have seriously affected the prosperity of Salmās.

Čahrīḳ, the administrative centre of the mountainous region inhabited by the Kurds, is a little fortress built on a rock rising up in the centre of the gorge of the Zala-Čai (see the photograph in E. G. Browne, *Nuqtatu 'l-Kāf*, 1910). In 1828 Čahrīḳ was occupied by the Russians. In 1848 the Bāb [q. v.] was imprisoned there before his execution at Tabrīz. At this date the governor of Čahrīḳ was Yahyā Khān, brother-in-law of Muḥammad Shāh. After the assassination of his son Tīmūr Khān, Čahrīḳ was occupied by the ʿAwdoi Kurds. This clan belongs to the great tribe of Shekkāk, which occupies both sides of the Persian-Turkish frontier here. According to the Awdoi, their ancestors came from Diyārbakr to Urmiya towards the middle of the xviiith century. The tomb of their chief Ismāʿīl Aghā (on the Nāzlu Čaï) is dated 1231 (1816). His son, ʿAlī Khān, seized Čahrīḳ in 1864. The son of ʿAlī Khān, Djaʿfar Aghā, a bold bandit, was put to death at Tabrīz in 1905 by order of the governor-general. His younger brother Ismāʿīl (known as Simko) played a considerable part in the troubled politics of these marches. In 1918 the Nestorian patriarch was assassinated at Kuhna Shahr in an encounter provoked by Simko's men. In 1922 a Persian military force drove Simko back into Turkey.

Among the antiquities of Salmās there should be noted: 1) the Khaldic (Urartaean) buildings discovered by Ker Porter (*Travels*, ii. 60) on the hill of Zindjīr Ḳalʿa near the village of Tamar, 2) a bas-relief (Sassanian) on the rock of Pīr Čāʾūsh, representing Galerius, Narses and Tiridates (Ker Porter, *ibid.*; Flandin and Coste, iv., Pl. 204—205) or, according to another explanation, Ardashīr-i Pāpahān and his son Shāpūr (Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 81; Sarre, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, p. 246); 3) The fortress of Güwerčin Kalʿa ("fortress of the pigeons") on the rocks, sometimes forming a peninsula and sometimes an island in the lake of Urmiyah. Some parts of G.-K. may date from the Khaldic period. N. Khanykoff in 1852 discovered there a fragment of a Muslim inscription of a certain Abū Nāṣir Ḥusain Bahādur Khān (the newspaper *Kavkaz*, Tiflis 1852, No. 22, 23); 4) The brick tower near Kuhna Shahr. Its inscription dated about 700 (7xx) and deciphered by Max van Berchem attributes its erection to Mīrī Khātūn, daughter of Arghūn Ākā. The last named is known as governor of Khorāsān in the time of Hūlāgū and Abāḳā (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur altesten Gesch. Armeniens, Abh. G. W. Gott.*, New Series, ix. 158—159; photograph in Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, p. 320).

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(V. Minorsky)

SALSABĪL is the name of a fountain in Paradise, mentioned only once in the Ḳor'ān, in Sūra lxxvi. 18. The passage runs: "And there shall they (the just) be given to drink of the cup tempered with ginger, from the fount therein whose name is Salsabīl".

Grammarians differ as to the derivation of the word. Some refer it to the triliteral root *s-b-l* while others derive it from a quinqueliteral root of which it is, except in its own feminine form, the sole derivative. Some explain it as meaning "that which slips or steals (*yansallu*) into the throat", as though the only radical letters were *s* and *l*. The derivation from *sal sabīlan* as in the comment *sal rabbaka sabīlan ilā hādhihi 'l-ʿain* is condemned as erroneous. The word is explained as meaning "easy" or "smooth" (as a beverage), "in which is no roughness", "easy of entrance into the throat", and is applied as an epithet to milk, water and wine, but in the Ḳor'ān it is understood to refer to wine, which will be lawful to Muslims in Paradise.

Some grammarians take it to be the proper name of the fountain, and therefore imperfectly declined, without *tanwīn*, but it is given *tanwīn* in the verse quoted in order that it may conform with زَنجَبِيلًا, but others understand it as an epithet applied to the fountain, and therefore perfectly declined, with *tanwīn*. That the conception of the word as of a proper name was popular in the Muslim community, appears from a tradition in Muslim, *Ḥaiḍ*, N°. 37, where it is said that the fountain in Paradise from which the faithful will drink is called Salsabīl.

Bibliography. The standard lexica and the commentaries on the Ḳor'ān. (T. W. Haig)

SALŪḲ (in al-Hamdānī: Kharibat Salūḳ), an ancient city in South Arabia in the district of Khadīr in the Yemen on the site of which the village of Habīl al-Ḳiyyaba stood in al-Hamdānī's time. In the ruins of the great city of Salūḳ there were found slag-heaps, lumps of gold and silver as well as ornaments and coins. It was celebrated for the splendid double meshed mail-shirts which were manufactured in it. There was also a fine breed of dog specially suited for hunting gazelles (*salūḳī*), which was said to be the result of a cross between dogs and jackals, which came from this place. To this day, as I am informed by Alois Musil, there is a saying among the Shammar Beduins:

Hū drūḳi, lā ʿalb wa-lā Slūḳi "He is a bastard, not a dog and not a Salūḳī (hound)".

Bibliography al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed D. H. Muller, Leiden 1884—91, p. 78, 79; ʿAẓīm al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezuglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm*, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xxiv., Leiden 1916, p. 51, 62, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1848, ii. 29; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 125, 126; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leiden 1853, ii. 47, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1876, ii. 780, 781; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 185; F. W. Schwaizlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p. 200, 334, E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, p. 19; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 26, 84, 245. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

SALŪL. There are two tribes of this name, one South Arabian and a branch of Khuzāʿa, the other North Arabian and reckoned to the federation of tribes known by the collective name of Hawāzin. Both tribes appear to have been in little estimation and I am in doubt whether the two are not really identical as some members are at times reckoned either to Khuzāʿa or Hawāzik.

1) The branch of Khuzāʿa had immigrated into the Ḥidjāz at an early date, Arab genealogists giving the time as after the break of the dam at Maʾrib, and became custodians of the Kaʿba A member of the tribe, Abū Ghabshān al-Muhtarish b Hulail b. Salūl, sold the key of the temple to Ḳusaiy b. Kināna, through whom the custodianship came down to the tribe of Kuraish, for a skin of wine This tribe was divided into three principal branches Hubshīya, ʿAdī and Himiz, the last of which was probably very small as no notable persons belonging to this clan are mentioned Hubshīya was divided into several families, namely Hulail, Kumair, Dāṯir, Kulaib and Ghāḍira. To the first belonged al-Muhtarish mentioned above and Kurz b. ʿAlkama who followed the Prophet on his flight from Mekka to al-Medīna as far as the cave where he lost trace of him, when he found a spider-web over the entrance of the cave. He lived to the time of Muʿāwiya and it was through his knowledge of the topography of the country that the limits of the Holy Territory were fixed, which have been retained to this day Of the family of Ḳumair was Ḳabīsa b. Dhuʾaib, who was born in the life-time of the Prophet and died in Syria in 86 A H., and Mālik b. al-Haitham b ʿAwf, one of the principal emissaries of the ʿAbbāsids and friend of Abū Muslim, who left him in charge of the army when he went to see the Caliph al-Mansūr and was murdered.

2) The tribe descended from Hawāzin was named after their its maternal ancestor Salūl, daughter of Dhuhl b Shaibān, the ancestor in the male line being Murra b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. They were settled to the East of Mekka They were divided into ten clans. ʿAmr, Dubaiʿa, Nahār, Suhaim, Ghāḍira, Udaiya, Djābir, Muʿāwiya, Djinnī and Duhaiy. Of the clan Ghāḍira were ʿImrān b. Ḥusain, a companion of the Prophet who was sent by ʿUmar I as judge to al-Baṣra, and the poet Kuthaiyir ʿAzza [q.v.]. To the clan ʿAmr belonged the poets ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammām and al-ʿUdjair In comparing the genealogies of the various members of the tribe Salūl not inconsiderable divergencies are encountered, Ghāḍira e.g. occurring in both, from which it seems safe to infer that, though the general membership was known the affiliation was more than uncertain in most cases, which the ingenuity of the genealogists has not been able to bring into one common scheme. The chief difficulty was, no doubt, that Salūl was the name of a woman, not of a man, in spite of the "Ibn" of the genealogists and we have a case of a matriarchy, not uncommon in the genealogies of Arab tribes.

Bibliography Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 276 *sqq*; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed Cairo, ii. 318 *sqq*. and 336; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. Baghdād, p. 199, 242, 260, 312, 326, al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd, ed. Cairo, 1316, ii. 53; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xx., fol. 304ᵃ; *Aghānī*, ix. 93, xv. 53, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ed Cairo, 1286 (passim); Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Haidarābād, (passim), Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen* and *Register*. (F. KRENKOW)

SALUR is the name of one of the tribes of the Oghuz which traces its name and origin to the eldest son of Dagh Khān, one of the six sons of Oghuz Khān; in the texts the orthography سالوور (it occurs in a Persian *Oghuz-nāma* in manuscript in my private library) or سلغر (*Dīwān lughāt al-Turk, Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*) is rarely found; the commonest is صالور or سالور. As in the case of many other Turkish tribes the historical data regarding their ethnology are very scanty and confused. This much is, however, certain for their early history that from the earliest times they shared the fortunes of the other Oghuz tribes, since they came from the lands of Ili and of Issīgh Gol on the banks of the Saihūn [q v] and then migrated into Transoxania, Khwārizm and Khorāsān, and finally, at the conquest of Asia Minor, a part of the tribe settled in Eastern Anatolia (for the details see Koprulu Zāde Fuʾād, *Turkiye taʾrīkhi*, Constantinople 1923, i. chap. 5) It was from them that the Salgharid dynasty [q. v.] arose after the fall of the Saldjūḳ empire (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, Gibb Memorial Series, xiv/i. p 503), the royal poet Kādī Burhān al Dīn [q.v.] was also a descendant of the Salur (ʿAzīz b Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm-u Razm*, MS. of the Aya Sofia, No. 3465). Seeing that, according to the translation of the *Saldjūḳnāma*, the Salur, who had come into Asia Minor, were in the army of Bahrām Shāh, prince of Erzindjān, of the family of Menguček (Houtsma, *Recueil* etc., iii. 57), we may conclude that the Salur played an important part in the history of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor along with the Ḳāyī Bāyandūr and Bayāt tribes (see the Index to vol. iv. of the *Recueil* and J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, p. 189 in the *Abh. G. W.*, new series, vol. xiii. No. 1, Berlin 1914). According to a Persian manuscript of the *Oghuz-nāma* in my private library, the Ḳaramān-Oghlu [q.v.] belonged to the Ḳaramān branch of the Salur. It is very probable that the villages bearing the name Ḳaramanlu in Adharbaidjān in the Caucasus were originally founded by the Salur. Among the solid bodies of Turkomans that we find in these regions in the viiith century A.H. (al-Nasāʾī *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Dīn Mankobirti*, transl. Houdas, Paris 1895, p. 264, 374, 383) there were certainly these

Ḳaramāns. After a large part of the Salur had migrated westwards, as a result of Saldjūḳ policy, which aimed at dispersing the Oghuz tribes in different directions, those who had remained at Marw and Sarakhs played a part in later history under the general name of Turkomans. In the opinion of several scholars a certain number of these Salur went between 1380 and 1424, via Samarḳand, Turfān and Sou Tcheou, to Si Ning where they settled and became the present Salar of Kan-Su (it still remains to be ascertained whence and when these latter emigrated). The Salur, reduced in number and in strength by these two emigrations, became gradually weakened by their fighting with the other nomad Turkomans and particularly by their continual incursions into Persian territory, they finally ceased to be of any importance as a result of the great losses sustained against ʿAbbās Mīrzā, son of Fath ʿAlī Shāh, during the latter's expedition to Sarakhs in 1831.

Present state of the Salur. The Salur regard themselves as the oldest and noblest of the Turkomans who live clustered round Sarakhs and scattered along the Russo-Persian frontier near Harī-Rūd. They are divided into three groups Alavač, Karamān and Anabeleghi; these groups again have their subdivisions. Evnewič gives the following divisions.

Yalowač: 1) Ordouhodja, 2) Daz, 3) Bek-Sakar.
Karaman: 1) Ougroudjihli, 2) Bek-Ghezen, 3) Alain.
Kirahe Agha: 1) Kirahe Aga, 2) Bech Ourouk (all these names after the orthography of the *R. M. M.*, lvi. 66, 67).

These subdivisions are again divided into clans. Their numbers are variously estimated. Dubeux puts the number of the Salur around Saiakhs at 2,000 tents, Petrouchewitch at 3,000, Vámbéry at 5,700 (which is an exaggeration). Recently J. Castagné has put it at 3,000 tents.

The number of Muslim Salur in the originally Tibetan district of Kan-Su is put at 70,000 (according to Grenard, 50,000) They dwell on the right bank of the Yellow River in an area stretching from Ourounvou to T'ao-Hô with the little town of Sin-Hoa-T'ing or Salar as its centre, on the left bank they occupy some villages on a rather dangerous and mountainous road between Si-Ning and Hô-Tcheou These Turks are readily distinguished by their physical type from the other Muslims of Kan-Su; they have retained their Turkish language. Grenard has published materials concerning their dialect and has drawn certain conclusions from it regarding the origin and time of emigration of the Salur but these materials are neither sufficient nor reliable. The Salur are Ḥanafī Sunnīs, they have always been Naḳshbandīs and the *dhikr djahrī* is common among them. They despise the Chinese and as a rule are brigands.

Bibliography (besides the works mentioned in the text): A. Vámbéry, *Das Turkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen geschildert*, Leipzig 1885, p. 398, 399; Riza Qouly Khan, *Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharezm*, transl. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1876; Elisée Reclus, *Géographie Universelle*, vi. 433; Dubeux, *La Tartarie, le Béloutchistan et le Népal*, Paris 1848, p. 91; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1839, ii. 50—53; Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet* (second part of J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898), p. 457 *sqq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vii. 702; J. Castagné, *Russie Slave et Russie Turque*, in the *R. M. M.*, lvi, Paris 1923, p. 66—67; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, first year 1923, p. 268—269; J von Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1836—1841, i. 9—10. (Kөprülü Zāde Fu'ād)

SĀM (Shem) is regularly given first among the sons of Nūḥ and in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* of al-Thaʿlabī is expressly mentioned as Nūḥ's first-born. Only one isolated tradition in al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 196) gives the order Yāfith, Ḥām, Sām, in agreement with a Jewish tradition in the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrīn*, fol. 69b (cf., however, on this the statements in the *Ahl al-Tawrāt* of al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 223). Sām is the favourite son of Nūḥ. He not only shares the paternal blessing with Yāfith (cf. *Genesis*, ix. 27) but his dying father also appoints him his successor and gives him special tasks. His preference is transmitted to his descendants, they enjoy special beauty and prophecy is innate in them. Sām's wife, Ṣalīb (Sulaib), was descended, like the wives of Nūḥ's other sons, from Kain b. Ādam and bore him four sons, whose names can readily be identified with those in *Genesis*, x 22, whether Sām's fifth son, Aram, had the same mother is uncertain. The Arabs are regularly said to be Sām's descendants, frequently the Persians and Romans in addition, sometimes also the Jews. When Nūḥ divided the earth among his sons, he allotted "the centre" to Sām, i. e the region between the Nile, Euphrates-Tigris and Oxus-Jaxartes. Sām himself lived in Mekka.

Bibliography. al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, see Index, al-Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, see Index; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, p 38, al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣas al-Anbiyā'*, ed Eisenberg, i. 98—102. (B. Joel)

SĀM MĪRZĀ, a Persian poet, son of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, born in 923 (1517), was installed by his father as governor of Khorāsān under the guardianship of Dūrmish Khān in the town of Herāt after it had been relieved from the siege by the Uzbeks in 938 (1531). He rebelled in 969 (1561) against his brother Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and was thrown into prison and then put to death on the accession of Ismāʿīl II in 984 (1576—77). Besides a few verses that have been preserved, he was the compiler of the *Tadhkira-i Sāmī*, an anthology of contemporary poetry, a continuation of Dawlat-Shāh, written in 957 (1550).

Bibliography: Khondemīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III/iv. 83, 100, 104; Ridā ḳulī-khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fusahā'*, Teheran 1265, i. 31; Lutf ʿAlī Beg, *Ātash-kade*, Bombay 1277, p. 14; Āzād, *Khazīne-i ʿĀmire*, Cawnpore 1860, p. 6; Mīr Ḥusain Dōst, *Tadhkira*, Lucknow 1292 = 1875, p. 148; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, p. 367b; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 459, 507, 514; Hammer, *Gesch. der schonen Redekunste Persiens*, p. 379; Silvestre de Sacy, *N. E*, iv. 273; O. Frank, *Über die morgenl. Hss. ..... in München*, p 126; Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und turk. Hss. .... zu Wien*, ii. 367; A. Krafft, *Die arab., pers. und turk. Hss. .... zu Wien*, p. 34. (Cl. Huart)

SAMĀʿ (de Sacy's *simāʿ*, *Grammaire Arabe*, i. 347, is quite false; cf. Fleischer, *Klein Schr.*, i., p. 260) is an infinitive, like *samʿ* and *simʿ*, of

the root *s-m-ᶜ* and means "hearing", often passing into the thing heard, like music and hearing music; also, like *istimāᶜ*, "listening" (Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 1427ᵇ, 1429ᵇ; *Lisan*, p. 26 *sq*); it does not occur in the Ḳurʾān but it belongs to old Arabic even in the meaning, "a singing or musical performance" (Lane, p. 1617ᵇ under *mus̲hār* and references there). In lexicology and grammar it means, with *samāᶜī*, what is received on authority, as opposed to *ḳiyāsī* "analogical" (de Sacy, *loc. cit.*, and Lane, p. 1429ᵇ). In theology it, and *samᶜ*, are opposed, in the same sense, to *ᶜaḳl*, "reason" (Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der isl. Koranauslegung*, p. 136 *sq.*, 166) But its principal technical use is undoubtedly in Ṣūfism, in which it means the listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation in order to produce religious emotion and ecstasy (*wad̲j̲d*) and also such performances by voice or instrument. To this on all its sides al-Ġhazālī has devoted a Book of the *Iḥyāʾ*, the viiiᵗʰ in the Sections of Customs, vol. vi., p. 454–end in ed. with commentary, *Itḥāf as-sāda*, cf. GHAZĀLI above. It has been translated with commentary and analysis by D. B. Macdonald in *J.R.A.S.*, for 1901, 2, and is the *locus classicus* in Islām for the whole subject of the attaining and controlling of religious emotion by such means, on its legal, psychological, theological and esthetic sides Al-Ġhazzālī considers it both as an advanced mystic and experienced ecstatic and as an orthodox Aš̲ᶜarite and Šāfiᶜite, and this Book by its subject forms the kernel of his *Iḥyāʾ*. Al-Hud̲j̲wīrī, an earlier Persian writer and a theologically more advanced mystic — although still holding to his professed orthodoxy — has given to the same subject a chapter of his *Kas̲hf al-mah̲d̲j̲ūb*, see the translation (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xvii) by R. A. Nicholson, p 393—420, see also, *Mystics of Islam* and *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* by the same author, both by index, Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, by index and especially p 780, 795 *sq* Al-Kus̲hairī has also given a section to this in his *Risāla*, ed. with commentaries of al-ᶜArūsī and Zakarīyā (Būlāḳ 1920), iv, p. 122—146, cf. on this passage R. Hartmann, *Al-Kus̲hairī's Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, p. 134—148 There are two vivid descriptions of seances by Rifāᶜite darwīs̲hes for *samāᶜ* in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels*, Paris ed., ii, p 5—7.

Bibliography has been given above.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ṢAMAD. [See ALLĀH, i. 303ᵃ]

AL-**SAMAK,** fishes There are numerous kinds, some so long that one cannot see both ends at the same time — a ship had once to wait four months till one of these monsters had passed — but others are so small that one can hardly see them. They breathe water through the covers of their gills and do not require air in order to live. air is injurious to them all except flying-fish. They are very voracious on account of the coldness of their temperament and because in them the stomach is very near the mouth. Like snakes they have great strength in their movements, because they have not to distribute their nourishment over many limbs. Many fishes pair, others are produced from sand and slime or decaying matter. According to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, there are migratory fish, which one only finds at certain periods of the year, like migratory birds. Al-Ḳazwīnī gives 79 names of fishes and 130 names of birds for Lake Menzaleh in his *ᶜAd̲j̲āʾib al-Maḳhlūḳāt* (ii. 119). The eating of fish is permitted by law, in whatever way they may have perished or been killed but they must not be roasted or eaten alive. Fishes are considered to be cold and moist and therefore good for people of a hot temperament and they fatten the thin. Freshwater fish have many bones but have a fine flavour; fishes which live on mud are forbidden. If a drunk man smells fish, he becomes sober. Eating fish makes one thirsty. Al-Rāzī deals very fully with the cooking of fish and their wholesomeness. Wonderful tales are given in the 1001 Nights and are also told by al-Damīrī.

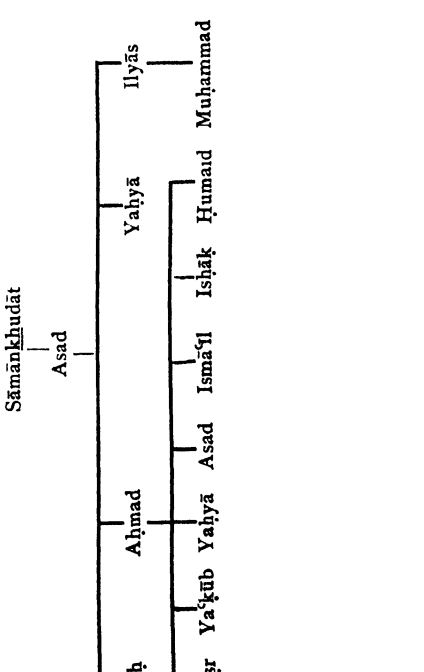
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(J. RUSKA)

AL-**SAMAKATĀN,** Pisces; the more accurate name for the last sign of the Zodiac which is usually called *al-Ḥūt*, the fish. It consists of 38 stars of which 34 belong to the constellation and four lie outside of it (*ḵẖārid̲j̲uhā*). The two fishes are, according to the usual view, connected by a band twisted between their tails, *σύνδεσμος ὑπουραῖος*. This is called *al-Ras̲hāʾ* or is described as a thread, *ḵẖaiṭ*, which connects the two fishes in its windings (*ᶜalā taᶜrīd̲j̲*).

Bibliography: al-Kazwīnī, *ᶜAd̲j̲āʾib al-Maḳhlūḳāt*, ed Wustenfeld, i 38; transl H. Ethé, p. 79; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 202 *sqq*. (J. RUSKA)

SĀMĀNIDS, a Persian dynasty, descended from a certain Sāmānk̲hudāt The genealogy down to Ismāᶜīl, the first really independent prince, is as follows



Sāmānk̲hudāt, who traced his family back to the celebrated Bahrām Čubīn, that is to a noble

family of Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 192), was, as his name shows, lord of the village of Sāmān (in the district of Balkh, cf. Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 237; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géog. . . . . de la Perse*, p. 297). When Sāmān-khudāt had to flee from Balkh, he sought refuge with Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, governor of Khurāsān (cf. the art. ASAD, i. 475). The latter helped him against his enemies; Sāmānkhudāt then adopted Islām He called his son after his protector, Asad (Narshakhī in Schefer, *Descr. .. de Boukhara*, p. 57 *sq.*). The further stories of Sāmānkhudāt given in the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (apud Schefer, *o c*, p. 99 *sq.*) are obviously legendary. The story that his ambition was aroused at the recital of a certain verse was only later transferred to him from another connection (Gibb Mem. Ser , xi. 26, 123 *sq.*) The *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* also says that Sāmānkhudāt gained possession of Ashnās.

Asad b. Sāmānkhudāt had four sons, who seem to have played a part in the political history of the eastern Caliphate even in the time of al-Rashīd. The future Caliph al-Maʾmūn is said to have ordered the sons of Asad to assist the commander-in-chief Harthama against the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Laith and the Sāmānids were able to arrange an agreement between Harthama and Rāfiʿ (Narshakhī, p. 74). In any case, when al-Maʾmūn succeeded his father, he commanded Ghassān b ʿAbbād, whom he appointed governor of Khurāsān, to give the sons of Asad posts in the administration (Narshakhī, p. 75, cf Ibn al-Athīr, vii 192, Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, p. 237). In 204 (819) Ghassān appointed Nūh b. Asad to Samarkand, Aḥmad to Farghāna, Yaḥyā to al-Shāsh and Ushrūsana and Ilyās to Herāt. When later, Tāhir b al-Husain became governor of Khurāsān, he confirmed these appointments. The Sāmānids were thus a kind of sub-governors of the Tāhirids. An older source, Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, only briefly states that Nūḥ spent some years at the court of al-Maʾmūn and that the latter then appointed him over Mā warāʾ al-Nahr *min ḳibal al-Ṭāhirīya* (237) The first of the brothers to die was Ilyās; his death took place in the reign of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. The latter allowed Ilyās's son Muhammad to succeed his father in Herāt (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 193).

But this branch of the family is of less importance than the line of Ahmad from which the Sāmānid dynasty was descended. When Nūḥ, who seems to have been a loyal servant of the Ṭāhirids — he had aided ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir at the instigation of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to entrap in infamous fashion al-Hasan b al-Afshīn, son of the famous general of the Turks who had fallen from favour (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1307 *sq*) — had died without heirs, Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh gave his governorship in Transoxania to the brothers Yaḥyā and Aḥmad. Aḥmad is praised in later sources for his unselfishness and other fine qualities (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 192) in the fashion usual among eastern historians, when dealing with the founder of a dynasty. Aḥmad was succeeded in the governorship of Transoxania by the eldest of his seven sons, Naṣr (we hear no more of Yaḥyā; perhaps he died before Aḥmad, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī only knows of Aḥmad as successor to Nūḥ). From 261 (874/75) onwards Naṣr can be regarded as an independent prince; in that year he was granted Transoxania as a fief direct from the Caliph (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1889; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 193); the star of the Tāhirids was on the wane and danger threatened from the Ṣaffārids. But just as it appears from the words of Ibn al-Athīr that he regards Naṣr after the grant of 261 as a *de facto* autonomous ruler dependent only on the ʿAbbāsid government, so Ḥamza (p. 237) seems to consider Ismāʿīl the first actual prince *(fakānat wilāyat man taḳaddama Ismāʿīl. . . . . min ḳibal al-Ṭāhir)*. In the same year, 261, Naṣr appointed his brother Ismāʿīl Wālī of Bukhārā. In this region anarchy reigned, an army sent by Naṣr against the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Laith had murdered its leader and gone to Bukhārā, where the soldiery, after Naṣr's *nāʾib* Aḥmad b. ʿUmar had retired before them, appointed and deposed rulers as they pleased (so Ibn al-Athīr). Narshakhī (p. 76) speaks of an invasion of the Khwārizmīs (Rabīʿ II, 260 = 874) when great devastation was wrought in Bukhārā. The leader of the Khwārizmīs, Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭaʾī, was soon forced to take to flight, but the disturbances went on as before. Then the Faḳīh Abū ʿAbd Allāh b Abī Hafs appealed to Naṣr to send a governor to restore order. He sent Ismāʿīl; according to Narshakhī, by the first Friday of the month of Ramadān, 260 (June 26, 874), the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Laith was replaced in the *khuṭba* in Bukhārā by that of Naṣr The Sāmānid soon rendered harmless, although by perfidious means, the Khāridjī Husain b. Muhammad, whom Ismāʿīl encountered in Bukhārā. Ismāʿīl cleared the robbers out of Bukhārā, defeated Husain b. Ṭāhir of Khwārizm and forced the turbulent Bukhārā aristocracy to obedience He further sought to strengthen his position by an alliance with Rāfiʿ b. Harthama, lord of Khurāsān. The latter also handed over to him the administration of Khurāsān (Ibn al-Athīr vii 193) This must have been shortly before the outbreak of war between Ismāʿīl and Naṣr (272 = 885/886) for it was only in 271 that Muḥammad b Tāhir was appointed governor of Khurāsān by the Caliph al-Muʿtamid in place of ʿAmr b. al-Laith, whereupon Muḥammad installed Rāfiʿ b Harthama as his deputy there (Ibn al-Athīr, vii 290) The power of the Sāmānids was by then so well established that these events in Khurāsān did not affect their position in the least. Ismāʿīl's treaty with Rāfiʿ b Harthama was an offensive alliance against Naṣr. In the first war, which broke out in 272 (Narshakhī gives as the cause that Ismāʿīl had not paid the annual tribute promptly; Ibn al-Athir speaks in general terms of intrigues), Rāfiʿ did not distinguish himself as an ally Ḥamwaih b ʿAlī, a general of Ismāʿīl's, seems to have induced him to work for a rapprochement between Naṣr and Ismāʿīl rather than for a vigorous campaign (Ibn al-Athir, vii. 194). Peace was soon concluded between the two brothers. The war was renewed in 275 (888) and ended in favour of Ismāʿīl. The latter captured Naṣr, but was politic enough to send him back to Samarkand with the honours befitting his suzerain. There Naṣr reigned till his death in 279 (892) (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2133) while Ismāʿīl remained as his brother's *nāʾib* in Bukhārā, until he succeeded him on the throne. Ismāʿīl is regarded the first proper ruler *(amīr)* of the dynasty. The list is as follows:

Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad . . .	279—295 (892—907)
Aḥmad b Ismāʿīl . . .	295—301 (907—913)
Naṣr b. Aḥmad	301—331 (913—943)
Nūḥ I b. Naṣr	331—343 (943—954)
ʿAbd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ .	343—350 (954—961)
Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ . . .	350—365 (961—976)

Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr . . . 365—387 (976—997)
Manṣūr II b. Nūḥ . . . 387—389 (997—999)
ʿAbd al-Malik II b. Nūḥ . 389 (999)

By the time Ismāʿīl (cf. above, ii. 545 *sq.*) died, he had considerably extended his kingdom, in addition to Transoxiana and Khurāsān, which had come to him after the overthrow of the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr (see the above article) He was, so far as we can judge, one of the ablest rulers of his dynasty, energetic but unscrupulous. His loyalty to the ʿAbbāsids is, however, commemorated (Narshakhī, p. 90) and, indeed, the Sāmānids always professed, outwardly at least, this sentiment, if ʿUtbī is right when he says that only the princes of this dynasty bore the title *walī amīri 'l-muʾminīn* (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 160). Anecdotes of Ismāʿīl's piety and philanthropy are given in Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 194 *sq.*, viii. 4 *sq.*

Under the second prince, Aḥmad, there already appears a factor, which contributed not a little to the decline of the dynasty, namely the mutinous and ambitious spirit of the notables. Even at his accession Aḥmad was forced to put his uncle Isḥāḳ in prison; another noble, Bārs al-Kabīr, who had considerable sums in his keeping, fled to Baghdād. The new Amīr seems in other respects to have been of a resolute character. Ibn al-Athīr (viii 89) attributes to him a sound judgment and the knowledge of men indispensable in a king Narshakhī emphasises his justice, it is only in a later compilation that we find him unfavourably criticised (in Schefer, *Description*, p. 98). In 298 (910/911) Aḥmad's general, al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, conquered Sīstān; among the leaders of this expedition was Sīmdjūr al-Dawātī, the ancestor of the powerful family that held the governorship of Khurāsān under the Sāmānids Sīstān was at that time in the hands of a Ṣaffārid, al-Muʿaddal b. ʿAlī b. Laith. The latter was defeated and sent to Baghdād along with a former *ghulām* of ʿAmr b. al-Laith, who was taken prisoner in Fārs. But the conquest of the country was not final. In 300 (912/13) a rebellion broke out, stirred up by the Khāridjī Muḥammad b. Hurmuz in favour of a Ṣaffārid pretender, ʿAmr b. Yaʿḳūb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Laith. Al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī again conquered Sīstān for the Sāmānids, but further troubles broke out after Aḥmad's death. In 301 (913/914) the governor of Tabaristān was driven out by an ʿAlid; shortly after the receipt of this news Aḥmad was murdered by some of his *ghulām*'s (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 46, 52, 58).

In this we may see the hand of those notables who, for one reason or another, were tired of the strong hand of the Amīr. Significant also are the words which are put in the mouth of Aḥmad's son Naṣr (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 58). That Aḥmad, as later compilations report, showed so much favour to learned men that the *ghulām*'s became jealous is probably an invention (Schefer, *Description*, p. 92, cf. 101).

The detailed histories of the succeeding rulers will be found in the articles on them (ʿABD AL-MALIK, MANṢŪR, NAṢR, NŪḤ). The following is a general account of the dynasty, the capital of which was Bukhārā from the time of Ismāʿīl. The kingdom of the Sāmānids, which grew out of a subordinate governorship in Transoxania, comprised in the period of its greatest extent Sīstān, Kirmān, Diurdjān, Rayy and Tabaristān, in addition to Transoxania and Khurāsan. The reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the patron of Rūdakī, marks the zenith of the dynasty (301—331), not so much on account of the imposing personality of the ruler (in this respect he was far inferior to Ismāʿīl) as on account of the fact that after his death the decline of the kingdom begins to make itself apparent. The same factors, as had proved fatal to older Irānian dynasties, the turbulence of the notables (in this case the military aristocracy) and the danger from the northern nomads, the Turkish tribes, increased in strength when powerful figures like Ismāʿīl and Aḥmad no longer sat on the throne and finally brought about the catastrophe. No sooner was Aḥmad dead than his uncle Isḥāḳ contested the throne with his son Naṣr; Nūḥ I had to defend his throne against his relative Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. From the reign of the last-named prince dates the rise of Alptegin, who later seized Ghazna, when he had been removed by Manṣūr I from the governorship of Khurāsān and replaced by Abu 'l-Husain Sīmdjūr, and became the founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty (cf. the article ALPTEGIN). The war, waged with little success against the Būyids and ended in the reign of Manṣūr I, contributed as little to increase the prestige of the dynasty at home or abroad. Things did not improve under Nūḥ II. He tried in vain to put down the rebellious governor of Sīstān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad. Abu 'l-Ḥusain Sīmdjūr, whom he had relieved from the governorship of Khurāsān and sent against Khalaf, made common cause with the latter. This was the beginning of a series of troubles which did not cease with the death of Abu 'l-Ḥusain; his son, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūr, was an equally faithless subject, who finally incited the Turkish prince Bughrā Khān [q. v.] against the Sāmānid kingdom. The Turks, who had not only been defeated by Ismāʿīl but had had the war carried into their own territory (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2138, 2249), now came to the front again. The days of Ismāʿīl were past, however. Nūḥ's armies were defeated — one of his generals played the traitor — and he himself had to flee. Only the premature death of the Turkish leader enabled the Sāmānid to return to his capital in a short time again. Fāʾiḳ, the general, who was said to have allowed himself deliberately to be beaten by the Turks, made an alliance with Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūr, with the object of driving Nūḥ from the throne The Amīr, who could not trust the nobles, appealed for assistance to the Ghaznawids, who agreed to help him. Nūḥ's two opponents were forced to seek refuge with the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla. The governorship of Khurāsān was given by Nūḥ to the Ghaznawid Subuktegin; the latter and his son Mahmūd received in addition the titles Nāṣir al-Dīn and Saif al-Dawla (384 = 994). The war with the rebels continued till Abū ʿAlī met his death and Fāʾiḳ escaped to the Turkish ruler Naṣr b. ʿAlī Ilek Khān (cf above, ii. 465 *sq.*). War with the Turks did not result on this occasion; it was agreed that Fāʾik should receive the governorship of Samarḳand. The brief reign of Manṣūr II was similar in its course. Ilek Khān, with whom some members of the military aristocracy had made an arrangement, conquered Bukhārā and drove out Manṣūr. With the help of Fāʾiḳ, Manṣūr was soon able to return. A quarrel broke out between Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sīmdjūr and Bektūzūn over the governorship of Khurāsān; Maḥmūd of Ghazna also intervened, but the definite conquest of Khurāsān by

the Ghaznawids did not yet take place. Manṣūr was deposed by Fā'iḳ and Bektūzūn and blinded. His brother, ʿAbd al-Malik, was put upon the throne. Maḥmūd now intervened. He drove ʿAbd al-Malik out of Khurāsān and conquered it. On these events and occupation of Transoxania in the same year 389 (999) by Ilek Khān, when ʿAbd al-Malik was taken prisoner, cf. above, i. 50a. Here the dynasty ends; on the fate of one member of the family, who was carried off by the Turks, Ismāʿīl b. Nūh al-Muntaṣir, see above, ii. 546a

More important than the political history of the Sāmānids, which is very similar to that of other Oriental dynasties, is another aspect of their rule which can only be briefly touched on here. Not only did learning flourish under the aegis of this house (one thinks, for example, of Balʿamī, the translator of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle; cf. above, i. 613 *sq.*) but it is from this epoch that modern Persian literature takes its rise. It is sufficient to recall a name like Rūdakī; Firdawsī also began writing in the Sāmānid period. It may be mentioned as a curiosity that one of these rulers himself, Manṣūr II, has left poetical fragments (cf. ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, i. 23).

Bibliography: Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 236 *sqq* (down to ʿAbd al-Malik I); al-Ṭabarī, Index under proper names, down to 301 A.H.), Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, Index of proper names, al-Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār* (cf. ii 137; extracts in Barthold, *Turkestan*, not available to me), *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Moh Nerchakhy*, ed. by C. Schefer, Paris 1892 (contains Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā* in an abbreviated Persian version with a continuation and the history of the Sāmānids from al-Ḳazwīnī's *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, a Persian translation of the sections relating to the Sāmānids in ʿUtbī's *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, which found its way into a later compilation, etc.); Defrémery, *Histoire des Samanides par Mirkhond*, Paris 1845. (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SAMARITANS. The Samaritans were in all probability the very first nation to come under the sway of the Arabic conquest and under the domination of Islām, a domination which lasted uninterrupted for centuries. Slender as the contact had been between the dwellers in Nāblus and the Western World throughout the period of Roman and Byzantine rule, they were now entirely cut off from any further intercourse and became practically an isolated island in the sea of Arabic civilisation. It is of symptomatic interest to follow up the now all-embracing influence and to draw some conclusions pertinent to the problem of the character and depth of the influence which one culture is alleged to have exercised upon the other We have on the one hand the rise of a new culture from the desert and on the other an apparently stagnant literary life which is now stirred, and we have therefore every reason, as it seems, to anticipate some traces of such an influence This is a point of no mean importance as it has almost become a dogma to assume that whatever parallel is found in two literatures of which one is Arabic, the priority and originality belong to the Arabic whilst the other does nothing but borrow. It is forgotten, however, that the Arabs were the last of the eastern nations to appear on the horizon of civilisation and culture; they were the last and did not originate much at the beginning. On the contrary, they were simply the heirs of hoary civilisations; true they were eager to enter upon that rich inheritance and quickly added to it. But the way in which they succeeded in adopting and assimilating the older civilisations is a proof of similar adaptability in any earlier period, however scanty the literary data may be. Still the desire of ascribing to the Arabs all initiative and originality has greatly obscured or impeded such investigations; the syncretistic character of the Ḳor'ān alone should suffice to prove this adaptability. No one doubts the multiple origin of Muḥammad's sources of information and Jewish and Christian influences have been freely recognised The greater familiarity with these literatures favoured such conclusions, whilst one might say that complete ignorance of matters Samaritan favoured the prejudice on behalf of the Arabs. Insufficient knowledge of Samaritan traditions and literature prevented the suggestion of any possible influence from that quarter. Added to this was the aforementioned assumption that if anything were found in the Samaritan similar or akin to Islāmic tradition and practice, the Samaritan must have borrowed from the former. Recent investigations of the remnants of Samaritan literature, however, have shown that this literature represents a tradition which is at least a thousand years older than Muhammad and which contains writings going back to the first centuries before and after the Christian Era The Samaritans are characterised by complete fossilisation and a fixed determination not to change or alter anything. No difference of importance can be discovered between the teaching and practice of the first centuries and those of relatively modern times, their whole strength rested in this immutability and in their imperviousness to outer influences. Continuity of life in one spot and continuity of worship warrant the assumption of reliability of tradition, and if, as will be seen, a strong similarity will be detected between Arabs and Samaritans in some important points, the presumption is justified that the Samaritan tradition is the older and the Muhammadan the later, these having borrowed it from the Samaritans.

The numbers of the Samaritans in olden times and the position which they occupied have been greatly underrated They were the representatives of the Northern Tribes and were scattered in large numbers throughout the Babylonian and Persian Empires and moreover were always found side by side with the Jews By their doctrinal opposition to the Jews they formed as it were a bridge between the latter and other heterodox movements. Sufficiently Jewish by their strict adherence to the Law of Moses, they yet rejected the Prophets and withheld their allegiance from the house of David. They were the first to accuse the Jews of tampering with the Holy Scriptures, an accusation which was afterwards taken up by Christian, Muḥammadan and Gnostic sects For the Samaritans to have changed a single jot or tittle of their dogma, to have modified their form of prayer, or to have introduced new angelological views and tenets was a sheer impossibility, only a new sect separating itself from the older stem could have ventured upon such changes thereby justifying the separation.

There were indeed sects among the Samaritans but as far as can be ascertained from the information which can be gleaned from Samaritan Chronicles they belong to a period centuries older

than the date of Islām and have nothing in common with it. One cannot, therefore, insist too strongly, that generally speaking and for the older period, the Samaritans owe nothing to Islām and that the indebtedness lies rather with the latter.

The conquest of Palestine by the Arabs must have been hailed with joy by the Samaritans; it freed them from the vindictive and tyrannical persecution of the Byzantine rulers and the Church. The darkest period for the Samaritans was from the time of Hadrian, who, as stated by them, destroyed their literature, down to the period when the Arabs put an end to the Christian domination. The relation between the new rulers and the Samaritans seems to have been one of friendly intercourse, freedom of faith and liberty of action were granted to them on the strength of documents purporting to have emanated from Muhammad himself and corroborated by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The very words of these documents are given by Abu 'l-Fatḥ in his Arabic-Samaritan chronicle, the genuineness of which has never been disputed. In any case they seem to have been a source of protection to the Samaritans for many centuries. It was only the fanatical intervention of some of the local governors which caused some temporary loss and trouble. On the whole the relations remained friendly, for besides the documents the Samaritans also belonged to the "tolerated" religions. There is a story related by Abu 'l-Fatḥ in connection with the granting of these documents. According to him, three wise men, astrologers, had seen that Muḥammad would arise and would succeed. One was a Jew, one was a Christian and one was a Samaritan. All three went to Muḥammad to foretell his future greatness. He was much impressed, accepted their prognostications gratefully and was able to induce the Jew and the Christian to embrace his faith. The Jew was the famous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and the Christian Ab Samlya The Samaritan, however, refused to embrace the new faith and was able to impress Muḥammad more than the others by telling him that he had a blemish between the shoulders, like that of a leprous man. Out of gratitude for the prophecy, Muhammad granted liberty of life and freedom of conscience to the Samaritans. This document, written by Muḥammad, was corroborated by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The name of the Samaritan was Ṣassata (?), who afterwards assumed the name of Ḳabaṣa, being the ancestor of the family of Kabasī on whom more later on. These three persons typically represent the three faiths which contributed to the shaping of Islām.

How much did the Samaritans contribute? The claim now put forward on behalf of the Samaritans is a novel one and only a few points will be selected where a proof of Samaritan origin can be advanced. This proof consists of showing that the Samaritan dogmas or principles rest directly on a sentence found in the Pentateuch. Their contribution may sound exaggerated but it will not be found so when carefully investigated.

I start with the well-known Muḥammadan proclamation of faith: "*Lā ilāha illa 'llāh*". "There is no God but Allāh". This corresponds as closely as religious doctrines will allow to the Samaritan formula repeated over and over again by Maikah and his contemporaries, ʿAmram Dara and Nana. "*Lāi ilāh illā ehād*" (or, according to their pronunciation, *Lāi ilāh illā ehād*). The Samaritan as well as to the Jew, the Unity of God was the fundamental principle as was also the case with Muḥammad who proclaimed Allāh as the real God in contradistinction to the heathen gods. The name of Allāh was the chief element and decisive factor of the new faith and had therefore to be chosen instead of Eḥād. The above mentioned Samaritan writers belong to the third or fourth centuries, two or three centuries before Islām. There cannot be any question of interpolation, as the formula appears so frequently and is so interwoven with the contents that it forms an integral part of the poems It is also found in the "Prayer of Joshua", which is unquestionably one of the oldest Samaritan hymns and which stands in close connection with that ancient Samaritan Book of Joshua of which so little is known and to which reference will be made later on. The Samaritans assume the origin to be known and the occasion when these prayers were uttered. But whatever the date may be which can be assigned to it, there cannot be any doubt that the Prayer of Joshua must be older than Markaḥ and probably only a little less old than the *Enṣira* or Opening Prayer

We also have in the *Enṣira* the proclamation: "there is no God but one", and the reference to the Biblical passage upon which it principally rests (Deut, iv. 39), where the Samaritan adds at the end *milebado* meaning "none else beside him", i.e. there is no God but that one.

Further the very first word of the Kor'ān is *Bismillāh*, "in the name of God". A special value has been attached to this formula and it has been used by Muhammadans for all and every religious function. In fact every religious action begins with it. It is not an invocation of God direct but a call on His most powerful and efficacious Name This is part of Jewish and Samaritan mysticism and lies at the root of most of the magical speculations and conjurations of the ancient world. Only through Jewish or Christian, but more especially Samaritan influences could Muḥammad have obtained that knowledge, and then used this formula as he did, placing it at the very beginning of the Ḳor'ān. The Samaritans derive it from Deut., xxxii. 3, where they read. *Ki beshem Adonai ekrā*, "For I call on the name of the Lord" — The Samaritan reading *beshem* instead of *shem*, as the Jews read, approximates this form to the Arabic *bismillāh* — and this phrase occurs over and over again during prayer and in fact proceeds every other portion, even the *Enṣira*. Markaḥ has devoted a special portion of his Commentary to it and Ḳabaṣī has written a special treatise (see below).

Now as it stands in the Arabic, it is quite abrupt; it has no end and no connection with the form of invocation. What does it mean? "In the name of God the All-merciful." There is no verb to complete the sentence and it is not sufficient to appeal merely to the imagination.

It becomes intelligible, however, if compared with the parallel Samaritan invocation "In the name of God we begin and finish", or, according to the variant: "In the name of God we begin and prosper". This form is the one constantly in use among the Samaritans; it stands at the head of the *Kinoshh* which contains the collection of the most ancient prayers and hymns, it stands at the head of the ancient phylactery and is at every

became abbreviated through its constant use and reached Muḥammad in this form, in which the second part was so well known and understood that it was omitted. But it is really the beginning of a formula without the completion of which it has no real meaning. And even so, it rests upon a theory new to the Muḥammadan world, i. e. the mystic nature of the Name of God.

I do not wish to discuss here the other words, the attribute "All-merciful", which corresponds to the Samaritan duplication of the same word in order to express the superlative. *Raḥum hareḥumim*, just like the Arabic. Let us rather turn to the *Fātiḥa* itself, also a kind of succinct Confession of Faith. We do not find any such confession standing at the head of prayers or of any religious liturgical books among Jews or Christians; a comparison with the Christian Paternoster misses the point. It has nothing in common with it, either in form or in contents. But if we turn to the Samaritan we find precisely the same practice. Reference has already been made to that Opening Prayer called by the Samaritans *Enṣira*. It is a more elaborate Confession of Faith, a prayer for Divine Protection which is said silently It contains the principal doctrines of the Samaritans and begins with the words. *Amadti ḳamekha al fataḥ ʿaḥamekha*, "I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy". *Fataḥ* = *Fātiḥa*, Opening or Gate, and thus the very word "*fataḥ*" stares us in the face Standing by itself it might be looked upon as a mere coincidence, but taking it together with the other declarations in the *Enṣira* and the fact that it occupies the same prominent position as has been assigned to the Fātiha, this must be something more than mere coincidence.

In the *Enṣira* there is also the *Ḳibla* or turning in prayer to the Sacred Mountain. True the direction towards the Sanctuary was also known among the Jews. Daniel (iv. 10) turns three times towards Jerusalem when bending his knees in prayer. With the Samaritans, however, it is a fundamental dogma forming part of their religious practice, in as much as the worship on Mt Garizim was the principal difference between them and the Jews. Muḥammad may have borrowed this practice from the Samaritans, like them he invested it with a special religious character more stringent than the Jews. He also changed the direction when he broke with the Jews showing thereby the importance he attached to the ḳibla.

If *saǧada*, hence *masǧid*, are words borrowed by the Arabs to designate worship, i. e. divine worship, then, though this word is Aramaic, still none the less curiously, the Jews have refrained from making any technical use of it for any liturgical purpose, nor does it seem to have obtained the same general acceptance in Syriac. In the Samaritan, on the contrary, it is in the *Enṣira* and is the standing technical expression for "Divine worship", and occurs over and over again in almost every hymn and prayer.

Of a far greater importance is the parallelism between Muḥammad and Moses in the conception of the Samaritans. He is the Only Prophet and is venerated in a manner approaching apotheosis. The most important attribute assigned to Moses is that of the Only Prophet, Faithful Prophet, the Messenger chosen by God to perform the miracles and wonders; moreover, there is none like him nor will there be until the End of Days. Such a designation is unknown in Jewish literature, where Moses is always known as Moshe Rabbenu, i. e Moses our Teacher or Master. *Ha-nabi ha-ne'eman* or *ha-shaliaḥ* is the standing phrase among the Samaritans and rests among others on the statements often found in the Bible where the words "prophet", "sent" and "sending" occur in connection with Moses. The close parallelism between this title given to Moses and the corresponding *Rasūl Allāh* attributed to Muḥammad can be followed down to minute details, but this is not the place for such an investigation.

Special attention must still be drawn to one point of extreme value. It is the declaration found in the *Fātiḥa* in the belief in a Day of Requital and Punishment. The Samaritans derived it from the words in the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 35) where they read "On the day of Vengeance and Reward" (*leyōm*) instead of the Massoretic reading "To me belongs vengeance and reward" (*lī*). The Samaritans ascribe great eschatological importance to this song. This reading is moreover corroborated by the Septuagint and is thus of very high antiquity. The "Day of Judgment", no doubt, plays a very great role in Jewish and Christian Eschatology, but, as far as the Jews are concerned, it has never been introduced in any formal principle of faith nor is it found in the liturgy, whilst with the Samaritans it has assumed a capital importance, so much that it forms part of the *Enṣira*. Mention may also be made of the curious parallel that both Muḥammad and the Samaritan recognise practically four angels only who form the celestial hierarchy; the names are somewhat different (Gabriel occurring in both) but there is the coincidence that they are limited to four Jewish and Christian angelology was ever so much richer at the time of Muḥammad.

In view of what has been said before I am giving here a slightly abbreviated translation of the *Enṣira*, particularly of the portion affected by this investigation

"I stand before Thee at the gate of Thy mercy, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, to recite Thy praises and Thy numerous greatnesses according this my strength I, the poor and weak one, I know this day and I have taken it to my heart that Thou art the Lord God in the heavens above and in the earth beneath and there is none else beside Him ..... Blessed be Thy holy name for ever. There is no God but One. O Lord, we will not worship any one but Thee for ever, and we will believe only in Thee for ever and in Moses, Thy Prophet, and in Thy Writing of Truth and in the place of Thy worship, Mount Garizim, Bethel, the mountain of rest and inheritance and of the *shekina* (sanctuary), and in the Day of Punishment and Reward. *Ehye asher Ehye*. The Lord is our God, the Lord is One alone. How great is His goodness and mercy. I stand in Thy hands. I pray for Thy mercy and loving kindness, and I speak: "O my Lord!" with my heart and with my soul."

If we now compare the first part of the *Fātiḥa* we shall find that it runs as follows: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most Merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship and of Thee do we beg assistance." The parallelism between these two forms of prayer is so striking that one must be dependent upon the other. In both the same fundamental dogmas

are proclaimed and in language they are similar to one another. There cannot be any question which of these two is the more ancient and therefore the original. The Samaritans did not wait one thousand years and more in order to formulate their prayer and Confession of Faith; moreover, it rests in every detail upon the words of Scripture to which distinct reference is made. Again almost every one of these principles is found repeated over and over again in Marḳah and in the most ancient prayers and hymns in the Samaritan liturgy. Not so with Muḥammad, who had to have recourse to other older forms which he used as patterns and so worded that neither Jew, Christian nor Samaritan could take umbrage at them; at the same time these new principles enunciated by Muḥammad marked a definite break with the pagan beliefs of his contemporaries.

No less important is the parallelism between the Arabic Mahdī and the Samaritan Taheb According to Ibn Khaldūn, "the whole body of Muslims throughout the centuries have held that at the end of the age a man of the family of the Prophet must appear who will strengthen religion and make justice manifest. The Muslims will follow him and he will gain possession of the Muslim kingdoms and be called al-Mahdī" (Guillaume, *Traditions of Islām*, Oxford 1924, p. 89 *sq.*). So far Ibn Khaldūn; the rest, which is evidently borrowed from Jewish and Christian legends about the Messiah and the Antichrist, belongs to a later period of tradition. As it stands, the agreement between the Mahdī and the Taheb is absolute: in both cases he is either the Prophet Redivivus or the descendant of Muḥammad or of Moses or the tribe of Levi. He is the Restorer who will bring the people back to the old faith and old glory and who will cause the faith to triumph. It is a different type from that of the Jewish Messiah or the Christian Jesus and he does not descend from heaven. He is human born and probably in both cases will live only for a short time.

Another point, the significance of which cannot be overestimated, is the fact that Muhammad seems to know the Pentateuch and the Psalms only, he does not know any of the prophetic or historical writings If he had obtained his information from the Jews, this ignorance would be very surprising indeed, but if he had it from the Samaritans, it would be quite natural. A knowledge of the Psalms may have come to him from Jews or Christians, although it must not be forgotten that the Samaritans also have hymns and psalms of their own. Again among the Biblical personages Adam, Noah and Abraham are counted as prophets. No such position is assigned to them, at any rate, nor to the first two, by the Jews, whilst to the Samaritans Adam and Noah are High Priests and in more than one old treatise Adam is considered as a Prophet who foretells the future Deluge and to whom is entrusted the secret of the calendar.

Among the ceremonies the peculiar forms of washing and ablutions which are obligatory before prayer are common to Muḥammadans and Samaritans and in the practice of prayer, in the prostrations and in peculiar attitudes etc., Samaritans and Muḥammadans again show so much similarity that a close connection between them cannot be denied. We must realise that an Arab who wished to become a Muslim had to change entirely his mode of life and faith; he had to give up all his heathen practices and adopt not only new principles but also new ceremonies and forms of prayer. To him everything was new. With the Samaritan, however, all his ceremonies were the heritage of a long past; to them the slightest change meant giving up his faith and forfeiting the claim to which his people have clung with so much tenacity as being the true keepers of the faith. Any deviation from tradition meant annihilation, nor was there any reason why they should have done so considering they have never been forced to abandon their ancient faith; on the contrary, they were treated with every possible tolerance and even the virulent persecution of the Church had not been able to affect their adherence to the old faith and practice. The Jews offer an example in point, they have lived for a far larger number of centuries in Christian environment, however, every attempt has been made to induce them to forsake the religion of their fathers and when blandishments had no effect they were subjected to cruel persecution. They mixed freely to with the world around them and yet not a single trace of Christian influence can be detected in Jewish religious practices and in their ceremonies and principles. How much less could this, therefore, be the case with the Samaritans who were left to themselves and who show, indeed, no perceptible change in their principles and ceremonies as far as can be ascertained in their literary tradition.

Reference may be made to one more point, I mean the mysterious words or complex of letters at the beginning of many a Sūra. I venture to believe that the parallel practice of the Samaritans will offer a satisfactory solution The Samaritans denote the single sections of the Law (*Ḳiṣṣa*) by taking out from the contents a single word which is sufficiently characteristic to denote the whole section. Thus these words become catch-words and are used as headings in the Arabic translation and especially in the extremely ancient phylacteries and amulets. There are also special lists drawn up of these single words (so in my code). In the phylactery this process of abbreviation has been carried one step further, there the catch-words have been reduced to single letters, not necessarily the initial letter, but very often a medial or final letter which has been chosen for the purpose This discovery of mine has enabled me to recognise the same practice in the Greek Magical Papyri and the Latin conjurations, thus solving a problem which has baffled scholars for many a century. But besides the magical application, its principal value was to serve as a mnemotechnic sign to assist the reader in remembering the section in question. This therefore is probably the meaning of those words and letters which are found at the heads of the Sūras; they are either catch-words picked out of the context or are a combination of letters taken from such catch-words and placed at the head, as in the case of the Samaritan *Ḳiṣṣa*.

More space has been devoted here to the consideration of these points than might perhaps be warranted for a brief survey of the Samaritan literature and the relation in which the Samaritans stood to the new religion rising as late as the seventh century. No one can gainsay the importance henceforth to be attached to the value of the comparative study of Samaritan traditions and Muslim

principles of faith. The subject has hitherto not yet been touched upon by anyone, and I venture to think that a new field of research has been opened up; I submit that the further study of the Samaritan material as soon as it is made more accessible will strengthen the results here tentatively offered for the first time. But I do not hesitate to say that a comparison of Samaritan and Muḥammadan religious principles will show that the Samaritans have exercised a deep influence upon the moulding of Muḥammad's religious system and upon the shaping of Islām. Far from being influenced by Muḥammad, the Samaritans were those who exercised the influence upon Muḥammad

The situation, however, changed with the final victory of Islām. I do not wish it to be understood that even after that period the Arabic literature had any decisive influence upon Samaritan faith and practice. True the Arabic conquest was not only a political domination, but was a religious conquest as well. A new form of faith was forcibly imposed upon the conquered peoples with the grudging exception of the few so-called "tolerated" religions. A new Holy Book was substituted for the others cherished and venerated by the other nations. Arabic thus became the language of the Sacred Script, and, of course, not only were Sūras of the Ḳor'ān, the Liturgical lessons, recited in Arabic, but prayers and hymns were now composed in that language exclusively and the people forced to learn it. It became the new language common to all the peoples under the Arab sway and the only means of intercourse, with the result that it gradually superseded all the other vernaculars among the nations being also the Jews and Samaritans.

In a way Islām proved a greater danger to the latter than Christianity or Mazdaism There was much similarity in dogma and practice and above all there was the pure monotheism common to them. It was natural that they should feel attracted to it, and through being treated with great tolerance and forbearance would not hesitate to exchange their old vernacular, Aramaic, for Arabic. Thus the Samaritans gradually gave up the Aramaic dialect which they spoke and learned to speak Arabic and later on used it for their writing. It must be mentioned that the vernacular spoken by the Samaritans was invariably Aramaic and not Greek; there is no trace of Greek in old Samaritan traditions. Jews and Samaritans had long before discarded any use of that language. All the ancient literary monuments of the Samaritans were written in that peculiar Aramaic which is characteristically their own. The only exception was the Biblical Lessons which they read on Sabbath and Festivals and also recited on special occasions; to these were also added the Florilegia or anthologies called *Ḳaṭef* which consisted of Biblical verses strung together according to a special system for liturgical purposes On the contrary all the prayers, poems and hymns were written in that popular Aramaic dialect. They also translated the Pentateuch into this same popular language and the *Targum* therefore takes its place as one of the oldest writings.

The question arises: when was this language displaced by the Arabic? Here the parallelism with the Jews and especially Jewish sects who developed under almost similar conditions will prove helpful. As far as can be ascertained, it must have taken at least two or more centuries before the people had so far forgotten the old Aramaic as to use Arabic freely and to introduce it into the literature of the Divine Service. Very little, if anything, can be traced back before the ninth century. It seems that dissenting sects, just like the Karaites among the Jews, were among the first to break with the old language and practice, although ʿAnan still uses Aramaic for his writings. With the Samaritans it was a natural sequence of events which forced them to abandon Samaritan Aramaic for the Arabic language. The knowledge of the former was fast dying out. As its use was primarily for liturgical purposes, it seems most likely that the first things to be translated were the prayers and hymns. They were all in Samaritan, as mentioned before, and it is obvious that the first duty would be to make the people understand their own prayers, the translation of the Bible must have come much later as there was no pressing necessity for this, Hebrew was and is the sacred language and to this very day the Biblical Lessons are read in Hebrew: the *Targum* sufficed to interpret it to the worshippers. According to information obtained by me from the Samaritans, its use was continued in the *Kinsha* down to the end of the seventeenth century The man appointed to that post was called the *Haftawi* and the last one died about that time. Since then the recital of the *Targum* has ceased. It must be noted, however, that its place has not been taken by an Arabic translation. A careful examination of the *Targum* enables us to realise the growing influence of Arabic As remarked before, the knowledge of the Samaritan language was fast disappearing, it was limited to the small circle of the learned and this has remained so down to this very day. There are still a number of priests who are conversant with the old Samaritan, but the rest know Arabic only. In time the *Targum* became merely a religious tradition to which they adhered with their usual tenacity, for it had lost its meaning for the people. Slowly some of the expressions became obsolete even to the better instructed, and so we see a gradual change until it is entirely discarded. Arabic glosses were introduced to explain archaic words, and later on these glosses became part of the text. Though being in constant use, they were so much changed and altered that after the publication of the *Targum* they were classed as ancient so-called Kuthean words, remnants of the pre-exilic period. It was the merit of S. Kohn to have exploded that fallacy and to have recognised in them corrupt Arabic words. Later on a complete translation into Arabic was made There is a serious difficulty in determining the date of the translation and the name of the author, nay whether there were not two translations which have been ascribed to two men of the same name Abū Saʿīd, but too little is so far known about the different recensions to allow of a definite conclusion.

But before trying to answer this question it is necessary to ascertain the dates of the translation of the prayers in the *Kinoṯ* or *Delter*, as the "collection" of the oldest hymns and prayers is called. It contains unquestionably the old stock which has been handed down from ancient times and is used in the prayers all the year round. A comparison of the text found in the old manuscript Cod. Br. Mus. Or. 5034 of the middle of the xiiith century and the latest copies from the middle

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

THE SAMARITAN LITERATURE

BY

M. GASTER

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I

A characteristic which is of importance for Arabic translations of Samaritan literature is their absolute literalness. The original is reproduced almost word for word; as a rule both are written in parallel columns facing one another on the same page, and very often in carefully written MSS. the same number of words occurs in the Arabic line as in the Samaritan or Hebrew. The Arabic was not intended to supplant the Samaritan; it was only there to explain the meaning to those who no longer understood the original language of the prayers and the same characteristic holds good to an absolute degree for the Arabic translation of the Bible. The period in which the prayers were translated may have been between the eighth and ninth centuries; therefore that of the Bible probably belongs to a somewhat later date.

A comparison of the texts found in old MSS. notably in the Triglotts — the most complete and perfect in Europe being that now in the British Museum — with Kuenen's edition shows some very serious divergencies. If another MS, probably the oldest of its kind (my Cod N⁰ 1164), also be taken into consideration, the number of differences becomes still greater. The MS. in question is the only one which, as far as I know, is written in Arabic characters, but it is without the addition of the Hebrew text. The copyist, who wrote in the year 1328 A. D., to judge from the colophon, was not a Samaritan but in all probability a Syrian Christian. He was a master of penmanship and wrote the headings of the Samaritan *Kiṣṣim* or small sections in a most beautiful Samaritan script. A critical edition, therefore, will have to collate all these MSS., if we are to obtain a reliable text of the Arabic translation. A similar codex dated 1323 is now in the British Museum.

How are these differences to be reconciled? It is hardly probable that two men of the same name should have undertaken precisely the same work and should have done it in such a manner as to agree practically with one another. It is, no doubt, the work of one man who lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His work was then continually revised and altered during succeeding centuries. The reason for such continuous changes and emendations is to be sought in the state of the *Targum* which deeply influenced this translation. One must remember that in this undertaking the author followed the practice which had led to the translation of the prayers when the object had been to help the people to the understanding of the originals written in the Samaritan. Here the primary concern was to replace the *Targum* and not the Hebrew text, i e. an Arabic *Targum* was to take the place of the Aramaic *Targum*. I submit that the translation was made chiefly on the basis of the Samaritan *Targum*, as understood by the translator at the time. He was guided by the Samaritan, no doubt with due consideration of the Hebrew text, but resting immediately on the *Targum*.

A fact hitherto not recognised is that there are at least two recensions of the *Targum*. Like the Arabic they do not differ essentially from one another but are no doubt due to successive revision by scholars of different ages, who altered the translation by adding glosses or changing words or sentences. The existence of these two recensions can be traced, among others, in the Triglotts and in a modern copy made for me by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron, who on sundry occasions marked the variants in the margin. The example set by these recensions of the *Targum* was followed by successive copyists of the Arabic translation. Hence the differences which, however, are not so great as to preclude the possibility of one common more ancient translation like that ascribed to Abū Sa'īd. Some means of fixing the date could be found in the translation of the names of various nations found in Genesis, chap. x, and other names of nations and geographical names found scattered throughout the Pentateuch. The Arabic translation substitutes other names for those found in the *Targum* and in the Hebrew text. This practice of substituting more modern names better known to the contemporaries for the old ones already forgotten or difficult to identify can already be seen, among others, in Josephus and in the Palestinian *Targumim* These are some of the indications which may assist in determining the date of the translation or of the revision made by later hands. Thus far the Arabic translations are of a strictly literal character. They represent the first steps in the use of Arabic in Samaritan literature which however, soon emancipated itself from the tyranny of literalness and, following the example of Arabic writers, used the language for more original compositions. The next in chronological order seems to be the translation of the writings of Marḳa. Some of his poems, incorporated in the *Kinosh* as part of the liturgy, had already been translated together with other liturgical hymns. It was, therefore, natural that his great epic poem written in Samaritan Aramaic should also be translated and thus made more accessible. Absolute literalness characterises this translation as well. Here again the Arabic is written in Samaritan letters and I know of no copy in which the Arabic alphabet has been used. It is not here the place to discuss whether we possess all the writings of Marḳa, for it seems that the first section of his "Book of Wonders" had been detached and had become an independent book or formed the nucleus of such a book. Marḳa intended to describe the life of Moses and the wonders performed by him when leading the people out of Egypt, finishing with a poetic description of the death of

Moses. This last section has also been detached and incorporated into a chronicle, a copy of which is in my possession. Reference has been made here to it because I shall have to mention later on an Arabic book on the birth of Moses, which seems to represent the missing section or rather the supposed missing section of Marḳa.

The true character of the Samaritan literature is one of self-centred interest. The Samaritans are always on the defence when they are not polemical, aggressive or apologetic. They were forced to adopt this attitude almost from the beginning and have maintained it ever since, and must therefore have had a rather extensive literature of this kind, which was written either in Samaritan or in that peculiar Hebrew specifically their own and which is characteristically different from the classical Biblical. This assumption will explain the subsequent Samaritan-Arabic literature. There is an extraordinary sameness in the whole range of theological and polemical writings Though Oriental authors do not hesitate to take over whole sections of previous writings, often without mentioning the authors, still there is here no direct borrowing which could be traced from one to the other, but great similarity in the contents. The dogmatic teachings and the polemical arguments of the latest and the oldest writers are almost identical. Most of that which is found in comparatively modern compilations is nothing else but a repetition of the same matter found in the old writings. The only explanation possible must be sought in the existence of an older non-Arabic set of writings to which they resorted as the common source. These old sources rest upon the authority of the Elders or of the Pure Fathers to whom frequent reference is made. This also holds good for many Arabic paraphrases which appeared and which were made upon the basis of such Hebrew and Samaritan texts which they thus displaced and often caused to disappear. Again, it explains a very curious phenomenon, not limited to the Samaritans, namely that every quotation from the Bible or from old prayers or Marḳa was always quoted in the original language and also written in the Samaritan script. These books were unquestionably written for the benefit of the Samaritans alone and not as a contribution to the enrichment of the Arabic literature as such, with the exception of a few writings chiefly of the Danafite family of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Before proceeding further in a detailed description of the Samaritan writings in Arabic, it is desirable to mention that I will endeavour to follow the chronological order as far as possible, which alone shows the gradual development and the character this literature assumed at one period or another. A true picture of the spiritual life at a given period can only be drawn by making a survey of the literary output at one and the same time. We can then more easily gauge the forces which were at work and the influences under which that literary activity took place. The grouping of the writings according to subjects is of little help for the reasons advanced above, namely that the later compilations are often a réchauffé of the same old material in a slightly altered form, and also because we are dealing for the most part with a very limited literary outlook.

The most prominent position is naturally occupied by writings about Tradition, or rather traditional practices and laws. The Samaritans like their kinsfolk, the Jews, developed from very early times a religious Oral Tradition which was intended to supplement the Written Tradition confined to the Book of the Law or the Mosaic code. One may safely say this Oral Tradition starts about a thousand years before the Ḳor'ān With the Jews it continued long after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. That event brought about a complete break in the continuity of worship and the maintenance of the local tradition. Being scattered throughout the Roman Empire and beyond, the Jews ran the danger in consequence of losing their tradition or of seeing it distorted and altered, which favoured the rise of dissenting sects. They therefore felt the necessity of committing to writing in the first centuries the essential part of that Oral Tradition. Not so the Samaritans whose continuity of worship on the same spot and maintenance of local tradition had never been broken; there the High Priests watched continually over its strict observance. No doubt, however, some essential doctrinal points of dispute with the Jews or possibly other directions for religious practice connected with the daily life and worship which constituted their Oral Law must also have been written down at a very early time It was evolved by the so-called Midrashic exegesis common to Jews and Samaritans and applied to the words of Scripture. It was furthermore strengthened by the testimony of the 70 Elders who had been entrusted by Moses with the keeping and interpretation of the Law and establishing the practice which in time became known as the Oral Law. One may see here an analogy with the parallel development of the Oral Tradition of the Muslims by the companions of Muḥammad. The analogy between the origin of the Ḥadīth and that of the Samaritan Oral Tradition is closer than that between the Ḥadīth and the Jewish or Christian tradition. These two had more than one book and more than one prophet upon whom to rely. The Samaritans, however, had only one Book, the *Torah*, and one Prophet, Moses, while the Muhammadans had only one book, the Ḳor'ān, and one Prophet, Muḥammad. In both cases the book was written by God and revealed to His only messenger; the Samaritans refer to the companions of Moses and the Muḥammadans to those of their Prophet. There is, of course, an obvious difference between the two. Moses had become a great memory fading away into a remote past whilst Muḥammad was almost living in the memory of his contemporaries and successors.

This Ḥadīth first handed down by word of mouth soon became confused, and the necessity arose to write it down and to sift and settle its authority. It is therefore highly probable that this example was followed by the Samaritans, for it is only thus that one can explain the first beginnings of the Samaritan-Arabic literature. If this sketch is not to be a mere enumeration of names and titles, one must endeavour to trace as far as possible those influences which may have contributed to the shaping of the Samaritan-Arabic literature. The beginnings are always very primitive and were the same here. The facts were written down in the simplest manner, though the Samaritans soon learned to adopt the peculiar style of the Arabic writers, with their long introductions, florid expressions and appellations, strings of attributes of God and that peculiar self-exaltation of virtues and capabilities,

as if someone else were writing them but not the author himself. This is a proof that the writers belong to a period when they had become more intimately acquainted with the Arabic literature.

II

Before proceeding further in endeavouring to give a very brief sketch of the Arabic literature of the Samaritans, which unfortunately owing to ravages of time and other circumstances has been reduced to a comparatively small compass, it is advisable to draw attention to some points in connection with the origin and development of that literature, for, however small it may be, it is still the only remnant of old traditions which are now threatened with complete extinction.

A complete knowledge of the causes which promoted and the forces which moulded them, a full understanding of the old inheritance which carries us back for many centuries would be well-nigh impossible. In the first place one has to draw a parallel between Jews and Samaritans. They were both under precisely the same influences and both had to act and react against the new spirit which surrounded them and deeply affected them.

The religious disputations which form such a characteristic portion of the old world traditions were much favoured at the court of the Sāsānian kings and later on, when Islām had calmed down from the first furious impact with the other religions and nations, the courts of the Caliphs saw also many disputations between the religious factions and religious doctrines. Thus the ferment created by the inrush of Islām was still more increased by the leaven of Greek philosophy thrown into that new dough through the intermediary of the Syriac literature. New problems were brought forward by the various followers of Islām, and old questions assumed a new importance. A clarification was desired on all sides. Sects therefore arose and each mosque, church or synagogue had to defend its position and give to its votaries satisfactory answers to the many-sided problems which were so deeply agitating the minds of the people. The Jews and Samaritans were put on their mettle, not to speak of other sects, and within that of the Jews many sects arose, the most notable being the Ḳaraites and against them as well as against the teachings of Islām the Jews had to take up arms, and defend their own position. The first step, as mentioned already was therefore a translation of the Bible into Arabic and every translation carries with it a specific interpretation from a dogmatic point of view. Foremost among the Jews was Saʿadya, known as al-Faiyūmī, who first lived in Egypt, but afterwards became the head of the great college in Babylon. He translated the Bible into Arabic and he carried on warfare against the Ḳaraites especially. He died about 940 A. D. and left behind, besides other writings, a great work on faiths and principles, *K. al-Amānāt waʾl-Iʿtiḳādāt*, the first Jewish philosophic work. It will be seen that the Samaritans learned to know all these works of Saʿadya and thus a peculiar spiritual contact was established between one and the other, but the Jews in their polemics ignored the Samaritans; for them these stood outside the pale as it were of Judaism; they looked down upon them as heathen proselytes and they therefore took no further notice of them.

Later on we find in Egypt again Maimonides (d. 1204) writing his great work "The Guide of the Perplexed", *Mōrē Nebuḵīm*, being also one of the highest enunciations of the philosophic interpretation of the Jewish principles of faith and of the interpretation of the Bible. We have thus at a time not only the desire to consolidate and formulate tradition, but also a philosophic system devised to interpret those laws and ceremonies in the light of contemporary philosophy. Polemical writings abounded on all sides.

If we turn now to the Samaritans, we will find that parallelism was characteristic throughout the ages between Jewish and Samaritan spiritual life. In addition to their own traditions the polemics which they carried on continually against the Jews are intended to prove their claim to be the only real representatives of the ancient faith embodied in the *Torah*; philosophic and mystical speculations had also made an inroad into their life. Not only were the later philosophic systems of Islām brought near to them but perhaps they still preserved some of that old mystical Neoplatonic speculations of the Hellenistic period, traces of which are clearly found in the writings of Marḳa. Be it as it may, we find here also their literary activity in the Arabic language starting with the translation of the Bible, which was followed quickly by commentaries, some treatises dealing with lesser portions of the Bible, which were interpreted in a peculiar allegorical manner, reminiscent of the ancient Philonian ways, and also of later mystical interpretations. The centre of the activity for the time being from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 12th century A. D. and perhaps a little later was in all probability in Sichem (or Nāblus). Two names stand out prominently as the most representative authors of the 11th century, still leaving out the question of the translation of the Bible as belonging to the preceding period to which reference has been made; they are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūrī and Joseph ben Shalma al-ʿAskarī. Not much has been learned of the former. The latter was a little better known, but even that knowledge is very limited. Neither the date nor the place of activity were known definitely of Abu 'l-Ḥasan or Ab Ḥasda, as he is known in the Hebrew nor the range of his activity, nor the character of his work, nor even whether he was a priest or a layman. Careful investigation has now enabled me to throw some light on these points. According to the unanimous information received from the Samaritans, he wrote his great work *al-Ṭabbāḵh* some time between 1030 and 1040 A.D.; this date seems to be the correct one. His *nisba* is given as al-Ṣūrī. It is doubtful, however, whether it refers to Tyre or, as I am inclined to believe, to a place Sūrī or Sartan mentioned in Joshua near Sichem. From the examination of one of the manuscripts it is evident that he was a Kohen and thus belonged to the priestly family which to a large extent strengthened the view that he must have lived either in or close to Sichem, as the Kohen as a rule refrained, if possible, from living far away from the holy mountain unless carried away by capture. Now as to the book itself — in one of the manuscripts seen by me, a peculiar history is given of the origin of the book — far as I am aware no

old manuscript is available except a fragment of the xiiith or xivth century just acquired and it is alleged that about 1850 ʿAmram, the then High Priest, who must have been a man of studious disposition, collected stray leaves of that book or rather fragments and ordered his relative Pinehas and his nephew Jacob, who became High Priest after him, to make a copy of these portions collated by him. How far this represents the truth is very difficult to say. It is a habit of the Samaritans to say of their immediate predecessors, who may not have been anything more than simple copyists, or who may have merely slightly enlarged upon an older copy, that they were not the copyists, but the authors of the books, which now circulate under their names. In any case the book as it stands has quite the appearance of one that has been put together in a most haphazard manner. There is no connection between many of the chapters, no system, no arrangement, no principle underlying the order of these chapters. In a way this peculiar character is of special value in as much as it shows that the author did not follow a preconceived plan but, animated by the desire to place on permanent record all the ancient traditions and practices of the people, the *Ḥadīth* of the Samaritans, and to make them known to his own people who had already forgotten the old Samaritan language, he unquestionably was faithful in translating and reproducing the texts found in the old script, perhaps obsolete here and there but on the whole giving us a faithful image of the religious spirit and life of the people at the beginning of the 11th century. It has not changed much since, which shows it again to be a real ancient tradition lived by the Samaritans uninfluenced from without and to be that old tradition which had come down to them from hoary antiquity. Evidently because of that reason and also because, as will be seen presently, it contains many sections of a purely philosophic character it did not enjoy that great popularity which the work of his contemporary Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī enjoyed, but of this anon. As it is of the highest importance, a detailed description of the contents, which has nowhere yet been published and which consists in its present form of a large number of chapters, may be given here, of course as briefly as possible. But first still as to the name It has variously been translated as "Cook" or the "Druggist", but, according to the Samaritans themselves, they translate it as the "Book of the Meat" for, after a brief introduction, the author at once gives a full description of the method of slaughtering animals and everything connected with the preparation of food in lawful manner. This portion is preceded by two chapters in which the author insists on showing the pre-eminence of the family of Aaron and that they are the lawful heirs to the Tradition and its only authoritative exponents. This in intended to justify him in the compilation of the work and laying down as it were the rules affecting the traditional ceremonies and practices. He then describes the animals, birds and fishes allowed to be eaten and the means of discriminating between the clean and unclean, especially of birds and their eggs; next comes blood and all the rules concerning shedding of blood, pure and impure blood, various issues of blood, and everything connected with Levitical impurity. In many of these, Jews and Samaritans differ. Then follows direct polemic against the Jews slaughtering animals with young and the manner in which the Jews use unborn animals. Without any transition the author proceeds to a full description of the observance of the Sabbath, notably the definition of what work is forbidden and the prohibition of drinking wine and other intoxicating liquors on the Sabbath and festivals. One may ask incidentally whether this practice of the Samaritans of refraining from drinking wine and spirits on the Sabbath and the festivals may have influenced Muhammad to prohibit altogether the use of wine. Neither Jews nor Christians have refrained from using it, on the contrary, wine is one of the chief elements in the sacramental rites.

The next chapters deal with *Shemitta* (release after seven years), jubilee (release after fifty years), and on the seventh month the memorial of trumpeting, the day of atonement and a chapter on forbidden marriages.

By a sudden transition the author gives us here a picture of the manner in which the children of Jacob sat at Joseph's table. Polemic with the Jews about the waters of purification, about the method of ablution, another polemic against the Jews who dispute the claim of the Samaritans to be Israelites, and also that their High Priest is not of the seed of Pinehas

At least 25 chapters are devoted by the author to a minute description of everything connected with the Passover sacrifice, the choosing of the lamb, the date, the reason, the object of eating unleavened bread, the slaughtering of the lamb in Egypt, the manner of going out, the duty of keeping the festival on Mt Garizim, proof that this is the chosen spot, no other to be used. This is the Festival kept up to this very day and is therefore of extreme practical importance to the Samaritans and one of the fundamental differences between the Jews and Samaritans Then follow chapters on the accuracy and excellence of the Samaritan text of the law and that nothing can be added or taken away. Here the author begins the philosophical portion of the book. He writes against anthropomorphical interpretation of certain words, about the unity of God, against those who deny that the world had a beginning, against the "*Shiʿa*", about God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, on the making of the incense, disputation of the Jews concerning the *Ḳibla*. In the same incoherent manner chapters follow upon chapters on such subjects as the date of the entry of the children of Israel into the Land, differences between Samaritans, Jews and Ḳaraites concerning the new moon and its calculation to which a long treatise has been devoted, again, on Angels, on the negative attributes of God, on the necessity of having Prophets and Messengers, on the truth of the Samaritan text, on the conditions of making a perfect copy, again a chapter on the clean and unclean land and water animals, on the various degrees of prophecy, against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, on the Ḳurʾān, on the Ashʿarīya and Ḳadarīya, on the Manna, against the Jews, who say that the last portion of the Tora was written by Joshua. The Tora created at the creation of the world before all the other creations, on the excellence of the High Priest and the *Sunna* (oral tradition), against the Jews not

allowing babies to fast on the day of atonement, also disputation with the Jews concerning the creation, on the blessing of priests which is only complete through the presence of angels, on marriage, its laws and ceremonies and finally on the blessing of the tribes by Moses.

From this greatly shortened summary the haphazard character of the contents is evident and it is a question how much this shape of the text is due to the author and how much to those who have compiled the text now in our hands. It is unfortunately the case that one cannot rely absolutely on the accuracy of modern copies inasmuch as some of the scribes do not hesitate to omit sections or to introduce new ones from elsewhere. Thus there are in one of the copies some additional treatises, which, however, are not in any way separated from the rest or considered to be independent works. On the other hand such treatises are ascribed to Ab Hasda as independent works It is therefore not at all unlikely that they originally belonged to the same compilation but, in the usual manner of the Samaritans and even of others, have at one time or another been detached from the original work and circulated under independent titles such as the treatise on repentance, *al-Tawba*, another on punishment, day of judgment, *Kitāb al-Miʿād*, another again on the Ten Commandments, also Festivals, probably *al-Maʿād*. The similarity of the names *al-Maʿād* and *al-Miʿād* has caused confusion, but each one exists independently of the other. The first and second together contain 12 chapters, and the author deals there on repentance and on rebellion and gives an exhaustive commentary on the last song of Moses, Deut. 32 This has been taken by the Samaritans from very ancient times, so already in Marḳa, and before, as the basis for their eschatology. Punishment hereafter, the life after death, everything is drawn from that chapter by allegorical and symbolical interpretation The treatise deals thus with the fire of hell, the intercession of the three pure and on the resurrection of the dead.

In the treatise *al-Maʾād* (?), dealing with the festivals, Ab Hasda discusses the character of the calculation of the new moon and festivals. There also exists a commentary on the Ten Commandments dealing with each separately in a number of chapters On good authority I learn that all these treatises are found together in one manuscript among the Samaritans.

From the detailed account here given it is obvious that the author of the *Ṭabbākh* tried to cover the whole ground of what may be called the *Ḥadith* of the Samaritans and notably all those points where the Samaritans consciously differed from the Jews and later from the Ḳaraites. The importance of this detailed account lies in the fact that it has remained practically stationary to this very day and the proper description of the religious life and practices of the Samaritans is with slight exceptions reflected in this and in that compilation to which I shall refer presently. It is evident from the contents of the *Ṭabbākh* that we have here practically all the principal elements of the *Ensira* or "Confession of Faith" on which such stress was laid by me previously. From the *Ṭabbākh* and from the subsequent work it is clear that the Samaritans were in possession of these principles of faith which were considered by them to be fundamental long before the rise of Islām and the time of Muḥammad. Herein lies the real reason and justification for giving such a full description of the contents of the *Ṭabbākh*. Samaritans, to whom the matter was not new, did not pay sufficient attention to the author to retain any biographical notes. Their literary tradition is often hopelessly confused and it is not always easy to determine absolutely who the author of a certain book or treatise may be, especially remembering that they did not hesitate to detach certain portions and circulate them as independent treatises on the one hand and on the other such a treatise might be slightly altered by a copyist, who then claimed to be the author, or again the work is ascribed afterwards to the last copyist from whom a transcript has been made, and thus the trace of the real authorship became entirely obliterated. Even the name of Ab Ḥasda seems to have undergone a change, for a treatise on the Commandments is ascribed to a certain "Djafet", whereas in the list of Samaritan manuscripts in my possession a similar book is ascribed to a certain Yephet of which Djafet is unquestionably a corruption. Nothing further is known of this book unless it has wrongly been ascribed to an otherwise unknown author, whilst on the other hand a similar book is mistakenly ascribed to Shams al-Dīn, who again is wrongly identified with Munadja (see below).

I turn now to the next compilation, which being more systematically arranged, free from all philosophical, allegorical and exegetical portions, dealing exclusively with the practical side of the religious life of the Samaritans, had become the religious code The author, Yūsuf b Shalma al-ʿAskarī, is called al-ʿAskarī from the name of the village in the neighbourhood of Sichem, of which there are now no traces left. Happily the whole book has been preserved together with the introduction Here the author, who does not appear to know Ab Hasda, although they lived practically at the same time, must have worked independently of him under the same outward influences. He tells us distinctly that he has merely recorded traditions handed down from his forefathers. He claims no merit for himself, but that of the compiler and he gives the exact date when he wrote the book (1041 A. D). As this book ranks in importance at least as high as the preceding one, it is advisable for the same reasons as those which prompted the giving of summary details of the *Ṭabbākh*, that a similar detailed description of the contents should be given here. The book is called the *Kāfī*, i.e. "sufficient" for those to whom the word of God is sufficient, which might be interpreted "giving the full and therefore sufficient details of observance and laws to those to whom the word of God is sufficient". The book consists of 36 chapters. The first is practically identical with the first of the *Ṭabbākh* and deals with the pre-eminence of the priesthood, their privileges and rights: they are the keepers of old traditions and institutions. Then follows an elaborate chapter on prayer; times, institution, forms. Then he discusses the duties of attending services in the *Kinsha* and the manner in which the services are to be performed, and the various forms of blessing. He then proceeds to deal extensively with a description of the animals which are allowed to be eaten and those forbidden, just as we find it in the *Ṭabbākh* Then follows a chapter on leprosy and skin diseases and all kinds

of uncleanness, and the manner of purification by fire or by water; on clothes etc. Then he advises against travelling to a place where Samaritans are not living, and urges the necessity of dwelling, as far as possible, among Samaritans. The next chapter deals with the duty of making regular pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain. Then a chapter is devoted to the Nazarites. By the way it may be remarked that the system of Nazarites lasted a long time among the Samaritans and they had male and female Nazarites. The next chapters deal with betrothal, marriage and divorce, civil ordinances dealing with purchase of slaves, on not committing murder, in its widest sense, on returning of stolen goods and on various fines connected with concealing objects and thefts, on interest and usury, on sale and purchase, on vows made and on dedications of objects and persons to God, on the laws governing the slaughter of animals, on the observance of the Sabbath, the various traditional laws connected with it, and finally on ablution and purification by running water.

We have here now a complete civil and religious code corresponding entirely with all the practical needs of the Samaritans. This has remained the real code and to it they constantly refer in their later writings, nor has the practice perceptibly changed during the last 900 years since Yūsuf compiled his *Kˇāfī*. One point may be mentioned here. Jews as well as Samaritans wrote Arabic and still write Arabic with Hebrew letters It is a fact that some of the most ancient manuscripts preserved of Yūsuf al-ᶜAskarī and other works to be mentioned later on are not written in Arabic characters but in Samaritan characters The reason is obvious. Every Samaritan was able to read his Bible and his prayers in Samaritan characters, and therefore, if any book was to be of practical value to him, the alphabet used would have to be that with which he was most conversant Also, if a book had a polemical character or could be interpreted as being of such a character against the Muḥammadans, it would have been very dangerous to write it in the Arabic script easily accessible to the others It also made it easy for the Samaritans to introduce into their Arabic writings Hebrew and Samaritan words either of a technical character or quotations from older writers which could easily be read by the Samaritans. It is only later on that this practice changes to a certain extent, inasmuch as many of these technical expressions or old phrases or in some cases sentences which they were not able to translate in their paraphrases were retained in the Arabic text in Samaritan script. It also helped to preserve the peculiar dialect of Arabic in their writings, for all these books were intended for popular use and they were written in the language best understood by the general public. The importance which this fact has for a proper understanding of the Arabic writing of the Samaritans need scarcely be pressed. It will be referred to, however, at the end of this sketch of the Arabic-Samaritan literature.

In addition to these books concerning the laws and attempts at exegesis, the Samaritan literary activity seems to have concentrated on further interpretation of the Scriptures. Some treatises have come down to us without any name of the author, of which one, in a fragmentary condition, ascribed to the middle of the xith century, shows that the author not only possessed some knowledge of grammar and of Arabic grammarians, but also was conversant with the whole contents of the Bible. If this commentary belonged to the xith century it pre-supposes at once a much greater antiquity for the Arabic translation of the Bible itself. As already remarked the history of this translation still offers some very serious problems. Abū Saᶜīd, whose name is connected with that translation, is also credited with writing a special commentary on Gen. 46.

More important is the commentary on the Pentateuch ascribed to a certain Abū Saᶜīd b. Abi 'l-Ḥusain (Ḥasan ?) b. Abī Saᶜīd, which seems to be, by the way, the full name of the author of the translation of the Bible. To him is also ascribed a *fatwā*, chiefly concerning questions of forbidden degrees of inter-marriage. He is also believed to have written a commentary on the Ten Commandments which may be identical with that ascribed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan and another treatise on some chapters of the Bible which was published by Neubauer. Again an Abū Saᶜīd is mentioned by the Samaritans but he is called Ben Darta of date unknown (if he can be in any way connected with Ṭabya b. Darta, he would be as early as the to the xth or xith century). To him is ascribed a treatise on the biblical accents of the Samaritans called *Sidrē Makrata*. A list of these accents has been discovered at the end of some very ancient biblical codices and fully discussed by me. I was able to show their extreme antiquity. This short treatise of Abū Saᶜīd b. Darta called *Sidrē Makrata* is found occasionally at the end of some modern copies of the Pentateuch. The existence of at least two or more Abū Saᶜīds has brought about a great confusion, which could not be explained unless all the texts were published. So far nothing has been published.

A veil falls now on the literary activity of the Samaritans in Sichem. The scene shifts to Damascus, Syria and Egypt The reason is not far to seek The Crusades swept over the land and the Samaritans' interest in literary matters was, of course, forcibly brought to an end

It is a curious fact that no mention is made of the Samaritans in Nāblus by any contemporary writer of the Crusades nor do the Samaritans themselves make more than a passing allusion to those troublesome times in which they must have suffered very greatly. No doubt the loss of their ancient literature was also due to those troubles. Before describing the literature of the Samaritans in the above-mentioned countries note must be taken again of two most prominent Jewish writers already mentioned, who dominated the mind of the people, especially of the Arabic-speaking Jews, for many a century. One was Saᶜadya, the Gaon or the head of the college in Babylon, and the other Maimonides Both have created a profound impression by their philosophical works, as well as by their other writings; the first through his Arabic translation of the Bible and through the first great philosophical work written in Arabic, and his polemics against the Ḳaraites and other Jewish sects. No less inspiring was Maimonides later on in Egypt in his fight against the Ḳaraites and by his formulation of the fundamental principles of the Jewish law. He thereby affected also the position of the Samaritans. In both countries these Samaritans have lived from very ancient times and have disappeared only during the last two centuries.

As late as the time of Scaliger, at the end of the xvith century, there were still Samaritan communities in Egypt and in 1616 Della Valle found a beautiful synagogue with Samaritan inscriptions as well as a number of Samaritans in Damascus, from whom he obtained the first Hebrew Samaritan Bible and the Samaritan *Targum*, the very copies from which the first edition was made in Paris in 1632. Yet in spite of their continued existence in these countries, the literary output was neither great nor does it show any profound difference or progress upon that which had been done by the Samaritans in Sichem. Still at the same time the practice of having literary and religious disputations before the rulers of the country flourished as is known at the courts of various Sultāns and Caliphs and the protagonists had to prepare themselves with guides for such disputations. This explains to a certain extent the number of such writings, which had both a polemical and apologetic character

We turn now to Damascus. We find there as the most prominent figure Munaǧǧa b Sadaḳa Abu 'l-Faraǧ son of Ghaiub, known as "the son of the poet". He is also quoted as Shams al-Dīn, however wrongly, by the Samaritans themselves, and by his Hebrew-Samaritan name Mflt. As the son Ṣadaḳa died soon after 1223 the father Munaǧǧa must have flourished not later than about 1150 His principle work is the "Difference between Samaritans and Jews, Questions and Answers", *Masā'il al-Khilāf*, a voluminous work of which the oldest copy known was written at the time of the High Priest Pinehas about the middle of the xivth century. One part of it is complete and of this many copies exist. The other is incomplete but of this unfortunately no other copies are known except one which was in the possession of the High Priest ʿAmram at the beginning of the last century. Both deal with all those religious practices in which the Samaritans and Jews differ. They are already contained in the two works previously mentioned by Abu 'l-Hasan and Yūsuf but here they are greatly elaborated especially as Munaǧǧa is also polemicising now against Saʿadya with whose writings he seems to be fully acquainted. He is also credited with a commentary on the Pentateuch known only by references made to it by Abu 'l-Fatḥ in his chronicle and Abu 'l-Hasan b. Ghanā'im, a writer of uncertain date, probably xvth century. Also a short treatise on Deut. 10, 12, on the second tables of the Commandments. In a communication from the Samaritans in Nāblus he is also credited with a commentary on the Blessings of Jacob, Genesis chap 49, but this is probably a mistake. It is very likely the same treatise which has been ascribed to one of the previous writers.

Although he lived a little later, I mention now Ṣadaḳa the son of Munaǧǧā, known as *al-Ḥakim*, the Physician, and also as a great Arabic poet. He was physician at the court of al-Malik al-Ashraf at Damascus, who rewarded him very richly and he died a wealthy man soon after 1223 in Harrān near Damascus. He developed a two-fold activity, as physician and as theologian. In the latter capacity he wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch on the nature and unity of God, a treatise on the soul and immortality, also on negative laws or things forbidden (unless this information is incorrect and he is confused with another author; see below). Of his medical writings the following are mentioned: "The commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms", "a Treatise on Simples", "Notes on Medicine" and a treatise containing replies to medical questions put to him by the Jew Asʿad al-Maḥallī, whose Hebrew name was Jacob b. Isḥaḳ, a distinguished physician from Cairo, who had made a journey to Damascus in 1201 and spent a couple of years there and discussed medical questions with the most distinguished physicians of that place. Unfortunately most of these writings have disappeared. The Samaritans themselves know practically nothing of the medical books and they are only known through references in Arabic works such as Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa who quote also poems written by him. There is finally a Vision, which is said to have been translated from the Hebrew and is ascribed to Ṣadaḳa b. Munaǧǧa. It was hithertho quite unknown. In it the author claims to have been lifted up to heaven and to have held converse with Moses, Joshua, Eleazar and Pineḥas and to have been foretold future events He mentions also a number of contemporaries, none of whom, however, is known elsewhere. In the transcript the date of the Vision is given in the only modern copy in existence as 912 = 1506, but this evidently is only the date of the later copyist. The real date, if Sadaḳa be the author, could only be 603 = 1206.

According to the Samaritans, a certain Marḥib al-Ḳaṭarī is the reputed author of a commentary on the section of Leviticus containing the curses, Chapter 26 He is said to have been alive in 531 (1136). A copy from old leaves which probably have since disappeared was made by the late Jacob son of Aaron and is still in Nāblus.

Grammatical studies went hand in hand with the study of the Bible and we note Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Faraǧ Shams al-Dīn who in the middle of the xiith century, in all probability in Damascus, wrote in 14 chapters a grammar of the Hebrew language, meaning thereby the Hebrew of the Bible, for out of it a later Hebrew was developed by the Samaritans which differed in some slight points from that found in the text of the Pentateuch itself. He discusses the syntax and also endeavours to fix the pronunciation. Considering that the Samaritans to this very day have no vowels with the exception of a few signs, a work of this kind is of the highest importance for giving us the pronunciation of Hebrew by the Samaritans.

It is of special importance to compare it with the work first done by Petermann, who took down and wrote in transliteration the text of Genesis as read to him by the then High Priest ʿAmram on the strength of which he was able to write a grammar of the Hebrew according to the Samaritan tradition. Besides its intrinsic value for the history of the pronunciation of Hebrew it is another proof of the fact that the Samaritans were not influenced in their pronunciation by the Arabic language, although the author of this treatise is also fully acquainted with the Arabic grammar. An abstract of this treatise was made in the xivth century by Eleazar, the son of Pineḥas, the man to whom the Samaritan literature owes so much for its revival. The author is called Shams al-Dīn. The same name is given to Munaǧǧa and also to his son Ṣadaḳa. In consequence thereof the real authorship of the above

mentioned book on negative laws ascribed to Ṣadaḳa is somewhat doubtful, for there exists an old manuscript called the Commentary on the Laws (*Tifsūr ha-Miṣwa*) in two volumes, which is of special importance and only known to exist in an old copy. Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī, at the beginning of his book, mentions casually that the Samaritans count 613 commandments in the Bible. It is precisely the number which also by a casual remark of a Jewish sage had become the starting point for the numeration of the laws. How far back this tradition goes it will be very difficult to ascertain, but already in the *Halachot Gedolot*, probably of the viiith or ixth century, an attempt has been made to give a list of 613 commandments divided into two sections, the positive and negative, one containing commandments which are to be observed, and one containing commandments prohibiting action, the negative commandments. So important had become this classification of the commandments, which no doubt resulted from the desire of the people to have the whole of the commandments in the briefest possible compass, that Maimonides himself felt compelled not only to compile such a list, but to devote to their elucidation a commentary in Arabic known as the Book of the Commandments The date of the writing of this book may be the second half of the xiith century and it is therefore not at all improbable that the Samaritans, who kept in touch with the activity of the Jews, as we have seen above in the case of Saʿadya, should also have felt compelled further to elaborate the indication in the *Kāfī* of Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī, and that such a book has really been produced It is ascribed to this Ibrāhīm b. Faraḏj. The Samaritans of today declare that the work is of Shams al-Dīn, but add at the same time that they mean thereby Munaḏja. There can be no question, however, that the author of this book is not Munaḏja. This is proved by the fact that Ibrāhīm was the teacher of Muhaḏhḏhib al-Dīn, whom he introduced to Saladin. This Muhaḏhḏhib al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd b. Khalaf was a distinguished physician, a man of great knowledge, well versed in all the science of the time. He served as physician to the Sulṭān of Baʿalbek and to his son after him, al-Amyab, who appointed him Vizier. He died on January 26, 1227, and is said also to have written a commentary on the Pentateuch or portions of it, of which, however, nothing further is known. The date of the death of Muhaḏhḏhib al-Dīn justifies the assumption that Shams al-Dīn must have lived latest the second half of the xiith century and was thus a contemporary of Maimonides of Cairo.

Gazzal Tabiat b. Duwaik or al-Duwaik, probably of the xth or xivth century, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch. In recent years Pineḥas son of Isaac together with his pupil Absakuah, the Danafite, is said to have copied the commentary on Exodus preserved on old leaves and to have worked it over and amplified it so as to make a complete and elaborate commentary on Exodus, but according to information from Nāblus they have both a shorter and longer recension of Exodus of the book in question. He is also the author of a commentary on the blessings of Bileam of an eschatological character and also the author of a treatise on the second kingdom, which is a continuation in a way of the previous treatise. Both these subjects had already been touched upon by earlier authors such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan and others. Gazzal also wrote a treatise on the fear of Abraham after the battle with the five kings and the rescue of Lot, and on the fear of Jacob on his going down to Egypt (connecting it with the verse *wayyiẓbaḥ zebāhim* "and he brought sacrifices").

Thus far for the time of Damascus. If we turn to Egypt, scanty as the information is, we find a family of Suiūr. One of the members is also called Tabiat and also wrote a commentary called Removal of Doubt concerning Mysteries of Revelation, of which that on the first two books of the Pentateuch has been preserved in a unique manuscript of the xviiith century in the British Museum. The Samaritans have no copy of that portion but they possess a copy of the last three. If, as found in the colophon of the manuscript at the British Museum, Ibn Sarūr is the descendant in the third generation of Yūsuf al-Uzzī, who had gone to Damascus and refused to eat with the other Samaritans because of the dispute with them concerning the use of the fat tail, then the writer must belong at the latest to the beginning of the xivth century. The fact that another Abū Surūr, namely Abū Saʿīd al-ʿAfīf b Abī Surūr, was the chief physician in Cairo, proves that the aforementioned Abū Surūr must have been of Egyptian origin. The latter lived before the end of the xiiith century or the beginning of the xivth. This Abū Suiūr wrote a short survey on various diseases, being a commentary on an older work of a similar character, and an abstract of the Canon of Avicenna.

Finally another great scholar may be mentioned, who lived in Damascus, Abu 'l-Khazan b. Gazal (Tabia) b. Abī Saʿīd, nephew of Muhaḏhḏhib, and who had gained a great reputation especially for his immense library, containing no less than 10,000 volumes His pupil, Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, dedicated to his memory his "History of Physicians". He was converted to Islām, became wazīr and adopted the name Amīn al-Dawla. He was killed in Damascus in the year 1251. None of his writings are extant.

A short treatise on the forbidden degrees of marriage is said to have been compiled at the beginning of the xivth century by a certain Barakāt, and it is expressly stated that he was an inhabitant of Sichem, very likely to distinguish him from the Abu 'l-Barakāt mentioned in connection with the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch of Abū Saʿīd. This work served either as a basis for later writings of a similar character, or is independent of an older one of a similar kind, otherwise unknown

To Egypt as the home of the author points also a paraphrase of a book called *al-Asātīr*, or the Secrets of Moses. It is a short *Midraš* on the Pentateuch containing a mass of legendary matter of extreme antiquity. Fortunately the Samaritan original of this book has been preserved. The present writer is engaged on its publication. The comparison between the two, the book and the paraphrase, shows us exactly the method employed by these would-be translators in the manner in which they manipulated the original texts. It is best described not as a translation but a paraphrase, for, with the exception of the first few sections, the rest has been entirely changed and amplified by matter taken from quite different writings and

traditions. In the midst of this text there occurs also a sentence cursing Maimonides and his code of laws. It is not likely that anyone living out of Egypt would have taken note of Maimonides' writings, who was very severe in his attitude against the Ḳaraites and no doubt was equally severe against the Samaritans, whom he must have treated entirely as heretics and outcasts; hence this protest by the unknown writer. A portion of this book contains some legends about the birth of Moses, and this leads us to another work which this time, however, was compiled in Damascus by Ishmael of the family of Ramaich, called *Moled Moshe*. It is an elaborate treatise containing many legends, referring to the miraculous birth of Moses. It is not, as others have said, a collection of legends of Muḥammadan origin, but stands in close connection with the above mentioned *Asātir*. The process is precisely the same as that observed in the Arabic paraphrase of the Matar in as much as this text is anything but a literal translation. It is a very expanded paraphrase, but the substance is absolutely Samaritan and is very old indeed. As the author was a pupil of Munaǧǧa, the date when this book was compiled could not have been later than the beginning of the xiiith century. The Samaritan triglott manuscript of the Pentateuch (ca 1200) now in the the British Museum has at the end of Genesis a number of notes written by the various purchasers of that most valuable codex. Among them is one of the descendants of Ṣadaḳa of the family of Munaǧǧa, who bought this manuscript from one of the members of the family of Ramaich, and in the note it is especially remarked that these were inhabitants of Damascus.

Another book of a similar character will now engage our attention. It is the well-known Arabic Book of Joshua. Here we can see the same work of the Samaritan copyists. The text published by Juynboll is evidently of a later origin and has been manipulated by a later copyist, who has omitted a whole section at the beginning, of extreme importance for the history of this book, and has added at the end from chap. 46 on matter taken from the later history. The Samaritans possessed some 20 years ago another copy of this text which, they stated, was at least 500 years old, thus being of the xivth century, and was probably a copy of an older manuscript. Before I could secure it, it had passed into other hands and I have not been able to trace it, but happily a copy was made of it for me and it agrees entirely with the old copy at the British Museum. In this text, as mentioned, there is at the beginning a series of chapters describing the expedition of the spies lead by Joshua and of their encounter with the various kings then inhabiting Palestine. The book itself finishes with the story of the trial of the daughter of the High Priest ʿAmram falsely accused by the Nazarites. It is the Samaritan version of the Suzanna legend as shown by me elsewhere with an English translation. In that recension the history has been brought down to the time of the return from the exile or shortly after. Here we have a similar paraphrase of old Samaritan-Hebrew texts, the existence of which can be proved and this is also the case with the Samaritan-Hebrew recension of the Book of Joshua which I was fortunate enough to discover and to publish. The importance of it for the history of the Bible has not yet been sufficiently appreciated, but I cannot state emphatically enough that the genuineness of it is above suspicion. It forms part of the chronicle of the Samaritans which comprised the real *Toledoth*, not that published by Neubauer under this title, but the one which is the prototype of the more hebraicised text published by Adler and Seligsohn. This is the real *Toledoth* and an old copy written by the hand of the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron of this *Toledoth* in Hebrew-Samaritan contains also the Hebrew text of Joshua and this autograph is now in my possession. We have there the beginnings of Samaritan history in Arabic, though of a legendary character. The book of Joshua was also unquestionably compiled in Egypt and a few leaves of this Arabic text have been acquired by me among other fragments found in the Genizah of Cairo A longer history must also have existed at that time as will be seen presently in connection with these two *Toleda*'s and the so-called "Chain".

If the Ṣadaḳa to whom Yūsuf b. Uzzī sends a letter of remonstrance against the use of the fat tail of the sheep by the Samaritans in Damascus is the same as Ṣadaḳa son of Munaǧǧa, then this epistle must belong to the beginning of the xiiith century. It might therefore be mentioned here as a sign of the difference in the interpretation and application of the Law concerning food between Samaritans in Damascus and those in Nāblus, dating already as far back as the xiiith century and perhaps earlier. Yūsuf alleges that because of that, during his stay in Damascus of approximately two years, he refrained from taking food with the rest of the Samaritans in that place. This reference in one of the MSS to Nafīs al-Dīn then is evidently due to confusion with another Ṣadaḳa, who lived in the xvith century.

As their calendar forms an integral part of the difference between Samaritan Jews and Karaites they must have had some astronomical calculations and writings referring to the method applied by them for calculating the new moons and festivals and the system of intercalations and indeed we find among the manuscripts of the late High Priest ʿAmram that he possessed such an old manuscript on astronomy. According to the Samaritan tradition, the calendar had been given by God to Adam and thus handed down from generation to generation until it reached Moses, who proclaimed it when establishing the first month as the month in which the Passover Festival was to be kept, and this calendar was afterwards fixed by astronomical calculation on the meridian of Sichem by Pineḥas son of Eleasar, the High Priest, immediately after the entry of the children of Israel into the Holy Land. Later on the very same subject was much more fully treated.

An important personage is now to be mentioned, Amīn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Saʿīd, not so much for his own literary work as for the part which he played in connection with the Arabic translation of the Bible. It seems that he has played the same role as so many other copyists: he appropriated the work of his predecessor Abū Saʿīd and altered and amended the older translation. His father's name being Saʿīd, this may have contributed to the confusion thus created, but the existence of an Arabic translation in manuscripts which belong to the end of the xiith and

the beginning of the xiiith century preclude the authorship of Abu 'l-Barakāt. He may, however, have been the author of a commentary to the Pentateuch, alternately ascribed to Abū Saʿīd and himself in which, as in the writings of other commentators, Saʿadya has been attacked from the Samaritan point of view. The date of Abu 'l-Barakāt is assumed to be 1208 and, according to another opinion, he lived to 1260 and in all probability in Damascus. The date, however, when he lived can now be definitely settled, for Abu 'l-Barakāt can be identified with a writer who in 622 (1225) had copied a Pentateuch, the colophon of which gives the full genealogy and date as follows Abi Barakata Bar Ab Sahuta Bar Ab Nefiṣha Bar Abraham Sarafta; he had written the copy for Ab Ḥasda Bar Nefiṣha Bar Isḥaḳ and he adds that it is the completion of the 50 copies of the Pentateuch which he had by then made. As the Hebrew name Sahuta stands for the Arabic Saʿīd there cannot be any doubt as to the identity of the writer of this text with the reputed author or copyist of the Arabic translation. Abu 'l-Barakāt is believed to have written a commentary also on the Ten Commandments. The constant occurrence of the name of Abū Saʿīd in connection with many treatises suggests the probability of the existence of two men of the same name, one living in the xith and one in the xiiith century, so that many of the minor treatises might just as likely be ascribed to the latter as to the former, such as the commentary on the Blessing by Moses of the tribe of Levi, Deut. 33. Out of this it is said that Absakua the Danafite at the end of the xixth cent. compiled or rather made a copy and enlarged upon it at the dictation or with the assistance of his master Pineḥas son of Isaac. Abū Saʿīd is also said to have written marginal notes in Arabic on the mystical portions of the Bible Mystical speculations began to revive among the Samaritans towards the end of the xiiith century and it may therefore be ascribed to him.

In Damascus we find then the Samaritans continuing their widely extended scientific and literary activities. Muwaffiḳ al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb (b. Abī Isḥāḳ b. Ghanāʾim) who died in 1284 was a distinguished physician and he wrote a commentary to the introductory chapters of the Canon of Avicenna dedicated to Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr. It was considered to be of such value that it was deposited in the library of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn. The same author also wrote an introduction to the science of logic and metaphysics. Both works are only known from quotations in Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. The Samaritans were able to develop, living away from the stifling atmosphere of Nāblus. Samaritan chroniclers tell us of a siege and destructions, of the pillage and loot that had overtaken the inhabitants of Nāblus during the centuries of the Frankish invasion and the Arab repulsion of the invaders. Many a Samaritan was also taken captive, among them even Uzzī, the son of the High Priest, and carried away captive, to be ransomed by their rich brethren in Damascus, who did not fail to return Uzzī to his father. He in time became the High Priest of the very much reduced community. Still to the Samaritans Sichem remained the holy town and Mount Garizim the centre of their worship. Then at the beginning of the xivth century a number of Samaritans left Damascus in order to settle in Sichem, among them men of high position and wealth. It seems that the line of descendants of the High Priest had been broken, for Yūsuf the Priest, who in 1308 came from Damascus, probably belonging to the same line, was appointed High Priest and from him started the new line of the descendants of the High Priest which continued until the extinction of the Aronite line in the middle of the xviiith century. Yūsuf brought with him a large number of prominent members of the Samaritan community in Damascus. Pineḥas and then his son Eleasar succeeded him to the High Priesthood. With them may have come also members of the family of the afore-mentioned Muwaffiḳ al-Dīn b. Ghanāʾim b. Kataṛī, as we later find members of this family contributing to the literature of the Samaritans. With the arrival of this new element a complete change in the life of the Samaritans took place. It was a revival, in as much as the new High Priest Pineḥas and his son Eleazar, and especially the latter's brother Abisiḥi re-organised the whole service and introduced a large number of poems into the liturgy. The old Samaritan language was practically forgotten by the mass of the people. None of them would have dreamed of introducing Arabic into the service; so they had to fall back upon the old Hebrew language of a specific Samaritan colouring, handed down to them from olden times and to some extent preserved in old fragments or books, such as the Book of Joshua, the ancient book of genealogies and short histories with which the people of Damascus were fully cognisant. One of them had drawn up or copied out, in the xith century, the first part of such a short chronicle, which was later on added to by successive writers, especially High Priests, *Toleda*. It was written in the semi-Samaritan semi-Hebrew language In the same language then the new poets wrote and thus revived a more intimate knowledge of the old language and old literature. At the same time they were men of wider outlook and thus we find that from the xivth century onwards Sichem again becomes the centre of literary activities. Names occur of writers who are specifically mentioned as being inhabitants of Sichem in contra-distinction to others, who had come from outside Interest in the history of the past was also revived and under the direction of the High Priest Pineḥas many of the old manuscripts were also copied anew, such as the *Kāfi*, *Masāʾil* of Munadja and others of a similar character. No doubt also the text of the Arabic version of the Bible must have been fixed then in a more definite form, for later copies show little variations among them, unlike older copies.

First and foremost therefore will be mentioned Abu 'l-Fatḥ b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan, who had come with the Priests from Damascus and at the request of the High Priest Pineḥas compiled what was at that time a most complete and reliable chronicle of the Samaritans in Arabic. In the introduction he mentions that he has used older chronicles such as the Book of Joshua in Arabic and Hebrew and other documents, such as the Chain and unquestionably also the *Toleda*. The book was compiled in the year 1355 and is a most conscientious though very dry compilation. It is a curious feature of this chronicle and of the subsequent chronicles found among Samaritans that very little reference is to be found there to their scholars and writers with the exception of

a few who had made a name for themselves by the poems introduced into the liturgy It is very difficult to glean from these pages any reliable information as to the life and activity of scarcely any of the men mentioned hitherto, unless they also at the same time occupied a distinguished position in the community either as Priests or as public benefactors, who either restored the Kinsha or the graves of the High Priests of the "70 Elders" alleged to have been buried near Sichem in Amrata or Aburta or had recovered some of the older places of worship or above all had secured for them the place on Mt. Garizim for the Passover sacrifice

Among the chronicles mentioned, of which, however, he made no use, was one ascribed to a certain Sadaḳa, which he describes as being too ornate. Evidently he refers to a chronicle full of biblical legends, e. g. the first part of the Samaritan Arabic book of Joshua, and as he wishes only to give facts such as understood by him he omits to make any use of that chronicle. If the date, 1506, mentioned before in connection with the vision or prophecy is correct then it could not be the Ṣadaḳa mentioned by Abu 'l-Fatḥ In all probability therefore the author of the chronicle eliminated by Abu 'l-Fatḥ may have been Ṣadaḳa the son of Munadja, who alone is mentioned as a writer of merit. Abu 'l-Fatḥ himself is the first of the Danafite family which since then to our very day has furnished the Samaritans with a large number of scholars and writers. This family also originally came from Damascus although a Danafta signs a Jewish document in Egypt in the xiiith century and must have brought with them some of the older writings and above all a better literary preparation than the poor inhabitants of Sichem possessed. The first part of Abu 'l-Fatḥ's chronicle down to the period of Joshua contains only chronological dates from Adam to the year of the entry of the children of Israel into Palestine It is not here the place to discuss this chronology, which, as is known, not only differs from the Jewish and the Septuagint, but also differs in the various codices It is, of course, directed against the Jewish chronology. The story of Joshua is told practically from that portion of the Arabic Book of Joshua which agrees more or less with the Biblical narrative. That book is the chief source of Abu 'l-Fath's information down to the time of Alexander the Great. Then he draws, as mentioned before, upon the ancient *Toleda* the brief record kept by the High Priests, but from the time of Muḥammad and later on nearer his own time, from the xiith century downwards, the period where Arabic literature begins to flourish among the Samaritans, he gives more ample information, and this is on the whole sufficiently reliable. His description of the various sects, however, is very vague. It is evident that he reproduces the old traditions without being fully enough acquainted with their true character and meaning. These may be fragments from chronicles to a large extent since lost. His chronicle was treated like all mediaeval chronicles. It is not a recasting of the old material but at certain periods men added things that had happened since the time when Abu 'l-Fatḥ lived. Not that they in their copies were very careful to preserve absolutely the contents of the original chronicle, for a comparison of various manuscripts showed that they dealt with the text often in a very arbitrary manner, adding but very often omitting parts which did not seem to them to be of special interest. The fact is that these men wrote for themselves as it were, and then their copies were circulated afterwards and became a new starting point for further amplifications. The latest copy is brought down to our own day. The High Priest Jacob continued it to the end of the xixth century but the whole character remained essentially the same.

Among those who are known to have continued Abu 'l-Fath's chronicle and brought it down to their own times may be mentioned Abu 'l-Faradj b. Isḥāḳ Nafīs al-Dīn of the family of Katarī and Ghanā'im, beginning of the xvth century, who is the author of a compendium on the Mosaic law. In all probability the forerunner of a book of a similar kind in which the traditional laws and practices of the Samaritans have been succinctly summed up and carefully presented. As it is known only from a single manuscript in Paris of the year 1523 and the Samaritans apparently do not possess a copy of it, it is difficult to determine its character exactly but in all probability it follows the lines of Yūsuf al-'Askarī and Shams al-Dīn. It may, however, be identical with another book ascribed to an author with precisely the same name.

Here may be mentioned a book ascribed to a certain Abu 'l-Faradj Nafīs al-Dīn belonging to the Katarī family, which contains a commentary on the 613 commandments. These are divided into two sections, of which 365 are of a negative or prohibitive character and 248 of a positive It is precisely the same division as we find among the Jews and the author here tries to explain these from the point of view of a logical interpretation. He also, like the Jews, points out the various classes into which these laws can be divided, such as those of a local application, those of a temporary application and those of a universal application. The only question is whether this book is the work of Abu 'l-Faradj or whether it is the one before mentioned ascribed to Abu 'l-Faiadj Shams al-Dīn. If the old manuscript in the possession of the Samaritans is older than the xivth century, the possible date of Abu 'l-Faiadj, then we have here again a mere transmutation of the name from one Abu 'l-Faradj to another Abu 'l-Faradj and all these doubts can only be removed by the publication of these texts. Other literary work was stimulated by the advent of the new High Priests in the direction of commentaries and grammatical works. Eleazar the son of Pineḥas himself made an abridgement of the older grammatical treatise *Futja* mentioned before. Investigation into the origin of the calendar was also carried out and the number of commentaries on the Pentateuch grew in proportion. The most important seems to be the one ascribed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ghanā'im, who, if he is the son of Abu 'l-Faradj b. Ghanā'im Katarī, who had already added some portion to Abu 'l-Fatḥ's chronicle, then he must have lived about the middle of the xvth century. This agrees with the date given by the Samaritans, circa 1450.

A short commentary on Leviticus 26, the section of curses, is ascribed to a certain Marḥib al-Katarī. Nothing further is known about him but judging by the name he may have belonged to the same family of Katarī. He therefore must have lived in Damascus where already, as seen

before, the study of the Pentateuch was carried out with intensity.

Among the Jews and Ḳaraites one can observe the same tendency during the period from the xth to the xivth century chiefly of commenting on the Pentateuch The disputes between Jews and Ḳaraites especially turned very often on the interpretation of the Bible and the latter devoted much of their work to grammar and massora of the Bible and to its interpretation in accordance with their own views. Not a few of these were written in Arabic and thus a parallelism can be observed between the literary activity of the Samaritans and that of the Jews Not that they were readily influenced by one another to any degree, the Samaritans being entirely outside the range of Jewish and Ḳaraite interest, but the Samaritans must have felt stimulated by their activity furthermore to try and obtain a complete and satisfactory commentary of the Pentateuch according to their own views strengthening them in their interpretation and beliefs The Jews started with Saʿadya (d. 940) who lived first in Egypt, later on in Babylon, and the Ḳaraites with Jephet b. ʿAlī in Jerusalem, both of the xth century, and continued afterwards by others. Mention may be made here of a fragment in the British Museum written in Arabic and probably of the xivth century, believed to be of Ḳaraite origin, which contains a polemic against the Samaritans and their claim to the sanctity of Mt. Garizim It is a unique copy.

Grammatical studies were also continued among the Samaritans and Pinehas b Eleazar at the beginning of the xvth century compiled a Hebrew-Arabic glossary, the earliest extant copy of which is dated 1476 This has been worked over and continued by later writers or completed by them. It is an extremely interesting attempt to arrange the Hebrew words of the Pentateuch in alphabetical order It is very rudimentary, the triliteral roots of the Hebrew words are not recognised and words are often put down in 4 or 5 letters. It is called *Melis* or *Melīṣa* i e "Interpreter".

The name and memory of the famous Ṣadaḳa al-Ḥakīm (i.e. the Physician), the famous writer, poet, physician and polemist, son of Munaǧǧa looms so large in the eyes and memory of the Samaritans that many a treatise of which he is probably not the author, but the names of the real authors of which had been forgotten, were ascribed to him, and also the date when they lived has been shifted by centuries Thus, according to information received, this Ṣadaḳa is believed to have lived in the year 1533 and to be author of the following books. A treatise on the second kingdom (Abu 'l-Ḥasan, as well as Gazal b. Duwaik, are also authors of a similar treatise), polemic against the Jews on the matter of their arrangement of the calendar (ascribed also to Munaǧǧa b. Ṣadaḳa and to Abu 'l-Ḥasan before him) and a treatise on the accuracy and reliability of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch. All these have been ascribed vicariously to different authors. In a copy written in the year 1449 a treatise on the Taheb is also ascribed to this Sadaḳa and in another manuscript a short commentary on the blessings of Jacob and Moses dated 1494 is circulated also under his name. There must be therefore a confusion in the dates and names but they are all given here as they are distinctly mentioned under these dates to me. The reason for that confusion may be due to the fact that some time during the xvth century a certain Ṣadaḳa, a prominent member of the community in Damascus, led a number of men from that community in a holy pilgrimage to Sichem. With him came also Ibrāhīm Kabasī who must have been a very prominent man and to whom reference will be made presently and it is because of the great impression which that man made upon the community that he was confused with the leader Ṣadaḳa and these books, which must have been circulated at the time without a definite name of author, were readily ascribed to him. Nothing, however, is known of his literary activity and, as mentioned, a mistake has arisen out of the similarity of names. It is of no small importance to state at the same time that the community in Damascus could not have yet sunk to that low level which the description of Della Valle seems to imply. They must still have been at that time a rather rich and flourishing community, though reduced in numbers, with men of position and learning among them, and if one only remembers the work of Kabasī who lived in the middle of the xvith century, it would be surprising if the community should have become merely an unimportant handful of people by 1616. The impression which has gained belief in consequence of the description by Della Valle has nothing to justify it. It only shows how retired the Samaritans lived among themselves and how slight the contact was between them and the Jews.

One of the most outstanding figures in Samaritan literature is still to be mentioned, Abraham Kabasī. He was the leader of the community in Damascus and he came together with Ṣadaḳa and others on a memorable pilgrimage to worship in Sichem, where the character of the literary activity of the Samaritans in Sichem had been profoundly changed Inspired by Pinehas VII, son of Eleazar, the High Priest of the time, he wrote at his request two books, one called *Sirr al-Ḳalb*, i.e. Secret of the Heart (in the way of obtaining knowledge), which he wrote in 1530 in Damascus. According to tradition, this family is connected with that Kabasī who had gone to Muḥammad at the beginning of the latter's career and had obtained from him the grant of protection of the Samaritans mentioned before.

He writes in a flowery style imitating entirely that of the Arabs, especially in his introduction. His language is not that of the rest of the Samaritan writers, which is the popular Arabic language as spoken and not as written. His is a polished literary style. In this book he endeavours to impress the readers with the merit of leading a life in consonance with the teachings of the law. He divides it into seven chapters; the first deals with the belief in the moral excellence of the laws of Moses, mentioning also the unity of God and also about the holiness of the mountain and the sanctification of his people. The second chapter proves by sight and hearing the righteousness of walking in the way of the Lord; the third gives a series of examples from the law of those who walked in the way of the Lord, their reward in this world and in the world to come; the fourth, which is the longest chapter, contains a detailed description of the ten trials to which each of the Patriarchs had been subjected to by God, viz., Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and

Aaron, and their submission to these trials; the fifth is on the fear and love of God like that of a servant to his master and the observance of His laws and commandments. The sixth contains directions for the man who wishes to walk in the path of virtue, and the seventh is on repentance, which leads to forgiveness.

The writing of such a book shows that the people must have been subjected to great tribulations and that they required some consolation or a writing to strengthen them in their submission to trials sent by God as shown by the examples of their forefathers, but the book does not conclude with these seven chapters, for in our manuscript at least there follows a list of the 613 Commandments briefly given with a short introduction in which these commandments, positive and negative, are described according to their local, temporary or permanent character. This list, found also in other manuscripts, is probably an abstract of that larger book of Shams al-Dīn, in which not only these commandments are given in detail but each of them accompanied by an elaborate commentary. Another work of Kabasī is a commentary on the verse in Deut. 32, 3 "for I called upon the name of the Lord", in which he deals elaborately with the mystical significance and all-pervading power of the ineffable name of God. The mystical speculations, the beginnings of which can be traced back to the pre-Christian period, still continued to flourish among the Samaritans and be the subject of study.

Whatever may have been the state of the Samaritans in Damascus, every trace of literary activity disappears with Abraham Kabasī. Intellectual life and literary activity had become more and more centred in Nāblus and through the advent of members of various communities who were all settling in Nāblus the number of inhabitants had also grown, although it never reached a very considerable figure. The work of the past was again taken up in the xvith and xviith centuries and the same problems with which the old writers had been dealing became the object of study by the newcomers and by those who had previously come from Damascus in the time of the High Priest Joseph and his son Pinehas. One must not forget that the Samaritans lived in a very narrow groove. Very little influence can be traced from without and the interest of the new writers was to bring home again to the later generation the lessons of the past in a form more easily accessible and understood by them. Philosophic speculations were now out of place and disputations with Jews and Karaites were a thing of the past, except in those cases where the Samaritans were bent on defending their position in contra-distinction to those held by the others. The calendar, of course, the riddle of which neither Scaliger nor his successors had been able to solve, offered no difficulties to the Samaritans, and we find the full theoretical and practical treatment of the history and development of the calendar as well as the principles underlying their calculations worked out again by Abraham b. Jacob in the middle of the xviiith century. It rests, of course, on the older book of astronomical calculations found in manuscripts of the xivth century, but here it is much more fully developed and worked out and accompanied by a large number of practical examples.

Attention turns now to commentaries on the Bible. The Midrashic element takes the place of rationalistic and philosophic interpretation and foremost among these must be mentioned now a large commentary on Genesis and probably also on Exodus, but this is doubtful as the authorship of it is ascribed to another man. Much attention has been paid to it in modern times, but it was wrongly ascribed to Ibrāhīm the son of Jacob. The real author, however, is not Ibrāhīm b. Jacob but Meshalma the son of Absakuah the Danafite. He had left the work unfinished and by the help of his son the same Ibrāhīm b. Jacob, belonging to the same family of the Danafites, was able to complete it but he emphatically states that he has only completed the work which was already practically done by Meshalma. It is to the latter therefore that this commentary should be ascribed henceforth. The commentary is a mine of information; it is full of legendary matter preserved by the Samaritans through the ages. Some of it is unquestionably derived from the *Asāṭīr*, other legends from the *Moled* and again others from unknown sources. One sees in this commentary the self-centred mind of the Samaritan, to whom nothing else exists outside the narrow boundary of Samaritan tradition and Samaritan practices. It is therefore of the highest interest for the study of the Samaritan Biblical exegesis. This Meshalma then, the real author, lived before 1680, for in all probability the commentary which Huntingdon brought back with him from Nāblus about 1680 was written by him It is doubtful whether he is the author of the commentary on the other four books of the Pentateuch thus far extant, for it is alleged by the Samaritans that the commentary on Exodus, which is as voluminous as that on Genesis, which is also ascribed to Djubrat al-Dawek has been completed and worked over probably in 1816, or it may, however, have been merely the copy which the High Priest Ṭabia had made about that time and which was found in the Library of the High Priest ʿAmram, as stated by his son Shalma since dead. This commentary represents practically the last word in Biblical exegesis. Abraham b. Jacob, who lived about 1750, and not between the xivth and xviiith century, as hitherto tentatively suggested by others, who was the author of the above mentioned book on the calendar, was also the author of some poems on Moses and the Patriarchs and of a treatise called "The Refutation of Philosophical Arguments". With him has been confused a certain Abraham Alaya, also of the family of Danafites, to whom is attributed a treatise on the order of service at the going out of the festivals (*Irshād*) differing to some extent from the directions for the usual evening services. This author also lived about the middle of the xixth century and, as the previous one, in Nāblus. On the basis of the material thus accumulated, the High Priests, starting with Ṭabia at the end of the xviiith century down to Jacob son of Aaron (who died a few years ago), together with other members of the priestly family, some of the Danafites, were engaged in copying and re-writing the old literature. It is only through them that many of the old texts have been preserved, and whatever value they possess is due to their activity and interest. To them we owe all, and it is better to speak collectively for the descendants of these families dispute with one another the authorship of some of these books

The most prolific and the most prominent of these writers was Pineḥas (Arabic Khiḍr) b. Isaac, who died in 1898. (This identification by the Samaritans of Pineḥas with Khiḍr instead of identifying the latter with Elijah, as is done by the Jews, is extremely interesting. It rests on the rabbinic legend which identifies Pineḥas with Elijah and has thus been transferred from the former to the latter) In the list drawn up by his son Abiṣha, no less than 45 works are mentioned which were either copied, worked over or compiled by him. He had access to a large store of manuscripts, which he utilized to the full for his own compilations. He was thus in a position to gather up as it were in his works all that had come down in the course of ages. How far he is indebted to his predecessors, ʿAmram and Ṭabia, must remain a matter of speculation since scarcely any contemporary manuscripts seem to have been preserved. The list, however, drawn up by Shalma, son of ʿAmram, of the writings found in his father's library throws some light on the interdependence of the literary activity of Pineḥas and ʿAmram. The latter possessed also some MSS. which had been in the possession of Ṭabia, but nothing is known of the whereabouts of any of the MSS. unless that they have passed into the possession of Pinehas and Isaac the son of ʿAmram and then disposed of indiscriminately.

One of the works now to be mentioned is a very full chronicle. It not only embodies the whole of Abu 'l-Fatḥ but is greatly enlarged and contains a mass of legendary matter as well as historical data not found in Abu 'l-Fatḥ. This is independent of the other direct copy or recension of Abu 'l-Fatḥ with the additions made by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron, which he brings down to his own time and into which he had introduced also a full description of the death and funeral of Abraham Kabasī The chronicle itself is very voluminous. This is ascribed to Pinehas b. Isaac. It starts with the story of Joshua and is carried down to our own day, but how much of it is his own and how much of it is due to his ancestor Ṭabia cannot be decided in the absence of the latter's work. It may be that Pineḥas merely continued that work from the beginning of the xixth century downwards. He is also the author or it would be better to say he is the compiler from the older texts of the book *Yawm al-Dīn* (Day of Judgment), a voluminous work containing the most elaborate description of the whole eschatology of the Samaritans, their beliefs concerning immortality, life after death, the day of judgment, resurrection, in short all the problems connected with beliefs of the life after death. He draws all his information from the older writings and thus he has been able to compile a book containing no less than 100 chapters. Starting from the first word of Genesis he carries the examination of the Biblical verses through to the very end of the Pentateuch, giving the traditional, allegorical and mystical interpretation to each word and line to which such an eschatological meaning could be attached. Here again we have a complete summary of the eschatological traditions and beliefs of the Samaritans. Another work from the same pen is his great work on forbidden or incestuous marriages, *Tiṣūr al-ʿArayot*. Here again he discusses every law and every allusion in the Bible together with all the prohibitions which are found in connection with marriage and married life, using in these books all the ancient material available and quoting some of the older writers. It is not, as a rule, the custom observed by Samaritan writers.

Then another book compiled probably in the xvith or xviith century, a complete compendium of the Samaritan laws and traditions, is now being ascribed by the sons of Jacob and the sons of Pineḥas to their fathers respectively. In the introduction, however, mention is made of Samaritan communities still existing, which, however, have since disappeared in the last two centuries and it is clear therefore that the author of this book must have lived at latest in the xviith century, but evidently this work has either been copied or worked up by one of the predecessors of Pineḥas and Jacob and then copied out or elaborated by each of them. The book is called the *Ḥilluḳ* or *Khilāf Irshād* and consists of 10 chapters which are given here in full, according to the wording of the text.

Chapter I. Concerning the origin of the community of the Samaritans and of the tribe from which they are the descendants, and the history of their separation from the community of the Jews and why they are called the community of the Shamarim. And God alone knows.

Chapter II. The faith of the Samaritans. About the Chosen Spot and that this Chosen Spot is Mt. Garizim Bethel. The tabernacle had been erected thereon by Joshua the son of Nun. The kings of the time of favour, and the arguments against the Jews who deny its sanctity and exchange it for another spot.

Chapter III. The observance of the Sabbath by the Samaritans and the difference in that observance between them and the Jews

Chapter IV. Concerning the *Nemila* and the laws concerning it among the Samaritans, and the mention of difference which exists in this command between them and the Jews.

Chapter V. Concerning the new moon among the Samaritans And the system by which they learn to know it, a description of the festivals and what is done on them; the description of the Pesaḥ: the sacrifice on the day of atonement, and the difference therein between them and the Jews.

Chapter VI On the various forms of cleanness and uncleanness according to the faith of the Samaritans, who are the faithful keepers of the truth which they follow from olden times.

Chapter VII. The laws of slaughtering, according to the teaching of the Samaritans. And the description of the animals and birds which they are not allowed to eat, and that which they remove as heave offering from each sacrifice, which they do not eat for considering it holy, and concerning the prevention of eating anything that is squashed, broken, etc., and the prevention of slaughtering anything that is bad from among the sheep and cattle and the law forbidding the using of blood and the description of the difference between them and the Jews in all these matters, and the way which they practise these things unto this very day.

Chapter VIII. Laws concerning marriage according to the faith of the Samaritans, whom they can marry and whom they cannot marry, and the laws concerning divorce.

Chapter IX. Concerning that it is forbidden to

forsake this holy book of the law which is in their hands, for they say it is everlasting and that its rule will never cease.

Chapter X. Concerning the law about the dying among the Samaritans, and their belief in the appointed day; what happens to the man when he leaves this world, whether the Lord will bring them back on the appointed day; of the faith about questioning and rendering account, and fo the requital and reward with them (the Samaritans) according to the law and according to their traditions.

From this will be seen the high importance which this book has for our knowledge of the Samaritans, their history, traditions and practices.

He is further credited with having drawn up a kind of catechism (*Maʾlif*) or rather a number of questions and answers on Biblical history intended for the teaching of the young. The material, which consists to a large extent of legendary matter, is old and can be traced to the various sources from which he has drawn it. It is the most important collection of legends but unfortunately it is left incomplete.

Pineḥas also copied and worked over some ancient commentaries like that on Numbers by Gazal and he is said to have made an Arabic commentary on the *Asātīr*.

Brief reference may be made here also to the Arabic correspondence which passed between the Samaritans and De Sacy at the beginning of the xixth century, which, however, is now, as far as the contents are concerned, quite valueless in view of the large amount of material which has since come to light and of which at that time very little was known outside Nāblus. In connection with this may be mentioned a collection of formularies of letters in Arabic and Samaritan. Some of these seem to be of great antiquity, others probably of much more modern origin. The originals are in most cases Samaritan, the Arabic being merely a translation.

With this last reference we have brought down the Samaritan–Arabic literature to our own days, and their literary activity seems now to be completely exhausted. From this brief survey one can gather that the Samaritans have not been influenced by the Arabic literature to any great extent.

This sketch, compiled not without great difficulty owing to the confused state and contradictory literary tradition of the Samaritans, was not merely intended to give a list of books written or of their contents in general but also to enable us to obtain that knowledge which was hitherto missing as to the real spiritual life of the Samaritans: it was only the surface that was touched but not the the kernel. The style in which many of these books had been written shows how little the people had learned from the Arabs except the language which they spoke. With rare exceptions it is the half vulgar dialect of Palestine and very often, when a difficult word occurred for which they could not find the adequate Arabic term, they either introduced it in the original Samaritan form or they gave to the Arabic word used a specific colouring which may have made it intelligible to the Samaritan reader but certainly could not be clearly understood by anyone only versed in the Arabic language They wrote as they spoke and used the language for putting on paper their own traditions, their own practices, their own beliefs, in fact only that which affected their religious life and, with rare exceptions, some few historical records.

I have therefore caused the Samaritans to translate for me into that Hebrew language, which alone they can command, a number of books such as the *Ṭabbāḫ* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the *Kāfī* of Yūsuf al-ʿAskarī, the Arabic Book of Joshua, especially for comparison with the Samaritan Hebrew Book of Joshua, the great chronicle in two different recensions, Kabasī's *Sirr al-Ḳalb* and *Ki Bi-shem* "For in the name of the Lord I call", *Ḥilluḳ*, *Moled Moshe* (Ismāʿīl son of Ramaich), the commentary of Meshalma on Genesis, the book on the Day of Judgment by Pineḥas, the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fatḥ in the recension of the High Priest Jacob and finally the *Maʾlif*. All these translations have since been transliterated into Hebrew characters and then translated by me into English and made ready for publication whenever an opportunity should present itself.

and end of the last century written by the late High Priest Jacob son of Aaron shows no appreciable difference. Without exception, the Arabic is written in Samaritan script in all the books used for divine worship. They use the Arabic alphabet for profane writings alone and it is only in quite modern times that they have begun to write the translation of the Bible in Arabic characters to face the Hebrew text. In these translations we do not find classical Arabic but mostly the Palestinian dialect; moreover, they very seldom use diacritical points to differentiate between similar letters of the Arabic alphabet. For a detailed survey of the literature of the Samaritans the reader is referred to the separate article on this subject accompanying this fasciculus.

It must be emphatically stated that practically none of these books have hitherto been published with the exception of the Arabic translation of the Pentateuch (Gen.-Lev.) (Kuenen, *Specimen*, Leiden 1851—1854), the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fath by Wilmer (Gotha 1865), the Book of Joshua by Juynboll (Leiden 1848), and a few grammatical fragments by Noldeke in the *G.G.N.*, Nos 17, 20 Continuing to publish them in Arabic would reduce to a large extent the number of those who are specially interested in the traditions of the Samaritans, whilst publishing them, as anticipated by me, in their Hebrew-Samaritan version, would at once make them accessible to a far larger circle of scholars interested in these studies Besides this I have also obtained through my correspondence lists of books extant and as far as possible such information as they could give of a biographical character. The latter, however, is extremely confused and contradictory. Under these circumstances my reference to bibliography can only be very brief inasmuch as copies of most of these writings still extant and accessible are in my possession (they are now being acquired by the British Museum) Mr D S. Sassoon also has acquired from the Samaritans a considerable number of valuable manuscripts, modern copies of the same books, and at the same time also the old copies of works of the afore mentioned Munadja, Shams al-Dīn and al-ʿAskarī, which were up to quite recently in the possession of the Samaritans. Steinschneider has given full references to all the other Samaritan manuscripts in the European libraries. Further reference should be made now to the articles of A. Cowley in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, x. 676 *sq.*, who gives most ample references and also to his *Samaritan Liturgy* (Oxford 1909), especially the introduction, in vol ii. 17 *sqq*, W G Moulton in *Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi. 161 *sq.*; Montgomery in *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia 1907), gives a brief sketch. Articles on the Samaritans and their literature in other encyclopaedias which have since appeared are more or less out of date and add nothing more to our knowledge. (M. GASTER)

SAMARḲAND, with Bukhārā [q.v.] the principal town of Transoxiana (Sogdiana, Soghd [q v.], Mā warā' al-Nahr), in modern times capital of the province of the same name in Russian Turkestan, on the south bank of the river Soghd (Wādi 'l-Soghd, Zarafshān) in a situation described by Oriental as well as Russian and European travellers as a veritable Paradise. The town — the second part of the name of which contains the Eastern Irānian word for "town", *kand*, frequent in Eastern Irānian place-names (cf. Buddh.-Soghdian *knd-*, Christ.-Soghd. *kath*, *kanth*), while the first part has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cf. the attempts by Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, i. 133 *sqq.*) — is first found in the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in the east as Maracanda, Μαράκανδα. Arrian (iii. 30) calls it βασίλεια τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. Alexander occupied it several times during the fighting with Spitamenes and, according to Strabo (xi. 11, 4), razed it to the ground (while Arab legend makes him founder of the city). Under the Diadochi — after the partition of 323 —, as the capital of Sogdiana, it belonged to the satrapy of Bactria and was lost to the Seleucids with Bactria when Diodotos declared himself independent and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was founded during the reign of Antiochus II Theos, henceforth it was exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians. From this time down to the Muslim conquest it remained historically and economically separated from Irān, although cultural intercourse with Western lands continued. (On the settlement of Manichaeans in Samarḳand cf J Marquart, *W. Z K. M.*, xii. 163 *sq.*; the attempts made by E. West to refer Čīn and Čīnistān in the *Bundahishn* and *Bahmanyasht* to Samarḳand are very unsatisfactory.) The only positive information is given by Chinese imperial historians and travellers (of which the former are unfortunately for the most part only available in obsolete translations). From the Han period the kingdom of Kʿang-Ku is mentioned, whose chief territory, Kʿang, is definitely identified in the Tʿang Annals with Sa-mo-kian = Samarḳand (cf. the passages in C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vii ² 657 *sqq.*). According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in 437 A D (cf. F. Hirth in J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 65 *sq.*), the Čau-wu dynasty related to the Yüe-či (Kūshān) had been reigning here since before the Christian era. Huan-čuang visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 A. D. and briefly describes it (St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, i. [1857], p 18 *sq.*, S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, *Buddhist Records*, i. [1884], p. 32 *sq*, with valuable bibliographical note on p. 101).

The Arabs, who did not begin to penetrate systematically into Transoxania till the appointment of Ḳutaiba b Muslim as governor of Khurāsān, found Samarḳand ruled by the Ṭarkhūn (Chin. To-hoen). With regard to the statement in al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 101, 20 (cf. Ibn Khordādhbih, *B. A. G.*, vi. 40, 5), that the native rulers of Samarḳand bore the well-known (Turkish) title *ṭarkhān* (*tarqan* in the Orkhon inscriptions), we are forced to see in this appellation a title and not a name as might appear from the Arabic sources. The reference is to a representative of one of the local Turkish dynasties, which in the last centuries before Islām had disposed of Ephthalite rule in Transoxania.

In 91 (709) the Ṭarkhūn made peace with Ḳutaiba on paying tribute and handing over hostages (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1204), but was soon deposed by his subjects who were angered thereby. His place was taken by the Ikhshēdh Ghūrak, Chin. U-le-kia (al-Ṭabarī, ii. 1229), who was forced by Ḳutaiba to capitulate in 93 (712) after a long siege of the town (*op. cit.*, p. 1247). He was left on the throne but an Arab governor was put in the town with a strong garrison, along with Bukhārā the town became a base for the further conquest and

islamisation of the land, which was frequently shaken by the risings which, provoked by the chicaneries of the governors, disturbed Transoxiana in the last decades of the Umaiyads (On the Arab legend which connects Samarḳand with the legendary Ḥimyar kings and makes it destroyed by Shimar on his campaign against China — Shimar-kand = Shimar destroyed [it] — and rebuilt by Iskandar cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 1901, p. 26 [1], where to the references in Yāḳūt should be added al-Ṭabarī, i. 890 *sqq.*, al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āṯār*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 360 etc. The legend ought to be systematically investigated).

The ʿAbbāsid Maʾmūn in 204 (819) gave the governorship of Transoxiana, especially Samarḳand, to the sons of Asad b. Sāmān and henceforth it remains — unaffected by the risings of the Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids — in the hands of the house of Sāmān till Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad destroyed the power of the Ṣaffārids in 287 (900) and founded the Sāmānid kingdom, which meant a century of greatest prosperity for Transoxiana, such as it was only to see once again 500 years later with Tīmūr and his immediate successors The capital was, it is true, moved to Bukhārā but Samarḳand retained first place as a centre of commerce and culture, especially in the popular estimation of the Muslim world.

It is to this period that the descriptions by al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Maḳdisī refer. They show that Samarḳand had the typical tripartite formation of Īrānian towns (cf. Barthold, i. 810[b]). citadel (*kuhandiz*, arabicized *kuhandiz* or translated *kalʿa*), the town proper (*shahristān*, *shāristān*, *madīna*) and suburbs (*rabaḍ*) The three parts are here given in their order from south to north The citadel lies south of the town on an elevated site; it contains the administrative offices (*Dār al-Imāra*) and the prison (*ḥabs*) The town itself, of which the houses are built of clay and wood (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Islam*, xi. 162, and E Diez, *Persien*, i. [*Kulturen der Erde*, vol. xx, Hagen-Darmstadt 1923], p. 20), is also on a hill. A deep ditch (*khandaḳ*) has been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town is supplied with running water which is brought from the south to the central square of the town called *Raʾs al-Ṭāḳ* by an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes [2]), running underground. It seems to date from the pre-Muḥammadan period as its supervision, as is expressly stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct makes possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town has four main gates; to the east the *Bāb al-Ṣīn* — a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade —, to the north the *Bāb Bukhārā*, to the west the *Bāb al-Nawbahār* — which name, as in Bukhārā and Balkh, points to a (Buddhist [3]) monastery — and to the south the *Bāb al-Kabīr* or *Bāb Kishsh* (*Bāb* stands for the Persian *Darvāza*). The lower lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the river Soghd and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself. The government offices of the Sāmānids and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. The great period of building in Samarḳand only begins with Tīmūr.

Among native products — as Bābur tells us — the paper of Samarḳand, the manufacture of which had been introduced from China, was specially famous. The most celebrated sanctuary of the town, also specially mentioned by Bābur and still held in high honour, is the tomb-mosque of Ḳāsim b. ʿAbbās who is said to have converted the city to Islām in the time of ʿUthmān (cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*[2], p 218). Among the famous men of Samarḳand of the period one at least must be mentioned, the theologian Abū Manṣūr al-Māturidī (d. in Samarḳand in 333 = 944; Māturīd or Māturīt is a quarter of Samarḳand; cf. al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 498[a]) who exerted a decisive influence on the dogmatic development of Eastern Sunnī Islām.

After the fall of the Sāmānids, Samarḳand was ruled by the Ḳarakhānids (Ilek-Khāns; q. v., ii. 465 *sq.*). In 495 (1102) the Ḳarakhānid Arslān Khān Muḥammad owned the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳ Sandjar [q.v.]. His descendants remained in power when forty years later, after the great victory of the Karakhiṭāi over Sandjar at Ḳaṭwān in 536 (1141) the Gurkhāns became masters of Transoxania. About 1170 Benjamin of Tudela visited the town and found 50,000 Jews in it (M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, p 59) The Gurkhāns were overthrown in 606 (1209) by the Khwārizmshāh Muhammad b. Takash. The latter's terrible opponent, Čingiz Khān [q.v], laid siege to Samarḳand only a few months after he had crossed the Jaxartes, on his way from Bukhārā which he had completely destroyed. Fortunately for the city it surrendered in Rabīʿ I, 617 (May, 1220) Although the city was plundered and many of its inhabitants were deported, a number of its citizens were allowed to remain under a Mongol governor. For the next 150 years it was but a shadow of its former self. Ibn Battūṭa (iii. 52 *sqq.*) about 1350 found a few inhabited houses among the ruins

The revival of the town's prosperity began when Tīmūr after about 771 (1369) became supreme in Transoxiana and chose Samarḳand as the capital of his continually increasing kingdom, and began to adorn in with all splendour. In 808 (1405) the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (cf. the Spanish-Russian edition of his itinerary by I. Sreznevskiy in the *Sbornik otd. Russk Yaz.*, 1881, xxviii. 325 *sqq.*, etc., with a valuable French Index) He gives Cimesquiente as the native name of the town, which he explains as aldea gruesa "large (lit. thick) village"; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *samiz* "thick". Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853 = 1449) embellished the city with his palace Čihil Sutūn and built his famous astrological observatory there; on him cf. W. Barthold, *Ulugbek i ego vremya* (*Ross. Akad. Nauk.*, 1918). A very full description of the city in Tīmūr's day, which may be justly described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bābur (*Bābur nāma*, ed. Ilminski, p. 55 *sqq* ; ed. Beveridge, p. 54[b] *sqq.*; transl. Pavet de Courteille, i. 96 *sqq.*; transl. Beveridge, p. 74—86), who captured Samarḳand for the first time in 903 (1497) and held it for some months. In 906 (1500) it was occupied by his rival, the Özbeg Khān Shaibānī. After his death, Bābur in alliance with the Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl Shāh succeeded

in 916 (1510) in once more victoriously invading Transoxiana and occupying Samarḳand, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Özbegs. Under the latter, Samarḳand was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhārā.

A new era began with the Russian advance across the Sir-Darya. On Nov. 14, 1868, General Kauffmann entered the old Tīmūrid capital which was now finally lost to the Amīr of Bukhārā, Muẓaffar al-Dīn (1860—1885). Since 1871 a new Russian town has arisen in the west of the city, which has been linked up to the Transcaspian railway. In 1882 the citadel was restored. In 1900 the population was about 58,000. We have no reliable information regarding changes since 1917. Unfortunately there is also a complete lack of historically accurate and complete descriptions of the architectural monuments (cf. W. Barthold, *Die geogr. u. hist. Erforschung d. Orients*, p. 173, 179) so that we cannot give any list of them here.

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(H. H. SCHAEDER)

AL-SAMARḲANDĪ. [See ABU 'L-LAITH.]

AL-SAMARḲANDĪ. [See DJAHM.]

AL-SAMARḲANDĪ. [See NIẒĀMĪ ʿARŪḌĪ.]

SĀMARRĀ. I. Historical Topography.

Sāmarrā, which is now a mere village, lies on the east bank of the Tigris half way between Takrīt and Baghdād.

The original form of the name is probably Irānian. The following etymologies have been proposed: Sām-rāh, Sā'i-Amorra, and Sā-morra, the last two meaning the place of payment of tribute. On the coins of the Caliphs Sāmarrā is written *Surra man raʾā*, i. e. "delighted is he who sees (it)".

Sāmarrā was founded in 221 (836) in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim by one of his Turkish generals, Ashnās, two parasangs south of the village of Karkh-Fairūz. The Caliph, perpetually threatened in Baghdād by the mutinies of his Turkish and Berber mercenaries, sought to settle in a less threatened capital.

Between 221 (836) and 276 (889) seven ʿAbbāsid Caliphs lived in Sāmarrā. The references in the historians of the Caliphate and in the Arab geographers, Yaʿḳūbī and Yāḳūt, enable us to reconstitute with sufficient exactitude the development of this ephemeral capital during the fifty years of its existence. Built on the eastern bank of the Tigris at a corner where it turns to the south-east, Sāmarrā lay between the villages of Karkh-Fairūz (or Karkh Bādjaddā) to the north and Matīra to the south-east. Two canals — one, the Ḳāṭūl Kisrawī, leaving the Tigris above Karkh-Fairūz, near Dūr, ran to the south-east to rejoin a second canal, the Yahūdī, which, leaving the Tigris below Matīra, ran E. N. E. — thus isolated Sāmarrā and its eastern suburb into a kind of island. On the west bank of the Tigris opposite Sāmarrā lay several castles cut off by a canal parallel to the Tigris, the Isḥāḳī Canal, entering the Tigris below Maṭīra, a little above Balkuwārā.

The town of Sāmarrā proper lay on the east bank; its principal streets were the Sarīdja Street which ran past the police office and the prison leading to the quarter which bore the name of the vizier Ḥasan b. Sahl; then came the street of Abū Aḥmad b. Rashīd leading towards the village of Itākhīya built on the Kisrawī Canal; this village, which at first bore the name of a Turkish chief, was later called Muḥammadīya. Five other principal streets (*shāriʿ*); this term applied to a main street is the same as has been revived in modern times for the streets of Cairo) are recorded: al-Hair, Barghamush Turkī (Turkish quarter), Ṣālih (leading to the military camps or *ʿaskar*), al-Hair al-Djadīd and al-Khalīdj. The historians give us numerous details regarding the important buildings in the vicinity of Sāmarrā, beginning with certain buildings in existence before the capital of the Caliphs was moved thither: the eight Christian monasteries, of which the principal were the Dair Ṭawāwīs or "monastery of the peacocks", the Dair Mār Mārī and the Dair Abi 'l-Sufra. But the most famous buildings were the palaces. Al-Muʿtaṣim, who lived at first in Sāmarrā itself, had built there the palace called al-Djawsaḳ; the Caliph Wāthiḳ built there the castle called Hārūnī after him. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who lived at first in the Hārūnī, built or enlarged twenty-four other palaces of which the best known are the Balkuwārā, ʿArūs, Mukhtār and Waḥīd. Nine months before his death he was planning a new town to the north halfway between Karkh-Fairūz and Dūr; this town was called Djaʿfarīya after his praenomen. The historians, who record many details of the luxury of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil, say that he brought from Persia to use as timber the sacred cypress venerated by the Mazdaeans at Kishmar. Other historians, noting that nothing remains of the splendid buildings of al-Mutawakkil, see in this so swift destruction a punishment from heaven, as retribution for his having ordered the destruction

of the tomb of Husain at Kerbelā' in 236 A. H. After the death of al-Mutawakkil, Muntasir brought the court to Sāmarrā itself again and took up his abode in the palace of Djawsak. Mu'tamid, the last Caliph to live at Sāmarrā, built the palace of Ma'shūk on the east bank (255 A. H.).

Since the tenth century A. D. the majority of these buildings have fallen into ruins The great mosque of Sāmarrā alone survived, which stood near the military camps, whence the name 'Askar Sāmarrā frequently given to this part of the town. The piety of the Shī'a very early located beside the great mosque the site of two tombs of their Imāms — the tomb of their eleventh Imām, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan called al-'Askarī because he died in Sāmarrā in 260, and the "cave" (*sirdāb*) in which his youthful successor, Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad al-Mahdī, disappeared in 264 (878) We know that for a thousand years past, the Shī'ī pilgrims have been visiting this cave of Sāmarrā, believing that al-Mahdī will re-appear there at the end of time. Al-Sam'ānī gives a list of individuals who bore the *nisba* Sāmarrī or Surmurrī. Another *nisba* also refers to Sāmarrā, namely Karkhī, applied to men born in Karkh-Fairūz.

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SĀMARRĀ. II. Architecture

Sāmarrā is at the present day a vast area of ruins lying on the left bank of the Tigris about sixty miles north of Baghdād. These ruins cover the site of one of the richest and most prosperous cities of the 'Abbāsid period, the building of which cost vast sums.

It was begun in 838 in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, reached its zenith under Dja'far al-Mutawakkil (847—861) and died with him.

Sāmarrā's brilliant but ephemeral existence gives these ruins a special interest for the student of the origins of Muslim art. Unfortunately, for centuries past, the Arabs have been using the ruins as a quarry for building material, and have hastened the work of time, and in the end nothing has been left standing. Nevertheless, excavations recently undertaken have recovered sufficient information regarding the main lines of construction and decoration to give a very clear idea of the beauty of the Muslim civilization which was then shedding its lustre over the world, and was given expression in this 'Abbāsid city of the IXth century.

The most remarkable remains still standing are.

To the south of the old town on the bank of the Tigris, the great mosque built by al-Mutawakkil with the magnificent palace of the Caliph (*Balkuwārā*) near it on the north. Opposite on the right bank of the Tigris, and built a little later, is a strong castle (*Ḳaṣr al-'Āshik*) the imposing ruins of which are still visible About half a mile south of this castle is a sepulchral monument (*ḳubbat al-sulabigīya*).

Near the ruins of the caliph's city survives a modern Sāmarrā with a golden dome, which commands the desert. It contains some venerated Shī'a sanctuaries

The great mosque of al-Mutawakkil was bui between 846 and 852 It is an immense rectangl with high walls of baked bricks, fortified wit round towers. Within it on the south is th principal chamber (*ḥaram*) with twenty-five nave orientated towards the Ḳibla and three othe smaller chambers on the other sides. All thes naves, which were over thirty feet high, wer supported by marble columns The *miḥrāb* wa also flanked by two pairs of marble columns an the prayer-niche was probably covered with valu able carved wood. The four chambers opened o to a large court, the centre of which was occu pied by a fine fountain Outside, against the nort wall of the mosque, rose the minaret (*malwiya*) a kind of huge tower of Babel on a base 100 fee square. Around it outside wound a spiral stai way. This tower was visible more than a day' journey away.

The ruins of Balkuwārā, the Caliph's palace cover a vast rectangle over a thousand yard each way On the west front there still stan three arches built of brick (*al-djamal*), the onl remains which are now to be found This palac was built by al-Mutawakkil for the prince al Muhtadī billāh.

These three arches, facing the river, audienc chamber and guest chambers (*īwān*), open widel out on the valley. Terraces and fountains de scend like cascades from them. Behind them ar three inner courts which are succeeded by room in the form of a cross. throne rooms, numerou smaller rooms and private apartments with luxu rious baths. On the east was a large rectangula garden with water falls surrounded by walls witl pilasters on to which open richly adorned littl pavilions To the north was a large creek witl stairways of access, with caves and docks cut ou in it Finally behind all this was an agglomeratio of houses. sheltering the harem, others for th courtiers, a little mosque, and large barracks etc for the caliph's guard and his cavalry.

The various and diverse elements which con stituted the whole of this immense palace were harmoniously arranged. They formed a beautifu composition conceived on a vast scale in the form of ⊥ of which the long axis perpendicular or the river terminated in the three vaulted room of the façade, richly ornamented with sculptur and mosaic.

The general composition of this palace is, how ever, of a type well known in the tradition o Īrānian architecture Around the Caliph's palac were sumptuous and richly decorated residences The richest as well as the most modest homes o the city are almost all built on the same plan Built on the ground floor only they consist of a series of inner courts with fountains into which open the *īwān* and the living rooms. This type has been perpetuated in certain parts of the east down to our day. The decoration of the interio is an important feature. High carved panels and very probably a decorative frieze always orna mented the public rooms and sometimes all the rooms in the house The courtyards also were sometimes ornamented but the outer walls were never decorated.

The ornamental carving of the palaces and houses of Sāmarrā is of the same technical skill and gives a high idea of the development of the art at this period. Elaborate panels run

all round the rooms at a height of three feet. Above them are ornamental alcoves (Pers. *takča*). The frames of the doors and the embrasures of the windows are ornamented. The ceilings are adorned with cornices and friezes. The majority of these decorations are in plaster finely designed and executed, sometimes set off with paintings.

The designs are of very different types, some simple, with large veins somewhat coarse in workmanship. Others are more finely chiselled in the flat without relief, others again, accentuating the relief, treat the principal motif in round bosses.

Some of these decorations were carved out of the mass *in situ*, others were cast in a mould on a bed of matting (especially motives continually repeated), and then fixed to the wall. The forms of the designs are very varied. Some are very simple and severe, in straight lines without arabesques. These are the ones found most frequently at Sāmarrā and which are, so to speak, the prototype. Others, on the contrary, often inspired by the fauna or flora, are more elaborate and richer, conventionalised flowers occupy the centre of geometrical figures repeated again and again and connected by ribands, beadings which come to a stop or intertwine, taking the shape of a vase, a lyre or a cornucopiae Others again more filled with movement unfold in arabesques around bunches of grapes and vine branches

It has been proposed to make a rigorous classification of the ornamental designs at Sāmarrā into three distinct categories Style I Coptic character, Style II Īrānian character, Style III Mesopotamian character A classification as methodical as this with labels of origin seems to us dangerous, premature and a source of error. One impression that can be retained from a study of the ruins of Sāmarrā, the discovery of which is valuable for the history of Oriental arts, is that several artistic influences met together in this part of Asia without conflicting or seeking predominance. It was a centre that attracted numerous artists from all parts of the globe, drawn thither by the wealth of the court of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs and the protection they afforded. Sāmarrā was to be the crucible into which Hellenic, Syro-Coptic and Indo-Persian art were fused together and a new art, Muslim art, was produced

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AL-SAMAW'AL B. ʿĀDIYĀ, more accurately AL-SAMAW'AL B. GHARĪḌ B. ʿĀDIYĀ, a Jewish-Arab poet, whose residence was in the strong castle of al-Ablaḳ [q.v.] near Taimāʾ. Being a contemporary of Imruʾ al-Ḳais [q. v.] he must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D. One of his grandsons is said to have adopted Islām and to have lived into the Caliphate of Muʿāwiya when he was then very old. Except his name there is hardly a trace in tradition of his being a Jew; it is not even certain that he was of Jewish descent.

All the poems ascribed to al-Samawʾal have been collected by Cheikho in his edition of the *Diwān*. Of the few pieces said to have been composed by him a considerable part cannot be considered genuine, including those which most readily suggest that they were written by a Jew. The few remaining ḳaṣīda's, the genuineness of which there is no reason to doubt, contain no indication of the fact, which is not, however, to be doubted, that al-Samawʾal professed the Jewish religion. They much rather breathe the spirit of the old Arab poetry and show in form and matter clearly that he, like his co-religionists, had become in external matters assimilated to the surrounding Arabs and in poetry followed Arabic forms. Poems have also been handed down that are attributed to a son and a grandson of al-Samawʾal.

Al-Samawʾal owes his fame less to his poetry than to his devotion in fulfilling his pledges to his guest Imruʾ al-Ḳais, which has become proverbial ("more faithful than al-Samawʾal) After Imruʾ al-Ḳais b Ḥudjr — the story seems quite reliable in its main facts — had been leading an unsettled life of adventure in his fight to avenge his father and had lost most of his followers while fleeing before al-Mundhir, king of al-Hira, he sought refuge in al-Samawʾal's castle and was hospitably received with his few followers. When, some time later, he went to the court of Byzantium he left his daughter and his cousin with al-Samawʾal along with his valuable armour and the remains of his paternal inheritance, and asked him to guard them. During the absence of Imruʾ al-Ḳais, al-Samawʾal was besieged in his castle by an army, which had presumably been sent by al-Mundhir, because he would not obey the demand to hand over the property of his guest. By chance it happened that the leader of the hostile army captured a son of al-Samawʾal and threatened to kill him if Imruʾ al-Kais's property was not handed over. As al-Samawʾal steadily refused to betray his trust he had to see his son die before his eyes. The besiegers then withdrew without achieving their purpose.

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SAMBAS, a Malay kingdom on the island of Borneo in the N. W. of the Dutch residency of "Westerafdeeling van Borneo". In the west and north-west from Cape Dato to the mouth of the river Duri it is washed by the China Sea, in the S. and S. E. it is bounded by the districts of Mampawa, Landak and Sanggau (the Duri river forms the boundary for part of the way), in the E. and N. E. by Sarawak (British North Borneo); some of the islands off the coast also belong to it. The country is mountainous, especially on the eastern frontier; the ground slopes gradually to the W. and N.; the coastlands are almost everywhere low, flat and swampy, but not unfertile Of the rivers the largest is the Great Sambas, Sambas, the Sulṭān's capital, lies on the Little Sambas. At the end of 1915 the number of inhabitants had risen to 123,600 of whom 26,000 were Dyaks, 67,000 Malays and 30,000 Chinese, the two first classes are under the Sulṭān (at present Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣafī al-Dīn) who, very much dependent on the Dutch officials, rules the land with his four ministers (*wazīr*). The Chinese are direct subjects of the Dutch government. It should be noted that the term Malays does not signify a single ethnic group; the deciding factor here is the Muslim religion· as soon as the heathen Dyaks become converts to Islām, they are counted as Malays and the fairly numerous Javanese and Bugincse are also usually counted as Malays The steady advance of Islām is no more to be ascribed here than elsewhere in the Malay Archipelago to definite missionary activity but primarily to the many marriages of Malays with Dyak women and further to the fact that the social position of the Muḥammadans is better than that of the still unconverted natives The Dyaks are no longer nomads and live on good terms with the rest of the population; they are engaged in the collection of jungle products and carry on a primitive agriculture, mainly on dry fields. The agriculture of the Malays on the coast is also of little importance The Chinese form the most industrious part of the population, their methods are on a much higher level in every way. they grow rice on well tilled, wet fields and grow other produce also for export Their position in W Borneo was for long a very peculiar one. The first immigrants into Sambas (about 1760) were gold-diggers and their number increased so rapidly that they soon formed an important element in the population. They organised themselves into numerous societies and even managed to attain a certain political autonomy, it was only in the latter half of the xix^th^ century that the Dutch government succeeded in breaking up these societies Gold-washing no longer pays and the majority of the Chinese now live by trade and agriculture.

We have no reliable data regarding the early history of the land and the beginnings of the spread of Islām; the kingdom was probably founded by Malays from Djohore; about the middle of the xiv^th^ century it was subject to the Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit. In the early years of the xvii^th^ century, about the time when the Dutch East India Company concluded its first commercial treaty with Sambas (1609), the kingdom was under a Malay chief, Ratu Sapodak (Pangéran Ratu), who recognised the suzerainty of Djohore. Ratu Sapodak had only two daughters and after his death he was succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew Ratu Anom Kusuma Yuda. The latter had only a brief reign; he was soon driven from the throne by his brother-in-law, Radin Sulaimān, a son of a chief of Brunei (Radja Tĕngah) and of a sister of the Sulṭān of Sukadana. After his accession Radin Sulaimān took the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṣafī al-Dīn. He was the founder of the present reigning house.

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(W. H Rassers)

AL-SAMHŪDĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALI B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD, a descendant of al-Ḥasan b ʿAlī, according to the genealogy traced by Ibn Fahd, was born in Samhūd in Upper Egypt (al-Saʿīd) in the month of Safar, 844 A. H., where his father was a noted lawyer. The latter took him for the first time to Cairo in the year 853, but he visited the city later on several occasions both alone and in the company of his father to enable him to pursue his studies under the most renowned men of his time, and the Sūfī saint al-ʿIrāḳī invested him with the Sūfī mantle In the year 860 he made the pilgrimage for the first time and settled in al-Madīna. He had first a cell near the mosque of the Prophet, but through intrigues he was compelled to leave it and he then hired a house near the Bāb al-Rahma, known as the house of Tamīm al-Dārī He had noticed at the time of his arrival that the mosque of the Prophet had not been put into proper repair since it had been burnt in the year 654, and in the long interval of over 200 years it had been patched in a very unsatisfactory manner He wrote a treatise in which he urged the proper reconstruction, based upon researches which he had made with reference to the original state of the building In the year 886 he went to Mekka to perform the pilgrimage again and during his absence his valuable library, which appears to have been stored in the cell near the mosque, was involved in the fire which destroyed the mosque. Discouraged he now went back to Egypt and paid a visit to his aged mother who died ten days after his arrival in Samhūd.

After her funeral he went to Cairo and was admitted to the circle of the Sulṭān al-Ashraf Ḳā'itbey [q. v.] from whom he received a salary and a nucleus of valuable books to replenish the libraries in al-Madīna, he being entrusted with the charge of them After visiting Jerusalem he returned to al-Madīna towards the end of the year 890. He found that the house of Tamīm al-Dārī was for sale and bought it and put it into proper repair. Here he married several wives, but later gave them up and contented himself with concubines to have more time to devote to the welfare of the people

and their instruction. He died on Thursday the 18th of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da, 911 A.H., and was buried in the Baḳī' (cf. the art. BAḲĪ' AL-GHARḲAD) cemetery between the grave of Saiyid Ibrāhīm and the Imām Mālik.

Among his numerous works composed during his residence in al-Madīna the principal one is his History of the City. He had originally composed it upon a large scale under the title *al-Iktifā' bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*. At the request of a patron he had made an abbreviation of this book to which he gave the title. *Wafā' al-Wafī* This abbreviation he had completed on the 24th of Djumādā II, 886, and had it with him in Mekka when his library in al-Madīna was destroyed by the fire. This fortunately saved the chief contents of the work. Later he made a further edition condensed from the abbreviation, which he finished, according to some manuscripts and the printed editions (Būlāḳ 1285 and Mekka 1316), in the year 893 and called *Khulāsat al-Wafā'*. This work has become our principal source of information for the history and the topography of the city and the rituals for the visit of the grave of the Prophet. In addition he composed a number of other works of which nine are enumerated by Brockelmann in his *G. A. L.*, to which Arab biographers add several more which may have been lost. They comprise books on grammar, tradition, theology, law and the rituals of pilgrimage Special mention is made of his collection of *Fatwā*'s in one volume collected by himself on all branches of legal knowledge. They appear to contain the arid discussions which form the favourite theme of Arabic authors of his time.

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(F. KRENKOW)

SĀMĪ, SHAMS AL-DIN, SĀMĪ BEY FRĀSHERĪ, a Turkish author and lexicographer, born at Frāsher in Albania on June 1, 1850, of an old Muslim Albanian family whose ancestors are said to have been granted this place as a fief by Sultān Mehmed II. He was educated in the Greek lycée at Janina, at the same time receiving instruction from private tutors in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He then came to Constantinople, where he devoted himself to journalism and founded the daily paper *Ṣabāḥ* about 1875. He began his literary career about the same time and attached himself to the new school founded by Kemāl and Shināsī From this period dates his novel *Ta'ashshuḳ-i Ṭal'at wa-Fitnet*, which contains an indictment of the Turkish marriage system (1872), and the dramas *Besā* (the scene is laid in Albania, produced in 1874), *Sīdī Yahyā* (1875) and *Kāwe*. The production of this last piece, which describes the Persian revolution against the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk, resulted in his being banished for two years to Tripoli in North Africa.

After his return he devoted himself almost entirely to his famous lexicographical works. These are the *Ḳāmūs-i Fransewī* (French-Turkish, 1882, and Turkish-French, 1885), the six-volume encyclopaedia *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām* (1889—1898) and the *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī* in two parts (1899 and 1900).

Although in his latter years he suffered a good deal in body and in spirit, his great industry never left him till his death. He died in Constantinople on June 18, 1904. He had spent the greater part of his life in his study. In the last years of his life he looked 75, although only 54.

In the literary field Sāmī could not claim a place beside his contemporaries 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid, Ekrem Bey, etc. Besides the newspapers themselves, we have as evidence of his journalistic work a series of pamphlets which appeared in the *Dzēb Kutubkhānesī* and are in part taken from his newspaper articles (*Medenīyet-i Islāmīye*, *Kadînlar Emthāl*, etc). He also made several translations from the French (*Sfiller*, *Shaiṭānîn Yādkārlarî* etc.). He also published select poems of Bāḳī and an edition with commentary of the poems ascribed to 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib. But his greatest merit lies in his great work in lexicography and philology This includes several school-books on Turkish and Arabic grammar, and an unfinished Arabic dictionary of which he speaks in the preface to his *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*

This last work is important in several respects. In the first place the order is strictly alphabetical and the arrangement of the different meanings clear and lucid, it is a great advance on previous lexicographical work by Turks, even on Ahmed Wefīḳ Pasha's *Lehče-i 'Othmānī*. Secondly the choice of the words included is of importance in so far as it represents a compromise between the different views prevailing in his time on the development of Turkish Sāmī himself urged a far-reaching Turkish purism (as is evident from his contribution in the introduction to Mehmed Emīn's *Türkče Shi'rler* of 1898) and he would have liked to replace most Arabic and Persian words by Turkish words that had fallen into disuse. He adopted of the latter those whose revival seemed indispensable. but by the adoption of a great mass of Arabic and Persian material he made great concessions to the literary language. His dictionary is therefore a true picture of the educated Turkish of his time. Sāmī, however, does not seem to have had any traceable influence on the development of Turkish.

Among his unpublished material, of which the unfinished Arabic dictionary has already been mentioned, there are also comprehensive studies on the *Ḳudatḳu Bilik* and on the Orkhon inscriptions, as well as works on Persian and Eastern Turkī

He also worked at Albanian He produced an Albanian alphabet and a grammar. He left poems in this language and a book on the future of Albania His drama *Besā*, already mentioned, also shows his love for the land of his birth.

On Sāmī Bey's brother Na'îm Frāsherī (1846—1900) who was a great Albanian poet cf. Babinger in *Isl.*, 1921, xi. 99.

Bibliography Biography of Sāmī by Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī in the *'Othmanlî meshāhirî udebāsî* series; Paul Horn, *Geschichte der turkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1909, p 38; *Revue d'Orient et de Hongrie*, Budapest Jan. 20, 1902. The unprinted and unfinished works of Sāmī are in the possession of his family to whose kind information the writer is indebted for some of the above-mentioned facts. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-SĀMIRA. [See SAMARITANS].

AL-SĀMIRĪ, "the Samaritan", is the name in Ḳur'ān, xx. 87, 90, 96, of the man who tempted

the Israelites to the sin of the golden calf. This sin is twice mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. The first narrative, Sūra vii. 146—153, tells of the sin of Israel and Aaron as in Exodus, xxxii, but with the elaboration that the calf cast out of metal lowed. The second version, Sūra xx. 85—97, which is shown to be later by its additions and was considered by Muslim tradition also to belong to the Medīna period (Noldeke–Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorʾāns*, p. 124, 125), makes al-Sāmirī the tempter of Israel. At al-Sāmirī's bidding they cast their ornaments into the fire and he made out of them the lowing calf, which was worshipped by the people although Aaron advised them not to. When challenged by Moses, al-Sāmirī justified himself by saying that he saw what the others did not see, the footsteps of the messenger (according to Muslim tradition the tracks of the hoof of Gabriel's horse) Moses then announced his punishment to him "so long as thou livest, thou shalt call out to those that meet thee *lā misāsa* "touch me not".

Abraham Geiger thought that Muhammad had perhaps confused al-Sāmirī with Sammael, the prince of the demons Geiger quoted *Pirḳē Rabbi Eliezer*, xlv, where, according to one view, Sammael lowed concealed in the calf to lead the Israelites astray. In reality this feature in the *Pirḳē Rabbi Eliezer* is imitated from the Muslim legend and the otherwise unknown proper name al-Sāmirī replaced by the name Sammael of somewhat similar sound. S. Fraenkel (*Z. D. M. G.*, lvi 72) derives the story of al-Sāmirī in the Kurʾān from a lost Jewish *midrash* which aimed at diverting the grave sin of making the golden calf from Aaron to a Samaritan

The figure of al-Sāmirī was first put into its true light by Goldziher (see below) Goldziher explains him as the representative of Samaritanism through the story of the Samaritan secession We have already evidence of this secession in Sirach, l 25, and the Gospels Luke, ix 52, John, iv. 9 Goldziher collects Jewish, Christian and Muslim references, which show that the Samaritans considered contact with those not of their stock as impurity. What Muḥammad or rather his presumed Jewish source knew as a ritual principle of the Samaritans is put back into earlier times and explained as a punishment of al-Sāmirī for having incited the Israelites to make and worship the calf.

Goldziher's convincing arguments can be reinforced by the early Muslim interpretation of the Ḳur'ān Al-Tabarī himself following an earlier tradition sees in al-Sāmirī a prominent Israelite of the Samaritan tribe; as a punishment for his sin Moses forbade the Israelites to have social or commercial relations with him and "this has remained the case". Similarly al-Zamakhsharī al-Sāmirī belonged to a Jewish tribe called Sāmira whose religion differed somewhat from the Jewish. Al-Sāmirī was forbidden to have social and commercial intercourse with men; it is said that his people still observe the prohibition. Al-Thaʿlabī similarly concludes his very full story of the golden calf.

Al-Sāmirī thus is the representative of Samaritanism, which keeps apart from non-Samaritans. In a segregation of this kind — as in the Jewish laws regarding eating (Ḳur'ān, iv. 158) — Muḥammad sees a divine punishment. What has al-Sāmirī (= the Samaritans) to atone for? For the sin of the golden calf.

Bibliography: al-Tabarī: *Tafsīr*, and al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf* on Ḳur'ān, xx. 87—97; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1282, p. 82; Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Frankfurt 1902, p. 162—165; S. Fraenkel, *Der Sāmirī*, in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, lvi. 73, I. Goldziher, *La Mišāsa*, in the *Revue Africaine*, N°. 268, Algiers 1908, p. 23, 28.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

SAMMĀ, the name of a Rāǧpūt clan in Sind. As the hold of the Ghaznawid kings on Sind relaxed, the Sumrās, a Rāǧpūt tribe converted to Islām, established their rule in that country in 1053, and made Ṭūr their capital They persecuted the Sammās, a rival Rāǧpūt tribe which adhered to Hinduism, and drove many of them to take refuge in Kaccḥ, where, in 1320, they ousted the Čāvada prince who had protected them and seized his throne This branch of the Sammās, known as Ǧādeǧa or the children of Ǧāda, is still represented by the Rāo of Kaccḥ and the Ǧām of Navanagar The Sammās who remained in Sind accepted Islām, and after the Sumrās had been overthrown by the troops of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldǧī of Dihlī founded, in 1333, a dynasty which ruled Sind for nearly two centuries, with its capital at Thatha The rulers, like the head of the branch which acquired the state of Navanagar, assumed the title of Ǧām, a word of doubtful signification which Abu 'l-Faḍl, Firishta and other Muslim historians derive, on insufficient grounds, from the name of the semi-mythical Persian king Ǧamshīd

Unar, the Hindu name of the first Ǧam, suggests recent conversion to Islām. His brother and successor, Ǧūnā, took Bakhar in Upper Sind, which had hitherto been included in the imperial dominions, and harboured a rebel who was fleeing from Gudǧarāt before Muḥammad b. Taghlaḳ of Dihlī. Muhammad invaded Sind but died on the banks of the Indus in March, 1351, before he had had time to punish Ǧūnā. His cousin, Fīrūz Shāh, succeeded to the command of an army disorganised by its leader's death, and with difficulty extricated it from Sind, from which it retreated, menaced and harassed both by the Sindīs and by their allies, the Mughuls. Fīrūz attempted, eight years later, to avenge his discomfiture but again failed and saved a portion of his army only by a disastrous retreat into Gudǧarāt. Returning in the following year he defeated the Sammās and carried the Ǧām, Ǧūnā, and his nephew, Bābaniya, prisoners to Dihlī, but permitted Ǧūnā's son and another nephew, Tamāčī, to govern the province as his tributaries Later in the reign Tamāčī rebelled and Ǧūnā was sent from Dihlī to reduce him to obedience, and sent him to Dihlī. After the accession of Taghlaḳ II in 1388 Bābaniya was permitted to return to Sind, but died on the way thither He was succeeded by his brother, Tamāčī, and after his reign the succession appears to have been as follows: — (1) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, (2) Niẓām al-Dīn, (3) ʿAlī Shīr, (4) Karan, (5) Fatḥ Khān, (6) Taghlaḳ, (7) Rāidan, (8) Sanǧar, (9) Niẓām al-Dīn II, known as Ǧām Nanda, (10) Fīrūz.

"The history of the Sammās after their accession to power is of interest by reason of the ability with which they held their own in several campaigns against the forces of the imperial government, and by reason also of the conversion

of large numbers of the people from Hinduism to Islām". The disintegration of the empire of Dihlī after Tīmūr's invasion restored independence to Sind, and the Sammās reigned thenceforward untrammelled by allegiance to any higher power. The greatest of them was Niẓām al-Dīn II, known as Djām Nanda, who died in 1509 after a reign of forty-seven years. The line ended with his son and successor, Fīrūz, who in 1520 was defeated by Shāh Beg Arghūn, ruler of Ḳandahār, who founded the Arghūn dynasty in Sind.

The Sammā tribe now numbers over 800,000 in Sind.

Bibliography: Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm of Bakhar, *Taʾrīkh al-Sind*, MSS.; Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āīn-i Akbarī*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett, both in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-ṢĀMIT. [See AL-NĀḲIḲ]

AL-SAMN (A.), butter made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, more especially cooked or melted butter, cleansed from impurities and preserved by the addition of salt, for example. Fresh butter and cream are called *zubda* These are used not only in the kitchen but also in medicine, externally and internally, — externally for wounds, abscesses and boils, internally as an antidote against snake-bite and poisons, against retention of the urine, etc

Bibliography. Ibn al-Baiṭār, transl Leclerc, ii 290 (J RUSKA)

SAMOS, an island in the Aegean Sea, the Turkish name is Sīsām-adasi, "the Island of Sesame", for which Sūsām-adasi was written at an earlier period (Bihishtī, *Inshāʾ* [MS N° 260 of the Berlin Library], f. 193b, Kātib Celebi, *Tuhfat al-Kibār*; Sussam in Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, i. 359), while the Arab geographers give the Greek name in the forms Sāmū, Sām (al-Idrīsī, *Géographie*, ed Jaubert, ii 127, 303), Sāmis (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i 21) or Shāmis (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed Reinaud, p. 192, 193). In the middle ages Samos was repeatedly raided by the Arabs in their incursions into the Aegean Sea, notably in the years 889 and 911 It was only with the expulsion of the Arabs from Crete about the middle of the tenth century that Byzantine rule was restored over Samos and the other islands of the archipelago. Later the island was exposed to the raids of the Saldjūks and their vassals Tzachas, lord of Smyrna, captured the island about the year 1090 and kept it for some time (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ix. Ch. 1); in the xivth century it was ravaged by the Aidīn-oghlu Umur Beg (Ducas, Ch. vii). From the end of the xivth century it belonged to the Genoese Maona of Chios (cf. the art. SĀḲIZ). Friendly relations were maintained with the people of the adjoining mainland It is, for example, related that at Tīmūr's invasion numerous Turks fled thither (Buondelmonte, ed. Sinner, Ch. 54) and the fanatic Burkludje Mustafā, who provoked a communistic rising on the Erythraean peninsula about 1420, maintained communication with the monks of Chios and Samos After the fall of the Byzantine empire, Meḥemmed the Conqueror granted Samos to the Genoese of Chios, but they were not able to hold it and therefore induced the greater part of the population to migrate to Chios in 1476. Probably as a result of this, Meḥemmed II in 884 (1479) had Samos occupied by the Beg of Bīghā; to repopulate the deserted island the new colonists were promised freedom from the state imposts (*ʿawāriḍ-i dīwānīye*) (Bihishtī, *Tārīkh*, f. 209b of the Brit. Mus. MS.; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 567 *sqq.*) Later, probably after the peace with Venice in the reign of Bāyazīd II in 1502, the Genoese seem to have regained control of the island, at least, Belon, who travelled in the Archipelago soon after 1547, expressly states that it belonged to the "seigneurie de Chio" (*Les observations de plusiers singularitez* etc., Paris 1555, p. 84a); but a few years later they evacuated it for a second time and left it to its fate (Boschini, *l'Arcipelago*, Venice 1558, p 72) The islanders used to retire into the impenetrable mountains of the interior before the corsair raids, where they led the lives of savages The Ḳapudan Pasha Ḳïlïdj ʿAlī Pasha, on one of his voyages in the Archipelago, was then attracted by the abandoned island and had it given to him by the Sulṭān in 1562. He endowed the great mosque built by him in Top-Khāne on the Bosporus with the revenues from the taxation of the island. — A Turkish voivod usually called Aghā governed the island, a ḳādī or nāʾib exercised judicial authority, they lived in Chora, the principal place on the island, where also the titular of the then newly founded (Greek orthodox) bishopric of Samos took up his residence. Except for these two officials and their subordinates there were no Turks on the island. But even under Turkish rule the Samiotes continued for long to suffer from the raids of pirates of all nations, Maltese, Frank, Algerian and Tripolitan, who, like their contemporaries, the filibusterers and buccaneers in the West Indies, and the Pamphylian pirates conquered by Pompey, made this part of the Mediterranean unsafe for a century Samos, which had neither fortresses nor a permanent garrison, was invaded and repeatedly occupied for some time by the Venetians in the wars between the Sublime Porte and Venice in the xviith century. The occupation by the Russian fleet lasted for several years, 1771—1774. The Samiotes played a prominent part in the Greek war of liberation. at the end of the war they passed again under Turkish rule, but through the intervention of the Western powers they obtained complete autonomy under a Christian governor appointed by the Sultān (Bey, Greek ἡγεμών, which was usually translated Furst, prince), and were placed under the protectorate of France, Great Britain and Russia. They were also allowed a flag of their own Like the other vassal states of the Sublime Porte, Samos paid an annual tribute, which was at first 400,000 piastres but was later reduced to 300,000. 101,000 of this went to pay the dues to the waḳf endowment of Ḳïlïdj ʿAlī. The first Bey of Samos, Stefan Vogorides, was appointed in the beginning of Djumādā I, 1249 (middle of September, 1833), and filled this post till the beginning of September, 1851. After him down till 1913 no less than 18 "princes", who with few exceptions belonged to Fanariot families, ruled the island of Polykrates. In 1913 Samos was united with Greece by the Treaty of London, which ended the Balkan war.

In modern times Vathy has replaced Chora as the seat of the Government, the number of the settled population was in 1912 about 50,000.

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Samos 1881—1887 (history and description of the island from the earliest times to 1885); also the same author's monographs *Ἐπιστολιμαῖα διατριβὴ περὶ Ἰωσὴφ Γεωργειρήνου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σάμου 1666—1671* (ibid 1892) and *Βίος Ἰακώβου Βασιλικοῦ δεσπότου Σάμου* (ibid. 1894). Of older travellers, not already mentioned, the following are worthy of note [Des Hayes de Courmesine], *Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1632, p. 348 *sqq.*; Stochove, *Voyage faict ès années 1630 1631 1632 1633*, Brussels 1643, p. 234—236, Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Amsterdam 1718, i. 155—158; Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii 2, 24 *sqq* , Dallaway, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, London 1797, p. 251—260, Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Emp Ott.*², Paris 1842, i 157—161, with the plates 52—54 of the accompanying atlas, vol i On conditions in modern times A Ritter zur Helle von Samo, *Das Vilajet der Inseln des Weissen Meeres*, Vienna 1878, p. 13 *sqq.*, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 498—523, Aḥmad Tawhīd, *Tārīkh ʿOthmānī Endjumeni Medjmūʿasi*, first series, part 13, p. 837 *sqq.* (J. H. MORDTMANN)

ṢAMṢĀM AL-DAWLA, ABŪ KĀLIDJĀR AL-MARZBĀN, a Būyid. After the death of the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla in Shawwāl, 372 (March, 983), his son Abū Kālidjār was recognised as amīr al-Umarā' under the name Samsām al-Dawla. The latter then gave his two brothers Abu 'l-Husain Aḥmad and Abū Tāhir Fīrūz Shāh the province of Fārs as a fief and ordered them to go there at once. But when they arrived in Arradjān the fourth brother, Sharaf al-Dawla, had anticipated them and already taken possession of Fārs so that they had to retire to al-Ahwāz As Sharaf al-Dawla would not recognise the suzerainty of Ṣamsām al-Dawla, the latter sent an army against him under Abu 'l-Hasan b Danḳas, who met the enemy at Ḳurkūb, between Wāsiṭ and al-Basra, led by Abu 'l-Aʿazz Dubais b. ʿAfīf al-Asadī Abu 'l-Hasan was taken prisoner and his army put to flight (Rabīʿ I, 373 = Aug./Sept , 983) whereupon Sharaf al-Dawla granted his brother Abu 'l-Husain rule over al-Ahwāz. At the same time Ṣamṣām al-Dawla had to fight with the Kurdish chief Bādh, the ancestor of the Marwānids. The latter had invaded Diyār Bakr, where he had seized several towns like Maiyāfāriḳīn and Naṣībīn after the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla Samṣām al-Dawla's troops were defeated, and al-Mawsil also passed into Bādh's hands, but when in Safar, 374 (July, 984), he endeavoured to take Baghdād also he was defeated and had to give up al Mawsil. He was, however, allowed to retain Diyār Bakr and the half of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. In 375 (985/986) the Dailamī general Asfār b. Kurdawaih rebelled against Samsām al-Dawla in Baghdād and at first declared for Sharaf al-Dawla; but he next decided — by arrangement with the troops who were devoted to him — to make Abū Naṣr b. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, then only fifteen years old and later appointed amīr al-Umarā' with the name Bahā' al-Dawla (q.v.], governor of al-ʿIrāḳ in place of his brother Sharaf al-Dawla. But Asfār was defeated and Bahā' al-Dawla taken prisoner. Sharaf al-Dawla then left Fārs to go to al-Ahwāz and there told his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusain that he wanted to liberate Bahā' al-Dawla; but Abu 'l-Ḥusain did not trust him and began to collect troops. The latter, however, went over to Sharaf al-Dawla and there was nothing left for Abu 'l-Ḥusain to do but join his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla [q. v.], but as the latter did not find him absolutely reliable, he was imprisoned and afterwards put to death. To preserve peace, Ṣamsām al-Dawla wrote to Sharaf al-Dawla and, as he was satisfied with the governorship of Baghdād and ready to release Bahā' al-Dawla and to have Sharaf al-Dawla mentioned first in the *khuṭba* in the ʿIrāḳ, the latter agreed to his proposal. When in 376 (986/7) Ṣamṣām al-Dawla came to Sharaf al-Dawla, he was at first very kindly welcomed, but then seized and imprisoned in a citadel near Shīrāz. According to the usual statement, Sharaf al-Dawla afterwards had him blinded. In the meanwhile disturbances broke out in Baghdād between the Dailamīs who supported Ṣamṣām al-Dawla and the followers of Sharaf al-Dawla, the Turks, and only after quiet was restored did the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ recognise the latter as Amīr al-Umarā'. On the latter's death at the beginning of Djumādā II, 379 (Sept , 989), Bahā' al-Dawla succeeded to this office Samsām al-Dawla was then liberated but had first to fight with his nephew, Abū ʿAlī b Sharaf al-Dawla, and after his assassination with Bahā' al-Dawla [q. v.]. In 383 (993/994) — 01, according to another statement, probably due to a corrupt text, as early as 380 (990/991) — Bakhtiyār's [q v] sons, who had been interned in a castle in Fārs after Sharaf al-Dawla's death, succeeded with the help of the Dailamī garrison in gaining their liberty and gathering a large following. When Samsām al-Dawla heard of this he sent an army under Abū ʿAlī b Ustādh Hormuz against them. The latter besieged them in the fortress in which they had taken refuge, they had to surrender and were brought to Samsām al-Dawla, who had two of them executed and the other four imprisoned. In the same year hostilities again broke out between Samṣām al-Dawla and Bahā' al-Dawla and after several years' fighting victory was inclining more and more to the side of the former, when he was assassinated in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 388 (end of 998), at the age of thirty-five years and seven months. Cf also the article ABŪ KĀLIDJĀR

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. passim, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed Reiske, ii. 555 *sqq* , Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Cairo 1275, iv. 456 *sqq.*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i. 429—430; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus dem Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, chap. x , Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 31—35, 37, 47 *sq.* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ṢAMṢĀM AL-DAWLA, SHĀHNAWĀR KHĀN SHAHĪD KHWĀFĪ AWRANGĀBĀDI, an Indian statesman and historian. His early name was ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḥusainī and he belonged to a Saiyid family which had migrated to India from Khwāf in Khurāsān in the time of Akbar and attained high honour there. He was born in Lahore on Ramaḍān 28, 1111 (March 20, 1700) and while still young moved to Awrangābād [q. v] where he was appointed *Dīwān* of Berār by the first independent Niẓām of the Deccan, Āṣaf Djāh [q. v.; see also the article ḤAIDARĀBĀD]. In 1155 (1742) he was involved in the rising attempted by Nāṣir Djang, son of Āṣaf Djāh, against his father and dismissed from office after its failure. The next five years he devoted in retirement to his great historical work, the *Maʾāthir al-Umarā'*. Shortly before the end of his reign, Āṣaf Djāh

pardoned him in 1160 (1747) and restored him to his former office, which he continued to hold under the next two rulers, Nāṣir Djang and Ṣalābat Djang. After the accession of Basālat Djang in 1170 (1756) the French party which had been opposed by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla succeeded in bringing about his fall; he was killed on Ramaḍān 3, 1171 (May 12, 1758) by soldiers of the French General Bussy. According to another, unreliable, story, the General shot him with his own hand.

The *Maʾāṯir al-Umarāʾ*, a biographical dictionary arranged alphabetically, according to the initial letters of the names discussed, of all the more important statesmen under the Indian Moghuls from Akbar to the author's day — Elliot calls it "the Peerage of the Mughal Empire" — exists in two recensions of both of which many copies exist The original, which was unfinished and even in the completed part not quite ready for publication, disappeared at the murder of the author and the destruction of his house, and was only found after twelve months' search by the friend and for several years secretary of the author, Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Balgrāmī (famous as the author of two *taḏkira*'s of poets, *Khazāna-i ʿāmira* and *Sarw-i Āzād*, cf H Ethé in the *Grundriss der iran. Philol*, ii. 215), although not complete He gave it a preface, wrote a biography of Samsām al-Dawla (see the *Bibl.*) and added several articles This recension contains 261 biographies

It was much extended and republished by the author's son, ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy Khān († 1196 = 1781, for his numerous titles see Morley, *op. cit*, p 104, cf the *Bibl*), who in twelve years' labour continued the work of his father to the year 1194 (1790) when he concluded his labours, he took the first recension as a foundation, added other parts of the original which had since been found and additions which he compiled from the 30 historical works mentioned in his preface His own first draft is preserved in the India Office MS N⁰ 2424 (Ethé's *Catalogue*, N⁰ 627). This second edition contains an editor's preface, the preface by Samsām al-Dawla and Ghulām ʿAlī, the latter's' biography of Samsām al Dawla, an index of the articles and the latter themselves, as well as a short biography of the editor. It contains 731 biographies and is one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Moghul rule in India.

Ṣamsām al-Dawla also composed a collection of biographies of poets entitled *Bahāristān-i Sukhun*.

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(H. H. SCHAEDER)

ṢAMṢĀM AL-SALṬANA, NADJAF ḲULĪ KHĀN, a Bakhtiyārī chief born about 1846. He belonged to the great division of Haft-Lang which he governed in 1903—1905 as Īl-begī and later as Īl-Khānī. He was the son of the Ḥusain Ḳulī Khān, killed by order of prince Ẓill al-Sulṭān — the famous governor-general of Iṣfāhān — and grandson of Djaʿfar Kulī Khān Ṣamṣām owes his fame to the part he played in the nationalist revolutionary movement in Persia.

Rebelling against the incapable administration of the governor Iḳbāl al-Dawla, Ṣamṣām al-Salṭana at the head of 1,000 Bakhtiyārīs occupied Iṣfāhān on Jan. 5, 1909, and convoked the provincial committee (*anǧuman*). Jointly with his brother Sardār-i Asʿad, who had come back from Europe, Samsām telegraphed to the government (May 3) that he intended to advance on the capital. He carried out his plan but allowed the protagonists of the revolution, Sardār-i Asʿad and Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam, leader of the forces collected at Rasht, to have all the credit

When in the summer of 1911 the news of the return of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh reached Tihrān, Ṣamsām entered the Sipahdār's cabinet as minister of war and military governor of the capital (July 5) On July 26 he himself formed a new cabinet, three days later the Madjlis put a price on the head of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh. In August the Bakhtiyārīs with the active help of the Armenian revolutionary Yefrem Khān inflicted a defeat on Sardār-i Arshad, the principal supporter of the fallen Shāh. In September they disposed of the rebellion led by the turbulent prince Sālār al-Dawla. Samsām at first gave wholehearted assistance to Mr. Morgan Shuster, the American adviser who, entrusted with the reform of the Persian finances, had warmly supported the nationalist movement but very soon a quarrel broke out between them as a result of energetic action taken by Mr. Shuster (the episode of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla) On October 29 Russia demanded satisfaction for the intervention of Mr. Shuster's gendarmes in the affairs of Prince Shuʿāʾ al-Saltana who claimed to be a protégé of Russia As a result on Nov. 11 Wuṯūḳ al-Dawla, minister of foreign affairs, expressed to the Russian legation the government's apologies but on Nov 16 Russia presented an ultimatum demanding the dismissal of Mr. Shuster The cabinet, which after a quarrel with Yefrem Khān had again made its peace with him, showed conciliatory tendencies. On Dec. 9 Wuṯūḳ al-Dawla formed a new cabinet which two days later accepted the ultimatum Mr Shuster was replaced by a Belgian (M. Mornard) and left Persia

In the summer of 1918 Samsām was again called upon to take the reins of government. As a repercussion of events in Russia the new cabinet, which had a nationalist character, at its meeting of July 27 abrogated all the treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russians. This measure, which affected the interests of foreigners in general, accelerated the fall of the cabinet and its replacement by that of Wuṯūḳ al-Dawla, which signed the Anglo-Persian convention of Aug. 9, 1919.

Ṣamṣām is noted for his impulsive character but Mr. Morgan Shuster in his book reproaches this chieftain with a lack of constancy.

Bibliography. E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution* (1910), p. 266, 298; D Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt* (1910), p. 87; I. A.

Zinoviev, *Rossiya, Anglıya ı Persiya*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 135; *Englische Dokumente zur Erdrosselung Persiens* in *Der Neue Orient*, Berlin 1917, p. 22; J M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia* (1922), p. 108. (V. MINORSKIY)

AL-ṢAMṢĀMA, the sword of the Arab warrior-poet ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib al-Zubaidī (cf. above, I. 336ᵃ) celebrated for the temper and cutting power of its blade. Like a number of the best Arab swords, its origin was traced back to Southern Arabia and a fabulous antiquity was ascribed to it. ʿAmr himself in a verse often quoted (Ibn Duraid, p. 311, *ʿIḳd* [ed. 1293], I. 46, II 70, Ibn Badrūn, p. 84; *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, vi. 229) says that it had once belonged to Ibn Dhī Ḳaifān "of the people of ʿĀd" (this member of an actual Himyar clan [cf. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p 331, 613] is identified with one of the last Ḥimyar kings of the family of Dhū Djadan; but very probably the poet only means to allude to the great age of his weapon).

The history and fortunes of al-Ṣamṣāma are rather involved, even in the poet's lifetime it came into the hands of a member of the Umaiyad family, Khālid b Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, the companion of the Prophet. The way in which he got possession of it is recorded with several variants by Ibn al-Kalbī (in al-Balāḏhurī), Abū ʿUbaida (in the *Aghānī*), al-Zuhrī (in Ibn Hubaish, see *Bibl.*), Saif b ʿUmar (in al-Tabarī). According to the last-named, Khālid won it in battle after routing ʿAmr b Maʿdīkarib who was taking part in the revolt against Islām raised by the false prophet al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī (cf above, I. 502ᵇ), according to the three first, ʿAmr himself gave it to Khālid as a ransom for his sister (or wife) Raihāna, who was a prisoner of the Muslims. ʿAmr composed a poem on the occasion, of which several verses are frequently quoted in the Arab sources (Ibn Duraid, p. 49, *Lisān*, xv. 240, etc.). The tradition (al-Tibrīzī in *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p 397, 12—15) which says that ʿAmr gave it to the Caliph ʿUmar is quite denied by authority

After the death of Khālid b. Saʿīd at the battle of Marḏj al-Suffar during the conquest of Syria (14 A H) al-Ṣamṣāma passed to his nephew Saʿīd b al-ʿĀṣi b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, who lost it while defending the Caliph ʿUthmān when the latter was besieged in his house at Medina (35 A.H.) It was found by a Bedouin of the tribe of Djuhaina with whom it was discovered in the reign of Muʿāwiya. Restored to its former owner, it passed from one member to another of the family of the Banu 'l-ʿĀṣī, until one of them, Aiyūb b. Abī Aiyūb, great-grandson of the son of Saʿīd, sold it to the Caliph al-Mahdī (158—169 A.H.) for about 80,000 dirhams. Henceforth al-Samṣāma was kept as a precious relic in the treasury of the ʿAbbāsids and its fame continued to increase, poets like Abu 'l-Hawl al-Himyarī (Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v. 30) and Salm al-Khāsir sang its praises.

From different sources we learn of its existence in the caliphates of al-Hādī (169—170 A H.), Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193), al-Wāthiḳ (227—232), and al-Mutawakkil (232—247), after which there is no longer any mention of it. The anecdotes recorded regarding the excellence of the famous sword during the period when it was in the hands of these Caliphs have little chance of being authentic; a description which has a certain appearance of reality is the one given in al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1348, 4—8, in connection with the story of al-Wāthiḳ's using it to execute with his own hand in 231 A. H. Ahmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī, who was accused of having conspired against the Caliph and of having maintained that the Ḳurʾān was not created, contrary to the view laid down by al-Maʾmūn "It was a blade with a hilt at its end; three nails driven into it attached the blade to the hilt". It is apparent then that the famous al-Ṣamṣāma had nothing of value about it except its great age.

As to the name al-Samṣāma, it is simply an epithet referring to the fine quality of the blade (the "cleaver") like *muṣammim*, which has the same significance. Al-Samsāma is often used as a common noun, e g by al-Farazdaḳ (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, p. 385, 4) and by ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib himself (*Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, p. 83, ed. Cheikho, N°. 237), *Amāli* of al-Kālī, III. 154, 10), as well as by Muslim b. al-Walīd (ed. de Goeje, vi. 18) in a verse which Schwarzlose (see the *Bibl.*) wrongly thought to refer to ʿAmr's sword, while the weapon given by Hārūn al-Rashīd to his general Yazīd b Mazyad referred to in the verse is the sword of the Prophet, Dhu 'l-Faḳār (cf above, I. 959), as is evident from verse 25 of the same poem and the note by Ibn Khallikān, III 299 (ed 1299) = II 284 (ed. 1319) = N° 830 Wüstenfeld.

Bibliography al-Balāḏhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 119—120; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I. 1984, 1997, *Aghānī* (1st ed), XIV 26—27, 2nd ed , p. 27, Ibn Badrūn, ed Dozy, p 84, *ʿIḳd*, I. 66 (ed 1293), Ibn Ḥudhail al-Andalusī, *La parure des cavaliers et l'enseigne des preux*, ed. L Mercier, Paris 1922, p 61—62; *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, VI 19, 28, *Lisān*, xv. 240; *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, VIII 370, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II. 783, 787 (12 A H, §§ 65, 69, the latter gives the translation of an unpublished passage from the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* of Ibn Hubaish, III. 322 (14 A. H , § 104 note), IV. 632 (21 A H , § 282), Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, p 36, 93—96, 129, 192—194. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ṢĀMSŪN, a harbour on the north coast of Asia Minor, the ancient Amisus, also called Aminsos by the Byzantines and later, after the conquest by the Saldjūḳs, Sampson (Akropolites, Bonn ed , p 14; also Schiltberger, ed. Langmantel, p. 14 [transl Hakluyt Society, p. 12], who says it was founded by the Samson of the Bible), the Simisso of western seafarers and the Ṣāmsūn of the Arabs, was taken from the Byzantines by Kïlïdj Arslān II (1156—1192) (Niketas Choniates, Bonn edition, p. 689, 699), three centuries before (860) it had been laid waste by the Arabs on one of their raids into Byzantine territory (Theophanes contin , Bonn ed , p. 179) Under the Saldjūḳs and their successors, Sāmsūn with Sinope conducted the trade with the Crimea and from the time of Masʿūd II (631—646 A. H) was a mint of the Saldjūḳs and later of the Ilkhāns (Aḥmad Tawḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadime-i islāmīye Ḳatālōghi*, IV., N°. 704, 705, Meḥemmed Mubārak, *ibid.*, vol. III. under the coins of Ghāzān Mahmūd, Khudābende Meḥemmed and Abū Saʿīd Bahādur), which suggests a considerable commercial activity. About this time also we find Ṣāmsūn first mentioned by the eastern geographers as a "famous harbour" (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, I. 32 *sq.*, 315, 392, al-Dimashḳī, ed. Meḥren, p. 146; Ḥamd Allāh

Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 96). Alongside of the Muslim Ṣāmsūn there was at the beginning of the XIIIth century an independent Greek enclave (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 56 *sqq*), the so-called "Christian Ṣāmsūn" (*Ḳal'a-yi Ṣāmsūni*), and formed, as in Smyrna (see the art. IZMĪR, II. 267), with the Muslim settlement a double town. Both parts were enclosed by walls and only a stone's throw (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makdūr fī Akhbār Tīmūr*, Cairo 1285, p 141) or "half a bowshot" (Schiltberger, p. 16, Hakl. Soc. ed. p. 13) apart. In the early years of the XIVth century the Genoese established themselves in Christian Ṣāmsūn and held it for over a century (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, I. 553 *sqq*, II 359 *sq*, 373), about the year 1425 the last Frankish inhabitants set the town on fire and sailed off in their ships, whereupon the Ottomans entered it (Neshrī in Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 475, wrongly in Heyd, *op. cit*, II. 359)

After the withdrawal of the Īlkhāns Muslim Ṣāmsūn was in possession of the Isfandiyār-oghlu of Ḳasṭamūnī [q. v.] and was taken from them in 795 or 797 A. H. by Bāyazīd I (Schiltberger, p. 14 *sqq*, Neshrī, in the *Z. D M G*, XV. 343 = Leunclavius, *op cit*, col 336, Saʿd al-Dīn, I. 135 *sq.*, cf. *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, p 34), in 1404 the town still belonged to Mīr Sulaimān Čelebi, the son of Bāyazīd I (Clavijo, p. 82), it was then again occupied by the Isfandiyār-oghlu (the date 822 A. H. is given) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm*, col. 474; Saʿd al-Dīn, I. 287 *sqq*, cf. Ibn ʿArabshāh, *op. cit.*) but shortly afterwards ceded without a fight to Sultān Mehemmed I (*Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, p 53 = Leunclavius, *op cit*, col. 464, ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, p. 89 *sq.*; Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn, *op cit*) Ṣāmsūn since then has been under the Turks and became the capital of the sandjaḳ of Djānīk, which formerly belonged to the eyālet of Sīwās but in modern times has been incorporated in the wilāyet of Trebizond. The harbour still retained with Sinope and Trebizond some importance for trade with the Crimea, had a shipyard of its own, and in the XVIIth century was again fortified as a defence against the attacks of the Don Cossacks. Local trade was limited to the manufacture and export of hemp ropes etc. and of the popular *nārdenk* (pomegranate syrup). After the cession of the Crimea to Russia in the XVIIIth century the town began to decline and in 1806 it suffered considerable damage during the fighting between the rival Derebeys, the Čapan-oghlu and the family of Djānīkli ʿAlī Pasha. It was only with the opening of steam navigation in the Black Sea and the development of tobacco-growing in the adjoining district of Bafra that the town received an unexpected revival of prosperity. Many Greeks and Armenians came to it from the interior, especially from Ḳaisārīye and Ḳaramān, and Europeans also including many Hellenes settled here, to engage in the export of local products (tobacco, corn and hides) The old parts of the town which were avoided on account of endemic malaria were burned in 1286 (1869) and replaced by modern buildings. New quarters and suburbs also arose on a more healthy site, for example the suburb of Ḳādī-Koy inhabited exclusively by Hellenes. The town which at the beginning of the XIXth century had only 400 houses with a purely Turkish population of 2,000 had a century later over 20,000 inhabitants (10,000 Turks, 8,000 Greeks and Hellenes, 2,000 Armenians) and was the most important commercial town next to Trebizond on the north coast of Asia Minor. We have no more recent information.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Siyāḥatnāma*, II. 77 *sq.*, Constantinople 1314—1318 = *Travels*, II. 39 *sq*; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa *Djihānnumā*, p. 624; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, I. 796—806 (collection of the earlier travellers' notices; to be added · Peyssonel, *Traité sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1787, II. 92 *sq*; Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, Brussels 1829, p. 247—251; Moltke, *Briefe aus der Turkei*[4], p. 196 *sqq.*; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hannover 1925, p 80 *sqq*, van Lennep, *Travels in little known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, I. 38—60; Shākir Shewket, *Ṭarabāzān Tārīkhi*, Stambul 1294, p. 89 *sqq.*; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I 92—105, v. Flottwell, *Petermanns Mitt.*, Supplement 114, p 17, 48, Konstantinos N. Papamichalopulos, Περιήγησις εἰς τὸν Πόντον, Athens 1903, p 311—329 (views and pictures of costumes), *Studia Pontica*, Brussels 1906—1910, II III *sqq.*, III. I *sqq*, *Sālnāme* of the wilāyet Trebizond 1322 A. H., p. 150—160 (views of Trebizond) Plan of the town in the *Planatlas von Kleinasien* of v. Vincke, [F L.] Fischer and v. Moltke, Berlin 1846—1854, Pl. N⁰ 3 (J. H. MORDTMANN)

AL-**SAMT**, direction, point of the compass, a term in frequent use in Arab astronomy applied to the length of the arc (angular distance) made by any straight line drawn in the horizon through the position of the observer with respect to the line from east to west. As a circle of altitude of the heavens cuts the horizon along a straight line, such sections in their deviation from the east-west line give the direction by which the altitude is characterised. On vertical walls on which the so-called inclined sundials (*munḥarifāt*) are marked as well as in turning the face towards Mekka (*ḳibla*) the definition of *al-samt* is of importance. This is one of the problems of spherical astronomy, which the Arabs were able to solve in quite a number of ways.

The plural of *al-samt* is *al-sumūt*. For this we can quote references from the language of one of the greatest Muslim astronomers, namely Ibn Yūnus († 1009 in Cairo) The title of Chap XXIV of his famous Ḥākimī Tables, for example, is: *Fī Ikhrādj Ḳhaṭṭ Niṣf al-Nahār bi 'l-Irtifāʿ alladhī Samtuhu thalāthun wa ghairuhu min al-Irtifāʿāt allatī sumūtuhā maʿlūma* (Oxford, MS. Hunt. 331, fol. 43r) As will be noticed the adjective *maʿlūma* is in the feminine singular, in keeping with the rules of Arabic grammar An inexperienced translator of Arabic astronomical texts might very well take a plural like this (*sumūt*) for a singular and translate *al-sumūt* by "direction" instead of "directions". According to Nallino in *R S.O.*, VIII., p. 390 *sqq*. *simūt* is a dialectical form of *simūt*. By contraction in Spanish and French *al-simūt* became *azimut* and in this form and with singular meaning the word has passed into western languages so that we now speak of the azimuth of an altitude of the sun or of a wall etc.

The expression *samt* (or *semt*) *al-raʾs* means the direction of the head. Later in Europe the qualification *al-raʾs* was dropped so that in the French and Spanish spelling only the word *semt* remained.

Through errors in copying this became *zenit*, just as Latin translators of the *astronomy* of al-Farghānī (Alfraganus) made *Henis* and then *Hemt* out of Ḥimṣ, Ḥems = Emesa.

Since, as already mentioned, the Arabs measured the azimuth from the east-west line, the meridian (*khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār*) came with them to be an azimuth of 90°. Its definition is a necessity for finding one's position so that it is never omitted in any Arabic *zīdj* and even has *rasā'il* specially devoted to it (the writings on this subject by Ibn al-Haitham, *Mémoire sur l'azimut* and *Mémoire sur la détermination de la méridienne avec la dernière exactitude*; cf. F. Woepcke, *L'algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyâmî*, Paris 1851, p. 74 and 75, are probably no longer extant).

The arithmetical relation between altitude of the sun and azimuth (when the geographical latitude of the place and the declination of the sun are known) is given in the azimuth-tables (*Djadāwil al-simūt*) which were calculated by various Arab astronomers for the latitude of their homes, cf e g. Ibn Yūnus, *Kitāb al-Samt wa 'l-Ẓill li 'bn Yūnus maḥlūl daḳīḳatan daḳīḳatan*, MS Escor., 924.

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(C. SCHOY)

SAMUEL. [See USHMŪ'IL].

SAMŪM, the name of a hot wind in several Arabic speaking countries. The word occurs in three passages of the Ḳur'ān, where it is, however, not especially applied to the wind. Sūra 15, 27 it is said that the *Djānn* were created from the fire of Samūm. Sūra 52, 27 the punishment of the Samūm is mentioned; and according to Sūra 50, 41 the "people of the left" were dwelling in *Samūm wa-Ḥamīm*. Apparently Muḥammad applies the term to infernal heat.

The Hadīth uses the word in the same sense; yet the meaning "hot wind" is here coming to the front. It is said that Hell takes breath two times a year: "its taking breath in summer is Samūm". (Tirmidjī, *Djahannam*, bāb 9; cf. Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, bāb 38). In Bukhārī we find reference to the opinion that the hot air during the day is called *ḥarūr*, whereas it is called *samūm* at night (*Bad' al-Khalḳ*, bāb 4).

In nearly every traveller's book the samūm (simum) is mentioned in the sense of the suffocating wind which is also often called sirocco. From the innumerable references a few may be picked out. C. M. Doughty mentions it in the neighbourhood of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ as "a droughty southern wind" against which the Beduins "covered their faces, to the eyes, with a lap of the kerchief". He again mentions it between Madina and Mekka and tells us that according to the Beduins weak camels may be suffocated by it (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 100, 188)

In Mekka the north, north-east and eastwind are called samūm. When it blows it makes the impression as if it came from a huge fire through the intermediary of gigantic bellows (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichworter und Redensarten*, N°. 76) The season in which the sun enters the constellation of the Virgin (August) has an extremely bad reputation in Mekka, because in this time *ḥōm*, *wamd*, *samūm* and *azyab* blow alternately (*loc. cit*).

Concerning Egypt, Lane says (*Manners and Customs*, Introduction): "Egypt is also subject particularly during spring and summer, to the hot wind called the "Samoom", which is still more oppressive than the khamáseen winds, but of much shorter duration, seldom lasting longer than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. It generally proceeds from the south-east, and carries with it clouds of dust and sand".

Concerning Ḳasr-i Shīrīn [q. v.] Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Fund, vol xxx/ii , p. 50) says: "Its climate is unwholesome for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simum blows".

Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, iii. 320 *sq.* has a legendary report concerning the *Djānn* which according to the verse from the Kur'ān mentioned above, were created from the fire of the sāmūm (translated by R Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabes*, Paris 1924, i. 57).

See also A. Musil, *Reisen in Arabia Petraea* (Vienna 1907—1908), iii. *sq.*

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ṢĀN, now SĀN AL-HADJAR, a little village in lower Egypt, in the province of Sharḳīya in the district of al-'Arīn to the south of Lake Manzala on the Baḥr al-Mu'iza (or Muwīs), the ancient Tanitic arm The Arabic name corresponds to the Hebrew Ṣo'an, the Greek Τάνις and the Coptic Djani.

This town, which was the capital of the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, had been long in ruins by the time of the Arab conquest. The ancient town, notably the temples, had fallen to pieces and no Arab author mentions them; their remains nevertheless still form the most considerable group of ruins in the Delta. A single text recalls its fame in quoting Ṣān among the Towns of the Magicians.

A passage in the Chronicle of John of Nikiu (transl. Zotenberg, p. 540) shows that in the seventh century it was a little town, since the same governor administered Kharbetā (Farbait = modern Hurbait), Ṣān, Bastā, Balḳā (= Ṭarābiya = Copt. ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲓⲁ) and Sanhūr. This district really comprised five contiguous pagarchies, Φάρβαιθος, Τάνις, Βούβαστος, Ἀραβία and Ἡφαιστος.

The Arab *kūra*, founded on the pagarchy of Τάνις, was called after two places, Ṣān and Iblīl; the latter, which is found in Coptic in the form ⲓⲉⲃⲗⲓⲗ, cannot, however, be exactly located. The *kūra* of Ṣān and Iblīl contained 46 villages (40 in al-Dimashḳī) stretching to the north-east up to the Syrian frontier, and included besides Sanhūr (Hephaistos) the towns of al-Faramā (Peluse) and al-'Arīsh (Rhinocolura). The southern boundary ran north of a line Hurbait — Fākūs, although

he latter formed part of the *kūra* of Ṭarābiya. The *kūra* of Tumaiy (Tumaiy al-Amdīd) bordered t on the west and on the north the *kūra* of Sān nd Iblīl ended on the banks of the Buḥairat Tinnīs (Lake Manzala).

We have almost no historical information regarding the town, which had been the see of a Coptic bishop (there is no mention later than the ıfth century A. D.). We only know that bodies of he tribes of Khusham, Lakhm and Djudhām settled n this region. The geographer Yāḳūt gives no letails and one is surprised not to find it mentioned n the censuses of Ibn Mammātī, Ibn Duḳmāḳ and bn al-Dji'ān, although in quoting the old lists of *kūra*'s, al-Ḳalḳashandī says it is unknown. The notice by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak is simply a translation of an article by Quatremère. It is not known it what period Ṣān received the surname of *al-Ḥadjar* (Ṣān "of the stones"), which is found in Egypt attached to several places near which there ıe important ruins, e.g. Bahbīṭ al-Ḥadjar (Tseum), ān al-Ḥadjar (Saio)

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, ed Torrey, p 142—143, *Synax. éthiop.*, in the *Patrol. or.*, vii. [212], 228; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wustenfeld, i 99, iii. 364, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, iii. 386; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii. 194; *Guide Joanne*, p 372; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, p 172; J. Maspero, *l'Organ milit. de l'Ég. byzantine*, p. 135—136, J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour serv. à la géogr de l'Égypte*, p. 2—3, 107, 116, 119, 137, 174—177, 179—180, 183, 184, 186, where the remainder of the literature is given.

(G. WIET)

SAN STEFANO, in Turkish Aya Stefanos, a little town on the sea of Marmora, twelve miles west of Constantinople. It probably takes its name from an old church (according to von Hammer) but it is not certain whether San Stefano is the ancient Hagios Stephanos, which was one of the places which Meḥemmed the Conqueror occupied before the investment of Constantinople (Ducas, ed. Bekker, Bonn 1834, p 258, speaks of the *πύργια τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου ὧν πολέμῳ*). The Crusaders landed in its neighbourhood on June 23, 1203, before the Latin conquest of Constantinople. San Stefano lay off the great road from Constantinople to Adrianople, which passed through Küçük Čekmedje (Ponte Picolo) $2^1/_2$ miles to the east of it and has never been of any strategic or economic importance. Ewliyā Čelebi does not mention it. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century wealthy inhabitants of the capital have been building country-houses here so that it has now become a pleasure resort for the citizens of Constantinople, easily reached by railway. The population itself is entirely Greek and numbers about 2000 souls.

The town acquired a place in history by the preliminary peace of San Stefano which was signed here on March 3, 1878, between Turkey (represented by Ṣafwet Pasha and Sa'd-ullāh Pasha) and Russia (represented by Count Ignatieff and Nelidoff), a truce having previously been agreed upon at Adrianople on the previous January 31.

The Russian headquarters were in San Stefano on this occasion; the house where the treaty was signed has been destroyed by an earthquake. The conditions of peace (text in *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités*, 2nd Series, iii. 246—256) were very harsh for Turkey on account of the great area of territory which was given to the newly formed principality of Bulgaria and the huge indemnity demanded by Russia. The Berlin Congress, summoned on the initiative of England, considerably ameliorated the conditions of the preliminary peace and annulled the latter. Peace with Russia was finally concluded in Constantinople on Feb. 8, 1879.

In 1909 San Stefano was again in the public eye after the Turkish counter-revolution of March, which ultimately led to the deposition of 'Abdul-Ḥamīd. On April 19 of this year the first constitutionalist troops hurriedly appeared here from Salonica. Immediately the deputies of the committee "*Ittiḥād-u Teraḳḳī*" went to San Stefano and constituted the national assembly in the Yacht Club under the presidency of Abu 'l-Diyā Tewfīḳ Bey, who was succeeded as president by Aḥmed Riḍā on April 21. Next day the whole senate joined the assembly which placed all power in the hands of the army Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha became commander-in-chief and on April 24 Constantinople was entirely in the hands of the constitutionalists. During these events the whole Turkish fleet appeared before San Stefano to submit to the army.

Bibliography von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, Pesth 1822, ii. 9 *sq*; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, i 505; F Schrader, *Konstantinopel*, Tubingen 1917, p. 115; de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1914, ii 242 *sqq*. (J. H. KRAMERS)

ṢAN'Ā', the capital of Yaman, lies on the eastern Sarāt in a mountain valley which is open to the west as far as the chain which belongs to the Djabal 'Aibān, while immediately to the east the town is overshadowed by the Djabal Nuḳum which rises 1600 feet above it. Its situation is 15° 23′ N. Lat. and 44° 12′ E. Long. As the town is 7200 feet above sea-level the climate is temperate, particularly as in summer regular winds blow through the day. In winter the temperature falls to zero at night which brings ice, which, however, disappears again with day. In spring and in midsummer, especially July, it rains a great deal. Very dry summers are a rare but disastrous exception. Two streams run under cover through San'ā' to the Wādi 'l-Khārid. They are only full after rain. A regular supply of good water is provided by an aqueduct from the Nuḳum. The soil of the plateau is of volcanic origin but earthquakes are very rare (e g. one in 657 = 1259) and those insignificant. Lava forms the building material of the better houses while the humbler, and even the city wall, are built of mud. The scanty wood supply of the plateau, little tamarisks (*ṭalḥa*), *dawm*-trees is only of importance as a supply of fuel for the market in Ṣan'ā'. Thin transparent sheets of marble are still used, as they once were on the citadel of Ghumdān, as windows in the upper-class houses. The industries for which the town was noted in the middle ages, like the smelting of silver and the manufacture of the once famous Yamanī cloths have declined considerably The short curved Yaman swords generally worn, with bone hilts adorned with silver, are still made there. Large well kept gardens are also found within the formerly more thickly populated town. All the fruits of the temperate zone are cultivated: apricots, peaches, apples, quinces, wine-grapes and fragrant herbs. The

Turks have also acclimatised all kinds of vegetables including the potato. The date-palm is only ornamental at this high level. Coffee is grown, notably on the slopes of the Nuḳum.

The present town, the population of which is estimated at 18,000, has three quarters. The Arab quarter stretches from the citadel at the foot of the Nuḳum westwards until it joins up with the once separate suburb Bīr al-A'dhab with fine gardens and the official buildings and public offices. About 5,000 Jews live away to the west in the crowded Ḳā' al-Yahūd. Outside the south wall lie the barracks and close to the north wall the tiny town of Sha'ūb Of the dozen gates only four are usually opened. The chief mosque with two minarets, the so-called "little Ka'ba", probably the old "Ḳalīs" (see below), is almost in the centre of the Arab town, which still contains many palaces built by various ruling families that have succeeded one another here. The most important of these is the residence of the Imāms, Bustān al-Mutawakkil, in the north-west of the Arab town Among public buildings Ṣan'ā' has a large hospital, a dispensary, about 12 baths, 3 schools, including a technical school and a printing-press

The routes for traffic are very difficult through the mountainous country The descent towards the Red Sea is made towards Hudaida With a view to safety the roads generally lead round the tops of the valleys, for example the Wādī Ṣunfur with its gentle descent. The road, for example, at Karn Wa'l (Deer-Horn) south of the Djabal Hadūr Nabī Shu'aib rises to about 9,000 feet and then descends to about 5,000, climbing through the passes of the coffee-growing range of Ḥarāz at Manākha to a height of 7,200 feet again and drops down to the Tihāma just outside of Bādjil It takes the regular Turkish post, carried by riding camels in the Sarāt, $2^1/_2$ to 3 days to cover the distance from Ṣan'ā' to Hudaida, which is about 100 miles as the crow flies. This route has also a telegraph line which links up with the Syrian-Arabian system. The road to the site of the ancient Ma'rib [q. v], which is 75 miles E. N. E. in a straight line, and from the region of which salt is still brought to Ṣan'ā', begins by going round either north or south the outer spurs lying east of the town and then descends to the Djawf through the Wādī Dhāna with its plentiful water-supply. For the road from north to south via Yarīm, the ruins of Zafār, Djanad and al-Hūṭa to 'Adan and via Ṣa'da, Bīsha and Turaba to Mekka see above, 1. 368 *sq.* But the pilgrim and commercial traffic to Mekka instead of following this route through the mountain along, begins by striking straight across in the direction of the Wādī Surdud, and from al-Mahdjam, about 25 miles N. of Hudaida, onwards and then uses the Tihāma road running northwards from 'Adan via Zabīd.

Although Ṣan'ā' is a very ancient town, no mention of it has as yet been found in the Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions so far studied, and there is just a possibility that it is mentioned in the Himyar period if the *Ṣn'u* mentioned in the inscription Glaser 424, line 13, is our Ṣan'ā'; this inscription would date from the middle of the first century A. D if the king of Saba' and Dhū Raidān in line 3, Ilīsharḥ Yaḥdib, who wins a victory at or over *Ṣn'u*, can be identified with the Elisar of the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 26 (see E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, 1895, p. 117 *sqq.*; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1909, II. 150 *sqq.*). Legend and poetry have more to tell us, inspired by the vast ruins of the castle of Ghumdān [q. v.]. Shem was the builder of the town and castle and Azāl their ancient name. As this latter was possibly only taken at a later date by Jews and Muslims from Genesis, x. 27, the suggestion that in Ṣan'ā' we have the Ūzāl of the Bible is as uncertain as Sprenger's explanation (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, § 294) of Ṣan'ā' as the *Menambis basileion* of Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, book vi., chap. vii., § 38, or Glaser's assertion (*op. cit*, p. 122, and *Skizze d. Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, II. [1890], p. 310, 427) that the old name was Tafīdh and that the present name has been brought from the region of Ma'rib

It was only when with the Abyssinian invasion Yaman became involved in the struggle for world supremacy between Rome and Persia that Ṣan'ā' is definitely known to have assumed the prominent part which it henceforth played down to the present day in Upper Yaman and with occasional interruptions in the whole of Yaman. Only a few of the events of these fourteen centuries, in which the history of Yaman is reflected in the story of this single town, can be briefly given. About 530 A. D. after the overthrow of the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās, who is said to have persecuted the Christians in Ṣan'ā' also, Abraha arose and after disposing of his Abyssinian rival Aryāṭ made the town the seat of the Abyssinian viceroy. He enriched the town with the Christian cathedral, the Kalīs or Kulais (*ekklesia*) The materials are said to have been brought from the ruins of Ma'rib and the workmen and the mosaics to have been sent by the Byzantine emperor. Summoned by the old Yamanī ruling family of Dhū Yazan, Wahraz, Khusiaw I Anūsharwan's general, about 570 drove the son and second successor of Abraha, Masrūḳ, from the town and established there at first a system of joint administration with the Dhū Yazan, then Persian rule alone, which was, it is recorded, in the hands of his son, grandson and great-grandson after him In the year 10 (631), according to some stories two years earlier, the fifth governor, Bādhām, adopted Islām In the same year 10, Muhādjir b. Abī Umaiya b al-Mughīra was sent to Ṣan'ā' to collect the taxes for the Yaman. In the following year the town was for three months in the hands of the anti-prophet 'Abhala b Ka'b al-Aswad, who entrenched himself in Ghumdān On the death of Muhammad, his rising became merged in the general struggle for the independence of the Yaman, the principal champion of which was again one of the Dhū Yazan, 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib. The Medina government found most support with the arabicised Persian nobles, the Abnā' [q v]. In 11 (632), Fairūz the Dailamī, with the help of al-Muhādjir, was able to restore Muslim supremacy in Ṣan'ā' and Upper Yaman It was probably in this fierce fighting that the fortress of Ghumdān was destroyed, which, according to the legend, must have been rebuilt once before in the Ḥimyar period by 'Amr b. Abī Sharḥ b Yaḥṣab, who is known from inscriptions. After the conquest comparative quiet prevailed, particularly as the leaders in Medina dealt gently and tactfully with the notables in and near Ṣan'ā'. Ya'lā b Munya whom 'Umar I appointed successor to al-Muhādjir was still in this office on the accession of 'Alī. The latter dismissed him and appointed

'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abbās as, at least so al-Ya'ḳūbī, ii. 208 *sq.*, tells us, Ṭalḥa refused to be moved to the provincial office to Ṣan'ā', but with al-Zubair seized all the taxes of the Yaman, which Ya'lā had taken with him from Ṣan'ā' to Mekka But 'Ubaid Allāh or his successor was driven from Ṣan'ā' by Busr b. Aryāṭ by order of Mu'āwiya I, according to some versions as early as 40 (660), that is even before the assassination of 'Alī.

There are proverbial sayings such as "farther than Ṣan'ā'" or "everyone, even the shepherd on the hills of Ṣan'ā'" (al-Ṭabarī, i. 2752, iii. 2472). When the centre of Islām was removed to Syria and then to the 'Irāḳ, Upper Yaman appeared even more remote, and its history was in keeping with this. Three forces were resisting the Caliphate, fighting one another, or in certain cases supporting one another. native princes, ambitious governors and leaders of sects, who taught their views far from the capital and endeavoured to put them into practice by founding states, even the arch-heretic 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā [q.v.] is described as "one of the men of San'ā'". Although lack of notice is no proof of quiet in this remote town, the Umayyads seem to have had a firm grip of San'ā' Even when the Umayyad Caliphate was breaking up, the general Ibn 'Aṭīya was able in 130 (747—748) to send to Marwān II from San'ā' the head of 'Abd Allāh b Hamza, who had set himself up there as Khāridjī caliph The situation soon became more difficult under the 'Abbāsids. Homage was not paid to al-Hādī at all Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, his fifth governor, Hammād al-Barbarī, only succeeded after a nine years' struggle in bringing the rebel Hamdānid al-Haisam b 'Abd al-Madjīd a prisoner from al-Sarāt to San'ā'. At this time, about 188 (803), the town was almost in ruins. Things became no better at the beginning of the third century when the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Djazzār (the "butcher") ruled from Ṣan'ā' to Mekka, half as an adventurer for his own hand and half as an official governor. The attitude of his opponent, the Wālī Hamdawaih b Māhān, was no less ambiguous. In the end the government had to resort to Turkish praetorian generals Not later than 256 (869) the Ya'furids of the tribe of the Ḥiwālī became masters of San'ā' by a compromise, it is true, by the terms of which Muḥammad b. Ya'fur gave the caliph al-Mu'tamid mention in the *khuṭba* and paid tribute to the Ziyādids at Zabīd. Even their rule was often interrupted in the town itself On the accession of Muḥammad's son, Ibrāhīm, in 279 (892) his palace was set on fire by citizens of the rival tribe of Shihāb and the Abnā', who were usually at enmity with the latter. Two bodies of Shī'īs then attacked Ṣan'ā', from the north, from Ṣa'da, the Zaidī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain who occupied the town for the first time for four or five months in 288 (901), from the south, with the fortress of al-Mudhaikhira (see above, i. 369[a]) as his base, the Ḳarmaṭian 'Alī b al-Faḍl controlled the town at the beginning of 293 (905) at first for two or three months from its castle In the never-ending struggle between Ya'furids, Zaidīs, Ḳarmaṭians, mutinous clients of the Ya'furids of the family of Ṭarīf, 'Abbāsid governors and generals, Ṣan'ā' was taken no less than twenty times in the twelve years from the first entry of Yaḥyā to the end of the century (913 A. D.); it three times surrendered after negotiations, and was besieged unsuccessfully some five more times. According to al-Mas'ūdī, ii. 55, Ṣan'ā' had a quieter and brilliant period after the death of the Ḳarmaṭian, under the Ya'furid As'ad b. Ibrāhīm, from 303—332 (915—943) On his death family dissensions brought back the old turmoil. The Zaidī Mukhtār, grandson of Yaḥyā, took the town in 345 (956) but was murdered in the same year. The streets and quarters of the town became a battlefield for the feuds of the two tribal groups of Khawlān and Hamdān. Behind the chief of the latter, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, was the now restored power of the Ziyādids of Zabīd. But in 377 (987) or 379 (989) the last important Ya'furid of Ṣan'ā', 'Abd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, was once more able to exact retribution and destroy Zabīd. 'Abd Allāh had been able to secure the support of the still numerous Ḳarmaṭians and officially recognised the caliphate of the Fāṭimids. The Ṣulaiḥids followed the same policy; the first of them, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, as Fāṭimid *dā'ī* made Ṣan'ā' his headquarters about 453 (1061) and after half a century put an end to the unrest which had been increased by the fact that the Zaidī Imāms, who penetrated among the hostile tribes from Ṣa'da from time to time, quarrelled among themselves. When Queen Sayyida Hurra moved the seat of government to Djubla in Lower Yaman, her relations, the Yāmids, held the town for her for another decade or so, until in 492 (1098) Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm made himself independent there. His dynasty, the Hamdānids, reigned till the invasion of the Yaman by Saladin's brother Turānshāh in 569 (1174), interrupted in the usual way by family quarrels, by another Yāmid interregnum, and especially by the Zaidī Imām of Ṣa'da and Nadjrān, Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Mutawakkil.

But even the fifty-five years of Ayyūbid rule showed that San'ā' could not be held firmly by a distant power. The Hamdānid 'Alī al-Wahīd b. Ḥātim, who had established himself in the mountain fortress of Binash about two hours to the east of San'ā', in 583 (1187) destroyed the city walls, the castle and the greater part of the town of San'ā'. In 595 (1199) and again in 611 (1214) we find the Imām 'Abd Allāh al-Mansūr holding the town for a brief period. The suzerainty of the Rasūlids [q. v.] of Ta'izz over Ṣan'ā' began in 626 (1229) at first with vigour. The governors, usually princes or Kurd officers, visited the town and the sulṭāns themselves often came also. It was at first rarely and only for brief periods captured by the Imāms e.g in 648 (1250) or 671 (1271). It was not till a century later that Zaidī power was again restored. The Imām Salāh b. 'Alī was not only able to make himself secure in Ṣan'ā' but repeatedly to attack Zabīd, 'Adan and Ta'izz from it in the years 777—793 (1375—1391) His successors were able to ward off successfully the new Ṭāhirid kings of lower Yaman, the first of these, 'Amīr b. Ṭāhir b. Mu'awwada was only able to enter the town temporarily in 861 (1456). In 913 (1507) the Kurd al-Ḥusain, admiral of the second-last Mamlūk Sulṭān Kānsūh [q. v.] al-Ghūrī, took the town to which the latter sent the Mekkan Sharīf Barakāt II b. Muhammad b. Barakāt I as Wālī in 922 (1516); but in the very next year it was regained by the Imām Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn. When the Ottomans put an end to the Mamlūk dynasty they had to fight to gain the Mamlūk possessions. In 953 (1546) Özdemir Pāshā entered Ṣan'ā'; in 1038 (1628) Ḥaidar Pāshā capitulated to the Imām Muḥammad

of the Ḳāsimī line which held the town till 1087 (1676). Then followed a period of fighting among rival Imāms; the native notables, the Bedouin tribes and the never completely exterminated Ḳarmaṭians thereby gained considerable freedom of action and foreign powers also seized opportunities for intervention. Devastating Bedouin invasions in 1233 (1818) were repeated in 1251 (1835), which induced the Imām al-Nāṣir in 1253 (1836—1837) to negotiate for the sale of the town to the Egyptian Pāshā Meḥmed ʿAlī. The Turkish general Ḳıbrıslı Tawfīḳ Pāshā was admitted to the town by the Imām in 1265 (1849). His troops were massacred within two days and next year the Imām was deposed by the Mekkan Sharīf Muḥammad b. ʿAwn who intervened. He appointed a rival Imām who was, however, not able to protect the town; in 1267 (1851) and 1269 (1853) the town was again invaded. During the Ottoman reconquest by Mukhtār Pāshā, Sanʿā' was taken by storm in 1288 (1871) and made the capital of the wilāyet of Yaman and headquarters of the VIIth Ottoman Army Corps. But the Zaidīs were not disposed of. In the spring of 1905 the Ottomans had to vacate the town and the country round before the Imām Maḥmūd Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Although they regained it in the autumn, it took fully five years to secure a rather parlous restoration of the Turkish position. After the Great War Maḥmūd Yaḥyā was recognised as Lord of Ṣanʿā' and Yaman by the Treaty of Sèvres on Aug. 10, 1920.

In spite of its remoteness and its turbulent history, Ṣanʿā' has been able to make its contributions to Muslim learning. It was here that ʿAbīd b Sharīya, by his historical tales, laid the foundation for the fame which induced Muʿāwiya I to summon him to his court His younger colleague Wahb b. Munabbih, who died in Sanʿā', was also celebrated by his fellow-citizens as their first authority on the Ḳurʾān. In the second century Sanʿā' was visited by many collectors of traditions, including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā b Maʿīn, who studied with ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b Hammām b. Nāfiʿ, who died in Ṣanʿā' in 211 (827) Sanʿā' is also noted as the place of birth and death of the poet, grammarian and historian, but above all genealogist and geographer, al-Hamdānī [q. v.]. Of the Imāms of Ṣanʿā' very many of them have done something to increase the bulk at least of literature; this very fact provoked the other factions to a similar activity. Christians survived for a long time among the various groups of Muslims and the Jews, or they may have settled again there at the time of the greatest expansion of the Nestorian Church; thus, for example, about 225 (840) Thomas of Margā (*The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, I 238) mentions Mār Petius as contemporary bishop of Yaman and Ṣanʿā'.

The first European to reach Ṣanʿā' was the Italian Barthema as a prisoner in 1508. The first explorer whose goal was either Ṣanʿā' or to reach the country of Maʾrib from it, was Carsten Niebuhr in 1763. While the yield of inscriptions from Ṣanʿā' and vicinity has been slight, valuable collections of manuscripts were obtained there by Glaser, Landberg, Caprotti and Burchardt.

Bibliography. Ṣanʿā' is often dealt with by Arab geographers and travellers. In addition to Yāḳūt we may mention as valuable for economic details also al-Mukaddasī (*B. G. A.*, iii.), Ibn Khordādhbih (*ibid.*, iv.), Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ibid.*, ii.), Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. Schefer, 1881); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, 1853—1858; especially al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Muller, 1884; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens* (*S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. xciv. and xcvii.). — In addition to the Arabic universal histories cf. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber z. Zt. der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892; al-Khazradjī, *The pearl-strings*, introd. and transl. by Redhouse; ed. Muḥammad ʿAsal in the Gibb Memorial Series, vol. III., C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, Ahmad Rashīd, *Tārīkh-i Yemen wa-Ṣanʿā'*, Stambul 1921; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, II, Leipzig 1909; historical survey in Yaḥyā b. al-Husain b. al-Muʾayyad al-Yamanī, *Anbāʾ al-Zamān*, MS. Berlin No. 9745; al-Kibsī, *Al-Laṭāʾif al-sanīya*, *ibid*, No. 9746. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, I. 410 *sqq.*; U. I. Seetzen in F. von Zach, *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1813, XVII 180 *sqq.*, XVIII. 353 *sqq.*, Ch. J. Cluttendon in the *Journal of the London Royal Geogr. Soc*, 1838, VIII, Jacob Safir, *Eben Safir*, I, Lyck 1866 (Hebrew). See also the narratives of the journeys through Ṣanʿā' by Arnaud and Halévy in the *J. A*, 1843 and 1872; Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p. 56 *sqq.*, Manzoni, *El Yemen*, Rome 1884, p 100 *sqq*, Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1886, XXXIII. 1 *sqq.*, Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; H. Burchardt in the *Z G. Erdk Berl*, 1902, p. 593 *sqq*; A J. B. Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a siege in Sanaa*, London 1912, p. 228 *sqq*. (R. STROTHMANN)

SANAD. [See ISNĀD].

SANĀ'Ī, ABU 'L-MADJD MADJDŪD B ĀDAM, of Ghaznī, was one of the most famous poets at the court of the later Ghaznavid kings, where his contemporaries were Saiyid Hasan, ʿUthmān Mukhtārī, ʿAlī Fathī and Mahmūd Warrāḳ. He gained his livelihood as a court poet by writing verses in praise of the king and of the leading men in the state, but one day, overhearing a well-known eccentric of Ghaznī drink confusion to "the wretched Sanāʾī, who spent his time in composing mendacious verses in praise of the great and would be obliged to remain silent when asked, at the Day of Judgement, what he had done for God", he was overcome with remorse and left Ghaznī for Marw, where he led the religious life as a disciple of the Shaikh Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf. This occurred in the reign of Ibrāhīm (1059—1099), the eleventh king of the Ghaznavid dynasty.

Besides a *Dīwān*, containing 30,000 verses, Sanāʾī wrote the *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḥaḳīḳa*, a didactic poem on morals and religion, of which the doctors of the law at Ghaznī disapproved so strongly that they sent it to Baghdād, with a view to its condemnation by the leading jurists and theologians of Islām, but were disappointed by a decision which pronounced the book to be orthodox. After this Sanāʾī returned to Ghaznī, but continued to lead the religious life. [Besides the *Ḥadīḳat* Sanāʾī has left six more *Mathnawī*'s, viz. *Ṭarīḳ al-Taḥḳīḳ*, *Ghariībnāma*, *Sair al-ʿIbād ilā 'l-Maʿād*, *Kārnāma*, *ʿIshḳnāma* and *ʿAḳlnāma*. The *Ḥadīḳat*

was commented upon by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī, who wrote in the time of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān].

It is said that Bahrām (1118—1152), the fifteenth king of the Ghaznawid dynasty, offered his sister in marriage to Sanā'ī, who begged that he might be excused, as he sought neither wealth nor worldly rank. As the year of his death 526 (1131) as well as 576 (1181) is given; the latter is, however, very improbable.

Bibliography Ethé in *Grundr. der Iran. Phil*, ii 282—284; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Saʿdī*, p. 317 *sqq.*; Stephenson in the *Introduction* of his edition of the first book of the *Ḥadīḳat*, p. vi.—xxxiii; Rieu, *Catalogue* and *Supplement* (Index s. v. *Sanā'ī*); Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, i. col. 570 *sqq.*, Sachau–Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian ... Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. col. 463 *sqq.*, Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the .... manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, p. 557 *sqq*, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (*Persian Poets. Firdausi to Hafiz*), p 69 *sqq*, ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed Browne, p. 252 *sqq.*, Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā'*, ed. Browne, p 95 *sqq*, Lutf ʿAlī Beg, *Atashkada*, Bombay 1299, p. 108 *sqq.*

Editions: *Dīwān*, Tihrān 1274, *Ḥadīḳat*, Bombay 1275, Lucknow 1304, *The First Book of the Ḥadīqatu 'l-Ḥaqīqat . of the Ḥakīm Abū 'l-Majd Majdūd Sanā'ī of Ghazna*, ed. and translated by J. Stephenson (Bibl. Indica, New Series, N°. 1272), Calcutta 1911.

(T. W Haig)

ṢANAM (a, plur *aṣnām*) is explained in the dictionaries and the commentaries of the Ḳur'ān as meaning "an object which is worshipped besides God", and it is as a rule distinguished from the word *wathan* (plur. *awthān*) as being a thing having shape and made of stone, wood or metal, while the latter is almost synonymous with "picture or painting". This is also the explanation given by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* The Arabic dictionaries state further that it is a word of foreign origin, derived from the word *shanam*, but do not know the language from which it is borrowed. According to the European philologists, it is etymologically identical with Hebrew *Ṣelem* "image". A deity named Ṣ-l-m occurs in the Aramaic inscription of Taimā' Cf. further J. Hehn in *Festschrift-Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 36 *sqq.* The word occurs five times in the Kur'ān (vi. 74, vii. 134, xiv. 38, xxi. 58 and xxvi. 71) and is frequently mentioned in traditions, though not as often as the word *Wathan*. From the description of the idols worshipped by the pre-islāmic Arabs, enumerated by Ibn al-Kalbī, the word Ṣanam appears to apply to objects of very varying character. Some were actual sculptures like Hubal, Isāf and Nā'ila; so were the other idols set up round the Kaʿba. Muḥammad when he entered Mekka as victor is stated to have struck them in the eyes with the end of his bow before he had them dragged down and destroyed by fire. Others were trees like al-ʿUzzā and many were mere stones like al-Lāt. Stones are well-known as objects of worship by the Semites in general and the traditionist al-Dārimī states early in the first chapter of his *Musnad* that in the time of paganism the Arabs, whenever they found a stone remarkable for its shape, colour or size, set it up as an object of worship. These stones called *Nuṣub* (plur. *Anṣāb*) had libations poured over them and were circumambulated as a special act of worship. There can be no doubt that the Black Stone in the Kaʿba is but a survival of this stone-worship. Ibn al-Kalbī states that the Arabs were not content with setting up stones for idols, but even took such stones with them on their journeys. The word Ṣanam, however, does not mean a "god"; it always appears to have a derogatory meaning. For this reason it is found only very rarely in verses ascribed to poets of the time of paganism. The passages are so few which I have found that I can enumerate them; the verses are by Zaid b. ʿAmr b. Nufail (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, p. 22, 2 = Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 145, 10), Rāshid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī (*Aṣnām*, p. 31, 10 = *Khizāna*, iii. 245, 12), and most instructive of all is the verse of ʿAbīd b. al-ʿAbras (*Dīwān*, ed. Lyall, ii., verse 6 = *Aṣnām*, p. 63, 4). "And they took in exchange for their god Yaʿbūb an idol". In the poetry after Islām the word is used by al-Kutāmī (*Dīwān*, ed Barth, 23, verse 25) and Ibn Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis, 61, verse 27) in the ordinary meaning of "idol, Götze". The numerous names of Arabic idols with all that can be traced about them in ancient Arabic literature are found in the works named in the bibliography. In the Kur'ān are named as idols of the past Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūḳ and Nasr. The chief idols still worshipped in the Hidjāz at the time of the Prophet were al-ʿUzzā, al-Lāt, Manāt, which were female godheads, and Hubal, who seems to have been the chief male idol; his statue was of red granite.

The enumeration of the names of the idols does not really belong to this article as the proper name for them is probably covered by the word *Nuṣub*. As deities the various idols had special attendants (*Sādin*, plur. *Sadana*), whose office was in most cases hereditary and who accepted sacrifices brought by the worshippers, performed the sacrifice and smeared the idol with the blood of the victim. The worship was not continuous, but appears to have been once or twice a year at the beginning of autumn and spring. Then the worshippers in their circumambulation would touch or kiss the idol, the object being to derive from the godhead some of its latent powers. These festivals of worship were the cause of the peculiar Semitic custom of pilgrimages to venerated deities. Though the gods had their special places and were particular to certain tribes, other tribes would come to them from great distances during the so-called Holy Months when warfare was suspended. In this way long before Islām the various Arab tribes maintained continual communications. Growing Islām was from the very beginning intent upon the destruction of all traces of pagan idolatry and was so successful that the antiquarians of the second and third century of the Hidjra could glean only very scanty details Some of the idols were made use of for other purposes, as for example, the idol Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, a white piece of marble on which a kind of crown was carved and which was worshipped at Tabāla, a place on the road from Mekka to Yaman, was in the time of Ibn al-Kalbī (about 200 A. H.) used as a stepping-stone under the door of the mosque at Tabāla. Other stones which had been worshipped as idols were actually used as

corner-stones of the Kaʿba and as such we must consider also the Maḳām Ibrāhīm.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1332/1914; al-Azraḳī, in Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, vol. i., Leipzig 1858, pp. 78, 84, 267 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, passim, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1299, iii. 242—246; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*; Marquart and de Groot in *Festschrift-Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 283 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*.

(F. KRENKOW)

SANĀR (P., a corruption of *sad āinār*), the name given in the reign of Fath ʿAlī Shāh of Persia (1212—1250 = 1797—1834) to a silver coin, the half ʿabbāsī or mahmūdī, it weighed 36 grains (2 34 grammes) With its multiples it was abolished at Fath ʿAlī's reform of the currency in the thirtieth year of his reign.

(J. ALLAN)

SANDĀBIL, said to be the capital of China. The name and description of the town in Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii. 451, 5) and Zakariyā al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ii 30 *sq.*) are taken from the undoubtedly fraudulent story of his travels by Abū Dulaf Misʿar b Muhalhil (see the art. MISʿAR), who claims to have accompanied an embassy of the Chinese king Kālīn b al-Shakhī to the Sāmānid Nasr b. Aḥmad († 331 = 943) from Khurāsān back to China. J. Marquart (*Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, Leipzig 1903, p 84 *sqq.*, esp p. 89) endeavours to show that Sandābil and Kan-čou (cf. the art. KANSU) are identical and that we have to see in the sender of the embassy "not a prince of one of the short-lived dynasties after the fall of the T'ang dynasty but the Khagan of the Uigurs of Kan-čou". This Khagan is said "to have felt threatened by the steadily increasing power of the Kitan", and "to have sought support and an alliance from the powerful Sāmānid". On the question of the origin of the name Sandābil for Kan-čou, Marquart only gives the suggestion made to him by de Goeje that Abū Dulaf confused Kan-čou with Č'ing-tufu (in Marco Polo Sindafu), well known as the capital of the province of Sz'čwan, where a separate dynasty actually did rule at that time. According to Marquart, "the latter town must be considered to have been the starting point of the return journey", which is obviously impossible as the return journey is described as being made by sea So long as Abū Dulaf's story is not confirmed from any other source, the question will remain unsettled what relation his story of his journey and the alleged reason for it bears to historical facts Nowhere is there the slightest mention of embassies from China to Khurāsān or vice versa nor of the matrimonial alliance said to have been arranged (Yāḳūt, iii. 45, 22).

(W. BARTHOLD)

ṢANDAL, Sandalwood. According to al-Nuwairī, numerous varieties are distinguished. The majority, especially the white, yellow and red kinds, are used for the manufacture of fragrant powders on account of their pleasant smell; they are also used in medicine, while other varieties again are used by turners and furniture-makers or for the manufacture of chessmen, etc. At the present day the *pterocarpus* imported from Southern Asia, the islands of the Malay Archipelago and Africa is used for fine furniture and the waste as dye-woods.

Bibliography: O. Warburg, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, ii. 220; Abū Mansūr Muwaffaḳ, ed. Seligmann, p. 164, transl. by Abdul-Chalig Achundow, p. 227; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 258; Ibn al-Baiṭār, transl. Leclerc, ii 383, E. Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, xlix., *S.B P.M.S. Erl*, 1916, p. 38 (al-Nuwairī) (J. RUSKA)

SANDJAḲ (T.), 1) flag, standard, banner (Arabic *liwāʾ*), especially of a large size (more important than the *bayraḳ*, Ar. *rāya* or *ʿalam*) and suitable for fixing in the ground or hoisted permanently on a monument or a ship; 2) (nautical term) ensign; pennant (*ikindji sandjaḳ*), starboard; 3) formerly a military fief or *khāṣṣ* of a certain extent in the Ottoman empire, 4) a Turkish administrative and territorial division; 5) (in the expression *sandjak tiken-i* or *diken-i*, from the Turkish translation of *burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, p. 88, 25) a synonym of *sindjan tiken-i* (on this plant see Barbier de Meynard [ii. 101], who gives it as a Persian word).

As al-Ḳalḳashandī pointed out in the xv^th^ century (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v. 458), *sandj-aḳ* comes from the verb *sandj-mak* (not *sandjī-mak*, as in the author already quoted) which means "to sting, prick, plant, stick a weapon or pointed object in the body of an enemy or in the ground (cf. Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*) The form *sančaḳ* found in Čaghatāi (Boudagov) and even in an old Serbian loanword (Miklosich, *Die turkischen Elemente in den sudosteuropaischen Sprachen*, Vienna 1884, ii 50) corresponds to the verb *sanč* of the Orkhon inscriptions (v. Thomsen, p 42; Radloff, p 132). Cf. also F. W. K. Muller, *Uigurica*, ii. 78, 30 and 86, 48. In Kirghiz the form used is *shansh-* (Radloff, *Worterbuch*, iv. 949) and in Uriankhay *shanïsh-* and *čanïsh-* (Katanov, *Opït izledovania*, p 429 and 779, with the meaning "to prick, stab, erect, fix") Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī (xi^th^ cent), *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, ii 171, 180, 182 and iii. 310, also gives (iii 108) *sandjghan* equivalent to *sandjan* (*sindjan*) already quoted, which is a Turkish participle used as the name of a prickly plant.

The word *sandjak* belongs to a family of derivatives which all contain the idea of "point" and mean (the word itself sometimes): harpoon, fork, piercing pain, colic. Such are *sančïgh*, *sandjïkh*, *sandjïk*, *čančkï* (Tobolsk), *shanïshkï* (Kirghiz), *sandjïghï*, *sandjï* (whence *sandjï-mak* in Othmanli) We may add on the authority of Abu 'l-Fidā' and the Turk-Arab glossary published by Houtsma, Leiden 1894, p. 80 and p. 29 of the Arabic text, the proper name *Sandjar*, glossed *vafʿan*, in preference to the usually accepted etymology from Sindjar, the name of his place of birth (cf. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, i. 1872; cf Index under *Sindjar*).

Sandjaḳ has passed into a certain number of other languages; more recently into the Balkan languages (cf. the work by Miklosich quoted above and Saineanu, *Influenta Orientala*) and earlier into Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*; cf. also W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, p 270, 90, 92) and into Persian where, according to the *Burhān i ḳāṭiʿ*, it means or meant a "flag, a large metal pin intended to keep on the head a kind of hood worn by women"; "a kind of girdle". In Modern Persian *sandjāḳ* (sic) simply means "pin" (in opposition to "needle") (cf. Nicolas,

Dictionnaire français-persan, under the word "pin"). Freytag took *sanḏjaḳ* for a Persian word and the Turks still keep the orthography which it has in Persian (*s-n-ḏ-ā-ḳ*) while they write the verb *ṣanḏj* with a *ṣād*. We may note that in Persian *direfsh* "flag" also means "point" (cf. Vullers), whence the Othmanlı word *direwush* (cf. Hind-oghlu s.v. "pointe" and "poinçon"). The *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* gives us a variant of *sanḏjāḳ* in the form *sanḏjūḳ*. If it is not a corruption due to the Persian, we have here another example of a Turkish word preserved through its use in Persian. The word *sanḏj-ūḳ* is very well explained with the help of the Turkish suffix *-uḳ* (*-ık*) which makes a passive participle from transitive verbs. *Sanḏjūḳ* then would mean "sharpened, fixed". The suffix *aḳ*, with its tendency to designate place-names (which very well fits a flag "fixed" or able to be fixed) seems to have been more in use very early.

The etymological details which are given above without excluding the explanation of *sanḏjaḳ* by "lance with a pennon" (it is that of al-Ḳalḳashandī who uses the word *rumḥ*) make very probable the explanation as "flag with a staff sharpened at the foot". Independently of this peculiarity it is difficult to say what was the exact form of the primitive Turkish *sanḏjaḳ*, did they have a horse's tail (or the tail of a yak of which von Hammer speaks in his definition, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, xvii. 257) or were they always flags? Were they like the *čalïsh* (or *shalïsh* mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (for the references see Dozy, *Supplément*, under the word *ḏjālïsh*, it has become *ḫālïsh* by an error in Djewdet Pasha and Ahmed Rāsım, quoted below in the *Bibliography*)? The meaning of these terms may be more indefinite than we think and varied a great deal with time and place The word *tugh* [q. v.] which it was allowed to take in the meaning "horse's tail", meant, according to al-Kāshghārī, not only a "flag of silk or orange brocade" but also "drum", another symbol of sovereignty (i. 169, iii. 92). Ibn Khaldūn confuses the flag with the "parasol" of the prince or *ḏjitr*, better *čatr* (Persian) pronounced *čatïr* (al-Kāshghārī, i. 340), then *čadïr* "tent", by the Turks who have preferred these words to their old *čovač* "silk parasol of the Turkish Khaghans" (al-Kāshghārī, ii. 149, 17 and iii. 45, 15, cf. the Othmanlı *čoghash* "a place in the sun" and a passage in Rabghuzi in Radloff, *Worterbuch*, iv. 59 under *ḏjavač*).

Whatever its primitive form was, the *sanḏjaḳ* appears among the Saldjūḳs as an insignium of royalty. In the Turkish text of Ibn Bībī (ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, vol. iii.) the word *sanḏjaḳ* is always found in connection with the title Sulṭān (*Sulṭān-ïn sanḏjaghï*) This standard is mentioned (p. 135—136, 144, 169, 170, 289 and 357) à propos of different sieges of strong places on the walls of which it was placed after capitulation. Sometimes (p. 135—136) it is the besieged themselves who, ready to surrender and no doubt seeing in this banner a guarantee of protection against pillaging, asked for a *sanḏjaḳ* to be sent. It is not, however, necessary that the Sulṭān himself should be present and the historian (p 357) shows us the *beylerbeyi* setting out on an expedition with the standard of the sovereign

For a long time the neighbouring princes and vassals of the Saldjūḳs respected their privilege but the Atābeg of Mosul, Sāif al-Dīn al-Ghāzī, son of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī (d. Nov., 1149), was the first of the *aṣḥāb al-atrāf* to have a *sanḏjaḳ* carried unfurled over his head (Ibn al-Athīr, *Hist. des Atabeks de Mossoul, Recueil des hist. or. des Croisades*, vol. ii., part 2, p. 167).

The Ayyūbids followed the example of their predecessors.

In 1198 the Sulṭān of Egypt, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, conferred on his nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā when he became prince of Damascus "the *sanḏjaḳ* and the *liwāʾ* to display throughout the world" (*Kitāb al-Rawḍatain*, *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, v 117). In 1250 Aibak the Turkoman, married to an Ayyūbid princess and proclaimed Sulṭān of Egypt, took part in a procession in which the royal banners were unfurled for him (*al-sanāḏjik al-sulṭānïya*, cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 516 of the Arabic text and 515 of the Latin translation) Among the Mamlūks, a distinction was made between the *sanḏjaḳdār* "royal standard-bearer" and the ordinary *ʿalamdār* (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameloucs*, Paris 1923, p. xcvii); afterwards, in Turkish Algeria this distinction disappeared, cf. *Mélanges René Basset*, ii 35 (under the press).

At the end of the Saldjūḳ empire in Asia Minor the *sanḏjaḳ* became one of the insignia of investiture of new sovereigns, notably of the first Othmanlı Sulṭān. In 1280 after the capture of Ḳaraḏja Hisār by ʿOthmān, Sultān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II to celebrate this conquest sent him by the hands of Aḳ Timur, ʿOthmān's nephew, a *sanḏjaḳ* "with its accessories" (*sanḏjaḳ yaraghï*), as ʿĀshïḳ Pasha Zāde tells us (ed. Constantinople 1332, p. 8 *sq.*), Neshrī prefers another version (cf Noldeke, *Z. D M. G*, 1859, xiii. 207—209) ʿĀshïḳ Pasha Zāde mentions in this connection that ʿOthmān thus became *sanḏjaḳ-beyi* and we know that it was from this time that the *ḫuṭba* was read in his name (for the first time at Karadja Hisār by Dursun Faḳīh). According to the same authority, the *sanḏjaḳ*'s were made of cloth of Philadelphia or Ala Shehir (p. 56).

When they became independent in their turn, the Ottoman princes appointed *sanḏjaḳ-bey*'s in larger and larger numbers and the *sanḏjaḳ*, somewhat diminished in splendour, became identified with the territory over which it floated, it appears henceforth as the name of a political division partaking both of the nature of the military fief and of the administrative representative of the central authority. The *sanḏjaḳ* generally carried with it a *dïrlïk* (for *dïrïlïk*, "life, livelihood, fief") or, more accurately, a *ḫāṣṣ* (a name given to a *dïrlïk* of an annual revenue of over 100,000 aspers). Above were the larger *ḫāṣṣ*'s of the *beylerbeyi* or governors-general of the provinces; below the smaller fiefs, the *ziyāmet*, *timār* and *kïlïḏj*, to give them in their order of importance. Sometimes the Sulṭāns granted a *sanḏjaḳ* to their children (d'Herbelot, *Bibl Orient*, p. 755; this is what was called a *sanḏjagh-a ïḳ-maḳ*, Selānikī, p. 286) or to a *beylerbeyi* or retired vizier (for examples see Naʿïma, ii. 23, iii. 336 and passim). The *sanḏjāḳ-bey* or *mïr-liwāʾ* who had a right to a horse's tail were not in principal the owners of their districts; they had the "possession" or *teṣarrūf* of them, and were their *muteṣarrif*. This term used from the xviiith century (Naʿïma, ii. 23, 8, 179, 13 and passim) was destined to become a rank in the administrative service (cf. below).

Sometimes the *sanḏjaḳ-beyi* was only an official

appointed and given an annual salary (*ʿulūfa*), which meant that his *sandjaḳ* was awarded by *sāliyāne*. This was the case with all the *sandjaḳ*'s of the remoter *eyālet*'s of Asia, like Baghdād, Baṣra, Yemen, Ḥabesh, Lahsā and Egypt, and for three *sandjaḳ*'s (maritime) in each of the *eyālet*'s of the archipelago and of Cyprus (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tohfet el-Kibār*, f. 67). At the beginning of the xixth century there were 290 *sandjaḳ*'s divided among 25 *eyālet*'s.

In case of mobilisation, the *sandjaḳ-beyi* became military officer (*mīr liwāʾ*) and presented themselves at the appointed place of assembly (e.g the plain of Isakčı in Rumelia) with the troops collected by their vassals or subjects. The maritime *sandjaḳ*'s were bound to equip a ship and make war by sea (*deryā-ya eshmek*), sometimes at the same time as by land (*ḳara-ya eshmek*). The word *sandjaḳ* passed into the sea-faring language of the Turks and Arabs with considerable variations of meaning which can be found in the various dictionaries, notably that of ʿAlī Seiyidi, *Kesimli kāmūs-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1325, p 55 I (cf. for Arabic Ben Cheneb, *Mots turcs*, p. 48, Brunot, *Notes sur le vocab. mar de Rabat*, Paris 1920, p 80, see also *JA.*, Jan.–March, 1922, p. 109) By an archaism which has survived in administrative language the word *sandjaḳ* has continued to be used in the sense of "symbol of investiture" for a *beyler beyi* for example (Wāsıf, *Tārīkh*, ed. of 1219, i 81, copy of a firmān of 1175 A. H.) without taking account of the general meaning of "flag".

According to Mouradja d'Ohsson, who does not give his authority, it was Murād III (1574–1595) who ordered the division of the empire into *eyālet*'s and *liwāʾ*'s (*Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vii. (1824) p. 276—277, cf. von Hammer, *Hist de l'Emp. Ott*, vii. 288—289, 40) Neither Pečewi nor Selānikī mention these reforms

Sulṭān Mahmūd II, having just after the destruction of the Janissaries (1826) suppressed the feudal military organisation, which died a natural death in 1837, the *sandjaḳ* or *liwāʾ* or *muteṣarrıf-lık* definitely acquired the meaning of an administrative subdivision pure and simple The *muteṣarrıf*, governor of the *sandjaḳ*, was henceforth a civil official, distinct from the *mīr liwāʾ* who now became the modern "general of brigade"

The division into *sandjaḳ*'s or *liwāʾ*'s was maintained by the law of the *wilāyet*'s (the former *eyālet*'s) of Nov. 8, 1864 (the administration of the *sandjaḳ*'s is dealt with in Chapters iv. and v , articles 29—37) and by that of Jan 21, 1871 (Administration of the *sandjaḳ*'s, articles 35—42 and 90)

The government of the Grand National Assembly abolished the *sandjaḳ* or *liwāʾ* by the fundamental law of Jan. 20, 1921, called *teshkīlāt-i esāsiye*, of which article 10 runs· "Turkey is divided, in accordance with geographical necessities or economic relations, into *wilāyet*'s and the *wilāyet*'s into *ḳadā*'s. The latter are divided into *nāhiya*'s". In practice this arrangement was carried out by turning the old *sandjaḳ*'s into *wilāyet*'s.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted above see: *Tārikh-i Djewdet*, Constantinople 1309, i. 30—33 (quoting Wāṣıf Efendi, but none of the printed editions of this historian gives this chapter); Aḥmed Rāsim, *Othmānlī tārikhi*, Constantinople 1326—1328, p 7; J. von Hammer, *Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 244—280; Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Sair al-Kabīr* by Muhammad al-Shaibānī, Turkish transl. by Mehemet Munib Amtābī, Constantinople 1241 (1825), i. 43—44; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, 1866, i/ii. 46 *sqq.*; transl. de Slane, Paris 1865, p. 48 *sqq.*; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*², Paris 1853—1854, i. 44 *sqq.*, Belin, *Du régime des fiefs militaires en Turquie*, Paris 1870 (Cf. *J. A.* of the same year); George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1905, i. 36, 40, 41, 47, 56, 65 (for the modern laws). (J. Deny)

SANDJAḲ SHARĪF (t. "illustrious banner"), the standard of the Prophet" preserved in Constantinople It is 12 feet long, surmounted by a silver cube containing a copy of the Kurʾān said to have been written by the Caliph ʿUthmān himself. It is covered with another flag attributed to the Caliph ʿUmar and with 40 covers of taffeta, the whole being in a case of green cloth, in the centre of all these covers is a little copy of the Kurʾān attributed to ʿUmar and a silver key of the Kaʿba presented by the Sharīf of Mekka to Selīm I.

This standard brought from Egypt by this Sulṭān in 923 (1517) was at first deposited in Damascus to accompany the caravan to Mekka, then, in the reign of Sultān Murād III, in 1003 (1594) the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Sinān Pasha to settle the continual mutinies in the army had it brought via Gallipoli escorted by 1,000 Janissaries of the Syrian garrisons to the camp in Hungary where it made a great sensation among the troops. Taken to the capital it left again next year Finally in 1005 (1597) Sultān Muḥammad III going to war had this banner carried in front of him, under the care of 300 amīrs at the head of whom marched the Naḳīb al-Ashrāf and the Molla of Galata.

Since then the banner has never left the Serāi except when the Sultān or Grand Vizier commanded an army in person. A tent was reserved for it, it was mounted on a staff of ebony wood ornamented with circles and with silver rings to which the standard was attached. At the end of the campaign it was taken from its fastenings and enclosed in a richly decorated box with many ceremonies, prayers and the burning of incense of aloes and ambergris It was kept in the palace in a kind of chapel containing other relics of the Prophet such as the *Khırḳa-i Sharīf* [q. v.]. Since the xviiith century 40 officers from the corps of the *Haram-kapudjı* have been on guard over it with the title of *Sandjaḳ-dār*

On Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 18, 1182 (March 29, 1769), the Sultān Muṣṭafā III having sent the standard to the Grand Vizier Muhammad Pasha with great pomp, the ceremony provoked massacres in which there were Christian victims and even Europeans of high rank The Austrian internuncio, M. de Brognard, only escaped with difficulty from the fury of the fanatics. On Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 9, 1241 (June 15, 1826), the Janissaries having mutinied, Sultān Mahmūd II took the *sandjaḳ sharīf* in person and gave it to his defenders who planted it on the pulpit of the mosque of Sultān Aḥmad III. This move contributed remarkably to the success of the reformer Sultān's enterprise.

Bibliography: Esʿad Efendi, *Uss-i Ẓafar*, transl. Caussin de Perceval, Paris 1833, p. 125 *sqq*, 135; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'emp. othoman*, Paris 1788, ii. 379 *sqq.*; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'emp ottoman*, vii. 277, 303, xvi. 203 *sqq.*

(Cl. Huart)

SANDJĀN RĀY (or SUDJĀN RĀY; cf. Rieu, i. 230; iii. 908), author of a general history of India up to the early part of the reign of Awrangzēb [q. v.], entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*. Nothing is known of his life except the few facts that he mentions himself and the remarks added by transcribers of his book. In his preface (lith. ed., p. 6, 11) he tells us that from his youth upwards he had followed "the profession of drafting letters i. e. of a Munshī" under administrative and revenue officials; he was born at Batāla in the Pandjāb (p. 71, 20); he had visited Kābul (p. 86), possibly Thatta (p. 60, 6), and the Pindjawr Gardens at the foot of the Himalayas (p 35, 16) He based his *Khulāṣa* on a number of Persian historical works, which he enumerates, and having revised it two or three times completed it, after two years' labour, in the 40th year of Awrangzēb's reign, 1107 (1695) But the narrative ends with the events of 1068 (1658) His copyists tell us that he was a Khatrī (Bhandārī or Dhīr), and one states that he was proficient in Hindī, Persian and Sanskrit (Rieu, i. 230, where the passage cited is obviously corrupt), there is, however, no other evidence of the author's knowledge of Sanskrit. The work claims to be only an "abridgement of histories", but is of special interest as being written by a Hindu; it contains a valuable section on geography, the author being particularly well-informed about the Pandjāb.

Much of the *Khulāsa* was incorporated in their own works by the authors of the *Siyar al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* (Elliot, viii. 194) and the *Akhbār-i Mahabbat* (id., viii 376). The *ʿArāʾish-i Mahfil* by Afsōs [q. v.] is an adaptation of it in Urdū.

Bibliography: *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh*, ed M. Zafar Hasan (lithographed, Dihlī 1918, with an introduction, notes and index), H. Beveridge, *The Khalāṣat-at-Tawārikh*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 733—768, 1895, p 211, Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, viii. 5—12; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, i. 230; G. Sarkar, *India of Awrangzib*, p. xi. *sqq.*, i—122, Calcutta 1901.

(MUḤAMMAD SHAFĪʿ)

SANDJAR B. MALIK SHĀH NĀṢIR AL-DĪN (afterwards MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN) ABU 'L-HĀRITH, a Saldjūḳ Sultān. According to the usual statement, he was born on Radjab 25, 479 (Nov. 5, 1086), according to some, however, two years earlier, on Radjab 25, 477 (Nov. 27, 1084). His muhammadan name was Aḥmad; on the name Sandjar, see p 148b. After the assassination of his uncle Arslān Arghūn [q. v.] in 490 (Dec., 1096), the young Sandjar was appointed governor of Khurāsān by his brother Barkiyārūḳ [q. v.]. Some time afterwards, however, the third brother, Muhammad, rebelled against Barkiyārūḳ; in Radjab, 493 (May—June, 1100), the latter was defeated and had to retire to Khurāsān. In the meanwhile Sandjar had taken the side of Muḥammad, who was his brother on his mother's side also and when Barkiyārūḳ made an alliance with the Amīr Dādh, who ruled Ṭabaristān, Djurdjān and a part of Khurāsān, Sandjar took the field against the combination and inflicted a severe defeat on them. In the events that followed, Sandjar stood loyally by his brother Muḥammad. During the war between Barkiyārūḳ and Muḥammad, Badr Khān, lord of Samarḳand, tried to take advantage of the absence of Sandjar to extend his rule over Khurāsān, having come to an understanding with one of Sandjar's amīrs named Kundoghdī, but was captured and put to death in 495 (1101/1102), whereupon Sandjar appointed his sister's son Muḥammad Arslān Khān b. Sulaimān b. Boghrā Khān as prince of Samarḳand and the provinces on the Djaiḥūn. Sandjar also came into conflict with the Ghaznawid Arslān Shāh b. Masʿūd [q v.]. The latter captured Ghazna (510 = 1117) and installed Bahrām-shāh (see the art. GHAZNAWIDS) as Sulṭān under Saldjūḳ suzerainty. After the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad on Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 24, 511 (April 18, 1118), the sulṭānate was to go to his son Maḥmūd, in accordance with his testamentary instructions, but neither Mahmūd's brother Masʿūd, lord of al-Mawsil and Ādharbaidjān, nor Sandjar were satisfied with this arrangement. Maḥmūd was able without much difficulty to come to an arrangement with Masʿūd but it was more difficult to satisfy Sandjar. The latter left Khurāsān with a large army and on Djumādā I 2, 513 (Aug 11, 1119), a battle was fought near Sāwa Victory at first inclined to the side of Mahmūd, but as his troops were thrown into confusion by Sandjar's elephants, the battle ended in the complete rout of the former. After long negotiations an agreement was reached by which Mahmūd was recognised as governor of the ʿIrāḳ with the exception of al-Rayy, but Sandjar's name was to be mentioned first in the *khuṭba* When Muhammad Arslān Khān of Samarkand became crippled he handed over the government to his son Nasr Khān The latter was soon afterwards murdered, whereupon his father appealed for assistance to Sandjar. Before the Sultān arrived in Samarkand a brother of Nasr Khān's had succeeded in putting down the rebellion, whereupon Arslān Khān sent to Sandjar and endeavoured to persuade him to go back. But this aroused the anger of Sandjar, who at the same time suspected Arslān Khān of having designs on his life so that he laid siege to Arslān Khān in the fortress in which he had taken refuge. When Arslān Khān was forced to surrender in Rabīʿ I, 524 (Febr./March, 1130), Sandjar gave him his life but appointed the Amīr Ḥusain (or Ḥasan) Tegīn and on his death soon after Mahmūd b Muhammad Khān b. Sulaimān prince of Samarḳand. In Shawwāl, 525 (Sept., 1131), Sultān Mahmūd died. According to his last will, his son Dāʾūd was to succeed him, but his two uncles, Saldjūḳ and Masʿūd, also set up as claimants

In Djumādā I, 526 (March/April, 1132), the contesting parties agreed that Masʿūd should be recognised as Sulṭān and Saldjūḳ as heir apparent, while the administration of the ʿIrāḳ was to be left to the Caliph al-Mustarshid. But Sandjar was not at all satisfied with this arrangement. On the contrary he proclaimed Tughril b. Muḥammad, who was with him in Khurāsān, as Maḥmūd's successor and made an alliance with ʿImād al-Dīn Zankī, whom he appointed governor of Baghdād, and Dubais b Sadaḳa [q. v.], who received the principality of al-Ḥilla. War was now inevitable. On Radjab 8, 526 (May 25, 1132), Masʿūd was defeated by Sandjar at Dīnawar, whereupon the latter retreated to Khurāsān In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, 529 (Aug./Sept., 1135), he set out against Ghazna because Bahrām-shāh was endeavouring to make himself independent. But this affair was settled without bloodshed. Bahrām-shāh submitted and

was pardoned. Sandjar also became involved in a long struggle with Atsız b. Muhammad [q. v.], lord of Khwārizm. The Kara-Khiṭāi also endeavoured to take the town of Samarḳand whereupon Sandjar crossed the Djaiḥūn at the head of a large army. On Ṣafar 5, 536 (Sept. 9, 1141), however, he was defeated and had to take to flight, thus losing the whole of Transoxania. On Sandjar's struggle with the Ghōrid Husain see the art. DJASHĀNSŌZ and GHŌRIDS. In 548 (1153) the Ghuzz [q. v.] also rose. Sandjar took the field against them but was defeated and taken prisoner and only obtained his release in Ramaḍān, 551 (Oct./Nov., 1156). He died on Rabīʿ I 26, 552 (May 8, 1157). After the death of this clear-sighted and vigorous ruler the Saldjūḳ empire began rapidly to approach its dissolution.

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wustenfeld, N⁰ 279, de Slane's transl., i. 600, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, x., xi, passim, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii. 312 *sqq*, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida*, ed Browne, Index, Vullers, *Mirchondi Historia Seldschukidarum*, chap. xviii.—xx ; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii, Index, Weil, *Gesch der Chalifen*, iii 143,145—147, 216, 224, 227 *sq*, 231 *sq*, 263, 270 *sq*., 273—279, Muller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii 107, 119, 169 *sqq*. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ṢANHĀDJA (Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the pronunciation of the word approaches *Zanāga*, both forms are still known. On the other hand we know that the Ṣanhādja have given their name to the Senegal which bordered on their territory) The Ṣanhādja are one of the branches or one of the great confederations of the Berber people. According to the theories of the western Muḥammadan genealogists, they are descended by Sanhādj from Bernes b. Berr like the Ketāma of Little Kabylia and the Masmūda of the extreme Maghrib No criterion, linguistic or other, has so far been able to justify this grouping We do not know what was the kind of life led by the Ṣanhādja in ancient times and where they lived. In the course of the middle ages their name frequently appears; they were very numerous, their territory extended all over both Maghribs and the Sahara. Among them were great nomads (some still are to this day, notably the Tuāreg of Hoggar) and settled tribes, of whom it is not possible to assert that they previously led a nomadic life, such are the Telkāta The Ṣanhādja are contrasted with the other great group, that of Zenāta [q. v.] who in the latter part of the middle ages succeeded in supplanting them. The Ṣanhādja reached their zenith in the first half of the middle ages or more exactly in the xth—xiith centuries (ivth—vith A.H.). This is the period when those whom Ibn Khaldūn considers Ṣanhādja of the first and second race appear in the light of history. We must, of course, use the term race with very great reservations. In any case it should be observed that several times the Ṣanhādja of one of the groups, wishing to secure the help of the Ṣanhādja of another group, appealed to the sense of solidarity due to common origin.

The first race, that of the Telkāta, in the tenth century occupied that part of the Central Maghrib which now corresponds to the department of Constantine without the Kabylias. The settled tribes and especially the descendants of the Banū Zīrī founded or ruled over centres of which the chief was Ashīr [q. v.] in the south of Algeria. Supporting the policy of the Fāṭimids of Ḳairawān they fought during the whole of the tenth century against their neighbours in the west, the Zenāta, clients of the Umaiyads of Cordova. They moved their action to the east as a result of the departure of the Fāṭimids to Egypt The family of Zīrids ruled in the name of the Fāṭimids at Ḳairawān. A split led to the foundation of the kingdom of the Hammādids of al-Ḳalʿa [q. v.]. Much weakened from the second half of the eleventh century onwards these two kingdoms disappeared in the middle of the twelfth, when the Almohad thrust into eastern Barbary was made A little group of Sanhādja bearing the name survived into our times in the south-east of Algeria.

The second race of Sanhādja is represented by the great nomads who occupied in the xth—xiith centuries the desert between the meridian of Tripoli and the ocean. The more important tribes were the "carriers of *lithām*", Lamtūna and Masūfa, who played a considerable part in the religious and political history of Barbary and Spain under the name of Almoravids [q. v.] Al-Bakrī gives us curious details regarding their style of life in the desert, their food and their tactics. The Tuāreg form part of this group.

Certain less powerful groups located in the Sūs and the adjoining valleys of the Moroccan Atlas belonged to the same Sanhādjī stock These are the Lamta and Gazzūla nomads and the settled Haskūra. The latter joined the Almohad movement.

Finally a third stock of Ṣanhādja is said to have lived scattered in the extreme Maghrib around El-Ksar, in the plains of the Shāwiya in the region of Tāzā and in the Rīf The Ṣanhādja Boṭṭuiya and Uryāghol have remained in the last named place to the present day. The name Sanhādja is still borne by one of the two *leff* into which the tribes of Northern Morocco are divided

Bibliography Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, text i 194, transl. ii 1 *sqq*, al-Bakrī, ed. Algiers 1911, p 164 *sqq*., transl. 1913, p 310 *sqq*., al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, p 57—59, transl p 66—69; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875, G Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle*, Paris 1913. (G MARÇAIS)

SANTA MARIA DE ALGARVE, or St Mary of the West, in Arabic *Shantamarīyat al-Gharb* (to distinguish it from Santa Maria of the East, in Arabic *Shantamarīyat al-Sharḳ* or *Shantamarīyat Ibn Razīn*, the modern Albarracin, a town in the province of Teruel in Spain; cf above, i 250 *sq*.), formerly a Muslim town in the south-western part of al-Andalus of which the Portuguese have preserved the Arabic name Algarve = *al-Gharb* (cf above, i. 256b) *Shantamarīyat al-Gharb* is usually identified with Faro, a little Portuguese sea-port to the north-west of Cape St. Marie, on the railway from Lisbon to the frontier station of Villareal de São Antonio, 35 miles from the latter. The Arabic ethnic from the name of the town is Shantamarī (cf. under this name the article on al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī).

In the Muslim period, Santa Maria de Algarve belonged to the province of which Silves (Ar. *Shilb*) was the capital. It was a little town of slight importance till the Umaiyad Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn Billāh entrusted the government to a

man of obscure birth, Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hārūn, a native of Merida, about 407 (1016). The latter in his new residence set up as an independent prince and reigned till his death in 434 or 435 (1042—1043). His son Muḥammad succeeded him and took the honorific title of al-Muʿtaṣim, but in 444 (1052) he was deposed by the ʿAbbādid Abū ʿAmr al-Muʿtaḍid who annexed the little principality of Santa Maria to the kingdom of Seville. But during the brief period of its independence the two princes who reigned there embellished the town and gave it numerous fine buildings, if we may believe the descriptions by al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Ḳazwīnī, it had a cathedral-mosque and other places of worship and a church containing very beautiful columns.

Santa Maria de Algarve from the XIIth century shared the lot of Seville and with the conquest of Algarve by Sancho II in 1249—1253 it passed finally to the Portuguese.

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

SANTAREM, in Arabic Shantarīn (ethnic Shantarīnī), a town in Portugal in the region of the Estremadura, 41 miles N. N E of Lisbon, 350 feet above sea-level on the slope of a hill on the right bank of the Tagus. This town, the ancient Scalabis or Praesidium Iulium of the Romans, takes its name from St. Irene (Santa Irene) who was martyred in 653 and thrown into the river at Thomar 30 miles farther up the river, her body stopped before Santarem and the name of the saint became that of the place All the geographers of Muslim Spain give Santarem as the chief place in the district. According to al-Idrīsī, its citadel on the heights was impregnable, the rest of the town stretched along the Tagus.

Conquered at the same time as the south-west of the Peninsula, it occasionally rebelled against the authority of the Umaiyad Caliphs and it was for this reason that it was taken by the Ḳā'id Aḥmad b. Alyās by order of al-Nāṣir in 316 (928). A few years later, in 327 (938), the town was the scene of the rising by Umaiya b. Isḥāḳ against the Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III who had just dismissed Umaiya's brother Aḥmad from the office of vizier which he held The rebel made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ramiro II, but Santarem was taken from him by the Caliph's men. At the end of the following century the town and its territory became part of the independent kingdom founded by the Aftasids (cf. above, i. 178 *sq*) of Badajoz at the same time as Evora and Lisbon. On the fall of this dynasty in 485 (1092/93), Santarem was taken by Alfonso V of Castile, but recaptured by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr b. Tāshfīn in 504 (1111), along with Badajoz and the district of Algarve. Its capture was announced to the Almoravid sovereign ʿAlī b Yūsuf in a letter from the celebrated secretary to the court, Ibn ʿAbdūn (cf. above, ii. 354 *sq*) the text of which has been preserved for us by the historian al-Marrākushī. Santarem remained in the hands of the Muslims till the fall of the Almoravids and was definitely taken by the first king of Portugal, Affonso Henriquez in 542 (1147) with other Portuguese cities: Lisbon, Cintra, Alcacer do Sal and Evora.

In 580 (1184) after a raid made by the Christian garrison of Santarem into Ajarafe and the defeat of a Muslim army sent from Seville to retake the lost territory, the Almoḥad Sulṭān Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin decided to lead a force in person against Portugal and made great preparations with this end in view. Leaving Marrākush at the beginning of the year, he went over to Gibraltar, Algeciras and Seville, thence he marched on Santarem, then very strongly fortified nnd defended by a numerous garrison The siege of the town dragged on and as the Almoḥad Sultān was wounded, probably from a bolt from a crossbow, and died from his wound on Rabīʿ II 18, 580 (July 28, 1184), the siege was raised. After that date no further Muslim attempts to retake the town are noted by the historians. Among celebrated Muslims born in Santarem may be mentioned the famous historian Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī Ibn Bassām born in 542 (1147/48), author of a work entitled *al-Dhakhīra* (on him see F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, p 208 *sqq*., N⁰ 171) and the poet Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh b Muhammad b. Sāra al-Bakrī al-Shantarīnī, d. at Almeria in 517 (1123—24) (cf Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, Cairo, p. 331—332).

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(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-**SANŪSĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (for Muḥammad) b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Shuʿaib, a learned Ashʿarī theologian of Tlemcen, where he was born and died at the age of about 63 on Sunday, Djumādā II 18, 895 (May 9, 1490); his epitaph, however, gives neither day of the week nor day of the month.

He studied Muslim lore as well as mathematics and astronomy in his native town with such teachers as his father Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, his full brother ʿAlī al-Tallūtī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Habbāk, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ḳalasādī, the famous Ibn Marzūḳ, Ḳāsim al-ʿUḳbānī, etc. He is said to have gone to Algiers where he studied under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī. The scholars of the Maghrib, in whose eyes he was the reviver of Islām at the beginning of the IXth century A H, all agree in praising his merit, his learning, especially theological, his fear of God and his zeal

Among his disciples may be mentioned Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Yabdarī, Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Ṣaʿd, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zawāwī. His works, some of which have acquired great authority in North Africa, are

1°. *ʿAḳīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-mukhridja min ẓulumat al-djahl wa-ribḳat al-taḳlīd* or *al-ʿAḳīdat al-kubrā*; 2°. *ʿUmdat ahl al-tawfīḳ wa 'l-tasdīd*, commentary on the preceding, publ with it at Cairo in 1317; 3°. *ʿAḳīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* or *Umm al-barāhin* and, more briefly, *al-Sanūsīya*, published several times in Cairo and Fās, transl into German by Ph. Wolff, *El Senusi's Begriffsentwicklung d mohammedanischen Glaubensbekenntnisses, ar. u. deutsch mit Anm.*, Leipzig 1848, into French by Luciani, *Petit traité de théologie musulmane*, Algiers 1896, Delphin, *La philosophie du Cheikh Senousi d'après son aqida es-sor'ra*, *J A*, Ser 9, x. 356, Luciani, *A propos de la trad. de la Senoussia*, in the *Revue Afr*, 1898, xlii, N°. 231, 4°. Commentary on the *Umm al-barāhin*, Algiers, Bibl. Nat, Nos. 653–662, etc, 5° *al-ʿAḳīdat al-wusṭā* or *al-Sanūsīya al-wustā*, and 6° his commentary, Algiers, Bibl Nat., N°. 632 (7°), Tunis 1387—1393, 7°. *al-Minhādj al-sadīd fi sharh kifāyat al-murīd*, commentary on the didactic poem *al-Ḳaṣīd fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd* (the text of which was published in Tunis in 1311) of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Djazāʾirī, Brit. Mus, N° 628, 901, 1617 (3), Paris, N°. 1268, Bibl Khéd., ii. 35, Bodl, i 66, 67, Fās, N°. 1571, 1575, 1579, my MS, 8°. *Ṣughra 'l-ṣughrā* and 9°. his commentary publ in Cairo in 1304, 1322, 10°. *al-Muḳaddimāt*, publ on the margin of the preceding with the commentary of al-Bannānī; Luciani, *Les Prolégomènes théologiques de Senoussi*, Algiers 1908; 11°. Commentary of the *Muḳaddimāt*, Algiers, N°. 632 (8°), 638 etc.; 12°. *al-Muḳarrib al-mustawfī fī sharh farāʾid al-hawfī* Algiers, N°. 1450 (2°), *J A*, 1854, i 175; 13°. *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm al-manṭiḳ*, and 14° his commentary, published with glosses by Ibrāhīm al-Badjūrī, Cairo 1321; 15°. *Sharh mukmil kamāl al-ikmāl*, commentary on the *Ṣaḥīh* of Muslim, Cairo, on the margin of the commentary of al-Ubbī, 16°. *Nuṣrat al-faḳīr*, Bibl. Khéd., ii. 172, Tlemcen (madrasa), N° 81, Algiers (Great Mosque), N°. 88 (27°); 17°. *Sharh asmāʾ Allāh al-husnā*, Tunis, N°. 1434(5); 18°. *Kitāb al-haḳāʾiḳ*, Bibl. Khéd, vii. 620, 19° *al-Mudjarrabāt*, publ. on the margin of *Mudjarrabāt al-Dirībī*, Būlāḳ 1279, Cairo 1316; 20°. *al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*, Brit. Mus., 460, 461, Leiden, 1375, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 145; 21°. *Ḥafīza*, Brit Mus., 119 (2), 22° *ʿUmdat dhawi 'l-albāb sharḥ bughyat al-ṭullāb fī ʿilm al-istarlāb* by al-Ḥabbāk, Algiers, 1458 (2); 23°. *Sharḥ wāsiṭāt al-sulūk* by al-Hawdī, Fās, N°. 1583, 1585; 24°. *Ṣalawāt*, Bibl. Khéd., vii. 168; 25°. *Sharḥ Isāghūdjī* (recension of al-Biḳāʿī), Algiers, 1307(3), 1382(1), 26°. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, unfinished (my MS.).

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AL-**SANŪSĪ**, Sīdī Muḥammad b ʿAlī al-Sanūsī al-Mudjāhirī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, born in 1206 (1791) at Tursh near Mostaganem (Algeria) in a duar of the Khatātība (Ulad Sīdī Yūsuf) of Zaiyānī Berber stock, and died in 1276 (1859) at Djaghbūb (Cyrenaica), the founder of the celebrated modern military brotherhood of the Sanūsīya (the "Senusis").

Taught at first by Abū Rās (d. 1823) and Belganduz (d 1829) in his native country he went to live at Fes from 1821 to 1828 where he studied Kurʾānic exegesis, tradition, the principles of law and jurisprudence. He then performed the pilgrimage, going via Southern Tunisia and Cairo to Mekka where he lived from 1830 to 1843 (except for a sojourn in Sabia); there in 1837 he founded the first zāwiya of his order on the Abū Kubais

Returning to the west he could not stay in Cairo but settled in Cyrenaica, where he founded first the zāwiya of Rafāʿa, then of al-Baidā near Derna (Dj Akhdar), then Temessa, lastly Djaghbūb (1855), which he peopled with liberated slaves There he died and was buried.

He had two sons: S Muhammad al-Mahdī (born 1844, d. 1901 at Guro), his successor, and S. Muhammad al-Sharīf (b. 1846, d. 1896). The elder left two sons. S. Muhammad Idris (b. 1883, given an estate in the west in 1909, Amīr under Italian protection from 1916 to 1923) and S. al-Ridā The younger had six sons, S. Aḥmad Sharīf (b 1880; head of the brotherhood from 1901 to 1925; he took the side of Germany, went to Turkey and since 1921 has been conducting a pan-Islāmic campaign from Angora), S Muhammad al-ʿĀbid (given an estate in the south, in Fezzan, since 1909, he directed the Saharan rising against France in 1916—1918), S. ʿAlī al-Khattābī, S. Ṣafī al-Dīn (president of the Italian Parliament of Cyrenaica in 1921), S. al-Hallāl and S. al-Ridā.

The headquarters of the order after having been at Djaghbūb (1855—1895) were transferred to Kufra (1895), Guro (1899), then back to Kufra

(1902), while the number of *zāwiya*'s rose from 22 in 1859 to 100 (1884).

Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī left, in addition to instructions regarding initiation into his order (types of *wird*, *sirr*: *yā Laṭīf*, repeated a thousand times), four works; one on the *uṣūl*, one on a harmony between the Ḳurʾān and the Ḥadīth (established without taking account of the *taklīd* of any of the four rites; although the author calls himself a Mālikī, he postulates *iǧtihād*) and two on mysticism, *Fahrasa*, the enumeration of his "chains of support" (canonical, 150, of whom 64 were mystics) guaranteeing the orthodoxy of his order, and *Salsabīl muʿīn fi 'l-ṭarāʾiḳ al-arbaʿīn* containing the *dhikr* formulae of the "forty" previous orders [see TARĪḲA] of which his order was to give the quintessence. This last work is the most curious. Although the statements in it are represented as received by oral initiatory transmission, they are, he confesses, taken from the *Risāla* of Hasan ʿUdjaimī, 1113 (1702), imitated by S Murtaḍā Zabīdī, in his *ʿIkd al-ǧumān*, the chapter on the *dhikr* of the Ḥallādjīya is found word for word in the *Ādāb al-dhikr* of Abū Saʿīd Ḳādirī, written in India in 1097 (1686) (MS. Calcutta 1280, cf. the Catalogue by Ivanov) which betrays a common source, probably the *Idrākāt* of the Aḥmadī Shimnāwī (d. 1028 = 1619).

His claims to the juridical *iǧtihād* were dismissed at Cairo in 1843 by the learned Mālikī Muhammad ʿAlāʾish (*takfīr*), the followers of al-Sanūsī do not observe the Mālikī *isbāl*

Initiated into mysticism at Mostaganem (Kādirīya) and at Fes (Tidjānīya, Taibīya), al-Sanūsī's ideas took definite shape at Mekka, under the influence of his teacher Ahmad b. Idrīs al-Fāsī (d. 1837 at Sabia), founder of the Khadirīya-Idrīsīya, the ancestor of the present ruling dynasty of ʿAsīr and teacher of two other founders of modern brotherhoods (Rashīdīya and Amīrghanīya).

Bibliography For the order see the standard works of H. Duveyrier (1884), Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, 1884, p. 481—515. On the founder and his family· Muhammad ben-Otsmane el Hachaichi, *Voyages au pays des Senoussia*, Paris 1912, A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, p 257–258, E. Insabato, *Rassegna contemporanea*, VI/II., Rome 1913, E Graefe in *Der Isl*, Berlin, III. 141—150, 312—313; D. B Macdonald in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. SANŪSĪ, p. 194—196.

SAR (P.) "head, extremity of anything", figuratively "idea". From the meaning "head" comes that of "chief" (Lat. *caput*), especially in derivatives *Sar-i ʿasker* (vulg. *ser-ʿasker*) is among the Ottomans "commander-in-chief", "minister of war", transformed by the Arabs of Tunis into Sārī-ʿasker. *Sar-dār* (q.v., English transcr. *Sirdar*), "general"; *sardārī* is the plaited frock coat worn by Persians of the upper classes and by most of the officials (*R M. M*, 1914, XXVIII. 225, note 2, Brieteux, *Au pays du Lion et du Soleil*, p. 360). *Sar-bāz*, "he who risks his head", a name given to the Persian soldiers since the reforms of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i. 40). *Sarkār*, "superintendent, surveyor", more frequently used simply as a polite form of address = "Sir", "Monsieur", a title given to the official tax collector in the Euphrates region (*R. M. M.*, 1911, xiv. 256). *Sar-kātib*, "chief secretary". *Serden geçdi* (Turkish), "he who has renounced his head", a franc-tireur, forlorn hope, marching in the vanguard (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc*, ii. 77). *Sar-lawḥa*, illuminated frontispiece of a Persian manuscript. *Sar-andāz*, a little rug of felt which is placed on the woollen carpet at one end of the room (Chodzko, *Popular Poetry of Persia*, London 1862, p. 99 note).

(CL. HUART)

SĀRA. [See IBRĀHĪM].

SARĀ. [See SERĀY]

SARACENS. The earliest certain mention of this name is found in the work composed by Dioscurides of Anazarbos about the middle of the first century A D. entitled *περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, i. ch. 67 (i. 60 of Wellmann's edition, Leipzig 1909—1914) who describes the resin of bdellium (*muḳl*) as a product of a "Saracenic tree" (*δάκρυον ἀπὸ δένδρου Σαρακηνικοῦ*) and adds that it is imported through Petra and is of a quality inferior to Indian bdellium (on this cf. Bretzl, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges*, p 282 *sqq*). The most recent editor has, against the evidence of all the manuscripts, not only altered the native name madlakon given by Dioscurides, which is vouched for by the Hebrew *bᵉdōlach*, into maldakon but also *Σαρακηνικοῦ* into *Ἀραβικοῦ*. In the contemporary *Hist. Nat* of Pliny the Elder, VI. § 157, ed Detlefsen, the Araceni are mentioned among the Arab tribes of the interior whose lands bordered on the Nabataeans, along with better known names like Taveni (Taiy) and Tamudaei (Thamūd), it is natural to find the Saracens in these Ptolemy (middle of the second century A D.), V, ch 17, § 3, mentions the district of Sarakene in Arabia Petraea and locates it west of the "Black Mountains" (*ὄρη τὰ καλούμενα μέλανα*) which, according to him, stretched from the Gulf of Faran to Judaea "besides Egypt" (*παρὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον*) On the other hand in VI ch. 7, § 21 he mentions the Saracens as a people in the interior of Arabia Felix; according to him, the Skenites and the *Ὀαδῖται* (= ʿĀd, var. *Θαδῖται*) inhabit the heights towards the north and south of them the Saracens and the Thamydens (Thamūd). According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v, Saraka is "a district (*χώρα*) beyond the Nabataeans, its inhabitants are called *Σαρακηνοί*", under *Ταιηνοι* i. e Ṭaiy the same author says that they live south of the Saracens, giving as authority the Arabian histories of Ulpianus and Uranios. If Uranios, Stephen's authority, to whom the statement regarding Saraka must also go back, belongs to the period of the last Diadochi, as von Domaszewski (*A R*, XI 239 *sqq*) endeavours to prove, this would be the oldest reference to the Saracens. In any case, relying on the passages quoted we must seek the original home of the Saracens on the Sinai Peninsula towards the Egyptian frontier and in the vicinity of the Nabataeans, and B. Moritz has recognised their descendants in the little Bedouin tribe of Sawārke, who live at the present day along the coast between Pelusium and Ghazza. These Saracens in the narrower sense may still be referred to in the letter preserved in Eusebius, *Hist Eccl*, VI. 42, of the contemporary Dionysios, Bishop of Alexandria, regarding the Christian persecutions in Egypt in the first year of Trajan Decius (249/250)· many Christians took refuge in the "Arabian Mountains", where they were sold

by the Saracen barbarians as slaves. In the different versions of the Christian Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς, which is based on the Mosaic genealogies and dates from the third century, in the *Liber Generationis Mundi* and in the *Barbarus Scaligeri* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vol. ix. of the *Auctores antiquissimi*, p. 107), in the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 45, ed. Dindorf), in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius (p. 113, ed. Holl), the Saraceni and Taieni are mentioned as people of some importance. In the tractate of Bardasanes *Ḳᵉṭābā dᵉ Nāmōsē d'Aṭrawāṭā* (ed. Cureton, p. 16 of the Syriac text = p. 24 of the translation), which is placed in the beginning of the third century, the Ṭayōye and Saraḳōye, for which the translation of Eusebius gives Ταινοί and Σαρακηνοί, are the representatives of the independent nomadic Arab tribes, it seems that about the middle of the third century A. D. the tribe of the Saracens, hitherto little known, came to the front among the smaller tribes, incorporated them and disturbed the Roman frontier. In the ecclesiastical historians of the fourth century, Eusebius and Hieronymus, the Saracens are identified with the Ishmaelites of the Bible. they live outside of the province of Arabia in the desert, at Ḳadesh, in the district of Faran or Midian where Mount Ḥoreb lies, to the east of the Red Sea, they were first of all called Ishmaelites and later Hagarenes and finally Saracens (Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* composed before 336 under Γεράρα, Κηδάρ, Μαδιάμ and Φαράν, Hieronymus in Eus., *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 13. Ismahel, a quo Ismahelitarum gentes, qui postea Hagareni et ad postremum Saraceni dicti = *Chron. Pasch.*, 94, 18, do., on Jes., xlii. 11, lx. 7, Ez., xvii.; Epiphanius, *Panarion Haer.*, iv 1, § 7 Ishmael founds Faran in the desert, from him are descended the tribes of the Hagarenes, also called Ishmaelites, who are now called Saracens) Henceforth the name Saracens is extended to the other Arab tribes also, the profane historians of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries (Zosimos, Rufius Festus, the Panegyrici, Julianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, who, according to modern research, wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, the Notitia Dignitatum, Priscus, Malchus, Nonnosus, Eunapius, Menander Protiktor, Procopius) and Socrates and Sozomenos among ecclesiastical historians avoid the Biblical names and prefer to use the term Saraceni and only occasionally "Arabes", Evagrius exclusively Σκηνῖται cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii 15, 2· Scenitae Arabes quos Saracenos nunc appellamus, and xxiii. 6, 13· Scenitas Arabes quos Saracenos posteritas appellavit, word for wood also in Malchus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv 112). The names Saraceni Assanitae i. e. Ghassānids) should be noted in Ammianus and Saraceni Thamudeni in the *Not. Dign. Or.*, Ch 28. Finally, the Arabs in the north, in Mesopotamia and on the Persian frontier became known as Saracens (Marcianus Heracl., *Periplus*, Ch. i. § 17ᵃ, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ch. 20, frequent in Julianus, Ammianus, Procopius, Menander Protiktor etc.).

After the foundation of the Arabian Empire by the successors of the Prophet, the Byzantines call Saracens all the Muslim peoples subject to the Caliphs, and this name survived into the late Middle Ages even after the decline of the Caliphate of Baghdād, as is shown by the anecdote given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 441), who was greeted in Constantinople by the Emperor as "*Sarākīnō*, that is Muslim". The Saldjūḳs and Turks, on the other hand, are called Persians or Hagarenes. The name Saracens was transmitted by the Byzantines to Western lands through the Crusades and has survived to the present day as the name of the Arab peoples and the products of Eastern lands, as the dictionaries of the Romance amply show.

In striking contrast to the wide distribution of the name Saracen in the west is the fact that the Arabs themselves do not know the name, either for a small tribe or as a collective name for the North-Arabian tribes. The derivation from *saraḳa* "to rob" (as early as Joseph Scaliger) or *sharḳ* "east" (Relandus) or even from *sharīḳ*, as Sprenger suggested, are all to be rejected; besides, the spelling *sarḳī* in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Targum Yerushalmī as well as among the Syrians points to *sarak* as the root, provided that this form is not based on Σαρακηνός, Saracenus. H. Winckler (*Altorient. Forschungen*, ii, Ser. i. 74—76) thought he had discovered the word *sharraku* in the meaning "desert-dwellers" in two passages in Sargon's Annals and derived the name Saracens from this Hieronymus says in his commentary on Ezekiel: Agareni qui nunc Saraceni appellantur falso sibi assumpsere nomen Sarae ut de ingenua et domina videantur generati, Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.*, vi. Ch. 38), Synkellos (ed. Bonn, i. 187) and others have repeated this interpretation of the name; it is once more dished up to the credulous reader as late as the xviiᵗʰ century in a modern version in the *Travels* of Macarius of Antioch (ed. Balfour, ii. 169).

The descriptions given in various late classical authors of the manners and customs of the pre-Islāmic Saracens, e. g. in Ammianus, Sozomenos, Hieronymus (*Vita Malchi*), Procopius Gazaeus, Priscianus and Procopius of Caesarea ought to be collected and annotated

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

SARAGOSSA, a town in Spain, capital of the modern province of this name and formerly capital of the kingdom of Aragon, on the right bank of the Ebro 600 feet above sea-level in the centre of a well watered and flourishing region (la Huerta). The modern Spanish name Zaragoza corresponds to the Latin Caesarea Augusta, a name given in 728 A. U. C. to the military colony founded by Augustus on the site of the ancient Salduba of the Iberians The name of the town passed into Arabic in the form Saraḳusṭa (*nisba*: Saraḳusṭī) probably through the Gothic form Cesaragosta. From the time it was taken by the Muslims until it was regained by the Christians, Saragossa was one of the great cities of the Muslim empire of al-Andalus; its geographical situation gained it the title of "Upper March" (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*) of Arab Spain. In the time of al-Idrīsī (middle of the twelfth century) it was densely populated; it was known as the "white city" (*al-madīnat al-baiḍāʾ*) from the colour of its ramparts built of blocks of tufa The fruits of its gardens were

reckoned among the best in al-Andalus. The capes of beaverskin made there were famous throughout the Muhammadan world.

Saragossa fell into the hands of the conquering Arabs in 94=712/3 soon after Toledo. Mūsā b. Nuṣair, having been rejoined by Ṭāriḳ, left this last town and advanced on Saragossa which he took at the same time as the villages and *castillos* which surrounded it. According to Isidore of Beja, it was sacked and its inhabitants treated with the utmost cruelty. It was already a Muslim metropolis when, under the emirate of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, al-Ṣumail b Ḥātim [q v.] was appointed governor in 132 (749). He was soon besieged there by Arab rebels and had to abandon the place to one of them. Throughout the second half of the second century A. H, Saragossa saw successive revolts within its walls, which the historians have recorded for us. This is how it came to be in the hands of the local chief al-Ḥusain b Yaḥyā al-Khazradjī when the army of Charlemagne besieged it in 778. The Emperor was suddenly summoned away to the banks of the Rhine; he raised the siege and soon afterwards in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, suffered the fearful disaster the memory of which is immortalised in the *Chanson de Roland*. Two years later, in 164 (780), the Umaiyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I marched on Saragossa and captured it. But it was not long before it slipped from the power of the Caliphs and in 175 (791) Hishām had again to besiege it and take it again through his general ʿUbaid Allāh b ʿUthmān. Again in 181 (797) a rebel declared himself independent there and successive Caliphs had regularly to send expeditions to the Upper March of their empire to suppress rebellions — with more or less success

At the same time (end of the eighth century) a Saragossa family, the Banū Kasī, attained great power in Aragon. They had adopted Islām, one of its members, Mūsā son of Fortunio, son-in-law of the first king of Pampeluna, Iñigo Arista, declared for the Caliph Hishām and surrendered Saragossa to him. Later, in the middle of the ninth century, the head of the family, Mūsā II, was governor of Tudela and commanded the armies of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II which raided the frontiers of France. He helped this ruler to drive off the Normans who had landed in Portugal and in 852, the year of accession of the Caliph Muḥammad, he had in his power all the Upper March, with Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. He lived like a monarch, exchanged presents with Christian kings, for example Charles the Bald of France But he was defeated in 860 by the King of Leon, Ordoño I, and killed two years later by his son-in law, the governor of Guadalajara. On his death the Banū Kasī cast off the authority of the Caliph of Cordova and the latter, Muḥammad, to counteract them allied himself with the Tudjībids.

This Arab family, settled in Aragon since the conquest, had its tribal rights recognised and its chief, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tudjībī, was officially appointed its head. In 888 on the accession of Sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh, the latter learning that a plot was being hatched against him in Saragossa commissioned the son of the Tudjībid chief, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, surnamed al-Anḳar (the "one-eyed") to put the governor of the town to death. The latter did so in 890 and became a by no means too dutiful vassal of the Caliph. He finally destroyed the last Banū Kasī, whose chief, Muḥammad b. Lope, was killed in 898 below Saragossa. Al-Anḳar died in 924. His son Hāshim who succeeded him gave his name to all the family and died in 930. His sons, the Banū Hāshim, were well treated by the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III but one of them, Muḥammad, rebelled against him in 934, joined the king of Leon, Ramiro II, and after a pretended submission to the Caliph leagued against him the whole of the north of Spain, including the kingdom of Navarre. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān set out to overthrow him, he seized Calatayud and then besieged him in Saragossa; Muḥammad b. Hāshim capitulated, the Caliph pardoned him and kept him in his governorship. His son Yaḥyā was general of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and of al-Ḥakam II in Spain and in Africa and governor of Saragossa from 975.

Later, in the reign of the ḥādjib al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir, a Tudjībid governor of Saragossa, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭarrif b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim, hatched a plot against him which was discovered and the conspirator executed in 989

On the fall of the Umaiyads a grandson of the preceding, Yahyā, became governor of the Upper March and had a son al-Mundhir, who after fighting with the Slavs against the Berbers of Spain proclaimed himself king and made an alliance with the Counts of Barcelona and Castile. Under his reign peace reigned in Saragossa. The town became flourishing and populous. The glories of his court were celebrated by poets like Ibn Darrādj al-Kastallī Al-Mundhir reigned till 1023.

His son Yahyā who succeeded with the title of al-Muẓaffar died soon after his accession and was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir II, Muʿizz al-Dawla (420/1029). The latter was killed ten years later by one of his relatives, the general ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Hakam, because he refused to recognise the Caliph Hishām II. This ʿAbd Allāh tried to seize the authority but rebellion broke out among the people of Saragossa, and the independent governor of Larida, Abū Aiyūb Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b Hūd arrived quickly to restore order in the city and seized the throne of the principality.

He took the title of al-Mustaʿīn and was the founder of the kingdom of the Banū Hūd (cf the article HŪD) with Saragossa as capital and ruling the districts of Larida, Tudela and Calatayud. He died in 438 (1046—1047). Son succeeded father as follows. Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir Saif al-Dawla till 474 (1081); Yūsuf al-Muʾtamin till 478 (1085); Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn II killed in 503 (1110) at the battle of Valtierra won by the Christians His son ʿAbd al-Malik ʿImād al-Dawla reigned in his turn till the final capture of Saragossa by the Christians of Sobrarbe on Ramaḍān 4, 512 (Dec. 19, 1118); he took refuge in Rueda. Unfortunately we have very little detailed information regarding the reigns of these princes and the dates given for them by the historians are not always in agreement. Nine years before it fell into the hands of the Christians, Saragossa had been taken by the Almoravids for Sulṭān ʿAlī b. Yūsuf on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1, 503 (May 31, 1110).

At the present day very little survives of the Muslim period in Saragossa, which must undoubtedly have been several times rebuilt in the course of these centuries as a result of the strenuous and heroic sieges it had to endure. The "Seo" or

cathedral is built on the site of the former Great Mosque and there can still be seen on the north-eastern façade an ornamentation of bricks and squares of enamelled faience (*azulejos*) which probably dates from the Arab epoch. According to a tradition recorded by certain chroniclers and geographers, this mosque-cathedral was founded by the *tābiʿ* [q v] Hanash b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanʿānī who died in 100 (718/719), he was buried with one of his companions opposite the *miḥrāb*. The mosque was enlarged in 242 (856), in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b al-Ḥakam.

At the present day the most important Arab monument in Saragossa is the palace which bears the name of Aljafería (no doubt the Arabic al-Djaʿfarīya, from a Djaʿfar or Ibn Djaʿfar, whose memory does not seem to have been preserved outside of popular tradition). This palace which has undergone many and far-reaching alterations and was partly destroyed in 1809 is now used as a barracks, it lies as the western end of the town. Of the part dating from the Muslim period there only remains a little oratory 25 yards square with a very pretty dome 45 feet high. It was supported by marble pillars with remarkable capitals, to judge from those that still exist. The *miḥrāb* is adorned with a decoration in carved stucco, on a blue ground Close to the oratory a little tower 80 feet high (called the "troubador's cell") is most probably of the same date It is probable that the Muhammadan ruins of Aljafería date from the dynasty of the Banū Hūd whose palaces were numerous in Saragossa (we only know the name of one of them, *Dār al-Surūr* ["house of joy"], built by al-Muktadir b Hūd). The Aljafería deserves to be subject of a monograph, for it is a memorial of a period of transition from the beautiful age of the Caliphate of Cordova to the century of the Alhambra.

Among famous Muslims born in Saragossa may be mentioned the great traditionist Abū ʿAlī Ḥusain b Muhammad b Fierro b Ḥayyūn al-Sadafī, known as Ibn Sukkara, born in 452 (1060) and died "a martyr" at the battle of Cutanda in 514 (1120) It was to his pupils that Ibn al-Abbār in the following century devoted an encyclopaedia (*muʿdjam*) published by F Codera in vol iv of his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (cf the references in the *J. A.*, 1923, ccii. 223 and note 1).

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SARĀI, capital of the Golden Horde, cf. the articles KIPČĀḴ and MONGOLS. The name is in Persian *sarāi* = palace, nevertheless it is frequently written *ṣarāt* in Arabic works. On its foundation by Bātū and the name Sarāi Berke see above, i 683[a] and 709[a]. The geographers and historians speak only of one town of this name but on the coins we find a New-Sarāi (*Sarāi al-Djadīd*) mentioned the earliest coin struck in New-Sarāi is dated 710 A. H The only historical reference to New-Sarāi so far known is the mention of the death of the Khān Özbeg (the date given is 742 A. H) in New-Sarāi in Shams al-Dīn al-Shudjāʿī al-Misrī and quoting him in Ibn Kādī Shuhba (text in Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyaščikhsya k istorii zolotoi Ordï*, p 254 and 445) Two ruined sites on the Akhtuba, which branches off from the Volga, are regarded as the ruins of Sarāi, now called Tzarew and Selitrennoye or Selitrennïy Gorodok. Which of the two was the capital of the Golden Horde and when, whether there were one or two Sarāi's (that is whether New-Sarāi was a new part of the town or a town built on another site) are questions often disputed since the xviiith century by scholars and not yet decided even now. The sources are obscure and contradictory on many points, thus the distance given by Abu 'l-Fidā' (and many others) between the mouth of the Volga and Sarāi (2 days' journey) suits Selitrennoye; on the other hand Abu 'l-Fidā' says in the same passage (ed Rēinaud, p 217) that the town is built in a plain (*fī mustawīn min al-arḍ*) which is only true of Tzarew (Selitrennoye is built on hills). The same information is found in Ibn Battūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 477: *fī basīṭin min al-arḍ*); the description by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, according to which there was a pond in the middle of the town, also fits Tzarew (text by Tiesenhausen, p. 220). The excavations conducted for a series of years (1843—1851) by A. Tereshčenko in and around Tzarew show there are certainly the remains of a large town there. It is on the results of these excavations that the view first expressed by Grigoryew as long ago as 1845 is based that the ruins of Sarāi can only be

at Tzarew; and at most at Selitrennoye we have the town built by Bātū and later supplanted by the Sarāi of Berke. Under the influence of Grigoryew's pamphlet Solowyew in his *History of Russia* (edition of the Society "Obšč. Pol'za", i 841) located Sarāi at Tzarew and not at Selitrennoye, as Karamzin (vol. iv., note 74; German edition, Rīga 1823, iv., note 53, p. 263) had done. The ruins at Selitrennoye have so far been only superficially examined, they occupy almost as large an area as the ruins of Tzarew (both sites are 8 miles long, the ruins of Tzarew $2^1/_2$ miles broad and at Selitrennoye 2 miles broad) but the finds made there are much less important. The view expressed by G. Sablukov in 1844 (*Očerk vnutrennyogo sostoyaniya Kipčakskago tzartsva*, repr by N. Katanow, Kazan 1895, p. 28) that Selitrennoye is Old-Saiāi and Tzarew New-Sarāi was revived by D Kobeko (*Zap*, iv. 267—277) and more recently by T. Ballod (*Starÿ i Novÿ Sarāi, stolitzÿ Zolotoi Ordÿ*, Kazan 1923); on the other hand A Spitzin (*Zap*, xi. 287—290) locates Old-Sarāi at Tzarew and New-Sarāi at Selitrennoye. According to the narrative of a merchant given in Abu 'l-Fidā', p 36, there was a village called Eskī-Yūrt ("Old Settlement") on the Akhtuba below Saiāi; this may very well refer to Selitrennoye. The finds of coins show that Selitrennoye was perhaps inhabited before Tzarew and certainly continued to be inhabited much later.

Sarāi was destroyed in 1395 by Timūr, the skeletons found by Tereshčenko without heads, hands or feet etc. must be regarded as dating from this destruction. Perhaps the settlement at Selitrennoye again became of more importance as a result. In 1472, Sarāi was ravaged by Russian freebooters from Niatka and is said to have been destroyed in 1480 by a Russian force in combination with a Tatar force from the Crimea About 1554 at the time of the conquest of Astrakhan by the Russians (cf. above, i. 494b) the towns at Tzarew and Selitrennoye were both already in ruins

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SARAJEVO. [See SERAJEVO].

SARAKHS, an old town between Mashhad and Marw, where the frontier between modern Persia and Russia turns from E. to S, on the lower course of the Harīrūd, which is at this part filled with water for part of the year only and then disappears in the oasis of Tadjān north of Sarakhs. Between the town and Marw lies a part of the desert of Karakūm [q. v.] which belongs to the area of the Teke-Turkomans. The Arab-Persian geographers ascribe the foundation of the town to Kai-Kāwūs, Afrāsiyāb or Dhu 'l-Karnain. The soil is considered good but, as a result of the drought, is devoted to pasture only and there are few settlements in the neighbourhood. Camel-rearing was the principal industry of the inhabitants and the weaving of veils, ribbons etc. was for a long time prosperous. The town consists of houses of mud or brick without any important public buildings. It was the birth-place of al-Fadl b. Sahl, the famous vizier of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who is said not to have adopted Islām until 805/806 A. D. and was one of the most influential representatives of the Persian genius. He was murdered in his bath in Sarakhs in 818/819 A D.; his brother al-Hasan died there in 850/851. The physician and mathematician Ahmad b. al-Tayyib, a pupil of al-Kindī, later the confidant of the Caliph al-Mu'tadid, was also born in Sarakhs.

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AL-SARAKHSĪ, SHAMS AL-A'IMMA ABŪ BAKR MUHAMMAD B AHMAD B. ABI SAHL, the most important Hanafī lawyer of the fifth century in Mā warā' al-Nahr Little is known of his life. Probably born in Sarakhs, he studied under 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Halwānī († 448 = 1056) in Bukhārā. He then came to the court of the Karakhānids in Uzdjand. There he was thrown into prison by the Khakān Hasan, probably because he alone of all the *'Ulamā'* stigmatised as illegal the conduct of the ruler when he married his manumitted *umm walad*'s without observing the *'idda*. Here he languished for over ten years and dictated to his pupils, who sat before his prison, his most important works, the *Mabsūt* (14 vols.), the *Usūl al-Fikh* (2 vols) and the *Sharh al-Siyar al-Kabīr* (in 4 vols, printed at Haidarābād in 1335—1336), entirely from memory without using a book. Parts of the *Mabsūt* are dated from the prison in the years 466 (1073) and 477 (1084). When he had reached the fourth part of the *Siyar* he was released He completed this work at the court of the Amīr Hasan in Marghīnān in Djumādā I of the year 480 (Aug, 1087) and died in 483 (1090). His pupils were Burhān al-A'imma 'Abd al-'Azīz b 'Umar b Māza, the father of al-Sadr al-Shahīd († 536 = 1141), Mahmūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Uzdjandī, the grandfather of Kādikhān († 592=1196), 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Baikandī († 552 = 1157) etc. His *Kitāb al-Mabsūt* (vols. i—30, Cairo 1324—1331) is one of the most comprehensive of the earlier Fikh-books. It is remarkable for the way in which the author works out general legal principles. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote commentaries on the *Mukhtasar* of al-Tahāwī († 321 = 933), the *Kitāb al-Hiyal* of al-Khassāf († 261 = 875; printed in the *Mabsūt*, vol. 30), the *Kitāb al-Kasb* of al-Shaibānī (printed in the *Mabsūt*, vol. 30) and on numerous other works of al-Shaibānī. His books are still very common in the east, his *Siyar*, for example, is in almost every library.

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SARANDĪB. [See CEYLON].

SARĀT, the mountains which run along the western side of the Arabian plateau. Al-Hamdānī, the greatest authority on the Arabian peninsula among the Arab geographers, says that the termini of the range, which divides the highlands (Nadjd) from the plain (Ghawr, Tihāma) and was therefore also called Ḥidjāz by the Arabs, are the extreme south of the Yaman and Syria, al-Asmaʿī makes it stretch to the Armenian mountains. This mountain chain, which al-Hamdānī already knew not to be a single range, but a succession of hills immediately adjoining one another, is, according to the old records, four days' journey in breadth on an average, varying by a day or part of a day here and there In his description, al-Hamdānī distinguishes the main ridge (*ẓāhir*), then the lofty part, not belonging to the main ridge itself (*aʿlā 'l-Sarāt*) and the western spurs (*awsaṭ, ghawr, asfal al-Sarāt*). The average height of this great range, which the Arabs regarded as created by God to be a backbone for the earth, according to a story recorded by Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyab, is 8,500 feet. In the north-west the greatest elevation is the Djabal Dibāgh (7,200 feet), in the south-west there is a series of peaks which reach 10,000 feet, and, as in the case of the Djabal Nabī Shuʿaib, occasionally snow-covered in winter (10,800 feet), the highest peak in the Sarāt forming part of the huge Maṣāna'a massif, even surpass it. The whole range consists of sedimentary rocks with a substratum of granite and gneiss and numerous volcanic cones between which often stretch wide plains strewn with black lava, which are called *ḥarra* in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula and *faiṣh* in South Arabia. To the west the range falls sharply down to the Tihāma, which is a plain sloping from a height of 2,300 feet to sea-level, out of which rise recent volcanic upheavals in the form of peaks. On the east the hills slope gently down to the Persian Gulf. The Sarāt as a whole does not show any marked uniformity of direction but is cut up into large and smaller ranges which intersect in all directions. It is in general treeless and uninviting in appearance with black rocky ravines, ridges, peaks and pennacles, round and sharp or jagged, showing all possible forms but always bare. There are mountain villages away high up on almost inaccessible heights which consist of stone houses of two to five stories, sometimes square and sometimes round, and form self-contained often quaint citadels, surrounded by yawning gulfs on all sides Breakneck paths and bridle paths often hardly traceable on the rock lead up to the narrow gates which open into the villages, there are well cultivated fields on the slopes and in the valleys, laboriously erected terraces along the slope sink like steps down the valley. The valuable soil is kept in place by a wall built of large stones, rarely bound with mud and always without lime, and protected from being swept away. The rain-water is fully utilised for these plots and runs from the upper terraces to the lower ones. On these fields, which are protected from the great heat of the sun by shade-giving trees, the best coffee in the world is grown, and grapes and sugar-cane also flourish here. The long chain of the Sarāt is interrupted occasionally by broad plains. For example, the plain of Ṣanʿā' runs 15 miles to the south and about 7 miles to the north; the southern tongue of this plain runs after a short interruption through the Nakīl al-Yaslaḥ into the broad plain of Dhamār, the most fertile part of the Yaman and the richest in water.

The Sarāt owes its origin to those great volcanic convulsions which caused the young tertiary Erythraean subsidences, and created the great fault on which the Arabian desert sank with its hitherto undisturbed horizontal deposits. Weathering, wind-erosion, and erosion by running water then tried their strength on the steep western slope of the tableland which was transformed into a mountain system of erosion or highlands, which can be divided into an inner and an outer system of valleys and is furrowed with numerous valleys which on the western slopes run from east and north-east to west, on the south side run consistently from north to south and south-east and cut the highlands into separate tongue-like peninsulas which are again cut up by smaller valleys, the origin of which probably is also as old as the pluvial period. These side valleys have transformed the Sarāt peninsulas into hills of erosion or chains of hills, which has contributed to the very varied forms of the hills, which in part owe their existence to volcanic forces also, like the necks which often occur.

In summer the western slope of the Sarāt shows very slight variations of temperature; the heat is tropical and rises from 88° F. in June to 99° F. in August, in the winter it reaches a more endurable maximum of 77° F At night, however, the temperature sinks to 36°—27° F., and in the high mountains in the winter to 23° F so that the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow. From the middle of June to the end of September is the rainy period The spring rains fall in April; thunderstorms are not uncommon in the main rainy season and in the winter months water freezes on the higher slopes, especially with a strong east wind, even when the thermometer is several degrees above freezing-point. A further peculiarity of the climate of the Sarāt are the Tihāma fogs which come in summer down to the bottom of the valleys, which the Arabs call *umma* or *sukhaimānī*, and only disappear after the temperature has reached its maximum so that they bring their own mitigation with them, which is exceedingly beneficial to vegetation. The climate of the eastern slopes of the Sarāt is extremely dry in contrast to the very moist climate of the western Sarāt. In Ṣanʿā' the relative humidity sinks to 20%. Here also the rainy season falls into two parts (March, and July—September). Throughout the whole year it is possible to sow and reap, which is true not only of cereals but also of vegetables and fruit, which are ready at every season in some one of the numerous sorts. The vine, for example, flourishes all over the mountains of Arabia, although only in the river-valleys. The eastern slope of the Sarāt has an almost European character with respect to agriculture although the good soil is limited to the artificial terraces, which are also artificially irrigated. The valleys which have a perennial water-supply show that incredible wealth in fruit and cereals which was described so enthusiastically by al-Hamdānī. The occurrence of tamarisks, acacias and mimosas is characteristic of the desert-like eastern slopes of the Sarāt, but in addition to the *ʿylb*-tree we also find date-palms, numerous varieties of fruit-trees and the cotton plant as well as a great variety of medicinal and garden plants, among which the aromatic are especially important on the classic soil of Arabia Felix. The celebrated frankincense

tree now only yields resin in a few parts of the Yaman; on the other hand cactus-like euphorbias, balsam trees, ʿAdeli shrub, Dōm palms, tamarinds, rāk and a variety of resin- and gum-yielding trees, acanthaceae and sweet scented plants and shrubs are widely disseminated. Besides the most valuable cultivated shrub in Arabia, the coffee-plant already mentioned, the vine, the date-palm and countless varieties of fruit, there also grow in the Sarāt region rye, wheat, oats, barley, maize, sugar-cane, tobacco, *ḳāt* [q. v.], potatoes, cabbage, beans and figs. But these fruits of the earth do not drop into the countryman's lap; on the contrary, they are often won from the soil only after a hard fight. Only thousands of years of labour have made this remarkable district, which has landscapes rivalling the Alps in splendour, what it is to-day economically.

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(Adolf Grohmann)

AL-**SARAṬĀN** (the crab), Cancer, in astronomy the name for the northernmost constellation in the ecliptic which the sun enters at the beginning of summer. The *ṣūrat al-saraṭān* (Greek: Καρκίνος, Latin. Cancer) with the Arabs (exactly according to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy) consists of nine stars with an additional four outside the actual figure of the crab. Even the brightest stars in the constellation are only of the fourth magnitude; four of them form a smooth upright curve, the two outer being on the pincers (*al-zabānī al-djanūbī* and *al-zabānī al-shimālī*) while the two central ones, forming the eyes of the crab, are called the little asses (*al-ḥimārān*, *asini*, *aselli*), between them is a group of stars, the Beehive (*al-maʿlaf*, *praesepe*), looking like a little cloud to the naked eye but showing about 40 stars when seen through a telescope. In the centre of an opposite curve on the hind-legs of the crab is the celebrated and much studied multiple star ζ Cancri.

With the entry of the sun into the head of Cancer it reaches its greatest (northern) declination which is equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic E (Arabic: *al-mail al-aʿẓam*). But this figure (now = 23° 27′) is not a constant magnitude; it alters with time within moderate limits. Astronomical calculation has shown that it can be found from the formula

$$E = 23° 27' 8''.26 - 46''.845\ T - 0''.0059\ T^2 + 0''.00181\ T^3$$

where T is reckoned in units of 100 tropic years and from the initial year 1900.0. Thus, for example, for the year 1000 A. D. E = 23° 34′ 8″.07 (cf. S. Newcomb, *Elements of the four Inner Planets and the fundamental Constants of Astronomy*, Washington 1895, p. 196). This variation in E, which from a present diminution will again pass into an increase, was well known to the Arab astronomers. The Fāṭimid astronomer Ibn Yūnus († Cairo 1009) has given us in his *al-Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī* (MS. Leiden 1057, Chap. xi, f. 222) a historical account of the measurements of the obliquity of the ecliptic by the Arabs, from which the following is taken. According to Ptolemy, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus had estimated the obliquity of the ecliptic at $\frac{11}{83}$ of the circumference = 23° 51′ 20″, "and I do not know of any observation for the greatest declination between Ptolemy and the authors of the tested tables (*aṣḥāb al-mumtaḥan*) except this one which was made in the year 16 of the Hidjra (i.e. after 776 A.D.) and its observer mentions that the greatest declination is 23° 31′." Al-Maʾmūn's astronomers from their observations at al-Shammasīya (a quarter and gate in Baghdād) found that E = 23° 33′ and the same figure is given by Muḥ. b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī in his *Zīdj* and Muḥ. b. Kathīr al-Faighānī in his book "On the Use of the Astrolabe". The astronomers Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marwarrūdhī, Abu 'l-Sanad b. Ṭaiyib ʿAlī and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Aṣṭorlābī etc. of Damascus who took observations after the death of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr with the instrument that al-Maʾmūn ordered them to use when he took the field against the Byzantines, mention that they had found E = 23° 33′ 52″. Their measurement was made in the year 201 of the era of Yazdadjird (832/33 A.D.). The sons of Mūsā b. Shākir say that they had ascertained E to be 23° 35′ in the year 237 of the same era (868/69) at the gate of the round wall of Baghdād. In the tables of *al-Taḳwīm* (restoration) Aḥmad b ʿAbd Allāh Habash gives the following two values for the obliquity of the ecliptic 23° 35′ and 23° 33′, "but there must only be one". In 243 A.H. (226 Yazdadjird = 857/858 A.D.) al-Māhānī fixed E at 23° 35′ 30″. "And Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Ḳurra said: I have found old methods of observation before Ptolemy, which show that the greatest declination is 23° 35′, and Muḥ. b. Djābir b. Sinān al-Battānī says that from his own measurements he has found it to be 23° 35′" The Sharīf al-Fādil Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain Muḥ b. Abī ʿĪsā, who is known as Ibn al-ʿAlam and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿUmar, found the value of E to be 23° 34′ 2″ and 23° 34′ 45″. Ibn Yūnus then gives his own calculation of the obliquity of the ecliptic to which he had devoted great care and found E = 23° 35′. It may be further noted that al-Bīrūnī also took E = 23° 35′ (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Berl. MS. Or. 8° 275, fol. 85r), Ibn al-Shāṭir about 765 (1363/64) E = 23° 31′ and Ulugh Beg in 1437 A.D. at Samarḳand E = 23° 30′ 17″.

As the extreme daily orbit that the sun can describe in the heavens (in northern latitudes the longest day), the day of entry into Cancer (*al-*

Saraṭān al-awwal) as well as into the Aries and Capricorn is an auspicious one. Therefore the representation of these three regions and their division into hours (*sāʿa*) on the face of a sundial is of special importance The symbol of Cancer (and of Aries) is a conic section, the exact shape of which depends on the latitude of the place and the position of the dial

The name Cancer (Καρκίνος) no doubt dates from Greek times. According to L. Ideler (see below), the name Lernaeus is also found because he (the crab), according to the fable, crawled out of the swamp of Lerna to injure Hercules in the foot when he was fighting with the Lernaean Hydra. The name "Crab" is found on the famous circle of the Zodiac at Dendera (Egypt) which, however, dates from the late Egyptian period and must certainly have been made under Greek influence. In Babylonian the constellation (without *β* Cancri) was called (Mul) AL-LUL = Kakkab šittu, which probably is the name of an animal, but hardly crab In the later texts of the Seleucid period instead of AL = LUL we always find the ideogram for carpenter (cf F. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Munster 1913, p. 6, 54, 209, 210).

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(C. SCHOY)

AL-SARAṬĀN (A.), the crab, the name is applied to the fresh water crab as well as to the sea-crabs, *saraṭān nahrī* and *bahrī*. Al-Damīrī describes the crab as follows: "it can run very quickly, has two jaws, claws and several teeth and a back as hard as stone; one might think that it had neither head nor tail Its two eyes are placed on its shoulders, its mouth is in its chest and its jaws are sideways It has eight legs and walks on one side. It breathes both air and water. It casts off its skin six times a year. It builds itself a hole with two doors, one opening into water and the other on to dry land. When it casts off its skin, it closes the door which is on the water side from fear of fishes of prey and opens the land door so that the wind may reach it and dry the new skin". Al-Ḳazwīnī gives a similar account of the animal among beasts of the sea. The uses in magic and medicine are innumerable

Cancer is also called *al-saraṭān* (after the Greek). According to the *Ḳāmūs*, it is a tumour of black gall, at first no bigger than an almond; as it grows, red and green veins appear on it like crabs' feet. The disease is incurable and at best its course can only be prolonged, it attacks both men and animals.

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SARĀY. [See SERĀY].

SARDĀR is a Persian word (see SAR), the etymological meaning of which is "holding", or "possessing the head", i e the first place, its current meaning being a chief or leader and hence a military commander It has been borrowed in this sense by the Turks, who, however, sometimes derive it in error from *sirr-dār* ("the keeper of a secret"). Through Turkish it has reached Arabic, and in a letter written in 1581 by "one of the princes of the Arabs (of Yaman)" occurs the phrase "*wa-ʿayyana sardāran ʿala ʾl-ʿasākir*" ("and he appointed a commander over the troops") on which Rutgers comments "Vocabulum *sardār*, quod Persicae originis est, *ducem* exercitûs significat". The abstract substantive *sardāriyyat* in the sense of the post or office of commander of an army also occurs, and it was doubtless owing to the familiarity of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt with the borrowed word that it was selected as the official title of the British commander-in-chief of the Egyptian and Sūdanese armies. In Persia the word was until recently much used as a component part of honorific titles, such as *Sardār-i Zafar* and *Sardār-i Djang*. In India it is used generally of the (Indian) commissioned officers of the army as a class. *Sardār log* means "the (Indian) officers of a corps or regiment". It was formerly applied to the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, and it is still applied to the valet or body-servant of a European in northern India, as the chief of his household servants *Sardār Bahādur* is a title of honour attached to the first class of the Order of British India, an order confined to Indian commissioned officers of the army.

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SARDINIA (in Arabic sources SARDĀNIYA, ṢARDĀNIYA), an island in the Mediterranean Sea, lies $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles South of Corsica and 138 miles South West of the Italian Civita Vecchia, and has an area of 9,187 square miles It is mountainous, and has a peak as high as 6,016 feet. Throughout the 160 miles of its length and the 68 of its breadth it consists chiefly of ranges of granitic rock or high plateaux. These ranges of dark hills convey an appearance of wildness to the island and make it anything but attractive, which probably accounts for its comparatively uneventful history.

The Nuraghi or circular towers, of which 6,000 have been traced on the island, bear unmistakable evidence that the island was well inhabited in the Bronze Age, but it is only when we come to the Phoenician period that we have definite information regarding the island. These invaders certainly did

conquer the island at about 500—480 B. C., and they were the first of a succession of overlords, who made the island contribute to their granaries The Roman occupation bore more heavily on the Sardinians, as they had no free city on the island, they were compelled to supply much of the corn for Rome, and they were obliged to contribute a money tax Little wonder that there was an insurrection of 80,000 slaves in 181 B.C. The island was useful to the Romans, moreover, as a place of exile. We read that in 355 A. D Constantius banished 3 bishops to Sardinia, one of whom was Lucifer of Calaris. In 440 the Vandals prepared to attack the place, seeing, as they did, that it gave food supplies to the Empire, and in 476 the island had to be ceded to them. A governor of German nationality was installed to discharge all relevant duties both military and civil. Justinian finally recovered the prize for Byzantium, until the 10th century

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus* seems to put it beyond question that Sardinia was invaded at the same time as Spain, c. 92 A.H. He says that the Sardinians used their harbour to trick the Arabs out of plundering their valuables, and this seems not at all unlikely. That the Arabs made one of their usual raids on the island is certain, but they did not prolong their stay there They paid another visit in A H 98 and 118 and carried through the same programme, but they never even attempted to maintain themselves in the place, nor is it hard to understand that such a place would little appeal to those who were born to the desert and the heat In 130 A H, however, they went a step further, and imposed a tribute on the island, which they succeeded in extracting from the enfeebled people Meantime in 725 A.D. Luidprand, fearing these repeated raids, obtained the body of Saint Augustine, and succeeded in removing it out of danger to Pavia This great treasure of the Church had lain at Cagliari since the 6th century Once again before the 8th century was ended Sardinia suffered another plunder at the hands of the Arabs (143 A.H) The Saracens never used the island for purposes of grain-producing, as had the previous conquerors, but in 227 A.H , when they made their daring attack on Rome, they used Sardinia as their rendezvous, before making the final onslaught on the capital. Not even in the 10th century A D. did Sardinia cease to be the quarry of the Arabs, for we read that, when ʿUbaid Allāh the Mahdī was plundering Genoa, in 332/3 A.H., he did not forget to take what plunder he could from Sardinia. The last mention of Arab influence in the island is when Mudjāhid of Denia, in Spain, subjugated it in 393 A H. Never again were the formidable raiders of the Mediterranean Sea to strike terror into the inhabitants of Sardinia, and it seems strange that in exchange for all their plunder the Arabs gave neither culture nor trade, religion nor art, as a recompense and a memorial of their presence.

Pisan supremacy followed that of the Arabs, and this again was succeeded by that of Aragon. In modern times the island has changed hands several times, having been Spanish and French and Austrian. Its ties, however, are all with the present possessors, and Italy seems to be inaugurating a new regime.

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(T CROUTHER GORDON)

SARÈKAT ISLAM (*sarèkat*, Javanese pronunciation of the Arabic *sharīka*, a brotherhood or guild), a political combination of Muhammadan Indonesians formed in Surakarta (Java), which has played an important part in the history of the development of the native population of the Dutch East Indies and in Dutch colonial policy in the last fifteen years. Its object was to secure for the native element a more prominent position socially, politically and economically, at the same time retaining Islām, which is the natural bond that links together the very diverse elements of a great part of the native population of the Dutch Indies The leaders of the Sarèkat Islam would not, however, themselves subscribe to this, but would give other definitions and estimates of its objects according to local conditions, if indeed they give any reply at all when asked about the objects of their organisation.

Early History While the position of the masses of the Javanese natives as regards their own rulers had from the earliest times been characterised by extreme subservience, during the nineteenth century the independence of both the people and their lords became more and more limited by the gradually increasing influence of the Dutch The national pride with which they looked back on a past in which the whole Indian Archipelago was under a Javanese hegemony was more and more supplanted by a feeling of dependence and inferiority to foreigners (Dutch, Arab or Chinese), of whom the Dutch in particular and later on the Chinese only rarely concealed the slight estimation in which they held the natives. When about the end of last century a few progressives among the *prīyayi*'s (aristocracy) of Java for the first time wished to give their sons a European education, they did, it is true, receive support from a few Dutchmen, but a considerable majority of the officials offered marked resistance to this innovation, and the few who made the experiment found it made very difficult for them to find a place in society in keeping with their newly acquired qualifications. Nevertheless, a small body of educated Javanese was gradually formed, and naturally it was they who least appreciated foreign tutelage. Then came the events in the Far East and their reaction on the situation in the Dutch Indies. Even before the Russo-Japanese war (1904—1905) the Japanese had been granted equality with the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. After the foundation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, Chinese warships visited Java and Chinese officials came to enquire into the position of their compatriots, the Chinese in the Dutch Indies were granted (from 1908) the Dutch-Chinese schools which they had desired for some years, the restrictions on their freedom of movement were abolished (1910) and more satisfactory arrangements were made for the administration of justice (1912). The Arabs also

shared the advantage of the new legal position of the Oriental foreigners, but the position of the Javanese remained the same

In 1908 the League of Young Javanese *Budi Utama* ("noble endeavour") was founded by students of the Dokter-djawa (native medical) school in Batavia, the first modest attempt to obtain from the authorities the fulfilment of some of their desires by organisation, particularly more and better education. The father of the movement, which was regarded with suspicion not only by the Dutch but also by many conservative Javanese, was the "Dokter-djawa" Wahidin = Sudira-Usada. Such adherents as this first Javanese organisation found belonged to the higher classes of Javanese society; the masses did not join it, but they also began gradually to desire a reorganisation of social conditions and for a number of reasons.

a. Their social position was thoroughly unsatisfactory In contrast to the foreign Orientals the Indonesians had to pay marks of homage to their European or native masters (*hormat*, Ar *ḥurma*). It is true that the central government repeatedly ameliorated these *hormat* but the practice for the most part continued. The administration of the law very much favoured Europeans; detention for examination, applied not only to accused persons but for convenience often to witnesses also, was an evil which had not yet been entirely abolished, trial and punishment by the police were not always just and were imposed only on natives, the security of private property was often very slight, cases occurred in which a man preferred to say nothing about a robbery of his possessions rather than bring down upon his head the unpleasant efforts of the authorities. The few rights were not equal to the hardships of forced labour and the frequent ill-treatment of the native workers in European businesses. Education was very insufficient. In addition, as a result of the progressive development in China, the attitude of many Chinese, especially newcomers, to the Javanese became so presumptuous that the latter felt deeply hurt; excesses against the Chinese showed how deeply.

b Their economic position had gone from bad to worse. The free development of native industry was much restricted when about 1830 the plantation system (Dutch "Cultuursysteem") especially for coffee, was introduced, which became a misfortune for the native population, when in 1877 the system was abolished, it had brought the Dutch government 832 million gulden — 21% of the State expenses (the so-called Indian Surplus). In the period that followed, the middle classes and the peasants were more and more deprived of their economic independence by the keen competition of European industries and plantations, while the retail trade had long been mainly in the hands of Chinese and Arabs. With however much tenacity they endeavoured to resist foreign competition, the decline was considerable, especially after the mainly native batik industry (turnover about 10 million gulden yearly; a short account of the native industry in *Koloniaal Verslag van 1920*, col. 7) was forced to use imported aniline dyes and textiles in place of the indigenous raw material (full details of this economic decay in *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart der inlandsche bevolking op Java en Madoera*, Report of the Commission, Batavia 1905—1914, 32 vols. folio).

c. In the third place may be mentioned the fear of conversion to Christianity, although this factor had only been in operation a very short time and the movement among the Muslim population aroused by the activity of the Christian missionaries was quite different both in time and place. But the fact that Christian propaganda was more active, and found open approval with some members of the Dutch parliament, and that a warning had been issued from Mekka against it, was used by the leaders of the Sarèkat Islam to arouse the masses in a way which would result in their joining the Sarèkat Islam.

A comparatively unimportant incident is said to have brought about the foundation of the Sarèkat Islam in 1910 (there are no reliable accounts of the first years). A case of dishonest practice on the part of a Chinese *kongsi* (company) in Lawéyan (Nglawéyan), a village near Surakarta, where very well-to-do Javanese merchants lived and where competition between them and the Chinese was unusually keen, is said to have aroused such bitterness among the cheated Javanese that the latter combined to bring about a boycott of Chinese goods Out of this grew the Sarèkat Islam, the organisation of which was perhaps modelled on the Sarèkat Dagang Islam of Buitenzorg, which had been founded some years earlier by a Javanese and some Arab merchants. The name Sarekat Dagang Islam was at any rate also used in Surakarta The Surakarta S. I, however, developed quite independently.

The S I. did not long adhere strictly to its original aims. The movement spread with astonishing rapidity after the boycott of Chinese goods had been successful The huge increase in membership cannot be explained simply from the hatred of the Chinese, natural at the time, but is rather due to the fact that the Javanese who longed for greater freedom and less tutelage thought that, after the successes won over the Chinese, the new union might assist them to a higher position as regards other foreigners also, i. e. this combination under a Muslim banner — in orthodox Lawéyan the union of the Muslims as such was natural — after it had once given proof that a victory for the Javanese was not an absolute impossibility, filled a gap generally felt in the circumstances described above in *a*, *b*, *c*, and could also bring within its ranks many people who had nothing to do with the boycott of the Chinese. Much more important than the details of its earliest history is the fact that this combination was able to rise and spread so rapidly, just as in the years following it was not single incidents and activities but the development of its aims that attracted attention to it. There is now a great difference between the origin and development of the S I, which is due to the fact that it was born from the higher needs of the Javanese people, but developed under the deciding influence of external circumstance; — viz. the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the world economic crisis after the war, and collapse that necessarily followed in Europe. Ideas were brought into the Sarèkat Islam from outside which were foreign to the Javanese people, who only demanded the fulfilment of modest requests and the satisfaction of local requirements.

The result was a great internal weakness which ended in the Sarèkat Islam losing the great influence it had as quickly as it had gained it.

The history of the Sarèkat Islam may be divided into three periods:

a. Up to the first national congress.

b. The zenith of the national congresses.

c. The decline of the Saièkat Islam before the rise of the radical Sarèkat Raʿyat.

a In the first period one can hardly talk of one homogenous Saiékat Islam. Under the leadership of the vigorous and able Radèn Usman Saiyid Tjakra Aminata, an inspiring orator, who soon, however, became dazzled by his own unbounded ambition, the movement spread beyond its home, especially in Eastern Java, in Surabaya the Sarèkat Islam newspaper *Utusan Hindia* (Indian Messenger) was founded in December, 1912, which was edited by Tjakra and long continued to be the most important organ of the S I. Branches were later founded in Sĕmarang, Tjirĕbon, Bandung and Batavia. Admission was made very easy, the curiosity of the masses, the suggestive effect of the ceremonial secret oath, and the rapidly increasing popularity of the Sarèkat Islam brought it more and more new members. In the period of first enthusiasm the statutes adopted at the official foundation on Nov. 9, 1911 (the members were to promote a brotherly feeling for one another, to give assistance to Muslims, to work for the social elevation and economic advancement of the people by all legitimate means), were fairly generally observed Soon, however, each local S I. began to work only for its own local ends, and according to the views of local leaders. There were some which served the material interests of the people, e. g by forming co-operative associations to strengthen the Javanese power of competition, others endeavoured by their intervention to dispose of the abuses to which the Javanese were exposed from officials and European employers, others again (e g the S. I-Batavia, which soon had 12,000 members) preached more accurate fulfilment of the duties of Islām. Expression was given to the desire for an improvement in the position of native women, an S. I. for children (*Sutarsa Mulya*) was even founded.

The successes of the S I. in the economic field were but short-lived The co-operative societies disappeared as soon as the first ardour of the members had cooled off, all economic activities suffered for the lack of financial training among the Javanese, S I funds were not seldom selfishly spent by the leaders of the movement In the field of social progress the S. I could certainly be credited with a general improvement of the relations between foreigners and Javanese to the benefit of the latter, although many gains were lost afterwards in the general decline of the movement. Interest in their religion was kept active by the leaders probably because they feared apathy. The bond of religion was to avert this evil. Before the National Congresses the S I. took very little part in politics.

The first contact of the S I with the Dutch government seems to have been the temporary suppression of the Surakarta S. I. as a result of excesses against the Chinese (Aug, 1912). On Sept. 14, 1912, Tjakra presented a petition which asked the central government to recognise the Sarèkat Islam. He received its decision on June 30, 1913. The government had long hesitated over its reply. Recognition of the, in themselves quite innocent, statutes involved to some extent a possible change in administration and in the colonial policy hitherto followed, which was based on the principle of the dependence of the native subjects. The leaders of the S. I. had shown themselves too weak to prevent the outrages against the Chinese practice might very soon be in great contrast to their fine promises. An official recognition of the statutes which would give the S. I. a legal standing would be regarded by the simple populace as complete approval of all the activities of the S. I or at least would be interpreted to mean that by its leaders In a discussion between the Governor General and a deputation of the S. I. on March 29, 1912, the former emphasised his personal sympathy with the S. I but pointed out dangerous weaknesses which stood in the way of approval of the petition presented, such as, for example, the bad management of financial business (which has always been a weak point). Finally the edict of June 30 refused the S I the desired recognition on practical grounds, but called the attention of the petitioner to the fact that requests for recognition and legitimisation by local S. I.'s would perhaps not be refused, these local associations would also be able to combine to form a legitimate central committee of representatives of the local sections. The local S I 's were to be responsible, to standardise their formulae of oaths and to draw these up in such a way that they would be regarded as harmless by the government The S. I was therefore organised in accordance with these instructions

The attitude of the officials in the provinces proved in general much more hostile to the Saiékat Islam than that of the Government in Buitenzorg This difference between the Government and some of its officials may have sown the seeds of been one of the most important causes of the native population's distrust of the Government, which was soon to appear. The frequent complaints of counter measures by local officials, some of whom at first in spite of the official recognition, even went so far as to suppress local S I 's, found sharper and sharper expression at the later congresses. The European population at this time was almost wholly against the Sarèkat Islam A certain nervousness overcame them at times, especially when hostilities with the Chinese had taken place. The tone of the European press was at first in general contemptuous, later hostile, this brought about an increasingly vigorous reaction in the native press, which was growing very rapidly. The Chinese, of course, were hostile to the S. I, the Arabs at first were on good terms with it and even had a considerable share in its early development, but when in the beginning of 1913 it was decided that only exceptionally could non-Indonesians be admitted to membership of the S. I, and particularly after the development of the S I. on progressive lines began to hurt their conservatism, they withdrew. The relations between S I. and *Budi Utama* were good although infrequent, representatives were sent from both to their congresses, etc.

b. In the period that followed, the political element became very prominent in the Sarèkat Islam and relations with the other political parties and movements became closer. The influence

of the growing European radicalism made itself more and more felt, European parties like the I S D. V. (Dutch Indies Social Democratic party) endeavoured to gain the S. I. to their side The official trend of the S. I. became more radical year by year, but within the movement arose strong counter-currents. Tjakra was the representative of the legal, national-democratic movement; Sĕma'un became the leader of the growing left minority. This young man, an ardent follower of the I S. D V, made his first public appearance at the first national congress where he advocated "pĕrsèt" (Dutch verzet, "resistance") to the government but was hardly able to attract the attention of his audience, yet his speech was notable enough, for he was the only one who had the courage to point to the weak points in the national movement, e g the lack of energy In contrast to the aristocratic Tjakra, he was a simple man of the people, whose work was distinguished by an unselfishness and an honesty unusual among Javanese. By the second congress we find him acting as president of the S I-Sĕmarang, where European radicalism had the greatest following, while at the third congress he had become a member of the C S I (Central Sarèkat Islam) Tjakra had only very reluctantly admitted him to it but he was afraid that this man, who promised more to the people than he did and had more understanding of their needs, would try to gain control of the business and he thought that he would more easily be able to keep him in check as a member of the C S. I In order not to lose his popularity, however, he moved more and more from his original attitude with the result that the opposition of the conservative wing increased. The struggle between Tjakra and Sĕma'un governed the development of the S. I for the next few years. With great skill Tjakra was repeatedly able to avert a split within the Sarèkat Islam but finally circumstances became too strong for him, and when, at the sixth congress, the S I. was forced to a choice and in Tjakra's absence drove Sĕma'un out of the party, it was too late for the S I

A few details regarding the national congresses, where the different opinions and tendencies were able to find clear expression, may now be given.

The first national congress was held in Bandung on June 17—24, 1916. Shortly before (March, 18), the C. S. I. had received official recognition and an attempt to make the west Javanese and Sumatran S I. branches independent of the C. S I. had failed. An idea of the extent of the S. I may be gleaned from the following figures There were representatives of 52 Javanese branches (representing 273,377 members), 15 Sumatran (c 76,000), 7 Borneo (5,574), while Celebes and Bali each had one branch In an enthralling speech in which he dealt with the most important questions of the day, Tjakra emphasised the value of the name "national congress", the S I. was to set itself a new goal. the land was to raise itself to be a nation, the S I. was to cooperate in obtaining self-government for the Dutch Indies soon, or the native elements would be granted greater influence in questions of administration; but he gave praise to the central government which had now really abandoned the old policy and was going to take the first step on the path of "policy and association" (cf Snouck-Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, IV/II. 291—306) with the promise that a council composed of European, native and foreign Oriental members would be given to the Governor-General. — There was a great deal talked of here and in subsequent congresses which the great majority of the delegates did not understand Statements such as that the "Ḳur'ān is a work of the greatest importance for socialism", that the Prophet (according to a contributor to the *Hindustan Review*[1]) is "the father of socialism, the "precursor of democracy", show on what lines propagandists of European parties endeavoured to gain adherents for their teaching. Perhaps the most important work of the congress was the discussion of the 86 proposals made by the local S. I 's, which usually referred to local complaints and were published with Tjakra's opinion in the *Utusan Hindia* of June 15—16, 1916. From these motions we see what expectations the simple country people hoped to realise through the S I , the desire for greater personal freedom and independence was continually expressed at this and following conferences, it was not the confused political ideas of a few leaders that attracted the masses to the S. I but the hope of achieving their desires through this powerful organization, this explains why they later left the S I 's so readily, when Sĕma'un's party promised to further native interests more than the S I had done

The second national congress (Batavia, Oct 20–27, 1917, 281 motions from local branches) dealt with the question what attitude the S I should adopt to the coming "Volksraad" (on the organization etc of the Volksraad see *Koloniale Studien*, Vol 1, Oct., 1917, *Extra Politiek Nummer*, p 169 *sqq*), the share that was to be given in it to Indonesians did not satisfy them, still less did the continued postponement of its opening The congress laid down a declaration of principles which explains the political goal of the C S I.: testimony is given to the superiority of Islām but absolute neutrality is demanded from the authorities; in view of the consideration that the majority of the native population lives under a state of wretchedness, the C S I will always combat any supremacy of "sinful capitalism" (cf *Kol Studien*, *op. cit*, p 35 *sqq.*, in this volume is also given the programme of work of the S I with notes and an elucidation of the political situation at this time, details of the programmes of the political parties of the day given by their own leaders)

The results of the unrest in Europe were clearly seen at the third national congress (Surabaya, Sept 20—Oct 6, 1918) The new situation created by the opening of the Volksraad on May 18, 1918 (Tjakra and one other leader were the representatives of the S. I.), and the ameliorations still desired were vigorously discussed. But the unrest which had taken possession of the native society was particularly discussed. Economic difficulties and the results of very successful preaching of the coming war against "sinful capitalism" increased the bitterness, disastrous results were soon to be seen The great strike at the end of 1917 and the outbreaks of the mob in Kudus and Dĕmak at the end o 1918 formed the beginning of a social struggle, which went on with intervals to the end of 1924, whose result for the present could hardly be in doubt in view of the weak economic position of the native population and the lack of that energy which alone could remove this fundamental evil. The organisation of the Javanese into *Pĕrsĕrikatan Ka'um Tani* (agricultural unions) and *P. K. Buruh* (industrial unions) had been in existence for some

years and expanded very much in the next few years. Their activities, which in recent years seem to have been supported by the Bolshevists, cannot be further discussed here, nor all their relations with the S. I. and the later S. Raʿyat (see below). At Christmas 1919 they were centralised by Sasrakardana in the R. S. V. (revolutionary socialist committee of the trade unions), which split at the end of 1920 into a moderate committee in Djokyakarta and a communistic under Sĕmaʿun in Sĕmarang, these combined again after Sĕmaʿun's adventurous journey to Russia to the Trades Union Congress at Madiun in Sept., 1922. Their activity has been by no means confined to questions relating to the working classes but has extended to the whole field of politics.

The period between the third and the fourth congress was a time of great unrest. Soon after the third congress the revolution in Europe caused the formation of the so-called "radical concentration" (Nov. 16, 1918) of different parties in the Volksraad including the S I. Here their leaders explained the new development of the S I. and defended the necessity of going farther than was laid down in the statutes (Nov 14, Dec 5, cf *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, 1918—1919, p 175—185, 518—525), the government, which continued to regard the course of affairs as a healthy development of native society (*Koloniaal Verslag van 1919*, p. 4—13), nevertheless sharply criticised the attitude of the C. S I to extremist movements (Dec. 2, cf. *Handelingen* etc., p 432—434) especially the assertion of the C. S I. that they could not assume responsibility for disturbances by local S I 's if the government did not meet their repeatedly expressed wishes more quickly, the C. S I. was to settle the conduct of the movement, not the branches, the government, however, again declared once more their readiness to co-operate with the C S I on the lines of their statutes — An incident which proved fatal for the S I was the discovery of a secret revolutionary organisation (the so-called section B of the S I) in the Preanger (S W. Java), as a result of investigations into a case of armed resistance to the authorities in the *dèsa* of Tjimaièmè near Garut (July 4—7, 1919, cf the synopsis of the report of the government commissioner G. A J. Hazeu in the *Handelingen van den Volksraad*, Tweede gewone Zitting, 1919, Bijlagen, Onderwerp 10, p. 2—21). The relation of this section B to the C. S. I. and S. I. is by no means clear (cf. *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1919—1920, Tweede Kamer, Dec. 22, p. 1158[b], Blumberger in the *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indie*, Suppl, p. 15[b], *Kolon Verslag van 1921*, p. 6). Tjakra denied that either the C. S. I. or the local S. I.'s had anything to do with the section B (cf. also *Handelingen der St.-G* etc, p. 1153[b]; *Hand. v. d. Volksraad*, 1919—1920, p. 90—92, 94, 96, 106—110, 114, 211) In any case the government decided to grant no further legal recognitions unless the oaths were taken out of the statutes, etc.; as they thought (probably rightly) that within the S. I. an anti-Dutch movement had become predominant (*Kol. Versl. van 1920*, chap. B, p. 5), they withdrew from the S I. the moral support which they had afforded it in recent years against the local authorities — In other respects also the Sarèkat Islam soon met with many great difficulties which crippled its external activities and forced it to work to strengthen itself internally.

The fourth national congress (Surabaya, Oct 26—Nov. 2, 1919) was mainly devoted to the discussion of the coming R S. V. (see above) and the relation of the S. I. to it and can be passed over here.

The difficulties increased. The fifth national congress was postponed on account of a sharp criticism of the financial and political management of the C S I (by the communist Darsana in the *Sinar Hindia* of Oct 6—9, 1920, cf. *Kol. Verslag van 1921*, col 6, *Kol. Verslag van 1922*, col 9). The branches demanded an account of the money entrusted by them to the C. S. I. The first secretary of the C. S. I. was arrested in Nov., 1920, and sentenced on account of the branch B affair The situation became more and more confused owing to the increasing activity of the other unions

The fifth congress which was finally held at Djokyakarta from March 2—6, 1921, was Tjakra's last attempt to keep the control of the whole Javanese popular movement in the hands of the C S I by a compromise between the very diverse movements and the postponement of the most difficult questions for which no solution could be found The compromise was embodied in a new programme of principles in which (*a*) the fatal influence of European capital, which had, it was said, made slaves of the native population, was exposed, (*b*) Islām — which, by the way, demands a popular government, workmen's councils, a division of the soil and the means of production, makes work compulsory and prohibits anyone becoming rich through the work of another — was adopted as a basis and (*c*) the readiness of the S I. to international co-operation within the limits placed by Islām and with maintenance of its independence was emphasised. The difficult questions of "party discipline" was postponed (whether a member of the S I could be also a member of another political party), which question the C S. I. wished to answer in the negative and the left wing closely allied with the communist party in the affirmative. Since *a* and *c* were wanted by the communists, and they were no doubt willing to take *b* along with the rest, their claim that communism was now victorious in the S I was intelligible. It is also easy to understand that the struggle within the S I was soon renewed, because the C S. I. would not allow this interpretation of the compromise (cf. *Utusan Hindia* of March 26, 1921). The breach followed at the sixth national congress (Sura baya, Oct 6—10, 1921) Tjakra was not present; he had been arrested in August, 1921 (because he was thought to have committed perjury in the section B affair, but he was released in April, 1922, and pronounced not guilty in Aug, 1922). The deputy-chairman was not able to avert the decision, the principle of party discipline was approved by a majority of the congress and Sĕmaʿun and his followers left the S. I. (Oct. 8, 1921), soon afterwards (Christmas, 1921) they formed themselves into a Pĕrsatuan S. I. or S. I. Mérah (Red S I.) with headquarters at Sĕmarang.

c. After this decision the S. I lost ground rapidly. The fidelity of its members disappeared before the attractions of the radical party. After

the release of Tjakra he resumed his propaganda for the S. I. but with scant success. He had lost much of his earlier influence and he no longer represented the S. I. in the new Volksraad. He now followed a moderately progressive policy. The seventh national congress was held in the conservative centre of Madiun (Febr. 17–20, 1923). Tjakra again took up cultural and religious questions, in recent years Muslim affairs had been left to special unions, e.g. to the Muḥammadīya. Tjakra now became president of the first pan-Islāmic congress (Tjirĕbon, Nov. 1, 1922) which had been organised on the model of the "All India Muslim League". A lively interest in questions of international Islām was displayed, a telegram of homage was sent to Mustafā Kemāl Pasha, the Javanese attitude to the caliphate question was discussed In the Volksraad the S I. attached itself to the second radical bloc, which was formed on account of the legislative proposals for the revision of the Dutch Indies Constitution But its activity remained very limited.

In contrast to the decline of the S. I was the rise of the radical S I Its leader, Sĕmaʿun, entered into relations with the Russian Soviet government in Moscow His activity in the trade unions has already been mentioned above His arrest was the cause of the great railway strike of May 8, 1923. Deported from the Dutch Indies he went to Holland, where he was made a member of the committee of the communist party as "representative of the Indonesian popular movement" At the end of 1924 he was in China, with which country his party maintained active communication, especially after Sun Yat Sen's adoption of Bolshevism On May 4, 1923, the radical S. I and the P. K I (Indian communist party) held a joint congress in Bandung. The red S I was on this occasion given the name of Sarèkat Raʿyat (Union of the People). Propaganda was conducted in close co-operation with the P K. I The S. R. was to be a preparatory school for the P. K. I and only trained pupils were to be admitted to the P K. I. Courses for S. R. leaders seem to produce brilliant propagandists in spite of the astounding ignorance which the newspapers talk of (? with truth). The S R takes no account of religion; it is "neutraal kĕpada Allah" (neutral to Allāh) The leaders in the towns are often hostile to religion, but in the country they are Muslims, there seems to be group of religious communists. The S. R. was continually fought by the authorities. Meetings were forbidden, breaches of the law relating to the free and public speaking were punished, communistic books etc. confiscated, inconvenient members of the party rendered harmless by detention for examination. Since Aug. 31, 1924, the campaign against them has been intensified. One result has been a milder attitude towards the moderate unions (S. I etc). Nothing definite can yet be stated about the results of this campaign

The branches of the S.I. outside Java are far from being as important as the Javanese. The conditions were different, the soil much less suitable for the seed sown by the S I Since 1914 branches of the S. I have been formed in the most important centres which in general have produced a more active interest in the religious life. Locally there were occasional excesses But the enthusiasm soon cooled down. Representatives were sent to the national congresses in Java, who made known to the congress the local complaints of the district they represented. Later there was sometimes the same conflict between S. I. and S R. but to a far less degree than in Java. — The first S. I. outside Java seems to have been the S. I. Palèmbang, founded Nov. 14, 1913, by Javanese. The influence of the S. I varied greatly according to local conditions. In Atjèh the situation was difficult about 1921 because the S. I. (often secretly organised) seems to have pursued anti-Dutch propaganda. In Djambi the S. I. played a part in the disturbances of the years 1916 and later; in Minangkabau the pan-Sumatran tendency was stronger than the Javanese influence of the S. I. The action of the S. I. in the islands of Ternate and Ambon was important, radical tendencies were strongly represented on the latter island. Finally we must not omit to mention that the development of the youthful S I was watched with the greatest interest from Mekka In the years 1910 and onwards there was a certain amount of anxiety here because the Dutch government was credited with the intention of making the hadjdj impossible for their Indonesian subjects, and, of course, on the pilgrimage of the "Djāwa" the Mekkans depend a great deal for their livelihood (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II., ch 4) There seems to have been a correspondence between the Mekkan ʿUlamāʾ and the Muslim authorities in Indonesia regarding the activity of Christian Missions; special prayers are even said to have been offered in the Holy Mosque for the Muslims of Indonesia There was therefore much interest in the S I At the end of 1913 a pamphlet on the S. I. appeared in Mekka in Arabic and was afterwards translated into Malay A Mekka branch of the S. I. was founded (probably for the Indonesians living there) of the activities of which nothing further is known to the writer This is probably the only branch of the S. I. outside of the Dutch East Indies.

To sum up we may say that the S. I. has played an important part in the development of the relations between Holland and the Dutch Indies, and that its history is important for the history of the revival of Islām and of the awakening of Eastern Asia The S. I is the first great independent expression of a want that had been felt among the Indonesians for several decades, their desire for greater freedom and more independence. Their leaders guided it into a radical, perhaps also national, direction, but the masses never understood their theories and gave most support to the movement which best met local requirements In the fifteen years of the existence of the S I. there has been externally a tremendous change in Javanese society, the causes of which are also to be sought in events during and after the World War; development internally began especially through the influence of the S.I. but naturally will progress much more slowly The further development of the popular movement among the Javanese, which is in itself important as a sign of the times, will also depend on many external factors; the degree of capability among the European authorities to adapt their policy to the slowly changing situation may be particularly decisive for the future character of the popular movement.

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Here we may also mention· A Cabaton, *La "Sarékat Islam"* in the *R. M. M.*, 1912, xxi 348—365 (preceded [p 330—348] by an article by the same writer on the native press of the day in the Dutch Indies); *Der „Sarekat Dagang Islam" und der Aufruhr auf Djambi*, in the *Deutsche Wochenzeitung fur die Niederlande*, Sept. 17, 1916, *Bemerkenswerte Stromungen in den Bataklanden. Der S. I*, in the *Rhein. Miss. Ber.*, 1917, p 25; G Simon, *Der „Sarikat Islam" auf Sumatra*, in the *Allg. Missionszeitschrift*, 1917, xliv 123—125, Fr von Mackay, *Der Mohamedaner Bund „Sarekat Islam"*, in *Die Islamische Welt*, Febr, 1918, cf. *Der S I.* in *„Kriegsbeleuchtung"* by J Th. P. Blumberger in the *Koloniaal Weekblad*, June 20, 1918, O J. A Collet, *L'évolution de l'esprit indigène aux Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* in the *Bull Soc. Belge d'Et col*, 1920, xxvii. 461—524, 1921, xxviii 1—75 [sep cd., Brussels 1921] and thereon *Kolon Weekblad*, of May 12, 1921, and *Kolon. Tydschrift*, 1921, p 538, P. H Fromberg, *De inlandsche Beweging op Java*, in *de Gids*, 1914, N⁰ 10 and 11, B Alkema, *De Sarikat Islam*, Utiecht, nd , J. Th P. Blumberger, *De Sarekat Islam, en hare beteekenis voor den Bestuursambtenaar*, in the *Kol Tydschr.*, 1919, viii. N⁰. 2, 3, 4, do , *Stemmingen en Stroomingen in de Sarekat Islam*, the Hague 1920, do., Artikel S. I. in the *Encyklopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*², iii , the Hague Leiden 1919, p. 694ᵃ—703ᵃ, and *Aanvullingen*, p 15ᵃ—21ᵇ (1922), 196ᵃ—203ᵇ (1924), C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn-Leipzig 1924, iv/ii. 395—402, 405—406, 409—410, the following work by the same author is very valuable for judging the situation at the time of the rise of the S I , although written rather earlier *Politique Musulmane de la Hollande*, Paris 1911, and *Verspr. Geschr* , iv/ii. 227—316. (C. C. BERG)

ṢARF is defined by the jurists as a contract of sale (*bayʿ*) in which the goods to be exchanged are of precious metal (*thaman*). *Ṣarf* is primarily money-changing, but also includes any exchange of gold and silver. As the name shows — *ṣarf* is *maṣdar* of a verbum denominativum from *ṣairaf* or *ṣarrāf* — the business of money-changing is of Aramaic origin (cf Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdworter im Arab.*, p. 182 *sqq.*; Lambert in the *R E. J.*, 1906, ii. 29). The expression *ṣarf* seems to have been first naturalised in Islām about the end of the first century A. H. With this is connected the fact that Mālik b Anas in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* and with him the Mālikīs make a sharp distinction between money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the exchange of gold for gold or silver for silver (*murāṭala* by weight, *mubādala* by measure or number), which the other law-schools do not do, only in al-Shāfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, iii 30) is a similar term, *muwāzana*, once found. The legal principles relating to *ṣarf*, which are closely connected with the laws relating to usury, are based on the Hadīth, while the Ḳurʾān has nothing on the subject. They are the following:

1) With the same kind of material (*djins*), the exchange can only be made with an equal quantity (*tamāthul*) even if the articles are different in quality and workmanship. With unlike materials (gold for silver) this rule does not hold. Coins debased more than half are treated as merchandise (as in the Talmudic law; cf. Lambert, *op cit.*, p. 32 *sq*) and can be exchanged with a surplus (*mutafāḍilan*). A recompense for the making up of bullion into ornaments etc. is therefore prohibited as usury, while modern authorities recognise the value of the labour and do not consider the sale as *ṣarf* (Benali Fekar, p 80)

2) Ownership in the goods must pass on either side before the contracting parties separate (*al-taḳābud ḳabl al-tafarruk*) A cash payment is therefore necessary (*nakd*), to the exclusion of all credit (which has passed into Turkish legislation, see below). Among the Ḥanafīs, for example, a silver vessel, only part of the purchase price of which is paid, is common property, while among the Mālikis and Shāfiʿīs such a sale is quite invalid (*bāṭil*) There are also differences of opinion regarding the settlement of a debt. In general the rule is that the combination of a *sarf* with another legal matter in one agreement is not permitted

3) The object to be exchanged cannot be disposed of before the ownership is acquired.

4) No option can be reserved (*khiyār al-shart*), on the other hand *khiyār al-ʿaib* is allowed in case of defects and *khiyār al-ruʾya* in purchase of bullion (e g ornaments)

The jurists have also evolved subterfuges which make a profit possible in money-changing (al-Ḳudūrī and al-Halabī at the end of the *Bāb*; *Mudawwana*, viii. 126 *sq* ; Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, p. 281) The money-changers contemned by the ʿUlamāʾ — usually Jews — have been organised into gilds since the middle ages (Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, p 449, Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, title 67, art 6 *sqq*) In modern Muslim states there are special laws relating to money-changing (for Turkey cf Young, *op. cit.*; of the year 1281 = 1861). Cf. the art. RIBĀ.

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SĀRĪ (formerly SĀRŪĪ; J Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 135; Arab. SĀRIYA), a town in Persia, the

former capital of Ṭabaristān (Māzandarān), 8 miles from the Caspian Sea, 20 from Āmul. Its foundation is attributed to Tūs, son of Nūdhar, general of the mythical king Kai-Khusraw, because there is a place there called Tūsān. Farīburz is said to have taken refuge there; the castle which he built could be seen at a place called Lūman Dūn. The town itself was built in the time of Farrukhān the Great, *ispahbadh* of Ṭabaristān (end of the seventh century) by Bāv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar Sārī has several times been the capital of Ṭabaristān, — under the Ṭāhirids (820—872) and the ʿAlids Hasan b. Zaid (254/868) and Muḥammad b Zaid (270/884) The great mosque begun by the Amīr Yaḥyā b Yaḥyā in the reign of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was finished by Māzyār b Ḳārin (d 224 = 839). A building is pointed out called Sēgunbadhān "the three cupolas", said to be the tomb of the three sons of Faridūn, Iradj, Salm and Tūr

The district is not fertile and the climate unhealthy. Silk is the principal product. Under the Ṭāhirids, the canton of Sārī (which extended as far as Tammīsha) had a revenue of 1,300,000 dirhams.

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(Cl Huart)

SARĪʿ, the "swift metre", so named because of its swiftness of scansion and swiftness of appeal to taste (Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, p 137), is the ninth in the prosody of the Arabs It is the first of the six metres of the fourth circle, which is called "the intricate" (*dāʾirat al-mushtabih*) on account of its metrical intricacy (Palmer, *Arabic Grammar*, London 1874, p. 346 *sqq.*) The paradigm is *mustafʿilun*, *mustafʿilun*, *mafʿūlātu* (bis), which is rarely, if ever, found. According to the native system, the *sarīʿ* is of four kinds and has seven varieties (De Sacy, *Traité de la Prosodie des Arabes*, Paris 1831, p. 25).

But the normal form is *mustafʿilun*, *mustafʿilun*, *fāʿilun*.

|⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ – | – ⏑ – || ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ – | – ⏑ – |

Mafʿū or *faʿlun* (– –) is often used in the *ḍarb*; and, more rarely, *maʿulā* or *faʿilun* (⏑ ⏑ –) in both *ʿarūḍ* and *ḍarb*, although not so commonly in the latter. A further variety employed by later poets is the introduction of an extra syllable to the *ḍarb*, thus *fāʿilātun* (– ⏑ – –).

Bibliography. Refer to the works under article ʿArūḍ. (J. Walker)

al-SARĪ b. al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, held the office of governor and financial controller of Egypt from Ramaḍān 1, 200 (April 3, 816). On Rabīʿ I 1, 201 (Sept. 27, 816) the troops openly mutinied against him and al-Maʾmūn was forced to remove al-Sarī from his post and replace him by Sulaimān b. Ghālib; al-Sarī was put in prison and Sulaimān entered upon his office on Tuesday, Rabīʿ I 4, 201 (Sept 30, 816), but was removed from office as early as Shaʿbān 1 (Feb. 22, 817) as the result of a repeated revolt of the troops, and al-Sarī again appointed by al-Maʾmūn. The news of his appointment reached Egypt on Shaʿbān 12 (March 4, 817), al-Sarī was released from prison and entered al-Fustāṭ on the same day. He held office till his death on Djumādā I 30, 205 (Nov. 11, 820). That al-Sarī played a prominent part in Egypt even before his appointment as governor is evident also from his mention in the *ṭirāz* of a *kiswa* intended for the Kaʿba of the year 197 (812/13). His name is also found on gold and copper coins of Egypt, see W. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, p 188, N⁰. 1700 (Misr 200 A. H.), p. 193, N⁰. 1737 (200 and 202 A H), H Nutzel, *Katalog d orient. Munzen in den Kgl Museen zu Berlin*, 1. 367, N⁰. 2247; Ismāʿīl Ghālib, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-i islāmiye Ḳatalogi*, p. 188, N⁰ 563 (Misr 200 A. H), p. 387, N⁰. 928 (Misr 201 A. H.), N⁰. 929 (Misr 204 A H)

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(Adolf Grohmann)

al-SARĪ b. Mansūr, better known as Abu 'l-Sarāyā, a hirer of asses who became a brigand as a result of a murder, and then entered the service of Yazīd b Mazyad al-Shaibānī in Armenia who used him and his thirty horsemen to fight the Khurramīs (cf. the art. Khurramīya). He commanded the advance-guard of Harthama's army in the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, remaining in the service of this general he was given the title of amīr Permitted to go on pilgrimage to Mekka he distributed to his soldiers the 20,000 dirhams that Harthama had given him and got money for himself by holding to ransom the governors he met on his way, defeated the troops sent against him and entered the desert. Reaching Rakka, he there met the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ṭabāṭaba whose side he took, went down the Euphrates by boat while his chief went by land; they reached Kūfa on Djumādā II 10, 199 (Jan. 26, 815). To get rid of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā whose authority was greater than his and who had prevented him from taking the treasure of Zuhair b al-Musaiyib, he poisoned him (Radjab 1 (= Febr. 15) and replaced him by another ʿAlid, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Zaid, while retaining effective control in his own hands. He struck dirhams at Kūfa (*Z.D.M G.*, XXII. 707) and sent troops to seize Basra and Wāsiṭ. He appointed governors at Mekka and Medīna.

Harthama, who was on his way to Khurāsān, sent troops to al-Madāʾin who defeated Abu 'l-Sarāyā's army (Shawwāl = May/June). Besieged in Kūfa and feeling that his men were losing heart, he fled at the head of 800 horsemen (Muharram 16, 200 = Aug. 26, 815), made for Susa, fought

al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī's troops, was defeated and wounded, whereupon his force melted away. He tried to reach his home at Raʾs al-ʿAin but was overtaken at Djalūlā by Hammād al-Kundaghūsh who made him prisoner and brought him to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, al-Maʾmūn's vizier, then to Nahrawān, who had him beheaded (Rabīʿ I, 10 = Oct. 18, 815); his body was hung on a gibbet on the bridge of Baghdād. His rebellion had lasted ten months.

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SARĪ AL-SAḲAṬĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN SARĪ B MUGHALLIS, a Sunnī mystic, died at Baghdād on Ramaḍān 28, 257 (870) or 253 (867) aged 78 (or 98). He was the uncle of Djunaid [q v], teacher of Nūrī, Kharrāz and Khair Nassādj, and figures at a later period in the classic *isnād* of the *Khirḳa* of the Sūfīs between Maʿrūf Karkhī [q v] and Djunaid. The latter was actually his pupil and had himself buried in Sarī's tomb which still exists at Shūniz (cf. L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Cairo 1912, ii 105) But Maʿrūf can hardly have been the direct teacher of Sarī

Sarī is said to be equivalent to *ʿIsā* either as synonymous with *Rafīʿ* or by an accommodating interpretation of Kurʾān xix 24, *Sakaṭī* means a dealer in old iron and old clothes

As regards doctrine, Sarī was the pupil of al-Muḥāsibī [q.v], he insists on the reality of a reciprocal love uniting God to man (*shawḳ*), he maintains that a true lover ought no longer to suffer any physical pain and says that at the Last Judgement the *muḥibbūn* will have a place of honour above the three communities (of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad) Sarī was attacked by Ibn Hanbal for having admitted that the letters of the text of the Kurʾān were created and for having neglected asceticism in the matter of food.

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ṢARĪ ʿABD ALLĀH EFENDI, Ottoman poet and man of letters, was the son of Saiyid Muhammad, a prince of the Maghrib who had fled to Constantinople in the reign of Sultān Ahmad I, and had married the daughter of Muḥammad Pasha, brother of the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pasha He was brought up by the latter, who had entrusted his education to Shaikh Maḥmūd of Scutari, accompanied him as *tadhkiredjī* ("editor") when during his second vizierate he was given the command of the troops in the Persian campaign, was appointed *raʾis al-kuttāb* in 1037 (1627/28) in place of Muhammad Efendi who had just died and was dismissed at the same time as his patron. On the latter's death he was appointed *raʾis* of the imperial *rikāb* in 1047 (1637/38), accompanied Murād IV to Baghdād and then became *raʾis al-kuttāb* for the second time He filled other offices till 1065 (1655) when he retired from public life, he died in 1071 (1660/61) He wrote a commentary in Turkish on the first volume of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, and composed several original works, some moral like the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* and the *Thamarāt al-Ḳulūb* and others mystical like the *Durra*, the *Djawhara* and the *Maslik al-ʿUshshāḳ*, and a collection of 141 official documents entitled *Dustur al-Inshāʾ*, as well as verses and songs under the *takhalluṣ* of ʿAbdī His tomb is in the cemetery of Māl-tepè outside the Ṭop-Ḳapu (Gate of St. Romanus) at Constantinople (Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv. 79).

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(CL. HUART)

ṢARĪ KŪRZ, also SARĪ KEREZ, an Ottoman jurist and military judge. His proper name was Nūr al-Dīn and he was born in the district of Ḳarasi, his father's name being Yūsuf. After studying under famous teachers, including Ḳodja Sinān Pasha, he entered upon a legal career, becoming professor (*muderris*), later "guardian" (*ṣahn*) and finally in 917 (1511/1512) ḳāḍī of Stambul Sulṭān Bāyazīd II employed him on various affairs of state, for example on a mission to Prince Selīm (cf. J von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, ii 353, and *Die osm. Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, ed by L. Forrer, Leipzig 1923, p. 28 *sq.*, also *G O.R*, ii 371) In 919 (1513/1514) in the reign of Selīm I he was appointed military judge (ḳāḍī-ʿasker) of Anatolia and in 921 (1515/1516) of Rumelia. Next year he was dismissed and became again "guardian". about 926 (1619/1620) he became kādī of Stambul for a second time (cf Leunclavius, *Hist Musulm.*, p 613, 30, and F Giese, *An. Chr*, p 130, 23) In 928 (1521/1522, according to other sources 929 = 1522/1523) he died in Stambul where he was buried in a mosque which he had built. He lived not far from the mesdjid which bears his name (cf. *Ḥadīkat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i. 133 *sq* *G O R*, ix 72, N° 280), one quarter of Stambul is still called Sary guzel after him (a *ghalaṭ-meshhūr*, which has arisen from Sarī Kurz which came in time to be misunderstood, on the name see Sirri Pasha, *Ghalaṭāt-i meshhūre*, Stambul, second ed., s.v. *Ṣarī guzel*, and J H Mordtmann in *Der Islam*, xiv 155). On his son Mehmed cf ʿAṭāʾī suppl to the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, p 265, on his son-in-law Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf of Sonsa, famous as a commentator, cf. Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Feḏhlike*, i 309 *Ḥadīkat al-Djawāmiʿ*, i 134, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* iii. 108.

Sarī Kurz wrote on Fiḳh and left a number of works, a list of which is given in Hādjdjī Khalīfa *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, under N° 7119

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ṢARĪ ṢALṬĪḲ DEDE, a Turkish dervish and Bektāshī saint. He was a contemporary of Hādjdjī Bektāsh [q. v.] in whose legendary biography (cf his widely spread *Wilāyet-nāma*) he plays, an important rôle and of whom he is said to have been a disciple, and came, like many dervishes of Anatolia at that time, from Bukhārā. His real name is said to have been Mehmed (Mehmed Bukhārī in Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥetnāme*, ii. 134 5—6) Practically nothing is known of his life and career According to the *Oghuznāme* in the extract in Seiyid Loḳmān, in 662 (1263/64) he led a

large body of people (10,000—12,000), said to have been Anatolian Turkomans, who settled on the western coast of the Black Sea in Dobrudjan Tartary, especially around Baba Daghi. The reason for this migration is unknown; it is perhaps connected with the advance of Hūlāgū (cf. *Der Islam*, xi. 24) Apart from the *Oghuznāme* (cf. J. J. W. Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro Turcico qui Oghuznāme inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, and G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und turk. Handschr. der Wiener Hofbibl.*, ii. 225) there are no contemporary reports and the possible Byzantine sources are also silent (e g Pachymeres, Nicephoros Greg., Georg. Akropolita; cf, however, J. J. W. Lagus, *op. cit.*, p. 30 *sqq*) It seems, however, that older accounts once existed but have now been lost. For example, according to Ewliyā Čelebi [q. v.], Yazīdji-oghlu Mehmed Čelebi (d. 854 = 1450) wrote a *risāla* on Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ and Ken'ān Pasha, some time governor of Oczakow, composed a *Ṣaltīknāme* of 40 *kurrāsa* (cf. Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, iii. 366, and thereon Vas. Dmitr. Smirnov, *Očerk istorii tureckoj literaturï* in Korsh, *Vseobščaya istoriya literatur*, St. Petersburg 1891, where extracts are given from a *Ṣaltīknāme*). Ewliyā, who seems to have had access to one of these sources now lost, says that Ṣarī Saltīḳ lived in Arpa Čukuru, Sīwās and Tokat before he migrated to Bessarabia There he is described as *'adjam*, which would be in accordance with Ewliyā's statement elsewhere (i 659)· "purifier (*ṭāhir*) from the 'Irāḳ". The earliest notice of Ṣarī Saltīḳ is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii 416) who visited about a generation after his death his sanctuary at "Baba Ṣaltuḳ" (the site of which, however, cannot even approximately be defined) and very briefly tells of the saint's miracles (*manāḳib*) The fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is obviously not able to give anything reliable about Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ who died barely 50 years before raises legitimate doubts regarding either the Arab traveller's statements or the historicalness of the saint. The fact is that traits and miracles are ascribed to him which are reported of Byzantine saints, and that Sarī Ṣaltīḳ is confused with Byzantine saints. The legend given by Ewliyā of Ṣarī Saltīḳ is remarkable and probably isolated According to it, the wonder-worker gave his disciples the order to bury his body after his death in 6 or 7 coffins in remote towns of infidel lands, "so that ignorance where the body really is will produce everywhere a pilgrimage of Muslims and from the pilgrimage will result the incorporation of these lands into the kingdom of Islām" (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii 354 *sq*, following Ewliyā Čelebi, *op. cit*, iii. 133 *sq.*). According to Ewliyā, coffins were therefore taken to Baba Eskisi, Baba Daghi, Kalıakra, Buzeu (Rumania) and even to Danzig The conversion of the Lipka Tatars to Islām is ascribed to Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ. Christian saints are repeatedly identified with the Turkish saint and still more numerous are the places in the Balkans associated with the latter. In Kalıakra (Ḳılghra) Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ appears as a dragon-slayer, who liberates an imprisoned Christian princess (cf. Ewliyā, ii. 137 *sq.*; C. J. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1890, p. 536; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p. 27; *Archaol.-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, 1886, x. 188 *sq.*; *Z. D. M. G.*, 1922, lxxvi. 155), and Ewliyā himself brings Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ into connection with St. Nicolas (Sveti Nikola; cf. *op. cit*, ii. 137). There are other sanctuaries or tombs of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ in Kroja (cf. *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, vii. 60; Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71 *sqq.*; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, p. 223 *sqq.*, 236 *sqq.*), in Adrianople (Ewliyā, iii. 481 *sq*), Corfu, where he is associated with St. Spyridon (Spiridion) (cf. Sāmī Bey Frasherī [an Albanian!], *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, p. 2916), in Blagay at Mostar (cf. Šaćir Sikirić, *Dervisklostorok és szent sírok Boszniában* in the *Túrán*, Budapest 1918, p 605 *sqq.*, lacking in Ewliyā (vi. 474, so probably a legend of later invention!), in Chass, a place between Kroja and Djakova, where his alleged tomb is shown (cf. F. W. Hasluck, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi. 122, note 3), in the Greek monastery of St. Naum (Sveti Naum) on the south shore of Lake Ohrida (cf. Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *op. cit.*). Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ once becomes St. George, also Elias, then St. Simeon and finally "Kara Konjolos" (!, cf. Evlyā, *Travels*, ed. J. von Hammer, i. 161, not in the Stambul printed text) and he thus becomes one of the most remarkable features in the mingling of Muslim and Christian beliefs. The principal sanctuary of Ṣarī Saltīḳ is, however, at Baba Daghi (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit* , Ewliyā, iii. 368 *sq.*) It was built by Sulṭān Bāyazīd II, the *Walī*, as a place of pilgrimage to which Sulṭān Sulaimān afterwards made a pilgrimage (cf. *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pacha Zadéh*, ed. M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1859, p. 80 *sqq* , 177, J. v Hammer, *G. O. R* , iii. 202). Ṣarī Saltīḳ finally appears as *Pīr* of the gild of *Bozadjiler*, the makers of *boza* (millet-spirit) (cf Ewliyā, i. 659, where Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ is described as disciple [*khalīfa*] of Aḥmed Yesewī). Whether Sāīi Salté in Al. Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes*, St. Petersburg 1860, p. 94 *sqq* , is identical with our Sarī Ṣaltīḳ need not be discussed here In later Ottoman literature, Ṣarī Saltīḳ occasionally plays a part, for example in the *Khamsa* "fiver" of New'īzāde 'Atā'ī (d. 1044 = 1634, cf J von Hammer, *Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii 281) The half historical, half legendary figure of Sarī Saltīḳ Dede demands a thorough investigation. One thing is certain, that it is closely connected with the Bektāshī movement, in the region of expansion of which in the Balkans Sarī Saltīḳ enjoys the greatest esteem. So long as the history of the 'Alid sectarians ('*Alewī*) in south-eastern Europe is as obscure as at present, only vague statements can be made regarding Sarī Saltīḳ Dede

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SAR-I PUL, "the head of the bridge", called by Arab geographers Ra's al-Ḳanṭara, is a town of Afghān Turkistān situated in 36° 20′ N. Lat. and 65°

40′ E. Long. on the Āb-i Safīd from the bridge over which it takes its name. It is not to be confused with a village near Samarḳand or a quarter of Nīshāpūr, both of the same name, each of which is historically as important as the Afghān town. Between the northern spurs of the Paropamisus and the sands to the south of the Oxus, in a fertile tract well watered by streams from the mountains, but proverbially unhealthy, lay four Uzbeg Khānates or petty principalities, Akča, Shibarghān, Maimana and Sar-i pul with Andkhūī (Andkhud), the independence of which has been destroyed by the Durrānī and Bārakzāī Amīrs of Afghānistān. Of these principalities Sar-i pul was the last to succumb to the ruler of Kābul. In 1865 the troops stationed there revolted against the Amīr Shīr ʿAlī, but the mutiny was suppressed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān, who eventually succeeded as Amīr, not long afterwards Sar-i pul lost the last vestiges of its independence, but the former geographical and political divisions of the principalities are preserved and their Uzbeg inhabitants are exempt from liability to military service.

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SĀRIḲ (A.) "thief". Muslim legal theory distinguishes between *al-sirḳa al-ṣughrā* (theft) and *al-sirḳa al-kubrā* (highway robbery or brigandage)

1) Theft (*sirḳa*) is punished by cutting off the hand, according to Sūra v. 42 This was an innovation of the Prophet's, but, according to the *Awāʾil* literature, this had already been introduced in the days of paganism by Walīd b Mughīra (Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, 1 230). This method of punishment may be of Persian origin (cf. *Lettre de Tansar*, ed Darmesteter in the *J. A*, 1894, Series 9, III 220 *sq*, 525 *sq*., *Sad Dar* 64,5 = *Sacred books of the East*, xxiv. 327). In pre-Muhammadan Arabia theft from a fellow-tribesman or from a guest was alone considered despicable, but no punishment was prescribed for it, the person had himself to see how he could regain his property (Jacob, *Beduinenleben* ², p 217 *sq* ; cf. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen uber die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, p. 127 *sqq*, 261 *sqq*.) In the beginning of the first century A. H the right or left hand was cut off, there was no fixed rule. The Ḳurʾān leaves the point obscure and one tradition says that Abū Bakr ordered the left hand to be cut off (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Sirḳa*, bāb 4; al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, vi. 117). Cf. the variant of Sūra v. 42: *aimānahumā*, transmitted by Ibn Masʿūd

According to the teaching of the Fuḳahāʾ, the thief's right hand is cut off (for a second crime the left foot, then the left hand, then the right foot) and at the wrist, the stump is held in hot oil or fire to stop the bleeding. The Ḥanafīs and Zaidīs, however, put the culprit into prison at his third crime, which the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs only do after his fifth. The Shīʿīs inflict imprisonment for the third offence and death for the fourth. The punishment was inflicted in public; the thief was frequently led round the town seated backwards on an ass with the limb cut off hung round his neck (cf. Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 22; Rescher, *Studien uber den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Isl.*, 1919, ix. 68 *sqq*). Punishment could not be inflicted in cases of pregnancy, severe illness or when the weather was very cold or very hot. It is a *ḥadd* punishment, as a right of God (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) is violated by theft. But at the beginning of the second century A. H. mutilation is still contrasted with the *ḥadd* punishment (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi. 28). But as the rights of the owner are also injured (*ḥaḳḳ ādamī*) the thief is bound to make reparation. If the article stolen has disappeared, he is kept under arrest (not so according to Abū Ḥanīfa). The Caliph ʿUmar is said always to have condemned the thief to return double the value (cf. Roman law: Justinian, *Instit.*, 4, 1, 5).

The jurists define theft for which the *ḥadd* punishment is prescribed as the clandestine removal of legally recognised property (*māl*) in the safe keeping (*ḥirz*) of another of a definite minimum value (*niṣāb*; among the Ḥanafīs and Zaidīs ten dirhams, among the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Shīʿīs $^1/_4$ dīnār or 3 dirhams) to which the thief has no right of ownership; it is so distinguished from usurpation (*ghaṣb*) and confiscation (*khiyāna*) By *ḥirz* is meant guarding by a watchman or by the nature of the place (e. g. a private house) Thus theft from a building accessible to the public (e. g. shops by day, baths) is not liable to the *ḥadd* punishment. This is further only applied to one who 1) has attained his majority (*bāligh*, q. v.), 2) is *compos mentis* (*ʿāḳil*) and 3) has the intention (*nīya*) of stealing (*animus furandi*), i e is not acting under compulsion (*mukhtār*) No distinction is made between freeman or slave, male or female. The punishment is not applied in case of thefts between husband and wife and near relatives nor in the case of a slave robbing his master or a guest his host. Views are divided on the question of the punishment of the *dhimmī* and the alien (*musta'min*) with the *ḥadd*, and on the punishment of accomplices and accessories, in any case the total divided among them must reach the *niṣāb* for each of the thieves. It is not theft to take articles of trifling value (wood, water, wild game) and things which quickly go to waste (fresh fruit, meat and milk), or articles in which the *sharīʿa* does not recognise private ownership or things which are not legitimate articles of commerce (*māl*), like freeborn children, wine, pigs, dogs, chess-sets, musical instruments, golden crosses — the theft of a full grown slave is considered *ghaṣb* — or articles in which the thief already has a share (booty, state treasure, *waḳf*, common good to the value of the share), also copies of the Ḳurʾān and books (except account books) as it is assumed the thief only desires to obtain the contents The conception of literary theft is unknown to the Fiḳh.

The charge can be made by the owner and legitimate possessor (or depository) but not by a second thief. The legal inquiry has to be conducted in the presence of the person robbed. For proof two male witnesses are necessary or a confession (*iḳrār*; q. v.) which can, however, be withdrawn It is recommended to plead not guilty if at all possible (cf. the art. ADHĀB). If the thief, however, has given back the article stolen before the charge is made, he is immune from punishment. (cf. Sūra v. 43)

2) Highway robbery or robbery with violence (*muḥāraba*, *ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) occurs when anyone who can be dangerous to travellers falls upon them and robs them when distant from any possible help

or when someone enters a house, armed, with the intention of robbing (cf. Roman Law: Justinian, *Novellae*, 134, Ch. 13). The Shī'īs consider any armed attack even in inhabited places as highway robbery. The same regulations hold regarding the person and the object as above, especially the *niṣāb*. On the authority of Sūra v. 37 *sq.*, the culprit is liable to the following *ḥadd* punishments. If a man has committed a robbery which is practically a theft to be punished with *ḥadd* his right hand and left foot are cut off (the next time, the left hand and the right foot) If, however, he has robbed and killed, he is put to death in keeping with right of reprisal (*ḳiṣāṣ*) and his body publicly exposed for three days on a cross or in some other way. The punishment of death is here considered a *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*; the payment of blood-money (*diya*) is therefore out of the question. If the criminal repents, however, before he is taken, the *ḥadd* punishment is omitted, but the claim of the person robbed of the article for compensation and the talio remain. All accomplices are punished in the same way, if one of them cannot be held responsible for his actions, the *ḥadd* punishment cannot be inflicted on any.

All these laws hold only for the *ḥadd* punishment which the judge can only inflict when all conditions are fulfilled. In all other cases the thief is punished with *ta'zīr* [q.v.] and condemned to restore the article or to make reparation. It is the same with the thief who comes secretly but goes away openly (*muḵhtalis*) or the robber who falls upon someone and robs him at a place where help is available (*muntahib*) Special laws were therefore frequently passed in Muslim states to supplement the *sharī'a*, in Turkey, for example, by Mehmed II (*Mitteilungen zur Osm. Gesch*, i. [1921], p. 21, 35), Sulaimān II (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 147 *sq*), Mehmed IV and 'Abd al-Madjīd These laws endeavour more and more to replace the *ḥadd* punishment by fines and corporal punishment. The Turkish criminal code of 1858 still only recognises fines and imprisonment for theft although the *sharī'a* was not officially abolished thereby (cf. the art MEDJELLE). The code of punishment laid down in the *sharī'a* still at the present day holds only in Persia and Afghānistān and the Yemen

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SARIRA. [See ZĀBAG.]

ṢĀRLĪYA, the name of a sect in Northern Mesopotamia to the south of Mosul. This sect is also a kind of tribe called Sarlīs and lives in six villages, four of which lie on the right bank and two on the left of the Great Zāb, not far from its junction with the Tigris. The principal village, where the chief lives, is called Warsak, and lies on the right bank; the largest village on the left bank is Sefīye.

The Sarlīs, like the other sects found in Mesopotamia (Yazīdīs, Shabaks, Bādjūiān), are very uncommunicative with regard to their belief and religious practices, so that the other inhabitants of the country attribute abominable rites to them and allege that they have a kind of secret language of their own. In *al-Mashriḳ*, 1902, v. 577 *sqq.*, Père Anastase gives some notes on the Sarlīs (and also on the sects of Bādjūrān and the Shabaks) which he obtained from an individual in Mosul. According to him, their language is a mixture of Kurdish, Persian and Turkish As to religion, they are monotheists, believing in certain prophets, in paradise and hell. They neither fast nor pray. They believe that their chief has the power to sell territory in paradise For this purpose he visits all the villages at harvest time, and every Sarlī is allowed to purchase as much *dhirā'* as he can pay for. the price of a *dhirā'* is never less than a quarter of a medjīdīye. Credit is not granted. The chief gives a receipt which shows how much *dhirā'* an individual has acquired This receipt is put in the pocket of the dead man so that he can present it to Ridwān, the guardian of Paradise. The Sarlīs have also a feast-day once in every lunar year which consists in the consumption of a repast at which the chief presides, and to which every one contributes a cock boiled with rice or wheat. After this meal, called *aklat al-maḥabba*, the lights are said to be extinguished and orgies of promiscuity to take place. The head of the community is succeeded at his death by his unmarried son, he is forbidden to shave his beard or his moustache. The Sarlīs are polygamous They are said to have a sacred book written in Persian.

These statements should be taken with considerable reserve The Sarlīs themselves say that they are simply Kurds and belonged originally to the Kāke Kurds who have some villages near Kirkuk But the Kāke Kurds also have a mysterious reputation A characteristic feature noticed in one of the Sarlī villages (Sefīye) is an ornament with triangular holes in the walls of the principal buildings of the village.

The Sarlīs have the reputation of being good farmers. Their anthropological type is the same as that of the Kurds, as Père Anastase points out. It is only their religious beliefs that have been influenced by ultra-Shī'a and ancient Persian ideas. Like the Yazīdīs they have Muslim names; their present chief is called Ṭāhā Koča or Mulla Ṭāhā.

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SARPUL-I ZOHĀB ("bridgehead of Zohāb"), a place on the way to Zagros on the great Baghdād–Kirmānshāh road, taking its name from the stone bridge of two arches over the river Alwand, a tributary on the left bank of the

Diyāla. Sarpul now consists simply of a little fort (*ḳūr-ḵẖāna* = "arsenal") in which the governor of Zohāb lives (the post is regularly filled by the chief of the tribe of Gūrān), a caravanserai, a garden of cypress and about 40 houses. The old town of Zohāb about 4 hours to the north is now in ruins. To the east behind the cliffs of Hazār-Djarīb lies the little canton of Beshīwe (Kurdish = "below") in a corridor running round the foot of Zagros giving access to the famous col of Pā-Tāḳ on the slope of which is the Sāsānian edifice called Tāḳ-i Girrā. In the west the heights of Mēl-i Yaʿḳūb separate the verdant plain of Sarpul from that of Kasr-i Shīrīn [q. v.]. Sarpul is the natural halting place for thousands of Persian pilgrims going to the *ʿatabāt* (Karbalā' and other Shīʿa sanctuaries) When the pilgrimage season is at its height (in autumn and winter), a hundred tents may be seen near the bridge. They belong to the Kurdish gipsy tribe of Sūzmānī (Fīūdj) the women of which are professional dancers and singers noted for their light morals.

Sarpul corresponds to the site of the ancient Khalmanu of the Assyrians, Hulwān [q.v.] of the Arabs. The earlier name survived as the Kurdish name of the Alwand i. e. Halawān. Traces of the old town are found mainly on the left bank (Pāipul) where the land is level and beautiful.

Sarpul is noted for its antiquities, 1) the bas-relief and Pahlavi inscription on the cliff on the right bank of the Alwand, 2) three steles on the cliffs of Hazār-Djarīb (on the left bank) of which two are Sāsānian (Parthian?) and the third represents Anu-Banini, king of the Lulubi, 3) two miles away to the south of Hazār-Djarīb is the Achaemenid tomb cut out of the rock and venerated at the present day under the name of Dukān-i Dāʾūd (Dāʾūd's workshop) by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (see the art ʿALĪ ILĀHĪ, q v) who have a cemetery at the foot of the rock

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SART, originally an old Turkish word for "merchant"· it is used with this meaning in the Ḳudatḳu-Bilik (quotations in Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches der Turk Dialecte*, iv. 335) and by Maḥmūd Kashghārī (e. g. i. 286). In the Uighur translation (from the Chinese, of the *Saddharma puṇḍarīḳa* the Sanskrit word *sārthavāha* or *sārthalāha* "caravan-leader" is translated *sartpau*; this word is explained as the "senior merchant" *satṭḳčī ulughi*). Radloff therefore concludes that Turk. *sart* is an Indian loan-word (*Kuan-si-in Pusar*, *Bibl. Buddh.*, St. Petersburg 1911, xiv. p. 37). When the Iranians of Central Asia had secured control of the trade with the nomad peoples, the word *sart* became used by the Turks and Mongols as the name of a people with the same meaning as *Tādjik* (*Tādjīk*). Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudi vost otd. Arkh. Obshč* vii. 141) says that the prince of the (Muslim) Ḳarluḳ, Arslān Khān, when he submitted to the Mongols was called "sartāḳtāi", i.e. "tādjīḳ", by them The form of the name of the people here is Sartāḳ the *tāi* was added by the Mongols to the name to signify a male member of a people (*op. cit.*, p. 65). As this example shows, the Sartāḳtāi to the Mongols were not so much people of a definite nationality and language (the Ḳarluḳ were of course a Turkish people) as adherents of a definite type of culture, the Perso-Muḥammadan The Sartāḳtāi seems to have come to the Mongols not only as a merchant but also as a bearer of civilisation and especially as an expert in irrigation: this seems to be the only explanation of the Mongol legends of the hero Sartāḳtai, and the wonderful canals, bridges and dams which he built (J. N Potanin, *Ocerki severo-za padnoi Hongolu*, St. Petersburg 1881/83, iv 285/6) Alongside of "Sartāḳtāl" we find *Sartāul* used in the same meaning a word obviously derived from the same root (e g. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet, p 541, 5). In the Arabic-Mongol glossary published by Melioransky, *sartāul* is explained as *al-muslimūn* (Zap xv. 75 infra). On the other hand in Turkistān in the Mongol period, we find "Sārt" opposed to "Turk", apparently only because of the difference of language, cf. especially the description of Farghāna, in Babūr, ed. Beveridge, f 26 on Andidjān, *īlī tusk dur*, f. 36 on Marghīnān *īlī Sārt tūr*. A Samoilovič, *Afganistān*. Moscow 1924, p. 103 *sq*, calls attention to another passage in Babūr (f. 131 a—b), where a distinction seems to be made between Sārt and Tādjīk, it is said that the population of the town of Kabul and several villages consists of "Sārt", while in other villages and wilāyets live other people including the Tādjīk. The language of the Sārt is often opposed to the language of the Turk by Nur ʿAlī Shir Nawāʾī, cf. e g the quotation from his *Maḥākis al-Nafāʾis* in the dictionary of Shaikh Sulaimān in L Budagow, *Sravoritel'nıy slovae turecks-talāiskikh nai ečiy*, i. 612 and especially the whole of the *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*, where Persian as Fāis tili or Sār-tili is contrasted with Turkish (Khoḳand edition, n. d. e g p. 19 *Sārt turk tili bile nazm aitḳandeh faṣīḥ turkler*).

After the conquest of Turkistan by the Ozbeg the contrast between the Özbeg and the subject native population must have at times been felt more strongly than the contrast between Turk and Tādjīk (or Sārt). The Ozbeg in Khīwa are very frequently distinguished from the Sārt by Abu 'l-Ghāzī, cf. ed. Desmaisons, p. 231. *Ürgenčning Özbegi wa Sarti*, p 256 *hazārāspning Ozbegin wa Sartin*. The same linguistic usage has survived in Khwārizm to the present day. The contrast is less apparent in Bukhārā and Khoḳand. it is more usual especially among the nomads themselves, for the Kazāḳ [q. v.] and not the Özbeg are contrasted as nomads with the Sārt as town dwellers and agriculturists. In Khoḳand, government edicts are said to have begun with the words *sartiya wa Kazakiy alaigha maʿlūm bolsun* but (as far as I know) no such documents have yet been published. To the Ḳazāḳ every member of a settled community was a Sārt whether his language was Turkish or Iranian: in official language the word "Sart" seems to have been applied to the turkicised settled population in contrast to the Tādjīk

who had retained their Irānian language, cf. in the *Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusow (Kazan 1885), p. 193; *Sartiya wa tādjikiya*, p. 209; *Karyahā-i Sartiya wa tādjikiya*, p. 279; *ilātya wa ozbegiya wa Sartiya wa tādjikya*. The same usage has been adopted by European scholars, although it was difficult to define the difference between Sart and Özbeg. According to Radloff (*Kuan-ši-im Pusar*, *loc. cit.*) Sart now means, "the Turkish-speaking town dwellers of Central Asia in contrast to the villagers the Özbeg". In some regions especially around Samarḳand, the villagers still pride themselves on being Özbeg and have retained the division into families, but this distinction between town and country does not apply to the whole of Turkistan. No attempt has yet been made to establish a dialectic difference between Sart and Özbeg. The settled peoples of Central Asia are in the first place Muslims and think of themselves only secondarily as living in a particular town or district, to them the idea of belonging to a particular stock is of no significance. It is only in modern times under the influence of European culture (through the intermediary of Russia) that a striving for national unity has arisen. The word "Sart", applied by the nomads with unconcealed contempt to the settled population and popularly explained as *sarī it* ("yellow dog"), hasnow been banished from use. now only an Özbeg nationality is recognised in contrast to the nationalities of the Ḳazāḳ, Turkomans and Tādjīḳ.

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(W. Barthold)

ṢART, small village in Lydia in Asia Minor, the ancient Sardes (*αἱ Σάρδεις* of the classical authors, which makes Sāmī write Sārd), capital of the Lydian Kingdom, situated on the eastern bank of the Ṣart Čai (Pactolus) a little southward to the spot where this river joins the Gedīz Čai (Hermus). Although in the later Byzantine period Sardes had lost much of its former importance (as a metropolitan see) and been outflanked by Magnesia (Turkish Maghnīsā) and Philadelphia (Ālā Shehr, q. v), it still was one of the larger towns, when the Seldjuḳ Turks, in the xi[th] century, made incursions into the Hermus valley. At the time they were expelled by the Byzantine general Philocales (1118). At the end of the xiii[th] century Sardes had been for some time under a combined Greek and Turkish domination, until the Greeks were able to drive away the Turks a second time (Pachymeres, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1835, ii 403). In the beginning of the xiv[th] century the citadel was surrendered to one of the Seldjuḳ amirs, and the town probably belonged during the remainder of that century to the territory of the Ṣārukhān [q. v] dynasty, whose capital was Maghnīsa. So when in 792/1390 the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I, after the conquest of the then Greek town Philadelphia, took possession of the Ṣārukhān country, Sardes was equally incorporated in his empire (Anonymus, Giese, Breslau 1922, p. 28; ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, Constantinople 1333, p. 65). After the battle of Angora, when Timūr marched against Smyrna (805/1402), Sardes and its citadel were probably destroyed and never recovered again.

At present Ṣart consists only of a few miserable huts inhabited by Yuruks, between the Ṣart Čai and the citadel hill. This hill is a long narrow counterfort, 200 metres in height, belonging to Mount Tmolus (now Maḥmūd Dagh) in the South (a topographical sketch of the site in Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, in *Abh Pr. Ak. W.* 1872, Plate V[2]) East of the ridge is a small millbrook called Ṭabaḳ Čai; north of the town it joins the Pactolus, which is united with the Hermus about six km. to the North of the acropolis hill. At the other side of the Hermus is situated the big necropolis of Sardes, a large plain of moulds called *Bin Bir Tepe*. North of this plain is the Mermere Lake, the ancient Lake of Gyges. The railway from Smyrna to Ālā-Shehr runs along the southern Hermus bank and has a station at Ṣart In the Turkish administration Ṣart belongs to the *ḳaḍā* Ṣālihlı of the *Sandjaḳ* Ṣārūkhān of the *wilāyet* Aidın. The necropolis belongs to the *Ḳaḍā* Ḳasaba

The site of Sardes has gained much importance from an archaeological point of view. The most complete information is to be found in the *Publications of the American Society for the excavation of Sardis* (Leiden 1916). See also Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2[nd] Series (Stuttgart 1922), col. 2475 *sq.*

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(J. H. Kramers)

SARŪDJ, a town in Diyār Muḍar [q.v.] on the most southerly of the three roads from Bīredjik [q. v] to Urfa [q. v.] in 36° 58′ N. Lat. and 38° 27′ E. Long. As the name of the town is also that of the district, its relation to the ancient names Anthemusia and Batnae is disputed, cf. *Bibliography*. On account of the fertility of the district in which the town is situated and its central position between the Euphrates on the one side and Urfa and Harrān [q v], from each of which it is about a day's journey distant, on the other, the traffic through it brought it a certain degree of prosperity, especially as it was also important as a post-station between al-Raḳḳa and Sumaisāṭ. According to Ibn Khordādhbeh [q. v.], it was 20 farsakh from the former town and 13 from the latter. The principal occupation was settled by the natural suitability of the soil or growing fruit and the vine, as all the geographers tell us. Within the town itself Ibn Djubair [q. v.] found orchards and running water.

The town was captured with the rest of al-Djazīra in 18 (639) by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm. There are a number of references to its later history scattered through the geographers and historians; but the history of the town can only be intelligently handled in connection with the history of the Djazīra. — By the time of Abu 'l-Fidā' [q. v.], Sarūdj was already in ruins. Modern travellers describe it much as do the mediaeval geographers, except that it appears smaller to them. Sachau (see *Bibl.*) actually speaks of the village of Sarūdi: it is now the residence of a kā'im-makām.

Sarūdj has attained great fame in literature because the hero of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥaiṭrī, Abū Zaid, belonged to it. In this work there are also details regarding the town itself.

Bibliography: Fraenkel, Articles ANTHEMUSIA and BATNAI in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl d. klass. Altertumswiss.*; K. Regling, *Zur histor. Geographie d mesopot. Parallelogramms*, in *Klio*, 1902, i. 443—476; H. and R. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, 1910, part v. 5b; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p 108, al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, *B. G. A*, i. 78, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Masālik*, *B G. A.*, ii. 157. Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, ed Wright-de Goeje, Gibb Memorial Ser., v. 248; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, Index s. v., Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p. 233 *sq*, 276; transl. ii. 12 *sq*., 52 (1848), Ibn Khordādhbeh, *Masālik*, *B. G. A*, vi. 73, 97, 216, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, Index s. v, Richaid Pococke, *Description of the East*, Book ii., chap xviii., German transl. Ernst v. Windheim, Erlangen 1754, ii. 238, W F Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches*, ii. (1842), p. 102 *sq*, Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, p 180 *sq*, M v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers Golf*, ii. (1900), p. 3, and the map, western sheet, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. (1911), p. 32—48, E Honigmann, *Studien zur Notitia Antiochena* in the *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1925, xxv 73, 77 *sq* (M PLESSNER)

ṢĀRŪKHĀN, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which made itself independent in Anatolia on the collapse of the kingdom of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and had its capital in Maghnisa, the ancient Magnesia on the Sipylos, whether the name was originally that of a tribe (cf Sārūkhān in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv 188) and later survived as that of the dynasty is uncertain At the beginning of the xivth century Sārūkhān (written Σαρχάνης by the Greeks) is mentioned as lord of Maghnisa which he had occupied in 1313 and had made his capital. He seems to have been engaged in heavy fighting with the Catalan mercenaries of the Byzantine Emperor (about 1304 cf *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner*, transl. by K. F. W. Lang, ii. 116 [Leipzig 1842] Macunxia = Maghnisa), but in the end to have succeeded in asserting his independence. Indeed the Genoese settlement of Foča (Phocaea) owed him allegiance and had to pay a yearly tribute to him (Ducas, p. 162, Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 314). While Ṣārūkhān resided in Maghnisa (Ducas, p 13; Pachymeres, ii 451—452, Nicephor. Gregor, ii 214, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī in E. Quatremère in *N. E.*, xiii. 339, 368, Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii. 313), his brother ʿAlī was established as an independent prince in Nīf (the ancient Nymphaeum, south of Smyrna) cf Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, p 367 and Defrémery in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, ii 19 [Paris 1851]. Ṣārūkhān gradually gained a territory which roughly coincided with the ancient Lydia and included the following towns and villages. Güzel Hiṣār, Menemen, Aḳ Ḥiṣār, Mermere, Gürdük, Gordos, Ḳajadjıḳ, Adāla, Demirdjī, Nīf, Ilidje, Torghudlu, Foča, Ḳara Ḥiṣār, Ḳaṣaba. His rule even seems to have extended, partially at least, to the Aegean Sea the islands of which he repeatedly ravaged with this fleet (from Pachymeres J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 70). In the course of his apparently stirring reign). Ṣārūkhān made an alliance with Andronicus III, the younger, Emperor of Byzantium about 1329 against the Genoese (cf. *G. O. R.*, i. 126 *sq*. and against Urkhān and about 1345 allowed Umur Beg lord of Aïdın-eli a free passage through this land in return for a disputed strip of land when the latter was marching along the Asiatic coast to the Hellespont to assist John VI Kantakuzenos. Ṣārūkhān's son Sulaimān accompanied the army but died suddenly at Apantea of a malignant fever (cf. Kantakuzenos, ii. 29—30, 450—484; iv. 86, 591—596, where details of these events are given). Ṣārūkhān must have had another son who died earlier, in addition to Sulaimān (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 313). Soon afterwards, the Empress Anna, mother of John Palaeologos, sought the assistance of Ṣārūkhān, which, although granted at once, was of no avail (cf Kantakuzenos, *op. cit.* and *G. O R.*, i 136), Sārūkhān must have died very soon afterwards. The throne passed to his son Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās about whose activities almost nothing is known He died in 776 (1374/1375) and left the kingdom to his son MUZAFFAR AL-DĪN IṢḤĀḲ of whom also little is known. He was an ardent member of the Mewlīye and founded a Mewlewī monastery in Maghnisa as well as the chief mosque (*Ulu Djāmiʿ*) the splendid *mınbar* of which of carved wood contains an Arabic inscription of 778 (1376/1377) with his name and titles. He was — probably the first — Mewlewī-Čelebi of Maghnisa and was buried with his wife and sons in the sarcophagi adorned with the Mewlewī headdress in the mosque built by him in Maghnisa. On his death in 788 (1386/1387) he was succeeded by his son KHIDR SHĀH BEG who lost his kingdom in 792 (1390) or 793 (1391) when Sultān Bāyazid I conquered it and gave it with Aïdın-eli and Menteshe-eli to his son Sulaimān (so Idrīs Bitlīsī, but Saʿd al-Dīn to Artoghrul cf. *G. O. R.*, i. 606). Khidr Shāh Beg himself fled to Koturum Bāyazid lord of Sinob and Kastamūnī to seek protection from his oppressor. After the battle of Angora (1402) he was restored to power by Timūr like the other petty dynasts of Anatolia (*ṭewāʾif al-Muluk*). A few years later he made an alliance with Īsā Čelebi brother of Sulṭān Mehmed I and supported him in his war against his Sultān brother. Mehmed I was victorious, took Khidr Shāh prisoner and had him put to death after promising him burial in the mosque of his ancestors and guaranteeing the maintenance of his foundations (mosques, schools and hospitals): cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i. 287 *sqq*, also *G. O. R*, i. 343. With him the family of the family of the Sārūkhān-oghlu became extinct, and their lands henceforth formed an Ottoman province. As the province of Ṣārūkhān was that nearest the capital Constantinople and its governorship formed a regular steppingstone to influence and power, the position was usually given to eldest sons of the house of ʿOthmān (cf. also *G. O. R.* iii. 267). The sandjaḳ of Ṣārūkhān existed down to quite recent times and retained its ancient boundaries (on it cf. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 523—575). The following is the dynastic list based on the available data (see particularly Münadjdjim bashī, iv 33). Sārūkhān (c. 700—746 = 1300—1345) Fakhr al-Dīn Ilyās (746—776 = 1345—1374) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Iṣḥāḳ (776—790 = 1473—1388) Khiḍr Shāh Beg (790—792/93 = 1388—1390/91 and 805—813 = 1402—1410).

Like the lords of Aïdın and Menteshe, the

Ṣarūkhānoghlu struck *ghlatı* modelled on the coins struck in Naples and Sicily by the house of Anjou to have a medium of exchange suitable for trading with Italian merchants (cf. J. Friedländer, *Beitrage zur alteren Munzkunde*, p. 52, A. de Longpérier, *Revue numismatique franç*, 1860, p 59, Sp. Lampros, ibid, 1869, xiv. 355 *sqq.* (erroneous attribution), J. Karabaček, in the *Wiener Numism. Zs*, 1870, ii 525 *sqq*, 1877, ix. 200 *sq*, briefly dealt with in G Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1878, p 479—481). The coins of the Sārūkhānoghlu are comparatively rare: only a few pieces in silver and copper are known of the last two rulers, Isḥāk Čelebi and Khıdr Shāh Beg, details in St Lane-Poole, *Catalogues of the Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus*, vii 12, London 1894, do., *Catal. of the Bodleian Library, Muhamm Coins*, Oxford 1888, p. 31 *sq*, but especially Aḥmed Tewhīd in vol iv of the *Catalogue des Monnaies des Khakans Turcs*, Stambul 1321, 21903 Turkish, p 382—386.

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SASAK. [See Lombok]

SĀSĀN, the patron saint of all wanderers and vagrants such as jugglers, beggars, conjurers, and those who go up and down the country accompanied by animals (goats, asses or apes), who show real or feigned diseases and mutilations, gipsies etc These people are often classed together as the Banū Sasān and have a bad reputation, as is evident from the literary references, as almost all classes of swindlers are included under this name Their arts and tricks are called *ʿilm Sāsān*.

Various traditions seem to exist regarding the father of this trade of begging According to one story, he was no less a person than the ancestor of the Sāsānian dynasty, Sāsān b Isfandiyār or b Bahman, who was excluded from the throne by his father at his death in favour of his sister Ḥumāi and then became a shepherd and beggar This tradition apparently owes its origin to anti-Sāsānian circles in Persia (Noldeke, *Gesch d. Perser u. Araber*, Leiden 1879, p 432) and is said to be alluded to as early as Imruʾ al-Ḳais (*Muḥīṭ al-Muhīt*, ii. 1026). In modern Persian *Sāsān* has actually come to mean "beggar"

The gild literature also deals with Sāsān. Although the mention of a *Ṭarīḳa Sāsān* has perhaps never been taken seriously, in certain manuscripts discussed by Thorning (*Beitrage zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913) the Shaikh Sāsān is considered as not belonging to the *ṭarika*, although there are also traditions according to which Shaikh Sāsān with his brothers Khamdān and Raḳbān, all sons of Ḳāḳān, are in a way the fathers of all handicrafts (Thorning, *op cit*, p. 39 *sqq.*). The author of a manuscript on the gilds in Egypt (Gotha, Pertsch N⁰ 903) makes a vigorous onslaught on Sāsān whom he describes as *ḏāhil* and the cause of the decline of the gild system in Egypt, as he parodied all the old respected customs of the gilds.

Bibliography The Banū Sāsān and their tricks are discussed by al-Djawharı, in his *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār wa-Ḥakḳ al-Astār*, discussed by de Goeje in the *Z.D.M G.*, xx. 485, 493, 500, cf. also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1885, p. 291, Dozy, *Supplément*, s v. SĀSĀN (J. H. Kramers)

SĀSĀNIANS, a Persian dynasty. The names of the kings in modern Persian forms are as follows

Ardashīr I, 226—241 A D	Bahrām V, 420—438.
Shāpūr I, 241—272.	Yazdigird II, 438—457
Hurmizd I, 272—273	Hurmizd III, 457-459.
Bahrām I, 273—276.	Fīrūz, 459—484.
Bahrām II, 276—293.	Balāsh, 484—488.
Bahrām III, 293.	Kawādh I, 488—531.
Narsai, 293—303.	Khusraw I, 531—579.
Hurmizd II, 303-310	Hurmizd IV, 579—590.
Adharnarsai, 310.	
Shāpūr II, 310—379	Khusraw II, 590-628.
Ardashīr II, 379-383	Kawādh II, 628
Shāpūr III, 383—388 (or 387? cf Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz* 2, 2nd Series, 1 col. 2355).	Ardashir III, 628—630
Bahrām IV, 388-399.	Several ephemeral rulers, cf Justi in the *Gr. d. iran. Philol*, ii. 545.
Yazdigird I, 399—420	Yazdigird III, 632—651

The dates are not absolutely certain, this is especially true of the reigns between Hurmizd I and Shāpūr II (see Noldeke, *Gesch d. Perser und Arabei*, p. 400 *sqq*). The dynasty is said to be descended from a certain Sāsān, of whom little that is really historical is known, the genealogy is then traced farther back through Dārā to the mythical royal family of Iān In the beginning of the third century A. D, several petty kings were reigning in Persis under the suzerainty of the Arsakids. The epoch of these dynasts is called the period of the *Mulūk al-Tawāʾif* by the Arabic and Persian historians, and the term includes the Arsakids (and Seleucids) as well as the minor rulers Ibn Kutaiba (*Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, p. 321), for example, includes Ardashīr I himself among the *Mulūk al-Tawāʾif*, as ruler of Istakhr.

Bābak, Ardashīr's father, who, according to al-Tabarı, was originally king of Khīr (east of Shirāz) and whose father Sāsān is said to have held some priestly office in Istakhr, began to extend his territory at the expense of the other petty kings of Persis. After the brief reign of his son Shāpūr came Ardashīr, who continued what his father had begun until he defeated the Arsakid Artabanus V (Ardawān) in battle and killed him (224). It was probably in 226 that the Sāsānian king conquered the capital Ctesiphon; 226 is usually given as the initial year of the dynasty But Iṣtakhr was held in honour throughout the whole period of the dynasty as the ancestral home of the family. The Sāsānians succeeded to the inheritance of the Parthian kings, which included the struggle with Rome and later with the Byzantines. As our most reliable sources for their history are Greek and Roman authors, the relations of the Sāsānians with the empires of the west are best and most fully known to us. Ardashīr I conducted an offensive against Rome. Apart from relatively short periods of peace, this

war went on almost to the end of the dynasty. The earlier Sāsānians endeavoured to expand their empire and Rome in this first period was called upon to defend her eastern possessions

An important bone of contention was Armenia, where a branch of the Arsakid house ruled which had very early adopted Christianity and directed its policy on Roman lines A treaty of partition regarding Armenia was made about 387. When Christianity became the official religion in the eastern Roman empire also, a new element entered the political relations with Persia The persecutions of the church by some kings (like Shāpūr II, Bahrām V, Yazdigird II) contributed to intensify the differences. The history of these wars, the details of which do not belong to this article, has often been written in modern works on Roman and Byzantine history, from Gibbon down to Seeck and Bury (cf. also the biographical articles that have so far appeared in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-enzyklopadie der klass Altertumswissenschaft*[2] on the kings Artaxerxes [Ardashir] I—III, Sapor I—III, Yezdegerd I and II) The best known of these wars were fought between Ardashīr I and Severus Alexander, between Shāpūr II and Julian, in which the Roman offensive was at first successful, by Kawādh I against Anastasius I and by Khusraw I against Justinian. This last war ended in 562 with a treaty which established a fifty years' truce

The Christians in the Persian empire then attained religious freedom, but the Persian government soon resumed its repressive measures against the Armenian Christians. When the Emperor Justin II soon afterwards began to be dissatisfied with the boundaries of the respective kingdoms and made demands on Khusraw, hostilities began again. This begins the last stage of this period of wars Khusraw I was unsuccessful in the fighting that followed and under Hurmizd IV also the Roman armies were victorious. The Persian general Bahrām Čūbīn, who had been insulted by the king, seized the occasion to rebel against Hurmizd, he even aimed at the throne itself During these turmoils Hurmizd was murdered by two of his relatives, but his son Khusraw succeeded in escaping to Byzantine territory, where he appealed for help to the Emperor Maurice With Byzantine assistance he disposed of the usurper, but in the reign of Khusraw II there was no more prospect of lasting peace with Byzantium, as the Sāsānian, on the deposition and murder of Maurice by Phocas in 602, assumed the role of avenger of the murdered Emperor In this, the last great war with Byzantium, the Persians at first won considerable successes Khusraw's armies conquered Jerusalem and even Egypt The reaction followed in the reign of Heraclius Kawādh II, who had deprived his father, Khusraw, of life and throne, was forced to beg peace from the Emperor With Khusraw II died the last important ruler of the dynasty Kawādh II begins a series of ephemeral rulers (including a usurper, Shahrwarāz, and two queens, Būrān and Azarmidukht) who were raised to the throne in succession by the nobles, only to disappear soon afterwards, until in 632 a grandson of Khusraw II, Yazdigird III, came to the throne. Although it looked at first as if more settled conditions were to return, Yazdigird III was the last Sāsānian to rule over Īrān

It was not only wars with Rome and Byzantium that endangered the Persian empire. Less civilised peoples, like the Chionites and Gīlānīs (against whom Shāpūr II had to take the field) and the Hephthalites (Haiṭāl, defeated by Bahrām V) continually threatened its existence. King Fīrūz lost his life in an unsuccessful struggle with the latter. It even seems that for some time after this event Persia was tributary to the Haiṭāl. About the middle of the sixth century A. D., the threat from the Haiṭāl was replaced by the danger from the Turks. It was not, however, the northern nomads that put an end to the Sāsānian empire, but the Arabs. Even before the beginning of the dynasty, Arab tribes had settled in the Euphrates and Tigris region, in the wars between Byzantium and Persia both parties used Arab assistance. The first king who came into conflict with the Arabs seems to have been Shāpūr I, of whom a war against Hatra is recorded It must have been an Aramaic king who reigned there, but a story of an expedition by Shāpūr against the Kudā'a has been amalgamated with this story, which was itself already overgrown with legendary matter. How confused all this is is shown by the fact that Ibn Kutaiba (*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p 322, cf Eutychius, ed Cheikho, i. 106) puts this war with Hatra in the reign of Ardashīr, contrary to the usual Persian-Arabic tradition It is, however, a historical fact that Ardashīr besieged Hatra (unsuccessfully) (Dio Cassius, 80, 3) Finally Firdawsī gives a different version of the whole episode and puts it in the reign of Shāpūr II (Macan, p 1432 etc) That Hurmizd II inflicted a defeat on the Arabs is very doubtful (Noldeke, *op cit*, p 51, note 2). According to the oriental sources, Shāpūr II was a bitter enemy of the Arabs, that he penetrated to Yamāma, however, and the vicinity of Medīna and received the name Dhu 'l-Aktāf from the way in which he ill-treated his prisoners of war is an invention of legend The Arab kings of al-Hīra, the Lakhmids, were vassals of the Sāsānians, their antagonism to the Ghassānids, who were in Roman service, was an important factor, for example in the wars of Khusraw I with Byzantium, and earlier they had played a part in the dynastic affairs of Persia. It is probable, indeed, that Bahrām V, whose rule was not at first recognised by several nobles, overcame a rival with the help of Nu'mān of al-Hīra, amongst others. Khusraw I even interfered in the domestic quarrels of Arabia, when about 570 he assisted the Yamanī pretender Saif b Dhī Yazan [q v] with a Persian army against the Abyssinians According to Arab tradition, the last king of al-Hīra assisted Khusraw II when fleeing before Bahrām Čūbīn, but when the king was firmly established on his throne, he had the Lakhmid seized and executed Tradition gives no valid reason for this impolitic act. This king Nu'mān of al-Hīra is said to have refused his horse to Khusraw on his flight, or, according to another story, the intrigues of an enemy of his brought about his fall. Governors were appointed to al-Hīra by the Persian king. The — not very serious — defeat which the Bakr tribes inflicted on an army of Khusraw's consisting of Persians and Arabs at Dhū Ḳār soon showed how impolitic it had been to put an end to the dynasty of al-Hīra, the bulwark against the Arabs of the desert. It is, of course, a question whether the Lakhmids would have been of much use against the great Arab tide of conquest which soon afterwards swamped the Sāsānian empire. As early as 633 Abū Bakr sent armies to the 'Irāḳ; this began a

series of attacks on the Persian monarchy (battle of the chains, battles of Walaǧa and Ullais, subjection of al-Hīra, etc.) which culminated in the battle of Ḳādisīya (probably still in 636; cf. the art. KĀDISĪYA) where the imperial Persian forces were completely routed. The complete subjection of Īrān, however, only dates from the defeat of the Persians at Nihāwand (642). Yazdigird III escaped, but in spite of all his endeavours he did not succeed in obtaining effective assistance from the neighbouring peoples. One of the nobles had him assassinated near Marw in 651.

The Sāsānian empire was a feudal monarchy. The powerful families which already had very great influence in the Arsakid period, like the Suren, Karēn etc., formed an influential nobility. The influence of the higher priesthood was also considerable. There was a revival of Mazdaeism with the rise of the dynasty, this creed became the state religion in the strictest sense, although the Jews and Nestorians, for example, were usually unmolested in Persia. The punishment for abandoning Mazdaeism for another religion was death. The political influence of the higher priesthood was seen at the accession of Bahrām V. His claims to the throne seem to have been supported by the clergy to an important extent. The works of Chr. Bartholomae (*Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch*, in the *S. B. A. Heidelberg*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1910, *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, I.—IV., ibid. 1918—1922) give us a survey of civil law in the Sāsānian period.

The Persian-Arabic tradition of Sāsānian history goes back to Pahlavī sources now lost, the most important of which must have been a work entitled *Xᵛatāynāmak* (mod. Pers. *Ḵhudāynāma*). Taking up a rigidly legitimist attitude, it comprised the period of the mythical kings as well as the history of the reigning dynasty. Good historical material was preserved in this work, e. g. on the early deeds of Ardashīr, on the other side the "histoire anecdotique" plays a great part in it. The records of the doings of the kings are often interwoven with the stock motives of romance. Besides the *Xᵛatāynāmak* there were also smaller historical works, among them the *Kārnīmak ī Artaxšatr ī Pāpakān* still extant (transl. by Noldeke, Gottingen 1878; text several times published, e. g. Bombay 1896, 1899, 1900), a fairly long historical romance about Bahrām Čūbīn can be partly reconstructed from the echoes of it in modern Persian and Arabic literature (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 474 etc.; A. Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrām Tschōbīn*, 1907). Such Pahlawī works were early translated into Arabic; for example, the *Xᵛatāynāmak* by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ; on the other hand, there were modern Persian versions to which traditions preserved in Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī go back, although they are not in complete agreement (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. xiv. *sqq.*, do., *Das iranische Nationalepos*², p. 5 *sqq.*, al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxiii. *sqq.*, xliii.; I have been unable to consult V. Rosen, *K woprosu ob arabskich perewodach Chudajname = Zur Frage betreffs der arabischen Übersetzungen des Ch.* [quoted in Zotenberg, *op. cit.*, p. xliii., note 3]. On the relation of the traditions preserved in al-Thaʿālibī to those in Firdawsī see al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xxv. *sqq.*). The old Arabic translation of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ has also been lost, but it is reflected in those sections of the Arabic historians, like al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-

It is uncertain how far these authors have used Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's actual work. The tradition of the history of the dynasty in Ibn Ḳutaiba (in his *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*) and Eutychius is more closely connected than in the other writers and shows a special character; indeed, these two historians often agree word for word. According to Noldeke, it is probable that these two used the original Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (*Gesch. d. Perser*, p. xxi.), the other historians must have used later versions of the original work (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xliii.). Several of the later historians of the Persians have also a section on the Sāsānians, e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn (*Ǧāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*) and his copyist al-Kazwīnī (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*). These as a rule have no independent value, although it seems to be not impossible that details might still be found in them which are not given elsewhere, as is the case with Ibn Balkhī's *Fārsnāma* (*Gibb Memorial Series*, New Ser., vol. I; cf. p. xxiii *sqq.*).

It is from this semi-historical tradition that the anecdotes and witty sayings which are found in the *Adab*-literature relating to these kings and their court for the most part come. They are not uncommon, for example, in the excursus in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūǧ*. The *Marzbānnāma*, which belongs to narrative literature proper, contains several stories of Khusraw I Anūshīrwān and his vizier Buzurdjmihr. In poetic literature we may mention Niẓāmī, who, on several occasions, took the material for his romantic works from the Sāsānian period, although he occasionally deviates from the accepted tradition, for example, when he gives, in the *Haft Paikar*, the story of Bahrām Gūr (Bahrām V)'s master-shot in an essentially different form from Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī, who give a less polished and therefore probably older version. That tradition became much altered in course of time is undoubted. It must also have incorporated Arabic elements, which were foreign to the old Book of Kings, alongside of original Īrānian matter. It is no longer possible to discriminate between these strata with any approximation to accuracy. The omission of one or other story in Firdawsī or al-Thaʿālibī is, of course, no criterion, besides, these two no longer used Pahlawī originals, but later versions. Among stories that are certainly old and original are the history of the founder of the dynasty, the story of the killing of Yazdigird I by a demoniacal horse, most of the stories of Bahrām Gūr relating to hunting or women, the death of Fīrūz in the Hephthalite war, most stories of Anūshīrwān, the cycle containing stories of the fall of Hurmizd IV, the rebellion of Bahrām Čūbīn and his fall and the further history of Khusraw II Parwīz to his murder at the instigation of his son Kawādh (Shirūya), on the other hand, originally historical events of the Sāsānian period may also have given rise to similar stories, which were put back into the mythical period, as Noldeke suggests, for example, in the case of the records of the events that followed the death of Fīrūz (*Iran. Nationalepos*², § 9). We also find episodes which are related of Sāsānian kings in some histories attributed to mythical kings by others, for example, the story of Bahrām Gūr's prohibition of wine in Firdawsī (Macan, p. 1497 *sqq.*) is placed by al-Thaʿālibī (p. 149; cf. p. xxix) in the reign of Kai Ḳubād. The stories based on the very common motif of the king who goes unrecognised into the enemy's country

tradition. Other subjects are perhaps later — occasionally due to an Arab intermediary —, like the story of the siege of Hatra and the story connecting Saif b. Dhī Yazan with Khusraw I, it is possible also that the part of the stories relating to Bahrām Gūr and Khusraw II, in which the kings of al-Ḥīra play an important part (accession of Bahrām Gūr, flight of Khusraw II before Bahrām Čūbīn), is not entirely free from Arabic elements, which are perhaps also found among the apophthegms of the kings. This is certainly the case with a saying of King Narsai reported by al-Thaʿālibī (p. 510: *wa-kāna lā yarkabu ilā buyūt al-nīrān, faʾidhā ḳila lahu fī dhālika, ḳāla kad shaghalanī khidmatu ʾllāhi ʿan khudmat al-nār*).

The rulers the accounts of whom are fullest are as a rule the most important historically Ardashīr I, Shāpūr I and II, Khusraw I and II, Bahrām V, however, is really not one of the great kings When there was nothing known to record of a monarch, the old Book of Kings seems to have confined itself to giving speeches which the king was said to have delivered at his accession, etc The speeches and apophthegms of the kings were regarded as models of elegant style (Noldeke, *Gesch d Perser*, p. xviii, al-Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. xv In the latter, p. 481, we find that even Ardashīr I possessed oratorical talents) Arabic rhetoric seems to have made its influence felt here, at least Hurmizd IV's speech from the throne in al-Dīnawarī (*Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 77 *sqq.*) gives the impression of coming from an Arabic rather than a Persian original (Cf also Noldeke, *Gesch d Perser*, p. 326 *sqq.*)

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SATALIA. [See ADALIA].

SATAN. [See SHAITĀN]

SAṬĪḤ B. RABĪʿA, a fabulous diviner (*kāhin*) of pre-Islāmic Arabia, whom tradition connects with the beginnings of Islām, in reality we have here to deal with a quite mythical personage like the other *kāhin*'s in whose company he appears in most stories, Shiḳḳ al-Ṣaʿbī, who is simply the humanisation of a demoniacal monster in appearance like a man cut in two (*shikk al-insān* cf van Vloten, *W Z.K.M*, 1893, vii. 180—181). Saṭīḥ, whose name means "flattened on the ground and unable to rise on account of the weakness of his limbs" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, iii. 312), is described as a monster without bones or muscles, he had no head but a human face in the centre of his chest, he lay on the ground, on a bed of leaves and palm-branches, and when he had to change his position "they rolled him up like a carpet", only when he was irritated or inspired did he inflate himself and stand up His close resemblance to Shiḳḳ is accentuated by legend which makes them both be born without the intervention of a father in the night before the death of the kāhina Turaifa (the wife of ʿAmr Muzaiḳiyā, ancestor of the tribe of this name, who is said to have foretold the catastrophe of the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib in the Yaman). She is said before dying to have made the two newborn monsters come to her and after spitting in their mouths (the classic method of transmitting magic power) declared them her successors in the art of *kihāna*.

In spite of these characteristically mythical features Arab genealogical tradition has not refused to give Saṭīḥ a place in its system, but gives him a name and a paternity (Rabīʿ b Rabīʿa b. Masʿūd b Māzin b. Dhiʾb) which connect him with the Ghassānid branch of the tribe of Azd (just as it connects Shiḳḳ with the Banū Ṣaʿb, a branch of the Banū Badjīla) and more precisely with the Banū Dhiʾb (Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 286, 10—13; Wustenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, 11, 16; according to others, the Banū Dhiʾb belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳais, a tribe belonging to the Rabīʿa group); there even seems to have been in historic times an Azd clan claiming descent from Saṭīḥ (Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p. 3, in Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii.).

Among the legends associated with the name of Saṭīḥ some are connected with the pre-history of the Arabs and represent Saṭīḥ as acting as a diviner and judge (*ḥakam*) without any regard for history or chronology, even fictitious; sometimes we find him dividing among the sons of Nizār (Mudar Rabīʿa, Iyād and Anmār) their father's estate (ʿ*Iḳd*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii. 46 = 3rd ed., ii 46—47 = 4th ed., ii. 39), sometimes we find him consulted with Shikk by al-Ẓarib al-ʿAdwānī (Wustenfeld, *Gen. Tabellen*, D, 13) regarding the real position of Kasī, the ancestor of the Thaḳīf, to whom al-Ẓarib had been forced to promise his daughter in marriage (*Aghānī*, 1st and 2nd ed., ii 75) In al-Yaʿḳūbī (ed Houtsma, i 288—290) it is he who decides the difference that has arisen between ʿAbd al-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather, and the two Kaisī tribes, al-Kilāb and al-Ribāb, regarding the ownership of the well of Dhu 'l-Harm discovered by the former in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif, but the parallel versions of the same story either do not mention the name of the arbitrator or give him that of another kāhin, Salama b Abī Hariya al-Kudāʿī (al-Maidānī, *Amthāl*, ed 1284, i 36 = ed 1310, i. 30, Yāḳūt, ed. Wustenfeld, iv 629, *Lisān*, xiii. 283)

Two other legends, on the other hand, have a completely Islāmic stamp, according to the first, given by Ibn Ishāk, who does not give his sources, Saṭīḥ consulted — as always with Shikk — by the Lakhmid chief Rabīʿa b. Nasr regarding a dream which had frightened him, reveals to him that South Arabia will be invaded by the Abyssinians and that after the expulsion of the latter and the brief dominion of the Persians it will be conquered by a Prophet (Muḥammad), as a result of the oracle Rabīʿa b. Nasr sends his son ʿAmr at the head of the tribe to the king of Persia who settles them at al-Hīra, this is the "South Arabian" version of the foundation of the Lakhmid dynasty (cf. G Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hīra*, Berlin 1899, p. 39).

The second and most widely disseminated legend goes back to a certain Hānīʾ al-Makhzūmī, who is said to have lived to 150 and about whom Muslim historiographical tradition knows nothing (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, vi. 279, N° 8,929) It forms part of the cycle of the *aʿlām al-nubūwa*, that is of the miraculous signs which confirm the truth of the prophetic mission of Muhammad In the night when the latter was born remarkable phenomena occurred throughout the kingdom of Persia. The king (Kisrā Anūshirwān) not being able to get an explanation from his magicians asked the king of al-Hīra, al-Nuʿmān b al-Mundhir (an anachronism!), to send him someone who could explain it Al-Nuʿmān sent ʿAbd al-Masīh b Bukaila al-Ghassānī (on him see the *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, p 38, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii 935, 12 A H, § 165, iv 657, 21 A H, § 328), who not being able to explain these marvels himself went to Saṭīḥ, his maternal uncle, who lived in the desert. He found him at the point of death and his appeal was unanswered, only after his nephew had addressed him in verse, did the kāhin predict to him the coming fall of the Persian Empire and its conquest by the Arabs, etc. Having delivered this oracle, his uncle Satīh died

Saṭīḥ claimed to receive his knowledge of the future from a familiar spirit (*raʾi*, cf. above, ii 625a) who had overheard the conversation of God with Moses on Mount Sinai and had revealed part of it to him. Here we see the influence of the Ḳurʾānic passage (lxxii. 1) about the djinn who overhear God's utterances.

The calculations of the Arab historians on the age reached by Satīh are naturally quite fanciful, those of them who place his birth at the time of the bursting of the dam at Maʾrib and his death at Muḥammad's birth, give him a life of 600 years. It should be observed that Abū Hātim al-Sidjistānī [q. v.], whose version is markedly different from the others (he does not speak of his monstrosity, puts his home in al-Bahrain, etc), makes him die in the reign of the Himyar king Dhū Nuwās and therefore does not know of his prophecy to Kisrā Anūshirwān

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(G Levi Della Vida)

SAUL. [See ṬĀLŪT]

SĀWA (older SāwaḎ), a town and district in Central Persia It lies on the direct road from Kazwīn to Ḳum (Kazwīn-Sāwa 22 farsakh, Sāwa-Kum 9 farsakh) This road practically corresponds with the royal road (Shāhrāh) described by Mustawfī (Sūmghān [?]-Sagzābād-Sāwa-Isfāhān) which was very important when, under the Mongols Arghūn and Uldjaitū, Sultānīya became the capital of Persia The Kazwin-Sāwa road may yet again resume its old importance for traffic between North Persia and the southern provinces For the present it is eclipsed by a longer combination of paved roads leading through the capital Kazwīn-Teherān (22 farsakh) and Teherān-Kum (22 farsakh) On the other hand Sāwa has definitely lost its position as a stage on the route from Hamadhān to Rayy (Teherān) (61 farsakh) on which the Arab geographers place it Traffic between Hamadhān and the capital now goes via Nawbarān-Zarand or, with a detour, by the paved roads Teherān-Kazwin-Hamadhān (about 54 farsakh). Geographical considerations explain the decline of the town. The desert is gradually invading the district of Sāwa as a result of a breakdown in the control of the irrigation system.

Sāwa is situated in the north-west corner of a plain (c. 30 × 25 miles) open towards the east the lower part of which is being gradually engulfed by salt marshes The district is watered: 1. by the Kara-Sū (the Gāwmāhā or Gāwmāsā of Mustawfī) which is formed by three streams. the

southern and most important (Do-āb) comes from the north face of the Bakhtiyārī mountains (Djāpelākh), the western descends from the Alwand (Orontes) of Hamadhān and the northern has its source in the mountains of Kharrakān. Having crossed the plain of Sāwa, the Kara-čai pours its brackish waters into the central desert and disappears, 2. by the Mazdakān (*vulgo* Mazlaghān)-čai which rises near Dargazīn (east of Hamadhān) and runs parallel to the Ḳara-čai and before rejoining it on the left bank (north) disappears into several irrigation canals in the north-west part of the plain of Sāwa.

Sāwa is not known before the Muslim period Tomaschek connects its name with the Avestan word *sava*, Pahlavī *savaka*, "advantage, utility"(?) The Persian dictionaries gives "pieces of gold" for *sāwa* According to Tomaschek, Sāwa corresponds to the Sevavicina or Sevakina of the Tabulae Peutingerianae.

Ibn Hawḳal says that Sawa was noted for its camels and camel-drivers Al-Mukaddasī mentions its fortifications, its baths and a Friday mosque near the great road at some distance from the market The people of Sāwa (as of Ulūsdjird) were Shāfi'ī Sunnīs who were at permanent feud with their neighbours in Āwa who were fervent "twelver" Shī'īs The Mongols sacked the town in 617 (1220) and burned its fine library (Yākūt) which also contained astronomical instruments (al-Kazwīnī) Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed Le Strange, p. 62) gives the four *nāhiya*'s of Sāwa Sāwa, Āwa, Djahrūd and Būsīn(?) with 46, 17, 25 and 42 villages respectively, 130 in all. Khwādja Zahīr al-Dīn Sāwadjī about the time of Mustawfī (viiith = xivth cent.) rebuilt its walls which were 6200 dhaic (7,000 yards) in circumference and his son Khwādja Shams al-Dīn incorporated into the town the suburban village of Rūdābān

Mustawfī extols the fruits of Sāwa but quotes the Persian proverb about its cereals "the straw of Kum is better than the grain of Sāwa" The pomegranates of Sāwa are renowned throughout Persia to this day

Among the European travellers Marco Polo mentions Sāwa ("Saba") as the town from which the three Magi kings set out for Bethlehem and where they are buried in a square sepulchre This Persian-Christian legend must be based on a local popular interpretation of texts like "Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent" (Psalm lxxii 10). According to another story given by Marco Polo, the three kings are buried respectively at Sāwa, Āwa and Kal'a-i Ātashparastān, which Yule locates between Sāwa and Abhar, while Tomaschek identifies it with Dīz-i Gabrān (one stage beyond Ḳum on the road from Kāshān).

Sāwa is mentioned by Giosafa Barbaro (1474), Figueroa (1618) etc. Chardin laments its sterile soil and heat. In 1849 the English consul K E. Abbot counted 300—400 houses in Sāwa with 1000 inhabitants; he says that the soil is excellent everywhere that it is not mixed with the *kawīr* but that the salt desert is met with at only 9 miles from the town.

At a distance of only 4 farsakh to the south of Sāwa is the old Shī'a centre. the little town of Āwa watered by a stream coming from the heights of Tafrish which separate the plain of Sāwa from that of Farāhān (Persian 'Irāḳ). According to Tomaschek, Āwa corresponds to the Ἀβαχανα of Ptolemy. Al-Muḳaddasī calls it Āwā, Yāḳūt Āba. Kūh-i Namak lies between Āwa and Ḳum It is composed of salt and its friable soil — Hausknecht calls it *Gidān-Gelmaz* — makes it impossible to climb it In Mustawfī's time Āwa was 5000 paces in circumference. Houtum-Schindler says that the ruins of the old town are beside the modern village (100 houses) and that the tomb of Sham'ūn (Simeon?) is shown there. Mustawfī talks of the tomb "attributed" to the Prophet Samuel but puts it 4 farsakh north of Sāwa.

At the present day the population of the district of Sāwa is wholly Shī'a. It consists of Persians and Turks The latter belong to the local confederation of Shāh-Sewen which includes the remnants of the tribe of Khaladj The district of Sāwa is frequently called Khaladjistān. There are Shāh sewen to the north-east and to the south of Sāwa The Khaladj live more especially to the north of the Kum-Sultānābād road (Rāhgird, Tadj-Khātūn, Djahrūd, Tafrish) In several of their villages (Kundurūd Mawdjān, Sift, Fowdjird, Kardedjan) a very peculiar Turkish dialect is spoken *wararom bāghḳa*. "I am going to the garden", *hissi-yi*, "it is warm". *hau-ča*, "in the home", *yol hawul dagh-artti*, "the road was not good", etc The dialect is worth the attention of students of Turkish (cf. the art. SHĀH-SEWEN)

In the tenth century A. H. (Ibn Faḳih) Sāwa formed part of the province of Kum In modern times it has formed part of various administrative combinations Sometimes it was governed along with the districts to the south (Mahallāt, Kazzāz) sometimes with Zarand (N.-E of Sāwa) and Kharrakān (*vulgo* Karaghān) This last mountainous district formed an enclave between the provinces of Kazwīn and Hamadhān It consists of three *bulūk* Afshār-i Bakīshlu, Afshār-i Kutulu and Karagoz, the chief town of Kharrakān is situated in the latter at the foot of the pass. It is called Āwa and must not be confused with the place of the same name in Sāwa About 1890 Sāwa was governed by an Austrian officer in the Persian service, von Täufenstein At the beginning of the twentieth century it formed a kind of fief of the brigade of Persian Cossacks at Teherān. One of the higher officers of this military force acted as governor of Sāwa and controlled the Turkish natives who supplied the principal contingent to the brigade

The antiquities of Sāwa are 1. the barrage on the Kara-Čai (about 12 miles S S W of the town) said to owe its origin to Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwainī [q v], vizier of several rulers of the viith (xiiith) century (cf *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 221) The barrage is said to have been restored under the Safawids, it is known as *band-i Shāh 'Abbās*. It occupies the passage between two hills and is about 65 feet high, 100 long and 45 thick Beside it on the left bank, the road rises in a kind of spiral caravans were thus able to ascend the dam which was used as a bridge and descend on the west side by a gradual slope on the right bank. The attempts to repair this important work by closing the path which the river has made through it have so far failed with resultant ruin for the district 2. The fortress of Ḳiz-ḳal'a on a rock in the centre of an amphitheatre of hills not far from the dam. 3. Two mosques at Sāwa. one in the town, built, according to Houtum Schindler, in 1518 A. D., the other, very beautiful

situated outside the town among the old ruins on the south side This *masdjid-i djum'a* seems to occupy the site of the mosque mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī. According to Houtum-Schindler, the present building dates from 1516 A.D but J Dieulafoy attributes its "restoration" to Shāh Ṭahmasp (930—984 = 1524—1576) 4 Near this Friday mosque is a much older minaret 36 feet high, built of bricks arranged in rows with geometrical designs superimposed. Dieulafoy dates it to the Ghaznawid period but a comparison with a similar minaret at Khusrawgird (Khurāsān) which is dated 505 (1111) suggests that it is of the same period (cf. Sarre, *Denkm pers. Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, II 112—113, and E. Herzfeld, *Khorāsān*, in *Isl.*, XI. 170). 5. The reservoir (*āb-anbār*) with the great gateway which may date from the XIIIth century of the Christian era (Herzfeld, *op cit*, p 171)

Among famous men born in Sāwa, Yāḳūt mentions Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-Raḥmān b Aḥmad, one of the principal Shāfi'ī Imāms (d 484) Mustawfī mentions the tomb of Shaikh 'Uthmān Sāwadjī near the town. On the poet Salmān-i Sāwadjī (700—778 = 1300—1376) see E G Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Litt. under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 260—271 etc., and the article SALMĀN

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Maps· Houtum-Schindler, *loc cit*, A F Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt*, supplem. fasc, N° 118, Pl I; Th Strauss, *Peterm Mitt*, 1905, Pl 21, H. Kiepert, *Vorbericht uber Prof C. Haussknechts orientalische Reisen*, Berlin 1882, Pl. IV.

(V. MINORSKY)

[Sawa plays an important part in the legends of Muhammad According to a frequently quoted tradition (for details see A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, I. 134 *sqq.*, and Th. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p 253 *sqq.*), a lake (*buḥaira*) in the neighbourhood of Sāwa sank into the ground in the night in which the Prophet was born. The site was still pointed out to al-Ḳazwīnī in the XIIIth century. As the tradition quoted shows a rather accurate knowledge of Irānian matters, we may safely seek an allusion to a definite Irānian conception in this single feature of the story. Now in Zoroastrian eschatology the lake Kansava (*Kasaoya-*) plays an important part; in the later Avesta it is located in Eastern Irān and is said to correspond to Lake Hāmūn in Sidjistān. In it is preserved the seed of Zarathushtra from which in the end will arise the saviour Saoshyant When we find the legend of the drying up of a lake in Irān connected with the birth of Muḥammad, we may interpret it as an allusion to this mythical lake. The legend symbolises the destruction of the hope of a Zoroastrian saviour, just as the earthquake in the royal palace at Ktesiphon recorded in the same tradition symbolises the end of the Irānian empire and the extinction of the sacred fire the end of Zoroastrian culture. (H H. SCHAFDER)]

SAWĀD, a name of the 'Irāḳ [q.v.]. While the name 'Irāḳ has been proved to be a Pahlavi loanword (from *Ērag*, "low land, south land", occurring in the Turfan fragments, with assimilation to the semantically connected stem *'rḳ*, cf A Siddiqi, *Studien uber die persischen Fremdworter im klass Arab.*, p 69; H. H. Schaeder, *Isl.*, XIV. 8—9, J J. Hess, *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik*, II) *sawād* "black land" is the oldest Arabic name for the alluvial land on the Euphrates and Tigris given on account of the contrast to the eye between it and the Arabian desert (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, III 174, 14 *sqq*). The name has undergone a threefold development of application 1) It is identified with the political division of 'Irāḳ and thus corresponds to the Sāsānian province of *Sūristān (Dil-i Ērān-shahr)* With this meaning the historians of the Arab conquests use the name Sawād for the 'Irāḳ (cf, for example, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p 241, 1) and especially the compilers of monographs on taxation or political handbooks (cf Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Kudāma al-Māwardī, also Ibn Khaldūn) The reason for this is that in the cadastral and revenue regulations of 'Umar I the name Sawād was used officially 2) It is used as the name of the cultivated area within a district, e.g. *Sawād al-'Irāḳ*, *Sawād Khūzistān*, *Sawād al-Urdunn*. 3) Before the name of a town it means the systematically irrigated and intensively cultivated fields in its vicinity, e g *Sawād* of al-Basra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Tustar, Bukhārā, etc

Bibliography the fundamental work is H Wagner, *Die Uberschatzung der Anbauflache Babyloniens und ihr Ursprung*, in the *Nachrichten v d Kgl G W. Gott*, Phil.-hist Kl., 1902, p 224—298) On the philological point see Lane, *Ar.-Engl Lexicon*, I 4, 1462b, on the technical question of taxation A von Kremer, *Uber das Budget der Einnahmen unter der Regierung des Hârûn al-rašid*, in the *Verh. d VII. Internat. Orient. Kongr.*, II. 1888, and M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers califes* (1886).

(H H. SCHAEDER)

SAWĀKIN (SUAKIM or SUAKIN) a seaport on the west coast of the Red Sea in 19° 5′ N. Lat. The town is built on a picturesque little oval-shaped island about a mile in circumference and 300 yards long, which lies off the mainland in the centre of a deep bay The harbour is reached through a narrow channel 4 or 5 miles long hemmed in by coral reefs, Sawākin is connected with the African continent, by a causeway about 60 yards long, commanded by a fort. At the entrance to this road is a pretty gateway which can be closed by a door, through which one reaches the suburb of al-Kaif, which lies on the mainland. The Customs House and the Government buildings are the most important buildings on the island town. The best houses are fine white buildings of three stories, recalling in style those of Djidda. Among modern erections Kitchener's Gate, a handsome half Moorish edifice, is worthy of note. The pri-

mitive shapeless huts of the natives are in lurid contrast to these buildings. The bazaar consists of drinking-bars kept by Greeks and a little street with coffee-shops and booths. The half-dozen Europeans settled in Sawākin live among the primitive reed-huts of the natives in houses which are not always particularly habitable. The town possesses a single school which, however, is one of the best in the whole Sūdān. The suburb of al-Kaif on the mainland is surrounded by a wall which was at one time flanked by half a dozen forts and protected by an outer line of trenches It has a much larger population than the island town, possesses a large bazaar in which the business life of the town is carried on and irregular streets in which live smiths and leather workers — the former make spearheads and knives and the latter do a busy trade in amulets — and barbers much visited by the male population. A few silversmiths provide the ornaments required by the women and make bracelets and anklets, ear- and nose-rings Outside the suburb, which is a long narrow oasis surrounded by salt-lakes and prairie-like desert, are wells surrounded by gardens and date-palms, providing the town's drinking-water The climate of Sawākin is not particularly healthy for Europeans The heat never falls below 86° F even in winter, in June and August changeable winds predominate which often rise to dangerous sandstorms

Sawākin is an old settlement, although the harbour is not important — it can only be entered by day owing to the narrow channel and the coral-banks It has been suggested — probably rightly — that Pliny's Oppidum Succhae was here. In the middle ages the district belonged to the Bedjā (Blemmyers) to whom belong the modern Hadendoa, Ababde and Bisharin The old connections of the Mekkans with the West African coast of the Red Sea brought about the settlement of Arab merchants here who intermarried with the Bedjā The matriarchal institutions of the Bedjā enabled the half-breeds to attain important positions and Ibn Battūta in 1330 A D found in Sawākin a son of the Amir of Mekka ruling the Bedjā The upper strata of the populace professed Islām al-Maḳrīzī calls them Hadārib In those days Sawākin had a serious rival in the harbour of ʿAidhāb farther north, which Th Bent has identified in the modern Sawākin Kadīm, 12 miles north of Halaib The harbour, now in ruins, was very important between 450 and 760 A H as a landing-place for goods from India and Arabia and was a meetingplace for merchants from the Yaman and a rendez-vous for Egyptian and African pilgrims who sailed from here for Djidda. As Sawākin, which lay seven days' march to south, was also a landing-place for ships from Djidda, there must have been a good deal of competition between the two towns, from which Sawākin in the end emerged victorious Al-Hamdanī († 945 A. D.) still reckons it in Central Abyssinia (*al-Habash al-Wusṭā*) Under Sultān Selīm I the Turks occupied the harbour. It was under the Pasha of Djidda who governed it through an Agha until in 1865 Egypt acquired it from Turkey by cession or purchase The Mahdist period (1883—1898) was a heavy blow to Sawākin, as trade died away completely owing to the closing of the important Sawākin-Berber caravan road. By the treaty of July 16, 1899, between England and Egypt, Sawākin was placed under the Anglo-Egyptian condominium along with the Sūdān and now belongs to the Red Sea Province, the largest cotton-growing area in the Sūdān.

Sawākin now has about 10,000 inhabitants. The town has a rather neglected look and almost half the buildings are in ruins, as the inhabitants in many cases are no longer able to afford the expense necessary to maintain them. The newly founded harbour of Port Sūdān is also a serious rival to Sawākin and has attracted a great deal of the trade and traffic in which Sawākin was once supreme In spite of this competition Sawākin has been able to keep an important position as regards trade and the wholesale migration of business to Port Sūdān expected by many has not materialised. Although the numerous wholesale and retail firms are no longer as busy as they were before the foundation of Port Sūdān, they are still doing very well and very few native firms are suffering under trade depression Sawākin will maintain its position if only because the trade of the natives stubbornly sticks to it and regards it as the main centre of the commerce of the Red Sea Province. Sawākin still is, as before, the starting place of pilgrims to Djidda Fifty years ago the slave trade was still flourishing on the same route and some 3000 slaves annually were shipped from here to the market in Djidda, a trade which the English government was only able to suppress with great difficulty Sawākin is now connected by a branch line from Atbara Junction with Port Sūdān, the railway was made in 1905 If the stretch from Sawākin to Tokar (56 miles) is made, and it is planned for the near future —, the two towns are at present connected by a caravan road — the harbour of Sawākin will receive a new stimulus At the present time the excellent cotton-wool from Tokar, 56 miles S E of Sawākin, is brought on camel-back to the harbour of Trinkitat and then shipped the $1^1/_2$ to 2 days voyage to Sawakin With the building of the railway the Kassala-Sawākin (via Tokar, 297 miles) and Berber-Sawākin (241 miles) caravan routes, on which most of the trade with the interior is done at present, would lose their importance but the amount of the trade would considerably increase. Beside the railway line there is also an irregular steamer service connecting with Port Sūdān. There is also a steamer connection with Djidda with a fortnightly service The main article of commerce and export are cotton, sesame oil, butter, hides, wax, resin, senna and ivory

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SAWDA BINT ZAMʿA B. ḲAIS, Muḥammad's second wife, was one of the first women who embraced Islām She accompanied her first husband al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr and her brother Malik to Abyssinia, with the second party of Muslims who repaired thither The pair returned to Mekka before the *Hidjra*, and al-Sakran, who had become a Christian in Abyssinia, died there By this union Sawda had a son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who was killed in the battle of Djalūlā.

Sawda's marriage to Muhammad was arranged by Khawla bint Hakīm, who wished to console him for the loss of Khadīdja, and took place about a month after the latter's death, in the tenth year of Muhammad's mission, in Ramadān, before his journey to al-Tāʾif.

In the first year of the *Hidjra* Sawda, together with Muḥammad's daughters, joined him in Medina, her dwelling and ʿĀʾisha's were the first to be built in the Mosque.

Sawda was no longer young at the time of her second marriage, and, as she grew older, became fat and ungainly to such a point that Muḥammad, during a pilgrimage, allowed her the privilege of reaching Minā for the morning prayer before the crowd's arrival, to avoid being jostled As she grew older Muhammad wearied of her and neglected her, while he spent a great deal of his time with the youthful ʿĀʾisha, in 8 A. H. he divorced her, but Sawda stopped him in the street and begged him to take her back, offering to yield her day to ʿĀʾisha, as "she was old, and cared not for men; her only desire was to rise on the Day of Judgement as his wife" The Prophet consented, on this occasion Sūra iv 127 was revealed

Sawda was charitable and good-natured, in one of his prophetic utterances Muhammad seems to have alluded to her as the "longest-handed", i e the most charitable of his wives, who would be the first to join him in Heaven, and ʿĀʾisha used to say· "There is no woman in whose skin I had rather be than Sawda's, except that she is somewhat envious".

Together with Zainab bint Djahsh, Sawda did not take part in the last pilgrimage Of her life after Muhammad's death there is no record, except that she received a gift of money from ʿUmar, this, together with the fact that no mention is made of her dowry, may mean that she was in straitened circumstances, though she had received her share of the spoils of Khaibar. She died in Medina, in Shawwāl 54 A. H, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, who bought her house in the Mosque, together with that of Ṣafīya, for 180,000 dirham.

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AL-SAWDĀʾ or **AL-KHARIBAT AL-SAWDĀʾ**, a ruined city in al-Djawf in South Arabia, in what was once the ancient Minaean kingdom J. Halévy, who visited the ruins, calls it *es-Soud* and describes it as an extensive system of ruins one hour's journey N. E. of the also important al-Baiḍāʾ. Al-Sawdāʾ is built on an eminence. The ancient town was apparently destroyed by a conflagration and was presumably an important industrial centre, especially for metal work; even at the present day the vitrified soil is covered with slag-heaps. Insignificant remains of the surrounding wall and a few steles are all that remain of its former splendour. D. H. Müller suggests that these ruins mark the site of the Minaean town of Karnā F. Hommel identifies it with the Nashān of the Minaean inscriptions Al-Hamdānī describes al-Sawdāʾ as one of the strongholds of the tribe of Nashḳ. The old Minaean town thus survived into the later period as the stronghold of a prominent family. The name "Black Fort" should probably be explained as referring to the building material, black lava or basalt.

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SAWDĀ, MĪRZĀ MUHAMMAD RAFIʿ, Urdū poet and satirist, was born in Dehlī in 1125 (1713). His father Mīrzā Shafīʿ (from Kābul) was a merchant and had established himself in India Sawdā was educated in Dehlī and his teachers in the art of poetry were Sulaimān Kulī Khān Widād and Shāh Zuhūr al-Dīn Hātim Like his contemporaries, Mīrzā Mazhar Djān-i Djānān, Mīr Takī Mīr and Khwādja Mīr Dard, he had derived much literary benefit from the eminent Persian scholar and poet Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Khān Ārzū, and it was he who persuaded Sawdā to write in his own mother tongue in preference to Persian. Sawdā's Urdū poetry very soon attained a high standard of excellence and he was recognised as one of the masters of Urdū poetry. At the age of about sixty he left Dehli, and after a short sojourn at Farukhābād went to Lakhnaū where he settled for the rest of his life. Āsaf al-Dawla, the king of Lakhnaʾū, raised him to the high position of *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ* Sawdā died at Lakhnaū in 1195 (1781) His works were collected by Hakīm Aslah al-Dīn Khān and were first published at Calcutta early in the xix^th^ century followed by numerous lithogr. editions.

Sawdā is rightly considered to be one of the greatest Urdū poets He excelled in *ḳaṣīda* and *ghazal* and his satires are witty and sharp He was well versed in music also. Dr. Fallon's adverse remarks about his poetry are not justifiable

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SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ, a Persian corruption of the Turkish *soʾuk-bulak* "cold spring", the form *sāwdj* (pronunciation *sāʾudj*) is found as early as the

Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb (740 = 1340). There are two places of this name

1. The fertile district beginning at Ṭeherān and stretching to the west of the river Karadj along both sides of the great Ṭeherān-Kazwīn road To the north a range of hills separates it from Ṭalaḳān. On the southern slopes of these hills are the pits of Feshand which supply the capital with coal The district is watered by the Kordān which rises in the same heights. Among its villages Hamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions Sunkurābād and Nadjmābād which still exist at the present day. The centre of the district is marked by Yangī-Imam (an artificial mound with a tomb) At the south-western extremity of the district is the little town of Ishtihārd whose inhabitants speak the Īrānian dialect called *tātī*, other villages of the same language (towards Ḳazwīn) are Sagzīābād, Shādmān, Ispīawarīn, Čal and Siāhdahān Many of the people of Ishtihārd profess Bahā'ism See the map in A F Stahl, *Peterm Mitt*, suppl fasc, No. 118, 1896, sheet I, and his map *Umgegend von Teheran*, Gotha 1892

2. The southern section of the province of Ādharbāidjān, the capital of which is Sāwdj-Bulāḳ (in Kurdish Sā-blāgh) The governors of Sāwdj-Bulāk are appointed from Tabrīz, but ethnographically Sāwdj-Bulāk forms part of Persian Kurdistān, which consists of three parts *a*) Kurdistān of Mukrī in the north, corresponding to the *hukūmat* of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, *b*) to the south Kurdistān of Sinna (cf the art SENNE) and *c*) to the south of it Kurdistān of Kirmānshāh

The province of Sāwdj-Bulāk is bounded on the north by Lake Urmiya, in the north-west by the districts of Suldūz and Ushnū watered by the Gādir-čai, on the west by the heights of the Kandil forming the Turco-Persian frontier, in the south by the Sūr-kēw range separating Bāna from the district of Shilēr, on the east by the watershed between the Tatawū and the Djaghatū (only the district of Sakkiz borders on the basin of the latter river), on the north-east by the course of the Tatawū on the right bank of which lies the isolated district of Miyan-du-āb ("between the two waters") The Tatawū at the same time forms the boundary between the Turks of this latter district and the Mukri-Kurds of Sāwdj-Bulāk. Sāwdj-Bulāk measures 80 by 60 miles and has an area of about 4,800 to 5,000 square miles

Hydrography. The Mukrī country lies across two watersheds, that of the Lake of Urmiya and that of the Little Zāb (a tributary of the Tigris) To the first belong three separate rivers 1 the Djaghatū, which rises in Mount Čihil-Čashma at the eastern extremity of the Turkish enclave of Shilēr which runs far into Persian territory between Bāna in the north and Mariwān in the south, 2. the Tatawū (Mustawfī Taghatū) rising in the extreme south-east of Kurtak, 3. the Sāwdj-Bulāḳ rising in the eastern face of the Maidān pass (between Paswa and the town of Sawdj-Bulāk) The river-system of the Little Zāb (*al-Zāb al-aṣfal*) belongs to the basin of the Persian Gulf Its upper course is formed on the high plateaux of Lāhidjān Mukri, the north-western branch (Lāwēn) rises on the eastern face of the Kandil just south of the pass of Kel-i Shīn, the north branch (Bāid-i Mēshe) comes from Djaldiān via Ushnū, the north-east branch (Āwa-žurū) from the west face of the Maidān pass.

Taking in on its right bank the swift waters of Badīnāwā, Āwa-Pīdānān, Khidirāwā, Tālestān and Kāzān and on the left the large streams that rush down the gorges of the Kurtak, the Little Zāb under the name of Zei or Kialū rolls southwards, but below Sardasht it turns sharply westwards to force a passage through the ravine of Alān to the Tigris Just at this bend, close to the pretty village of Alōt, the Kialū receives on the left bank the important tributary which drains the whole basin of Bāna (except the district of Namashīr, the waters of which enter the Kialū above Alōt) The river of Bāna (Āwa-Kīwerō) forms an almost straight line with the ravine of Alān The left bank below Dunēs belonged to Turkey (Alān-i Gigasha). The frontier here follows the course of the Kīwerō and then of the Kialū, finally ascending the Kandil leaving Bētūsh to Persia and Kandōl to Turkey.

There is only one little stream that escapes the gigantic funnel of the Alān, the rivulet of Wazna rising on the verdant heights of this name to the south-east of the great cone of the Ḳandil describes a semi-circle to the west of the Kialū and enters the Mesopotamian plain (Pīždar) by a deep defile where it finally rejoins the Little Zāb on its right bank.

Orography. The lofty chain of the Kandīl rises like a wall between the territory of Sāwdj-Bulāk and the districts of the former Turkish Kurdistān Rawāndūz and Kō-i Sandjāḳ Among the Arabs the Kandil was called Sha'rān, in Persian Takht-i Shirōye (Yākūt, ed Wustenfeld, iii 298), by the Armenians Zaiasp (Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p. 249, 266) The famous pass of Kel-i Shīn (about 9,000 feet high) between Ushnū and Sidakān (belonging to Rawandūz) lies to the north and outside the boundaries of Sāwdj-Bulāk Communication between Sāwdj-Bulāk and Mesopotamia is maintained by the less elevated (6,000 feet) and more convenient pass of Garū-Shinka, between Lāhidjān and Bālak (Rāyāt), as well as by the defiles of Wazna and Alan All traffic is, however, considerably hampered by the presence of turbulent tribes on both sides of the frontier.

The great perpendicular arête which is detached from the southern extremity of the Ḳandil and forms the northern wall of the ravine of Alān is noteworthy It is called Daiū and its pass the Hawmīl

The heights running between Lāhidjān and the valley of the Gādir are of little importance except a few peaks (Bīčāra and Čoghantū) They extend to the Tatawū, where they cut the town of Sāwdj-Bulāk off from the northern district of Shār-i Wērān, they allow a passage, however, to the Sāwdj-Bulāk river

The central longitudinal massif of Kurtak (up to 7,000 feet) separates the waters of the Kialū from the basin of Lake Urmiya, to the north it joins the summit of Čoghantū

The eastern part of Mukrī Kurdistān is in the form of a square, the sides of which are in the north the latitudinal heights, in the west the Kurtak, in the south the watershed of the Tatawū on one hand and of Namashīr and Sakḳiz on the other, these heights coalesce in the extreme south of the Kurtak and their principal summit is Bard-i Sūr ("red stone"), lastly on the east the heights of the watershed between the Tatawū and the Djaghatū. The interior of the square formed by the system of the Sāwdj-Bulāk-čai and of the Tatawū is extremely irregular it contains mountain peaks (Taraḳa), gentle slopes and fertile valleys.

To the south and outside the square are the districts of Saḳḳız [q. v] and Bāna. The first inclines from south-west to north-east It is watered by the northern sources of the Djaghatū and fills the angle between the square of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ and the lands of Bāna. The latter district, on the other hand, forms a valley sloping from east to west towards the basin of the K'alū To the south Sūr-kēw ("Red mountain") forms the boundary; to the east the heights of Shīwe-gwēzan separate it from the southern sources of the Djaghatū (River Ṣāḥib); to the north-east the heights of the Kel-i Khān pass rise as a barrier between the wooded slopes of Bāna and the bare hills of Saḳḳız. To the north the rocky group of Balū (the "oak") bounds the principal valley of Bāna. To the north of Balū runs the river of Namashīr which runs directly into the K'alū on its left bank Balū thus forms an isolated group corresponding to Dārū on the right bank of the K'alū The true northern boundary of Bāna is therefore formed by the mountain of Bārd-i Sūr to the north of the districts of Dasht-i Tāl and Namashir.

From the administrative (and ethnographical) point of view the province of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ is divided into the following parts

I. Mukrī Kurdistān properly so-called, inhabited by settled Kurds belonging to the Mukrī and Debokrī tribes The capital is the town of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ founded, according to Rawlinson, at the beginning of the xviiith century. A century later it comprised 1200 houses of which 100 belonged to Jews and 30 to Syrians. The town retained this size till the outbreak of the Great War According to H. Schindler, the town lies in 36° 45′ 48″ N. Lat and 45° 47′ E Long. at a height of 4,272 feet above sea-level The following districts (*mahall*) form this part of Mukrī Kurdistān 1 The environs of the capital, 36 villages, 2. Shār-i Wērān "the deserted town", this very rich district is situated to the north of the capital and has 68 villages belonging to the Debokrī āghā's, 3. Akhtači "grooms", on the Sāwdj-Bulāḳ–Miyān-du-āb road, in the valley of the Tatawū, 90 villages, of which the principal is Burhān, 4. Bahī on the Tatawū at the crossing of the Sāwdj-Bulāḳ–Sakkız and Marāgha–Saḳkız roads, 65 villages of which the principal is Bōkān with a fine residence of the hereditary "sardār's" of the Mukrī, 5. Turdjān south of Bahī, 38 villages, 6. Gowruk-i Mukrī near the sources of the Tatawū south-east of Kurtak, 24 villages

II. The territory of the Kurd tribe Bilbas, related to the Mukrī and speaking the same dialect. Formerly nomads, the Bilbās now spend the winter in their villages and in summer go to the heights (*sarān*) near their dwellings. The following are always on Persian territory:

a. The Mangur, a brave and courageous tribe, mostly settled, on the Sāwdj-bulāḳ-čai and in the districts of Ēl-Tamūr (below Gowruk) and Na'lain-i Mangur (the "horse-shoe", i. e. an amphitheatre formed by the mountains on the western face of Kurtak). But the headquarters of the Mangur where their āghās live is at Mērgān (Tirkash) on the right bank of the K'alū between Lāhidjān and Sardasht. The total number of the villages of the Mangur amounts to 148.

b. The Pīrān to the north of Mērgān in old Lāhidjān on the Lāwēn, 30 villages, including the little fort of Mutāwa-tapa just opposite the pass of Garū-shinka.

c. The Mamash live in New Lāhidjān, the centre of which is the ancient stronghold of Paswa, now in ruins, but mentioned as early as Yāḳūt. The Mamash occupy the valley of Bārd-i Mēshe (Djaldiān) and all the upper part of Lāwēn above the part where it enters the plain of Old Lāhidjān. There are Mamash at Suldūz and at Ushnū, in all over a hundred villages.

d The clan Odjākh-kā-Khidrī in summer occupies the rich pasturages of Wazna and in winter descends to the warm plains of Kō-i Sandjāḳ; but it also has an inclination to settle in Persia.

III The territory of Sardasht consists of the following divisions

a. The wretched little town of Sardasht, the residence of a vice-governor, and the district of the same name on the right bank of the K'alū.

b The tribe of Gowruk (Gawrik) which besides the villages already mentioned occupies the wooded spurs of the Kurtak on the left bank of the K'alū and has over a hundred villages

c. The Suēsnī live in the villages (68) between Wazna, Sardasht, the bend of the K'alū and the Ḳandīl Their clans (Baiyadjī, Milkārī, Darmai, Harz-Alān and Alān) live separately without common chiefs. Bētūsh, the chief place of the Alān, has 70 houses surrounded with beautiful gardens It ought to become quite important, being situated on the Marāgha–Sāwdj-Bulāk–Sardasht road and the districts of Sulaimānīya and Kirkūk At Teiyet below Bētūsh there are to be seen on the K'alū the ruins of an old bridge having seven piers of brick.

IV. The two other districts of Mukrī Kurdistān are Sakḳız and Bāna They were both at one time under the wālī's of Sinna, but geographical, ethnical and political conditions (especially since the Turkish occupation in 1906) explain their being attached to Sāwdj-Bulāk.

Bāna is a very important district with 8 subdivisions (Dōla-Khumāwa, Balwāw-Bnakhwē, Shwē, Namashir, Dasht-i Tāl, Kīwerō, Tažān, Pāsh-Arbēbā) with 145 villages and about 3500 households The town of Bāna at the foot of Mount Arbēbā has 800 houses, of which 80 belong to Jews, and a very busy market In Pāsh-Arbēbā ("behind A "), on the road from Pendjwīn, we may mention the village of Čamparōw, which although situated to the south of the Sūi-kēw range belongs to Bāna.

Rawlinson estimated the number of Mukrī families at 12,000 which would give about 100,000 souls. This figure does not seem to include Bilbās, Bāna, Sākkız, etc The actual number of inhabitants of the *hukūmat* of Sāwdj-Bulāk cannot be below 200,000 The foreigners are a few Persian officials, several hundred Jewish families at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, Bāna and Sardasht, and even in the villages, a dozen Armenian families (with a church) at the town of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, whence, on the other hand, Syrians have entirely disappeared.

Language. O Mann concludes that the same Kurdish language (Kurmāndjī) is spoken on the territory bounded on the east by the valley of the Tatawū and the left bank of the Djaghatū; to the south, in Saḳḳız and Bāna, Kurmāndjī is spoken, but at Marīwān (?) and among the Tīlakū tribe (in the district of Hōbatū) the dialect of Sinna [q.v.] is said to be spoken. Kurmāndjī extends beyond the bounds of Persia as far as Sulaimānīya and even south of it. The favourite poets of the people of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ are natives of Kirkūk,

Darband and the villages of Sulaimānīya. To the north-west the dialect passes a little beyond the plain of Ushnū, but in the Urmiya region begins the area of the dialects which are connected with those of Hakkārī. Thanks to the labours of O. Mann we have a fine collection of heroic ballads and Mukrī folk-lore. There is a translation into the Mukrī dialect of the Gospel of St. Mark (Awearanian press at Philippopoli, 1909) and of Protestant hymns (L O Fossum) etc Before the war American missionaries had begun to publish at Urmiya a little magazine for the Mukrī (*Kurdistān*, N°. 1, April, 1914).

Religion. The Mukrī Kurds are Shāfi'ī Sunnīs. They are very lukewarm in religious matters, but the Shaikhs belonging to the religious orders Naḳshbandī and Ḳādirī exercise a very great personal influence among them. The disciples of Shaikh Sa'īd of Kawsābād (killed in 1915 during the Turkish occupation) practised a very violent *dhikr* in his *takīya*.

Costume. The Mukrī costume consists of a shirt with very long sleeves coming down to the feet and tied behind the back when fighting Above it is put a kind of robe which comes down to the knees and the tails of which cross, a huge girdle of cotton material, sometimes 20 feet long, is then rolled round the body. In summer the tails of the coat fall down over the huge white drawers tightened at the ankles In winter or when on horseback the tails are thrust into cloth trousers of ample dimensions Above all a very short sleeveless coat of hard felt is worn On the head is worn a peaked headdress surmounted by a tassel. This is surrounded by a turban of Mosul silk, the fringes of which fall over the eyes. The old armour, coat-of-mail, helmet, buckler, lance and sword (cf de Morgan, II, Pl x. and x), has completely disappeared The Mukrī is content with a dagger and a rifle, and is specially fond of making a show of the number of his bandoliers and belts arranged to hold cartridges There is not much variety in the equestrian sports, the favourite is the *takala* which consists in throwing a heavy stick to the ground and catching it while going at full speed

The women wear dark cotton trousers, a long undergarment, and a piece of blue cotton with which they cover their shoulders; a blue or red turban skilfully arranged forms their headdress. The relations between the sexes have not the strictness usual among the Muslims The women do not veil themselves Among the Mukrīs there are a number of dances (*čōpī*, *rōīnā*, *sueskaī*, *elapāī*, *harshī*, *hal-parrin*) in which the men and women form circles holding one another's hands

Occupations. To the north-east, especially in the rich valley of the Tatawū, we have agriculture with a view to export; everywhere else the tribes cultivate the soil for their own requirements only. The vine and tobacco are grown at Alān, Sardasht and Bāna. Sheep are reared throughout the mountainous region; cheese is made flavoured with sweet smelling herbs and felt is manufactured. In the wooded districts the people burn charcoal, gather acorns, gal-nuts and manna (*gaz*); these districts are on the right bank of the Kialū the region between Prdānān and Sardasht; on the left bank the western slopes of the Kurtak, in Bāna the eastern parts of the district. In the river at Vazna (near Aghalān) auriferous sand is found in small quantities.

History. Down to about 1890 there was at Tashtapa on the lower course of the Tatawū a cuneiform inscription in the Khaldaic (Vannic) language, which has since been carried off by some vandal According to Belck (*Das Reich der Mannaer*, in the *Verhandl. Berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, 1894, p. 479—487), it was put up by Menua, son of Ishpuini, a Vannic (Khaldic, Urartaean) king who reigned between 812 and 778 B. C. (C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, 1910, i. 632). This monument, the most eastern known in the cuneiform character, must have marked the site of the town of Meshta in the land of the Mannaeans (Minni) conquered by Menua. Traces of Khaldic influence can also be seen in the waterworks, subterranean corridors and stairways hewn out of the rock, which Rawlinson (*J R.G.S.*, vol x) discovered at Shaitān-ābād and at Sawkand on the left bank of the Sāwdj-Bulāk river. The Assyrian king Sargon, in the account of his famous campaign in 714 B. C., mentions to the south of Lake Urmiya — apart from Mannaean territories — the districts of Allabria, Parsuash, Zikirtu, etc. (Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912) But the identification of Parsuash with the land of the Persians (Pārsa) and its localisation on the lower course of the Gādir are still only hypotheses.

Another very remarkable monument is the rock tomb of Faḳraka near the village of Indirḳash north of Sāwdj-Bulāk, it resembles the Achaemenid type of tomb (de Morgan). E. Herzfeld connects it with the group of monuments which he regards as Median (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p 184, Herzfeld, *Chorāsān*, in *Islām*, 1921, xi 131) Among the towns of Media enumerated by Ptolemy (vi. 2) there are two in the same latitude (38° 30') Ἀριαύσα (long. 87° 30') and Σινκάρ (long 88°) Rawlinson identifies the latter with Singān in the district of Ushnū and he connected the former (Dārayavauša?) with the Daryās mentioned in the Kurdish chronicle (ed. Veliaminof-Zernof, i 268) But he did not know the site of Daryās, it is the name of a village (2 miles N W. of Indirkash) quite close to which are the ruins of the "deserted town" which has given its name to the whole district of Shār-i Wērān, which is still recognised as the ancient capital of the district.

De Morgan (iv 283) has remarked on the great number of artificial *tell*'s (mounds) on the upper Kialū, there are 24 in Lāhidjān. The ruins of the "old town" of this district are to the south-east of the pass of Gaiū-Shinka Farther down the *tell*'s disappear but in the centre of the Mukrī country at Gholgha-tapa there is a large mound 150 paces in circumference Quite near, at Khalil dalil, de Morgan found tombs of the iron age (*Miss. scient.*, vol iv, *Recherches archéol.*, i 9). In the Bāna district Harris mentions "mounds" (*tell*'s) near Siāwma, the inhabitants of which sold him ancient seals, cylinders, etc. All this shows that the region of Mukrī Kurdistān has been inhabited from a remote period.

The Emperor Heraclius crossed this region in 624 in pursuit of Khusraw Parwēz; in the caves of Kereftū (Sāin-Ḳal'a, q. v.) Ker Porter found a Greek inscription (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, Berlin 1878, p 512).

The history of Mār Yabalāhā, patriarch of the Nestorians (1281—1317 A. D.), shows the im-

portance of the traffic through the territory of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ in the Mongol period The present toponymy of the region shows the clash of Turkish influences from the north-east and Kurd influences infiltrating from the west. In the eastern cantons (Akhtačı, Bahı, Tuidjān, Saḳḳız) there are Kurdish villages with Turkish names. We also find a certain number of Mongol names Taraḳa, Tatawū (in Mustawfī. Taghatū), Djaghatū, which, according to the *History* of Mār Yabalāhā (transl Chabot, 1895, p. 151), was called in Persian Wakya(?)-rūd or, according to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, *ad fol.* 297b), Zarīna Rūd On the other hand, the Turkish districts between the Tatawū and Marāgha formerly subject to the Mukrī have been lost to them. To the west of the Kurtak we only find Kurdish names with a few sporadic Semitic ones (Aramaic) Dribka, Kōka, Nalōsa and Shmōla

We have to distinguish several historical layers among the Kurds of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ. In general the large tribes are divided into two classes warrior (*ʿaskiriyat*) and peasant (*raʿiyat*) and it is very probable that before the formation of a tribe organised in this way the peasants had to be subjugated and sometimes even "Kurdicised" by the invaders who are their present masters. According to O. Mann, the peasants are usually proud of belonging to the (now called?) Debokrī tribe who would represent an older element than the Mukrī The same hypothesis is probable for the Suesnī (between the valley of Alān, Sardasht and Wazna) in view of their settled character and their ability as gardeners and vine-growers.

As regards the tribal aristocracy it always claims to have come from the west For the principal tribe of the Mukrī we have the references in the *Sharaf-nāma* The Mukrī chiefs claim to have belonged to the Mukrīya tribe which lives in Shahrizūr and to have been of the family of governors of the Bābān tribe During the period of Turkoman dynasties (ixth cent. A. H.) a certain Saif al-Dīn took Daryās from the Čabuklū (a Turkish tribe?) and enlarged the territory by the addition of the districts of Dōl-i Bārīk (Dōl is a little district to the S.-W. of Lake Urmiya and Bārīk a tribe at present scattered round the mouth of the Tatawū), Akhtačı, Ēl-Tamūr and Suldūz The tribes united under his sway received the name of Mukrī His son and successor Sārim challenged Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī and in 912 inflicted a defeat on the Persian troops Then (in 918?) he sought support and investiture from Sultān Selīm On the death of Ṣārim his estates were divided among the three sons of his nephew Rustam, who recognised the suzerainty of Shāh Tahmasp At the revolt of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā (948) Sultān Sulaimān sent against them his vassals of the ʿAmādīya, Hakkārī and Brādōst tribes who fought and killed them. The young son of Sārim, Amīra-bēg I, succeeded them having received investiture from Sultān Sulaimān and ruled his tribe and the fief of Daryās for 30 years. Another Amīra, grandson of Rustam, succeeded him, with the help of the Safawīs. During the troubles in the reign of Shāh Muḥammad Khudā-banda, Amīra-bēg II in 991 visited Sultān Murād III who added to his hereditary fief the wilāyet of Bābān (Shahr-i Zūr) and the sandjaḳ of Moṣul; Erbīl and certain dependencies of Marāgha were given to his sons With the help of the Mīr-i Mīrān of Wan, he defied the Persian governor of Marāgha and plundered the district, of which the Sultān appointed him beyler-beyi with the title of pāshā. The hereditary fief of Daryās was, however, awarded to his nephew Hasan who had given his adherence to the Porte before him A war broke out between Amīra Pāshā and Hasan The latter was killed and Sultān Muhammad III (1003—1012 A H.) granted his brother Ulugh-beg the district of Dih-i Khwārḳān (D Harrakān to the north of Marāgha) in fief. In the meanwhile the Turks had captured Tabrīz and Djaʿfar Pāshā, appointed Governor General of the province, wished to have Amīra-Pāshā recognise his authority The latter complied with a bad grace. Djaʿfar Pāshā lodged complaints against him in Constantinople and the sandjaks of Bābān, Mosul and Erbil were taken from Amīra Marāgha was subordinated to Tabrīz with an obligation on Amīra to pay an annual contribution of 15 kharwār of gold. Finally his lands were reduced to Daryās alone His son Shaikh Haidār, however, was able to hold out in the old fortress of Sārū-Kurghān rebuilt by him The people of Marāgha complained of him as a troublesome neighbour and Khidr Pāshā, governor-general of Tabrīz, issued an edict allotting Sārū-Kurghān to the Mahmūdī tribe Fighting began around the fortress and Amīra-Pāshā had to intervene to put a stop to the hostilities About 1005 the father and son still had the following districts Daryās, (Miyān)-du-āb, Adjarı and Leilān (the two last named on the right bank of the Djaghatū), as well as the fortress of Taraḳa and Sārū-Ḳurghān with the districts attached to them

Information on the later period is still little accessible Iskandar Munshī, author of the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā*, was an eye-witness of Shāh ʿAbbās's expedition against the Mukrī and Brādōst Kurds, the episode of the siege (in 1017 = 1609) of Dimdim-ḳalʿa (south of Urmiya on the river Kāsimlū) is the favourite subject of Mukrī heroic ballads Mīrzā Mahdī-Khān's history of Nādir Shāh also contains information about the Mukrī (O Mann, *op cit*, 1, Preface)

The more recent history of Mukrī territory is as follows In 1810 the governor of Marāgha, Ahmad-Khān (of the Turkish tribe of Mukaddam), invited the Mamash Āghā's to a feast and had 300 of them massacred there, which put a stop to this tribe's depredations for a long time. In 1850 the rebel Bāpir Āghā (Bilbās) threatened Marāgha. In October, 1880, the Mukrī territory was invaded by Shaikh ʿUbaid Allāh of Shamdīnān, whose ambition was to found a Kurdish principality of the same character as that of Rumelia. On this occasion the religious chief of the Sunnīs of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ proclaimed the holy war against the Shīʿīs which resulted in horrible massacres especially around Marāgha In 1905, the Turks contesting the Turko-Persian frontier occupied Lāhidjān Muhammad Fādil Pāshā's headquarters were at first established at Paswa, in the end the occupation gradually opened all over Mukrī territory. In 1914 the delimitation took place with the assistance of British and Russian representatives; it re-established the old frontier along the Kandil. The World War began in these regions with a new Turkish-Kurd movement. Colonel Iyas, Russian consul at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, was assassinated at Miyāndu-āb on Dec. 16, 1914. The region then became the scene of Russian-Turkish fighting which left a trail of devastation behind it.

Five great families constitute the Mukrī nobility. they are all called Bābā-Amīra (Bābā-mīrī) and trace their descent from Amīra Pāshā Their more certain ancestor is Budākh-Sulṭān who is buried in Sāwdj-Bulāḳ, his connection with Amīra II is, however, not at all clear. According to Rich (i 300), his brother Bābā Sulaimān flourished about 1700 There are curious legends about the life of Budākh-Sulṭān he is said to have been the son of a certain Faḳīh Aḥmad who had married a young Frank girl called Kēghān (Rich, i. 291, 299, 389) One of the peaks of the Kandīl is called Khān Budākh Kēghān (metronymic names are common among the Mukrī) The descendant of Budākh in the eighth generation was ʿAzīz Khān Sardār, governor-general of Ādhaibāidjān, who died in 1868. De Morgan (ii. 40—41) extols the ability of his son Saif al-Dīn, governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk and owner of the fine estate of Bōkān (he died in 1891). His son and successor, Husain-Khān Sardār-i Mukrī, several times governor of Sāwdj-Bulāk, was killed in 1914 during the Turkish invasion Other Bābā-mīrī families have estates at Akhtači, Turdjān and Yād-ābād (Yālāwā)

Rawlinson (p 35) describes the fiscal organisation of Sāwdj-Bulāḳ. The Bābā-mīrī families receive $^1/_{15}$ of the produce of the land, $^1/_{10}$ is received by the farmers (*āghā*) and $^1/_5$ goes to the ʿzeiaet-chīs' who superintend the cultivation These quotas evidently represented the rent while the rest of the produce defrayed the expenses of tillage and labour According to O Mann, this system still flourishes, but feudal customs generally tend to disappear

The tribe of Debokrī has only played a subordinate part. Their very centre, Daryās, has long been regarded by the Mukrī as their hereditary fief It is only very recently that the Debokrī seem to have again organised themselves with some degree of independence under their present chiefs of whom the great-grandfather, Brahīm Āghā, is said to have come from Diyār-bakr (?) Near Sawdj-Bulāk there is a little village of Debokr from which *Debokrī* must be derived The connection between Debokr (Dih-i Bokr?) and Diyār-bakr is uncertain In any case the name *Debokrī*, which does not occur in the *Sharaf-nāma*, cannot be old but, as it is applied especially to a family of chiefs, this fact does not prejudice the antiquity of the people owning their rule. The district of Lāhidjān, like its homonym in Gilān, used to be called Lāridjān Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 244, 263, identifies it with the Salaḳ al-Awdī of the Arabs, while not denying that the name *salaḳ* may be a reminiscence of the ancient *Silices* According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 279), Sulaimān-bēg Sohrān (before 994?) pillaged the land of the Zarzā A corrupt passage (i 280) then seems to show that Lāridjān formed part of this territory and that it was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budāk Bābān The Zarzā now occupy the district of Ushnū immediately to the north of Lāhidjān. The date of arrival of the present occupants, the Bilbās, in Lāhidjān is unknown The Bilbās with the Ḳawālīsī are occasionally referred to in the *Sharaf-nāma* to the west of the Ḳandīl where some of their branches are still to be found (Mamash-i Bne, Khidir-mamasenī). In Rawlinson's time the Bilbās still paid to the Mukrī a tribute of 1000 tomans a year.

As to Bāna, the *Sharaf-nāma* says that this district lies between the Ardilān, Bābān and Mukri, and that it consists of two parts, one of which is the *nāhiya* of Bāna properly so-called with the fort of Birūz, the other consists of the fort of Shīwa (in Kurdish "slope") which must correspond to the village of Shwē in the district of this name lying to the south-west of Bāna The former capital, the official Persian name of which is Bihrūza, is a short distance from the modern town but its name survives in the popular name given by the Kurds to the present town of Ba-rōża ("exposed to the sun") The Amīrs of Bāna (*Sharaf-nāma*, i 320) were called Ikhtiyār al-Dīn because "of their own accord (*ba-ikhtiyār-i khwud*) they had adopted Islām". The first chief mentioned by the author is Mīrzā-bēg of Bāna, who married the daughter of Bīga-bēg, governor of Ardilān, which brought him trouble with a rival and the resultant temporary loss of his fief. His son Budāḳ-bēg, driven out by his brothers, sought the support of Shāh Tahmasp but died at Ḳazwīn. The Shāh ordered the governor of Marāgha to instal in Bāna Budāk's brother Sulaimān-bēg who ruled the district for twenty years and finally handed over his position to his son-in-law and nephew Badr-bēg. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, which also claimed descent from the ʿAbbāsids, then became vassals of the wālī's of Ardilān. In the time of Rich (i 217, 248) Nūr Allāh Khān was hereditary governor of Bāna The last scion of the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn family, Karīm Khān, was killed (about 1890) by his old servant Wenis (= Yunūs) Khān, who seized the power in Bāna His son Hama (Muhammad) Khān was governor in the district before the Great War. Since 1912 by orders from Teherān Bāna has been detached from Sinna and incorporated in the province of Sāwdj-Bulāk.

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(V Minorsky)

SAWDJĪ, the name of three Ottoman princes. Its origin like that of most old Ottoman names (cf. Balı, Ṣaltı̄ḳ etc.) has not been satisfactorily explained cf, however, W. Radloff, *Wörterb. der Turkdial*, iv. 431, and Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. Mss.*, p 272b, according to whom it means "Prophet".

1) Sawdjī Beg, in the old Ottoman chronicles also called Ṣarı̄ yatı̄ or Ṣarı̄ bali, was one of the younger brothers of ᶜOsmān, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and a son of Ertoghrul. He supported his brother on his campaigns and fell (684 = 1285/86 is the date given) in battle against the governor of Angelokome (Aine Gol) at Egridje south of Ḳoladja behind Olympus at the foot of a pine tree. The tree was still called *Ḳandı̄lı̄ čam* "pine tree of the lamps" in later times presumably from the lights lit there, the glimmer of which was afterwards given a mystic significance. (According te Neshrī, Idrīs Bidlisī and Saᶜd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i. 18, 8 *sqq*, a heavenly light, *nuzūl nūr*, illuminated the tree by night). Sawdjī Beg was buried beside his father in his tomb (*turbe*) at Sogūd destroyed by the Greeks in 1922.

Bibliography J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, i. 54, and following him J. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, i. 70, (from Saᶜd al-Dīn who follows Idrīs Bidlīsī, *Hesht Bihisht*, and Neshrī, *Djihānnumā*).

2) A son of ᶜOsmān was also called Sawdjī. We only know of him that he fell in battle (*Sidjill-ᶜOthmānī*, i. 37).

3) The eldest son of Murād I who, when governor of Rumelia, made terms with a son of John V Palaeologos of Byzantium named Andronicos, and rebelled against his father. The Ottoman chroniclers give very scanty information about this conspiracy while the Byzantine historians Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes and Ducas give very full accounts, differing only in details; cf Chalcoc., ed. Imm. Bekker, i. 40 *sqq*. (Σαουζῆς), Phrantzes, ed. Bekker, i. 50, where the rebel is wrongly called Μωσῆ Τζελεπῆς i e. Mūsā Čelebi through confusion with Bāyazīd I's son, Ducas, ed. Bekker, p. 22 (Σαβούτζιος) where Sawdjī is mentioned but the rebel is called Κουντούζης i. e. Gunduz. Murād I acted jointly with Joh V and took the field against the two princes. After an unsuccessful battle at a place which the Byzantine writers call Ἀπικρίδιον (Chalc, p 43 4) Sawdjī fled to Didymotichon, where he was surrounded and forced to surrender to his father He was blinded and then beheaded. The execution took place in 787 (1385/86) and the body was brought to Brussa and buried there Murād I had apparently made up his mind to get rid of Sawdjī as he had appointed his son Bāyazīd to watch his movements, cf Murād I's letter to Bāyazīd in Ferīdūn, *Munshiᵓāt Selātīn*, i² 107 (of the beginning of Rabiᶜ I, 787 = 1385–1386), with Bāyazīd's answer, *op. cit*, esp. p. 108 supra, according to which the Kādī of Brussa must have passed a death sentence on Sawdjī. The execution of Sawdjī was the first of a long series of similar cases, in which princes dangerous to the Ottoman heir-apparent were put out of the way

Bibliography J von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, i 190, 599, Zinkeisen in *G O R*, i. 237 *sqq* ; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*, under the year 787, Saᶜd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, i 100 *sqq*. (following Idrīs Bidlīsī). (Franz Babinger)

SAWĪḲ (A) is in the first place barley flour, then also wheat flour and flour made of dried fruits, then a soup made from flour with water or a paste to which honey, oil or pomegranate syrup etc is added The effects of such flour dishes are discussed by al-Rāzī in his work on diet. — To revenge the battle of Badr, Abū Sufyān in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 2 A H, rode with a body of horsemen towards Medīna. Near the town there was some trifling skirmishing and Abū Sufyān fled as soon as Muḥammad and his followers approached. The Mekkans in their flight threw away their provisions, mainly *sawīḳ*, which were picked up by the Muslims. The incident has been perpetuated in the *Sīra* under the name *Ghazwat al-Sawīḳ* (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, year 2, § 99).

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ṢAWM (A.), with Ṣiyām, *maṣdar* from the root *ṣ-w-m*, the two *maṣdar* are used indiscriminately. The original meaning of the word in Arabic is "to be at rest" (Th. Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage zur sem. Sprachw.*, Strassburg 1910, p. 36, note 3; cf. previously S. Fränkel, *De vocab. ..... in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, p. 20: "quiescere"). The meaning "fasting" may have been taken from Judaeo-Aramaic usage, when Muḥammad became better acquainted with the institution of fasting in Medīna The word has this meaning in the Medīna sūras; in the Mekka sūras

it only occurs once, in Sūra xix. 27, where the commentators explain it by *ṣamt* "silence" (this is therefore given as one of the translations of the word in the dictionaries); but perhaps *ṣawm* has simply to be translated "fasting" here (see below). The verb is followed by the accusative of the time spent in fasting.

Origin of the rite of Fasting. That fasting was an unknown practice in Mekka before Muhammad's time cannot be *a priori* assumed Why should not the *Ḥunafā'* in whose manner of life there were so many Judaeo-Christian features apparent — at least according to tradition — have also used this spiritual discipline? In favour of the occurrence of fasting as a voluntary practice of mortification among the first Muslims in Mekka is the probability that Muḥammad on his many and varied journeys had observed the rite among Jews and Christians. But we can say nothing definite on this point; anything told us on this subject in the *Sīra* and Muslim tradition may be biased. In the Mekka sūras, as above mentioned, there is a reference to *ṣawm* in xix. 27 a voice commands Mary to say "I have made a vow of *ṣawm* to the Merciful, wherefore I speak to no one this day" There is some possibility that *ṣawm* here simply means "fasting", because observing silence as a Christian fasting practice (cf. Afrāhāṭ, ed Parisot, in *Patrol Syriaca*, i, p 97) may have been known to Muḥammad. Muhammad was in any case not acquainted with the details, because it was only after the Hidjra that he ordered the *'Āshūrā'*-day to be spent in fasting, when he saw the Jews doing it in Medina In the year 2 A. H., according to unanimous reliable Muslim tradition (cf A J Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Diss Leiden 1908, p. 136—137, in contradiction of e. g. A Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii. 53—59), the revelation of Sūra ii. 179—181 again abolished the *'Āshūrā'*-fast as an obligation by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān. On the question why Muhammad chose this particular month and whence he took the arrangement of the Muslim fast, various opinions have been expressed Islām teaches that it is the fast imposed by God on Jews and Christians, but corrupted by them and restored by Muhammad to its true form, Sprenger, *op cit*, iii. 55 *sqq*, thinks that it was an imitation of the Christian quadragesima, Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, Leipzig 1909, p. 179–180, note 1, points to the similarity with the mode of fasting among the Manichaeans. More recently, however, A. J Wensinck has called attention to the particularly sacred character of the month of Ramaḍān even in pre-Muhammadan times (on account of the — also old-Arabic — *Lailat al-Ḳadr* [q v.], which happens in Ramaḍān) in his essay *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles* in *Verh. Ak. W. Amst.*, New Series, 1925, vol. xxv/ii. 1—13, cf also M. Th. Houtsma, *Over de Israelitische Vastendagen*, in *Versl. en Med. Ak. Wetensch.*, Afd. Letterk., Series 4, vol. ii. 3 *sqq*, Amsterdam 1898) and with this has opened up the possibility that the solution of the problem of Ramaḍān is to be sought in this direction (for further information see the article RAMAḌĀN).

The first regulations concerning the manner of the Muslim fasting are given in Sūra ii. 179–181, which probably belong together (Noldeke-Schwally, p. 178; in opposition to Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden–Leipzig 1910, p. 114, who considers 181 a later revelation, al-Baiḍāwī also assumes that it was revealed in separate parts): one ought to fast during a definite number of days, to be precise, in the month of Ramaḍān, "in which the Ḳur'ān was sent down", special dispensations were granted to invalids and travellers on condition that they made restitution for it. In obedience to these divine commands the Muslims fasted in Ramaḍān and the devout among them followed the Jewish custom of fasting from one sunset to the next until a new revelation (ii. 183) limited the period of fasting to the day (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 15, etc). The fast is also mentioned elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān in Sūra ii. 192, where it is prescribed as a substitute for the *hādjdj* in certain circumstances; in iv 94, where fasting during two successive months is ordered as an atonement when someone has killed a believer of an allied nation by accident (cf. the article ḲATL), v. 91· one should fast three days (as a substitute) if one has broken an oath, v. 96. one should fast (as a substitute) if one has killed game on the pilgrimage, lviii 5: one should fast (as a substitute) for two successive months if one wants to make the *ẓihār* [q. v.] invalid (cf. the regulations of the *kaffāra*, below). *Ṣā'im* is further used in xxxiii 35 to describe the devout Muslim, along with other epithets, while in Sūra ii. 42 and 148 *ṣabr* [q v] is explained as *ṣawm*

The ordinances in Sūra ii. 179–181, 183, form the basis of the detailed regulation by the *fukahā'* of the law regarding fasting, many minuter details were taken from tradition. What follows here is a résumé of the law on fasting according to the Shāfi'ī school, as contained in the treatise by Abū Shudjā' al-Iṣfahānī (vth century A H.) *Mukhtasar fī 'l-Fikh*, annotated by Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī (d 918 = 1522) and glossed by Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī (d 1278 = 1861) (Cairo edition).

How the fast should be observed and who is bound to fast Fasting in the legal sense is abstinence (*imsāk*) from things which break the fast (*muftirāt*), with a special *niya* (intention) for each of the statutory fasts, and for the whole day, the *ṣā'im* must be a Muslim in full possession of his senses (*'āḳil*) and, if a woman, free from menstruation and the bleeding of childbed The fast may be valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) under these conditions; there is an obligation to fast on every one who is full-grown (*bāligh*) if he is physically fit (*ḳādir*). It is to be noted that the actual profession of Islām at the time is necessary for the *ṣiḥḥa*, while for the *wudjūb* the Islām of a *murtadd* is also valid, who is thus after his conversion obliged to make up for the fast days he has omitted (*ḳaḍā'*), one who was born a *kāfir*, who is pledged to Islām, and ought, therefore, to obey its laws also, need not, however, make up for his omissions, the law calls his obligation *wudjūb 'ikāb*, whereas that of the *murtadd* is called *wudjūb muṭālaba bihi*. The fasting of a non-*bāligh*, who is *mumaiyiz* (has power of discrimination), is valid (one ought to compel a child to fast from the tenth year), as is that of a non-*ḳādir*. *'Āḳil* is to be interpreted as meaning that for an unconscious, insane or intoxicated person *adā'* (fulfilment of the obligation at the right time) is not *wādjib*. One may spend the day sleeping if the *niya* has been previously formulated; or in a state of drunkenness or unconsciousness, if one

can pull oneself together even for a moment only during the day.

The *arkān* (pillars) of the fast are, besides the *ṣā'im*, the nīya and abstinence from the mufṭirāt. One ought to formulate the nīya before dawn on each day of fasting (*tabyīt*); by *taḳlīd* [q. v.], however, the Shāfi'ī can follow the Mālikī madhhab, which allows one to formulate the *nīya* for the whole of the month of Ramaḍān in the night before the first of Ramaḍān, if one fasts voluntarily, the *nīya* may still be formed before noon, if one has actually fasted during the preceding part of the day. The *nīya* should be deliberately formulated; it is desirable but not necessary to utter the words aloud (the law-books give formulae), indeed, preparations which are made directly in view of the coming fast day may be regarded as *nīya*.

The Mufṭirāt are.

1. The entering into the body of any material substances in so far as it is done conscientiously and is preventable, i. e. the swallowing of food and beverages, the inhaling of tobacco smoke, the swallowing of spittle which can be ejected, if one sprays or drops liquids or inserts instruments into the various orifices of the body, if one retains what the body in the course of nature would reject On account of the limitations in *a*, *b*, *c* (see below) it is not *mufṭir* if insects, dust of the road, fragments of food from the teeth, anything that the skin may absorb, water from rinsing the mouth or rinsing the nose, provided too much is not used, even in the not-compulsory *ghusl* [q. v.], and ritually pure scents find a way into the body. If thirst troubles one exceedingly one may hold water for a moment in his mouth, if it can be done without danger

2. Deliberate vomiting, which is only permitted by doctor's orders and even then only with liability to *ḳaḍā'*.

3 Sexual intercourse.

4. Deliberate seminal emission, which is a consequence of sexual contact; in other cases a distinction is made as to whether it is caused by passion or not, whether the person causing it is a stranger or a *dhū maḥram*, a boy, a woman or a *ḳā'il* Nocturnal or similar emissions (*iḥtilām*) are not *mufṭir*.

5. Menstruation, this even makes the fast *ḥarām* (this rule is not clear to al-Bādjūrī, because the fast does not demand ritual purity otherwise).

6. The bleeding of a woman in child-bed.

7. Unsound mind and

8 Intoxication (7 and 8 make any *'ibāda* impossible), to which a ninth may be added, childbirth, but only in the view of some *fuḳahā'*.

The *iftār* occurs, *casu quo*, only in case of deliberateness (*ta'ammud*), knowledge (*'ilm*) and free will (*iḵhtiyār*), i. e. not by neglect, in ignorance of the obligations if this is to be excused, or under compulsion "If one eats by an oversight", says the tradition, "he may continue the fast because God himself has caused him to eat" (Bu., *Ṣawm*, bāb 26; *Aymān*, bāb 15, Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, tr. 171).

It is to be commended if the *ṣā'im* 1) takes the *faṭūr* [q. v.] as soon as possible after he is certain the sun has set; he ought preferably to use ripe dates for this, or (zamzam-)water or otherwise something tasty, the *iftār* is *wādjib*, because the continuous fasting (*ṣawm al-wiṣāl*) is *ḥarām*; 2) eats the *saḥūr* (what is eaten after midnight as late as possible and uses for it the same as is recommended for the *faṭūr*; 3) refrains from in decent talk, slander, calumnies, lies and insults because, according to the tradition, "the result o fasting is only hunger and thirst, if one does no keep his hands and feet from evil deeds"; 4) avoid such actions as, although not actually forbidden might arouse passion in oneself or in others 5) refrains from being cupped or bled; 6) taste no food, 7) chews nothing edible; 8) thanks God after the day of fasting, 9) recites the Ḳur'ān fo oneself or others, and 10) observes the *i'tikāf* i the month of Ramaḍān [q v.] (in accordance with Sūra II. 183). Al-Ghazālī adds to these charity i the month of Ramaḍān.

Arranged according to the five legal categories, the fast may be.

I Obligatory (*wādjib*, *farḍ*) (*a*) in the month of Ramaḍān; (*b*) if one has to make up for days omitted in Ramaḍān (*ḳaḍā'*), (*c*) on account o a vow, (*d*) in definite circumstances to atone fo a transgression (*kaffāra*), and (*e*) when the *Imām* prescribes the *istisḳā'*-ceremonies [q v] in season of drought. In the case of inexcusable *iftār* one is bound, according to al-Ghazālī, to fas during the remainder of the day, *tashbīhan bi ṣā'imīna*.

(*a*) Fasting in the month of Ramaḍān is the fourth pillar of Islām, whoever denies the obligation to fast is a *kāfir*, unless he has only recently come in contact with Islām, or has grown up remote from the 'Ulamā'. Whoever omits to fast without good cause, without, however, denying the compulsion to fast, is to be locked up and brought to formulate the *nīya* by forced abstinence. The general obligation to fast (*'alā sabīl al-'umūm*) begins on the first of Ramaḍān, after the 30th Sha'bān, or after the 29th if the *ḳāḍī* (*ḳāḍī*) has then accepted the evidence of one *'adl* that he has seen the new moon; the personal obligation (*'alā sabīl al-ḵhuṣūṣ*), in the case of an unaccepted *ru'yā* of one's own or that of another person whom one believes in this respect even if he should not be *'adl*, after the 29th Sha'bān, if only one *'adl* has seen the new moon on the 29th Sha'bān, fasting etc only becomes due on the 2nd Ramaḍān. The beginning of Ramaḍān has to be announced to the people in a way settled by the local custom (gun-shot, the hanging of lamps on the *manāra*, in Java by beating the *bědug*) Special regulations hold regarding *nīya* and *ḳaḍā'* if it is impossible for one to hear of the announcement or if he is wrongly informed. The observations of an astronomer, the calculations of a mathematician, or the dream of one who has received in his sleep information regarding the beginning of Ramaḍān from the Prophet, etc., can only allow Ramaḍān to begin for the astronomer, mathematician or dreamer themselves and those who firmly believe in them.

b.) Days omitted in Ramaḍān have to be made good (*ḳaḍā'*) as soon as possible, i.e. on the next day if this permits fasting, i e. is not one of the forbidden days (see below) or is itself a compulsory fast day. If a man dies without having done his *ḳaḍā'*, the obligation is thereby removed if there was a valid excuse for his being in arrears; otherwise his *walī* (in this case any relative can be a *walī*) must pay from his estate, or, with the consent of the *walī*, any stranger can

pay, a small *kaffāra* or *fidya* (see below), or the *walī* (or stranger) — and this is the older Shāfiʿī view, which later authorities do not approve of except, however, al-Bādjūrī who even calls it *sunna* — can perform the *ḳaḍāʾ* himself, in which case the merit acquired by the fast is credited to the deceased.

(*c.*) According to the opinion which has predominated in the Shāfiʿī school, a vow which would impose the obligation to the — reprehensible — *ṣawm al-dahr* (see below) is regarded as not done (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Aimān wa 'l-Nudhūr*).

(*d.*) A distinction is made between the major and minor kaffāra. The first is imposed on anyone who (*α*) breaks the fast in Ramaḍān by sexual intercourse if this is sinful (*iṯhm*), under the above mentioned conditions, he is further obliged to perform *ḳaḍāʾ* and be liable to *taʿzīr* [q v.]; because every fast day is an independant *ʿibāda*, a *kaffāra* ought to be performed for every fast day broken in this way. Al-Bādjūrī gives this subterfuge (*hila*) to escape the *kaffāra*, that one should previously break the fast with another of the *muftirāt*, then the *kaffāra* drops out but the sin remains. The female participator in the transgression is only liable to *ḳaḍāʾ* and *taʿzīr*, (*β*) is guilty of illegal killing (cf. the article ḲATL), (*γ*) has pronounced the *ẓihār*-formula [q v] but not the *ṭalāḳ* immediately after it (because he does not observe the vow contained in the *ẓihār*), (*δ*) has broken a valid oath (*yamīn*; see the article ḲASAM). This *kaffāra* consists of

	1	2	3	4
(*α*) and (*γ*)	*ʿitḳ* (resp.)	*ṣawm* (resp.)	*iṭʿām*	—
(*β*)	*ʿitḳ* (resp.)	*ṣawm*	—	—
(*δ*)	*ʿitḳ*	or *iṭʿām*	or *kaswa* (resp.)	*ṣawm*

i.e. in the cases (*α*), (*β*) and (*γ*) fasting (*ṣawm*) will do as a *kaffāra* if one is not able to do the first mentioned, if one receives the means to do so after having begun to fast, *ʿitḳ* should be performed and the fasting that has been done is counted as a voluntary work of merit, similarly in case (*δ*) fasting takes fourth place with the idea that the first three are interchangeable, but fasting always comes fourth In (*α*), (*β*) and (*γ*) two months' successive fasting is prescribed, the omission of one day makes it necessary to begin the fast from the first again, even if the omission was excusable, in case (*δ*) the fast is limited to three days and need not be successive — If a man is not able to do any of the things mentioned, the obligation is put off until he has an opportunity to do one of them.

The minor kaffāra or *fidya* has to be paid when one takes advantage of one of the dispensations which are detailed below, the question of fasting does not arise. For a dead man (cf. above) it consists in his *walī* giving a *mudd* from the corn that grows on his land to the poor for each day omitted. The same alms have to be given by anyone who has not yet performed his *ḳaḍāʾ* for days omitted in Ramaḍān by the beginning of the following Ramaḍān, and multiplied according to the number of years in arrears. — Anyone who has omitted, while performing the ḥadjdj or the ʿumra, one of the obligatory rites which is not one of the four *arkān* or performs anything forbidden during the period of *iḥrām* or takes advantage of a dispensation allowed by the law (e g. *ḳirān* or *tamattuʿ*), should atone it with a *fidya* consisting in the first place of a definite sacrifice which is prescribed for each case separately, if the person liable to it is not able to perform the sacrifice he should fast, in some cases for 10 days — 3 during the hadjdj and 7 after returning home — and in other cases as many days as the quantity of *mudd*'s which would otherwise have been given to the poor. These regulations originate in Sūra II. 192 and v. 96, cf al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb al-Ḥadjdj*, faṣl II. and III., Juynboll, *Handbuch* etc, p. 145 and esp. p. 157, the art. ḤADJDJ.

(*e.*) In the case of great drought, the *Imām* may, according to the *sharīʿa*, prescribe extraordinary ceremonies which include fasting; the three days before the *ṣalāt al-istiskāʾ* [q v, cf al-Bādjūrī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Ṣalāt, Faṣl fī Aḥkām Ṣalāt al-Istiskāʾ*] are spent in fasting One notable feature here is that the formulation of the *nīya* by night (*tabyīt*) is *wādjib* for everyone, even when the fast is not obligatory for him, i e. also for a boy or one who enjoys a dispensation. (This is the only case where *tabyīt* is necessary for a fast which is not obligatory). — Cf. also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, I, Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 137, note 2.

The law permits relaxations in the following circumstances.

A. Such as have reached a certain age (men 40, not exactly defined for women) and sick people for whom there is no hope of recovery, if they are unable to fast, may omit the fast without being bound to the *ḳaḍāʾ* should their strength or health be restored. In compensation they should give alms at the rate of one *mudd* for each day omitted, a slave does not need to perform *fidya* but his owner may do it for him, or a relative, the latter is also permitted to fast in compensation

B If pregnant or nursing women fear it would be dangerous for them if they should fast, *iftār* is *wādjib* for them and *ḳaḍāʾ* is obligatory. If their fear is for the unborn child or the one they are nursing (not necessarily their own), *iftār* is *wādjib* in this case also but a *fidya* is imposed on them as well as *ḳaḍāʾ*, which, however, like the *zakāt al-fiṭr* [q. v], need only be paid out of the amount which is left over from the expenses of maintaining oneself and dependent family or from the expenses of housing and service, this *fidya* is to be given only to the poor and to *fuḳarāʾ*. — The same regulations hold generally for cases where one breaks the fast for fear of danger to oneself, respectively to another person.

C. Sick persons who are likely to recover and those who are overcome by hunger and thirst may break the fast on condition that the *ḳaḍāʾ* is performed. If a man is in danger of death or danger of losing a limb, *iftār* is *wādjib* Chronic invalids need not formulate the *nīya* in the night, nor persons sick of a fever if they are actually feverish at the time.

D. Travellers who set out before sunrise may, if necessary, break the fast, but not if they begin their journey during the day. In case of mortal danger, *iftār* is *wādjib*. Two days' journey is the minimum. *Ḳaḍāʾ* is obligatory on them, *casu quo*. The same relaxation is allowed to

divorced women. — If the persons mentioned under C and D break the fast by sexual intercourse, they are not liable to *kaffāra* because in this case it is not a sin but is permitted to them *bi-nīyati 'l-tarakhkhuṣ*.

E. Those who have to perform heavy manual labour should formulate the *nīya* in the night but may break the fast if need be.

When the justification for relaxing the rules disappears during the day of fast, it is *sunna* to pass the rest of the day fasting.

II. Voluntary fasting is meritorious (*ṣawm al-taṭawwuʿ*); for a married woman only with the consent of her husband; it may be broken without any penalty; the *nīya*, which can be formulated any time up till noon, need not be definitely specified, although some fuḳahāʾ consider it desirable for the *sunan rawātib*. The *sunan rawātib* in the *ṣawm* are fasting (*a*) on the ʿĀshūrāʾ-day [q. v]; (*b*) on the ʿArafa-day, the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja; (*c*) on six days of Shawwāl. Fasting on the day of ʿArafa applies specially to those who do not spend this day in ʿArafa. Whether Muhammad fasted on this day is disputed in Tradition. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 126—130, points to the fact that the whole of the first ten days of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja had a special character and is recommended in the law for voluntary fasting; the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, however, is regarded as the most auspicious day, just as in the Jewish month of Ab the 9th is a great feast, for which preparations are made from the beginning of the month. Because Ab and Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja probably coincided in the year 1 A. H., Wensinck thinks that the celebration of the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja may have been taken from Judaism Another view is put forward by Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch d. Qorāns*, i. 159, who considers Sūra vii. 29 as probably Mekkan and see in it an attack on the ancient custom of "making the circuit of the Kaʿba naked and fasting at the time of pilgrimage" (cf. p. 179, note 1) According to this view, this fast should be traced back to old Arab customs (cf al-Baiḍāwī's commentary on Sūra vii. 29: "It is said that the Banū ʿĀmir in the days of their ḥadjdj only ate what was necessary to nourish them but took no fat (= tasty) food and thus observed their ḥadjdj; then the Muslims were disturbed; then this (verse 29) was revealed") It is considered meritorious if one who has to fast (as a substitute) three days during the hadjdj and seven days afterwards (cf. above) chooses as the 3 days the 7th, 8th and 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, because the 10th and the *tashrīḳ* days are not possible (cf. below). If the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja is a doubtful day (i. e. whether 9th or 10th, on account of uncertainty as to the beginning of the month) fasting is only permitted for *ḳaḍāʾ*, on account of a vow or a regular custom. Al-Bādjūrī calls fasting from the 1st to the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja *mandūb*

Six separate days can be taken for the fast on the six days of Shawwāl; but it is best to take six successive days immediately after the festival, i e from the 2nd to the 7th Shawwāl. These days can also be taken for a *ḳaḍāʾ* or a *naḏr* fast. Women who have had their menstruation in Ramaḍān often use these days for the *ḳaḍāʾ* (Juynboll, *Handbuch* etc, p. 132).

The following days are further recommended for voluntary fasting: the day before and after the ʿĀshūrāʾ-day; the Yawm al-Miʿrādj (27th Radjab); Monday and Thursday (*sunna muʾakkada*, according to al-Bādjūrī), because on these days, says Tradition, the works of men are offered to God. Muḥammad is reported to have said: "I should like my works to be offered while I fast". Wensinck, *Mohammed* etc., p. 125—126, points out that the Jews also fasted on these two days, Wednesday, "out of gratitude", says al-Bādjūrī, "that God on this day did not lead this *umma* to destruction, like the other *umam*"; the days of the white nights, ie the 13th, 14th, 15th and best of all also the 12th of each month. As Wensinck, p. 125, says, Muḥammad fasted, according to tradition, three days of every month and the later Muslims, who no longer knew which, chose those days. Perhaps these three days were an obligatory fast in the year 1 A.H. Nothing certain can be said regarding the origin of these fast days; Prof Wensinck in conversation called my attention to the sacred character of the Jewish 14th and 15th Nisām, and to the sacredness of the middle of the month, e g in Shaʿbān, in ancient Arabia, as a counterpart, presumably after the example of the white nights, the days of the black nights, i e. the 28th, 29th, 30th (or 1st) and best of all also the 27th of each month; every day on which one has nothing to eat, all other days if they are proper for fasting. — On a three days' fasting as an atonement and a preparation to a better life see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, i., Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 137, note 2

Al-Bādjūrī only briefly mentions the voluntary fast days and refers his readers for further information to more detailed treatises To supplement what we have said we give the following from the third fasl of the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī (see below).

He gives as additional days recommended for fasting the first, the middle and the last day of every month, speaks of the superiority of fasting in the sacred months (*al-ashhur al-hurum*· Muḥarram, Radjab, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda), but more important is what he says regarding life-long fasting (*ṣawm al-dahr*) which, as he tells us, was practised by the mystics (*al-sālikūn*) of his time in various ways (as had already been done by ascetics in the earliest days of Islām). In general he considers it blameworthy, as the *ifṭār* is not only *wāḍiḥ* some days of the year, but desired generally, only exceptionally may one here follow the example given, according to tradition, by the *Ṣaḥāba* and the *Tābiʿūn* (traditions regarding the *ṣawm al-dahr* al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 59; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 18 *sq.*; cf., however, Aḥmad b Hanbal, iv. 414, cf. also Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 263, 435 etc., ii. 164, 190 etc). It is highly recommended, however, to fast on alternate days (*niṣf al-dahr*), which achievement al-Ghazālī considers even more difficult; Muhammad said· "The most excellent fasting is that of my brother Dāʾūd, who fasteth one day and not the next" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 50, 56; cf. 58, 59; *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 37, 38, etc.; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 181, 182, 186, 187, 189—193, 196 etc.). To fast every third day is also very meritorious. To fast voluntarily for more than four days in succession is considered wrong by the ʿUlamāʾ and (as a general rule) also by al-Ghazālī. — If one has properly understood the correct significance of fasting, says al-Ghazālī for this see

below), one need observe no rules in voluntary fasting; it is, indeed, said of the Prophet (al-Tirmiḏhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 56) that he sometimes fasted so long that the people thought he would never stop and sometimes went for so long without fasting that the people thought he would never fast again, just as the *nūr al-nubuwwa* inspired him.

III. Fasting is forbidden (*ḥarām*) on the days of the two great festivals, on the *tashrīk*-days and for a woman during menstruation; in definite cases when danger threatens, as already mentioned above

IV. It is wrong to fast on Friday because it distracts the attention from the Friday service (but according to al-Ghazālī it is meritorious); on Sunday or Saturday, at least if one has no particular reason for fasting, because the Christians and Jews observe these as holy days. One also should not fast if one fears he will suffer in any way on account of the fast It is very wrong to fast without special reason on the "doubtful day" (*yawm al-shakk*) and in the second half of the month of Shaʿbān. The "doubtful day" is the day following the 29th Shaʿbān if one does not know, with a clear sky, whether an *ʿadl* has seen the new moon of Ramaḍān If one has a particular reason for fasting, then one may use the doubtful day and the second half of Shaʿbān for any kind of fasting *kaḍā'*, *naḏhr*, *kaffāra*, etc Fasting in Shaʿbān is otherwise commendable, for the Prophet fasted, as Tradition tells us, so long in this month that he began to think he was in Ramaḍān (many traditions, cf. also A J. Wensinck, *Arabic New-Year*)

The three other madhhabs differ in details from the Shāfiʿī school; the differences are collected in the *Iḫtilāf*-books The following is taken from the *Kitāb al-Mīzān* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sharʿānī (II. 20—30, Cairo 1279), the author appends to his list of divergencies a short explanation of the points of view (*waḏh*), sometimes he associates himself with one of them. In the following the order of the subject matter is the same as in the earlier part of this article.

1. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fasting of a young boy or girl is not valid, but valid is that of a *murāhiḳ*, and that a *murtadd* is not bound to a *ḳaḍā'* after his conversion. The four Imāms teach the validity of fasting by a *ǧunub* [q. v]; some other fuḳahā' are of a different opinion in points of detail

2. Abū Ḥanīfa teaches that the fast need not be definitely specified in the *niya*, that even the intention of doing a good work is sufficient, that the *niya* can also be formulated in case of an obligatory fast up to noon (others only permit this for a *naḏhr* fast). But Mālik teaches that even with voluntary fasts the *niya* cannot be formulated after dawn, his opinion that one *niya* is sufficient for the whole of Ramaḍān has already been mentioned above Abū Ḥanīfa and the majority of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī fuḳahā' teach that the mere intention of breaking the fast does no harm, but Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal holds the contrary view.

3. Abū Ḥanīfa does not consider deliberate swallowing of fragments of food one of the *muftirāt*, any more than one of the opinions said to have been held by Mālik regards the application of a poultice as one.

4. Vomiting does no harm, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, up to a certain point, which they calculate differently.

5. Mālik teaches that seminal emission spoils the fast if it is a result of sensual images, even without preceding sexual contact.

6. In spite of the above-mentioned tradition, Mālik teaches that anyone who deliberately eats, drinks, or has sexual intercourse breaks the fast and is liable to *ḳaḍā'*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, only in the last case, *kaffāra* then being also necessary. Forced breaking of the fast holds good also in al-Nawawī; in Ahmad b. Hanbal only in the particular case of a woman being forced to have intercourse.

7. Mālik says that kissing is always *ḥarām*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal that the cupper and his patient both break the fast; both Imāms say that the taking of *kuḥl* is to be deprecated and, if the fragrance enters the throat, is actually *mufṭir*. The Shāfiʿī view that the cleaning of the teeth after noon is wrong is not shared by the other Imāms and not even by the later Shāfiʿīs (but is shared by al-Ghazālī, even now it is still condemned in the Dutch Indies). There is *iḏtimāʿ* on the point that for a *ǧunub* a *ghusl* is recommended before dawn.

8 Mālik demands for the settlement of the beginning of Ramaḍān the evidence of two *ʿadl*, Abū Ḥanīfa only the testimony of one, but of a large number when the sky is unclouded. Some other fuḳahā' recognise only the general obligation (see above) to fast in Ramaḍān, not the personal obligation of the one who has seen the new moon, but whose evidence has not been accepted.

9. Like al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa also teaches that the weak-minded is not bound to perform *ḳaḍā'* in the event of his recovery, Mālik teaches the contrary, both views are credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

10. The four Imāms impose the major *kaffāra* only on one who breaks the fast in Ramaḍān, some fuḳahā' also on those who break the *ḳaḍā'* fast of Ramaḍān. Aḥmad b Hanbal imposes a *kaffāra* for every breach of the regulations in question, even if several are committed on the same day, in the second transgression the obligation is imposed on the guilty woman also Abū Ḥanīfa, however, is less severe and does not even multiply the *kaffāra*'s by the number of fast days broken if the *mukaffir* is in arrears with the payment of the first *kaffāra*; Abū Hanīfa and Mālik say that in case of sexual intercourse both man and woman are liable to the *kaffāra* and they impose it also on everyone who breaks the fast of Ramaḍān by eating or drinking, if he is not ill or on a journey, without affecting the liability to *ḳaḍā'*. Mālik leaves the *mukaffir* free choice as to in which of the three ways he will fulfil his obligation, although he himself prefers *iṭʿām*.

Abū Ḥanīfa does not impose the minor *kaffāra* (the donation of a *mudd*) if one has not yet fulfilled his obligation to *ḳaḍā'* for the Ramaḍān fast by the beginning of next Ramaḍān.

11. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal imposes, in addition, the (minor) *kaffāra* on pregnant and nursing women, if they have broken the fast out of fear of injuring themselves; Abu Ḥanīfa, however, only *ḳaḍā'*, others only *kaffāra* and no *ḳaḍā'*.

12. Sick people for whom there is no hope and old people are, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a section of the Shāfiʿīs, liable to *fidya* only; Mālik denies this also.

13. Travellers may, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal teaches, break the fast, even if they have set out after the beginning of the fast, but this relaxation does not

include, according to him, permission for sexual intercourse; the *kaffāra* regulations hold, therefore, also with him. Some Ẓāhirīs teach that fasting of a traveller is not valid at all. — Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī teach that one is bound to fast for the remainder of the day if the reason for the dispensation disappears; Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal hold the contrary. — The *fidya*, according to the two last-named, is a half *ṣāʿ* [q. v.] for every day omitted.

14. Mālik teaches that fasting on six Shawwāl-days is not recommendable, he and Abū Ḥanīfa say that one is bound to complete (*itmām*) a voluntary fast day also

15. One ought to fast on the doubtful day, according to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, when the sky is clouded, otherwise it is wrong — Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik teach that occasional fasting (*ifrād*) on Friday is not wrong.

16. Lastly it is to be mentioned that, according to the Ḥanafī and Mālikī view, fasting during the *iʿtikāf* [q v] is obligatory, cf e g Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṣawm*, bāb 80 (as A J. Wensinck says, in his treatise *Arabic New-Year*).

The Shīʿa law regarding fasting differs in the following details from the *Sunna* (according to A. Querry's edition of the *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī Masāʾil al-Ḥalāl wa ʾl-Ḥarām* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ, entitled *Recueil de Lois concern. les Musulmans Schyites*, Paris 1871—72, i. 182—209, ii 75—77, 197—199, 203—205)

1. The *nīya* is not regarded as a pillar, it need not even be specified for Ramadān, although it does in other cases, it ought to be formulated before noon.

2. Smoking is not one of the *muftirāt* but unconsciousness is and if one deliberately remains in a condition of great *ḥadath* after dawn.

3 It is forbidden, nay *muftir*, to scorn God's word or that of the Prophet or that of the (Shīʿī) Imām, it is forbidden, although not *muftir*, to bathe completely in water It is forbidden to keep deliberate silence during the fast

4. If a man deliberately breaks the fast of Ramaḍān, he is to be chastised (25 lashes with a whip for a man or a woman in a case of sexual intercourse) and for the third offence the penalty is death. — The testimony of two *ʿadl* is necessary for the beginning of Ramadān

5 One is bound to perform *kaḍāʾ*, for example, if one awakes after dawn in a state of great *ḥadath* even if the *nīya* for purification has already been formulated. In the *kaḍāʾ* fast one may eat before noon; if one eats later he has to pay a *fidya* (10 *mudd* or three days' complete fast), indeliberate neglect of purification in great *ḥadath* makes the *ḳadāʾ* fast not invalid. If an invalid remains ill till the following Ramaḍān, his obligation to *ḳadāʾ* expires but the *fidya* (1 *mudd*) remains

6 *Kaffāra* is compulsory if one, during the fast day, eats, drinks etc., has sexual intercourse, practises onanism, voluntarily remains in a state of great *ḥadath* after dawn or falls asleep in this condition without having previously formed the *nīya* for purification, and then does not awake till after dawn, viz.. on a day of Ramaḍān; during *ḳaḍāʾ* for an omitted fast in Ramaḍān if the *ifṭār* takes place after noon, in fasting on account of a particular vow and for *iʿtikāf*. — If a man forces his wife or slave to marital intercourse in Ramaḍān, his *kaḍāʾ* and *kaffāra* are doubled but the wife is exempt Other causes of *kaffāra* are: manslaughter, forbidden expressions of grief at a death, hair cutting when in a state of *iḥrām*, intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *iḥrām* if one has given her permission for the *ḥadjdj*.

In performing the *kaffāra*, fasting comes second, as with the Sunnīs; deliberate murder, however, and, according to some fuḳahāʾ, also the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān with forbidden foods, entails threefold *kaffāra*: *ʿitḳ* + *ṣawm* + *iṭʿām*. The choice is free if one breaks the fast in Ramaḍān in another way than by sexual intercourse, breaks a vow or *iʿtikāf*, cuts one's hair when in a state of *iḥrām*, or has intercourse with a slave woman who is in a state of *iḥrām*

In general the *kaffāra* fast should be uninterrupted. In the case of a two months' fast inexcusable interruption in the first month makes a repetition necessary, in the second it only entails obligation to the *kadāʾ* Interruption by a pregnant or nursing woman is here excusable, but not an unnecessary journey (see below) If the duration of this fast is only one month, as e g the *kaffāra* fast of a slave, the hard period lasts 14 days. Interruption on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja does no harm in the three days' compensatory fast (see above), if one has already fasted two days — The choice of the days is, however, open in the case of *kaffāra* for breach of an oath, for breaking the prohibition of hunting during the *iḥrām*, and in the seven days' compensatory fast (see above) (as also in case of *ḳadāʾ*). If one is not fit to fast for two successive months, he should fast 28 days and seek God's mercy with contrite heart — Another kind of *kaffāra* (not fasting) may be voluntarily taken over on behalf of another person

7. The relaxations Only if a physician permits an invalid to fast, is it legitimate Pregnant women are only given a dispensation in their last months and nursing women only when their milk supply is defective The fasting of travellers is in general not valid, but if a man travels for the best part of a year in the course of his business he does not get the benefit of relaxation A fast neglected on account of a journey must always be observed later, in case of death by the *walī* of the deceased.

8 Voluntary fasting may begin before noon. The Shīʿa *Fiḳh*-books recommend fasting on the following days also on every first and last Thursday of the month, on the first Wednesday of the second ten days of the month (on should even pay compensation, 1 *mudd* or 1 *dirham*, if this is omitted), on the day of the *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr*, 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, on which day Muḥammad is said to have appointed ʿAlī his immediate successor at the side of a pond (*ghadīr*) (Querry, *op. cit*, p 37, note 2), on Muḥammad's birthday (17 Rabīʿ I) and on the first day of his mission (27 Rabīʿ I), on the day when the Kaʿba was liberated from chaos, the first place to be created on earth (25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda); on the *Mubāhala*-day, because on this day Muḥammad and Abū Djahl are said to have hurled a curse against the one of them who preached a false doctrine. (Querry, *op cit*, p 37, note 3) (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja); on the 10th of Muḥarram, the anniversary of the murder of Ḥusain, on Friday; during the month of Radjab and Shaʿbān Fasting on the doubtful day is also meritorious. — The law recommends moderation for the days on which an obstacle to fasting is removed one should first eat a little and then fast

9. It is wrong to fast: on the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja in ʿArafa, if one fears harm from it; on a pious journey except 3 days in Medīna during the Ḥadjdj; if a guest fasts without permission from his host, and a child without its father's permission, etc.

10. Fasting is forbidden: on the *tashrīḳ*-days for those who are in Minā; for travellers

Al-Ghazālī gives at the beginning of his *Kitāb Asrār al-Ṣawm* in the *Iḥyā'* some considerations on the value of fasting He points out, referring to some well-known traditions, the high esteem in which fasting stands with God, he gives as a reason for this that fasting is a passive act and no one sees men fast except God; secondly it is a means of defeating the enemy of God, because human passions, which are the Shaitān's means of attaining his ends, are stimulated by eating and drinking. The passions "are the places where the Shaiṭān live in abundance and where they feed; so long as they are fruitful, they continue to visit them often, and so long as they visit them frequently, the majesty of God is concealed from the slave and he is shut off from meeting with Him The Prophet of God even says "If the Shaiṭān did not fly around the hearts of men they would readily think of heaven" Fasting is therefore "the gateway to divine service"."

In the first *faṣl* al-Ghazālī details the legal obligations and recommended actions of the fast, according to Shāfiʿī doctrine, and in the third the recommended fast days, just as a faḳīh would do But he says in the second *faṣl* that the most punctilious observation of the external law of the fast is not the essential of the fast He distinguishes three steps in the fast. The first step is that of the *fiḳh*, the third that of the Prophets, the *ṣiddīḳūn* and those who have been brought into the proximity (of God) (*al-mukarrabūn*), whose fast consists in refraining from all mean desires and worldly thoughts. The second step suffices for the pious, however; it consists in keeping one's organs of sense and members free from sin and from all things that detract from God. Everything should be avoided which might affect the result of the fast; for example, at the *iftār* one should not eat more or fare better than usual (this is contrary to the *fiḳh* regulation) and one should not sleep during the day to avoid feeling hunger or thirst, for they are the *rūḥ* and *sirr* of fasting because they fight the power of the passions Subjection of the passions, whereby the soul is brought nearer to God, is the real object of fasting, not mere abstinence; and he deduces the worthlessness of the fast of those whose conduct at the *iftār* destroys the results of the fast day, of whom the tradition says. "How many fasters there are for whom only hunger and thirst are the results of their fast"

The ethical conception of the fast which al-Ghazālī gives in this second *faṣl* supplements, he says, the barren law of the fuḳahā', but to us it appears often to contradict it. In the Ḥadīth we find already various traditions with ethical tendencies and al-Ghazālī does not fail to quote them in support of his view. Besides we find in the works on Ḥadīth a mass of traditions relating to the fast, which will be found classified under the separate subjects in Prof. Wensinck's work (now about to appear) *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, under the word FASTING. Here we can only quote a few traditions which refer to the estimation in which fasting was held in the early Muslim world. As it is to this day a widespread view that fasting, especially the fast of Ramaḍān, is the most fitting atonement for sins committed in the course of the year — which is why the fast is fairly generally observed, although not always so strictly as the fuḳahā' desire, cf. the article RAMAḌĀN —, so it was with the early Muslims (cf al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, bāb 28, *Ṣawm*, bāb 6, al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 1, etc.). Various traditions compare the value of fasting at one time with its value at another, as, for example, "fasting on one day in the holy months (see above) is better than 30 days at another time, and fasting on one day in Ramaḍān is better than 30 days in the holy months". "If anyone fasts three days in a holy month, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, God considers one day equal to 900 years for him" Similar traditions refer to fasting on the ʿĀshūrā'-day, the ten days in Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja and especially in Ramaḍān [q. v.] Other traditions tell how dear to God is the person of the faster or his characteristics, even is "the scent of the breath of a fasting man pleasanter to God than the scent of musk" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, II 232, etc). God compares one, who denies his passions for His sake, with His angels and says to him "Thou art with Me like one of My angels", and He urges His angels to regard those who fast. The joys of the faster in Paradise are described and how he is honoured there; he will enter by a special gate (*al-Rayyān*) and meet God (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 4; Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, tr 166, etc) This is his heavenly joy; his joy on earth is the *iftār* (al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 35, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, I. 446, etc.) One should, therefore, not deny this joy, because one has a right to it To continue fasting after twilight is, moreover, not necessary, for "the sleep of the faster is (already) *ʿibāda*".

Bibliography A comprehensive work on fasting among the Muslims has not yet appeared. An outline of the law on the subject according to the Shāfiʿī school is given by Th. W Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, p. 113 *sqq.* (Dutch. Leiden 1903 and 1925, in the edition of 1025 the most recent bibliography is given). The main sources are the pertinent sections in the books of *Ḥadīth*, *Fiḳh* and *Iḳhtilāf* For Tradition cf. the work just about to be published, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, alphabetically arranged by A J. Wensinck Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'* *ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo n. d, I. 207—214 For details of the observance and various customs of Ramaḍān in Muslim lands see the articles ORUDJ, PUWASA, RAMAḌĀN, RŌZA.

(C. C. BERG)

SAʿY. When the pilgrim who is making the *ʿumra* or the *ḥadjdj* has performed the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Kaʿba, kissed the Black Stone for the last time and drunk of the well of Zamzam, he goes out, taking care to put his left foot first, of the sacred mosque by the Bāb al-Ṣafā', pronouncing the formula of salutation to the mosque, then a second formula indicating his intention (*niya*) to accomplish the ceremony of *saʿy*. He ascends the steps of al-Ṣafā' about 50 yards from the gate and standing there he makes an invocation, looking towards the Kaʿba, with his hands raised to the level of his shoulders and the palms turned towards the sky. Between al-Ṣafā' and another little hill, al-Marwa, lies a broad street with houses

and shops on either side; this is the *Masʿā* where the pilgrims have to accomplish the ritual course. Walking at a normal rate he descends towards the former bottom of the valley (*Masīl*), marked by four pillars, two along the mosque on the left and two others opposite it, to cross it, he assumes a more rapid pace, called *harwal* or *ḵhabab*, like the *ramal* of the *ṭawāf*, and runs. Then walking slowly he reaches al-Marwa which is marked by an arch of stone like al-Ṣafāʾ and he again prays there. He has now completed one of the seven elements of the ceremony for, except for one isolated opinion, the authorities agree that the *saʿy* consists of seven simple courses It is usually followed by a desanctification by shaving or cutting the hair, which explains the large number of barbers' shops on the *Masʿā*

The *saʿy* has not the value of an independent rite like the circumambulation of the Kaʿba, the accomplishment of which, without the *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj*, is reckoned to the spiritual credit of the believer. The *saʿy* is an appendage to the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the *ʿumra* or of the arrival (*ḳudūm*) or of the desanctification (*ifāḍa*), and the authorities are not agreed as to its importance, whether essential, obligatory or traditional. The law does not impose on the faithful who accomplish it the strict necessity of ritual purity that it demands for the *tawāf*.

The *saʿy* is an ambulatory rite with a brief period of running, analogous to the *ṭawāf*, to the *ifāḍa* of ʿArafa and Muzdalifa etc , undoubtedly it was actually a separate ancient rite, which became combined with those of the Kaʿba, as the *ifāḍa* did to the ceremonies of ʿArafa and Muzdalifa. Tradition has retained the memory of the cult of two divinities, Isāf and Nāʾila, but only in the story that they were a man and a woman who were turned into stone for fornicating in the sanctuary and later came to be worshipped Later Muslim tradition turned them into Adam and Eve, who sat on either of the hills to take a rest But tradition has made special efforts, not without hesitation, to connect the rite with the story of Abraham Hādjar, cast off by Abraham and seeing Ismāʿīl perishing of thirst, ran in despair seven times from one hill to the other, or it is said that Abraham instituted the *saʿy* for the worship of Allāh and quickened his pace (the *harwal*) to escape Satan who was lying in wait for him at the bottom of the ravine.

Bibliography: See the art. ḤADJDJ and KAʿBA, and add: Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage de la Mekka*, p. 225—234, with references especially to al-Azraḳī, Kutb al-Dīn, Ibn Djubair, Nāṣir Khusraw, Muḥammad al-Sādiḳ, al-Batanūnī, Burkhardt, etc.

(GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES)

SAYĀBIDJA, سياجة, read **SAYĀBIGA**, name of a people. The Arabic form سياجة is to be read with ج used as a gutteral sonant, as the etymology of the name indicates.

De Goeje has devoted a short article to the Sayābiga in his *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (N⁰. 3, Leiden 1903, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, p. 18 and p. 86—91) which has been used here; see also his *Contribution* (*Kon. Ak. v. Wet*, Amst. 1875, ed. in English by D. MacRitchie, *Accounts of the Gipsies of India*, London 1886).

According to al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, 2 infra), they were already settled before Islām on the coasts of the Persian Gulf (*wa-kānū ḳabl al-islām bi 'l-sawāḥil*). In the reign of the Caliph Abū Bakr (632—634), there was at al-Khaṭṭ in al-Baḥrain a garrison of Sayābiga and Zoṭṭ — these two peoples are frequently mentioned together although they have nothing in common (cf. the art ZOṬṬ) — (cf al-Tabarī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 838—923; ed. de Goeje, i. 1961, 4, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiv. 46). In 17 (638) the Oswārī, horsemen of foreign origin in the service of the king of Persia, concluded a treaty with the Muslim commander, which the Caliph ʿUmar ratified, by the terms of which they pledged themselves to adopt Islām and to enter the service of the Arabs on condition that they received a scale of pay equal to that of the best paid soldiers, that they should be free to attach themselves to the Arab tribe which they preferred and that they should only have to fight against non-Arabs (al-Tabarī, i 2562 *sqq*). Their example was followed by the Sayābiga and the Zoṭṭ and they all attached themselves to the Arab tribe of Tamīm (al-Balādhurī, p. 373—375). In 36 (656), the Sayābiga were entrusted with the guarding of the Treasury of al-Basra, the army of the people of Kūfa which came to the help of ʿAlī included a body of Zott and Sayābiga (cf al-Balādhurī, p. 376, al-Masʿūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed and transl Barbier de Meynard, iv. 307, where السباكة is wrongly written for السباكة, al-Ṭabarī, i 3125, 3134 and 3181). In a poem by Yazīd b. al-Mufarragh al-Himyarī edited about 59 (677–678) there is a reference to "savage Sayābig barbarians who put irons on me in the morning" (Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shuʿarāʾ*, p. 212), which seems to imply that the Sayābiga acted as goalers In 160 (775/776) they took part in a naval expedition against the town of al-Narbadā, that is the modern Broach on the west coast of India (cf al-Tabarī, iii 460 *sqq*).

The Sayābiga came from Sind. "The Sayābiga, the Zoṭṭ and the Andaghār", says al-Balādhurī, "formed part of the army of the Persians; they were people of Sind whom the Persians had taken prisoners and made to perform this service" (p 375, 6–7). Al-Djawālīḳī (*al-Muʿarrab*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, p. 82) similarly says "al-Laith says .... These are people of Sind who accompanied the *ishtiyām* (إشتيام, plur. أساتمة, in al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje², p. 10, 17); the origin of this word is unknown; it means the leader of the marines in the warships"; then, according to another source, "the Sayābiga are people of Sind who in al-Basra were police officers and prison warders". Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 857) quoted in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* (iii. 118—119) gives identical information: "The Sayābiga are a people of Sind who were hired to fight as mercenaries and they formed the guard". Similar explanations are given in the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (ii. 56).

From all these sources which are in perfect agreement it is evident that the Sayābiga were naturally soldiers, disciplined, used to the sea, faithful servants, which qualities rendered them most suitable to serve in the army by land or sea, to act as guards and to act as soldiers, police officers, gaolers and warders of the treasury.

All the readings of the manuscripts of the Arab texts quoted above bring us to *Sayābiga* which is the correct form (cf. likewise Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1864, p 41, 3, and 82, 17) It is the form which Sībawaih gives (ed. H. Derenbourg, ii. 209, 5–6), and he adds "they say *Sayābiga* because this word combines the two peculiarities of being a foreign word and plural of an ethnic in يّ, being practically equal to a plural *saibagīyūn*". According to al-Djawālīḳī (*loc. cit*), the singular is *saibagī*. Now de Goeje points out (*loc. cit*, p. 88) that the people of the ʿIrāḳ pronounce the vowel *ā* as *e* and this phenomenon is not isolated in Arabic dialects; my friend William Marçais calls my attention to its occurrence in Tunisian. This enables us to state the following equation: سَبَابِجَ *Sayābiga* < singular سَبَابِجِيّ *Saibagī* = سَابِجِيّ *Sābagī* < سَابِجْ *Sābag*. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*loc cit.*), on the other hand, notes that "sometimes they say *Sābag*".

The original form of *Sābag* was pointed out to de Goeje by Hendrik Kern It is now easy to reconstruct its phonetic history from documents which were not available to the latter. The change *Sābag* < *Djāvaka* = Sumatra, the ابج *Zābag* (inaccurately transcribed *Zābedj*) of the Arab geographers, is thus proved the earliest mention of the island of Sumatra by this name is found in the third century A. D in the *Nan čow yi wu če* of Wan Čen and the *Fu-nan t'u su čuan* of K'an Tai in the form 社薄 *Sho-po*, old pronunciation **Dja-bak* = *Djāvaka* > Arabic *Zābag* Much later we find in the *Mahāvaṃça* (lxxxiii 36—48, and lxxxviii 62—75) the original form *Jāvaka* (pronounce *Djāvaka*, for these texts cf. my memoir *L'empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya*, in the *J A*, Series 9, vol. xx. 170—173). In the xiiith century a Tamil inscription of 1264 has *Shāvaka* (*ibid*, 1922, p. 48), which is the Dravidian form of the above readings The initial is rendered in Tamil by a character which is transliterated indifferently *dj*, *č*, *sh*, and even *s*, i. e. the sonant and mute palatals and the palatal and dental sibilants; it is the palatal that is generally used to transliterate it, whence *djā* > *shā* The change of Indian *sh* to *s* — palatal to dental sibilant, in the present case of *Shāvaka* to the Arabic *Sābag* — is quite regular. We have a parallel example in the Sanskrit शाक *shāka* "teak" (*Tectona grandis*) which becomes in Arabic ساج *sāg*, more frequently inaccurately transcribed *sādj*.

The *Sayābiga* then are the descendants of ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to the ʿIrāḳ and the Persian Gulf where there is evidence of their existence before Islām This is not surprising for we know from other sources also that the Sumatrans colonised Madagascar at a very early date (see the art. ZĀBAG); the eastern route was familiar to them. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

SKUTARI. [See ÜSKÜDĀR]

SEBASṬĪYA. 1) The Arabic name for the ancient Samaria, which Herod had changed to Σεβαστή in honour of Augustus. The form Σεβάστεια — as in the case of other towns of this name — was presumably also used, as the Arabic name (which is sometimes also written Sabasṭīya) suggests. By the end of the classical period, the town, overshadowed by the neighbouring Neapolis (Sichem; Arab Nābulus), had sunk to be a small town (πολίχνιον) and played only an unimportant part in the Arab period. It was conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs while Abū Bakr was still Caliph, the inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and property on condition that they paid poll-tax and land-duties (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 138, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii. 388). Al-Battānī is the first of the Arab geographers to mention it, but gives already much less accurate figures for its position than Ptolemy had done. In the later Arab geographers Sebasṭīya appears on a place in the Djund Filasṭīn. According to a tradition found as early as Jerome, for example, the tomb of John the Baptist was there (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*. Yaḥyā b. Zakarīyāʾ; xi. 333 wrongly only Zakarīyāʾ), on its site there was in late antiquity a basilica built and in the crusading period (in the second half of the xiith century) a church of St. John; remains of the latter still survive According to western sources, Sebasṭīya was again a bishopric at this time (Lequien, *Oriens Christ*, iii. 650 *sqq*) Usāma b Munḳidh, about 1140, visited the town and its sanctuary. Salāḥ al-Dīn advanced on Sebastīya in 1184 but its bishop by handing over 80 Muslim prisoners saved the town from the terrible fate of Nābulus (Ibn al-Athīr, *op cit*, xi. 333, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, in the *Recueil des hist. orient des croisades*, i. 53; Ibn Shaddād, *ibid*, iii 82, *Epistola Balduini*, in Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosol.*, N⁰. 638). In the year 1187 it was finally taken from the Crusaders by Hussām al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Lādjīn, the church of St. John was turned into a mosque and the bishop brought to ʿAkkā (Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit*, xi 357)

Bibliography al-Battānī, *Kitāb Zīdj al-Ṣābi*, ed Nallino, in the *Pubblicazioni d. Reale Osservat. di Brera in Milano*, N⁰ xl/ii 39, N⁰. 114, *B G A*, v. 103, vi. 79, vii. 329, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii 33, Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousâma*, p. 188 *sq*, 486, Arabic text, p. 528, 617, Cuinet, *La Syrie*, p. 192; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, i. 102, Schurer, *Gesch d jud Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, ii ⁴ 195—198, R. Hartmann, *Palastina unter den Arabern* (*Das Land der Bibel*, i/iv), p 14, Baedeker, *Palastina u Syrien*⁶, 1904, p 195 On the results of the American excavations, which, however, only affect the pre-Arab period, see G A. Reisner, C. S Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908—1910*, i. (text), ii. (plans and plates), Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Semitic Series 1924.

2) A place in the Thughūr al-Shāmīya, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, vi. 117), on the Cilician coast, 4 *mil* from an otherwise unknown Iskandarīya, which again was 12 *mil* from Ḳurāsīya (Κοράσιον) It is the ancient Ἐλαιοῦσσα or Σεβαστή, the modern Ayash

Bibliography Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl*, v. 2228, s v. Elaiussa; ii A 952, s. v. Sebaste N⁰. 5, Tomaschek, *S B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, Abh. viii. 65, E Herzfeld, *Peterm. geogr. Mitteil.*, 1909, lv. 29, col. 2.

3) A town in Asia Minor, which was taken by al-ʿAbbās b al-Walīd in 93 (711/712) along with al-Maṣṣūbānain and Tūs (? should we not read Ṭarsūs!) whose situation is unknown. In some manuscripts

of al-Ṭabarī and Abu 'l-Maḥāsin the name is wrongly written Samasṭīya (or something like that) which can hardly, as Brooke suggests, stand for the Byzantine Μίσθεια in Phrygia. The reference is rather to the Phrygian Σεβαστή (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl.*, II A 951, N° 1)

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv. 457; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, II. 1236, with note b.; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, I 251; Brooks, *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, xviii 193.

4) A town of this name said to be not far from Sumaisāt on the Upper Frāt is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *op. cit*, III. 33. It might be Juliopolis in Cappadocia (Ptol., v. 6. 25, p. 893, ed Muller) which was presumably called after Augustus and perhaps may have also been called Sebasteia, but perhaps we should rather assume there has been some confusion with Sīwās on the Upper Nahr Ālis (Halys)

(Honigmann)

SEBKHA, a salt lagoon The sebkha is one of the characteristic features of the hydrography of North Africa and the Sahara, very common in the high plains, without communication with the sea It is the terminus of a network of streams either above ground or subterranean, which have spread out and disappear in the ground, it is a shallow basin with well marked contours sometimes delineated by steep sides After rain it is more or less completely filled with water impregnated with mineral substances which accumulate at the bottom of the basin. In periods of drought, the waters evaporate completely or partly and the floor is uncovered The floor of the sebkha is covered with saline incrustations, sometimes traversed by crevasses in which the crystals gather The salt deposit sometimes covers mud, quicksands and dangerous quagmires

This definition and description of the features of the sebkha apply equally to the *shott* An attempt has been made to establish a distinction between the two, the former term being applied to hollows which always remain more or less moist, the second to those whose evaporation is greater than the access of subterranean water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain losing itself in the horizon There is no real foundation for this distinction. The two terms are employed indifferently in the same district. For example we have in Orania the sebkha of Oran and the shott Gharbiu and Sharḳī, in the Sahara the sebkha of Timimūn (Gurara), the shott of Southern Tunisia, the sebkha of Wargla, of Siwa, etc.

Bibliography see the *Bibliography* of the article SAHARA (G. Yver)

SEBZEWĀR, near Herāt, is the present name of the town of Asfizār or Asfuzār Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*: Sebzar) attached to Sidjistān. It lies to the south of Herāt, three days' journey north of Fara. In the itineraries it has the name of Khāstān or Djāshān. In the IVth (Xth) century there were in this region four towns of importance besides Asfizār, which was the chief place of this district; a town of medium size, surrounded by orchards and vineyards; its inhabitants were Sunnīs of the school of al-Shāfiʿī [q v.] There used to be a stone fortress called Muzaffar Ḳūh on the summit of a mountain, the soil inside and around the town was so soft that it was sufficient to dig down a few inches to get water. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, I. 264, it was the name of the district and not of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 248 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 35; *B. G. A.*, I. 249, 264, 268; II. 305, 318, 319, III 298, 308, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser, text, p. 152, 178; transl., p. 151, 171; G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 340, 351, 412, 431.

(Cl. Huart)

SEBZEWĀR is a city of Khurāsān, situated sixty-four miles due west of Nīshāpūr, and should not be confounded with the town of the same name in Western Afghānistān, south of Herāt, see the preceding article. Many legends of the heroic age of Persia are associated with Sebzewār, and the square in the centre of the town was long pointed out as the scene of the combat between Rustam and Suhrab and was known as *Maidān-i Dīv-i Safīd*, "the plain of the White Demon". Sebzewār was a town of some importance in the district of Baihaḳ [q. v.] and eventually took the place of Baihaḳ as the principal town of the district Sultān Shāh, after having been expelled from Khwārizm by his elder brother Takash, took Khurāsān as his share of his father's kingdom, and in 1186 besieged and captured Sebzewār, and was with difficulty restrained from ordering a massacre of its inhabitants, who had defied him with abusive language to take their town The town was destroyed by the invading hordes of the Mongols, but recovered its prosperity, and in 1337 ʿAbd al-Razzāk, a native of the village of Bashtīn who had been in the service of the Il Khān Abū Saʿīd (1316—1335) of Persia, headed a rebellion against the tyranny of the local governor, gained possession of Sebzewār and the neighbouring district and founded the dynasty of the Serbadārs, [q. v] who reigned there for nearly half a century, until they were overthrown, in 1381, by Timūr Mahmūd, the heir male of the house, was enabled by the favour of Timūr's grandson, Bāysunkur, to retain some part of the heritage of his ancestors. The town, which fell into decay, was restored by the early Safawid kings and became the capital of a district containing forty townships It has ever since remained an important town of Khurāsān. The inhabitants have been noted for centuries for their attachment to the Shiʿa, and Husain Wāʿiz, author of the *Anwār-i Suhailī*, whose zeal for that sect was suspected, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the fanatics of the town.

Bibliography C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, et Littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, al-Djuwainī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān Gushā*, ed Mirzā Muḥammad, Gibb Memorial Series, 1916, Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894.

(T W Haig)

SEDJESTĀN. [See sīstān].

SEʿERD, Siʿird or Saird, a little town in the frontier region between Armenia and Turkish Kurdistān, situated in a valley formed by the Bohtān Ṣu and the river of Bidlis about 30 miles S.W. of Bidlis and about 18 north of the Tigris. The little river Kezer runs near Seʿerd; but it is the Bohtān Ṣu which is sometimes called Seʿerd Ṣu (Soʿord Su in von Moltke). This name is also found in al-Masʿūdī, the earliest Arab geographer to mention Seʿerd; he calls the Bohtān Su نهر سرنط

(ed. Paris 1840, i. 227); likewise al-Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 172). The orthography varies much: اسعرد (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn al-Athīr, Sharaf al-Dīn), سعرت (Abu 'l-Fidā', Yāḳūt), ساعرد (al-Mustawfī), سعرد (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). The last form is the official Turkish orthography (cf *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*) The Syriac form is Seʿeid (*Z D M. G*, viii 357, note) and the Kurd form is Sērt (al-Khālidī, *al-Hadīya al-Ḥamīdīya fi 'l-Lughat al-Kurdīya*, Constantinople 1310, p. 144). The origin of the town is unknown; the suggestion put forward by the travellers Shiel and Kinneir that it is the ancient Tigranocerta has already been disposed of by Ainsworth and Ritter, who rely particularly on the complete absence of traces of ancient buildings and on the description of Lucullus's campaign against Tigranes given by Plutarch Moreover, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in 1899 has identified the site of Tigranocerta with the modern Maiyāfārikīn

Seʿerd, a town with only slight fortifications (al-Istakhrī, the *Sheref-nāme* alone calls it *ḳalʿa*), has generally shared the political history of Diyār Bakr and Hisn Kaifa. Thus in the x th century it was in the hands of the Marwānids (Ibn al Athīr, ix 56), in the century following it passed to the Urtukids of Hisn Kaifa and was taken by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Zangī in 538 (1143/44, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x. 62) The Mongols sacked it after the defeat of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 326) but it seems to have quickly recovered, for al-Mustawfī calls it a large town with rich revenues. After experiencing the rule of the Īl-Khāns [q v] and the Ak-Koyunlu [q v] Seʿeid about 1500 passed to the Safawids During the xiv th and xv th centuries the town had belonged to the little Kurd dynasty of the Malikān of Hisn Kaifa (descendants of the Aiyūbids) After the battle of Čaldirān (1513) their prince, Malik Khalīl, who had been thrown into prison by Shāh Ismāʿīl, escaped and again took possession of Seʿeid and then of his old residence (*Sheref-name*, i. 157). This dynasty continued to exist for some time under the suzerainty of the Ottomans represented by the wālī of Diyār Bakr. In the new administrative territorial division established by Idris Bidlisī, Seʿerd became the capital of a sandjak The town continued to belong to the eyālet, then to the wilāyet of Diyār Bakr down to 1301 (1884) The sandjak of Seʿerd was then attached to the wilāyet of Bidlis

The number of inhabitants is given by Cuinet (1892) as 15,000 of whom the majority are Muslim Kurds (5 mosques) In the Christian element (c 4,000) the Catholic, Syrians (Chaldaeans) are the most numerous (two churches), along with Gregorian Armenians (one church), Protestants and Jacobites (one church). The number of Christian inhabitants, however, must have considerably diminished by the deportations during and after the war of 1914—1918.

Seʿerd has been built in the Arab style (Lehmann-Haupt); the houses are of clay and the town is noted for its lack of cleanliness. Water is scarce there and comes from several springs On the hills around, the principal crop is grapes, the other products of Seʿerd are cereals, rice and vegetables. Its trade is with Diyār Bakr The town has been famous since the xiv th century for its manufactures of weapons and copper utensils. Other industries are cabinet-making and the manufacture of cotton stuffs, dyed red. On the only inscription known at Seʿerd see van Berchem in the *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, Ph.-hist. Kl., N.S., ix[3] 157.

The sandjak of Seʿerd has 5 ḳazās of which that of Eruh (Arwah) is in Bohtān [q.v.].

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SEFĪD KOH (Safīd Kūh), "the White Mountain", is the name given to the most prominent mountain range of Northern Afghānistān, extending from a point situated in 34° N. Lat and 69° 30′ E Long , near which rises its highest point, Sikārām, 15,620 feet above the sea, to the neighbourhood of Ātak on the Indus (33° 15′ N. Lat. and 72° 10′ E Long approximately), and separating the valley of the Kābul river from the Kurram Valley and Afridī Tīrāh between these two points; but the range is continued in a mass of uplands running in a south-westerly direction and known as the Pseïn Dāg and Toba as far as a point situated, approximately, in 31° 15′ N. Lat. and 67° E Long This latter range forms the watershed of Southern Afghānistān and a natural barrier between that country and India. In the northern and eastern spurs of the Sefid Koh proper are the Khaibar Pass [q v.] between Peshawār and Djalālābād, and the formidable passes between Djalālābād and Kābul in which British and Indian troops suffered so severely in the campaign of 1841—1842. Through the passes of these ranges have streamed from the dawn of history the numerous hosts by which India has from time to time been invaded, and some of the invaders in historical times have left brief descriptions of those parts of the ranges which they traversed The northern spurs are barren, but the upper slopes are wooded with pines, *deodars*, and other trees, and many of the southern spurs with pines and wild olives Its valleys are a combination of orchard, field and garden, abounding in fruit-trees, and the banks of their streams are edged with turf and wild flowers and fringed with willows.

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(T. W. Haig)

SEFĪD RŪD. [See ḳizil Üzen]

SEGBĀN (P, "dog-keeper, whipper-in"), popularly seimen, the third division of the corps of Janissaries forming 34 companies (*orta*); the 33rd was in garrison in Constantinople. It was created in the reign of Bāyazīd I at the same time as the *ṣaghardjī* (keepers of blood-hounds), the *ṣamṣūndjī* (keepers of bulldogs) etc. who later formed the 64th and 71st *orta* of the *ḏjemāʿāt*. Some of

these companies had special names of their own: the 18th was called *kātibi-segbānān*, the 20th *ketkhudāi-segbānān*, the 33rd *āwdji*, "huntsmen" (chasseurs), the captain of whom was called *seshkārī*, "chief huntsman". Their barracks, like those of the other Janissaries, were destroyed in the conflagration of Muḥarram 4, 1105 (Sept. 5, 1693), in the reign of Sultān Aḥmed II; rebuilt five years later, they were again destroyed in the reign of Maḥmūd I.

Segbān-bāshī was at first the title of the general commanding this division; when it was placed under the authority of the *agha* of the Janissaries, his position became a sinecure In case of mobilisation, however, he acted as *kā'im-makām* (lieutenant) to the *agha*, lived in the capital and commanded the Janissaries of the garrison there

Segbānān-suwārī "Cavalry of the Seimen" was the name given to the 65th *orta* of the *djemā'āt*

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(Cl. Huart)

SEGESTAN. [See sīstān].

SEGOVIA, in Arabic Shaḳūbīya, an important and ancient town in Spain, now the capital of the province of the same name, situated in Old Castile, 60 miles N W of Madrid, 3,300 feet above sea-level, on an isolated rock near one of the last spurs of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This town is famous for its Roman (aqueduct) and Christian (alcazar) remains and was only under Muslim rule for a short time It was recaptured in 140 (757/758) by Alfonso I of Castile or his son Fruela I at the same time as Zamora, Salamanca and Avila. It was, like those towns, recaptured but only for a very brief period by al-Ḥādjib al-Mansūr b Abi 'Āmir in the second half of the tenth century.

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

SĒGU, now capital of a district in the French Sūdān. Sēgu is a little town with 6,500 inhabitants lying on the right bank of the Niger about 150 miles below Bamako and consisting of four groups of buildings, of which Sikoro is the principal.

This place was the capital of a Bambara state founded by a chief of the Kulubālī family, who was at first more or less a vassal of the Mandingo empire or empire of Malī. Towards 1670 king Biton Kulubālī liberated Sēgu from Mandingo suzerainty and made it very powerful with the help of a kind of standing army of regular soldiers which he had formed of slaves belonging to the state called in Bambara *tan-dyon* In his reign the Bambara of Sēgu, although pagans, subjected the Fulba kingdom of Māsīna, in which the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, and the completely Muḥammadan town of Timbuctu, which was nominally governed by a pasha who claimed to be Moroccan. It is even said that Biton having offered an asylum to a holy man of Sūs, an enemy of the Ḥasanid Sultān al-Rashīd, sent troops against the ruler of Fās who had come to seek the fugitive and that al-Rashīd having encountered the Bambara army south of Timbuctu took his way back to Morocco without daring to risk a battle.

On the death of Biton in 1710, however, the *ton-dyon* took advantage of their power to make and unmake kings and ended by overthrowing the Kulubālī dynasty and seizing the power. But the period of their domination was one of anarchy which was ended towards 1750 by a popular rising. A certain Ngolo or Molo belonging to the Bambara family of Dyāra had himself proclaimed king and founded a new dynasty, which reigned from 1754 to 1861 and was noted mainly for its wars with the other Bambara kingdom, that of Kaarta, located farther to the west.

In 1860 the conquering Tuculor al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar, a native of Fūta in Senegal who had been lord of Nyōro, capital of Kaarta, since 1854, marched against Ali Dyāra, king of Sēgu. The Bambara were supported in their resistance by their neighbours, the Fulba of Māsīna, who had, however, been freed from Sēgu suzerainty in 1810 by the Emir Sēku (Shaikhu) Aḥmadu, this alliance of a wholly pagan state with a kingdom which had become Muslim against a conqueror himself a Muslim, who justified his expedition against Sēgu by calling it a holy war, is one of the most curious features in the religious history of the Sūdān; Ahmadu-Ahmadu, then Emir of Māsina, explained the motives of his conduct in a series of letters addressed to al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar which have been preserved However, after a stubborn resistance by the defenders, al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar took Sēgu in 1861 and Hamdallāhi, capital of Māsīna, in 1862, captured the two kings Ali Dyāra and Ahmadu-Ahmadu and put them to death The Bambara and the defeated Fulba kept up the resistance for a long time in a guerilla war, in the course of which al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar died (1864) He left several sons, nephews, and favourites who divided the lands he had conquered amongst themselves, not without quarrelling. His eldest son, Aḥmadu Tal, whom he had installed in Sēgu as his lieutenant, lived there from 1862 to 1884 exercising a tyrannical sway over the people without successfully enforcing Islām on the Bambara or preventing the survivors of the Dyāra dynasty, aided by their Fulba allies, from harassing his troops continually, and even threatening him up to the walls of his capital. The naval Lieutenant Mage, sent with Dr. Quintin on a mission to Aḥmadu Tal by the French authorities in Senegal, was kept for two years at Sēgu by this despot (1864—1866) and was able to take exact stock of the situation. In 1884 no longer feeling his life safe in Sēgu where he was detested even by the Tuculors, Aḥmadu Tal handed the government over to his son Madanī and established himself in Nyōro.

In 1888, the French government resolved to put an end to a state of affairs which was paralysing the development of the country and found expression in continual massacres and the reduction to slavery of a great part of the population An expedition was organised under the command of Colonel Archinard who took Sēgu on April 6, 1890, and Nyōro on Jan. 1, 1891. Madanī had fled to Mopti and Aḥmadu Tal to Bandyagara, in Māsīna. General Archinard took Mopti and Bandyagara in April, 1893. Aḥmadu Tal once more escaped: accompanied by a few followers he fled

along the bend of the Niger and sought refuge with his compatriot, the Sulṭān of Sokoto and died in his country in 1898.

After an attempt to restore the ancient Bambara kingdom of Sēgu, at first under the government of Māri Dyāra, then of a certain Bodyan Kulubāli, an attempt which was not successful, the French in March, 1893, decided simply to annex the town of Sēgu and its lands to the new colony of French Sūdān.

A few Tuculors who came with al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar or in the time of his son Ahmadu have remained in Sēgu; they all profess Islām and follow the Tidjānīya order, of which al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar was *Muḳaddim*. The bulk of the population which consists of Bambara has remained attached to animism

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(M Delafosse)

SEHĪ ČELEBI, an Ottoman poet and biographer of poets He belonged to Adrianople, in his youth received his education from and was on intimate terms with his fellow-townsman and later father-in-law, the celebrated poet Nedjātī Nūh Bey (d. March 17, 1509, q v.), became *Kʿātib* (secretary) to Prince Mehmed, the youngest son of Sultān Bāyazīd II, and accompanied the latter to Kaffa where he was governor (*sandjakbeyi*) (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulman*, col 659, 44). When the prince died in 910 (1504/1505) Sehī went to Stambul and obtained an appointment as secretary in the Dīwān (*dīwān kʿātibi*) there Later he returned to his native town of Adrianople, was for a time administrator (*mutewallī*) of a *wakf* of a school of tradition there (*Dār ul-Hadīth*) and died there in 955 (1548/1549)

Sehī was the author of a collection of poems (*diwān*) and of a collection of biographies of poets with an anthology (*tedhkire*) which contained notices of 261 metrists and poets and was entitled *Hesht Bihisht* ("Eight Paradises") The work is expressly planned on Persian models (Djāmī, Dewlet-shāh and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Newāʾī) and classified under eight heads (*ṭabaḳāt*)

Apart from the *Kenz ul-Kuberā* of Sheikh-Oghlū (xvth century, very scarce, so far only known in one MS), Sehī's biographical collection is the oldest work of this kind in Turkish Of particular value are the notices of the Ottoman poets with whom Sehī was personally acquainted from his youth upwards or later, and of contemporary poets in general The work was published in 1325 (1907) in Stambul (8vo, 144 pp.) by Mehmed Shükr and has an appendix by Fāʾiḳ Reshād Sehī's *Diwān*, of which specimens are given in the Turkish anthologies, is of little importance.

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(Franz Babinger)

SELĀNĪK, the town of Salonika in Macedonia, situated at the foot of the Gulf of Salonika, to the east of the mouth of the Wardar and at the foot of a hill which commands it on the north-east. It is the ancient Greek town of Θεσσαλονίκη, founded on the site of Therma by Cassander, who gave the new city the name of his wife, the sister of Alexander the Great (Strabo, VII, vii. 4). Towards the eleventh century, the popular form Σαλονίκιον appears (*Chronicle of the Morea*) on which is based the form Ṣalūnīk or Ṣalūnīḳ in al-Idrīsī, the Bulgarian form Solun, the western form Salonika and finally the Turkish name Selānīk.

Salonika, situated on the Via Egnatia (from Durazzo to Byzantium) and having a large and safe harbour, was from ancient times an important commercial city It was still so under the Byzantine empire and in those days included considerable European colonies, especially Venetians From the tenth century onwards, it received its share of commerce with Muslim lands, once, in 904, it was sacked by a Saracen fleet from Tripolis in Syria led by a Byzantine renegade, twenty-two thousand inhabitants are said to have been carried off into slavery (description by John Comeniata, *De Excidio Thessalonices*, Bonn ed, in *Script. post Theoph.*, p 487 *sq*) The town is, however, hardly mentioned by the Arab geographers, only al-Idrīsī notes it. His patrons, the Norman princes of Sicily, had dealings with the Byzantine empire. In 1185 William II of Sicily undertook an expedition against the empire at the instigation of Latins and Greeks who had sought refuge with him after the troubles provoked by the usurper Andronicus. The Normans took Salonika on August 24, 1185 Under the Latin Empire the town was the capital of the kingdom of Salonika under the Marquises of Montferrat, during this period it had to undergo a siege by the Bulgarians, the allies of the pretender Kalo-Johannes (who was killed there, according to the legend, by the lance of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city). At the end of the thirteenth century, Salonika was finally restored to the empire of the Palaeologoi, then reduced to Macedonia, Thrace and the western coast of Asia Minor. The Serbian conquests still further diminished this territory, so that in the time of Cantacuzenos (1347—1355) Salonika with the western part of the peninsula of Chalcidice was only connected with Constantinople by sea Soon the Ottoman Turks, under Murād I, began to take the place of the Serbs by their conquests in Europe. It seems that the environs of Salonika were ravaged for the first time by Lala Shāhūr in 787 (1385) after the conquest of Serres and Ḳaraferiya. These lands were thereafter settled by nomads from the sandjaḳ of Ṣarukhān (Anonymus, ed Giese). The town was soon after taken by Khair al-Dīn Pasha, but restored again to the Emperor Manuel (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Takwīm*). Bāyazīd I retook it in 796 (1394) after having defeated the allied Christian fleets (Saʿd al-Dīn). The statements of the Turkish chroniclers and the Byzantine historians on these early conquests are by no means clear and often contradictory (cf. von Hammer, *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*). Sulaimān, son of Bāyazīd, concluded an alliance with

he Emperor by the terms of which Salonika and number of other towns on the coast were given ack to the latter (1403). After the death of Sulimān, his brother Mūsā (1410—1413) laid siege o Salonika, without being able to take it Muḥammad I also, after setting out from Serres to attack he city, had to abandon his plan as a result of he rebellion of Shaikh Badr al-Dīn. Towards the nd of his reign the pretender Dozme Mustafā, oming from Wallachia, was defeated near Salonika nd found refuge within its walls. It was from ere that Muṣṭafā began his conquests after the eath of Muḥammad I (1421). Muṣṭafā being beaten, Murād II turned his attention to the Greek empire nd attacked Salonika in 1423, after a fruitless iege of Constantinople But Andronicos Palaeoogos, son of Manuel, governor of the town, thereupon invited the Venetians to take possession f it and sold it to them for fifty thousand ducats Salonika at this time had forty thousand inhabiants). This act made the Turks withdraw for the me. Murād even recognised the sale in 1427, hen a kind of capitulation was concluded between im and Venice by which the Turks were allowed o have a ḳāḍī in the town Three years later Murād laid siege to Salonika for a second time, he Turkish sources say he did this because of ets of piracy committed by Venetian ships on Muslims. The town fell after a siege of forty or fty days in March, 1430 (the 29th according to nagnosta and the 13th according to Venetian ources, the Turks only give the year 833, or — rongly — 832). The capture was accompanied by ooting and a general massacre which Murād had romised his soldiers, it has been chronicled by ohannes Anagnosta *De extremo Thessalonicensi excidio narratio* (Bonn 1838). A Turkish fleet om Gallipoli had shared in the attack on the own. Venice was quick to recognise Turkish rule ver Salonika and obtained in return freedom of ade for Venetian merchants in the Sultān's lands.

A great part of the population had been in vour of the Turks in order to escape the terror f the Frank soldiery. The conqueror, moreover, fter the looting showed himself conciliatory. For he moment only one church, that of the Virgin, as converted into a mosque (known as the Eski Jum'a). The Monastery of St. John Prodomos eems to have become a mosque during one of he earlier Turkish occupations. In the centuries hat followed, the majority of the great churches ere destined to be converted for Muslim usage he conquerors also demolished a number of hurches to get materials for other buildings Murād, for example, in 1430 built a bath in the entre of the town. To give the town a Muslim opulation, colonists from Yenidje Wardar were ansplanted thither. Although the number of Turks creased, Salonika has never had a majority of urks in its population.

The town was not long in again becoming an important commercial centre. The immigration in the reign of Bāyazīd II of a large number of efardim Jews and Maranos, expelled from Spain, ortugal and Italy, contributed largely to its commercial revival. There had previously been Jews Salonika (Benjamin of Tudela reckoned five undred in 1170), but after the immigration of e fifteenth century the Jewish element became e feature of the town. The Jews also brought ither their Spanish language, Ladino, which they have kept down to modern times (Lamouche, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les israélites de Salonique*, in *Roman Forschungen*, vol. xxiii.) and their religious and scholarly tradition (from 1515 they had their printing press) Under the benevolent rule of the Turks, Salonika became in the sixteenth century "the mother of Judaism". Their number was then put at twenty thousand; the cloth which they manufactured was sold throughout Turkey (Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, ed. Babinger, 1923, p. 107) Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was formed among them the sect of the followers of Shabbetai Zabi, the Crypto-Jews or Donmes [q. v.], which had such a great cultural influence on the development of modern Turkey since the Young Turk revolution.

For the Ottoman empire, the possession of Salonika was a source of great revenue, especially from trade with the commercial nations of Europe, who by their capitulations obtained the right to have consulates there. The harbour has never been a naval port, it was only exceptionally visited by the Ottoman fleets (e. g. in 1715 in the war with Venice, cf Rāshid, *Tārīkhi*, iv. 51) Administratively Salonika has been since the Turkish conquest capital of an eyālet which has at times included Serres and Drama. In the judicial hierarchy the Selānīk Mollasī was one of the eight mollas of the sixth rank or *makhredj mollalarî* (d'Ohsson, *Tabl de l'emp. Oth.*, ii 271) The Turks, however, never built great mosques there as the Greek churches were sufficient The Mewlewi-Khāne to the north-west of the town is one of their best known religious buildings. A large part of the town consists of *wakf* properties founded by Ghāzī Ewrenos

With the decline of the Turkish empire in the nineteenth century, Salonika became more exposed to enemy attacks and foreign influences. For example, in April, 1807, the English fleet attempted a landing there after the failure of the expedition against Constantinople (Zinkeisen, vii 454). In the second half of the century the Macedonian troubles began and Salonika became the theatre of the nationalist intrigues of the Slav elements, while at the same time it was the centre of the Turkish opposition. The administrative reform of 1864 had created the wilāyet of Salonika, which, after extending as far as Elbasān and Üsküb, had been afterwards considerably reduced and in the end comprised only the sandjaks of Salonika, Drama and Serres with a population in which Bulgarians were in the majority. The assassination in 1876 of the French and German consuls brought about European intervention in favour of the Slavs in Turkey (Conference of Constantinople) In 1902 Salonika became the residence of Ḥilmī Pasha, who had been appointed inspector of reforms in Macedonia, assisted from 1903 by a Russian civilian agent and an Austrian representative. The town, as the result of European control, became less subject to the direct influence of Constantinople and thus became a hotbed on Turkish soil of Young Turk propaganda, directed from Paris against 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, from the beginning of the twentieth century the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād u Terraḳḳi*) held its meetings here in the Italian Masonic Lodge; the constitutional movement among the garrisons of Macedonia had its centre here; besides Turks, the Committee had Jewish members. In the night of 22—23 July,

1908, the constitution was proclaimed in Salonika, followed by the first revolution in Constantinople. The central section of the Committee had remained in Salonika and organised in 1909 the suppression of the counter-revolutionary movement, which broke out in Constantinople on April 13. Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha organised in Constantinople the constitutional troops, who entered the capital on April 24. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, deposed on April 27, was sent to Salonika, where he remained till the Balkan War. The beginnings of the constitutionalist régime bear the stamp of its origin in a milieu where the Turkish element was in a minority, in as much as the Young Turks began by proclaiming the equality of all races being under the Sulṭān's rule.

Turkey lost Salonika in the Balkan War. The Greek army, commanded by the Crown Prince, crossed the Wardar after the battle of Yanitza and surrounded Salonika on November 8, 1912. On the same day General Hasan Taḳsīn Pasha surrendered the town to the Greeks through the mediation of the neutral consuls. Besides the Greek troops, some Bulgarian battalions also entered it, but by the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) Salonika, with the greater part of the wilāyet of the same name, was incorporated in Greece. As a result of the Greek occupation not only the Turks but also a great many Jews migrated, especially to Constantinople The occupation by the allies in November, 1915, with the object of making it a base of operations against Bulgaria, is only of importance for Turkish history in as much as it contributed indirectly to the defeat of the Turks three years later

On the eve of the Greek conquest, Salonika had about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom 76,000 were Jews and about 30,000 Muslims, the remainder being mainly Greeks and Bulgarians. The commercial development had been greatly furthered in the nineteenth century by the railways connecting it with Nish, Üskub, Monastir and Constantinople The new harbour was opened in 1901; ships cannot approach the quay there. The export of the products of almost all Macedonia (especially tobacco) took place through Salonika as well as the import of European goods, which made it compete more and more with Constantinople As an industrial town, Salonika has very old established manufactures of cloth and carpets (*selānīk kečesi*), to which have been added silk-weaving, glass-bowing and the manufacture of soap and faience.

The town has many old monuments. Of classical buildings there remains practically nothing but the triumphal arch of Galerius The Byzantine churches are numerous. Besides the Church of the Virgin, already mentioned, the principal are that of St George, made a mosque in 999 (1590/1591), according to an inscription, and then called Ortadje Djāmiʿi; that of St. Sophia, which became a mosque in 993 (1585) as Āyā Sofia, and notably that of St. Demetrius, the patron of the city, in the central part of the town on the Rue Midhat Pasha (governor of Salonika in 1873); the date of its erection is uncertain. Under Bāyazīd II it was converted into a mosque and given the name of Ḳāsimiye Djāmiʿi (St. Demetrius–Kāsim is a double saint, cf. the art. AL-ḲĀSIM) Of the Byzantine wall which formerly surrounded the town the southern part no longer exists and as replaced by the great quay. The hill to the north-east of the town bears an acropolis called Yedi Ḳule by the Turks. A detailed description of the ancient monuments of Salonika is given in O. Trafali's book, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris 1913.

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SELĀNĪKĪ, MUṢṬAFĀ, Turkish historian. He was born at Salonika (Turkish Selānīk), and lost his father at Salonika in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 972 (1565/1566), while he accompanied the Beylerbey of Rumili, Shamsī Ahmad Pasha, as a reader of the Kurʾān (*Tārīkh*, p. 11, line 6 *ab infra*) He held a number of offices which are accurately enumerated in his work When in 1584 he had been for some time secretary and *dīwānīdār* of the Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, he became secretary of the *silaḥdār* (*silaḥdār kātibi*, cf. *Tārīkh*, p. 235 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 22, 995 = Nov. 23, 1586), then of the *sipāhīs*, then he was appointed *rūznāmedjī* (diarist) president of the auditoffice of the two holy cities (*ḥaramain muḥāsebedjisi*) and quarter-master of the court (*muteferriḳa*). In October 1588 he was *mihmāndār* of the Persian prince Ḥaidar who then resided at Constantinople (*Tārīkh*, p 261). In Shaʿbān, 1003 (1595/96), he was inspector of the soldiers' pay (cf J. v. Hammer, *G O. R.*, iv. 244). Finally he possibly held the function of *Anadolu muḥāsebedjesi* (president of the treasury of Anatolia). The year of his death is not certain. Probably he died soon after 1008 (1599/1600) at Stambul

His work on history, part of which was printed at Stambul in 1281 (*Tārīkh-i Selānīkī Muṣṭafā Efendi*, 14 folios, 351 pages octavo), begins with Ṣafar 971 (1563/64), and ends in 1008 (1599/1600), it comprises the last years of Sulaimān the Great, the reign of Selīm II, Murād III and the first five

years of Meḥmed III Composed in the manner of a diary it is a mirror of the events at which the author was present as an eye-witness. His office in the treasury supplied him with statistic materials. Selānīkī's work is consequently a very valuable source for the years 1563—1599. It is to be regretted that the printed edition (cf. a note at the end, p. 351) is carried on to the year 1001 only (1592/93, because Naʿīma [q. v] begins his work with this year). Complete MSS are preserved (apart from libraries in the East) at Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices arab., pers. et turc. bibl. reg. univ. upsal.*, Lund 1849, p. 196 *sq.*, N⁰. 284) and at Vienna (Flugel, *Die arab., pers. und turk. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibl*, ii. 246 *sq.*, N⁰. 1030 H. O. 57).

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SELDJUḲS, a Turkish princely family which ruled over wide territories in Central and Nearer Asia from the xiᵗʰ to the xiiiᵗʰ century. The following dynasties are distinguished. 1 The Great Seldjuḳs; 2. the Seldjuḳs of the ʿIrāḳ, 3. the Seldjuḳs of Kirmān; 4 the Seldjuḳs of Syria and 5 the Seldjuḳs of Asia Minor (al-Rūm).

Early History of the family. The ancestor of these rulers was Seldjuḳ b Duḳāḳ (Tuḳāḳ) called Tīmūryalıgh, i.e. "with the iron bow". This Duḳāḳ was a member of the Ghuzz tribe of Ḳïnïḳ, which is mentioned in the first place in the list of these tribes in al-Kashgharī, *Dīwān Luġāt al-Turk*, i. 56. The following is told of him by Ibn al-Aṯīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 322 "He was leader of the Ghuzz; they had implicit faith in him and they never contradicted him in a speech or neglected a command of his. Then it happened that one day the king of the Turks named Baighū collected his armies and wanted to march against the lands of Islām. Duḳāḳ spoke against it and after a long discussion the king of the Turks insulted him with coarse words Duḳāḳ then gave him a box on the ear and wounded him in the head. When the king's servants surrounded and tried to seize him, he defended himself and fought with them; his people gathered round him and they separated from him (i e. the king). The dispute between them was afterwards settled and Duḳāḳ remained with him." A similar story is then told of his son Seldjuḳ but the end is different· Seldjuḳ leaves the king with his people, enters the land of Islām and takes up his abode in the vicinity of Djand at the mouth of the Saiḥūn. According to Marquart, *Ostturkische Dialektstudien*, p. 46, the Turkish title *yabghu* is concealed in Baighū and the reference here is to the supreme chief of the infidel Ghuzz, who in turn recognised the suzerainty of the Ḵẖāḳān of the Uighurs. It seems to me, however, that the whole story is an invention to explain the settlement of the Ḳïnïḳ near Djand. Whether this tribe, or at least its chief Seldjuḳ, already professed Islām at this time is equally uncertain although the story presupposes it; the conversion perhaps only took place after relations had been formed with the Muslim population of Djand. Some Russian scholars have expressed the opinion that the Seldjuḳs came to Islām through Christianity and in support of this point to the Biblical names of their sons Mīkāʾīl, Mūsā, Isrāʾīl, to a casual remark in al-Ḳazwīnī (ed Wüstenfeld, ii 394) and to the fact of the spread of Christianity among the Turks in Semirječye, but tradition makes no mention of it.

Political conditions in Transoxania, where the Sāmānids and the Turkish Ḳara-Ḵẖānids were fighting for the mastery, were favourable to the development of the power of Seldjuḳ and his Ghuzz. They became involved in this feud and usually they took the side of the Sāmānids, but at the same time took the opportunity to further their own interests In the meanwhile Seldjuḳ died in Djand, aged, it is said, 107 His sons above mentioned (some records also mention a fourth, Yūnus) we now find not in Djand, but near Bukhārā in Nūr Bukhārā (now called Nūr Ata, N. E. of Bukhārā; cf Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., p 122), about the year 375 (985), as Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, *Tārīḫ-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, p 434, states. Isrāʾīl, whose proper name was Arslān, seems to have assumed the leadership among those sons Sometimes the name is followed by Baighū, which is probably also to be interpreted here as the title *yabghu*; he is mentioned simply by this name in al-Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p 13, as the prince of the Ghuzz who in 1003 assisted the Sāmānid general Muntaṣir to victory over the Ḳara-ḵẖānids (cf Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., p. 283) We next find him mentioned as ally of ʿAlī Tegīn who had captured the city of Bukhārā In 416 (1025) Mahmūd of Ghazna undertook a campaign into Transoxania to overthrow the latter and had a meeting with the Kara-ḵẖānid Ḳādir-Ḵẖān, with whom he came to an agreement regarding a common attitude towards the affairs of the district On this campaign he sought information regarding the strength of the Seldjuks There is a well known anecdote which tells how Arslān, when he was asked about the question, showed him two arrows and said that 100,000 men would turn out if these two arrows were sent round his people, and if the bow were added, as many as one could wish. This caused Mahmūd some anxiety, he therefore consulted his Ḥādjib, Arslān Djādhib, as to what should be done regarding these people. The latter proposed that each man's thumb should be cut off so that he could not draw the bow any longer, or, as Ibn al-Aṯīr adds, that they should all be drowned in the Djaiḥūn. Mahmūd thought this too inhuman and perhaps also impracticable, he thought it better to let them come across the Djaiḥūn and scatter over wide tracts in Ḵẖurāsān so that they would be easily kept in control He took Arslān back with him to Ghazna and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Kālandjār in Multān as a hostage for the good behaviour of his people. These measures did not succeed in their aims, however; the Ghuzz proved turbulent in spite of the severe punishment which Tāsh Farrāsh awarded to them (cf. al-Baihaḳī, *Tārīḫ*, ed. Morley, p. 544). Under the leadership of their chiefs Yaghmur, Ḳïzïl, Buḳa, Koktash etc. they withdrew from the jurisdiction of their Ghaznawid rulers and began raiding the lands of Islām. Damaghān, Samnān, al-Raiy, Isfahān, Marāgha, Hamadhān and many other towns in the ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaidjān suffered from their incursions. These Ghuzz are always called the ʿIrāḳī Ghuzz by al-Baihaḳī, who says nothing about Arslān in the part of his history that

has survived to us, and distinguished from the Ghuzz who had remained in Transoxania, to whom he refers as the people of Ṭughrïl-Beg (this is the correct form, according to al-Kashghari, *Dïwān* etc., p. 400), Dā'ūd and the Niyālïyūn. Ṭughrïl-Beg, Muhammad and Čaghri-Beg Dā'ūd are the sons of Mïkā'īl b. Seldjuḳ, who, according to some records, was early killed in the war with the infidel Turks; as to the Niyālïyūn, these are the people of Ināl or Yïnāl, a maternal uncle of Ṭughrïl-Beg, so that probably the reading should be Yïnālïyūn. It is true that this Ināl is mentioned nowhere else but his son Ibrāhïm b. Ināl is well known and at first faithfully supported his two nephews. We hear little of Mūsā, Seldjuḳ's third son, but his sons also supported Tughrïl-Beg

These Seldjuḳs lived in security in Nūr Bukhārā as long as ʿAlī Tegïn lived, as the pastures there were not sufficient for them, they received from Hārūn b. Altūntāsh, the governor of Khwārïzm, through the intermediary of the vizier Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Abū Naṣr, later vizier to the Ghaznawïd Masʿūd, permission to dwell in Khwārïzm territory in winter But when ʿAlī Tegïn had died in 425 (1034) they came into conflict with his sons and successors, and, as Hārūn b. Altūntāsh was murdered soon afterwards and the then ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, attacked Khwārïzm by command of Masʿūd and put to flight the sons of Altūntāsh who were in open rebellion and with whom they sided, they found themselves forced to seek other lands to live in. They therefore sent a written petition (cf al-Baihaḳī, *op. cit*, p. 583) to the governor of Khurāsān, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Sūrī (al-Suwārī), notorious for his extortions, requesting him to ask Masʿūd to allot them the districts of Nasā and Farāwa. In this remarkable document Tughrïl, Dā'ūd and a third brother Paighū, already call themselves protégés of the Commander of the Faithful. These negotiations, which did not lead to the desired result, and the events that followed can be followed almost from day to day in al-Baihaḳī's narrative, but here we must be brief and refer the reader to the full account by Kazimirski in the preface to his edition of the *Dïwān* of Minučihrï. In brief, the result was an open war between the Seldjuḳs and the Ghaznawïds Masʿūd's generals were repeatedly defeated and finally Masʿūd himself was routed in the battle of Dandānaḳān (Ramaḍān, 431 = May, 1040). By the end of 429 (Aug., 1038) the Seldjuks had taken Naisābūr, the name of Ṭughrïl-Beg was mentioned in the *ḵẖuṭba* there and an ambassador arrived from the Caliph to complain of the ravages of the ʿIrāḳï Ghuzz. The rule of the Great Seldjuḳs was established.

I. The Great Seldjuḳs, 1038—1157. Ṭughrïl-Beg — 1063, Alp Arslān — 1072, Malik-Shāh — 1092, Maḥmūd and Barkiyārūḳ — 1104, Malik-Shāh II and Muḥammad — 1117, Sandjar — 1157.

The history of the individual rulers, with the exception of Maḥmūd and Malik-Shāh II, whose names were only mentioned for a brief period in the *ḵẖuṭba*, is dealt with in separate articles; here a few general observations will suffice. As regards the expansion of the Seldjuḳ empire, the majority of the Muslim rulers of the eastern and central provinces of the lands once ruled by the Caliphs submitted to Ṭughrïl-Beg, either voluntarily or under compulsion. The rulers of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān had done this by 433 (1041/42), in 434 (1042/43) Khwārizm was conquered and was followed by the other lands which form modern Persia. In 440 (1048) Liparites, chief of the Abkhaz, was taken prisoner and raids were made into Asia Minor. In Ramaḍān, 447 (Dec., 1055), Ṭughrïl's name was mentioned in the *ḵẖuṭba* in Baghdād and at a ceremonial audience in 449 he was addressed by the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile married a daughter of his brother Čaghri-Beg, as "King of the East and of the West". The suzerainty of the Seldjuḳ Sulṭān was recognised throughout the ʿIrāḳ, in Mawṣil and in Diyār-bakr. Under Alp Arslān the Seldjuḳ conquests reached to the Jaxartes and after the defeat of the Armenians and Byzantines almost the whole of Asia Minor passed to the Turks. Finally Syria was added and in 485 (1092) even ʿAdan and al-Yaman were conquered, although we can hardly talk of an effective rule of the Seldjuḳs in Arabia. Malik-Shāh's death in the same year, the quarrels for the throne among his sons which followed, and the Crusades put a limit to their conquests

As regards the conquered territories, in many cases the conquered rulers continued to rule and paid tribute, in Kirmān, and later also in Syria and Asia Minor, the princes who had conquered these lands set themselves up as independent rulers and did not trouble about the Great Seldjuḳs with whom they even waged war (see below). The same thing happened in other outlying parts of the empire, which the Sultāns, e g Alp Arslān in 458 (1066), bestowed on their brothers and other relatives as fiefs, with this difference that the latter did not succeed in founding dynasties. According to the Turkish view, the right to rule belonged to the whole family and the oldest member had a certain right as *primus inter pares* to the obedience of his male relatives, but in a family with so many ramifications as that of the Seldjuḳs, harmony could not long be maintained. Even in the reign of Ṭughrïl-Beg his nephew Ibrāhïm b. Ināl rebelled and if his brothers Čaghri-Beg and Paighū remained faithful to him this was probably because he had no sons. His successor had to fight with Ḳutulmïsh, son of Arslān and ancestor of the Seldjuḳs of Rūm It was the same in the reign of Malik-Shāh, and after his death the rather brief reign of Barkiyārūḳ was marked by continual fighting with his uncle Tutush and his brother Muḥammad. The empire of the Great Seldjuḳs therefore comprised strictly only the eastern provinces of the former territory of the Caliphs, with the exception of Kirmān. They had their residences in Iṣfahān, Baghdād, and under Sandjar, who handed over to his brother Muhammad's sons the rule over ʿIrāḳ, Fārs, Khuzistān and the western provinces, in Marw. The latter, the last of the Great Seldjuḳs, was more than once forced to use the sword to exert his authority as head of the family to settle disputes among his nephews; for the rest he was content with sovereignty over Khurāsān and the eastern frontier provinces. On his wars with the Ghaznawïds, the rulers of Transoxania, the Ghūrids and the Ghuzz see the article Sandjar, above. When he died childless in 552 (1157) the line of the Great Seldjuḳs came to an end.

For Islām the rise of the Seldjuks meant the victory of the Sunnī creed, as far as their power stretched, over the Shīʿa tendencies which had been gaining more and more ground under the

Būyids and Fāṭimids. The Būyids had, it is true, allowed the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to continue a nominal existence in Baghdād, but in 450 (1058) al-Basāsīrī [q.v.] had the name of the Fāṭimid caliph mentioned in the *khuṭba* in the ʿIrāḳ also. The ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim bi-Amr Allāh had to leave Baghdād, and his palace there was plundered for several days. Tughrïl-Beg, who at that time already was on intimate relations with the Caliph, was at this time engaged in his struggle with Ibrāhīm b. Ināl; as soon as the latter was taken prisoner and put to death, Ṭughrïl brought the Caliph back to Baghdād. In the following period, notably in the later years of Malik-Shāh, there was serious friction between the Caliph and the Sulṭān, but this did not have its roots in religious questions but was of a personal nature (cf. Houtsma, in the *Journal of Indian History*, iii. 147—160). The Seldjuḳs regarded the Caliph as such as the head of orthodox Islām whom they were called upon to defend with the sword. They took energetic steps against the dangerous activities of the Ismāʿīlīs and furthered the interests of Sunnī theologians, although in this respect it was not they themselves but their viziers, notably the great Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.], that are entitled to most credit. Personally they were anything but fanatical Muslims, as is evident from the release of Liparites above mentioned and later of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes and from the treatment accorded their Christian subjects. It is practically the same with the credit given to some of the Sultāns, e.g. Malik-Shāh, for their patronage of learning, although untutored, they were able to esteem what they themselves did not possess. They therefore entrusted the administration of their empire to their viziers, who sometimes, like Niẓām al-Mulk, governed with unlimited powers. In what spirit they did so, the latter himself has told us in his *Siyāsat-nāma*. As regards art, very little of the architecture of the Seldjuḳs has survived for posterity. Only in Marw are there still considerable remains from Sandjar's reign. Taken all in all, we must admit that the Seldjuḳ Sultāns were able to guide the rude Ghuzz people, whose chiefs they were, with great skill and with true insight to turn to their use the advantages of Arabo-Persian civilisation.

II. The Seldjuḳs of the ʿIrāḳ, 1118—1194. After the death of Muhammad in 511 (1118) his eldest son MAḤMŪD, a thirteen year old boy, succeeded him as Sultān of the whole empire with the exception of Khurāsān and the north-eastern frontier provinces, where, as already mentioned, Muḥammad's brother Sandjar ruled. After him the title of Sultān was borne by his son DĀʾŪD, 1131—1132, TUGHRÏL I — 1134 (according to al-Bundārī, *Recueil de textes* etc., ii. 172, wrongly, beginning of 528 = 1133), MAS'ŪD — 1152, MALIK-SHĀH II — 1153, MUḤAMMAD II — 1159, SULAIMĀN-SHĀH — 1161, ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1175 and ṬUGHRÏL II — 1194. Almost all these Sulṭāns ascended the throne while still boys and met with a premature, often violent, death. Of the majority of them, therefore, it can hardly be said that they actually ruled; they were simply tools in the hands of their Atabegs and Emīrs. In keeping with the old Turkish custom, the four sons of Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, Ṭughrïl, Mas'ūd and Sulaimān, were each brought up by a prominent Turkish Emīr, who acted as their second father and was therefore called Atabeg. The natural result was that each of these Atabegs endeavoured to gain the title of Sultān for the prince allotted to him in order thereby to increase his own prestige. The result was continual wars between these brothers, which were decided for a short time by the intervention of Sandjar in favour of one or other of the claimants. For the details of these wars the reader is referred to the separate articles; here we will only point out that the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs also became involved and that two of them, al-Mustarshid [q.v.] and al-Rāshid [q.v.], perished in them. This happened in the reign of the valiant Sultān Mas'ūd, but his successor Muhammad II — Malik-Shāh II only bore the title of Sultān for three months — had to abandon the siege of Baghdād in 551 (1157). The power of the Caliphs began to rise again after this and the Seldjuḳ Sultān no longer lived in Baghdād but in Hamadhān. As a rule these Sultāns, from as early as Maḥmūd, were only nominal rulers. The great Turkish Emīrs held most of the provinces as military fiefs, the Sultāns lacked the money as well as the necessary troops to enforce their authority, if their Atabegs for the time did not assist them. To the latter also they entrusted war with foreign foes e.g. with the Crusaders in Syria, they themselves had continually to contend with enemies at home. Some of these Emīrs succeeded in founding a hereditary dynasty and making themselves independent with the title Atabeg, Shāh or Malik. Among the latter we may reckon the Urtuḳids in Mardīn and Hisn Kaifa and the Armanshāhs in Khilāt, who had already succeeded in doing so in the preceding period, and among the former the Zangids in al-Mawṣil and other places, the Salgharids in Fārs and the Atabegs of Ādharbaidjān. The first of these Atabegs, Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz [q.v.], married the widow of Tughrïl I and when Sulaimān Shāh died in 1161 had his stepson Arslān b. Tughrïl proclaimed Sultān, but without affording him any authority. When he later threatened to become dangerous, Pahlawān, son of Ildegiz, had him disposed of by poisoning him and raised his minor son Tughrïl II to the throne (571 = 1175). When the latter had grown up and Pahlawān was dead, he endeavoured to enforce his authority but was not a match for Kïzïl Arslān, the successor of Pahlawān, although he defeated the troops of the latter's ally, the Caliph, at Dāmarg in 584 (1188). He was taken prisoner by Kïzïl Arslān after whose death he was restored to liberty, but fell shortly afterwards in a fight with the troops of the Khʷārizm Shāh Takash (590 = 1194).

III. The Seldjuḳs of Kirmān, 1041—1186. The ancestor and founder of their line was ḲĀWURD ḲARA ARSLĀN-BEG, a son of Čaghrï-Beg who went to Kirmān with his Ghuzz about 433 (1041) and a few years later (440 = 1048/49) occupied the capital Bardasïr. He then waged further wars on his own account with the Shabānkārs, with the Ḳufs in the Garmsïr (the hot coast region) and even became lord of ʿOmān without troubling much about Tughrïl-Beg. When the latter's brother Alp Arslān succeeded to the throne Kāwurd made an attempt (459 = 1067) to pose as an independent chief, but submitted when Alp Arslān hurried in person to Kirmān to force him to obedience. On Alp Arslān's death he thought, presumably as the oldest member of the family, that he had himself a claim to the Seldjuḳ throne, and led his army against Malik-Shāh but suffered a terrible defeat in the vicinity of Hamadhān where he was taken prisoner and

afterwards strangled (466 = 1074). The victor then in his turn marched on Bardasīr where first Kirmān-shāh and later Sulṭān-Shāh, the sons of Ḳāwurd, had assumed the reins of government *ad interim*, but withdrew when the latter showed himself submissive and left him in possession of his father's dominions. Sulṭān-Shāh reigned till 477 (1084) and was followed by TŪRĀN-SHĀH — 1097, IRĀN SHĀH — 1100 (1101), ARSLĀN-SHĀH — 1142, MUHAMMAD — 1156, ṬUGHRIL-SHĀH — 1169, BAHRĀM-SHĀH and ARSLĀN-SHĀH II — 1176, TŪRĀN SHĀH II — 1183, MUḤAMMAD-SHĀH — 1186 The end of the dynasty was brought about by the arrival of a body of Ghuzz, the Ghuzz after the defeat of Sandjar had fallen like a devastating deluge on the provinces of Persia and went wherever the weakness of authority seemed to offer them a chance of gaining rich booty. In Kirmān, where anarchy was practically complete under the last Seldjuks, they had an easy task, routed Tūrān-Shāh who marched against them and went plundering up and down the country When the latter was murdered his successor Muḥammad-Shāh soon found himself forced to leave the country to seek help from neighbouring princes, which was, however, not granted him. A Ghuzz prince, known by the name of Malik Dīnār, then became lord of Kirmān.

IV. The Seldjuks of Syria, 1078—1117.

After the Marwānid Nasr of Ḥalab in 463 (1070/71) had submitted to Alp Arslān, a body of Turkomans under Atsīz b Abaḳ (or Awak) invaded Palestine, captured Ramla and Jerusalem and the rest of Judaea with the exception of ᶜAskalān, where the Fāṭimids held out He then turned his attention to Damascus which he was, however, not able to take till 468 (1076) An attempt made by him to conquer Egypt in the following year failed, he was routed by the Fāṭimid general Badr al-Djamālī [q. v] and was next so hard pressed in Syria that he appealed for help to Tutush b Alp Arslān, who came to Syria in 470 and Damascus was handed over to him (471 = 1078). Tutush then treacherously murdered Atsīz and became lord of the town himself An attempt to take Ḥalab failed, the then lord of this city, the ᶜUḳailid Muslim b Ḳuraish [q.v], even attacked him in Damascus (475 = 1082), and when the latter had fallen in battle with the Seldjuk of Asia Minor, Sulaimān [q v] (478 = 1085), Malik-Shāh himself hastened to Ḥalab and installed Aksonḳor, the ancestor of the Zangids there, as governor, to the great vexation of Tutush who had in the meanwhile disposed of his rival for the possession of the town, Sulaimān, in an encounter at ᶜAin Salm (Sailam?), not far from Ḥalab (479 = 1086), where the latter met his death It was only the death of Malik-Shāh (485=1092) that enabled him to gratify his ambition, to make great conquests and to set up as a claimant to the sultānate against his nephew Baikiyāruḳ [q.v.], till he finally was defeated in 488 (1095) and fell on the battlefield For details see the article TUTUSH. His son Riḍwān [q.v.] then became lord of Ḥalab and another son, Duḳāḳ (the statement in Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Popper, ii. 344, that he was Duḳmāḳ is wrong), of Damascus The latter died soon after in 497 (1104) but the real power lay in the hands of his Atabeg, Tughtegin [q. v.], who next had the *ḵhuṭba* read for a short time in the name of an infant, then for a brother of Duḳāḳ, named Artāsh (in Ibn al-Athīr called Begtāsh), then made himself independent and founded the Būrid [q.v.] dynasty Riḍwān of Ḥalab died in 507 (1114); he was followed by his son Alp Arslān who was soon afterwards murdered by his servant Lu'lu'. The latter then had his brother Sulṭān-Shāh proclaimed Sultān but was himself murdered in 511 (1117). The inhabitants then handed over the town to Ilghāzī [q.v.] and Seldjuk rule came to an end.

V. The Seldjuks of Asia Minor (al-Rūm), 1077—1302.

The ancestor and founder of this dynasty was SULAIMĀN B. ḲUTULMĪSH B. ARSLĀN (Isrā'īl) B. SELDJUḲ His father Ḳutulmīsh was one of the Seldjuk paladins under Tughril-Beg but later rebelled against Alp Arslān, and in the end fell on the battlefield near al-Raiy (456=1064). Sulaimān himself came to Asia Minor after the great battle of Malāzkird (1071) (in which the Byzantines suffered a terrible defeat and their emperor was taken prisoner), like so many other Turkish emīrs, with the intention of making new conquests there and founding a kingdom Being a prince of the ruling family he was successful in his aim and we therefore find him prince of Nicaea about 1077 when the fighting for the Byzantine throne seemed to give him a fine opportunity to play a prominent part. When this hope was thwarted by the accession of Alexius Comnenus, he turned eastwards, took the town of Antākiya from the Armenian Philaretus (477=1085), was thereby brought into conflict with Muslim b Ḳuraish [q.v], and, after the conquest and death of the latter, with Tutush, which brought about his death in the following year (1086) These events caused Malik-Shāh to make the journey to Ḥalab to arrange matters there and elsewhere, e g in Antākiya and Edessa Sulaimān's son, Ḳilīdj Arslān, was taken back by him on his return, and only returned in the reign of Barkiyāruḳ after Malik-Shāh's death to Asia Minor. We have only scanty information in Arabic sources regarding events in the interval in Asia Minor, so that we have to rely on Byzantine, Syrian and Armenian originals. We cannot go into these here, nor is this the place to deal with the history of Ḳilīdj Arslān and his successors, the reader is referred to the separate articles. Here we give only their names and lengths of reign ḲILĪDJ ARSLĀN I — 1107, MALIK-SHĀH and MAS'ŪD — 1155, ḲILĪDJ ARSLĀN II — 1192 (Interregnum, see below), RUKN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN II — 1204; ḲILĪDJ ARSLĀN III and GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN KAIKHUSRAW I — 1210, ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN KAIKĀ'ŪS I — 1219, ᶜALĀ' AL-DĪN KAIḲOBĀD — 1237, ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN KAIKHUSRAW II — 1245, ᶜIZZ AL-DĪN KAIKĀ'ŪS II (for several years [see the article] with his two brothers) — 1256, RUKN AL-DĪN ḲILĪDJ ARSLĀN IV — 1266, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN KAIKHUSRAW III — 1284, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN MAS'ŪD II and 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN KAIḲOBĀD III down to the year 702 (1302).

The kingdom of these Seldjuks underwent many vicissitudes of fortune. More than once its fall seemed imminent, but it revived again until finally it sank into insignificance with the Mongol invasion and collapsed altogether. Sulaimān's capital, Nicaea, was lost in the First Crusade in 1097 and never belonged to the Seldjuks again and with this ended Turkish rule in the whole of western Asia Minor, as the Byzantines under the Comneni again brought this region under their sway and were able to retain it throughout the period of the Seldjuks. In the south-east the Seldjuks were cut off from the rest of the Muslim world by the Christian

principalities of Antākiya and Edessa, which had recently arisen, and by the rise of the kingdom of Little Armenia. Practically only the interior of Asia Minor was left to them and even there they were not the only rulers, as they had dangerous rivals in the Dānishmandids [q. v.]. Ḳïlïdj Arslān's thrust towards al-Mawṣil came to an inglorious end with his premature death. It was his son Masʿūd who first succeeded in founding a securely established dominion in Ḳonya, after overcoming his brothers, and gradually extending his power. His successor Ḳïlïdj Arslān II continued his work and forced the Dānishmandids to submit to his rule, although the powerful Nūr al-Dīn took up their cause. He was also not unsuccessful in his wars with the Byzantines and succeeded in inflicting a severe reverse on the Emperor Manuel in the vicinity of Myriokephalon (the pass of Čardak) (572 = 1176) But when he grew old, he became a pawn in the hands of his numerous sons, each of whom ruled a territory of his own; in addition, the Crusaders invaded his lands and even captured the capital Ḳonya (1190). He died soon after this in 1192 while with his youngest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw and left his kingdom in a state of complete anarchy, as his sons were fighting among themselves In the end one of them, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān, lord of Tokat, succeeded in overcoming his other brothers and taking Erzerūm from the Soltukids He then granted this town to his brother Tughrïl-Shāh, who ruled there till his death in 1225 as an independent ruler and had coins struck in his own name there His son Djahān-Shāh was, however, dethroned by Kaiḳobād I during the war with the Khʷārizm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn and his kingdom incorporated in the victor's. After an unsuccessful war with the Georgians Rukn al-Dīn died and his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who after many wanderings had found a refuge with the Byzantines, ascended the throne This happened about the time that the Latin kingdom was being founded in Byzantium and this gave him a fine opportunity to extend the power of the Seldjuḳs In 1207 he seized the important harbour of Antalia and his successor ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaikāʾus also took Sinope. The Turkish empire was thus opened to world trade relations were established with the Italian merchant republics; the export of the valuable products of the district and the through-commerce with Little Armenia assumed great proportions and "Turkey" at that time became considered the richest land in the world. The Greek princes of Nicaea and Trebizond and the kings of Little Armenia in Cilicia pledged themselves to pay tribute either voluntarily or under compulsion. The Ortuḳids and Aiyūbids in the border cities of the south-east frontier recognised the suzerainty of the Seldjuḳs on their coins and in the *ḵhuṭba*. The Sulṭāns and their great emīrs vied with one another in the erection of splendid buildings, mosques and madrasas, bridges and caravanserāis. In brief, the Seldjuḳ kingdom passed through a period of glory such as had not been seen in Asia Minor for centuries; but the picture was not without its other side. The luxurious life of the rulers made them weak and effeminate and aroused the indignation of the lower classes and of the devout. Even Kaikāʾus I and Kaiḳobād I, although they were able rulers, had to rely in their military enterprises on foreign, Greek, Armenian and Arab, mercenaries; this became still more the case when the worthless Kaikhusraw II ascended the throne (1237). In the meanwhile the Mongol deluge had reached the frontiers of Asia Minor. Erzerūm, the frontier fortress, fell before their onslaught and soon afterwards the Turkish army suffered an ignominious defeat at Kozādagh (1243). The future of the kingdom was thereby decided. It is true that a peace was concluded and the Sulṭān granted an appearance of independence on payment of a huge tribute, but the wealth of the land continually stimulated the covetousness of the Mongols and incited them to new raids, pretexts for which were given by the struggles for the throne among the sons of Kaikhusraw. In the end, in the reign of Hūlāgū, a partition of the kingdom was drawn up whereby ʿIzz al-Dīn was to rule on the one and Rukn al-Dīn on the other side of the Ḳïzïl Irmaḳ, but when the former entered into secret negotiations with the arch-enemies of the Mongols, the Egyptian Mamlūks, an end was soon put to his rule and he had to seek a refuge in Byzantium. Rukn al-Dīn henceforth ruled alone but the real power was exerted by Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaimān with the title of Parwāna, as agent for the Mongols, and when Rukn al-Dīn became inconvenient to him he had him put out of the way in 1266 so that he might rule all the more unchecked in the name of Rukn al-Dīn's infant son Ghiyāth al-Dīn. In the meanwhile the Turks began to rise against the Mongols in Laranda and elsewhere. A number of Turkish Begs therefore appealed to the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baibars [q v] and proposed that he should send an expedition into Asia Minor, where he would find the whole population on his side, if only the Mongol troops stationed in the country had once been defeated. Baibars agreed, defeated the Mongols in the bloody battle of Albistān and advanced as far as Ḳaisarïya (1277) But the Parwāna and the Sultān held aloof and the people did not move so that Baibars was forced by lack of supplies to retire again and leave things as they had been before. Soon afterwards Abaka appeared in Asia Minor and took fearful vengeance on the Turks, who, as he thought, had conspired with the Egyptians. The Parwāna also had to pay for his inactivity with his life The Mongol regime now became stricter. Mongol financial officials settled the taxation which for the most part was used to maintain the troops stationed in the country. The Seldjuḳ Sultāns, whose names appeared on the coins down to 702 (1302), had no longer any authority worth mentioning. The turbulent Turkish emīrs, among whom the Banū Ḳaramān and the Banū Ashrāf played the most prominent part, were more than once brought to periods of obedience by ruthless punitive expeditions led by the Mongol princes Kungḳaratai and Gaikhātū, only to come again from their retreats and found independent emīrates when Mongol sovereignty finally diminished in power. In this way there arose on the ruins of the Seldjuḳ empire a dozen Turkoman dynasties, on which see the separate articles. The last descendants of the Seldjuḳ family of whom we have historical notice are found in Sinope and perhaps in Alaya. The Ḳïlïdj Arslān b. Luṭfïbeg, who had to yield in 876 (1471—1472) to the Ottoman general Gedik Aḥmed Pasha, was deported with his whole family to Stambul and had Gümüldjina allotted to him by the Sulṭān as *timār* [q. v.] but afterwards fled to Egypt, presumably belonged to the old family of rulers.

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SELEBES. [See CELEBES]

SELEFKE, the ancient Σελεύκια, Seleucia Trachaea or Ciliciae, a small town, capital of the sandjak of Iç-il in the province of Adana. It was built by Seleucus Nicator towards 300 B. C. The river Gok-Sū (Calycadnus) runs past it, about 10 miles from its mouth. In it is a reservoir called *Tekfūr Anbārī*, "the Emperor's storehouse", hewn out of the rock and covered by a vaulted roof, it is a great cistern carved out of the rock, 30 cubits broad and deep and 60 long; the aqueduct which brought the water to it has been destroyed. There are numerous ancient ruins and a mosque dating from the Arab epoch, the town was actually conquered by al-Maʾmūn but soon afterwards evacuated. There is a Byzantine castle on the mountain (xith century) The town is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 119, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ii. 44, under the name Salaghūs

The district, for the most part mountainous, contains 3 *nāḥiya*: Bulādja, Yāghda and Āyāsh; in the *Sāl-nāme* of 1325, p. 816, Yāghda is given as the capital of Iç-il and its district has now only two *nāḥiya*, the number of its inhabitants is 24,860 of whom 1032 are Christians. The exports are the abundant agricultural produce; coarse carpets and sacks are manufactured there. The people in the hills rear cattle and those on the plains are farmers. The district at one time belonged to Cyprus and was administered like the islands of the archipelago by the Ḳapudan-Pasha (Grand Admiral) [q. v.].

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SELĪM I, ninth sultān of the Ottoman Empire, known in history as Yawuz Sulṭān Selīm, reigned 918—926 (= 1512—1520) He was one of the sons of Bāyazīd II, born in 872 (= 1467/68) or 875 (= 1470/71) (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, I 38) Towards the end of his father's reign, he was governor of the sandjaḳ of Trebizond. Although his brother Ahmed, older than he but younger than prince Ḳorḳud, had been designated his successor by Bāyazīd, Selīm also cherished designs on the throne, knowing that he had the support of the greater part of the army Civil war finally broke out between the two brothers as a result of the nomination of Selīm's son Suleimān as governor of Boli Ahmed protested and the sandjaḳ of Kaffa in the Crimea was then given to Suleimān Selīm soon afterwards (1510) went to join his son in Kaffa and refusing to obey Bāyazīd, who had ordered him to return to Trebizond, he went to Adrianople in March, 1511, with a body of Tatar troops. He then asked for a sandjaḳ in Rūm-ili Only after the Sultān had made up his mind to send troops against his son, did Selīm consent to retire, after receiving the sandjaḳ of Semendere as a result of negotiations conducted through the mediation of Mewlānā Nūr al-Dīn Sarïkurz [q. v.] But he soon took the field again, giving as a pretext the rebellion of Shāh Ḳuli or Shaitān Kuli [q v] in Asia Minor This time he was defeated on August 3 near Čorlu by his father's troops and again sought refuge in the Crimea with his father-in-law, Khān Mengli Girāy But the Janissaries in the capital were in favour of Selīm, they forced prince Ahmed, who had advanced against Constantinople, to retreat (August 21) The attempts of Ahmed and Ḳorkud to profit by the absence of their brother only increased the latter's popularity Selīm therefore left the Crimea in January, 1512, and reached Constantinople in April, where the Janissaries had openly declared for him. Bāyazīd in vain attempted to open negotiations He was dethroned on Safar 8, 918 (April 25, 1512), by a great mob of Selīm's partisans and died a month later on the way to Demotika (see the art. BĀYAZĪD II)

Selīm employed the first year of his reign in exterminating his brothers and nephews By July, 1512, he had set out against Ahmed and his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who had taken Brussa, he put them to flight, but did not capture them. Ahmed entrenched himself in Amasia An attempt by Selim to take him by surprise there failed, probably through the treachery of the Grand Vizier, Mustafā Pasha [q v] The latter in any case was executed and replaced by Hersek Aḥmed Pasha On November 27, five nephews of the sultān were executed at Brussa, sons of his deceased brothers Mahmūd, ʿĀlam-shāh and Shāhin-shāh In the end Ḳorḳud, who had fled to the sandjak of Teke, was captured and put to death. The same fate overtook Aḥmed, who, after several successes, was finally defeated and captured on the plain of Yeñi Shehir (April 24, 1513)

Peaceful relations with Venice, Hungary and Russia were maintained as a result of negotiations conducted by the embassies which these powers had sent to Constantinople and Adrianople The warlike spirit of Selīm found an outlet in the east, where Shāh Ismāʿīl [q. v.] had founded the powerful empire of the Shiʿī Ṣafawids Ismāʿīl had supported the cause of prince Aḥmed and had given asylum to the latter's son Murād. Ismāʿīl, moreover, had many partisans in the Shiʿa element in Asia Minor. His own dynasty owed its success to the Ḳïzïl-bash of Anatolia, who had rebelled only recently under Shāh-Ḳuli against Sulṭān Bāyazīd Selīm, urged either by hatred of Ismāʿīl or by his zeal for orthodoxy, began a systematic persecution of the Shiʿis in his empire The total number killed or imprisoned was forty thousand, according to all the Turkish sources. War was inevitable after this. On March 20, 1514, the Sultān left Adrianople and a month after the whole army met on the plain of Yeñi Shehir. During this time Selim had begun with a declaration of war his celebrated correspondence with Shāh Ismāʿīl in a series of letters written in an elegant style and insulting and provocative in their contents (see the *Munsha'āt* of Feridūn Bey, I. 374 *sqq.*), which often resulted in the immediate slaughter of their bearers At the same time he had turned to ʿUbaid Khān, prince of the Uzbeks, to incite him to war against the Shāh The Turkish army marched by Konya, Kaisarïye (where ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla of the Dhu 'l-Kadr dynasty showed little enthusiasm to assist the expedition) and Siwās, while the fleet went to Trebizond with the commissariat After Erzindjān the Janissaries began to murmur at the length of the campaign, but Selīm restored his authority with a few executions The Shāh's army was not met till the plain of Čaldïrān [q. v] between Lake Urmiya and Tabrīz. Here on Radjab 2, 920 (August 23, 1514), the Persian army was utterly routed by the Ottoman, mainly through the latter's superiority in artillery Ismāʿīl fled, leaving the whole of his harem in the hands of the victor On September 5, Selīm entered Tabrīz. He left it by the 13th, carrying off vast treasures and several hundred artisans, to spend the winter at Kara-Bāgh, but the opposition of the Janissaries forced him to resume the road to Anatolia He went via Kars and Baiburt, where Bïyïklï Muhammad Bey had been left with a force Selīm himself went into winter quarters at Amasia; the Janissaries, who had begun to mutiny once more owing to the shortage of food, were sent to Constantinople. These disorders resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier and the raising to the office of Khādim Sinān Pasha, Beylerbey of Anatolia (October, 1514) During the same year the Sandjaḳ-Bey of Semendere had driven back a Hungarian invasion near Belgrade

The year 1515 was marked by the conquest of eastern Anatolia and Kurdistān Selīm, who had assumed the title of Shāh after his victory (according to the coins), went in person to Kumakh or Kemākh [q v] which he took in May and then returned to Sīwās From here he sent the new Grand Vizier against the aged ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, lord of the Dhu 'l-Kadr [q v.]. Selīm had previously, in the autumn of 1514, invested ʿAlī Beg, nephew of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, with the sandjaḳ of Ḳaisarïye and ʿAlī had defeated and killed Sulaimān, son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla. On June 12, 1515, Sinān Pasha defeated the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr army in the plain of Goksun. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was killed and his four sons captured and executed. The conquest of the land of the Dhu'l-Ḳadr, including the fortresses of Albistān and Marʿash. was one of the causes of the war with the Sultān of Egypt, who had been recognised as suzerain of this dynasty. Selīm then returned to Constantinople, which he reached on

July 17; there he had executed several high officials accused of having incited the rebellion of the Janissaries, including the Ḳāḍī ʿAsker and the poet Ǧaʿfar Čelebi [q. v.] In August a great fire destroyed a part of the capital and was followed by more executions

After the battle of Čaldīrān, the Begs of Kurdistān [q. v.], the population of which was for the most part Sunnī, declared for Selīm, the inhabitants of Diyār Bakr and other towns had opened their gates to the Turks, but the citadels of several towns (e. g Mārdīn) were still occupied by Persian garrisons. Bīyīklī Muḥammad, who had been appointed Beylerbey of Diyār Bakr, had been given military control of the country and the historian Idrīs Bitlisī, himself a Kurd, had been appointed to assist him as high commissioner for civil administration In the beginning of 1515, however, the Persian general Kara Khān, brother of the former governor of Diyār Bakr, Ustādjlı Oghlū killed at Čaldīrān, was sent to reconquer the country He besieged Diyār Bakr, but was forced by Bīyīklī Muhammad to raise the siege in October, 1515. At the beginning of 1516, Kara Khān was defeated a second time near Koč Hisār between ʿUrfa and Nisibin by Muhammad and the Kurdish Begs, a battle in which Kara Khān himself was killed. In this way the towns of Kharpūt, Maiyāfāriḳīn, Bitlis, Hisn Kaifa, Diyār Bakr, ʿUrfa, Mārdīn, Djazīra and the lands farther south as far as Rakka and Mawsil fell into Ottoman hands, the conquest being completed in the reign of Suleimān I

In the capital, Selīm had been busy with the construction of a new fleet and arsenal under the direction of Pīrī Pasha, while he had reorganised the corps of Janissaries so as to secure a more effective control over the higher ranks of this turbulent soldiery. These were the preparations for a new expedition against Persia The Sultān left Constantinople on June 5, 1516, and went first to Konya, Sinān Pasha, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, was awaiting him in Albistān In the meanwhile, the Sulṭān of Egypt, Kānsūh al-Ghūrī [q v.], disturbed by Selīm's annexation of the lands of the Dhu 'l-Kadr, had left his capital on May 18 with a large army with the object of supporting Shāh Ismāʿīl and retaking Marʿash Selīm, having learned of the arrival of Kānsūh at Aleppo (August, 1516), was the first to send ambassadors The latter were not at first well received, but returned with an offer of mediation in the war with Ismāʿīl Selim did not accept the proposal; on the contrary, he sent back with contumely an envoy of the Sultān of Egypt after executing his companions. In the end Selīm set off via ʿAintāb, capturing towns like Malaṭiya on his line of march He met the Egyptian army on the field of Dābik [q. v], north of Aleppo. On August 24 (on the date see *Islām*, vi 389, note 4) the Egyptians were completely routed in a short battle; their defeat was due to dissensions among their troops and to the superiority of the Ottoman artillery Ḳānsūh himself fell either in or after the battle. Yūnus Pasha had been sent by Selīm against Khāʾir Beg, governor (*mahk al-umarāʾ*) of Aleppo; the latter surrendered the town to the Ottomans without striking a blow. Selīm encamped for eighteen days on the Kok Maidān, near Aleppo, and then resumed his march via Hamā and Ḥims to Damascus, which the Mamlūk Begs had abandoned on September 22. Damascus was surrendered by negotiation with the traitor Khāʾir Beg and he occupied the town on the 26th Selīm stayed about two months here and ordered among other edifices a mosque to be built over the tomb of Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī. On October 22, the Mamlūks in Cairo had chosen their new Sulṭān, Ṭūmān Bāi. Selīm sent him two envoys to offer him peace on condition that the Sultān of Egypt recognised Ottoman suzerainty. The two ambassadors were put to death, much against the wish of Tūmān Bāi, which rendered inevitable the continuation of the war. The Egyptian army left Cairo towards the end of October, under the command of Djānberdi Ghazālī. They met the Ottoman vanguard under Sinān Pasha near Ghazzā and were defeated Selīm had left Damascus in December, before rejoining the army at Ghazzā, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The decisive battle was fought on January 22, 1517, at Rīdānīya near Cairo, after the Ottoman army had crossed the desert in thirteen days. The defeat which the Egyptians suffered there is attributed to the treachery of Djānberdi Ghazālī, acting in arrangement with Khāʾir Beg, who was in Selīm's army; they are said by a ruse to have immobilised the Egyptian artillery, which was served by Europeans. The two Sultāns took part in the battle in person. Tūmān Bāi slew the Grand Vizier Sinān, believing he was Selīm. Sinān's office was filled by the appointment of Yūnus Pasha. By the battle of Rīdānīya, the fate of Cairo was decided; although Tūmān Bāi succeeded in regaining the city five days later he was driven from it on January 30, after desperate and bloody fighting in the streets followed by the execution of eight hundred Mamlūk Begs and a general massacre. After the definite occupation of Cairo, Selīm, who had pitched his camp on the island of Būlāk, continued the war with Ṭūmān Bāi. The latter had retired to the Delta and endeavoured to resist with the help of the Bedouins But after another defeat at Djīza, his allies betrayed him and handed him over to the Turks. Selīm at first treated him with consideration, but in the end yielded to the pressure of Khāʾir Beg and Ghazālī and ordered his execution on April 12 or 13 (cf. the article TŪMĀN BĀI)

Selīm, being recognised as undisputed master of Egypt, remained a month in Cairo Among the numerous embassies which came to pay him homage, one of the most important was that of the Sharīf of Mekka, Barakāt, who sent a deputation led by his own son, Abū Numaiy Muḥammad, then aged twelve, which was received by the Sultān towards the end of May The Sharīf, who had not much reason to speak highly of the Mamlūk Sultāns, readily submitted to the Ottoman Sulṭān, who had already, during his stay in Damascus, showed his solicitude for the holy places Barakāt declared himself ready to insert the name of Selīm in the *khuṭba*. Abū Numaiy returned with rich gifts and in December following (Dhu 'l-Hidjdja, 923) the pilgrim caravan (*ṣurre-i humāyūn*), sent by Selīm from Damascus, carried for the first time a covering for the Kaʿba as a gift from the Ottoman Sultān From this time onwards the Ottoman Sulṭāns bore the title of Khādim al-Ḥaramain al-Sharīfain which has given them such a great prestige in the Muslim and Christian world. Selīm, however, in spite of his solicitude for the sacred places, took care to take with him to Constantinople as hostages several Ḥidjāz notables resident in Cairo.

Another important delegation consisted of the two ambassadors from Venice, who came to negotiate regarding the payment of the tribute for the island of Cyprus hitherto paid to the Sulṭān of Egypt. They had, besides, to defend their city from the charge of having assisted the Egyptians against the Ottomans. Their ancient privileges were confirmed by a document of September 8, 1517. There is, however, in existence an Arabic document by which Selīm confirmed as early as February 16, 1517, to the Venetian consul in Alexandria the privileges enjoyed by the Venetians (B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultans Selim I für die Venetianer*, in the *Festschrift Sachau*, p 422 *sqq*)

Among the monuments of Cairo, Selīm paid most attention to the Nilometer, the *mikyās* on the island of Rawda (cf. the article CAIRO, § 4) He had a pavilion built there which was his favourite abode during his stay in Cairo Towards the end of May, he undertook a journey to Alexandria to visit his fleet which had arrived there under Pīrī Pasha, and returned to Cairo on June 12 to remain another three months there. He left the city on September 10, leaving Khā'ir Beg as governor of Egypt (but he had sent his harem and children as hostages to Filibe) and arrived in Damascus on October 8 The main reason for his return was the discontent in the army. He left Egypt without having been able to do much reorganisation there during his stay Although, according to the Ottoman historians, "true justice" was introduced there (Rustem Pasha), the numerous abuses had not been diminished, Idrīs Bitlisī, who had dared to call the Sultān's attention to them, was sent back with the fleet. Yūnus Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, was no more pleased with the expedition, the Sultān had already removed him from the governorship of Egypt, then Khā'ir Beg aroused the Sulṭān's suspicions of him, which led to his sudden execution on September 19 in the desert near Ghazzā His successor was Pīrī Pasha. Selīm spent the winter in Damascus and resumed his journey in February, 1518, having appointed Djānberdi Ghazālī governor of Syria. He spent a further two months in Aleppo, from where Pīrī Pasha made an expedition against the Kīzīl Bash, and returned to Constantinople on July 25 and went on to Adrianople on August 4 His son Suleimān, who had taken his place in his absence, was sent as governor to Sarukhān.

Among the notable personages whom Selīm had sent as Egyptian hostages to the capital was al-Mutawakkil, the last of the "'Abbāsid" Caliphs at the court of the Mamlūks in Cairo. He had accompanied Ḳānṣūh to Aleppo along with three of the chief Kādīs of Egypt and was made prisoner after the battle of Dābiḳ. Treated with great consideration by Selīm, he accompanied the latter to Egypt, where during his absence his place had been taken by his father and predecessor at the investiture of Ṭūmān Bāi. Selīm had endeavoured on several occasions to make use of the authority of the Caliph in his negotiations with Ṭūmān Bāi, but without success In June, 1517, al-Mutawakkil had to leave Cairo and seems to have been sent by sea to Constantinople. Here his conduct is said to have decided the Sulṭān to imprison him in the castle of Yedi Ḳule, where he remained till the death of Selīm, after which he returned to Cairo at some time not now exactly known. These details regarding the Caliph al-Mutawakkil are only given by the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, who probably much exaggerates the part played by him in the Egyptian campaign, while the Ottoman chroniclers do not say a single word about him It may be concluded from this that the importance of the "'Abbāsid" caliphate and Caliph had become infinitesimal by the time of Selīm I and existed practically only for theologians. These early and almost contemporary sources in no case guarantee the authenticity of the tradition which appeared two and a half centuries later, according to which al-Mutawakkil formally renounced the caliphate in favour of Selīm. It seems that this story was first given in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788, i 232 and 270. It is afterwards found in several Ottoman historians and thus became an article of general belief in Turkey. It is obvious that this story is intended to justify the claim of the Ottoman sultāns to the caliphate, but it is unnecessary to assume that d'Ohsson invented it, as Barthold thinks, for the tradition seems in every way worthy of the great conqueror and may have been originated by the Turks themselves. Selīm in any case had been called caliph even before the conquest of Egypt; the historians say on several occasions that the *khutba* of the caliphate was pronounced in his name in different places Cf. also the article KHALĪFA.

Selīm's successes made a deep impression on the Christian world. The Pope Leo endeavoured to enlist the Emperor and the kings of France and England in common action against the Turks. But Selīm's relations with Europe remained peaceful during the next few years, the truce with Hungary was continued and a Spanish envoy obtained the confirmation of the privileges of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Sultān also recognised the new Khān of the Crimea, his brother-in-law Muhammad Girāy, son of Mengli Girāy. The Grand Vizier was sent to the eastern frontier to defend the empire against the Persians. During this time two new Shī'a risings had to be put down, that of Ibn Hanush in Syria in 1517, which was suppressed by the governor Ghazālī and the Begs of Tripolis and Hamā, and that of a certain Shāh Welī (according to Lutfī Pasha) at Terkhal near Tokat. He and his followers are called Djelālī, a name found in several Shī'a risings, e g that of Ḳara Yazîdjî [q v]. Ferhād Pasha was sent against this Djelālī, but it was 'Alī Shehsuwār-Oghlu, who had been appointed in 1516 governor of the country of Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, who finally defeated and slew him in 1518.

In 1519 Selīm left Adrianople for Constantinople, where the equipment of a great fleet was begun, intended for the conquest of the island of Rhodes, but before the preparations were finished he died suddenly on Shawwāl 7, 926 (September 20, 520). He was on the way from the capital to Adrianople when an illness, signs of which had shown themselves a few days before (an ulceration called *shīr pendje*, according to others it was cancer) forced him to stop near Čorlu; the father of the historian Sa'd al-Dīn, Ḥasan Djān, was present at his death-bed. His death was kept secret by the viziers until the new Sulṭān Suleimān reached Constantinople The body was buried on the hill on the north-west side of Stambul; Suleimān had the mosque of Selīm I built there, to which the *turbe* was joined, it was completed in Muḥarram, 929. The *turbe* also covers the tombs of the mother

of Selīm, of several of his daughters and of several princes (Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusaın al-Aiwanserāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḏjawāmiᶜ*, ı. 14 *sqq.*).

The personality of Selīm I dominates all the great events of his reign. His unrelenting severity and the numerous executions which he ordered earned him the name of Yawuz, expressing at once horror and admiration. It is the latter sentiment that has prevailed regarding him A whole series of histories are devoted specially to him with the title of *Selīm-nāme* (see *Gesch. d. osm. Reiches*, vol. ii, p. vii). Selīm I has been made a national hero (one of the two German warships which the Turks acquired in 1914 was baptised Yawuz Sulṭān Selīm). Just as his vast conquests of Muslim lands have given rise to the tradition of the transfer of the caliphate, so there has been attributed to him the deliberate pan-Islāmic idea of reuniting all the lands of Islām under his sceptre and in this way an attempt has been made to excuse his apparent cruelty (cf., for example, the pamphlet *Yawuz Sulṭān Selīm we-Ittiḥād-ı Islām Siyāseti* by Yūsuf Kenᶜān, printed at Constantinople n d, but since the revolution). In reality the conquered lands had at the beginning of the sixteenth century just entered on a period of decline and depopulation as a result of the change by the Portuguese of the trade route with the Indies The conquests were nevertheless of enormous importance for the religious and political orientation of the Turkish empire, which henceforth became the great Sunnī power in opposition to Shīᶜī Persia (cf e. g the *kasīda* addressed to him by the poet Khwādja Iṣfahānī in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p 78). It is also from this time that Persian Shīᶜa influence in Turkey definitely gives way to Arab Sunnī influence (Babinger, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvi. 143). The Ottomans, besides, imposed several of their manners and customs on the conquered, such as the practice of shaving the beard (Selīm is always represented beardless) and the style of dress and mode of dressing the hair, without, however, exerting a greater influence for the moment on the civilisation of Syria and Egypt.

Selim is equally celebrated as a poet. His *Dīwān* is entirely in Persian and was printed in Constantinople in 1306 It was again published in Berlin in 1904 by Paul Horn, by order of the Emperor Wilhelm II. Only a single one of the verses in Turkish attributed to him is regarded as authentic (*Tedhkire-ı Latīfī*, Constantinople 1314, p. 57 *sqq*). From his early days in Trebizond, Selīm was fond of the society of poets; among the better known of these are Djaᶜfar Čelebi, whom he made marry the wife of Shāh Ismāᶜīl, taken prisoner in the battle of Čaldīrān, and whom he had executed in 1515 (cf. above), Āhī and Rewānī, whose *Mathnawi Wasā'il* was dedicated to Selīm; other influential men of his time were Kemāl Pasha Zāde [q. v], and the Muftī ᶜAlī Djemālī Efendi [q v.] who legalised by a *fatwā* the war against the Sunnī Sultān of Egypt and who was one of the few men powerful enough to oppose on several occasions the execution of the Sulṭān's sanguinary orders.

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SELĪM II, eleventh Sultān of Turkey, reigned from 974—982 (1566—1574). He was born probably in 930 (1524) He was the son of Sulaimān I and the celebrated Khurrem Sultān (Roxelana) (*Sidjill-ı ᶜOthmānī*, ı. 39, gives three different dates) and was the eldest of the latter's four children: Selīm, Bāyazīd, Djahāngīr (d. 1553) and Mihrmāh (became wife of the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha). Khurrem Sultān favoured Bāyazīd and to secure his succession to the throne she brought about by her intrigues and influence over Suleimān the execution of the heir presumptive Mustafā (October 6, 1553, at Ereglı) After the death of the Sultāna in 965 (1557/58) a rivalry began between Selīm and Bāyazīd which reached its height in 1559 on the occasion of the changing of the sandjaḳs of the two princes Bāyazīd was moved from Konya to Amasia and Selīm from Maghnīsa (where he had been since 1545) to Kutāhiya, the former refused to move and collected troops According to the historian ᶜĀlī, this quarrel was the result of the intrigues of Lala Mustafā Pasha, who had been appointed in 1556 to the post of Lala with Selīm by the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, with the object of bringing about Muṣṭafā's downfall, as he was an old enemy of his. Muṣṭafā is said to have provoked insulting letters from Bāyazīd to Selīm, which resulted in the orders for the change of sandjak, as ᶜĀlī was himself secretary to Mustafā Pasha, his statements may be considered accurate. The modern historian Aḥmed Refīḳ, however, thinks that it was the Sulṭān himself who, with the help of Rustem, wished to get rid of Bāyazīd in favour of Selīm Bāyazīd was defeated on May 30, 1559, on the field of Konya, fled to Amasia and thence to Persia to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp The latter, after a long correspondence with Sulṣimān and Selīm, consented to

hand over the prince and his four sons to Selīm (so as not to break the oath by which he had sworn to Bāyazīd not to deliver him up to his father). As a result, Bāyazīd was put to death on September 25, 1561. Selīm remained in his sandjak until the day when a messenger from the Grand Vizier, Muhammad Ṣoḳollı Pasha, informed him of the death of Suleimān (September 6, 1566) and the taking of Szigeth (September 8) Reaching the capital on September 24, where no one had expected him, the death of the Sulṭān being still kept secret, the new Sulṭān set out two days later for Belgrade. Here he awaited the return of Ṣoḳollı with the army and his father's body When on October 24 the death of Suleimān was finally made public, Selīm refused to receive the solemn *baiʿa* of the troops and had distributed among them accession presents which were thought in sufficient. They then returned to the capital Suleimān's body was sent in advance with a small escort and buried in Constantinople without any ceremony By the time Selīm reached the capital in the early days of December, the Janissaries began to mutiny near the Adrianople gate and would not allow the new Sultān to enter his serail until the increase in the accession presents they demanded had been promised them The distribution took place on December 10 Besides the Janissaries, the *ʿulemāʾ* and notably the Muftī Abu 'l-Suʿūd had handsome gifts given them, there was not even enough left in the treasury to pay the other troops.

Re-entering his palace, Selīm abandoned himself to his taste for wine and dissipation, leaving the government in the hands of Muhammad Sokolli [q. v] It was the latter who throughout the reign of Selīm continued the traditions of the glorious reign of Suleimān Here it is sufficient to give a brief résumé of the political and military events of the reign of Selīm II. In April the Kapudan Pasha Piyāle returned with the fleet from the taking of Chios (Saḳīz) and the ravaging of Apulia and was given the rank of a vizier. At the same time negotiations were begun with Austria as a result of which plenipotentiaries arrived to discuss peace, which was arranged at Adrianople on February 17, 1568, between Maximilian and the Sultān, in addition to agreeing to the rectifications of the frontier, the Emperor promised to pay an annual present of 30,000 ducats In the same month a Persian embassy arrived with great pomp in Adrianople to renew the truce The peaceful relations existing with Poland, France and Venice were likewise confirmed. The French and Venetian capitulations were renewed. In 1569 took place the unsuccessful expedition against Astrakhan [q v], undertaken to make possible the project of making a canal from the Don to the Volga, this plan had been conceived by the governor of Kaffa, Čerkes Kāzim, but the enterprise fell through, chiefly as a result of the secret opposition of the Khān of the Tatars, next year peace was concluded with the Russians From 1568 to 1570 a Turkish army was engaged in the reconquest of the Yaman from the Zaidīs, who had driven out all the Turkish garrisons in 1567 except that of Zabīd. At first Lala Mustafā Pasha — who, after a period of disgrace, had returned to the Sultān's favour, but never enjoyed that of Ṣoḳollı — had been appointed commander of the Yaman expedition, but was recalled as a result of intrigues by the governor of Egypt, Ḳodja Sinān Pasha, who replaced him as Ser-ʿasker. After the successful commencement of the campaign by Özdemir Oghlu ʿOthmān Pasha in 1568, Sinān arrived in 1569 and saw his conquests crowned by the taking of Ṣanʿāʾ (July 26, 1569) and Kawkabān (May 18, 1570). Several Turkish poets celebrated this victorious campaign, e g. Nihālī, *Futūḥāt al-Yaman* The taking of the island of Cyprus in 1570—71 was more due to Selīm's own initiative, it was his favourite, the Jew Joseph Nassy, appointed by him Duke of Naxos, who is said to have suggested the plan to him The violation of the truce with Venice was justified in a famous *fatwā* of the Muftī Abu 'l-Suʿūd. Lala Mustafā commanded the expedition; he took Nicosia on September 9, 1570, and forced Famagusta to capitulate on August 1, 1571 After this capitulation took place the horrible execution of the commander Bragadino (The conquest of Cyprus is described in a *Tārīḫ Ḳıbrıs*, see Flugel's Catalogue, i. 236, N°. 1015). In the same year an alliance was formed by Venice, Spain and the Pope. Their combined fleets almost completely destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto (October 7, 1571), but this defeat was not enough to weaken Turkey, a new fleet was built during the winter and by the peace of March 7, 1573, Venice had to give up Cyprus and promise to pay a war indemnity. The war with Spain was continued The Spaniards occupied Tunis in 1572, but were driven out again in September, 1574, by Kodja Sinān Pasha During the same period (1572—1574) there were troubles with Poland in Moldavia on account of the pretender Ivonia, the latter at first supported by the Turks was in the end defeated and killed by them in June, 1574. Peace was renewed with Austria in November, 1574, in spite of the troubles on the frontier and the intrigues of the claimants for the throne of Transylvania.

Selīm died in the night of December 12/13, 1574 (Shaʿbān 27/28, 982), as the result of an accident in the palace He was the first Ottoman Sultān to spend his life in the Serail, where the Sultāna Nūr Bānū was all powerful His fondness for wine gained him the name of *Mest Sulṭān Selim*. During his reign dissipated habits spread even among high *ʿulemāʾ* The system of bribery and corruption, which had begun under Rustem Pasha, penetrated to all ranks of society But the traditions of the reign of Suleimān were still able to maintain the empire at the height of its glory under the direction of capable men like Sokolli and Abu 'l-Suʿūd. The *Ḳānūn-nāme* of Suleimān I, legalised by *fatwā*'s of the Mufti, was put into force, especially in all that concerned the disposition of landed property and the fiefs (cf. *Mıllī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿası*, 1331, vol i., Nos. 1 and 2)

Selīm II's most famous building is the Selimiya mosque in Adrianople, built from 1567 to 1574 by the architect Sinān (detailed description in vol iii of the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi) He also carried out various buildings and repairs in Adrianople, Navarino, Mekka (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 16) and Constantinople (Āyā Sofia). According to Gibb, he is the best poet among the Ottoman Sultāns He wrote his poems under the *makhlaṣ* of Selīmī and surrounded himself with poets, such as Faẓlī [q. v.], Bāḳī also enjoyed his favour.

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(J H KRAMERS)

SELĪM III, the twenty-eighth Sulṭān of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1203 (1789) to 1222 (1807) He was born on Djumādā I 26, 1175 (Dec 24, 1761), a son of Sulṭān Mustafā III and the Wālide Sultān Mihr-Shāh (d 1805, see *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i. 83) and succeeded on Radjab 11, 1203 (Apr 7, 1789), to his uncle ʿAbd al-Hamīd I [q. v] who had died on that day. Selīm's reign is characterised by disastrous wars against the European powers and revolts in the interior, showing the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time by the continuous efforts of the Sultān and a party of enlightened men to reorganise the old decayed institutions of the state, which led finally to his deposition

On his ascension to the throne he energetically continued the war against Russia and Austria, but the Turks were beaten in Moldavia at Focsani by the Austrians (Aug. 1, 1789) and especially at Maitinesci on the river Būza in Wallachia by the Austrians and Russians (Sept. 22) Here the Grand Vizier Djenāze Hasan Pasha (who had previously replaced Kodja Yūsuf Pasha) died and was succeeded by the famous Kapudan Pasha Djezā'irlı Hasan [q. v.]. On Nov. 10, the Austrians occupied Bucarest, while, on October 8, Belgrad had already fallen into their power At the same time the Russians under Potemkin continued their conquests in Bessarabia (Khotin and Oczakow had fallen already) and took Bender (Nov. 15) The treaty with Sweden (July 11) to subsidise this country in the war with Russia was of little avail, and Selīm, being prevented by tradition from joining the army himself, summoned in a *Khaṭṭ-i sherīf* all the Muslims to the holy war Next year the Austrian danger lessened, especially after a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Jan. 31, 1790) and the death of Joseph II. In June the Turks even gained some success against them. After Prussia had concluded with Austria the Convention of Reichenbach on July 27, in which Austria promised to make peace with Turkey and both nations undertook to guarantee the integrity of that empire, an armistice was concluded at Djurdjewo (Sept. 17), followed, after very long negotiations, by the peace of Zistowa (to the West of Rusčuk on the Danube) of Aug. 4, 1791 This treaty, concluded by the mediation of Prussia, England and Holland, restored the Danube principalities to the Porte; only Old-Orsowa had to be ceded to Austria. The war with Russia had been disastrous in 1790. The new Grand Vizier died in March and was succeeded by Ḥasan Pasha Sherīf [q. v.], who was not able to stop the Russian advance in Bessarabia. The Russians took Kilia in Oct. and, after a desperate struggle, Ismāʿīl [q. v] on Dec. 22. They were also successful in the Black Sea and beyond the Kūbān river, though they did not succeed in taking Anapa. Moreover, Sweden had concluded peace with Russia (Aug. 14). In the Aegean, however, the small Greek fleet commanded by Lambro Canziani and equipped at Triest with Russian aid, was destroyed by the Turks In February, 1791, the Grand Vizier was executed, by order of the Sultān, in his camp at Shumla and replaced by Ḳodja Yūsuf Pasha who made energetic preparations to continue the war. But the Russians under Repnin crossed the Danube at Galatz and beat the Turks completely at Matchin (April 9). As spirits in Constantinople had sunk very low, and there had been a big fire, the Porte ordered the Grand Vizier to propose an armistice, which was concluded at Galatz on August 11 and followed by the peace treaty of Jassy of January 9, 1792. In its 13 articles the treaty of Kučuk Kainardji was renewed, in the West the Dniestr became the frontier between the two powers, whereas in the east the Porte undertook to bridle the Tatar tribes on the left bank of the Kūbān, the Crimea was definitely lost to the Turkish Empire.

Immediately after the war the Sultān took up the question of the reforms which he considered inevitable to restore the strength of his Empire In the beginning of his reign he had already made an attempt in this direction by insisting on the application of the sumptuary laws (on them see e g Meḥmed Ghālib, *Selīm thālithiñ baʿzî ewāmirı muhimmesi*, in *T O E M*, N⁰ 8, p 500—504) Soon afterwards he invited a number of prominent and enlightened personalities belonging to the army, the administration and the *ʿulemā* to submit to him schemes of reform. All the projects were sent to the palace, and, as it seems, treated in a way which gave the anti-reform party the opportunity of turning them into ridicule and beginning its never ceasing propaganda against them (Djewdet, *Tārīkh*, vi. 7; here all the people who presented *Lawā'iḥ* are mentioned) The Sultān, however, proceeded with energy. The *dīwān* was enlarged to a body of about 40 members under the chairmanship of the Grand Vizier or the Muftī, according to the matters treated The new regulations which were elaborated successively were called *Ḳānūn-nāme*'s or *niẓāmāt* and the total of Sultān Selim's reforms is known as *niẓām-i djedīd*, which word, however, is also especially employed for the new regular troops. One of the first measures was the foundation of a new treasury (*īrād-i djedīd*) for the cost of the new institutions It was formed by all available revenues and especially by confiscating a large amount of fiefs, the titularies of which had not fulfilled their military obligations (*maḥlūl olan zi'āmet we-tīmārlar*), a special regulation for the investigating of these fiefs was made By these and other revenues the financial base of the innovations increased steadily. The first corps of new regular troops was formed from the Bostandji's in 1792 They were destined for the protection of the big waterworks of the capital near the Black Sea at the village of Belgrad Koy, where at that time a Russian invasion was feared Large barracks were built for them at Lewend Čiftlik,

where they were drilled, though it proved difficult to get volunteers. This first attempt was followed by a still larger establishment at Skutari, where around the enormous Selīmīye barracks almost a new town with mosques and baths was created for the new troops. Other regulations concerned the provisioning of the army, the restoring of discipline among the Janissaries, the reorganisation of the Djebedjī-corps and the artillery; to the reorganisation of this arm the French contributed considerably. Bonaparte is said to have had in 1794 the intention to put himself at the head of the Turkish artillery, and in 1796 the French ambassador Dubayet even brought with him to Constantinople a mounted artillery brigade. The reforming activity extended also to the improvement of the Bosporus fortifications, the building of new warships under the energetic direction of the Ḳapudan Pasha Kučuk Husein [q. v], Selīm's foster-brother, the manufacture of gun-powder and the instruction of the officers The engineering-school at Sudlediе in the harbour of Constantinople, founded under ʿAbd al-Hamīd I, was also completely reorganised under French and English direction and a new navigation school was opened. Although the unfortunate experiences of the last wars made the people comply with all those innovations, there was, of course, a strong party opposed to them, consisting chiefly of the Janissaries and the *ʿulemā*, the more enlightened of whom, however, supported the reforms As a measure of precaution not too many new troops were stationed on the European side of the Bosporus It is a remarkable fact that, as the reforms proceeded, there was much less opposition to them in Asia than in Europe, where rebellious chiefs took them as a pretext for their taking arms against the government

The peaceful period from 1792 to 1798 had made possible the taking of all these measures. even the two formidable rebels in Europe, Pazwān-Oghlū [q v.], who in 1792 had entrenched himself in Widdin, and ʿAlī Pasha Tepedilenli [q v], who had become Pasha of Yanina in 1788 and failed in 1792 in his first expedition against the Suliotes, were comparatively quiet; Servia enjoyed the generous administration of the Pasha's Ebū Bekir and Hādjdjī Mustafā. During this time the Porte paid much attention to her relations with foreign powers, new ambassadors were sent to the European courts and in Constantinople a great diplomatic activity was displayed by the Reʾīs Efendi Rāshid (d. 1798). The international situation became more and more influenced by the French Revolution. Although the execution of Louis XVI made a bad impression, especially on Selīm, who had, even before his accession, been in correspondence with him, the emissaries of the revolutionary government (Descorches) succeeded in arousing sympathy, even in the *dīwān*, they pointed, for instance, to the fact that, now that France had instituted the "culte de la raison", they were no more in religious opposition to the Muslims They had influential helpers in Constantinople, e g the well-known Mouradgea d'Ohsson, then Swedish dragoman and from 1796 to 1799 Swedish minister, and had nearly induced Turkey to declare war to Russia.

The situation was completely changed by the French expedition against Egypt. In vain the French representative in Constantinople, Ruffin, tried to tranquillise the Porte about the peaceful intentions of his government; on September 4, 1798, war was declared on France and Ruffin was imprisoned, as were also the French consuls and merchants. For the operations of the French in Egypt (they landed on July 1, 1798, after having taken Malta) see the article KHIDIW; the action of Turkey was here much less important and much slower than that of England. On January 5, 1799, the Porte concluded an alliance with England and the first Turkish troops landed on July 25 in Abūḳīr, but they were compelled by Bonaparte to retreat to their fleet, after the French army had just returned from the siege of ʿAkka, where Djazzār Pasha in defending the town had shown himself for the time a faithful vassal of the Sultān. In the last part of that year a Turkish army of 80,000 men commanded by Dīyā Yūsuf Pasha, Grand Vizier since 1798 (Kodja Yūsuf Pasha had been replaced already in June, 1792, by Melek Muhammad Pasha, to whom after $2^1/_2$ years had succeeded ʿIzzet Muhammad Pasha), and containing about 4000 men of new regular troops had reached Syria where it was joined by Djazzār's troops. The Turks took the little fort of al-ʿArīsh on December 20 and at the same place the Grand Vizier concluded an armistice with General Kleber on January 28, 1800, in which the French promised to evacuate Egypt. But after the treaty had been broken by the English, Kleber attacked the Grand Vizier, who was advancing to Cairo, and defeated the Turkish army near the ruins of Heliopolis (March 20) after which the Turks retreated into the desert Only a year afterwards, in March, 1801, the Turks participated again in the Egyptian campaign under the Ḳapudan Pasha Kučuk Husein, this expedition resulted in the definitive evacuation of the country by the French and the occupation by British troops of Egypt. Turkey's other ally in this war was Russia. After a Russian fleet had already appeared in the Bosporus in September, 1798, an alliance treaty was concluded on December 23 The combined Turkish and Russian fleets then went to the west coast of Greece and expelled, in March 1799, the French from the Ionian Isles, which former possession of Venice had been left to France by Austria in the peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797) The Ionian Isles then were constituted a republic under protection of Turkey and Russia. In the meantime ʿAlī Pasha of Yanina succeeded in occupying temporarily some sea-ports in Albania. Notwithstanding the Russian alliance, the relations with Russia remained strained By the mediation of Prussia a preliminary peace was concluded with France in Paris on October 9, 1801, in which the complete sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt was recognised, as well as the new republic of the seven Ionian Isles; for the ratification of these preliminaries the famous Sebastiani was sent for the first time to Constantinople on an extraordinary mission. To the peace treaty of Amiens, where the same stipulations were confirmed (March 27, 1802), the Porte was no party; she concluded in June a separate peace with France. In the meantime the Grand Vizier and the Ḳapudan Pasha tried to restore order in Egypt by exterminating the great Mamlūk Beys. As the latter were protected by the British, they did not succeed and in December returned to Constantinople leaving Khosrew Pasha as governor in Cairo; the evacuation by the English troops only followed in 1803, after on January 9 of that year an agreement had

been reached at Constantinople between the ambassador Lord Elgin and the Reʾīs Efendi, in which the Porte pledged itself [to pardon the Mamlūks.

The situation in the interior had been equally unsettled in these eventful years. Since the peace of Jassy bandit chiefs (ʿOthmān Pasha) had been terrorising Rumelia; they were patronised by influential people in Constantinople, enemies of the reforms, especially by Yūsuf Agha chief equerry of the Wālide Sulṭān. In 1797 Pazwān-Oghlū had taken possession of a large part of Bulgaria and, when an expedition against him under the Ḳapudan Pasha Husein failed, the Porte had to comply with his claims and recognised him as Pasha with three *tugh*'s. But soon afterwards Pazwān-Oghlū, who was protected by Austria, invaded Wallachia (1801). The Porte then tried to restore order by appointing ʿAlī Pasha of Yanina Beylerbey of Rumelia (1803), but in vain The latter was suspected of having an understanding with Pazwān-Oghlū and was deposed again. In December, 1803, he then exterminated the little people of the Suliotes In combating the Rumelian rebels that year the Porte derived great advantage from the use of the new *niẓām*-troops Pazwān-Oghlū's invasion of Wallachia gave Russia the opportunity of intervention in the Danube principalities. Under Russian pressure the Porte consented to a revision of the former settlements, which increased the autonomy of the principalities, and appointed Ypsilanti as *hospodar* of Wallachia and Muruzi as *hospodar* of Moldavia, both for seven years (1803).

In 1803 difficulties arose in Servia [q. v] occasioned by invasions of Pazwān-Oghlū and by the return of the Janissary chiefs or *dāyī*'s, who had been expelled after the war with Austria These troubles resulted in the rising of the Knezes under the famous Ḳara Georg in 1804. Neither Turkish troops nor the diplomacy of the Porte were able to subjugate the Servians in the next years, they had since 1805 their own constitution and were masters of the citadel of Belgrad since Dec. 12, 1806. In the same year 1803 Mekka fell into the power of the Wahhābites (April 30), after nearly the whole of the Arabian peninsula had already recognised the authority of their chief ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (cf R. Hartmann in the *Z D M.G*, 1924, p. 195). In the same year also Muḥammad ʿAlī [q. v.] came to the front for the first time who, after having broken the resistance of the Mamlūk Bey Bardisī, was appointed in 1804 governor of Egypt.

After, in May 1803, war had broken out again between France and England, the Porte had decided to maintain a strictly neutral attitude, but she was put in a difficult position by France's demand that she should recognise Napoleon as Emperor, from which, however, Russia's menaces withheld her. A personal letter of Napoleon to Selīm was of no avail. Only in 1806, after in 1805 the alliance with Russia had been renewed, recognition followed. In 1805 General Sebastiani had come as Napoleon's ambassador to Constantinople and finally French influence prevailed. The Porte went so far as to depose the two russophile hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Czar then ordered General Michelson to occupy the two principalities. Notwithstanding the resistance of Pazwān-Oghlū and Muṣṭafā Bairaḳdār, the Pasha of Rusčuk, this order was completely executed in December, 1806. Under the influence of anti-Russian manifestations in Constantinople and Sebastiani's pressure war was declared on Russia (Dec. 27). Next month England came with exaggerated claims, e g. the departure of Sebastiani, enforced by the presence of the British fleet at Tenedos. When the Porte refused to accept, Admiral Duckworth entered the Dardanelles, scarcely meeting any resistance, and appeared on February 10, 1807, before the capital. After a moment of consternation, in which the Ḳapudan Pasha was executed, the defence of Constantinople was organised under the direction of Sebastiani and French officers (Juchereau de St Denis). As the British shrank from the responsibility of bombarding the town, they retired again, after fruitless negotiations, on March 1, and reached Tenedos with considerable losses Immediately afterwards Turkey declared war on England. The English were no more successful in Egypt Though an English fleet occupied Alexandria on March 17, they were beaten everywhere by Muhammad ʿAlī and had to evacuate the country in September.

In the meantime the interior political situation had passed through a grave crisis After 1802 the reforms had been taken up again and in March, 1805, a *Khatt-i Sherīf* had ordered a general levy among the population for the *niẓām*-troops. This occasioned at last an open revolt of the Janissaries, who concentrated themselves in Adrianople and Ḳırḳ Kilise They completely defeated the *niẓām*-troops which the government sent against them in August, 1806. The result was that the reforms had to be given up for the moment, it was due to the influence of the Muftī Ṣālih-Zāde Esʿad Efendi [q v] that no worse things happened. The Grand Vizier Hāfiz Ismāʿīl Pasha (succeeded in 1805 to Diyā Yūsuf Pasha) was replaced by the Agha of the Janissaries, Ibrāhīm Hilmī Pasha. The Porte did not even dare to send *niẓām*-troops against the Russians in Rumania

The successes against England had not restored the Sultān's authority. On the contrary, the opposition had been still more alarmed by the influence of the French during the fortification of Constantinople. Though the reform party continued its work unostentatiously, a plot was devised in order to depose Selīm, the leaders of which were Mūsā Pasha (so the name is given by Djewdet; Zinkeisen and others have Musta Pasha), the *Kāʾim-makām* of the Grand Vizier (who himself had marched against the Russians), and the new Muftī ʿAtā-ullāh Efendi They incited the rude auxiliary troops (called Yamaḳs), that were encamped on the Bosporus, to rebellion. The rebellion broke out on May 15, 1807, because they refused to put on *niẓām*-uniforms; the leader of the rebels, Ḳabaḳdjı-Oghlū, pitched his headquarters at Buyuk Dere. In the following days, while Mūsā Pasha and the Muftī were calming the alarmed Sulṭān, the propaganda against him spread rapidly and a fortnight afterwards Ḳabaḳdjı went with his followers to Constantinople, provided with a list of all the notorious reform partisans. Nearly all these people were dragged to the At Meidān and killed. At this last moment the Sultān hoped to save his throne by a *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf* abolishing the *niẓām-i ǧedīd*. But his dethronement had already been decided. Next day, Rabīʿ I 22, 1222 (May 29, 1807), the Muftī declared with feigned reluctance

to a deputation of the Yamaḳs that the deposition of Selīm was lawful; after this comedy he himself went to inform Selīm of the decision of the people. Selīm, yielding immediately, retired and as he had no children, the elder of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's two sons, Mustafā, was placed on the throne as Muṣṭafā IV [q. v.].

Selīm's tragic death happened a year afterwards, when Mustafā Bairaḳdār [q v.] marched against Constantinople with his own troops and those of the Grand Vizier Čelebi Muṣṭafā Pasha to re-establish the reforms and to restore Selīm to the throne. On Djumādā II 4, 1223 (July 28, 1808), Bairaḳdār entered with his troops the first court of the Serāy, demanding Sulṭān Selīm. Mustafā IV then allowed the execution of Selīm, which had been postponed until that time, and that of his own younger brother Maḥmūd. Bairaḳdār came just too late to save the unhappy Sultān, who had been already killed when the Serāy gates had been broken open. Then Muṣtafā's brother Mahmūd was brought forth from his hiding place and put on the throne.

Selīm III is described as a ruler of great gifts (cf. especially his necrology by Djewdet, viii. 262 *sqq*) He wrote poems under the *taḵhalluṣ* Ilhāmī and is said to have had musical talents His zeal for reform proves his high intelligence, but was checked by his inclination to occupy himself with the minutest details He also seems to have been unable to tolerate powerful characters in his immediate surroundings, during his 18 years' reign he had no less than ten Grand Viziers Of the pious works he had carried out, are chiefly mentioned a silver gate for the *turbe* of Abū Aiyūb Ansārī and the complete restoration of the mosque of Fātih. The greater part of his constructions were the barracks and schools for the reform projects

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SEMĀʿ-KHĀNE, a Persian formation from the Arabic *samāʿ* [q. v] and Persian *khane*, the dancing hall or dancing room, i. e. the space in the monasteries devoted to those Ṣūfī dances always held in abhorrence by Muslim orthodoxy, to *muḳābele* (*mugābele*) and to *dhikr*. Dancing and music are, as a rule, particularly associated with the Mewlewī. But the Bektāshī monasteries have also their *semāʿ-khāne*, the great old Bektāshī monastery of Seiyid-i Ghāzī, for example, has three *semāʿ-khāne* in one suite, in front of the *turbe* of Seiyid Battāl. Cf. K. Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaschi-Klöster Phrygiens*, in the *Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft*, part 21, Berlin 1913, p. 32 and plan. Cf. also the Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries.

(TH. MENZEL)

SEM. [See SĀM],

SEMENNŪD, a town in the Delta of Egypt, in the province of Gharbīya on the west bank of the Nile (Damietta arm), a railway station on the Tanṭa-Damietta line (11,550 inhabitants in 1884) The Arabic name is based on the Greek Σεβέννυτος (which gave its name to the Sebennytic arm), in Coptic Djemnuti, and *Zab nutir* in ancient Egyptian The ancient town was perhaps built on both sides of the river, in any case there is a little town opposite Semennūd on the east bank of the Damietta arm called Mīt (Minya) Semennūd (4372 inhabitants in 1884), capital of a district (*markaz*) of the province of Daḳahlīya, known from at least the sixth century A. H.

Succeeding the pagarchy of Sebennytos, the *kūra* of Semennūd included an area not easy to define on account of the difficulty of identifying certain adjoining *kūra*'s It was bounded on the east by the Nile, to the south by the *kūra* of Banā and Busīr (places which exist to this day), on the west by the *kūra* of al-Budjūm, which seems to correspond to the ancient Βουκόλια, even if we do not admit the phonetic relationship of the two words; on the north by the *kūra* of al-Awīsīya, which al-Yaʿḳūbī identifies with al-Damīra about 15 miles from Semennūd. The Fāṭimids and the Aiyūbids had an independent province called Semennūdīya, which was not much larger than the old *kūra* (129 villages against 108)

Semennūd, which, according to a tradition preserved by Ibn Duḳmāḳ, was founded by an eponymous magician, a descendant of Lud, the son of Shem, had a temple which was destroyed about 350 (961) after having been used for a short time under Arab rule as a storehouse for fodder. It seems from a passage in the Jacobite Synaxarion that this temple had suffered abuse before the days of Islām Arab legends credit this temple with possessing a *djinn* of a dark complexion, with long hair and a short beard, and Maspero thinks that the Arabs were describing a statue of Osiris or Phtah, whose face was painted blue or green.

Coptic tradition records the passage of the Holy Family through Semennūd during the flight into Egypt, and locates a certain number of martyrs here. This town was the see of a bishop still mentioned as late as the ixth century A. D. The town had a Coptic population which gave Egypt several Jacobite patriarchs Al-Maḳrīzī, however, tells us that the principal church, dedicated to the Apostles, was in a private house.

Semennūd was not on the line of march of the Arab army of invasion, which went from al-Faramā via Bilbīs, and the Arab writers do not mention it in connection with the conquest of Egypt. John of Nikiu mentions that the local soldiery refused to fight the Muslims. Semennūd is again mentioned in 132 (750) on the occasion of a local revolt directed by a certain John (Yuḥannis), who was captured and put to death.

Savary found it a medium-sized town, populous and busy. ʿAlī Pasha gives a list of the mosques of Semennūd, all modern or recently restored.

Bibliography. John of Nikiu, transl. Zotenberg, p 245, 366, 560; *Hist. des Patriarches*, *Patrol. or.*, v. [460] 206, x. [547] 433; *Synaxaire*, *Patrol. or.*, i [76—77] 290—291, xvi. [973, 1050] 331, 408; xvii. [1218] 676; Abū Shāma, ed. Cairo 1288, i. 269, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo 1331—1338, iii 327, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed Cairo 1314, v. 77, 91; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Inst franç., iii. 223–224, iv. 101, ed. Būlāḳ, ii. 519; Ibn al-Djīʿān, ed. Cairo 1898, p 60, 80; Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 217, G Maspero, in the *Journ des Savants*, 1899, p. 79, ʿAlī Pasha, *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, xii 46–50, xvi 65–66, Baedeker, *Egypt*, Guide Joanne, *Égypte*, p. 361, 366, J. Maspero, *Organis. milit de l'Égypte byzantine*, p 131, 139; do, *Hist des Patr. d'Alexandrie*, p. 371—373, Caetani, *Chronogr islamica*, p. 1707, and the bibliography given in J. Maspero and G Wiet, *Matériaux p servir à la géogr de l'Égypte*, p. 29, 31—32, 106, 187—188 (G Wiet)

SEMNĀN, a town in Persia, on the main road from Media to Khurāsān, situated in the old province of Kūmis (Comisene, cf Marquart, *Ērânšahr*, p 71), between Tihrān (in the middle ages Rayy) and Dāmghān, at the foot of the Albuiz mountain and on the border of the great Kawīr. The form Simnān is most frequently found (e g Yākūt), the modern pronunciation is rather Semnūn. The foundation of the town is ascribed to Tahmūrath al-Kazwīnī), and it is probably of considerable antiquity, although it is not mentioned in the sources dealing with pre-Muhammadan history Semnān is often mentioned by Arab and Persian historians à propos of the frequent passing of armies on the road to Khurāsān. In the time of al-Hadjdjādj the *spahbād* of Rayy defeated there the Khāridjī Katarī Ibn Isfendiyār, *History of Tabaristān*, transl Browne, p. 104, cf also the article ḲATARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA).

In the beginning of the tenth century Semnān belonged to the lands of the Ziyārids, who lost it in 331 (943) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii 140) In the time of the Būyids the towns of Kūmis were considered to belong to Ḍailam In 427 (1036) Semnān suffered from the ravages of the Ghuzz tribes (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 268) But when Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through it in June, 1046, it seems that the town had been rebuilt (*Sefer-nāme*, ed Schefer, Paris 1881, p 3—4) It was laid waste in 618 (1221) by the Mongols under Subutai (al-Djuwainī, *Djahān-gushā*, Gibb Mem. Series, i. 115) and Yākūt still found it for the most part in ruins (iii. 141) In the xvth century Semnān belonged to the little dynasty of the Čelāwids of Tabaristān (Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 52). In the present administrative division the province of Kūmis no longer exists and Semnān is now the most westerly town in the province of Khurāsān.

The distances from Semnān to Rayy and to Dāmghān are given by al-Maḳdisī as 3 days' journey each, but the town is nearer Rayy. The water supply of Semnān and its vicinity comes from the little streams that run down from the Albuiz. The surrounding plain is quite extensive and well watered. Tobacco is the principal crop. This plain is separated by a range of hills from that of Dāmghān. The town has been famous since the time of Yāḳūt for its manufacture of cotton goods. It is surrounded by a wall of clay and contains the ruins of several castles. There is also a xiith century bath (*ḥammām*) there and a fine minaret, of which the mosque is now a ruin in the centre of the bazaar It is probably this mosque which is mentioned by al-Makdisī (p 356), although, according to Fraser, it cannot be older than the xvth century (Sarre in *Islam*, xi 170) At the present day the town has a fine mosque built by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. The population was estimated by Curzon in 1890 at under 16,000.

The dialect of Semnān, remarked upon even by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, has the reputation in Persia of being particularly unintelligible. Geiger (*Grundriss d iran Phil*, i 421) connects it with the group of Caspian dialects Christensen, who was the last to study the Semnānī, reckons it among the numerous dialects of central and north-western Īrān, the place of which in the general scheme cannot yet be definitely fixed

Several traditionists and lawyers have the *nisba* Semnānī (Yākūt, *loc cit*, and Brockelmann, *G A. L.*, i. 373)

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(J. H. Kramers)

SENĀR. [See SANĀR]

SENEGAL. The origin of the word Senegal has not been definitely ascertained. The majority of modern writers have connected it with the name of the Berber tribe of the Sanhādja or Zenāga, representatives of which have occupied since a fairly remote period a district north of the lower course of the Senegal, and they have interpreted the "river of Senegal" to mean "river of the Sanhādja". This explanation seems to be based simply on a fortuitous resemblance of two names denoting distinct objects. From the information supplied by early geographers and travellers, Muslim as well as Christian, it seems evident that there was at one time in the lower valley of the river a black kingdom called Sanaghāna or Sanghāna (al-Bakrī, xith century) or Senegany („Pilot-book" of the Medicis of 1351) or Sanaga (Deniz Fernandez, 1446) or Senega (Ca da Mosto, Thevet, Marmol) or *S-n-g-l* [the vocalisation is uncertain] (Maḥmūd Kōlī, author of the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh*, xvith cent.). The same authors and documents give the Sanhādja, whom besides they place more to the north, names clearly different (Ṣanhādja, Assenages, Azanaghes, Zanhagu,

Sénègues, etc.). To this day the Moors descended from the Ṣanhādja give the lower valley of the river the name of Isongān. It is probably from the name of the province that the word "Senegal" comes. Marmol further says that Lancelot du Lac, who visited the region in 1447, gave the river the name of a kingdom within which its mouth lay.

In any case in the form Senegal the name has been applied since the XVIIIth century to the river which flows into the Atlantic about 120 miles north of Cape Verd and to the colony founded by the French in this part of Africa. This colony, the capital of which is St Louis on the Senegal river and near its mouth, and which includes the town of Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, measures approximately 75,000 square miles and had (in 1921) 1,225,523 inhabitants of whom 5,287 were European and 1,220,236 were natives, of the latter, 1,021,791 belong to the negro race, 191,351 to the hybrid branch of the Fulbe or Pul and 7,094 to the white race (Moors) It is bounded on the north by the course of the river Senegal from the region of St. Louis up to the confluence of the river Faleme, in the east by the latter river from its mouth up to about 12° 40′ N Lat., in the south by a line running from the upper Faleme to the ocean at Cape Roxo, a little south of the estuary of the Casamance. Inland there is a foreign enclave formed by the British colony of Gambia which consists of the two banks of the river Gambia from Yarbutenda to the sea Geographically the two colonies are sometimes included under the composite name of "Senegambia".

Senegal was perhaps the first of all the negro countries of Africa to succumb to the attacks of Islām. It was in a hermitage built on an island of lower Senegal that the religious movement of the Almoravids began about 1040 A D and the Almoravids won over to the Muslim faith about 1050 the sovereign and principal notables of the negro kingdom of the Takiūr or Tokorōr, which lay in the present province of Senegalese Fūta and the name of which slightly altered to the form Tuculor is still employed by the French to designate the negro inhabitants of this province It was presumably soon afterwards, towards the end of the XIth century, that Islām was introduced among the Sarakolle or Soninke of the province of Galam, above Fūta. Much later, towards 1770, the Tuculor clan of Tōroḍbe preached the holy war against the pagan Fulbe, then in political control of Fūta, a war which ended in 1776 with the defeat of the latter, the forced conversion to Islām of a great number of them, and the establishment at Fūta in the hands of the Tuculors of a Muslim theocracy with an elected government which lasted till 1890, the time of the definite annexation of Fūta to the French colony of Senegal. It is from this religious centre founded by the Tōroḍbe of the Senegalese Fūta that several great campaigns of conquest and islamisation covering a very wide field, have started, notably about 1800, that led by ʿUthmān Fōdye which ended in his conquest of the Hausa country and the foundationof the Muslim empire of Ṣokoto, and about 1845 that of ʿUmar Tal, called al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar, which ended from 1854—1862 in the conquest by the Tuculors of the Cambara kingdoms of Kaarta and Sēgu, and the Fulbe kingdom of Māsīna Meanwhile Islām had spread among a considerable part of the Mandingo peoples of the upper Faleme, of the upper Gambia and the upper Casamance. At a more recent period it won over almost all the Wolof of the lower Senegal river and of the lands to the south as far as Cape Verd. The other native populations of the colony (Serer, Non, Banyun, Balant, Dyola, Basari etc.) are still faithful to their ancestral animism and resist Islām.

The statistics divide the native population of Senegal into 719,000 Muslims, 469,500 animists and 4,700 Christians. (M DELAFOSSE)

SENKERE, a village on the Lower Euphrates, situated 15 miles E S. E. of Warkā [q v] on the mound of Tell Sifr, it is built on the ruins of an ancient Chaldaean city, Larsam, the town of the god Shamash, it is in the present ḳadā of Samāwa.

Bibliography Razzūḳ ʿĪsā, *Kitāb Djoghrāfiyat al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1340, p. 216, Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 244—245, Trelawney Saunders, *Surveys of Ancient Babylon*, London 1885, plate vi. (L. MASSIGNON)

SENNA is written Sinna or Sinandidj (*didj* = *diz* "castle, fort") The form Sihna leading to confusion with Saḥna [q v.] is wrong

1. Capital of the Persian province of Kurdistān, the ancient seat of the wālīs of Ardilān [q. v.] For the period before the building of the present town see the article SISAR

Under the year 988 (1580) the *Sharaf-nāme* (I. 88) speaks of a fief of Timūr-Khān, Ardilān, including Hasanābād, Sīna, etc., but the historian of Senna attributes to Sulaimān-Khān the building of the modern town on the site of a ruin already there. According to Rich, I 208, the ancient Senna(?) was built on a flat hill to the south of the present town. The Persian *tārīkh* for the building of the latter is *ghamhā* ("woes") which gives 1046 (1636).

The town lies between the right bank of the Kishlaḳ and Mount Āwīdar which separates Senna from the old capital Hasanābād. The castle of the wālis crowns the hill about 70 feet high which rises in the centre of the town. The principal decorations date from the wālīs Khusraw Khān I and Amān Allāh I Malcolm, Rich and Čirikov have given descriptions of the castle. The hall of honour of Amān Allāh Khān (*tālār*), covered with transparent marble with numerous figures and inscriptions (dated 1233 = 1818) formerly had a gallery of pictures representing the principal sovereigns of the world (Napoleon, Alexander I), celebrated battles, etc Another was still in 1918 decorated with eleven portraits of wālīs and their viziers. A beautiful panorama is revealed from the now ruined *tālār* on the mountain separating the valley of the Kishlaḳ ("winter grazing") from the plateau of Lēlagh (*yaylaḳ*, "summer grazing").

The population of Senna in 1820 (Rich) was 4-5000 families of whom 2000 were Jews and 50 Chaldeans In 1851 Čirikov counted 10,000 houses. The census of 1295 (1878) gave the figures of 5,484 houses and 24,744 inhabitants. In 1918 the number of inhabitants was about 30,000 with 500 households of Jews and 60 of Christians, Aramaic-Catholics (Chaldeans) and Armenians. There is a Turkish consulate-general at Senna. Senna is a busy centre of trade. The exports are gall-nuts (*māzū*), tragacanth (*katīra*), skins of the fox, marten and wolf, cattle and carpets of a special design.

2. The province of Senna (Persian Kurdistān in the strict sense) is bounded on the north by southern Ādharbāidjān (cf the art. SĀWDJ-BULĀḴ), in the N.E. by Ṣā'in-Ḳal'a [q. v.], in the E. by Bīdjār (Garrūs), in the S. E. by Hamadān, in the S. by the province of Kirmānshāh and more especially by its divisions. Sunkurī, Dainawar, Bālā-Darband, Māhīdasht and Zohāb, in the E Kurdistān of Senna is bounded by the former Turkish districts Shahr-i Zūr (Halabča and Khurmal = Gul'ambar), Pendjwīn and Shilēr

Within these boundaries the land of Senna with the exception of Sakkiz [q. v.] and Bāna, now attached to Ādharbāidjān, has an area of about 75 square miles, except for the principal routes the province is insufficiently explored In the N E. and S. E we have high plateaus devoid of trees, the centre cut up by numerous narrow valleys slopes down to the E where we find forests (oaks, nut-trees, elms and beeches)

The main group of mountains is formed by the massif of Čihil-Čashma (about 12,000 feet), it begins in Persia at the eastern extremity of the enclave of Shilēr which runs deeply into Persian territory Towards the south the Čihil-Čashma sends out a prominent spur which forms the barrier of Kārān on the Senna-Marīwān road (see below) The continuation of the Čihil-Čashma to the east forms the southern boundary of the basin of the Djaghatū which turns northward towards Lake Urmiya To the N E of the Čihil-Čashma is the frontier district of Haft-dāsh with its capital Saḳḳiz and watered by the main branch of the Djaghatū In the S. E of the Čihil-Čashma are the sources of the Khoṛkhora, the first important tributary of the Djaghatū on the right bank A little below their junction the river of Tilakū flows into the Djaghatū, its valley is separated by the mountain Tanduṛtu (?) from the next tributary which is called Sāṛūkh

In this valley there are three districts of Senna 1 Khoṛkhora with 8,000 inhabitants and 50 villages of which the chief are Bast, with a mosque built in 929 (1523) and Mawlānābād, 2 Tilakū (with the canton of Kočiān), 4,240 inhabitants and 24 villages of which the best known is Bāshmak, 3 Karaftū on the left bank of the Sārūkh 4,600 inhabitants, 15 villages The Afshārs of Ṣā'in-Kal'a encroach upon Karaftū

To the south of Khorkhora and Tilakū are the northern sources of the Ḳizil-Uzan (in Kurdish Kīzil-wazàn) which run into the Caspian Sea The plateau through which these waters flow is covered with snow for four months of the year but in the summer is covered with rich pasturage Three cantons administered together and including 82 villages are situated here. 4. Kara-tawara in the N (village Bārbarāī), 5 Hōbātū in the S (villages of Kelekowā and Dīwāndara) and 6. Sārāl to the east of Hōbātū The southern bank of the Kizil-Uzan also has its sources in the territory of Senna but the fork between the two branches, north and south, is occupied by the basin of Ḳishlaḳ, the waters of which run eastward

The basin of the southern sources of the Ḳizil-Uzān is situated to the S. E. of Senna on the Senna-Hamadān road. It is a large plain sloping north-east, watered by numerous streams and having an altitude of 6,200—6,600 feet. The pass of Kargābād-Ṣalawātābād (8,300 feet) separates it from Senna (5,788 feet), to the south the pass of Mēl-i Muḥammad separates it from the plain of Hamadān; to the east it is bounded by the low chain of Pandja-i 'Alī behind which lies the district of Sunḳur (Songhor) This chain ("'Alī's five fingers") corresponds to the *Kūh-i Pandj Angusht* mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 209. To the N E. the mountain of Talvantū forms the frontier of Bīdjār. The principal source of the south branch of the Ḳizil-Uzān is called Talwār (Tarwal) or Arzand, its tributary from the south is called Hādjidjā (Adjī-čai "bitter water") The Talwār waters the district of 7 Eilāḳ (Kurd Lēlāgh), noted for the coolness of its climate and having 80 villages with 12,000 inhabitants. The Hādjidjā waters the district of 8. Isfandābād (*ispand* "lycopodium"), 94 villages with 14,000 inhabitants, the old capital of Isfandābād is Kaslān, its present centre is Koiwa. Khanykov visited in these regions the tomb of Bābā-Gūrgūr, near which is a sulphurous spring and quarries of translucid marble (*balghamī*) This saint, Djamāl al-Dīn, bears the same sobriquet (Turkish *gur-gur* "coming in torrents") as the well known Bābā Gūrgūr of Kirkūk, on whom see W. Schweer, *Die turkisch-persischen Eridolvoi kommen*, Hamburg 1919, p 10

The central part of the province is much more undulating and less well known, it is bounded on the west by the mountains forming the Persian frontier (the Awrāmān chain) All the streams of this area are carried off by the river Sirwān (see the art DIYĀLĀ) which makes its way westwards by the formidable defile separating the mountains of Awrāmān from those of Shāhō Although Haussknecht mentions a village of Sirwān near the confluence of the Kishlaḳ and Gāwarūd, the great river of Sīrwān only has this name below the defile of Awrāmān

Two main arms form the Sīrwān one coming from the east and the other from the north

The eastern branch is called Gāwarūd (Gāwarūd) and rises near the pass of Asadabād It flows first through the lands of Sukur (Songhor) and then waters the districts of Senna south of the capital From the right the Gāwarūd receives its important tributary the Kishlak which rises in the fork between the two arms of the Kizil-Uzān. On the left it receives waters rising in the Murwārī, the Palangān (?) etc. The lower course of the Gāwarūd is given on the maps as hypothetical

In this valley are the following districts 9 Husainābād on the Kishlaḳ above Senna, with 34 villages and 5,000 inhabitants, 10 Hasanābād with 32 villages and 5,500 inhabitants which form the immediate neighbourhood of Senna. The district takes its name from the ancient capital Hasanābād, a stronghold on a considerable height 6 miles S. E. of Senna 11 Ẓāwarūd with 58 villages must lie near the confluence of the Ḳishlaḳ and Gāwarūd. The canton of Sūrsūr with the village of Faḳīh-Sulaimān (on the Kirmānshāh road) seems to belong to the same district. The 12th district, Palangān, must be farther down along with 13. Amīrābād and Bīlāwar which are said to have 35 villages with 3,000 inhabitants Palangān has an ancient ruined stronghold in which had lived an independent clan of the tribe of Kalhur, the chiefs of whom are given in the *Sharaf-nāme* (i. 317—318). The new English map places Palangān on the Gāwarūd at the mouth of the river that comes from the villages of Shāhinī and Luhon (Lōn) on the northern slopes of the Shāhū

The northern branch of the Sīrwān is formed by a fan-shaped series of streams, the topography of several of them is still uncertain.

After these rivers join one another, they flow into the Gāwarūd near the village of ʿAbbāsābād in the Awrāmān-i Takht.

Four districts lie in the northern basin of the Sīrwān. 14. Kalāt-Arzān with 64 villages and 10,000 inhabitants immediately west of Senna. 15. Korrawaz, with 20 villages and 2,500 inhabitants, may be located on the south of the Senna-Gārān road Lycklama praises the beauty of the landscape in this wooded district 16. Marīwān (formerly Mihribān), an important district with 200 villages and 26,000 inhabitants which stretches east of the pass of Gārān up to the western frontier of Persia. The great Senna-Gārān-Pendjwīn-Sulaimānīya road crosses it Its centre is occupied by Lake Zarībār; this depression in the frontier range has always been of great strategic importance. 17 Awrāmān-i Takht (the "A. plain") lies east of the chain of the same name and is immediately south of Marīwān The northern arm of the Sīrwān crosses it from north to south It is an inaccessible district governed by its hereditary *sultān*'s ("captains") Their capital is Razāw The district includes 33 villages with 4,000 inhabitants. The people of A have preserved their own particular costume from early times (Rich, *op cit*, i. 202) and still use their own dialect They are very brave but not hospitable 18. Awrāmān-i Luhūn lies S W. of the preceding According to the natives, *luhūn* means "rocky" (cf. Vullers, *op. cit*, ii 1108, *lahana* "rock"). The district has 22 little villages buried among the spurs of the mountain to the north of the defile of the Sīrwān. It occupies the western face of the chain and its frontier with Turkey is much complicated A. Luhūn is also governed by its *sultān*'s, who are related to those of A Takht and live in Nafsūd.

In 1049 (1639) the Turco-Persian treaty confirmed the rights of Persia to Awrāmān and Marīwān but Persian suzerainty was only nominal.

To the south of the Sīrwān running N W. to S E, as usual with Persian mountains, lies the great massif of Shāhō (= Shāh-Kūh) from which descend the left bank tributaries of the Sīrwān Dārīyān, Sarāb-i Hawlī watering Pāwa, Lēla and the oriental sources of the Zimkān The important district to the north and south of the Shāhō (between the Sīrwān and the district of Zohāb) is called 19 Djawānrūd and has about 100 villages with 15,000 inhabitants. It is governed by a collateral branch of the Ardilān family. Djawānrūd is the principal centre of the great Djāf tribe and its name may be explained as Djāfan-rūd ("the river of the Djāf") The little canton of Pāwa dependent on Djawānrūd lies opposite Awrāmān-i Luhūn. The *Sharaf-nāme* (i. 319) mentions "Bāwa" among the possessions of the Kalhur-i Dartang Local tradition attributes the foundation of Pāwa to Bāw, eponymous ancestor of the Bāwandids (cf above, BĀWAND), the Arabs, led by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿUmar, are said to have entered Kurdistān via Pāwa where there was a sacred fire.

To the south and outside of the basin of the Sīrwān are two districts dependent on Senna. 20. Rawānsar and 21. Bilāwar, both lying on the northern sources of the Kara-su (cf the art KARKHĀ). Rawānsar stretches to the S. E. of the Djawānrūd on the south slope of the outer spurs of the Shāhō. It is ruled by relatives of the governors of Djawānrūd. The canton of Shādiābād (in Kurd. Shāliāwa) on the road from Kirmānshāh is governed from Rawānsar. Bilāwar is on the direct Senna-Kirmānshāh road, to the south of the Murwārī pass. Its waters flow into the Rāzāwar river which belongs to Kirmānshāh Its principal village in Kām-i Yārān.

Such are the four principal river systems of the province of Senna, those of the Lake of Urmiya, of the Caspian, of the Tigris and of the Karkhā

Population. The total settled population of the province, according to the census of 1298 (1881), was about 150,000 in about a thousand villages With the exception of the district of Isfandābād, peopled by Persian and Turkish elements and the tribes of Awrāmān belonging to a particular Irānian stock, the population is Kurdish.

The nomads of Senna are following the general course of evolution towards a settled or semi-settled life in the winter they remain in their villages and in summer after the harvest (April-May) they go up to the neighbouring heights, thus, for example, the Kōmāsī tribe seems to have become definitely settled at Korrawaz.

The tribe of Djāf is the most important among those of Kurdistān of Senna There are about 4,000 families of Djāf on the Djawānrūd which represents a total of at least 20,000 men (Kūbādī, Ēnakhī, Kalāshī, Ūlad-begi sections etc.) In the xviiith century a part of the Djāf migrated to the west and gradually occupied the left bank of the Diyālā, Shahr-i Zūr and Pendjwīn. Towards 1914 these Turkish Djāf numbered 10,000 families, of this number about 2,000 are settled and 8,000 are semi-nomadic and go every year to the pastures of Persia. They go by the enclave of Shilēr by which they reach the Čihil-Čashma mountains where they pass the time from May to October. Another emigration from Djawānrūd took place about 1850 when some 150 families of the Djāf settled on the Zohāb under the protection of the Gūrān

The other important tribes of Senna are the Mandumī at Husainābād and their neighbours, the Galbāghi at Hōbātū, Sārāl and Kara-tawara The first-named numbered 2,000 families (in 1286 A H) and the latter about 3,000 The two tribes are very turbulent and the central government frequently sends expeditions to punish them. Less important are the Shaikh-Ismāʿīlīs (1600 families) and the Pipisha (1000) at Isfandābād At Lelāgh ("summer pasture") we have the Tamar-tōza (300), the Koraka (1500), the Lāla (600), the Maḥmūd-Djibrāʾīlī (400), the Balīwand (1500) and the Durrādj (1200) A section of the two last-named tribes leads a nomadic life on the Kishlak and the Gāwarūd. At Žāwarūd and Kalāt-Arzān we have the Kōik (1000) and at Bilāwar the Gashkī (1500), a very turbulent tribe To the north-east along the Karaftū the Bōraka lead a nomadic life (450) and a number of tribes lead a scattered existence. the Sakūr (300), the Gīwa-kash ("cobblers"), the Kharrāt ("turners") and the Lur-i Kulāhgar ("hatters") These last tribes (1700), whose names give their professions, are rather associations of workmen, "travelling guilds", serving the needs of nomads and settled tribes.

In conclusion we may mention quite near Senna the village of Kishlak occupied by the Sūzmānī whose men are musicians and women dancers of rather light morals (Lycklama, iv. 53).

Religion. The great majority of the population of Kurdistān of Senna belong to the Sunnī Shāfiʿī

school. The Shaikhs of the Naḳshbandī religious order have many devoted followers among the Kurds; the real hereditary centre of these Shaikhs is in the villages of Ṭawīla and Bēyāra which form an enclave in Awrāmān-i Luhūn. Even in Senna, Lycklama (IV 51) says he saw a Shaikh who, holding a seance, cured sores which his dervishes inflicted upon themselves in the course of their exstatic meeting (*dhikr*) Shī'īs are only found in the non-Kurdish district of Isfandābād It may, however, be noted that the family of wālīs of Ardilān professed the Shī'a, which perhaps is explained by the sojourn which their ancestors had made among the Gūrān who were fervent 'Alī-Ilāhīs. The great sanctuary of the latter sect, Pērdiwar, is on the right bank of the Sīrwān at Awrāmān-i Luhūn (above the Pirdi-kūrān bridge) The people of Hadjidj (in the same district) claim to be descended from the seven dervishes whom the "Kūsa" (*kōsa* "beardless"), who is buried in this village, had brought with him. This saint is said to be no other than 'Ubaid Allāh, brother of the eighth Shī'ī Imām According to the people of Awrāmān, the people of Hadjidj were rather late in being converted to Islām by a certain Gushāish, they still venerate the tomb of Pīr Shāhriyār, their religious chief before they adopted Islām A manuscript book (in the local dialect) of his moral precepts is said to be preserved at Nafsūd

The very costume of these peaceable woodcutters seems to suggest ethnic peculiarities Lycklama speaks of their "bonnet in the shape of a cornet bent back behind, quite like the headdress ... of one of the personages on the bas-reliefs of Bīsutūn "

The only Christians (60 families) are in the town of Senna These are for the most part Aramaic Catholics (*Ḳalaūnī*) whose head is the patriarch of Mawṣil They have a church built about 1840 on the site of an older church The Jews are more numerous 500 families in Senna and little groups in the villages.

Language The Mukrī Kurd dialect (*Ḳurmāndjī*) stops at Bāna and Sakkiz To the south of the Djaghatū in the Khorkhora and Tilakū districts the *Ḳurdistānī* dialect begins and continues to the southern frontier of the province Its linguistic peculiarities still await systematic study The language of Marīwān like that of the Djāf closely resembles Kurmāndjī.

A non-Kurdish Īrānian dialect is spoken in the two Awrāmāns. It is called *Awrāmī*, or popularly *mačū* (= "I say" in Awrāmī) To the same group belong the language of certain villages of Pāwa, that of the great tribe of Gūrān (on the Zohāb), that of the village of Kandūla (between Dainawar and Kirmānshāh) etc. In the heart of Armenia in the district of Daïsīm the "Zaza" dialect is related to the Awrāmi According to O Mann (*Die Tājik-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, Berlin 1909, p xxiii.), all these dialects can be classed with the "central" dialects of Persia (Samnānī, Kohrūdī, Mahallātī, etc) We have no original Kurdish texts from Senna, but the Awrāmī-gūranī dialects have a whole literature of lyric and epic poetry. The wālīs of Ardilān particularly encouraged at their court the production of this dialect poetry which has certainly passed beyond the limits of the people speaking these dialects It is curious that "to sing" in Senna Kurdish is *gūrānī čarrin* "to recite Gūrānī poetry". The Chaldeans and the Jews of Senna speak their Aramaic dialects in addition to Kurdish.

History. There are no monuments like those of Kirmānshāh or even of Kurdistān-Mukrī (see the art. SĀWDJ-BULĀḴ) in Senna

For the oldest period we may mention the chamber cut out of the rock near Rawānsar (Čirikov, p. 528), it seems to belong to the same category of monuments as the sepulchres (Median?) of Saḥna [q.v]. Its entrance has the typical rectangular form but its ceiling is vaulted At the other end of the territory of Senna (N E.) are the caves of Karaftū, which seem (Ker Porter, II. 538—552) to have been used for the Mithraic worship. The Greek inscription there is an invocation of Heracles. The caves lie off the usual route, but at the period when Gaznā (*al-Shīz* of the Arabs, the modern Takht-i Sulaimān) flourished they must have led to its sanctuary (the fire-altar Ādhargushasp)

As to the ancient toponymy, Streck, Billerbeck and Thureau-Dangin have collected the Assyrian references to Persian Kurdistān. Unfortunately no concordance of modern names has so far corroborated their hypotheses

The leases in Greek and Pahlavī found about 1909 in a cave in Mount Kōsālān (Awrāmān-i Takht) and going back to the first century B C., mention names which may refer to the locality where the find was made (the hyparchies Βαΐσειρα and Βασιράορα, the stations-σταθμοί Βαιθάβαρτα and Δησακδίς and the village-κώμη Κωφάνις or Κωπάνις)

The ingenious identification of Median places mentioned in Ptolemy (VI 2) proposed by F. C. Andreas refer to territories outside of the modern Senna. For the Arab period see the word SĪSAR

Kurdistān of Senna and Ardilān [q. v.] were for at least four centuries governed by hereditary wālīs. Their legendary history makes them originate in the Sāsānian or early 'Abbāsid period The *Sharaf-nāma* only says that Bābā Ardilān, a descendant of the Marwānids of Diyār-bakr, had settled among the Gūrān and towards the end of the Mongol period became governor of Shahr-i Zūr. According to Rich (I 214), the wālis were of Gūrān origin (of the clan Mamū'ī) Their history became better known from the time of Ma'mūn b Mundhir to whom the historian 'Alī Akbar gives the date 862—900 A H The wālīs took an active part in the struggle between the Safawis and the Ottoman Sultāns, sometimes on the Persian side and sometimes on the Turkish. The *Sharaf-nāma* stops at the reign of Halō-Khān (*halō* "eagle" in Kurd.) oscillating between the two rival empires (994—1014). Local historians continue the tradition to our day.

With only slight interruption the Ardilān family retained authority throughout the Ṣafawid period when the four western frontier districts enjoyed a semi-independence 'Arabistān (the Shī'ī wālīs of Huwaiza), Luristān, Kurdistān and Georgia. During the Afghān invasion Khāna Pasha Bābān of Sulaimānīya seized Senna in 1132 The coming of Nādir brought back to Senna Subḥān Wardi Khān Ardilān (1143—1169 with interruptions) In 1164 Karīm Khān Zand laid waste the district of Senna. After a period of troubles Khusraw Khān Ardilān (surnamed "the Great") settled at Senna (1168—1204). Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār as a reward for his exploits assigned Sunkur (Kulyā'ī) to him. His son Amān Allāh "the Great" (1214—1240) much improved the town Malcolm and Rich were his guests. His son Khusraw Khān Na-kām ("not having enjoyed life" i. e. died young) succeeded him.

(1240—1250); he is celebrated for his literary abilities Under his son Riḍā-Ḳūlī quarrels broke out in the family The wālī (1250—1266) was imprisoned at Ṭeherān whence he only escaped after the death of Muhammad Shāh His brother Amān Allāh (1265—1284) was the last hereditary wālī of Kurdistān In 1851 Čirikov was a witness of the intervention by the central government in the affairs of the province under the pretext of discontent among the subjects of the wālī In 1284 (1868) the energetic prince Tarhād Mīrzā was appointed governor-general from Teheran He ruled Senna till 1291 and restored order to the ancient fief of the Ardilān. Their descendants still exist in Senna but are now of no importance. On the other hand the old families who held office at the court of the walīs continue to play a prominent part in local life

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(V. MINORSKY)

SENNĀR. Modern Sennār is a village situated on the Blue Nile about 170 miles south of Khartūm It is the seat of a District Commissioner, and the headquarters of an administrative district of the Blue Nile Province. The district has a population of about 50,000, which is composed of a mixture of Sūdān tribes and Fellata immigrants from West Africa The Sennār dam, which irrigates a large cotton growing area, is situated at Makwar, about six miles to the south of Sennār village.

The older usage which extended the name of Sennār to the triangular territory between the Blue and the White Nile with undefined borders in the south is obsolete, and the country in question now forms the Blue Nile Province and the Fung Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān.

The discovery of pre-historic remains at Gebel Moya and of Meroitic finds near Sennār itself shows that the district has been inhabited since a remote period, but historically Sennār has only been of note as the seat of the Fung [q. v] Sulṭānate, which formed the most important political organisation in the Eastern Sūdān from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century and the foundation of Sennār itself is connected by native chroniclers with the establishment of this kingdom in A. D 1504. The semi-barbaric dynasty, known to natives of the Sūdān as the

Blue Sulṭānate (*al-salṭana al-zarḳā'*), claimed sovereignty over the territory extending from the Red Sea to Ḳordofān and from the borders of Abyssinia to the third cataract, but its rule was never effective except in the immediate neighbourhood of Sennār itself; the rest of the country was split up amongst a number of petty kings and tribal chiefs, who were attached to the paramount power by means of a loosely-knit feudal organisation. The chronicle of the Sennār kings, a dreary record of internecine wars and barbaric diplomacy, may be read in MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*. The organisation and laws of the kingdom are of some interest as exhibiting a blend of pagan African and Arabo-Muslim elements Even in the time of Bruce, the discoverer of the Blue Nile, there still survived the law that a king might be slain "if it were decreed that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer", and a high functionary of state, styled *sīd el-gōm* (*saiyid al-kawm*), was charged with the duty of carrying out the decree. Parallels to this law are afforded by the custom of Meroe in the 3rd century B C and an analogous custom still observed by the Nilotic Shilluk and Dinka. The intercourse between the kings and the vassal chiefs was regulated by an elaborate ceremonial, the more important of the latter bore the title of *mangil* (a word of unexplained origin) and were distinguished by the rights of *kakar* and *taḳīya*, i e. the right to use a royal chair of state and a peculiar headdress shaped like the horns of a bull.

Arab and Muslim influences, on the other hand, made themselves felt from an early period The kings claimed descent from a remnant of the Banī Umaiya, who were said to have entered the country from Abyssinia, where they had taken refuge after the rise of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and this tradition may well refer to the immigration of small parties of Arabs, who married into an aboriginal tribe and introduced Islām without materially affecting the ethnic characteristics of the tribe (cf the marriage of Djuhaina Arabs with the daughters of Nubian kings in the account of Ibn Khaldūn, quoted by MacMichael, *op cit*, i 138). In any case it is clear that the Fung were nominally Muslims at the time of the establishment of their kingdom and that the overthrow of the kingdom of Aloa and the disappearance of Christianity from Sennār were brought about by an alliance between the negroid Fung and a coalition of the Arab tribes, which had immigrated into the Sūdān during the period of decay which beset the Christian kingdoms of Nubia. The Islāmisation of the country is intimately connected with the missionary activities of a number of scholars and saints who flourished under the Fung sultanate, and whose lives are related in the still unpublished *Ṭabaḳāt* of Wad Ḍaif Allāh Yet owing to the isolation of the country Sennār has played no serious part in the cultural life of Islām, and the *riwāḳ* (or hostel) of Sennār students at al-Azhar is a foundation of the Egyptian government subsequent to Muhammad ʿAlī's conquest of the Sūdān

After a period of rapid decay Sennār became a dependency of Egypt in consequence of Muḥammad ʿAlī's expedition in 1821. Under Egyptian rule the town was a centre of trade and the headquarters of a *mudīrīya*, the buildings of which were destroyed by the Mahdists in 1885. The palace and mosque erected by the Fung kings was already in ruins at the time of Caillaud's visit

Modern Sennār is about a mile and a half distant from the ruins of the old town. It is now of comparatively small importance, and its place as a centre of trade and administration has been taken by Wad Medanī.

Bibliography The literature quoted in the bibliography of the article FUNG, to which may be added H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922 (contains in vol. ii. a translation of the Sennār Chronicle with explanatory notes, as well as a full bibliography), S Hillelson, *Ṭabaqât Wad Dayf Allâh*, *studies in the lives of the scholars and saints*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol vi., 1923.

(S. HILLELSON)

SEPOY is the English corruption of *sipāhī*, the adjective formed from the Persian word *sipāh*, "army". *Sipāhī* is used substantivally for "member of an army, soldier", and occurs in literary Persian, though it is no longer current in the modern language The Turks and the French have borrowed the word, the latter in the form *spahi*, and in these languages as well as in Persian it invariably means a horse-soldier, in which sense it is used by the English traveller Hedges (*Diary*, ed. Hakluyt Society, i. 55) in 1682 In India both the French and the British adopted the word, which seems to have reached them through the Portuguese, the former writing it *cipaye* or *cipai*, and the latter *sepoy*, *seapoi*, *seapoy*, *seapy*, *cephoy*, *sipoy*, etc., but there both nations have applied it since the beginning of the eighteenth century to natives of India trained, armed and clad after the European fashion as regular infantry soldiers Regiments of sepoys were first raised and employed by the French. In 1748 Dupleix raised several battalions of Muslim infantry, armed in the European fashion, and in 1759 Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry "De quinze mille cipayes, dont l'armée est censée composée, j'en compte à peu près huit cens sur la route de Pondichéry". Stringer Lawrence soon imitated Dupleix in forming regular battalions of sepoys in Madras, and in 1757 a force of sepoys accompanied Lord Clive when he left Madras in order to recover Calcutta. The military establishment of Bengal had consisted of one company of artillery, four or five companies of European infantry, and a few hundred natives armed in their own fashion, but after the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawwāb Sirādj al-Dawla a force of Madras sepoys was used to form the nucleus of an army for Bengal, and 2,000 sepoys fought at the battle of Plassey in June, 1757 About the same time sepoys were raised and employed in Bombay, and European adventurers in native states raised and drilled battalions of sepoys for their masters

In 1795 the infantry of the three Presidency armies was organised in regiments of two battalions each, each battalion consisting of eight battalion and two grenadier companies. Of such regiments Bengal possessed twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay four, with an additional marine battalion. Henceforward the three armies grew on divergent principles and with different organisations. The

Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 shattered the old Bengal army and seriously affected that of Bombay, but both were reconstituted and remodelled Early in the twentieth century Lord Kitchener, then commander-in-chief in India, formed the three Presidency armies into one Indian army.

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SER. [See SAR].

SERAIL. [See SERĀY]

SERĀY (P) This word which is derived from an old Persian form *θrāda* (from the root *θrā* "to protect") has in Persian the general meaning of dwelling, habitation The Arabic word *surādiḳ* "tent" has been borrowed from a diminutive in *k* formed from **srāda* (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1895, p 199)

We frequently find in Persian the word *serāy* compounded with another substantive to indicate a particular kind of building, like *kārwān-serāy* (cf. the art. KĀRWĀN) In Persian mystic poetry *serāy* is an expression for the terrestrial world, the temporary abode of man (cf *Sipendj*)

It is in Turkish lands that *serāy* has come to mean particularly the seat of government (like the Turkish word *konaḳ*) and the residence of a prince, a palace. From this meaning come the names of towns in Tatar countries and in Turkey called simply *serāy* (cf. the articles SARĀY and SERAYÉVO) or compounded with *serāy* (Aḳ-Serāy etc) In Turkey the *serāy* par excellence was the serāy-i Humāyūn of Top Kapī in Constantinople [q v.]

In Arabia the form *sarāya* is used for palace in the 1001 Nights The Italian loanword *seraglio* and the French *serail* are sometimes found with the meaning harem but this limitation of meaning is not Oriental.

SERAYÉVO, Turk. Bosna Serai or simply Serai (cf. the art BOSNA SARAI), capital of Bosnia in the Southern Slav states, picturesquely situated on the Milyačka in a valley open to the west enclosed on other sides by high and rocky hills, 1730—2273 feet above sea-level, with 60,087 inhabitants (1921) (of whom one third are Muslims), they mainly live by local industries (copperware, silver-filigree, carpets and tobacco) In the xvth century we find in place of Serayévo the powerful fortress of Vrhbosna, part of which still survives in the modern citadel of Serayévo Even in the xvith century Serayévo was still generally known as Varbosania The place is first mentioned in the Christian period in 1379 as the residence of Ragusan merchants and again in 1415 as the burial-place of the voivod Paul Radenović. The Turks saw the admirable situation of the place and chose it as the military centre of the conquered district when they captured Bosnia under Mehmed II in the spring of 867 (1463), tradition records us the name of the alleged leader, Girāy Khān (= Hādjdjī Girāy Khān, d 871 = 1466[2]), who was also buried near Serayévo (cf. *Die fruhosmanischen Jahrbucher des Urudsch*, ed. by F Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 126, 4—5, and F. Giese, *Die altosm. anonymen Chroniken*, I, Breslau 1922, p. 112, 23 *sq.*; II. [German transl.], Leipzig 1925, p 150 [*Abh. f. d. K d. Morgenl.*, XVII/1]). We already find here as early as 1438 and 1439 a Turkish governor who had been appointed to control the tributary native dynasts. After the final conquest of Bosnia by the Ottomans the Turkish governor of Bosnia ruled at Vrhbosna which name was retained, as the journals of Petantius and Benedict Kuripešić (1530, cf. B. Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium der Botschaftsreise*, ed. by El Lamberg-Schwarzenberg, Innsbruck 1910, p 33 *sq.* Verchbossen) and the Ragusan correspondence (cf J. Gelcich and L v Thallóczy, *Raguza és Magyarország*, Budapest 1887, p 674 [1513]: Verbosavia) show, forms like Werchbossen, Varbosania, Verchbossania etc are also found. About the middle of the xvith century, however, the name Bosna Sarai ("Palace on the Bosna"), Slav. Sarayévo, Ital Seraglio, Seraio (cf Giac. di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso Ristretto degli Annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, p. 17 *il castello di Varch-Bosna, da cui ebbe la città di Saraio*), appeared and gradually drove out the older name Serayévo is found in 869 (1464) in a *wakf-nāma* as *Medine-i Serāy*. The name Bosna Serai or simply Serai comes from the palace which Mehmed II built after the capture of the town, on the site of the Khunkiār Djām'ī (Imperial mosque, Careva Jamiya) (cf Ewliyā, v 428, J v Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p 160). Under Ottoman rule Serayévo increased in importance, particularly because it was the residence of the governors of Bosnia (cf. C v. Peez, *Die ottoman. Statthalter in Bosnien*, in the *Wissenschaftl Mitteilungen aus Bosnien* etc, II 344 *sqq*, Vienna 1894), who did much to beautify the town and transformed it into a Muhammadan city between 900 and 1000 A H. Numerous mosques, madrasa's and baths arose, some very splendidly equipped, like the foundations of Ghāzi Khusraw Pasha (1506/1512 and 1520/1542) which are still kept in existence to-day Ghāzi Khusraw (cf and the document in *Cod Turc. 320* of the Saxon National Library in Dresden) is buried in Serayévo (cf. Ewliya, *Seyāhat-nāme*, v 441, and *Wissenschaftl Mitteilungen aus Bosnien*, I 503 *sqq*) Although after the definitive conquest of Bosnia the residence of the Turkish governor was moved from Serayévo to Banyaluka, the former retained its importance. Apart from a brief interruption by Prince Eugene's occupation of the town in October, 1697, which lasted a few hours only, Turkish rule lasted 415 years in Serayévo On Aug. 18, 1878, the town was taken by the Austrian Artillery General, Josef Freiherr von Philippovich (1818—1889) after a sharp fight and incorporated in the Danube monarchy. On Oct. 6, 1908, the annexation with the consent of the Powers was proclaimed. On June 28, 1914, the Austrian heir, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated here. After the collapse of the Danube monarchy in 1918 Serayévo with Bosnia and Herzegovina passed to the newly formed Southern Slav State.

Serayévo which is the residence of a Muslim *Ra'is al-'Ulamā'* and has a Sherī'at school, has a number of buildings from the Muslim period Among the eight mosques, all of the xth century, of which Ewliyā Čelebi (xviith century) mentions the mosque of Ferhād Pasha (built 969 = 1561), of Khusraw Pasha (built 937 = 1530),

of Ghāzī ʿAlī Pasha (built 960 = 1553) and of ʿĪsā Pasha (built 926 = 1520), the finest is that of Ghāzī Khusraw (Begova Jamiya) Of the mosasteries (cf. Ewliyā, v. 431 *sq.*) that of the howling dervishes, Sinān Tekkesi (Sinan-tekiya), founded by Hādjdjī Sinān Agha (d. Ramaḍān, 1049 [began on Dec. 26, 1639]) in 1638 (cf. *Wissensch. Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, i. 506 *sqq.*, with a picture), still exists. The description which Ewliyā gives of Serayévo in the xviith century is surely much exaggerated cf Ewliyā, v 428—441); at least of the splendours of all kinds described there not very much has been saved for the present day. It is true that in course of time many edifices have been destroyed by numerous devastating fires (1480, 1644, 1656, 1687 and 1879). Serayévo was an Ottoman mint coppei coins (*manḳīr*) were struck here under Sultān Mehmed IV and Suleimān II in the years 1085, 1099 ("Bosna") and 1100 ("Serai") illustrations in St. Lane-Poole, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Or Coins*, vol viii, *The Coins of the Turks*, London 1883, pl. vi., No. 401, cf. Ghālib Edhem, *Ṭaḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i ʿOthmānīye*, Stambul 1307, p. 228 *sqq*); Č Truhelka, in the *Wissensch Mitteil. aus Bosnien*, ii. 350 *sq.*, iv. 396 *sq.* (copper coins struck in 1085 (1674/75) in the reign of Mehmed IV, for general information E. v Zambaur, *Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien*, in the *Numism. Zs.*, New Series, vol i, Vienna 1908) Serayevo is the birthplace of the important Ottoman poet Mehmed Nerkesi (cf. *Mitteil. zur osm. Geschichte*, i, Vienna 1922, p 152 *sqq*, and *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, i., Stambul 1917, part 15—18), and intellectual life was always active in Serayévo and neighbourhood in the Turkish period (cf Safvet Beg Bašagić, *Bosnjaci i Hercegovini u islamskoj književnosti*, Serayevo 1912, a Literary History of Muslim Bosnia Herzegovina)

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

SERBEDĀRS, the name of a line of robber chiefs who made themselves masters of a considerable part of Khurāsān, their subjects are also known as Serbedārs. This state, a regular republic of brigands, in which military considerations and the influence of Shīʿī dervishes predominated, was formed during the troubles that succeeded the death of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd; it collapsed before the great Timūr. The name Serbedār, which one might translate "gallows-bird" (or perhaps better "desperado"), goes back, according to the historian Khwānd-amīr, to a saying of the first chief, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ "*Ba mardī sur-i khwad bar dār dādan hazār bār bihtar kih ba nāmardī ba ḳatl rasīdan*" ("courageously venturing to be hanged is a thousand times better than being killed as a coward"). Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat*, ed. Browne, p. 278, gives, however, a different explanation of the origin of the name. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Serbedārs were called in the ʿIrāḳ. *Shuṭṭār* (robbers) and in the Maghrib *Sukūra* (birds of prey, falcons) Their capital was Sabzewār in the district of Baihaḳ. The first Amīr Serbedār, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, was the son of an ʿAlid, Shihāb (or Tādj) al-Dīn Fadl Allāh Bāshtini, a former official of the Shāh of Djuwain.

ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ was able to gain the favour of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd (d. 736/1335) who gave him a public appointment. Appointed to administer the taxes of Kirmān, ʿAbd al-Razzāk spent all the tribute he received, but the death of the Mongol prince took place in time to get him out of his difficulty. He went to Bāshtīn (a village in the district of Baihaḳ), his former abode, where he collected a band of adventurers and malcontents, with the object of becoming independent sovereign of a part of Khurāsān He had first of all to fight with the vizier ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad Faryumadī, then all-powerful in this country, the latter was defeated and killed in 737 (1336/1337) After the death of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Razzāk seized the town of Sabzewār (738) which became the headquarters for the Serbedār chief's brigandages. According to Dawlat-shāh, he also conquered Djuwain, Asfarāʾin, Djādjarm, Biyār and Khudjand. In 738 (1337/1338) in the month of Ṣafar (according to others in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja) ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ died, assassinated by his brother Wadjīh al-Dīn Masʿūd, who succeeded to the throne. The Oriental authors, even those who, like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, are not prejudiced against the Shiʿī Serbedārs, represent ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ as a tyrannical and unjust ruler, the opposite of his brother Masʿūd. The latter, according to them, only killed him in legitimate self-defence. The romantic details that are given of the death of the first Serbedār prince have a very apocryphal look; probably the historians have blackened the character of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ to excuse Masʿūd's fratricide The latter, the second Serbedār chief, took the title of Sulṭān (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 65/66), and had warlike ambitions of further extending Serbedār rule. An ardent Shiʿī — Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that the Serbedārs at that time intended to exterminate the Sunnīs in Khurāsān — he attached the dervish Ḥasan Djūrī to his person, who for political reasons had been thrown into prison by the prince of Nīshāpūr. The dervish was able to escape the wrath of the latter, the authorities are not agreed if Masʿūd aided him to escape or not. Dawlat-shāh says that Masʿūd himself became a *murīd* of Djūrī.

The first campaign of the new Serbedār chief was directed against the lord of Nīshāpūr, Arghūn-Shāh Djānī Ḳurbānī It is probable that this expedition took place as early as 738. Arghūn's army was routed Nīshāpūr and Djām fell into the hands of Masʿūd. The defeated ruler sought refuge with Togha Timur Khān of Djurdjān. It seems that Masʿūd and Djūrī had considered the possibility of extending their power over the whole of Khurāsān. The Serbedāī forces seem to have begun by attacking Togha Timur. It would seem then that the defeat of the Khān on the banks of the Atrak, an event mentioned by Dawlat-shāh as happening before Masʿūd's campaign against Husain Kurt of Herāt, took place during this first war of the Serbedārs against Djurdjān In any case, to realise their projects of conquest, Masʿūd and Djūrī turned their attention to the king of Herāt already mentioned (743 = 1342—1343) On Ṣafar 13 of this year the two princes' armies met near Zāwa In the battle Hasan Djūrī fell, either killed by the enemy or assassinated by order of the Serbedār chief Indeed, it would not be surprising if Masʿūd feared the ascendancy of the Shaikh at this time when, according to the historian Zahīr al-Dīn (ed Dorn, p. 338) "*zimam-i ikhtiyār-i ān wilāyat dar akthar-i umūr ba dast-i shuyūkh būd*", in free translation "In this country most things are performed in accordance with the wishes of the shaikhs" The battle of Zāwa was decided in favour of the ruler of Herāt, although it at first looked as if the Serbedār army had won Masʿūd had to withdraw and returned to Sabzewar The historian Khwāndamīr recounts after these events a campaign against Djurdjān as well as the defeat and death of a brother of Togha Timur, he says that as a result Masʿūd was able to become master of Astarābād, while the Khān fled from his capital (end of 743) Another authority, however, puts these events in 742 (cf. B Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir*, p 165, note 5) This would be before the war with Ḥusain Kurt, if this is correct the victory won by Masʿūd over the brother of Togha Timur would be identical with the battle on the Atrak Once in possession of Djurdjān the Serbedār began to cast covetous eyes on Mazandarān This was the end of his career. He was attacked by surprise in the land of Rustamdār, he and almost all his army perished (Rabīʿ II, 745 = Aug –Sept , 1344)

Masʿūd was the greatest Serbedār prince, his kingdom, according to Dawlat-shāh, stretched from Djām to Dāmghān and from Khabūshān to Tarshīz He was the *ṣāḥib kirān* of the dynasty After him the power fell into the hands of those who had been subalterns of the family of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ that is to say, the empire having reached its zenith, fell into the control of a coterie of soldiers (and in this case of dervishes also) until the glory of the Serbedars had departed for ever. This is the normal course of the history of oriental dynasties Masʿūd left one son, a minor, named Lutf Allāh, one of his notables, Muhammad Aitmur, who during the war with Djurdjān had been *nāʾib* at Sabzewār on behalf of the late prince, seized the actual power. He reigned two years and a few months, in 747 or 748 (1346/1347 or 1347/1348) he perished, the victim of a plot hatched by the dervish clique, *murīd*'s of Djūrī, the prime mover in which was the Khwādja ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn The latter becoming master of the situation, proposed as ruler a certain Kalwā (or Kulū) Isfendiyār, who reigned for about a year, ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn had him assassinated in 748 or 749 It was then proposed to make Masʿūd's minor son successor to Isfendiyār, ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn appointed a brother of Masʿūd, who also was called Shams al-Dīn, to be regent He only held the throne for some seven months, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, 749, according to Dawlat-shāh, he resigned ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn himself then assumed the external attributes of royalty also. In general the historians approve his rule, although they admit that he was as bigoted as he was cruel He is said on one occasion to have had 500 prostitutes buried alive, his officials and officers when they had to enter his presence used to make their wills first Shams al-Dīn built or renovated the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* at Sabzewār. He also built a great storehouse (*anbār*) in the same town With Togha Timur he concluded a treaty which secured the Serbedār chief possession of all the territory formerly ruled by Masʿūd In return it is probable that the Serbedārs pledged themselves to pay tribute. Dawlat-shāh (p 236) says that they obeyed Togha Timur (*mutīʿ wa munkād shudand*), which can only be true of the period after the death of Masʿūd

ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn, already much detested for his avarice and cruelty, insulted in frightful fashion one of his treasury officials, Haidar Kassāb, from whom he wanted, in addition, to extort a large sum of money. Ḳassāb conspired with Yahyā Karrābī, a former officer of Masʿūd, and killed ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn with his own hand (towards the end of 753 or the beginning of 754 Karrābī was reigning in 754 because the assassination of Togha Timur by the latter's order took place on Dhu'l-Kaʿda 16, 754 = Dec 14, 1358, as is testified by the poem quoted in Dawlat-shāh, p 237—238) Karrābī became chief of the Serbedārs while Ḳaṣṣāb became *sipāh-salār* The new ruler was a devout man but a bloody tyrant in whom there were thought to be signs of madness A quarrel soon broke out between the Serbedār and Togha Timur because Karrabī did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Khān On the occasion of a meeting at Sultān Duwin, Karrābī had Togha Timur assassinated by an officer of his suite. One can hardly imagine that this attempt could have succeeded if the Serbedār had not had allies among the nobles of Timur's kingdom With the latter's death the suzerainty of the descendants of Čingiz Khān in those regions came to an end The Serbedārs, the Djānī Kurbānī and the Kurts of Herāt divided the empire of the Khān Karrābī took Tūs from the Djānī Ḳurbānī. He paid a great deal of attention to the water-supply of this town and to that of Mashhad Karrābī, like his predecessors, came to a violent end. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, his brother-in-law, assassinated him (759 = 1358) Kassāb then placed on the throne a brother (or cousin) of the dead ruler, the insignificant Zahīr al-Dīn The *sipāh-salār* was, of course, the actual master of the kingdom and this was not altered when Zahīr al-Dīn renounced the throne (Radjab, 760 = May/June, 1359) Ḳaṣṣāb himself took the reins of government, but it was not for long While he was besieging the rebel Naṣr Allāh Bāshtīnī (perhaps brother of Masʿūd) in Asfarāʾin he met his end, the victim of a conspiracy instigated by his own *sipāh-salār*, Ḥasan Dāmghānī (Rabīʿ II, 761 = Feb.–March, 1360). Ḥasan concluded a treaty of peace with Naṣr Allāh;

the throne returned to the old dynasty. Luṭf Allāh b. Masʿūd was proclaimed king while Dāmghānī and Naṣr Allāh appointed themselves his guardians (*atabeg*), i e. the actual holders of power. The fainéant Luṭf Allāh only retained the throne as long as he pleased the *Sipāh-salār* As soon as a difference arose — à propos of nothing at all — between Masʿūd's son and the Atabeg the latter had him thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards ordered him to be put to death (Radjab, 762 = May-June, 1361) Henceforth Hasan Dāmghānī reigned in his own name. Disorder was not long in breaking out. The dervish ʿAzīz, a follower of Djūrī, stirred up a rebellion which Dāmghānī was able to put down. ʿAzīz had seized Tūs but the Serbedār king recaptured it and banished ʿAzīz from his territory. The latter went to Isfahān. From the point of view of policy Dāmghānī had made a grave mistake in preserving the life of the dervish out of religious scruples. Besides, things were becoming worse in this part of the empire of Togha Timur which now obeyed Serbedār authority. Amīr Walī, son of an officer of Togha Timur, drove the Serbedār governor from Astarābād and routed the army sent to assist the latter by Dāmghānī The Serbedārs seem to have lost the town of Tūs about the same time. One of Masʿūd's old officers, Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAlī Muʾayyad, hastened to take advantage of the troubles He seized the town of Dāmghān and summoned the rebel ʿAzīz from Isfahān One part of the Serbedār army, which had been beaten by Amīr Walī, joined him This took place while Dāmghānī was away from Sabzewār, because he was besieging the stronghold of Shakkān Muʾayyad and ʿAzīz were able to enter Sabzewār where they put Dāmghānī's vizier, Yūnus Sammānī, to death and made a *taʿziyat* for Luṭf Allāh b. Masʿūd The military officers were exhorted to desert Dāmghānī in letters full of threats and promises When the army besieging Shakkān received a similar message the soldiers took the side of Muʾayyad, and soon Dāmghānī's head was sent to Sabzewār (766 = 1364/1365). Muʾayyad, who succeeded Dāmghānī on the throne, was the last Serbedār king. According to the historians, he was generous and pious, an ardent Shīʿī (this appears also from the inscriptions on the coins struck by him, see Frahn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, p 632—633) But his devoutness did not prevent him ridding himself of the dervish ʿAzīz, who had been so bold as to disobey an order from his sovereign Muʾayyad, in any case, hated the dervishes of Djūrī's sect He desecrated the tomb of Khalīfa, Djūrī's *murshid*, and that of Hasan Djūrī himself The last Serbedār also had ambitions to extend his dominions among his conquests Tarshīz and Ḳuhistān are mentioned In the war that he had to wage with Malik Ghiyath al-Dīn of Herāt (on which see *J A*, 1861, Series 5, vol. xvii 515—516) he lost Nīshāpūr The relations of the Serbedār with Amīr Walī, ruler of the former kingdom of Togha Timur, were not in general very friendly It appears that, in course of hostilities, Muʾayyad held Astarābād for a time, as we know of a coin struck by him here in 755 (1373/1374, cf Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii 737) On the other hand, Walī helped the Serbedār king to reconquer his kingdom when the latter had been driven from Sabzewār by the dervish Rukn al-Dīn, a rebel who had secured troops to help him from the ruler of Fārs (780 = 1378/1379).

Later, troubles broke out once more At the siege of Sabzewār by Walī's forces, Muʾayyad sought the help of the great Timur (783 or rather 781, cf. Dorn, *Gesch. Tabaristans*, p 186, note 2). This meant that the Serbedār had to abandon all idea of independence and that his kingdom became a part of the great Mongol conqueror's empire. Muʾayyad lived on for some time at the court of Timur. He was assassinated in 788 (1386/1387). His body was taken to Sabzewār and buried in the town

Here ends the history of the Serbedārs, although in 807 (1404/1405) there was again a rising by a son of Masʿūd, Sultān ʿAlī, against Shāh Rukh, son of Timur, a rebellion which was duly suppressed As a panegyrist of the Serbedār kings Dawlat-shāh mentions the poet Maḥmūd b Yamīn al-Dīn Faryumadī

Bibliography B Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Serbedare nach Chondemir Persisch und Deutsch*. St Petersburg 1850, where (p. 142) most of the European literature on the subject is given up to 1850, Mīrkhwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, Bombay 1266, v 179 *sqq*, Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed Browne, p 229, 236, 237, 269, 275—288, 307, 398, 399, 426, 462, B Dorn, *Sehir Eddins Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan (Muh. Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, i), St Petersburg 1850, p. 103—112, 353—354, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. iii, p iii—iv, 64 *sqq*, C d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv. 737—740; J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, ii 324—326, 335, 340, 342, H. H Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 726 *sqq*, *Grundriss der iran Philologie*, ii. 571, 575.

(V F Buchner)

SERDĀB (Pers. *serd-āb*, "cold water", the *Ḳāmūs* has wrongly *sirdāb*), in Baghdād, a kind of rather large vaulted cellar, more or less decorated sunk four or five feet into the ground where the heat does not rise above 77°—80° F while that of the rooms is from 92°—95° It is supplied with a ventilator, a kind of chimney turned to the north side which ends at the highest part of the house, the air is also kept fresh, morning and evening, with the help of several small windows; in the summer the people of the house spend the time from 11 a. m. till sunset there. This arrangement is also found in the southern parts of Persia where it is called *zir-zamīn* "subterranean"; the ventilator is called *bād-gīr* "wind-catcher". The name is extended to cover any kind of subterranean room or road (Ibn Battūta, Paris 1853, i 264, Dozy, *Suppl*, i 647)

Bibliography Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman*, Paris 1804, ii 381, Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1780, ii. 239, Buckingham, *Travels*, London 1837, ii 192, 210, Ker-Porter, *Travels*, ii. 261.

(Cl Huart)

SERDESĪR (P), a cold place or a summer habitation in high grounds The Persian *ferheng*'s cite verses where the word occurs (e g. *Ferheng-i Shuʿūrī*). The opposite is *germesīr* [q.v.]

At present both words are used for the northern and southern part of the province of Fārs, corresponding to the division in Sarūd and Djurūm by the Arabic geographers (Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 249).

SERES. [See SERRES].

SERRES (*Seres*, Turk. *Sirōz*), capital of the former sandjaḳ of Sirōz in the wilāyet of Salonika, situated on the edge of a broad well-watered fertile plain, not far from the Struma, on the Salonika–Dede-Aghač railway. Serres has a castle, called Dragota in the middle ages, built on a steep hill, numerous mosques and Greek churches. The number of inhabitants is nearly 30,000, the majority Bulgarians In the country around much rice, fruit, wine, tobacco and vegetables are cultivated, and a big export trade is carried on in tobacco, cotton and cloth. — Serres is the ancient Siris or Serrhai, a settlement of the Siropaeoni which existed even in the time of Xerxes

The date of the Ottoman conquest, about which the Turkish chroniclers make inaccurate and contradictory statements (Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh* [probably following Neshrī], i. 92, gives 776 = 1374/1375, whom J. v Hammer, *G O.R.*, i. 180, apparently follows, Leunclavius, *Hist Musulm*, p. 243, 53 *sqq* 787 = 1385/1386 [codex Verantianus], = Giese, *Anon Chron*, p 26, 11, 12, 'Āshiḳ Pasha Zāde, *Tārīkh*, Stambul 1332, p 61 between 783 [or, according to codex Mordtmann-Cayol, p. 45. 784] and 787, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, ed. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 73 *sqq*.. 784 = 1382/1383), is known from several contemporary Greek sources, which unanimously give September 19, 1383 (cf. Miklosich-Muller, *Acta et Diplomata*, i. 77—79, Sp. P. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, viii. 403, 407, Athens 1912, cf. P. N. Papageorgiou in *Byz Zs*, 1894, iii 292) On this day the castle was taken by Deli Balaban and the Lala Shahin Pasha, who had hastened to his assistance. That the town was securely in Turkish hands a few years later is known from the contemporary evidence of two Athos chronicles (cf. L Petit-W Regel, *Actes d'Esphigménou*, p 42, xxi, and L Petit-Korablev, *Actes de Chilandar*, p. 335, N⁰. 158)

Serres and the surrounding territory fell as a fief to the celebrated Ewrenos Beg [q. v.] and the neighbourhood was settled with Yuruks who were transplanted from Sarukhān (cf. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm*, p. 244, 25 *sq.*, Giese, *Anon. Chron.*, 26, 26) Henceforth Serres was an important Ottoman mint. the first coins were struck there in 816 = 1413/1414 The dangerous rising, half religious and half political, stirred up by Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd and his follower Burkludje Mustafā came to a tragic end in Serres, in the neighbourhood of which the rebels had assembled for their last stand, with the execution of the ringleader in the late autumn (cf. *Islām*, 1921, xi 63 *sq*.). In the xvi^th century at the beginning of which the French zoologist Pierre Belon passed through Serres, the inhabitants were mainly Greeks, he found German and Spanish-speaking Jews there but the country people spoke Greek and Bulgarian. Hādjdjī Khalīfa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, p 73 *sqq*) following closely, almost literally, Mehmed 'Āshik, *Menāzir ul-'Ewālim* (Vienna MS., fol. 240^a *sq.*; Berlin MS. [inaccessible to me], fol. 246^a — 247^b), describes Serres in the xvii^th century as a town with 10 mosques, 7—8 baths, fine khāns, a *besestān*, kitchens for the poor and pleasant gardens. Ewliyā Čelebi also visited the town; his account is found in the eighth, still unprinted volume of his *Seyāḥet-nāme*. Serres never attained particular importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire; only in the xviii^th and xix^th century it was the seat of a Derebey [q. v.] of whom Ismā'īl Bey was the most prominent (cf. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, i. 157, [130]—166) Since the treaty of London (1913) Serres has belonged to Greece. — A favourite excursion from the town is to the pleasantly situated Hiṣārardi outside the gates of Serres (cf. *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 74). Here is buried the author of the work, very important for the history of Adrianople, *Ḥnīs ul-Musāmirīn* (cf. G Flugel, *Orr Hss. Wien*, ii. 259, where — wrongly — *Musāfirīn* is given), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hasan called Hibrī (d. about 1550, cf. Brusali Mehmed Ṭāhir in *Turk Yordu*, third year, vol. 6, part 27, 8. 2225)

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SERT. [See SE'ERD]

SERVET. [See ṬĀHIR BEY]

SETH. [See SHĪTH].

SEVILLE, in Spanish SEVILLA, Arabic ISHBĪLĪYA (ethnic Ishbili), a large city in Spain with over 150,000 inhabitants at the present day and capital of the province of the same name, formerly capital of the kingdom of Seville situated at an average height of 45 feet above sea level in a vast plain, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir (Arabic al-Wādi 'l-Kabīr = Wād al-Kebir = the "great river"), which separates it from the suburb of Triana (Arabic Taryāna; cf Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, q. v.). Although 60 miles from the sea the town has all the advantages of a seaport on account of the very gradual fall of the river, the tide is perceptible up to above Seville (cf. the *aequoreus amnis* of the Latin poet Ausonius). The climate is dry and warm.

The province of Seville in the Muslim period comprised all the low valley of the Guadalquivir, and stretched to the east as far as the Sierra d'Arcos and Gadiz, to the west as far as the valley of the Guadiana (Wādī Ānā) in a very wealthy region fertilised by the great river. The slopes of Aljarafe (or Axarafe, Arabic Djabal al-Sharaf) in the immediate vicinity of the capital are specially favoured, and their groves of fig and olive trees were famous for their fruit throughout Muslim Andalusia. The Arab geographers were never tired of marvelling at the natural wealth of the country. It was the only district in the peninsula to produce cotton, the exports of which were important. Other

characteristic products were saffron and sugar-cane. The population of the country was of great density; no less than 8,000 villages, according to al-Idrīsī, were dependent on the capital.

The name Ishbīlīya is derived from the ancient *Hispalis*, a name of Iberian origin which the Romans retained for the town. It was of great importance under them after its capture in 45 B.C. by Julius Caesar, who made it "Colonia Julia Romula" Under the empire it was alternately with Baetis (Cordova) and Italica (Arabic Tālika) the capital of the province of Baetica. It then became that of a Vandal kingdom (411) and from 441 the residence of the Visigothic kings, until in 567 Athanagilde transferred to Toledo the seat of his government.

It was in the spring of 94 A. H. (712) that Seville after the fall of Medina Sidonia and Carmona fell in its turn into the hands of the Muslims after a month's siege, according to some historians, but probably longer if we may believe the more detailed account of the capture of the town given by the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār Madjmūʿa* A section of the Christian population took refuge in Beja (Bādja) and the conqueror, Mūsā b. Nusair, installed a Jewish colony in the city, left a garrison there under the Medinese ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭawil as governor, and then laid siege to Merida. An attempted rising by the Christians in Seville, aided by their co-religionists of Beja and Niebla (Labla) in July of the same year was promptly put down and the town definitely re-captured by the son of Mūsā b. Nusair, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who massacred the rebels When his father left for the east, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became governor of Muslim Andalusia, and chose Seville as his capital, he there married the widow (and not the daughter, as is often said) of the Visigoth Roderick, Egilona (the Ailo of the Arab historians) and installed himself in the old church of St. Rufina, opposite which he built a mosque It was there that he was killed by his soldiers in Radjab, 97 (March, 716), at the instigation of the Caliph of Damascus, Sulaimān

After his death, the seat of the Arab administration was moved to Cordova, Seville nevertheless remained one of the richest cities of al-Andalus Indeed, it escaped more than any other the influence of the conquerors and there is no doubt that its population only abandoned their old religion for Islām slowly, as much from policy as of necessity It was in great part Roman or Gothic, and the names of notable citizens of Seville for long preserved the memory of this double origin The spread of Islām in the Peninsula made commerce and agriculture still more active and the importance of its harbour augmented

When residences and fiefs were allotted in al-Andalus to the *djund*'s of Syria and Egypt, Seville fell to that of Hims (Emesa) which was established in 125 (742) by the governor Abu 'l-Khattār al-Husām b. Dirār al-Kalbī, at the same time as the *djund* of Damascus was given Elvira, that of the Jordan Reyyo (Malaga), that of Kinnasrīn Jaen, that of Palestine Sidonia and that of Misr Tudmīr (Murcia) The name of Hims was even sometimes applied to Seville (cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s. v Himṣ at the end)

When the Umayyad Caliphate of Spain was established in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil and his successors, Seville was entrusted to his governors (for example the energetic ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar) and, like the other large towns of the country, was often the scene of rebellions In 149 (766) two risings, those of Saʿīd al-Yahsubī al-Matarī of Niebla and Abu 'l-Sabbāh b. Yahyā al-Yahsubī, were quelled in turn. In 156 (773) the Caliph had again to suppress an attempt at independence by the governor ʿAbd al-Ghāfir (or ʿAbd al-Ghaffār) al-Yamanī and Hayāt b. Mulāmis (or Mulābis).

The town was surrounded by a fortified wall by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II. He also had a great mosque built in it It was in the reign of this sovereign that Norman pirates captured Seville for the first time in 230 (844) It was stormed after a short siege, and the Caliph had to mobilise his forces to regain it and put the invaders to flight at the decisive battle of Talyāta. As a precaution against another attempt at landing by the Madjūs (Normans) he built an arsenal at Seville and constructed swift ships, which did not prevent his entering into friendly relations with the king of the Normans and even sending him an ambassador, Yahyā b. al-Hakam al-Ghazāl. In the reign of his son Muhammad, in 245 (859), Spain was again attacked by the Normans, but the latter, who landed at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, probably did not go up to Seville but went direct to seize the town of Algeciras. Ibn Khaldūn and al-Nuwairī nevertheless suggest there was a Norman landing in Seville at this time (cf. particularly R Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in *Recherches*[3], p 256–263 and 279–284)

In the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd Allāh, Seville was for a long time perturbed by the ambitions and proceedings of the two great families of Yamani origin, the Banū Khaldūn and the Banū Hadjdjādj. These Arabs had large domains throughout the country and numerous clients, and hated the Islamised Spaniards of Seville as much as the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova The head of the first family, Kuraib b Khaldūn, soon after the accession of ʿAbd Allāh, raised the whole country of Aljarafe and rallied to his flag of rebellion the chief of the Banū Hadjdjādj family and other Arab or Berber chiefs of the south of Spain. He ravaged all the territory of Seville with fire and sword and later on, sometimes assisted by the caliph himself, he ruined completely the renegades of Seville (278 = 891) In the town the Arabs became all-powerful and it was not till four years later that the sovereign decided to send an expedition against them

In 286 (899) the heads of the two families, who had hitherto been at peace, quarrelled, and Ibrāhim b Hadjdjādj was victorious and slew Kuraib. After an alliance with the famous rebel ʿUmar b. Hafsūn [q v] he finally submitted to the Caliph of Cordova while retaining practically unlimited power in Seville. There he set up as a regular sovereign and poets of talent and the famous singer Kamar were ornaments of his court. His return to loyalty to the Umayyad dynasty was the beginning of the return of order in al-Andalus In the reign of the great caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III, Seville, without, however, rivalling Cordova in importance, entered upon an era of peace and prosperity and remained loyal to the central power.

But its most brilliant epoch, and the most important from the political point of view also, was that which followed the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, when it became the capital of the independent dynasty of the Banū ʿAbbād or ʿAbbādids (cf.

above, i., p 7) from 414 = 1023 The founder of the kingdom, the Kadi Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad I, was the son of an illustrious Andalusian jurist of Lakhmid origin, Ismāʿīl b ʿAbbad He seized the power, at first recognising the suzerainty of the Hammūdid sovereign Yahyā b ʿAlī, but was not long in repudiating this suzerainty which was quite nominal At his death in 434 (1042) his son, Abū ʿAmr ʿAbbād, known by his honorific surname of al-Muʿtadid, succeeded him and during a reign of 27 years his policy was marked by deeds of cruelty and treachery He increased his kingdom at the expense of the neighbouring principalities of the west and south and only found a serious opponent in Bādis, the Zīrid king of Granada He died in 461 (1068) His son, Abu 'l-Kāsim Muhammad II al-Muʿtamid, is renowned for his poetic taste and talents. In his reign Seville became the rendezvous of the best scholars of the period. He took Cordova from the Banū Djawhar but soon came in conflict with the ambitions of the King of Castile, Alfonso VI, and then had to appeal for help to the new sultān of the western Maghrib, the Almoravid Yūsuf b Tashfīn The latter crossed over to Spain with his troops and on Radjab 12, 479 (October 23, 1086), won the great victory of Zallāka When the Almoravids returned to Morocco the Christians resumed the offensive and al-Muʿtamid had to go in person to the Lamtūnī sultān to ask his assistance once more Yūsuf granted it, but was not long in depriving him of his kingdom to seize its wealth Seville along with Cordova, Almeria, Murcia and Denia, was taken in 484 (1091) by Yūsuf's general, Sir b Abi Bakr b Tāshfīn The Berber troops sacked the town from attic to cellar, and pillaged the palaces of the ʿAbbādids and the unfortunate al-Muʿtamid was taken prisoner and exiled to Morocco, where he died at Aghmāt in 488 (1095) after giving expression to his misfortunes in elegies which came to enjoy a well merited reputation among literary Muslims he left the reputation of a generous, chivalrous and cultivated prince — All the texts relating to Seville in the ʿAbbādid period have been collected by Dozy in his *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbādidis*, 3 vols, Leiden 1846—1863

The Almoravid general, Sīr, governed Seville for his master and the town, like the rest of Muslim Spain, continued under the yoke of the Maghribi Sultāns In Radjab, 526 (May, 1132), a Christian force from Toledo invaded the country round Seville In the course of an engagement the governor of the city, ʿUmar b Makūī, was killed

It was with satisfaction that the people of Seville heard of the decline of the Almoravids in Africa and the rise of the Almohads Barrāz b Muhammad al-Masūfī, general of Sultān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, after conquering the south-west of the peninsula, laid siege to Seville and took it in Shaʿbān, 541 (January, 1147), putting to flight the Almoravid garrison Next year a deputation of notables of Seville went to the Almohad sultān to give him the homage (*baiʿa*) of their fellow-citizens, led by the Ḳāḍī Abū Bakr b al-ʿArabī, who died at Fās on the way back (cf above, i 362b) ʿAbd al-Muʾmin appointed governor of the town the Almohad Yūsuf b Sulaimān and in 551 (1156), at the request of the inhabitants, his own son, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf The latter kept this post till he succeeded his father in 558 (1163)

Under his reign Seville became the headquarters of the Almohad forces in Spain Abu Yaʿḳūb stayed there from 568 (1172) to 571 (1175), and on his departure left as governor his brother, Abū Ishāḳ Ibrāhīm, with the general Muhammad b Yūsuf b. Wānūdīn and the admiral ʿAbd Allāh b Djāmiʿ It was also in Seville that Abū Yaʿḳūb made his preparations in 580 (1184) for the Santarem (Shantarin) expedition in which he met his death. His son, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Mansūr (580—595 = 1184—1199), who succeeded him, brought back the Almohad army to Seville and returned to Morocco, leaving the Hafsid chief Abū Yūsuf as governor of Seville Summoned by the latter he returned to Seville in 586 (1190) to retake Shilb (Silves) from the Christians, who had taken it by force of arms. After the brilliant victory of Alarcos (Arabic al-Ark, cf above, i 205a) won on Shaʿbān 8, 591 (July 19, 1195), over Alfonso VIII of Castile, the Sultān made a long stay in Seville, and it was during this period that he imprisoned the famous Cordovan philosopher, Ibn Rushd (Averroes) He did not return to Morocco till 594 (1198), a year before his death

In the course of the reigns of these two Sultāns Seville rivalled the glories of the most flourishing periods of the ʿAbbādid dynasty. It had at this date more inhabitants than Cordova The Almohad sovereigns and the great dignitaries of the court built palaces there, and the number of mosques, baths, caravanserais and markets increased considerably It was in the reign of Abū Yaʿḳūb that the new great mosque was built on the site which the present cathedral was later to occupy in the xvth century The *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* (ed Tornberg, p 138) gives 567 (1172) as the date of building this *djāmiʿ*, the anonymous chronicle entitled *al-Hulal al-Mawshiya* (ed Tunis, p 120) 572 (1176/1177) According to Ibn Abi Zarʿ, it only took eleven months to build, which seems improbable The same author mentions the building at Seville in the same year of a bridge over the Guadalquivir, of two *kasba*'s, of ramparts and moats, of quays along the river and an aqueduct Nothing now survives of the great Almohad mosque of Seville but the *sahn* (now *Patio de los Naranjos* "court of the orange trees"), with the gate known as "Puerta del Perdon", and most notable of all the celebrated minaret, called Giralda (because a statue of Faith which surmounts it "turns" [Spanish *girar*] at the least wind) This tower, as a whole less successful than its twin sisters, the tower of Hassān in Ribāt al-Fath (Rabat) and that of the Djamiʿ al-Kutubiyīn at Marrakush, built at the same time, has a base 43 feet square It is built of brick, its walls, about seven feet thick, are pierced by numerous windows with Arab and Visigothic capitals. The lantern-tower which rose from the platform of the tower has been replaced by a campanile, the total present height is over 300 feet

In 609 (1212) al-Mansūr's successor, the Almohad Muhammad al-Nāsir, collected under the walls of Seville the great army which was to reconquer the part of al-Andalus then in the hands of the Christians It was defeated on Safar 15 (July 16) of the same year at las Navas de Tolosa and the Sultān and his forces returned to Seville utterly routed

It was a little later, in the reign of the Almohad Yūsuf II al Mustansir, in 617 (1220), that the governor, Abu 'l-ʿUlā had built on the bank of the Guadalquivir a tower intended to protect the

royal palace (now the **Alcázar**, rebuilt in the XIVth century by Pedro the Cruel) and the river It has retained in a Spanish translation its Arabic name Burdj al-Dhahab ("Torre del Oro" "Tower of Gold") the lower part, which is in twelve superimposed sections and is crowned with battlements, and the smallest tower at its top are still standing.

Some years later Seville again became the headquarters of the Almohad Sultān Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, and on his departure for Morocco in 626(1228–1229) the town passed under the domination of the rebel Muḥammad b Yūsuf b Hūd, who ended by driving the Almohads out of Spain Strengthened by the alliance which he had made with the first Nasrid dynasty of Granada, Muḥammad I b al-Aḥmar, Ferdinand III laid siege to Seville in 1247 and after blockading it for sixteen months took it on Sha'bān 1, 646 (November 19, 1248) (or four days later, according to some authors) The Muslim population was spared and allowed to emigrate to that part of Andalusia which still remained Muḥammadan and to Africa The attempts of the Marīnid Sultāns of Morocco to recapture the town from the Christians in the years following met with no success In 674 (1275) Sultan Abū Yūsuf Ya'kūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥakk, after his victory over the troops of General Don Nuño de Lara, laid waste the country of Seville and Jerez (Sharīsh), but he had soon to abandon his siege of the capital On his second campaign in Andalusia in 676 1278) he again came up to the walls of Seville and pillaged the district of Aljarafe He continued these raids, which are recorded in detail in the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, down to 684 (1285), and Don Sancho had to seek a truce which lasted till 690 1290) in the reign of Abū Yūsuf's successor, his son Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf In the end, after the defeat of the Sultān of the same dynasty, Abu l-Ḥasan 'Alī, under the walls of Tarifa, the Muslims abandoned all hope of retaking Seville

It would take too long here to give the names of all the famous Muslims who were born or lived in Seville It is sufficient to mention the poets Ibn Ḥamdīs, Ibn Hāni', and Ibn Kuzmān, the traditionist Ibn al-'Arabī, the biographer Abū Bakr b. Khair, and to refer the reader to the separate articles on them

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(E LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

SEZAY, a Turkish poet. Shaikh Ḥasan (Dede) Sezay Efendi was a Greek by birth, a native of Kordos (the old name for Corinth), who spent the greater part of his life in Adrianople. He belonged to the order of Gulshenī there, first as a disciple of the Shaikh Mehmed La'lī and after his death as his successor According to some sources, he was also head of a Gulshenī monastery in Constantinople. Ramaḍān, 1151 (end of 1738 or beginning of 1739), is given as the date of his death, the only date known of his career His tomb is in a *dervīsh* which bears his name.

We still possess several of Sezay's works His *Dīwān* is of a mystical and allegorical nature and is remarkable for the beauty of its language, so that Ottoman critics sometimes actually describe him as the Ḥāfiẓ of Turkish literature There is a MS of the *Dīwān* in the Vienna Hofbibliothek and in the Gibb collection (see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II XXII below), and it has been printed at Constantinople It begins with a series of *kasīda*'s, on the works of the different kinds of the mystic path, the *Wasf-i Āthār-i Atwār-i Ṭarīkat* Then come 333 *ghazal*'s, a few *takhmīs*, *tasdīs*, *rubā'ī*'s and other shorter pieces including a chronogram on 'Ushshāḳī Ṣādik Efendi (d 1094 = 1683) Among other works by Sezay, his *Mektūbāt* and his commentary on a *ghazal* of al-Miṣrī are mentioned There are commentaries on some of Sezay's *ghazal*'s, including some of quite modern date Among Sezay's pupils are mentioned Mehmed Ḥasīb Bey, the author of a poem called *Gulshen-i Ebrār*, which deals with the *silsile* of Gulshenī, and the Turkish poet Mahwī Efendi and Mehmed Fakrī Kirmī, who translated the *Menāzil al-Sā'irīn* of al-Anṣārī into Turkish

Sezay is also the name of a modern Turkish novelist, cf Horn, *Geschichte der turkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p 43 *sq*.

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SFAX (Ṣfaḳes or Ṣfāḳes), a town in Tunisia, on the eastern coast to the north of the Gulf of Gabes on the site of the ancient Taparura. Built on a flat piece of ground the native town, beside which the European quarter has grown up, is of an unusually regular plan It is quite rectangular in shape (600 by 400 yards) and its streets are at right angles to one another In the centre is the Great Mosque built about 275 (849), rebuilt at the end of the tenth century and several times since restored The first wall built in the Aghlabid period was of clay and bricks. Parts that decayed were repaired in stone Al-Bakrī describes it as built of stone and bricks It was frequently repaired either by princes or by the gifts of pious individuals This wall was flanked by square towers and, according to al-Tidjānī (beginning of the xiith century), it was a double one Several *ribāt* defended the adjoining coast.

During the anarchy that followed the Hilālī invasion, Sfax was from 1095 to 1099 the capital of a little independent principality protected by the Arabs In 1148 it was taken by Roger of Sicily ʿAbd al-Muʾmin retook it in 1159 By then it had, however, lost much of its former splendour The Arabs had almost entirely destroyed the plantations around the town Before the invasion, Sfax had indeed been of a remarkable economic importance It was one of the principal centres for the cultivation of the olive Muslim and Christian ships exported the oil, particularly to Italy. In the tenth century the Pisans established a *funduk* here Sfax was also noted for its manufacture of cloth, which was fulled by the processes used in Alexandria but with more perfection Fishing was also an important source of income

Sfax in 1881 was one of the few centres of resistance to the French occupation A squadron came to bombard it Since then it has begun to enjoy a new prosperity It is a town of 75,000 inhabitants which exports sponges collected in the Gulf of Gabes and is surrounded by a double girdle of gardens and olive groves The latter, planted according to methods improved during the xixth century, cover a depth of about 30 miles

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Shabak, a religious community of Kurdish origin in the wilāyet of Mawsil English statistics estimate the number of Shabaks at 10,000, the Muslims give them the nickname *aʿwady* ("turbulent", "disloyal") The Shabak live in the villages in the Sindjār district (ʿAlī-rash, Yangidja, Khazna, Tallāra etc.). They are related to their neighbours, the Yazīdīs, most of whose assemblies and places of pilgrimage they attend. On the other hand, if we may rely on Father Anastase, they show a particular devotion to ʿAlī whom they call ʿAlī-rash (*rash* in Kurdish = "black") Another statement connects them with the extremist Shīʿīs, the Ahl-i Hakk (cf the art ʿAlī-Ilāhī) The Shabak never cut their moustaches "which are proverbial in the country" (see Cumet); in eating they hold them up with the left hand so that the food may not soil them As is the case with all the secret sects, popular stories credit them with abominable practices, once a year they are said to assemble in a secret cave and spend the night in feasting and debauchery This night is called among them, as among the Sārlī (cf the art Sārliya), *laylat al-kafsha*

The Sārli who claim to belong to the Kurdish tribe of Kākaʾī are also found in the wilāyet of Mawsil on the lower course of the Great Zāb (villages of Tell-Laban, Basāthiya, Kabarlī, Kharāb al-Sultana) and in the district of ʿAshāʾir-i Sabʿa Their present chief, Tāha Koshak (Kočakʾ), lives in Wardak There are Sarlī in Persia in the border districts The sacred book of the Sarlīs is said to be in Persian Their name is explained as *ṣārat lī* (*ʾl-djannatu*) "Paradise has been acquired by me" for the Shaikhs of the Sārli are said to sell them places in Paradise at 25 madjidīyas the ell (*dhaʿ*). The Sārlī permit divorce and polygamy Their Shaikhs also never cut their moustaches and grow enormous beards The *laylat al-kafsha* among the Sārli is accompanied by agapes (*aklat al-muhibbati*) for which every married man kills a cock The Shaikh blesses these offerings which are dressed with wheat or rice and proclaims a blessing on every child conceived that night The candles are then extinguished and an indescribable orgy ensues The Sārli of Father Anastase evidently correspond to the *Khorūs-Kushān* ("cock-killers") and *Čirāgh-Kushān* ("candle-extinguishers") of other travellers

Father Anastase mentions a third secret sect in the same region the Badjorān, they are Kurds and call themselves "Allāhī" (Ahl-allāhīʾ) They live in the villages of ʿOmar-kān, Toprakh-ziyārat, Tell-Yaʿkūb, Bashpīta etc There are also a few in Persia near the Turkish frontier The Badjōlān venerate particularly the prophet (*imāmʾ*) Ismāʿīl During the month of Muharram (*ʿāshūrāʾ*) they lament the death of Husain and collect provisions which on the ninth day (of the monthʾ) are distributed under the name of *shaʿshʿā* When the chief visits a community of the faithful each man offers him seven fresh eggs, the Shaikh cuts each into seven pieces and places them in a jar Those present drink wine The Shaikh pronounces a prayer, offering the eggs to Ismāʿīl as an expiatory sacrifice (*kurbān*) No one can eat them without forthwith confessing his sins

Attention may be called to the links connecting these Kurdish sects with one another and with Persia, their devotion to the Shīʿī Imāms (ʿAlī, Husain, Ismāʿīl), the rites resembling the communion, the syncretist tendencies The Shabak seem to be a link between the Yazīdīs and the extremist Shīʿīs Finally we may mention that a document coming from Ahl-i Hakk circles and found in Khurāsān by W. Ivanov mentions Malak-Tāʾūs, the great saint of the Yazīdīs

As to the "night of *kafsha*", Father Anastase explains this word from the Arabic root meaning "to seize"(?) Perhaps we have simply to deal with the Persian *kafsh* alluding to some part said to

be played by the shoe in the course of the ceremony For *shashshā* we may recall the name *laïlat al-maʾshūsh* which al-Shabushtī gives to the alleged nocturnal feast and orgy of the Nestorian nuns, cf Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, 1880, p. 127

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHAʿBĀN, name of the eighth month of the lunar year In classical *ḥadīth* it has already its place after Radjab Mudar In British India it has the name of *Shab-i barāt* (see beneath), the Atchehnese call it *Kandūrī bu* and among the Tigrē tribes it is called *Maddagēn*, i e who follows upon Radjab.

In early Arabia the month of Shaʿbān (the name may mean "interval") seems to have corresponded, as to its significance, to Ramadān According to the *ḥadīth* Muhammad practised supererogatory fasting by preference in Shaʿbān (Bukhārī, *Sawm*, b 52, Muslim, *Siyām*, trad 176, Tirmidhī, *Sawm*, b 36) ʿĀʾisha recovered in Shaʿbān the fastdays which were left from the foregoing Ramadān (Tirmidhī, *Sawm*, b 65)

In the early-Arabian solar year Shaʿbān as well as Ramadān fell in summer Probably the weeks preceding the summer-solstice and those following it, had a religious significance which gave rise to propitiatory rites such as fasting This period had its centre in the middle of Shaʿbān, a day which, up to the present time, has preserved features of a New-Year's day According to popular belief, in the night preceding the 15th the tree of life on whose leaves are written the names of the living is shaken The names written on the leaves which fall down, indicate those who are to die in the coming year In *ḥadīth* it is said that in this night Allāh descends to the lowest heaven, from there he calls the mortals in order to grant them forgiveness of sins (Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, b 39)

Among a number of peoples the beginning or the end of the year is devoted to the commemoration of the dead This connection can also be observed in the Muslim world For this reason Shaʿbān bears the epithet of *al-muʿazzam* "the venerated" In British India in the night of the 14th people say prayers for the dead, distribute food among the poor, eat *halwa* (sweetmeats) and indulge in illuminations and firework. This night is called *laïlat al-barāʾa* which is explained by "night of quittancy" i e forgiveness of sins

In Atcheh this month is likewise devoted to the dead, the tombs are cleansed, religious meals (*kandūrī*, q. v) are given and it is the dead who profit from the merits of these good works The night of the middle of Shaʿban bears a particularly sacred character as is testified by the *kandūrīs* and the *ṣalāts* which are called *ṣalāt al-ḥādja* or, on account of certain eulogies, *ṣalāt al-tasābīh* During the last days of the month, a market is held in the capital.

At Makka Radjab, not Shaʿban, is devoted to the dead. Here, in the night of the 14th Shaʿban, religious exercises are held, in the mosque circles are formed which under the direction of an *imām* recite the prayer peculiar to this night

In Morocco on the last day of Shaʿbān a festival is celebrated which resembles a carnival A description of it is to be found in L Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigenes à Rabat & Salé* (Paris 1921), p 98 *sq*

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SHAʿBĀN AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF, a Mamlūk Sultān, was chosen Sultān on Shaʿbān 15, 764 (May 30, 1363), through the influence of the all-powerful Atabeg Yelboghā al-ʿUmarī when only ten years old. His father Husain was passed over because the ambitious Atabeg Yelboghā wished to rule himself and therefore preferred the ten-year-old son, the grandson of Muhammad al-Nasir. His reign was marked by frequent attacks by Frankish fleets on Mamlūk seaports like Alexandria and Tripolis in Syria. For example at the beginning of 767 (1366) ships of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, together with Venetian, Genoese and Rhodian ships appeared before Alexandria which they plundered, but withdrew on the approach of the Egyptian troops, carrying off, according to the sources, 5,000 prisoners The Christians in Egypt and Syria had to pay the ransom for the captive Muslims, and also pay for the building of a fleet which was to invade Cyprus The negotiations with Egypt were not successful, as Yelboghā was not really anxious for peace but was planning a landing on Cyprus with his fleet But troubles at home prevented his plan from developing The king of Cyprus, however, took the offensive and sent a fleet to Syria to take the harbour of Tripolis and the town of Aiyās in the south of Asia Minor His fleet was able to land raiding parties but had to withdraw before the superiority of the Muslim forces, as had another Frankish fleet which appeared before Alexandria Peace was only concluded in the beginning of 772 (August, 1370) The Egyptians later exacted vengeance for these Frankish raids by falling upon the kingdom of Little Armenia, which was an ally of the king of Cyprus (776 = beginning of 1374), and conquering the towns of Aiyās, Sis and the rest of the kingdom, the king was brought a prisoner to Cairo and his land became permanently a Muslim possession.

A conspiracy broke out in 768 (1367) against Yelboghā, whose Mamlūks could no longer stand his harshness and cruelty The Mamlūks wanted to take him prisoner, but receiving timely warning he was able to escape to an island on the Nile, and to hold out there, and soon afterwards to return to Cairo and appoint Shaʿbān's brother Onuk Sultān Shaʿbān, however, who was now sixteen, was forced by the Mamlūks to put himself at their head and Yelboghā was forced to retire again to his island on the Nile. Shaʿbān then succeeded in seizing the fleet newly built by Yelboghā, the latter had to leave his place of refuge and fly to Cairo There he was taken by the Mamlūks who had in the meanwhile returned to the citadel, and soon after-

wards killed by a Mamlūk while attempting to escape. Yelboghā's Mamlūks now terrified the people and did not obey their new leader, the emīr Esendemīr Constant fighting was the result, which ended by a great number of Yelboghā's Mamlūks being banished to Syria and interned in Kerak They later played an important part in the Mamlūk Kingdom. After several changes in the person of the regent the emīr Aḳtemīr al-Ṣahābī came to power, and held his position till the death of the Sultān. The Sulṭān had transitory success in the south of the kingdom, in Nubia. The king of Nubia recognised the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of Egypt But as a result of Aḳtemīr's cruel treatment of prisoners, the Nubians rebelled again and destroyed the frontier town of Aswān

The Sultān's idea of making a pilgrimage to Mekka in these troubled times was quite a mad one. In order to be secure against conspiracies of his relatives he had his brothers and cousins brought to Kerak and sent his regent to Upper Egypt to protect the frontier against the Beduins, but he had too little authority over his own Mamlūks to be able to risk such an expedition. The avaricious Mamlūks mutinied at ʿAḳaba and as the Sultān would not yield to their demands they threatened him with death so that he had to flee secretly to Cairo, but the Mamlūks had accomplices there who were hostile to the Sultān He was able to remain concealed in Cairo for a short time in the home of a singing-girl but was soon recognised and strangled. He was lamented by the people as he had abolished burdensome taxes and in general treated his subjects with mildness The main reason for the terrible state of the country was the insubordination and cruelty of the Mamlūks who ill-treated and oppressed the people.

Bibliography Ibn Iyās, ed Būlāk, i 213—338; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv 510—530, where the European printed texts and the Oriental MSS. are given, Muir, *The Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt*, p 97—101, on Yelboghā see *Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, ed. Cairo, v. 162, fol. 432b—434a (M. Sobernheim)

SHAʿBĀN AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL, a Mamlūk Sulṭān, son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad [q v.], brother of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl [q v], ascended the throne on Rabīʿ II 4, 746 (Aug 4, 1345), after having won over during the illness of his brother the emīrs of influence, notably his step-father, the Emīr Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī He is said to have used threats as to what he would do to them if not elected He forced his brother's widow to marry him and soon after also married the daughter of another Emīr and, indeed, women always played a great part in his life His main occupations were all kinds of gladiatorial contests, racing and cock-fighting His court was marked by great extravagance and the very slave-girls wore jewels on their dresses in his and his brother's reigns Offices were sold quite openly and shamelessly, the Sultān invented a special tax on the appointment to fiefs and offices, as his biographer al-Ṣafadī (see below) tells us An edict issued in his reign has been preserved in the citadel of Tripolis (Syria) and in a fragmentary state in Ḳalʿat al-Ḥiṣn, by this certain overpayments to the Mamlūks resulting from the difference between the lunar and solar years, which in case of their death before the end of their period of service could be claimed by their heirs, were left to the latter (see *Bibliography*).

He had two of his brothers and two of his most important emīrs murdered. Yelboghā al-Yahyawī, governor of Damascus, ran a similar risk He therefore arranged with the other Syrian governors to send a letter to the Sulṭān in which he threatened him with deposition and reproached him vigorously with his wickedness Sulṭān Shaʿbān then sent an apologetic reply in which he promised to reform but made preparations against the rebels When he wanted to put to death two more of his brothers he was prevented by their mother and his step-father. Other emīrs who had once been friendly to him but who now saw arrest threatening them collected their followers and other malcontents in the neighbourhood of Cairo until the Sultān in the end had only 400 horsemen at his disposal He took refuge with his mother in the citadel where he was discovered and taken prisoner He was murdered two days later on Djumādā II 3, 747 (Nov 20, 1346) In his brief reign he had proved himself one of the most worthless rulers who ever sat on the throne of Egypt.

Bibliography Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv. 462—469 His biography in al-Ṣafadī, Berlin Ar MSS, N° 9864, f 51a, and *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, MS Paris, Ar. 2070, f. 152a. On the edict see M Sobernheim in *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Nord, p 94—103, and thereon Becker, *Isl.*, i 97—99, who interprets the inscription somewhat differently, also al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 217, 10 from below, on the new taxation on fiefs see Ibn Iyās, i 184, and *Manhal*, *loc cit.*

(M Sobernheim)

SHABĀNKĀRA, name of a Kurdish tribe and their country Ibn al-Athīr has Shawānkāra, Marco Polo Soncara According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, the realm of Shabānkāra is bounded by Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf Nowadays it forms part of Fārsistān, modern maps show a village of the name of Shabānkāra on 30° N Lat and 51° E Long Mustawfī says that the capital was the stronghold of Īg, other localities of the province, which was divided into six districts, were Zarkān (near Īg), Istabānān (or Iṣtabānāt), Burk, Tārum, Khaira, Nairīz, Kuim, Rūnīz, Lār and Darābdjird. As for particulars and identifications it suffices to refer to the notes of G le Strange on his translation of Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (G M S, XXIII/ii. 138/139), for Darābdjird cf. also the article (above, i 960) and P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii 92 etc) As for the climate, Shabānkāra is reckoned among the warm countries (*garmsīr*), but it encloses also regions of a moderate temperature (*hawā-i muʿtadil*). The products of Shabānkāra consist chiefly in corn, cotton, dates, (dry) grapes and other fruits, at Darābdjird mineral salt is found Among the most fertile districts are those of Zarkān and of Burk. The revenues (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*) during the Seldjuḳ rule amounted to more than 2,000,000 dīnārs, but at the time Mustawfī wrote (± 740 = 1340) they only came to 266,100 dīnārs The country abounded in strong places, e. g Īg, Istahbānān (destroyed by the Atābeg Čāwulī, rebuilt later on), Burk. At the time of Mustawfī, the fortifications of Darābdjird were ruined, but the mountain-pass of Tang-i Ranba, to the east of the town, had a strong castle. In the chapter on the Muzaffarid dynasty, intercalated in the manuscripts of Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, facsimilated by Browne (G. M. S, XIV/i.

665/666), there is also mention of the fortifications of Shabānkāra, the fertility of that country ("beautiful and cultivated like the garden of Iram"), its mills, bāzārs, etc.

The Shabānkāra tribe were Kurds, in Ibn al-Balkhī's time (early sixth [twelfth] century) there were five subdivisions of them, viz. the Ismāʿīlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuwī, the Masʿūdī and the Shakānī. They were herdsmen, but also intrepid warriors, who more than once, in the course of history, became a power to be reckoned with. Their chiefs boasted descent from Ardashīr, the first Sāsānian, or even from the legendary king Minūčihr. Leaving aside the exploits of the Shabānkāra in Sāsānian times (as e. g. the fact that Yazdedjird III is said to have taken refuge among them at the time of the Muslim invasion), the history of the Shabānkāra begins at the epoch of the decline of Būyid power.

The Ismāʿīlīs were regarded as the most noble in descent, their chiefs are said to descend from Minūčihr and to have held in Sāsānian times the function of Ispāhbads. The first time, so far as we know, this tribe came into collision with a great Muslim power was in the days of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd (421/1030—431/1040), whose general Tāsh Farrāsh drove them from the environs of Isfahān, so they were compelled to remove southward. But now they came within the sphere of Būyid influence. The Būyids not suffering their presence, they had to migrate once more, until they settled in the Darābdjird district. Ibn al-Balkhī gives the history of their ruling family at some length. It may be sufficient to state that in the course of the quarrels which arose among the kinsmen one of them, Salk b. Muhammad b. Yahyā, called to his aid the mighty Fadlūya of the Rāmānīs, at the time Ibn Balkhī wrote, Salk's son Hasūya was the ruler of the Ismāʿīlīs, but his kinsmen contested his supremacy.

The Karzuwī Shabānkāra, taking advantage of the decline of the power of the Būyids, obtained Kāzerūn but were driven out of it by Čāwulī when he made his expedition in Fārs. The Masʿūdīs also came to some power in the days of Fadlūya, the Karzuwī chief Abū Saʿd had also served under that Rāmānī ruler. For some time the Masʿūdīs possessed Fīrūzābād and part of Shāpūr Khūra, but they were no match for the Karzuwīs, whose chief, Abū Saʿd, defeated and put to death Amīrūya, the Masʿūdī prince. When, later on, Čāwulī ruled Fārs, he installed Amīrūya's son Vishtāsf as ruler of Fīrūzābād. The Shakānīs, rapacious mountaineers of the coastland, present no historical interest. They also were subdued by Čāwulī.

Historically the most important tribe is the Rāmānīs, to whom belonged Fadlūya (Ibn al-Athīr, x 48, calls him Faḍlūn), the mightiest Amīr of the Shabānkāra. This man, the son of a certain ʿAlī b. al-Hasan b. Ayyūb, who was the chief of his tribe, rose to the rank of *Sipāhsalār* in the service of the Ṣāḥib ʿĀdil, the wazīr of the Būyid ruler of Fārs. Even before this time the Būyids had been troubled by the Shabānkāra. The *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed Browne, p. 432) mentions an insurrection of a certain Ismāʿīl of Shabānkāra against the king al-ʿImād li-Dīn-Allāh Abū Kālindjār (416/1025—440/1048). This prince was succeeded by his eldest son Abū Naṣr, who died in 447 (1055) and left the throne to his younger brother Abū Manṣūr, the royal master of the Ṣāḥib ʿĀdil. Abū Manṣūr put to death this wazīr, whereupon Faḍlūya rose in rebellion. He succeeded in capturing the king himself and his mother, the Saiyida Khurāsūya. Abū Manṣūr was confined in a stronghold near Shīrāz, where he was murdered in 448 (1056); the Saiyida was, by order of Fadlūya, suffocated in a bath. The Shabānkāra chief, now ruler of Fārs, soon came into collision with the Seldjuk power. After fighting without success against Ḳāwurd, the brother of Alp Arslān, he submitted to the latter, from whom he received the governorship of Fārs. Fadlūya afterwards revolted, the stronghold of Khurshah, to which he had betaken himself, was besieged and taken by the great Nizām al-Mulk, and Fadlūya, after many vicissitudes, captured and executed (464/1071). Such is in substance the account of Ibn al-Balkhī, a younger contemporary, Ibn al-Athīr represents these events somewhat differently (x. 48/49, the Kurd Fadlūn, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 289, held part of Ādharbaidjān and raided the Khazars in 421/1030, cannot, of course, be identified with the Shabānkāra chief). With the Faḍlūya-affair is connected without any doubt, the expedition of Alp Arslān to Shabānkāra of the year 458/1066, mentioned by al-Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (G. M. S., New Ser., vol ii), p. 118.

The Shabānkāra were to be for many years a nuisance to the countries of Kirmān and Fārs. In 492 (1099), supported by the prince of Kirmān, Īrān-Shāh b. Kāwurd, they defeated the Amīr Unar, who was *walī* of Fārs from the part of the Sulṭān Barkiyāruk. About these times the struggles of the Atābeg Čāwulī with the Shabānkāra begin. This prince, Fakhr al-Dīn Čāwulī, who died in the year 510/1116 (the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* wrongly places his death under the rule of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b Malik-shāh), governed Fārs on behalf of the Seldjuk ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Muhammad b. Malik-shāh. The Shabānkāra Amīr al-Hasan b. al-Mubāriz Khusraw refused to pay homage, thereupon Čāwulī attacked him suddenly. Khusraw had a narrow escape, being saved by the help of his brother Faḍlū. Now Čāwulī subdued Fasā and Djahram in Fārs; thereupon he besieged for some time the stronghold where Khusraw had taken refuge, but perceiving that the siege would be a long and hard one he came to terms with the Shabānkāra chief. Later Khusraw accompanied the Atābeg on his expedition to Kirmān, the king of which had sheltered the prince of Darābdjird, Ismāʿīl. In this connection Ibn al-Athīr mentions the fact that Čāwulī requested the king of Kirmān to hand over some Shabānkāra forces who had taken refuge to him.

After these events the Shabānkāra seem to have kept quiet during the rule of Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh, but new troubles arose when under the following king, Maḥmūd b. Muhammad (511/1117—525/1131), the wazīr Nāsir b. ʿAlī al-Darkazīnī began to illtreat these tribes also. This caused an insurrection during which the Shabānkāra wrought great damage. For the time up to the Kirmān affair there may be noted the following data: In the service of the Salghārī Atābeg Sunḳur, the Kurd Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir, who afterwards became the first independent sovereign of the Greater Lūr dynasty (he died 555/1160), made himself meritorious by a victory on the chiefs (*ḥukkām*) of Shabānkāra. In 564/1168 the Shabānkāra sheltered Zangī b. Daklā, who was expelled from Fārs by the ruler of Khuzistān.

We now enter on the most glorious period of Shabānkāra history, which, however, lasted only a few years. The Shabānkāra chief Kutb al-Dīn Mubāriz and his brother Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Amirs of Īg, availed themselves of the disturbances which arose in Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Seldjuḳ dynasty of that country. They responded to the call of the wazīr Nāṣih al-Dīn, who sollicited their aid against the Ghuzz. Contrary to the intention of the wazīr, but assisted by the citizens, they occupied before giving battle to the Ghuzz the capital Bardasīr and so secured the dominion of Kirmān (597 = 1200/1201) The two Amirs now defeated the Ghuzz, but the strained relations between these rulers of Īg and the Atābeg of Fārs compelled them to return to their realm after having appointed as their *nāʾib* one of the nobles of Kirmān. Thereupon the Ghuzz appeared once more to repeat their ravages. One of the Kirmānī Amīrs, Hurmuz Tādj al-Dīn Shāhān-shāh, concluded a treaty with them. Niẓām al-Dīn marched against him from Īg, in the battle which ensued Hurmuz fell and his Turkish allies were routed. Shortly after, Niẓām al-Dīn entered Bardasīr again. He made himself, however, by his debauchery and his rapacity odious to such a degree that a plot was laid against him. In the night the conspirators took him prisoner with his sons (600 = 1203/1204). They intended thereby to compel the commanders of Mubāriz's garrisons to surrender. These commanders, however, remained in their strongholds and the latter had to be besieged. In the meanwhile a new actor made his appearance on the political stage viz ʿAdjam Shāh b Malik Dīnār, a protégé of the Khʷārizm-shāh [q v]. ʿAdjam Shāh had concluded an alliance with the Ghuzz who assisted him in his attempts to secure the realm of Kirmān. In short, the course of events was as follows. The prisoner Niẓām al-Dīn was sent to the Atābeg of Fārs, but if ʿAdjam Shāh expected to remain in the quiet possession of Kirmān, he was disillusioned by a polite message from the Atābeg, Saʿd b. Zangī, to the effect that Saʿd was sending his general ʿIzz al-Dīn Fadlūn to accelerate the reduction of the garrisons mentioned above (600). The troops of Fārs duly arrived and delivered Kirmān definitively from the Shabānkāra An expedition which Mubāriz undertook in revenge had no results except bringing about once more sore devastations

In 658 (1260) Hūlāgū destroyed Īg and killed the Shabānkāra Amīr Muẓaffar Muhammad, afterwards, in the year 694/1295 we find Shabānkāra among the countries which, according to the treaty between Baidū Khān and Ghāzān Khān, fell to the lot of Ghāzān For the year 712/1312 mention is made of an insurrection of the Shabānkāra against the authority of Uldjāitū Khān It was repressed by Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar, who later became the first historically important member of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. It was the princes of that house who definitely put an end to the power of the Shabānkāra. In the year 755 or 756 (1354 or 1355) the last Shabānkāra ruler, the Malik Ardashīr, refused to obey the orders of the Muzaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn. The latter sent his son Maḥmūd with an army to chastise the Kurdish prince. Mahmūd subdued the country and obliged Ardashīr to fly. From this time onwards Shabānkāra forms a part of the Muzaffarid empire; incidentally, in the year 765 (1363/1364), we hear of a *ḥākim* of Shabānkāra on behalf of the Muẓaffarid kings (G M. S, XIV/1. 698). After the time of this dynasty mention is found of Shabānkāra as one of the fiefs (*kitʿ*) held by Bāisonghur Bahādur (Dawlat-shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 351).

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History Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p x, 164 *sqq*., Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, I 178 *sqq* (cf *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, I. 506), II. 122, Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed Tornberg, X 48, 49, 192, 362—364, XI. 229, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī al-Kazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, G. M. S, XIV/1 432, 433, 466, 506, 538, 591, 619, 620, 622, 639 (cf Mīrkhʷānd, *Rawdat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1266, II 137), 654 (cf. Mīrkhʷānd, *op cit*, II. 141), 655, 663, 665, 666 (cf Mirkhʷānd, *op. cit*, II 144), 698, 786, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatremère 1836, I 381, 385, 440—449, *Dhayl al-tawārīkh*, p. 279, 280 (gives the succession of the Amīrs of Īg), Cod Leiden 1612, fol. 397 v°, in margine, has a mutilated account of the Shabānkāra princes, who are said to have ruled 237 years; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV. 744, J. v. Hammer, *Gesch der Ilchane*, I. 68—70, 233, 234, 237; II 105, 136—139, 151, H H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III 204 *sqq*, *J R A S*, 1912 p. 1 *sqq*. (V. F. Buchner)

AL-SHAʿBĪ, Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ʿAmr al-Shaʿbī, traditionist, was one of the many South-Arabians who gained prominence in the early days of Islām He was descended from the clan Shaʿb, which is a branch of the large tribe of Hamdān, and was born in al-Kūfa, where his father Sharāhīl was one of the foremost of the *kurrāʾ* of Kurʾān readers. There is a great divergence in the dates assigned as the year of his birth, but we may assume that the date which he himself gives is approximately correct. He stated that he was born in the year of the battle of Djalūlāʾ, which took place in the year 19/640, but, according to another statement, his mother was one of the captives made after that battle, so that the year 20 given by other authorities may be more accurate. He himself tells us that when al-Hadjdjādj came as governor to al-Kūfa in the year 75 he had him called to enquire from him about the conditions of the city and finding him well-informed he made him spokesman (*ʿarīf*) of the tribesmen of Hamdān and settled a salary upon him. He kept in favour with al-Ḥadjdjādj till the time of the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath (in 81/700) when several of the chief *ḳurrāʾ* of the city came to him telling him that he, as the foremost of their class in the city, ought to take part in the rising and finally persuaded him to join them He actually went so far as to address the opposing armies and overwhelm al-Ḥadjdjādj with reproaches. The latter when informed about it said

"Do not be surprised at this Shaʿbī, the villain, if God grant me that I get hold of him, I shall make this world narrower for him than a camel's hide".

Soon after, the army of Ibn al-Ashʿath was defeated (in 83 A. H.) at Dair al-Djamādjim and al-Shaʿbī to preserve his life went into hiding. When he learned that al-Hadjdjādj had granted an amnesty to all who joined the army of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim, which was being raised to be sent to Khurāsān, he obtained through a friend a donkey and provisions and went to Farghāna Here he remained unknown but was able to get into favour with Ḳutaiba who employed him as secretary. From one of his letters al-Hadjdjādj guessed that it was al-Shaʿbī who was the composer and commanded Kutaiba to send him back to him without delay. Al-Shaʿbī had been for a long time on friendly terms with Ibn Abī Muslim, the chamberlain of al-Hadjdjādj, and the latter had probably spoken in his favour before al-Shaʿbī arrived before the governor Ibn Abī Muslim and other friends advised al-Shaʿbī what excuses to make, but when he came before al-Ḥadjdjādj he silently endured the many reproaches of ill-rewarded favours which he made and then admitted his guilt and stupidity. Al-Hadjdjādj, who must have valued his learning perhaps more than his position among his tribesmen, readily forgave him.

His reputation must have reached the caliph Abd al-Malik for he sent to al-Hadjdjādj to send al-Shaʿbī to him and he spent the next few years at the court in Damascus It is difficult to credit the account of the three years till the death of ʿAbd al-Malik as, on the authority of al-Shaʿbī himself, we are told that he was employed on two very important missions, one to the Greek emperor to Constantinople and the other to the caliph's brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who was governor of Egypt. The first mission related by al-Shaʿbī himself was remarkable on account of the fact that the emperor tried to make the caliph suspicious against his ambassador, in which he was not successful on account of the straightforwardness of al-Shaʿbī The mission to Egypt was of the most honourable character, the caliph recommending the ambassador in flattering terms to his brother. The favour of the caliph did not confine itself to the person of al-Shaʿbī, but we are told that thirty other members of his family were with him and all received salaries. After being present at the caliph's death-bed he appears to have gone after the decease of ʿAbd al-Malik back to al-Kūfa and died there a short time before the death of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who died in 110/728 Here again the dates given by various authors differ very much, every year from 103 to 110 is mentioned, the latter being probably the right one.

As regards his personal appearance, al-Shaʿbī was a slim, little man and he himself attributed it to having been born a twin. His mental qualities must have been great, and in contrast with other theologians he had a sense of humour. The celebrated traditionist al-Aʿmash was asked why he did not go to hear traditions from al-Shaʿbī, he replied: "Because as soon as he sees me coming he makes fun of me and says: Does this look like a man of learning? He looks just like a weaver!' ". But Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī received him with honour.

Al-Shaʿbī is said to have stated that he had heard traditions from more that 500 Companions and the general judgment of critics is very favourable as regards his trustworthiness Among his many pupils was the great lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa whose oldest authority he was, and it is not surprising that his authority is cited no less than 37 times in the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Abū Yūsuf, the chief pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa. The passages in which he is cited in the canonical books of traditions are too numerous to be counted. Though he himself did not claim to be a lawyer it was the custom of lawyers in al-Kūfa to go to him for advice. He himself said. "I am not a *faḳīh*, but I deliver those principles which have been handed down to me and they judge in accordance with them." He was a strong opponent of judging by analogy (*raʾy*) and examples are quoted by several of his biographers of his refutations of the principles of analogy. It is, however, not only in traditions that he handed down information; we owe to him a great amount of our knowledge of the history of the time of the Umaiyads, a glance into the index of the annals of al-Tabarī will suffice to confirm this. He himself said that he could recite poetry for a month and not exhaust the store of his knowledge in this branch of learning. He did not compose any books — the time had not yet come —, and he is stated to have said that he had never put a single line in black and white but related all from memory. This can only apply to the transmission of knowledge, as we have from him himself the admission that he acted as secretary to Ḳutaiba.

Bibliography His name is mentioned in nearly every book dealing with early Islām; the principal sources for his biography are: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Index, al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, Index, Ibn al-Ḳaisarānī, *Djamʿ baina ʾl-Riḍjāl*, Haidarābād 1323, p. 377; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth in *G.M.S*, 1912, fol. 334 recto, Ibn al-Kaisarānī, *Homonyma*, ed. Leiden 1865, p. 201; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 244, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1328, v 65–69, al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaidarābād, i 69—77. (F. KRENKOW)

SḤABĪB b. YAZĪD b. NUʿAIM AL-SḤAIBĀNĪ, a Khāridjī leader. He belonged to the region of al-Mawṣil, to which his family had migrated from the oasis of al-Lasaf in the Kūfa desert, and was born in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 25 (Sept /Oct 646) or 26 (Sept /Oct. 647). In the beginning of 76 (695) he joined Sālih b. Musarrah, the leader of the Khāridjīs in Dārā between Naṣībīn and Mārdīn and when the latter was slain on 17th Djumādā I (2 Sept. 695) in battle against the troops of al-Hadjdjādj [q. v.] under al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmaira al-Hamdānī at the village of al-Mudabbadj between al-Mawṣil and al-ʿIrāk, Shabīb assumed command and with the little body that survived fought his way through to the border country belonging to al-Mawṣil. During the whole of the war with the government troops he showed himself a master of guerilla warfare. He never remained long on the same spot but continually changed his place of abode and was on good terms with the Christian inhabitants of the country. He was therefore easily able to find shelter for his force which was always very small, although the statements of the Arab historians regarding the smallness of the number of his followers in contrast to the strong bodies of government troops seem somewhat exaggerated, and he was always well informed regarding the enemy's movements. After his defeat

of the ʿAnaza and the Banū Shaibān, he took his mother who lived on the slope of Mount Sātīdamā near Mawṣil and went farther south. Sufyān b. Abī ʾl-ʿĀliya al-Khathʿamī was defeated at Khānikīn and Sawra b Abdjar (al-Hurī) al-Tamīmī at al-Nahrawān, whereupon al-Hadjdjādj at once collected a new army and put al-Djazl b. Saʿīd al-Kindī in command The latter showed the greatest caution in following up his dangerous enemy, was always on his guard and ready for battle, and entrenched himself at night An attack made by Shabīb failed. Al-Hadjdjādj who wanted a speedy end to the long struggle, then appointed Saʿīd b. al-Mudjālid al-Hamdānī and ordered him to attack at once, but he was killed His successor Suwaid b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Saʿdī could do nothing and suddenly Shabīb appeared before Kūfa on the same day as al-Hadjdjādj returned from a journey to Baṣra. In the night Shabīb even entered the town and knocked at the gate of the citadel with a mighty blow from his mace, but on the following morning he had disappeared again. Al-Hadjdjādj then sent a body of cavalry under Zahr b Kais al-Djuʿfī against him, Zahr was however defeated at al-Sailaḥūn and when Zāʾida b. Ḳudāma, who succeeded him had fallen at Rūdhbār, Shabīb threatened the town of al-Madāʾin A new army was at once equipped and the command given to ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Muhammad b al-Ashʿath al-Kindī [q. v.] who pursued the same cautious tactics as al-Djazl. As he did not succeed in gaining a decision, al-Hadjdjādj became impatient and replaced him by ʿOthmān b Katan al-Hārithī, who was defeated and killed in Dhu ʾl-Hidjdja 76 (March 696) on the river Hawlāyā While Shabīb was spending the next three months in the mountains, al-Hadjdjādj again collected a strong army the command of which was given to ʿAttāb b Warkāʾ al-Riyāhī In the meanwhile al-Madāʾin fell to Shabīb without a blow being struck Soon afterwards he attacked the troops sent against him at Sūk Hakama near Kūfa. ʿAttāb was killed and Shabīb was once more victorious He therefore again threatened Kūfa, al-Hadjdjādj, however, had already appealed to the caliph for help. 4,000 men under Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī soon arrived and there was again a battle at Kūfa, in which Shabīb had the worst of it and had to take to flight to save himself. After an indecisive fight at al-Anbār he went to Djūkhā, i. e. the region of al-Nahrawān, did not stay long there but went to Kirmān When the Syrians pursuing him approached he went to meet them, crossed the Dudjail into al-Ahwāz to attack Sufyān but was forced to retreat after a desperate struggle and was drowned while crossing the river (probably at the end of 77 = spring of 697). Shabīb's appearance was in keeping with his almost legendary exploits. He was very tall and is said to have possessed extraordinary physical strength

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N⁰. 287, de Slane's transl., i 616 *sqq.*, al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii, see Index, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv 317—336, 338—352, al-Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 328, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed Wright, p. 676 *sq* , Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i. 434 *sq*, 438—442; Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, p. 42—48; do, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 143 *sq.* (K. V. Zetterstéen)

SHABWA, a town in South Arabia, 6 hours journey from al-Sifāl in the Wādī Djerdān and 2 days' journey (in Ibn al-Mudjāwir 9 parasangs) S.W. of al-ʿAbr, about 3850 feet above sea-level. The town is mentioned as early as the Hadramūt dedicatory inscription Osiander 29 6 (הגרהן שבות), Pliny (*Nat. Hist* vi 28, 154, xii 14, 52) knows it by the name of Sabota as the capital of Hadramūt According to him it was built on a high hill and had 60 temples within its walls According to the authorities from whom C. Landberg got his information about Shabwa, the old town is actually on a hill called Karn, the only elevation in the wide plain, close to the modern settlement Ruins on a great scale still exist on the top of the hill, enclosed by a wall; large buildings with columns and statues are still standing Glaser also describes Shabwa as the centre of many ruins between Baihān and Shibām.

Al-Bakrī alone among the Arab geographers describes Shabwa as the first town in Hadramūt, the others transfer it to the region between Baihān and Hadramūt so that they do not include it in the latter A. Sprenger (p. 306) suggested that this limitation of the geographical conception of Hadramūt was a natural result of the Himyarite conquest. Shabwa indeed is actually described as a Himyār town. Al-Hamdānī says that the people of Shabwa left the town during the war between Madhhidj and Himyār and settled in Hadramūt. The new settlement was called Shibām after them, originally Shibāh, a *mīm* was put in place of the *hā* According to L. Hirsch this town is 6 days' east of the ancient Shabwa. D H. Muller in the critical notes to his edition of al-Hamdānī (p. 89) has however described the connection of Shibām and Shabwa as sheer imagination on the part of South Arabian scholars. In any case there is evidence for Shibwa as a second pronounciation alongside of Shabwa That the latter is older may well be deduced from Pliny's Sabota.

In ancient times Shabwa was the centre of the frankincense trade and of the trade between Egypt and India, which brought to Rome via Ghazza (Gaza) the rarest products of Arabia and China. Shabwa is still connected by three caravan routes with the north One leads from Nadjrān via ʿElaib, al-Setima, Ruwaik, Ṣāfir, ʿIrk Musabbah to Shabwa, a second from Nadjrān via Khabb, the Djawf Mārib, ʿIrk Dukhaim to Shabwa and the third via Mārib, Wādī Harīb, al-Ayādim, Djaww el-Kudaif to Shabwa. The town however no longer plays an important part in commerce and is only of importance for its salt trade. Even in al-Hamdānī's time Shabwa was famous for its salt deposits. The salt-hill called Haid el-Meleh, is two hours west of Shabwa and is still being worked, the diggings are open and still confined to the foot of the hill so that there is salt here for centuries still.

The ancient ruins of the city have given rise to many legends Al-Makrīzī says that there is the tomb of a giant in Shabwa, whose bone from knee to foot measured 13 ells Yaḳūt (iv. 184) mentions that the tomb of the prophet Sālih [q v] — which others say is in Mekka — is here and that the footprints of the Prophet's she-camel were to be seen there. As, according to C Landberg (*Arabica* v. 248) Shabwa has nothing to do with the Sahwa visited by von Wrede — the latter is identified with a Sahwa in a valley a considerable distance from Shabwa — this tomb cannot be identical with the Himyār tomb described by von Wrede (p. 245). Yāḳūt (iii 257)

besides knows a castle on mount Raima (now the Djebel Rēma) in Yemen also called Shabwa.

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SHADD (or RABT AL-MIHZAM), „ligature", „knot", „girt which is bound", this is the most important rite in the initiation ceremony practised since at least the twelfth century A D. in the guilds of artisans (*hirfa*, cf. SINF) as well as in certain mystical congregations (cf. FARĪḲA) At his initiation before the body of initiates, the candidate (*mashdūd*) if he is a Muslim, takes part if required in the recitation of the *fātiha*, the 7 *salām*'s, the *nashād* in honour of the Prophet, the latter preceded by his taking a preliminary oath. Then comes the *shadd*, the novice bends down and is „bound" by the initiator (*nakīb*, *shādd*), either on the body, the head, ort he shoulder (cf the Turkish miniature in *Islam*, VI 171), with a knotof material, a shawl of silk or wool (*mihzam*), a cloth handkerchief (*fūta*, *mandīl*, *ghatba*, *zunnār*), or a simple piece of string (*maftūl*) Several successive twists, knots or turns are made in the cord, usually 4 (sometimes 3,7 or 8), prayers are recited at each twist invoking some patron saint: when there are four of them, the prayer is in honour of the *mashdūd*, Gabriel, Muhammad, ʿAlī and Salmān, in this case, two supplementary knots are added (called *gharsa*, *shakla*) in honour of Hasan and Ḥusain.

The shadd is characteristic of the solemn initiation *ʿalā bisāṭ Allāh, fī maidān ʿAlī, bayn al-fityān*, it binds the initiate, whether he be Muslim, Christian or Jew to the corporation as a body, as the *ʿahd al-khirḳa* of the mystics binds one to the whole brotherhood, on the other hand, the *takhāwī*, called „pact without a knot" is a private pact of brotherhood binding to a single individual only by a kind of foster-brotherhood (cf *ʿahd al-yad wa 'l-iḳtidā* or *talḳīn*, for the novice mystic).

After the *shadd*, the initiate is sometimes partially shaved (forelock, moustache or beard), then he puts on a special dress (*libās*, *sarāwīl*) in the old guilds, *khirḳa* on the shoulders and *tādj* [*kulāh* or *ḳurmus*, according to Baḳlī as early as 570 (1174) or *tākiya*] on the head, in the congregations The initiate's solemn pledge is then taken (*ʿahd*, *bayʿa*, *mubāyaʿa*, *mīthāḳ al-iḳhā*), certain esoteric instruction on his new duties is given him with permission to make use of it (*idjāza*) He then takes his place with this brethren on the carpet of initiation (*bisāṭ*, *sadjdjāda*), for the traditional meal (*tamlīḥ walīma*)

During the last forty years this rite has begun to disappear with the gradual disappearance of the old guilds. Some congregations (*Rifāʿiya* and *Bakṭāshiya*), however, have still preserved the solemn *shadd*.

Thorning was the first to study and classify methodically the esoteric manuscripts relating to the guilds, or *kutub al-futuwwa*, which describe this ritual (they are a kind of catechism of initiation, like the masonic handbooks, compiled in vulgar Arabic with some Persian terms *dastūr* „by your leave", *pīr*, *kār*), the earliest manuscript is dated 844 (1440) but the text is of the XIIIth century, an inscription found by van Berchem in Egypt alludes to them as early as 771 (1369); the Caliph Nāṣir (d 622/1225) is remembered for having based his attempt at an order of chivalry (*libās al-futuwwa*) on the rite of *shadd*, which is found even earlier in 578 (1182) among the *Nubuwīya* of Damascus, and in 535 (1140) in a guild of thieves of Baghdād (cf also Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Cairo 1340, p. 42[1]).

Its origins are still more remote, if we remember the significance from the fourth century A H among the mystics of the words already mentioned *bisāt*, *fūta*, and especially *futuwwa* [q v], this „knightly honour" which no threat nor prayer could turn from regarding their oaths (like Satan damned for his fidelity to the monotheistic pact, which he had taken, according to Ḥallādj, *Tawāsīn*, VI. 20—25, Abū Tālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, II., p 82, 1, 8 –9, Ahmad Ghazālī quoted in Ibn Djawzī, *Kussāṣ*, Leiden MS., cod. Warn. 998, f 117ᵃ *sqq*) The appropriation to the *shadd* of Ḳur'ān, VII. 171 and XLVIII. 10 seems to be more modern But certain elements of the ritual itself are ancient, probably of extremist Shīʿa origin. It is not by chance that the sect of the Nusairīs who practice initiation as reformed by Khasībī and Tabarānī in the fourth century A. H., already credits Salmān with the same qualities as initiator as do the guild catechisms describing the *shadd*, besides the oath of secrecy and the right to initiate non-Muslim monotheists point to the Karmatians.

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(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

SHADDĀD, BANŪ. The Banū Shaddād, of whom there is little record, ruled over Arrān from 340—468—951/952—1075/1067 when most of the country was conquered and annexed by Malik-Shāh Members of the family continued, however, to hold governorships in various districts, such as Gandja and Ānī, which they purchased from the Seldjūks, at any rate down to the end of the VIth/XIIth century They were probably Kurds. The principal towns included in Arrān were Nakhčuwān, Gandja, Tiflis, Damirḳapu and Ḳarabāgh. The inhabitants were called لكز or Lesghians.

In 337/948 the Musāfarid ruler of Ādharbāidjān, the Sallār Marzubān Muhammad, was captured before the gates of Raiy, whereupon that country was thrown into confusion and any chief who had a following set himself up as independent governor of some town or district. Among these was a certain Muhammad b. Shaddād b Kartū, who, having first made himself master of Dabīl by 340/951, became practical ruler of Ādharbāidjān, which he apparently held intact until 344/955 when his power began to decline, and in 360/970 his son succeeded only to the province of Arrān There was about this time a ruler of Gandja named Fadlūn who was possibly a brother of Muhammad b. Shaddād. The son of Muhammad b. Shaddād b Kartū was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b Djaʿfar Lashkarī, who reigned for eight years and was succeeded by his brother Marzubān, who after a reign of seven years was killed by another brother named Faḍl b. Muhammad while out hunting. Fadl, by his good government, made himself loved of the people, and among his memorable acts was the building of a vast bridge across the river Araxes. He died in 422/1031 after a reign of 47 years and was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Fath Mūsā, who, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b Mūsā Lashkarī, who reigned down to his death in 440/1048 This Abu 'l-Hasan was one of the patrons of the poet Katrān [q v] in Gandja. He was succeeded by his son Nūshirwān, who, dying three months later, was succeeded by Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Fadl, of whom more is known than of the other members of this dynasty, for he is mentioned more than once by Kābūs in his *Ḳābūs-nāma*, and Ibn al-Athīr tells us that he swore allegiance to Tughril when the latter visited Gandja in 446/1054 after his conquest of Tabrīz Abu 'l-Aswār died in 459/1067 and was succeeded by his son al-Fadl II Minūčihr. Kābūs (*op. cit.*) writing in 468/1075 refers to Fadlūn b. Abu 'l-Aswār in the past tense, and it would appear that with the death of this Fadlūn and the annexation of Arrān by Malik Shāh the independence of the Banū Shaddād came to an end, and from this point it is very difficult to follow the history of the family. This Fadlūn was presumably the patron of this name so often addressed by Katrān, and is also the subject of several anecdotes in the *Ḳābūs-nāma*. He apparently ruled over Gandja, Ānī and Tovin.

According to Khanikoff (*Bull. Acad. Petr*, 1849, VI 195), al-Fadl II Minūčihr had two sons, Fadlūn, who was Amīr of Gandja when that city was captured by Malik-Shāh in 481/1088, and Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir, who was Amīr of Ānī when that city was captured by King David the Restorer in 518/1124. This Abu 'l-Aswār II Shāwir had a son Maḥmūd, who had a son Kai-Sultān, of whom we know from an inscription found in Ānī bearing the date 595 (1198), where he calls himself Kai-Sultān b. Mahmūd b. Shāwir b. Minūčihr al-Shaddādī.

RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANŪ SHADDĀD.

1. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, A.H. 340 In Gandja Fadlūn I,
2. Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar Lashkarī, A. H. 360—368,
3. Marzubān, A. H. 368—375,
4. al-Fadl b. Muhammad, A H. 375—422,
5. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Mūsā, A H. 422—425;
6. Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b Mūsā Lashkarī, A. H. 425—440;
7. Nūshirwān b. ʿAlī b Mūsā, A H. 440,
8. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. al-Fadl b. Muḥammad, A. H. 440—459,
9. al-Fadl Minūčihr b Shāwir, Fadlūn II of Gandja;
10. Abu 'l-Muzaffar, Fadlūn III of Gandja,
11. Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwir b. Minūčihr of Ānī, d A. H. 468;
12. Abu 'l-Fath Djaʿfar b ʿAlī b Mūsā of Alān, d. A. H 470,
13. Mahmūd b Shāwir b Minūčihr b. Shāwir b. al-Fadl of Ānī,
14. Kai-Sultān b. Mahmūd b. Shāwir of Ānī, still alive in A. H 595.

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(E. DENISON ROSS)

AL-SHĀDHILĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-SHARĪF AL-ZARWĪLĪ, a celebrated mystic, founder of the Muslim religious brotherhood or *ṭarīḳa* [q. v.] known as the *Shādhiliya* [q. v.], which has itself given rise to some fifteen other brotherhoods like the *Wafāʾiya*, the *ʿArūsīya*, the *Djazūliya*, the *Hafnawīya* etc etc.

He was born, according to some, at Ghemāra near Ceuta about 593 (1196/1197); others say he was born at Shādhila, a place near the Djabal Zafrān in Tunisia from which he would take his *nisba* of al-Shādhilī In any case the ethnic al-Zarwili would suggest a Moroccan origin. His disciples attributed a nobler origin to him and trace his descent back to the Prophet through the line of al-Ḥasan.

From his youth al-Shādhilī had devoted himself to study with such ardour that he contracted a serious disease of the eyes; perhaps he became blind. Henceforth he devoted himself completely

to the doctrines of the mystic Sūfīs (cf. the art. TAṢAWWUF) In Fās he had attended the lectures of the adepts of the great eastern mystic Djunaid, particularly those of Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. Hirzihim, himself a pupil of Abū Midyan Shuʿaib of Tlemcen. But it was only under the influence of the Moroccan Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Salām b Mashīsh that the subject of our article went to Ifrikiya to the reign of Tunis to spread his doctrines. Persecuted for his teaching and especially for his influence on the people, he took refuge in Alexandria in Egypt where his popularity extended and increased According to some of his biographers, he could not leave his house without being followed by crowds He made many pilgrimages to Mekka, on the last of which he died at Homaithirā while crossing a desert in Upper Egypt (656 = 1258) His tomb, which was an object of great veneration and pilgrimage, is surmounted by a dome, the gift of a Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt (Cf. al-Batanūni, *Rihla* p. 29) Silvestre de Sacy gives another tradition (*Chrestomathie*, II 233), according to which he is buried in the region of Mokhā

Al-Shādhili led the life of a *Shaikh* [q. v] *Sāʾih* or religious man seeking through a wandering life of meditation constant union with the divinity, eternal ecstacy. He taught his disciples the entire devotion of life to the service of God He recommended them to pray at all hours, in all places and in all circumstances and the practice of *taṣawwuf*, his profession of faith was the *tawhīd* His immediate pupils had no *khalwa* (a kind of hermitage), nor monastery, nor noisy practices nor juggleries Among his many disciples the most famous were in Egypt Tādj al-Dīn b ʿAtāʾ Allāh and Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, in the North-west of Africa the most of the Muslim religious brotherhoods claim to follow his teaching.

Al-Shādhili left a number of works of which the majority are *hizb* [q. v], a kind of formula of prayer for recitation, either regularly or in case of need They are entitled

1. *al-Mukaddima al-ghazīya li ʾl-djamāʿa al-azhariya*, 2 *Kitāb al-Ukhwa*, 3. *Hizb al-barr*; 4 *Hizb al-bahr*, 5 *Hizb al-kabīr*, 6. *Hizb al-ṭams ʿalā ʿuyūn al-aʿdāʾ*, 7. *Hizb al-nasr*, 8 *Hizb al-lutf*, 9 *Hizb al-fath*, also called *Hizb al-anwār*, 10 *Salāt al-fath wa ʾl-maghrib*, 11 various prayers or litanies, 12 lastly a *Waṣīya*, a kind of religious charge to his disciples

Bibliography M Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du Cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fasy*, N°. 339, and the Arabic sources cited, Paris 1907, Brockelmann, *G A L*, I. 449, Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p 444, Doutté, *l'Islam algérien*, Algiers 1900, p 78, Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, I 424 and passim, Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, p. 220. (A. COUR)

SHĀDHILĪYA, or SHĀDHILĪYA, pronounced in Africa Shādulīya, Sūfi sect called after Abu ʾl-Hasan ʿAlī b ʿAbd Allāh al-Shādhilī, whose title is variously given as Tādj al-Dīn and Takī al-Dīn (593–656 A.H.). For the life of this personage see the art AL-SHĀDHILĪ.

His system. Al-Shādhilī does not appear to have composed any large work, but many sayings, spells and an ode are ascribed to him, and since some of the first are recorded in the work of his disciple's disciple, Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandarī, composed in 694, they may be to some extent genuine (see the art. AL-SHĀDHILĪ) The best known of his productions is the *Hizb al-Bahr* "Incantation of the Sea", which was reproduced by Ibn Battūta (I 41), whence the translation is copied by L. Rinn (*Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 229). Extraordinary powers are ascribed to it by Hādjdjī Khalīfa (III. 58), and its author thought it might have prevented the fall of Baghdād, several commentaries on it are enumerated. Several other incantations and prayers are given in the *Latāʾif* (II. 47—66) and the *Mafākhir* (p. 135 *sqq.*). The latter of these works also contains fairly lengthy discourses, in some of which the stages through which the *murīd* should pass are described in detail, though the language is, as usual in such cases, not intelligible to the ordinary reader. It would appear from these that al-Shādhilī's aim was in the main the inculcation of the higher morality, such as is found in the works which he approved, viz. the *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* and the *Kūt al-Kulūb*, and indeed the five principles (*uṣūl*) of his system are given as (1) fear of Allāh in secret and open, (2) adherence to the Sunna in words and deeds, (3) contempt of mankind in prosperity and adversity, (4) resignation to the will of Allāh in things great and small, (5) having recourse to Allāh in joy and sorrow

It would seem unlikely that it was his intention to found an order in the sense which afterwards became attached to the word *ṭarīka*. He desired his adherents to pursue the trades and professions in which they were engaged, combining, if possible, their normal activities with acts of devotion Anecdotes are recorded of men who offered to abandon their employments and follow the saint, who urged them to continue working at the same Mendicancy was discouraged and even government subsidies for their meeting-houses were, it is asserted, refused Indeed the erection of *zāwiya*'s and similar buildings does not seem to have been contemplated by al-Shādhilī or his successor Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās, who is praised by his biographer for never placing stone on stone Even the holding of high office with ample emoluments and a luxurious mode of living was not discouraged, and this doctrine, as will be seen, survived till recent times among adherents of the system.

Doubtless the ultimate aim of al-Shādhilī was, as with other Ṣūfīs, *al-fanāʾ*, and the method pursued was the usual one of the religious exercises called *awrād* and *adhkār* Formulae, as usual, were selected and their repetition a stated number of times enjoined Lists of these with the ritual appertaining to them are given in the *Mafākhir* (p 125, 126) The shaikh, indeed, is said to have adapted his recommendations to the needs of each *murīd* and to have given each permission to follow some other shaikh, if he found his methods more effective The use of such formulae, however, is not easily separated from the supposed acquisition of miraculous powers, which are described in the *Mafākhir* (*loc cit.*). "The least of them (the Shādhilis') messengers are blindness, crippling and desolation", but there was some doubt whether they were justified in sending them on their enemies

Apart from their mysterious knowledge the leaders of the system claimed to be strictly orthodox, and, indeed, when a revelation which one

of the adherents received conflicted with a *sunna* he was told to reject the former in favour of the latter. In spite of this some of al-Shādhilī's assertions incurred the censure of Ibn Taimīya, whose supporters in this matter in their turn incurred the censure of the historian al-Yāfiʿī (iv. 142).

The three specialties which the members of the sect claimed were. (1) that they are all chosen from the "well-guarded Tablet", i. e. have been predestined from all eternity to belong to it; (2) that ecstasy with them is followed by sobriety, i. e. does not permanently incapacitate them from active life; (3) that the *Ḳuṭb* will throughout the ages be one of them.

Spread of the system. The absence at the first of religious buildings renders it difficult to trace the progress of the community It seems clear that the first group of adherents was formed in Tunis, al-Shādhilī's successor, however, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686) lived 36 years in Alexandria, "without once seeing the face of the governor or sending to him" (*Laṭāʾif*, i. 128), and, as has been seen, did not lay stone on stone, still ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (*Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, vii. 69) records the existence there of a mosque bearing his name (restored 1189 = 1775/1776), doubtless built by his disciples, also of one called after his disciple Yākūt al-ʿArshī (d 707) and a third called after their joint disciple Tādj al-Dīn b. ʿAtā al-Iskandarī (d 709, author of the *Laṭāʾif*) The first of these is called a *djāmiʿ* and is richly endowed. There are *mawlid* celebrated in honour of the first two of these persons The Pasha states that the mosques are chiefly frequented by Maghrebines, he mentions a mosque belonging to the order in Cairo, which, however, is in ruins It is probable that the adherents of al-Shādhilī were at all times to be found chiefly to the West of Egypt, but H H. Jessup (*Fifty-three Years in Syria*, ii 537) asserts that they were in his time numerous in Syria and advocated the reading of the Old and New Testaments and fraternisation with Christians In 1892 a lady adherent, "from Koraun in the Bukaa, North of Mt Hermon", set out on a preaching tour in Syria, she advocated reform and an upright life and insisted that all, Muslims, Christians and Jews, are brothers She preached in the mosques in Damascus, Hasbeia, Sidon, Tyre and other cities, rebuking the sins of the people It would seem certain that religious toleration of this sort by no means coincided with the views of the founder of the order

It was reported by C Niebuhr (*Reisebeschr. nach Arabien*, i 439; French transl., i 350) that in Mokhā in S Arabia Shaikh al-Shādhilī was regarded as the patron saint of the place and, indeed, the originator of coffee-drinking, and S de Sacy afterwards (*Chrest. Arabe*, ii 274) produced from the *Dhikhān-numā* a passage relating how al-Shādhilī came to Arabia in 656, and the series of miracles which led to the production of coffee becoming the staple industry of Mokhā It is more probable that the patron of Mokhā is a later member of the sect, ʿAlī b ʿUmar al-Kurashī (whose verses are cited in the *Mafākhir*, p 7), a disciple (and probably cousin) of Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Daʾim b. al-Mailaḳ (d. 797), head of the order in his time (Ritter, *Erdkunde, Arabien*, ii. 572). It is not clear from Niebuhr's account how far the people of Mokhā in his time observed the Shādhilī ritual or belonged to the community. Since Niebuhr's time the place has seriously diminished in importance, being now "a dead-alive mouldering town whose trade as a port for coffee and hides has been killed" (G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, 1915, p. 24)

The main seat of the Shādhilī community appears then to have been Africa west of Egypt, and chiefly Algeria and Tunisia Materials for the religious history of this region are at present scanty; from a MS. called *Tabakāt Wad Ḍaifulla*, written 1805 A. D, MacMichael produces the following excerpt relating to a shaikh who died A H. 1155 (*A History of the Arabs of the Sudan*, ii. 250).

"It was characteristic of him (Khogali b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm) that he held to the Book and the Law [*sunna*] and followed [the precepts and example of] the Shádhalía Sayyids as to word and deed. And he used to wear gorgeous raiments, such as a green robe of Baṣra, and upon his head a red fez [*ṭarbūsh*], and round it as a turban rich muslin stuffs For footwear he wore shoes [*ṣarmūga*], and he fumigated himself with India-wood [*el 'ūd el hindi*], and perfumed himself, and put Abyssinian civet on his beard and on his clothes All this he did in imitation of Sheikh Abu el Hasan el Shádhalí . . . . And it was remarked to him that the Kádiría only wear cotton shirts and scanty clothes, and he replied 'My clothes proclaim to the world "We are in no need of you," but their clothes say "We are in need of you"'.

The same notice contains the names of some important members of the order; the shaikh's conduct, as will be seen, agrees exactly with the anecdotes recorded in the *Laṭāʾif*, and the same is the case with what is told in the next paragraph

"It was also characteristic of him that he never rose up to salute any of the great ones of the earth, neither the AWLÁD 'AGIB, the rulers of his country, nor the kings of GA'AL, nor any of the nobility, excepting only two men, the successor [*Khalifa*] of Sheikh Idrís and the successor of Sheikh Sughayerūn"

In the nineteenth century the order received considerable extension through the efforts of one "Si Maisum" Muhammad b Muhammad b. Ahmad, born about 1820 among the Gharīb, a tribe located halfway between Bogar and Miliana, whose biography is given in detail by A. Joly in the *Revue Africaine*, 1906, 1907. After studying under certain provincial teachers he went to Mazouma, the centre of Muslim studies in Algeria. Having acquired what was to be learned there, he went back to the Gharīb among whom he founded two mosques, in one of which he taught the Ḳurʾān and Fikh, in the other Grammar and Logic. Having associated with members of different orders, he hovered between the Madanīya and the Shādhilīya, in 1860 he visited the shrine of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Thaʿālibī near Algiers, and this saint having been a Shādhilī, Si Maisum became attracted to their doctrine, a member of the order advised him to join it and visit the Shaikh of the order, Adda, at Djabal al-Luh in Walad Lakreud. There he stayed for a time, after which he returned to the Gharīb. By special providence he had been spared the preliminary trials imposed on other aspirants, and instead of starting his career in the order as a *muḳaddam*, he was elevated shortly

after joining to the dignity of Shaikh. About 1865 he founded a zāwiya at Bogari and divided his time between the Gharīb and Bogari, to the latter of which he ultimately withdrew. In 1866 owing to the death of Adda he became Shaikh of the Shādhilīya in Central Algeria, though at first he had to contest it with Adda's son. He was offered the headship of a government madrasa at Algiers, but declined This invitation, however, brought him the acquaintance of European officials, whose respect he enjoyed till his death in 1883. By this time his sphere of influence had extended over the greater part of the Tell Oranais and the whole of Western Algeria Places where he had *khulafā'* were Mustaghanem, Mascara, Relizane, Nedroma, Oran, Tlemcen. After his death some of these *khulafā'* made themselves independent and the unity of control which he had established came to an end.

Statistics for the end of the last century are given by Depont and Coppolani (p. 454), whence it appears that the number of adherents in Algiers and Constantine did not reach 15,000, with 11 zāwiya's. The communities which split off from the Shādhilīya are there given as 13 in number, and among these the Shaikhīya, Taibīya and Derḳāwīya are said to be the most numerous

Although when the community started there appears to have been little in the way of organisation contemplated and the connection between adherents was loose, it is evident that in course of time the normal organisation of a *ṭarīḳa* was introduced

Literature of the Order It is noticed that neither Shādhilī himself nor his successor Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī published any treatises, whereas his disciple Yāḳūt al-ʿArshī seems to have composed *Manāḳib*, and their joint disciple Tādj al-Dīn al-Iskandarī was the author of several works, of which two, *Latā'if al-Minan*, dealing with the first two heads of the sect, and *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ wa-Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, are printed on the margin of the *Latā'if al-Minan* of al-Shaʿrānī (Cairo 1321) The former of these is the main source of our knowledge of al-Shādhilī's career A biography of al-Shādhilī which cannot have been much later was the *Durrat al-Asrār* of Muhammad b. al-Kāsim al-Himyarī b. al-Sabbāgh, which is excerpted in the *Mafāḳhir* Another biography called *al-Kawākib al-Zāhira*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Kādir b Muʿaizil (d 894), was excerpted by Haneberg (*Z D.M G*, VII. 14 *sqq*) The general account of the system called *al-Mafāḳhir al-ʿAlīya fi 'l-Maʿāthir al-Shādhilīya* (printed Cairo 1314) by Ibn Iyād is later than al-Suyūtī For doctrine this work refers to two *Risāla* called respectively *al-Uṣūl* and *al-Ummahāt* by Sīdī Zarrūk (Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, d 896) Haneberg, *loc. cit*, mentions the Shādhilī poet ʿAlī b. Wafā' (d 807) and his father Muhammad Wafā', author of certain mystical works, and a "dīwan, of which the odes breathe for the greater part the spirit of joyous devotion to Allah, without disturbing admixture" A poem called *Ḥāl al-Sulūk* by the Nāṣir al-Dīn who has already been mentioned is noticed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa A Shādhilī writer, Dāwūd b. ʿUmar b Ibrāhim of Alexandria (d. 733), is mentioned by al-Suyūṭī in *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 246

The chief European literature has been noticed above. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

SHADJAR AL-DURR is famous as the only woman to sit on the throne of Egypt in the Muslim period. She was the favourite slave of Malik al-Sālih Ayyūb [q. v.] who had her sent to his cousin al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd in 620 (1223) during his imprisonment After she had born a son named Khalīl, she became Sulṭāna with the title *Umm Khalīl* (mother of Khalīl). Khalil died when about 6 years old. When Ayyūb died in Mansūra in 647 (1249) during the war with Louis IX of France, she concealed his death and had his son al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Tūrān Shāh brought back from Mesopotamia. Sulṭān Ayyūb's death was not announced till his son's arrival. In place of being grateful to her for her help Tūrān Shāh treated her shamefully. Since he had come of age he had not lived for any considerable period at a time in Egypt and he could not come to terms with the Mamlūks, as he was incapable of serious work in those difficult times and led an extravagant life with his own Mamlūks whom he had brought from Mesopotamia He particularly brought down the wrath of Shadjar al-Durr on himself by demanding from her an account of Ayyūb's wealth, which she said she had spent for the war against the Franks. The general discontent led to a conspiracy against Tūrān Shāh as a result of which he was killed at the beginning of 648 (1250) The followers of Shadjar al-Durr had such confidence in her wisdom and ability that they put the government in her hands. She accepted their choice and on coins and edicts called herself al-Muʿtasimīya (vassal of the Caliph al-Muʿtasim in Baghdād), al-Sālihīya (the slave of Sālih Ayyūb), Umm Khalīl (from her deceased son), ʿIṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn (preservation of the world and of religion, i e with the sovereign title), Malikat al-Muslimin (queen of the Muslims) The Emīr Aibak with whom she was already closely associated was appointed her Atābeg (commander in-chief) While she was recognised in Egypt, the Syrian Emīrs declined to do so and handed over Damascus to Malik al-Nāsir Yūsuf II The Caliph took the side of the Syrians and ordered the Egyptian emīrs to chose a Sultān The latter could not evade this command and in the same year chose the Atabeg ʿIzz al-Dīn Aibak who thereupon married Shadjar al-Durr Her period of sole rule had lasted 80 days As the Ayyūbid princes in Syria were not yet pacified, a scion of their family, Mūsā, a great-grandson of Kāmil was elected Sultān along with him He was a boy of six and had of course no influence at all, but his name appeared on coins and edicts Four years later he was banished and went to Constantinople where he received a friendly welcome from the Emperor.

While Aibak was almost entirely occupied with campaigns against the Sultān of Aleppo or rebel Mamlūks and lived in the town of al-Ṣālihīya near the Syrian frontier, his queen reigned uncontrolled at home She had only to deal with the shameless greedy Mamlūks of her first husband, even when it was against Aibak's interest In her thirst for power, she prevented the latter from visiting his first wife and his son and when later she heard that he was thinking of ridding himself of her and seeking the hand of a Mesopotamian princess of the Zangid house, she decided to anticipate him and offered her hand to the Sultān of Aleppo. It was to some extent a race between

the two to see which would get rid of the other first. By a great display of affection she managed to dispel Aibak's suspicions and to entice him into her palace in the citadel of Cairo. There he was murdered in his bath (655 = 1257) by two Mamlūks devoted to her. When he was attacked and called to her for help, she is said to have struck him with a wooden shoe. Others say that she repented and vainly tried to prevent the murder But she did not succeed in finding a Mamlūk officer who would share the responsibility with her, all turned in disgust from the murderess. She was seized by the other party and beaten to death with wooden shoes by the slave women of Aibak's first wife Her body was thrown into the castle moat and lay unburied for days. Later it was placed in the little mausoleum which still stands in Cairo. She was the most vigorous woman that the Muslim period in Egypt had seen but she did nothing good during her reign.

Bibliography Abu 'l-Fidā' in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. Orientaux*, vol. i., passim, al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 237—248, *Sulūk*, transl. by Quatremère, i 72 *sqq*, Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii 483—487, iv 4—8 On her tomb see *MIFAO*, xix iii *sqq*, 728 (with some important notes on the Sultāna by European writers in Anm. 3), 730.

(SOBERNHEIM)

SHAFĀʿA (A), intercession, mediation. He who makes the intercession is called *Shāfiʿ* and *Shafīʿ*. The word is also used in other than theological language, e. g. in laying a petition before a king (*Lisān*, s v), in interceding for a debtor (Bukhārī, *Istikrāḍ*, bab 18) Very little is known of intercession in judicial procedure In the Hadīth it is said "He who by his intercession puts out of operation one of the *ḥudūd Allāh* is putting himself in opposition to Allāh" (Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 70, 82, cf Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, bāb 54, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 12)

The word is usually found in the theological sense, particularly in eschatological descriptions, it already occurs in the Ku'rān in this use Muhammad became acquainted through Jewish and more particularly Christian influences with the idea of eschatological intercession. In Job xxxiii, 23 *sqq*. (the text is corrupt) the angels are mentioned who intercede for man to release him from death In Job v. 1, there is reference to the saints (by whom here also angels are probably meant) to whom man turns in his need. Abraham is a mortal saint whom we find interceding in the Old Testament (in the story of Sodom and Gomorra)

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature we again find the same classes of beings with the same function The angels (*Test Adam*, ix 3), the saints (2 *Maccab.*, xv. 14; *Assumptio Mosis*, xii. 6). In the early Christian literature the same idea repeatedly occurs, but here we have two further classes of beings, the apostles and the martyrs (cf Cyril of Jerusalem in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol xxxiii, 1115, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; cf. vol. xlvi, 850; lxi 581)

In the Kur'ān intercession occurs mainly in a negative context. The day of judgment is described as a day on which no shafā'a will be accepted (Sūra, ii. 45, 255). This is directed against Muḥammad's enemies as is evident from Sūra x. 19. "they serve not Allāh but what brings them neither ill nor good and they say these are our intercessors with Allāh", cf. also Sūra lxxiv. 49. "the intervention of those who make shafā'a will not avail them".

But the possibility of intercession is not absolutely excluded Sūra xxxix, 45 says: Say. the intercession belongs to Allāh, etc. Passages are fairly numerous in which this statement is defined to mean that shafā'a is only possible with Allāh's permission. "Who should intervene with Him, even with His permission" (Sūra ii 256, cf. x 3) Those who receive Allāh's permission for shafā'a are explained as follows The shafā'a is only for those who have an *ʿahd* with the Merciful (Sūra xix. 90) and xliii. 86: "They whom they invoke besides Allāh shall not be able to intercede except those who bear witness to the truth". XXI, 28 is remarkable where the power of intercession is evidently credited to the angels "they say the Merciful has begotten offspring Nay they are but His honoured servants who ..... and they offer not to intercede save on behalf of whom it pleaseth Him". It appears that the angels are meant by the honoured servants. Sūra xl. 7 (cf xlii 3) is more definite. "Those who bear the throne and surround it sing the praises of their Lord and believe in Him and implore forgiveness for those who believe (saying) "Our Lord, who embracest all things in mercy and knowledge, bestow forgiveness on them that repent and follow Thy path and keep them from the pains of Hell".

Such utterances paved the way for an unrestricted adoption by Islām of the principle of *shafāʿa* In the classical Hadīth which reflects the development of ideas to about 150 A H we already have ample material. Shafā'a is usually mentioned here in eschatological descriptions. But it should be noted that the Prophet even in his lifetime is said to have made intercession ʿĀ'isha relates that he often slipped quietly from her side at night to go to the cemetery of Bakīʿ al-Ghaiḳad to beseech forgiveness of Allāh for the dead (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad 102, cf Tirmidhī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 59). Similarly his *istighfār* is mentioned in the *ṣalāt al-djanā'iz* (e g. Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv p. 170) and its efficacy explained (*ibid*, p 388). The prayer for the forgiveness of sins then became or remained an integral part of this *ṣalāt* (e g Abū Ishāk al-Shirāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed J W. T Juynboll, p. 48) to which a high degree of importance was attributed. Cf Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad 58 "If a community of Muslims, a hundred strong, perform the *ṣalāt* over a Muslim and all pray for his sins to be forgiven him, this prayer will surely be granted", and Ibn Hanbal, iv. 79, 100, where the number a hundred is reduced to three rows (*ṣufūf*).

Muhammad's intercession at the day of judgment is described in a tradition which frequently occurs (e g. Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 322, 326—329, Tirmidhī, *Tafsir*, Sūra xvii, trad. 19, Ibn Hanbal, i. 4) the main features of which are as follows On the day of judgment Allāh will assemble the believers, in their need they turn to Adam for his intercession. He reminds them, however, that through him sin entered the world and refers them to Nūḥ. But he also mentions his sins and refers them to Ibrāhīm. In this way they appeal in vain to the great apostles of God until ʿĪsā finally advises them to

appeal to Muḥammad for assistance. The latter will gird himself and with Allāh's permission throw himself before Him Then he will be told "arise and say, intercession is granted thee". Allāh will thereupon name him a definite number to be released and when he has led these into Paradise, he will again throw himself before his Lord and the same stages will again be repeated several times until finally Muḥammad says "O Lord now there are only left in hell those who, according to the Ḳurʾān, are to remain there eternally".

This tradition is in its different forms the locus classicus for the limitation of the power of intercession to Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other apostles In some traditions it is numbered among the charismata allotted to him (e. g. al-Bukhārī, *ṣalāt*, bāb 56)

Muhammad's *shafāʿa* then is recognised by the *iǧmāʿ*; it is based on Sūra xvii. 81 "Perhaps the Lord shall call thee to an honourable place", and on xciii. 5 "and thy Lord shall give a reward with which thou shalt be pleased" (al-Rāzī's commentary i 351, cf earlier, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 320) Muhammad is said to have been offered the privilege of *shafāʿa* by a message from his Lord as a choice, the alternative was the assurance that half of his community would enter paradise Muhammad, however, preferred the right of intercession, doubtless because he thought he would get a considerable result from it (Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma wa 'l-Raḳāʾiḳ wa 'l-waraʿ*, bāb 13, Ibn Hanbal, iv 404)

The traditions describe very vividly how the "people of hell" (*ǧahannamiyūn*) are released from their fearful state Some have had to suffer comparatively little from the flames, others on the other hand are already in part turned to cinders. They are sprinkled with water from the well of life and they are restored to a healthy condition (e g Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 320).

In another class of traditions it is said that every prophet has a "supplication" (*daʿwā*) and that Muhammad keeps his secret in order to intercede with Allāh for his community on the day of judgment (cf e g Ibn Hanbal, ii. 313, Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 334 *sqq*)

Quite in keeping with the Christian view already mentioned, Islām, however, was not content with Muhammad as the advocate. Along with him we find the angels, the apostles, the prophets, the martyrs and the saints. (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24, Ibn Ḥanbal, iii 94 *sq.*, 325 *sq*, v. 43, Abū Dāʾūd, *Diǧihād*, bāb 26, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii 6 on Sūra ii 255, xvi. 85 on Sūra xix 90, xxix. 91 on Sūra lxxiv 49, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, i 139)

Finally after all these classes have said their word, there is still Allāh's *shafāʿa* (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 24, cf Sūra, xxxix. 44) Muhammad's pre-eminence remains inasmuch as he is the first to intercede for his community (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 330, 332, Abū Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-Sunna*, bāb 13).

Finally the question for whom intercession is effective is discussed While it is generally said 70,000 will enter paradise through the intercession of one man of Muhammad's community (e g Dārimī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 87, cf Hanbal, iii. 63, 469 *sq*), the answer is already given as early as classical tradition that *shafāʿa* holds good for those who ascribe no associate to Allāh (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19, Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, bāb 13) To this group also belong those who have committed great sins (*Ahl al-Kabāʾir*) "The prophet of God said My intercession is for the great sinners of my community" (Abū Dāʿūd, *Kitāb al-Sunna*, bāb 20, Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, bāb 11). This view, however, is not shared by the Muʿtazila (cf Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf* on ii. 45, no *shafāʿa* for the *ʿuṣāt*). Al-Rāzī deals very fully with the Muʿtazilī view in his commentary on the Kurʾān (i 351 *sqq*, vi. 404) according to which there is no such thing as *shafāʿa*, as no one is released from hell who is once thrown into it. For the denial of *shafāʿa* they appeal to some of the verses of the Ḳurʾān already quoted above.

Bibliography Besides the works quoted in the text cf Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed and transl. by Gautier (Geneva, Basle and Lyons 1878), text p. 66, transl. p. 56, M. Wolff, *Mohammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 100 *sqq*, R. Leszynski, *Mohammedanische Traditionen über das letzte Gericht*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1909, p 50 *sqq.*, cf. also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 308 *sqq* ; Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal wa 'l-Ahwāʾ wa 'l-Niḥal*, Cairo 1317—1321, iv. 63 *sqq*, *Dictionary of the technical Terms*, ed. Nassau Lees and Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, p 762

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-**SHAFAḲ** (A.), also AL-SUBḤ and AL-FADJR, dawn and twilight, which are of special importance in the Muslim world and in Muslim astronomy because they settle two of the principal times for prayer Al-Bīrūnī gives an excellent description of the phenomena in the Masʿūdic *Ḳānūn* (Mak 8, bāb 13). In the morning a long thin column of light appears first, which is more or less inclined to the horizon according to the latitude of the place This is called the false dawn *al-Subḥ al-Kādhib* or *al-Fadjr al-Kādhib* or from its shape *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* „wolf's tail" also „dog's, or gazelle's tail" This is followed by the true dawn *al-Ṣubḥ al-Ṣādiḳ*, first as a faint white light which gradually extends in the form of a crescent along the horizon, it marks the time for the beginning of the fifth or morning prayer. Next comes the red dawn The same phenomena occur in the evening but in the reverse order That the *Dhanab al-Sirḥān* is not so frequently noticed in the evening as in the morning is, according to Muslim scholars, due to the fact that in the evening people are going to rest while in the morning they are beginning work, Redhouse has definitely shown that first false dawn corresponds to the zodiacal light, he also shows that it is mentioned as early as Korʾān, ii. 183, i e about 630 A D. and in al-Djawharī's dictionary and elsewhere. It was therefore noticed earlier in the east than in the west Numerous Persian verses deal with the dawn and twilight (cf. Redhouse, *op cit*) He also gives the Persian and Turkish names.

Shāfiʿīs, Mālikīs and Hanbalīs all agree that the end of the third and beginning of the time of the fourth prayer occurs at the moment when the red shimmer *al-Shafak al-Aḥmar* disappears, while Abū Ḥanīfa relies on the white one His pupils Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaibānī follow other schools.

Various Arab astronomers have pointed out how much the depression D of the sun in which

the above phenomena appear depend on the atmospheric conditions (fog, etc), the presence of moonlight, or the sharpness of the eyesight. Different scholars give therefore varying values for D which lie between 16° and 20°. According to Ṣibṭ al-Māridīnī (1423—1494/1495) the general opinion in his time was that for al-Shafaḳ D = 17°, for al-Ṣubḥ D = 19°. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Marrākushī (d. c. 1262) had taken 16° and 20° and said that dawn lasts longer than twilight. The time between sunrise and sunset i. e. between the two times at which the depression of the sun is e. g 18° depends on the inclination of the sun's path to the horizon. The Muslims took a particular interest in calculating the day on which dawn and twilight coincided. For places in the latitude of 48° for example, this happens when the sun is at the beginning of Cancer. The „arguments" (*ḥissa*) of Shafaḳ and Fadjr are the chords of the ecliptic between the Western or Eastern horizon and Shafak or Fadjr

Astronomical calculations for the beginning of the dawn from Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009) and Abū ʿAlī al-Marrākushī are given by C. Schoy in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*

To explain the varying phenomena in the dawn it is assumed by Kutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and similarly by others that the earth is surrounded by a ball of vapour which contains earthy and watery parts These are thicker in the lower strata than in the upper Around the veil of vapour is a ball of pure air. The sun's rays throw a shadow into these balls from the earth. The parts lying outside the shadow reflect the light and seem to shine; the observations result from this more or less accurately

On the planes of the astrolabe and on certain forms of quadrant and clepsydras lines are drawn which are used to fix the time of morning and evening prayer, on the other hand such lines are not found on the universal plane nor on the Zarḳālī plane

That we so frequently find among composers of astronomical works the *Muwakkit* of mosques, time-keepers and summoners to prayer such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, Ṣibṭ al-Māridīnī b al-Shāṭir (1375/1376) etc. is explained by the fact that it was the duty of these officials to calculate the hours of prayer exactly and make the necessary observations

Bibliography: J W Redhouse, *On the natural phenomenon known in the East by the name Sub-hi-kāzib*, in *J R A S*, 1878, x. 344–354, do, *Identification of the „False Dawn" of the Muslim with the „Zodiacal Light" of the Europeans*, ibid, 1880, xx. 327—334, L. Am Sédillot, *Sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes. Mémoires prés par divers savants à l'Acad Roy des Inscriptions*, Ser 1, 1844, 1 92 *sqq*, C Schoy, *Geschichtlich-astronomische Studien uber die Dammerung* in *Naturwiss Wochenschrift*, 1915, xxx. 209—214, E. Wiedemann, *Uber al-Subh al-kādib* (*die falsche Dammerung* in *Isl*, 1912, iii 195); do., *Erscheinungen bei der Dammerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen* in *Archiv fur Gesch. der Medizin*, 1923, xv. 43—52 (contains full references to the Arabic literature on the subject), E. W and J. Frank, *Die Gebetszeiten im Islam* in *S.B.P.M.S., Erlg.*, 1926, lviii., p. 1—32.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, AL-IMĀM ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. IDRĪS, the founder of the Shāfiʿī school of law. A great mass of legend has grown up around his life and it is difficult to sift out the really historical matter The chronology in particular offers great difficulties The early sources are very scanty. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345) is the first historian to mention him. The only authentic documents are the Waḳf grant of his two houses in Mecca of Safar 203 (Aug 818, *Umm*, vi. 179 = Kern in *M. S O S As*, 1904, p 55), his will of Shaʿbān 203 (Feb. 819, *Umm*, iv 48 = Kern in *M S. O. S., As.*, 1904, p. 59) and the Waḳf grant of his house in Fustāt (*Umm*, iii. 281) which although the names and the dates are omitted is undoubtedly by al-Shāfiʿī himself His later biographies are, it is true, based on old *Manāḳib*'s such as that of Dāʾūd al-Zāhirī (d. 270), al-Sādjī (d. 307), Ibn Abī Hātim (d. 327) and others but here already there is much that is legendary. For example al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d 403) already gives on the authority of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d 257) the legend of his birth which connects it with the planet Jupiter rising over Egypt (cf Ibn Khallikān).

Al-Shāfiʿī belonged to the tribe of Kuraish, he was a Hāshimī and thus remotely connected with the Prophet. His mother belonged to the tribe of Azd, but some say that she was an ʿAlid Born in 150 (767) in Ghazza (al-Istakhrī, p 58) he lost his father early and was brought up in very humble circumstances by his mother in Mecca. He spent much time among the Beduins and acquired a thorough knowledge of the old Arab poets (e. g. Zuhair, Imru 'l-Kais, Djarīr etc, cf *Umm*, i 174, v 118, 142 etc.). The philologist al-Asmaʿī learned from the youthful Shāfiʿī the songs of the Banū Hudhail (cf. also *Umm*, ii 167, iv. 133) and the *Dīwān* of al-Shanfara In Mecca he studied hadīth and fikh with Muslim al-Zindjī (d. 180) and Sufyān b ʿUyaina (d. 198), he knew the *Muwatta*' by heart. When about 20 he went to Medīna to Mālik b Anas and remained there till the latter's death in 179 (796). He then took an appointment in Yemen Here he was involved in ʿAlid intrigues, — he secretly paid homage to the Zaidī Imām Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh (v. Arendonck, *Opkomst van het zaidietische Imamaat*, p. 60 and 290) — and with other ʿAlids was brought a prisoner to the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd to Raḳḳa (187 = 803). He was pardoned and then became intimate with the celebrated Hanafī Muhammad b al-Hasan al-Shaibānī (d 189 = 805), whose books he had copied for himself But as he did not dare challenge al-Shaibānī, a man influential at court, he went in 188 (804) via Harrān and Syria to Egypt where he was at first well received as a pupil of Mālik. It was not till 195 (810/11) that he went to Baghdād and set up successfully as a teacher there. Here he attached himself to ʿAbd Allāh, son of the newly appointed governor of Egypt, ʿAbbās b Mūsā and came to Miṣr on Shawwāl 28, 198 (June 21, 814, al-Kindī, ed. Guest p. 154). As a result of disturbances he very soon went to Mecca, from which he returned in 200 (815/816) to settle definitely in Egypt. He died on the last day of Radjab 204 (Jan. 20, 820) in Fustāṭ and was buried at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam in the vault of Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had a great and roomy madrasa built here (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 48). The dome

on the tomb was built by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil in 608 (1211/1212). It was always a favourite place of pilgrimage.

Al-Shāfiʿī may be described as an eclectic who acted as an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time. Not only did he work through the legal material available but in his *Risāla* he also investigated the principles and methods of jurisprudence. He is regarded as the founder of the Usūl al-Fiḳh Unlike the Hanafīs he sought to lay down regular rules for *Ḳiyās* (*K. al-Risāla*, Cairo 1321, p 66 and 70) while he would have nothing to do with *Istiḥsān* [q. v.]. The principle of *Istiṣḥāb* seems to have been first introduced by the later Shāfiʿī's (cf. Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, p 20 *sqq.*; do., in *E. I*, vol. ii. 109 and Bergsträsser, *Anfange und Charakter des juristischen Denkens im Islam*, in *Isl*, 1924, xiv. p 76, 80 *sq*) In al-Shāfiʿī two creative periods can be distinguished, an earlier (ʿIrāḳī) and a later (Egyptian) Al-Ḥākim (d 405) for example says this of the *Risāla* (al-ʿAsḳalānī, p. 77), which, however, only survive in the later recension (printed at Cairo 1321 etc) These two periods are also often marked in the *K. al-Umm* as well as in the variant teachings of the later Shāfiʿī's.

His writings in which he makes a masterly use of dialogue, with opponents usually unnamed, we have had transmitted to us by his pupil al-Rabīʿ b Sulaimān (d 270 = 884) A list of them is to be found in the *Fihrist*, p 210, another of al-Baihakī (d 458) in al-ʿAskalānī, p. 78, a third in Yākūt, p. 396—398 The most of the titles mentioned there are parts of the *K. al-Umm*, a collection of writings of Shāfiʿī (printed at Cairo in 7 volumes 1321—1325, in part from a manuscript of the celebrated Shāfiʿī Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī) The title of this collection can hardly be old. As far as I know, it is mentioned for the first time by al-Baihaḳī (in al-ʿAskalānī, p. 78) and al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā* (Cairo 1327), ii. 131. In the work itself it is mentioned only in such passages as appear to be glosses (e. g *Umm*, i 158). Several recensions of this work must have existed. As late as the fifth century another recension different from that of al-Rabīʿ was known to al-Baihakī for he gives some of the separate chapters of the *Umm* in a different order This may perhaps have been al-Buwaiṭī's recension, which al-Rabīʿ seems to have used along with that of Ibn Abī 'l-Djārūd (cf. *Umm*, i 96, 157, ii. 52, vii 389 etc) In the present printed text of the *Umm*, a number of larger and smaller glosses seem to have been incorporated, for example al-Ghazālī, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d 477), al-Māwardī, etc, are quoted (cf. *Umm*, i. 114 *sq*, 158).

According to al-Ghazālī (*loc cit.*) this collection was arranged by al-Buwaiṭī and published by al-Rabīʿ with his own additions Final inquiry into the origin of the *Kitāb al-Umm* cannot be based upon the printed edition, as the editor has followed the MS. of al-Bulḳīnī without recording the variants of the other MSS.

The present components of the *Umm* are writings quoted by al-Baihaḳī as separate works *Djimāʿ al-ʿIlm* (*Umm*, vii. 250 *sqq.*), *K. Ibṭāl al-Istiḥsān* (vii 267 *sqq.*), *K. Bayān al-Farḍ* (vii 262 *sqq.*), *K. Ṣifat al-Amr wa 'l-Nahy* (vii. 265 [2]), *K Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī* (vii. 177 *sqq*), *K Ikhtilāf al-ʿIrāḳiyain* (vii. 87 *sqq.*) i e. Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laila († 148), *K. Ikhtilāf maʿa Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* (vii. 277 *sqq.* = *K. al-Radd ʿalā Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan*) and *K Ikhtilāf ʿAlī wa-ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd* († 32), vii. 151 *sqq.*). The *K. Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth* is printed on the margin of *Umm*, vol. 7, the *Musnad* on the margin of vol. 6. This contains traditions which have been collected from the different writings, including those that have not survived but are mentioned in the *Fihrist* and in Yāḳūt, e. g. *K Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, *K Faḍāʾil Ḳuraish*, etc. The *K al-Mabsūṭ fi 'l-Fiḳh* (*Fihrist*, p 210) must have been another large law-book, which was still available to al-Baihaḳī, and is also called *al-Mukhtasar al-kabīr wa 'l-Manthūrāt*. There has also survived a profession of faith by Shāfiʿī entitled *K Waṣīyat al-Shāfiʿī* (mentioned in Yāḳūt, ed. by Kern in *M S O S*, *As*, 1910) while the *K. al-Fiḳh al-akbar* (Cairo 1324 etc) is a short treatise on dogmatics of the Ashʿarī period. A few poems bear witness to his command of language (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 66, Ibn Khallikān, i. 448, al-ʿAsḳalānī, p 73 *sq.*)

The main centres of his activities as a teacher were Baghdād and Cairo The most notable of his pupils were al-Muzanī († 264), al-Buwaiṭī († 231), al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaimān al-Muradī († 270), al-Zaʿfarānī († 260), Abū Thawr († 240), al-Humaidī († 219), Aḥmad b Ḥanbal († 241), al-Karābīsī († 248) etc In the course of the third and fourth (ix and x) century the Shāfiʿīs won more and more adherents from these two towns as centres, although from the first they had a difficult position in Baghdād, the centre of the *Ahl al-Raʾy*. In the fourth (xth) century Mecca and Medīna were their chief centres next to Egypt By the end of the third (beg of the tenth) century they had already successfully disputed Syria with the Awzāʿīs so that from Abū Zurʿa onwards (302 = 915), they always had the office of Ḳādī in Damascus. In the time of Muḳaddasī the Shāfiʿīs exclusively held the judgeships in Syria, Kirmān, Bukhārā and the greater part of Khurāsān, they were also in considerable strength in Northern Mesopotamia (Akūr) and Dailam (Egypt by this time was Shīʿa) In the fifth and sixth (xi. and xii.) century there was frequently street fighting with the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād, with the Ḥanafīs in Isfahān while on the other hand they won the Ghūrid princes to their side (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii 306) In Egypt under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (564 = 1169) they again became the predominant *Madhhab* But in 664 (1265/1266) al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baibars appointed one Ḥanafī and Mālikī one judge alongside of the Shāfiʿī (cf al-Subkī, v 134) In the last centuries before the rise of the Ottomans the Shāfiʿī's had attained absolute preeminence in the central lands of Islām Even in Ibn Djubair's time (*Riḥla*, p. 102) the Shāfiʿī Imām conducted the prayers in Mecca. It was only under the Ottoman Sulṭāns at the beginning of the x (xvith) century that they were replaced by Ḥanafīs, who were sent from Constantinople to fill the judgeships, while in Central Asia with the rise of the Ṣafawids (1501) they were lost to the Shīʿa. Nevertheless in Egypt, Syria and the Ḥiḍjāz, the people followed the Shafiʿī *Madhhab* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii 378/379). The Shāfiʿī teaching is still eagerly studied to-day in the Azhar mosque It is still predominant in South Arabia, Bahrain, the Malay Archipelago, the former German East Africa,

Daghustān and some parts of Central Asia.

Among famous and important Shāfiʿīs were: The traditionist al-Nasāʾī († 303 = 915), al-Ashʿarī († 324 = 935), al-Māwardī († 450 = 1058), al-Shīrāzī († 476 = 1083), Imām al-Haramain († 478 = 1085), al-Ghazālī († 505 = 1111), al-Rāfiʿī († 623 = 1226), al-Nawawī († 676 = 1277) etc. On them cf. the separate articles and Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, IV/1. p. 105.

Islāmic law according to the Shāfiʿī school is given by L. W. C. van den Berg, *De beginselen van het mohammed. recht*, 3 ed. (Batavia 1883, cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, II. 59—221), French transl. by R. de France de Tersant entitled, *Principes du droit musulman* .... Algiers 1886. Ed. Sachau, *Muham. Recht* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1897; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, II. 367—414); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910 and 1925, Italian transl. with supplem. notes by G. Baviera entitled *Manuale di diritto musulmano.*, Milan 1916.

Bibliography al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb* = *G. M. S.*, XX, vol. 325ᵛ, Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-ʿArīb* = *G. M. S.*, VI/VI. 367—398 (cf. thereon Beigstrasser in *Z. S.*, 1924, II., p. 201), al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 56—76, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, I. 447, *Fragmenta hist. arab.*, I. 359 *sq.*, al-ʿAskalānī, *Tawāli al-Taʾsīs bi-Maʿālī b. Idrīs fī Manāḳib .. al-Shāfiʿī*, Būlāk 1301, Wustenfeld, *Der Imām al-Shāfiʿī* in *Abh. Gott. Ak. W.*, 1890, XXXVI., de Goeje, *Einiges uber den Imām aš-Šāfiʿī* in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1893, XLVII. 106—117, Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 20—26, Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 178 *sq.*, Heffening, *Islam. Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, p. 145 *sq.*, 149. — Spread of the Shāfiʿīs: al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿīya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, I. 172—175, A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 202—206.

(HEFFENING)

SHAFSHĀWAN (popularly Chechaouen, ech-Chaoun, in Spanish Xauen, the original of the name is no doubt the Berber plural *Ishefshāwen*), a little town in Northwest Morocco, 35 miles south of Tetuan. It lies at the foot of the mountain of Sidī Bū-Hādja (a spur of the massif of Bū-Hāshem) on a tributary of the Wādī Lāu, it now lies within the lands of the tribe of el-Khmās, but it used to belong to the Banū Zadjal, a tribe belonging to the Ghumāra group.

In 1918 the population was about 7,000, who lived in a thousand houses in the six quarters el-ʿOnṣar, Rīf el-Andalus, el-Kharrāzīn, es-Sōḳ, es-Swēḳa, Rīf es-Ṣebbānī. There is an important Jewish colony in it of Spanish origin. The ghetto (*Mellāh*), originally on the edge of the Wādī 'l-Dmānī, was later brought into the interior of the town. It contains 22 houses with about 200 inhabitants and 2 synagogues, one very luxurious. Almost all the houses have sloping tiled roofs, for the winter brings heavy falls of snow. The town is surrounded by walls and has eleven gates, there are twelve mosques, nine zāwiyas (including 3 Deḳāwa and 3 ʿĪsāwa) and eight notable sanctuaries, the chief of which is that of Sidī ʿAlī b. Rāshid, founder of the town. In the citadel (*ḳaṣba*) are the government buildings and the madrasa.

The Muslim population consists mainly of Shorfā and Andalusian refugees, possessing the culture and amenities of town life but fanatical and uncompromising in character.

The surroundings, fertile and well watered, produce wheat, barley, fruits, olives and grapes in abundance, the town also has 21 watermills and 13 oil presses. The forests of the surrounding mountains supply wood for carpentry and furniture making (a speciality of the place is artistically painted woodwork), tan-bark is abundant and supplies the wants of 5 tanneries. Woollen cloth for djellābas (cf. DJELLĀB) is made on many looms.

The Jews are mainly occupied in trading in imported cloths and have constant dealings with their co-religionists in Tetuan with whom they are connected by common Spanish origin. They are also jewellers and saddlers, a despised trade which the Muslims leave to them.

Lying at the intersection of the roads from Tetuan, el-Ksar, Wazzān and Fes, in the middle of the land of the Djebāla, Shafshāwan is a great centre of supplies for the latter to which they come to get the produce imported from Tetuan (cotton goods, sugar, tea and candles), but the well-nigh permanent state of anarchy in which the surrounding tribe el-Khmās lives, makes business difficult.

Shafshāwan was founded about 876 (1471–1472) by a descendant of the great saint ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [q. v.], the ʿAlawī Sharīf al-Hasan b. Muhammad, known as Ibn Djumʿa, who wished to make it a place of refuge and centre of resistance for the Djebāla against the Portuguese. The latter, taking advantage of the weakness of the dynasty of the Banū Wattās [q. v.] had seized Ceuta (1415), al-Ksar al-seghīr (1458 q. v.), Tangier (1471) and Arzila (1471), from these ports they raided the country for over 50 miles inland, terrorised the mountaineers and brought the Andjera and various tribes of the Habt, including the Banū ʿArūs under their sway. It seems that, oppressed and harassed by the Shorfā, these tribes were quite ready to submit to Christian rule, a holy war was therefore an excellent pretext for the Shorfā to endeavour to regain their profitable prestige and authority.

Al-Hasan founded Shafshāwan on the bank of the river of the same name, in an excellent situation within easy reach of Tetuan and Ceuta in the northwest and el-Ksar and el-Habt in the southwest. He died before completing his enterprise; having gone during the holy war to the people of al-Kharrūb not far from Arzila, the latter were bribed by the Portuguese and set fire to the mosque in which he was performing his evening prayers, he perished in the flames.

His work was continued by his cousin the Sharīf ʿAlī (b. Mūsā) b. Rāshid who succeeded him as leader of the holy war (*ḳāʾid al-djihād*). ʿAlī lived among the Banī Hassān, a tribe to the north of Shafshāwan; when the latter rebelled against the tyranny of the Shorfā, he went over to Andalusia, where fighting sometimes in Christian pay and sometimes for the king of Granada, he became an expert in military matters. Returning to Morocco, he collected a body of horsemen belonging like himself to the Shorfā and began to fight the Portuguese. The Waṭṭāsid Sulṭān of Fes, Abū Saʿīd, then sent him a few horsemen and crossbowmen, with whose help he was able to hold his own against the Portuguese. He used his force also to subjugate the mountaineers and restore the supremacy of the Shorfā. But rendered vain by his successes he went so far as to refuse to send

his tribute to the Sultān who came to attack him with a large army Judging resistance impossible, ʿAlī b. Rāshid submitted, the Sultān pardoned him out of respect for his Shaīfī origin and confirmed him in the government of Shafshāwan which became one of the marches of the empire of the Banū Wattās.

ʿAlī b Rāshid built on the other bank of the Wādī Shafshāwan a citadel which he filled with members of his family and clan, people from the country round also came to settle there ʿAlī b Rāshid is credited with the building of the rampart from the Bāb es-Sōr to the Bāb el-Mūkaf, it is from his time that the es-Swēka and Rif es-Sebbānī quarters date. After the capture of Granada (1492) and the general expulsion of the Muslims from Andalusia and Castile (1501—1502) numerous Spanish Muslims came and settled here so that by the death of ʿAlī in 917 (1511—1512) a regular town had been created, Leo Africanus who was travelling through Morocco at this time, describes it as "a little city full of merchants and artisans".

The prestige of ʿAlī b Rāshid was still further increased by the brilliant attacks on Ceuta, Tangier and Arzila in which he fought along with al-Mandarī, whom he had aided to install himself on the ruins of Tetuan with a colony of Spanish refugees

ʿAlī (d 1511) was succeeded by his sons, Ibrāhīm (d 1530), then Muhammad who was destined to be the last prince of the dynasty of the Banū Rāshid In 948 (1511) the Wattāsid Sultān Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad married the sister of the Amīr, al-Hurra, the marriage was celebrated in Tetuan Muhammad b Rāshid had quarrels with the following Wattāsid, Abū Hassūn, whose fief of Bādis in the Rif adjoining his own territory When with the help of the Turks of Sālah Raʾis, Abū Hassūn had taken Fes in 961 (1554) and, when he had quarrelled with the Turkish chief, Muhammad b Alī arranged with the latter to proclaim Abū Bakkār b. Ahmad Sultān, when Fes was evacuated by the Turks, Abū Hassūn had the Amīr of Shafshāwan arrested but on the death of the Sultān, the latter was released and resumed his governorship

The Saʿdians then replaced the Wattāsids in northern Morocco In 969 (1561) the Saʿdī Sultān Abd Allāh al-Ghālib billāh, fearing that the warlike activities of the Amīrs of Shafshāwan might prevent him from concluding with the Spanish an alliance against the Turks which he was planning, sent against the town his troops commanded by the vizier Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Kādir, grandson of Sultān Muhammad al-Shaikh, being strenuously besieged Muhammad b. Rāshid fled through the mountains with his family during the night and reached the port of Tarʿgha among the Ghumāra, from there he sailed for the east and took refuge in al-Medīna where he died, some of his descendants were exiled to Marrākush. The fief of Shafshāwan was then given to the grandson of Muʾmin b al-ʿIldj, the latter's grandfather Yaḥya (or Muḥammad) al-ʿIldj was a Genoese merchant who had become a convert to Islām and had married the beautiful daughter of the semi-independent chief of the Tejeut region in Sūs. On the death of his father-in-law, the Genoese merchant was chosen chief of the people and gained the favour of the Saʿdian Shorfā by allowing them to cross his territory to reach the Ḥāha; his eldest son Muʾmin had entered the service of the Saʿdians and was one of their most faithful supporters.

In 986 (1578) the Portuguese were crushed at the battle of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin; they had to abandon their hopes of occupying the interior of the country and the struggle against the Christians became localised round the occupied ports and on the sea Shafshāwan then lost its strategic importance which passed to Tetuan its rival, which had been raised from its ruins by ʿAlī al-Mandarī and had been peopled by Andalusians who soon made it a regular nest of corsairs On the other hand the religious prestige of the town, based for a large part on the successes of the holy war, also began to decline especially after the installation at Wazzān of the Sharīfī family of Mawlāy ʿAbd-Allāh al-Sharīf (d 1089 = 1678) whose influence continued to increase.

After the government of the grandson of Muʾmin al-ʿIldj, the town seems to have returned under the authority of the Shorfā. In 1028 (1618–1619), we actually find the Shaīf al-Hasan b ʿAlī b. Raisūn (buried in Shafshāwan) having Muhammad b. al-Shaikh called Zaghūda proclaimed as Sultān by the people of Habt.

In the beginning of the ʿAlawī dynasty and during the struggle between Sulṭān al-Rashīd and his brother Muhammad, the northwest of Morocco was under the domination of an independent chief al-Khadir Ghailān, whose capital was el-Ḳṣar el-Kbīr and whose power extended over the lands lying between Tangier and Ceuta, Tetuan and Shafshāwan

In 1667, M. al-Rashīd, lord of Fes, subdued the Banū Zarwāl and went to Tetuan after putting Ghailān to flight, he appointed the Mukaddim al-Taiser, governor of the town, and the latter's sons succeeded him there

On the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿil the northwest of Morocco passed under the rule of a leader in the holy war, the Pasha Ahmad b ʿAlī b ʿAbd Allāh al-Rīfī (d 1156 = 1743) who built at Shafshāwan, inside the citadel built by ʿAlī b Rāshid, the government-house and the madrasa.

In 1171 (1757—1758), a murābit of the tribe of al-Khmās, Muhammad al-ʿArabī al-Khumsī, called Abū's-sukhūr, rebelled against the Sultān Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh who captured him and sent his head to Fes He then appointed the Pasha al-ʿAyyāshī governor of the Ghumāra, al-Khmās and Shafshāwan. He was succeeded by governors appointed by the Saʿdian Sulṭāns down to the rebellion of the tālib Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Salām called Zaitān, who raised all the tribes of this region in 1208 (1793—1794). Defeated and pardoned he was restored to the governorship of Shafshāwan and al-Khmās. After him the town was governed by local chiefs, then by the pashas of Tetuan who sent a khalīfa there.

In 1306 (1899) the Sulṭān M. al-Hasan visited the town on his way to Tetuan

Since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate the town has been under the influence of the famous ʿAlawī Sharīf ʿAhmad al-Raisūnī of Tāzrūt. On Oct. 4, 1920, it was taken by a Spanish army from Tetuan, on Nov. 15, 1924, the Spaniards evacuated it It was then occupied by the Rīfs under the rebel Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim and since the capture and death of the al-Raisūnī, it became their political and strategic centre from which they dominate the Djebāla and can raid the districts of Tetuan, el-Ksar and Wazzān; their tyranny has driven away many of the inhabitants of the town, which has been several times bombarded by French and Spanish aeroplanes.

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(G. S Colin)

SHĀH (P.), "King". *a.* Etymological The old Persian *Khšāyathiya* is probably formed with a suffix from an unquotable substantive from the Old Iran verbal root *khshay* (meaning to "rule" etc.), cf. Sanskr. *kṣayati* = "he rules", *kṣayadvīra* = "ruler of men (or heroes)", an epithet of the gods in the *Rgveda*. From the same root comes Old Persian *Khshath(r)a* ("kingdom") = M P *Shahr*, cf. *shahryār* ("king, ruler") from an unquotable root *khshāth(r)aāra*. The word *khshāyathiya* is therefore originally an adjective it is found as such once in the Bīsutūn inscription while in all other passages it means "king" (Bartholomae, *Airr. Wörterb*, col. 553/554) The modern Persian *pādishāh* is regarded as a compound of *Shāh*, this may be so as regards the modern usage For a noteworthy attempt to give another explanation of *pādishāh* see Bartholomae, *Zum sāsānidischen Recht*, i. 5, note 5. (*S. B. Ak. Heid*, *Hist Phil Kl*, 1918, Abh. 5) In Pahlavi the word already means *shāh* Whether in the second syllable of the inscriptional form of the name Shāpūr שחיפוהר the yod is a remnant of the second syllable of the old Persian word (*Grundr. d. Iran Phil.*, i. 269) or a sign of an old oblique case, is not easy to decide. The modern form *shāhinshāh* shows with its *i* Turkish influence in the declension (*Grundr. d Iran Phil.*, i. b 24), this combination might perhaps show a remnant of the original second syllable in the form in which it is found on Indo-Scythic coins (with the ending *-tano* in the first word, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil*, i 269, but cf. p 284, there is a good reproduction of one of these coins in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl ii. 12) The Indo-Scythic word is due to borrowing (but cf also Konow in *Z. D. M. G*, lxviii 93 *sqq*)

b. Lexicographical. In Vullers' *Lexicon*, pp. 392/393 the statements of the later lexicographers are collected The derivation given in the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* (*aṣl u-khudāwand*) is, at least as concerns the *aṣl*, not supported by the etymology. The meaning given under (5) (*via aperta et lata e qua aliae derivantur*) is perhaps more closely connected with that given under (4) (*magnum quodvis et excellens in suo genere*, in words like *shāhbāz* or *shāhparr*), although the author's view that simple *shāh* is also found with the meaning of *shāhrāh* may be deduced from the text of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* (p 552), so far as I know this use of the word does not occur. The other meanings (a chessman, animal in Hindūstān etc.) need not be discussed; an (independent) meaning *dāmād*, *shawhar-i dukhtar* found not only in more recent lexicons like the *Burhān* and *Shuʿūrī*, but as early as Shams-i Fakhrī (see Salemann, p. 114), is perhaps not so certain as it appears in the lexicographical tradition. In the two passages from poets which *Shuʿūrī* gives for it, the word *shāh* is associated with *ʿarūs*. this would be simply. "lord of the bride" = "bridegroom", which can of course, be expressed by *dāmād* so that only one meaning derived from the main sense would be present. The verse which is qouted by Vullers, s. v. *shāhzāda* out of *Shuʿūrī* as evidence of a meaning *pusar-i dāmād* (a peculiar combination in any case) is not absolutely convincing

c Historical. The usual title of the Achaemenids is *Khshāyathiya*, on their inscriptions they call themselves *khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām* ("great king, king of kings"). Pahlavi and Modern Persian *shāhān shāh* (also M P *shāhanshāh*) corresponds to *Khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām*. *Shāhānshāh* regularly occurs in the titles of the Sāsānian kings, e g. *mazdēsn bagh ē artakhshatr shāhān shāh(ī) Ērān* ("the worshippei of Mazda, the god Ardashīr, king of kings of Īrān"); it is written with the ideogram מלכא מלכא *malkān malkā*.

Aidashīr's father Pāpak is given the title shāh (מלכא) on a coin of his son (E. Thomas, *Numismatic and other antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians in Persia*, p. 16), and in inscriptions and this is also the designation of the rank of some pre-Sāsānian dynasts of Persia (*Grundr d Iran Phil.*, ii 487)

The Sāsānian crown princes in their father's time were often given the title *shāh* of a certain province, cf. Hamza, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 50/51, (cf Noldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 115, Agathias, iv. 24 and 26 where we have *σάα*) Bahram III and IV before their accession were thus called Sagānshāh or Karmānshāh, Hormizd III had also the former title as Crown Prince (Noldeke, *Ṭabarī*, p. 115) The word *sagānshāh* wrongly appears as *shāhānshāh* in some Arab writers not only in Tabarī (Noldeke, *loc. cit*) but also in Ibn Kutaiba (*K. al-maʿārif*, p. 322), Eutychius (ed Cheikho, i. 113) and Thaʿālibī (*Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 507)

In Muslim lands where Persian is spoken *shāh* remains the usual word for king, a title also given in literature to rulers who have an Arabic title, e g the Amīr Mahmūd of Ghazna in Firdawsī. The regular panegyrists are of course very liberal with the term *shāhānshāh*, when for example Minūčihrī VIII, calls the Amīr Masʿūd of Ghazna *Khusraw-i shāhānshāh-i dunyā*, this is only one example out of many The term is further found frequently in kings' names in such a way that we can hardly speak of it as a title, e g. we have among the Yemenī Ayyūbids a Turānshāh and in a Mongol dynasty an ʿArab-Shāh (see Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 98 and 239) The word was already not unusual in personal names in Pahlavi, besides the name Shāpūr (*shāh* + Pahlavi *puhr*, son) cf the names of the Sāsānid princes in Ḥamza, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 61. Many rulers of the Seldjūḳ dynasty used the term in such a way that it may be regarded as a title. From an examination of the names (e. g. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p 153) we see that the combination may have as its first component the name of a people (Turān Shāh, Īrān Shāh, i. e on the Sāsānian plan), or a personal name (Arslān Shāh, Bahrām Shāh), or we may even have a combination with other words meaning ruler (Mālik Shāh, Ruknuddīn Sulṭān Shāh). Analogous formations are found among the Atābegs. On a case of rulers who did not have the title *shāh* having adopted it at a definite time, cf. H. F. Amedroz, *The Assumption of the title Shāhānshāh by Buwaihid*

Rulers, Num. Chron., 1905, iv, Ser. v, p. 393 *sqq* There were Shāhs of Armenia from 493—604 A.H., and of Khwārizm about the same time (± 470–628 A.H.; see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 170, 176); there have been Shāhs of Persia since the accession of the first Ṣafawid (907/1502). In India we find the term among the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bīdar, Bērār, Bīdjāpur and Golkonda; Shāh occurs as the first or second component of the name of several Mughal Emperors (Shāh Djahān, Aʿẓam Shāh).

(V. F Buchner)

SHĀH ʿĀLAM was the title borne, before his accession, by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muhammad Muʿaẓẓam, third son of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb (ʿĀlamgīr I), but on ascending the throne of Dihlī the prince took the title of Bahādur Shāh [q. v].

The only Mughal emperor who bore the title while on the throne was ʿAlī Gawhar, son of ʿAzīz al-Dīn ʿĀlamgīr II, who succeeded his father in 1759 and in 1761 was recognised as emperor by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, who had then crushed the power of the Marāthas at the third battle of Pānīpat. Shāh ʿĀlam was, throughout his forty-seven years' reign, a puppet in the hands of others, and on two occasions factions selected rivals from among his kinsmen and proclaimed them as emperors, viz Shāh Djahān III in 1759 and 1760 and Bīdār Bakht in 1788. Together with Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, Shāh ʿĀlam gave a half-hearted support to Mīr Kāsim, the Nawwāb-Nāẓim of Bengal, who was defeated by the British at the battle of Baksar (Buxar) in 1764 but after the battle submitted and signed a treaty under which the Nawwāb-Wazīr became a vassal and he himself a pensioner of the victors In 1765 he signed a treaty conferring on the East India Company the *dīwānī*, or control of the revenues of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa (Urīsa), but the duties and responsibilities of the appointment were not accepted by the Company until seven years later Shāh ʿĀlam afterwards, in order to facilitate his return to Dihlī, threw himself on the protection of the Marāthas and transferred to them the districts of Ilahābād and Kara, which had been assigned to him for his support By this alliance he forfeited the Company's friendship and the tribute or allowance of Rs 2,600,000 which had been assigned to him. In 1788 Mahādadjī Sindhya, who was ordinarily held responsible for the emperor's personal safety, was in a critical position owing to attacks by Rohilla chiefs, and the ruffian Ghulām Ḳādir captured Dihlī and plundered the palace. He flogged the princesses and throwing the emperor on the ground sat on his chest and blinded him with his dagger Sindhia recaptured Dihlī and Ghulām Kādir was taken prisoner and suffered death by torture. In 1803 the East India Company formally made itself responsible for the emperor's personal safety and in 1806 Shāh ʿĀlam died.

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SHĀH DJAHĀN was the title conferred by the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr on his third son, Khurram, as a reward for his successes in the Dakan in 1616. Khurram was born in 1592; in 1622 he caused his eldest brother, Khusraw, whom his father had placed in his care, to be murdered, and afterwards rose in rebellion. Having been defeated in 1623 he became a fugitive, but occupied Bengal and Bihār. In 1625 a peace was patched up between him and his father When Djahāngīr died, in October, 1627, Khurram was at Djunnār in the Dakan, but his father-in-law, Āṣaf Khān, caused his younger brother, Shahryār, to be blinded at Lāhor and proclaimed as a stop-gap Dāwar Bakhsh (Bulaḳī), the son of Khusraw, whom he afterwards permitted to escape to Persia when the other males of the imperial family were put to death by Shāh Djahān's orders. In 1628 Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra, and soon had to deal with the rebellions of the Bundelas and Khān Djahān Lodī [q. v.], which he crushed In 1631 his dearly loved wife, Mumtāz Mahall, died in childbirth at Burhānpūr, and he afterwards erected over her remains, at Āgra, the beautiful Tādj Mahall [q. v.] In 1632 he captured Dawlatābād and swept away the last vestiges of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and shortly afterwards compelled the two remaining kingdoms of the Dakan, Golkonda and Bīdjāpūr, to acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1632 also Hūglī was besieged and taken from the Portuguese, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted for two years In 1636 Awrangzīb, the emperor's third son, was appointed viceroy of the Dakan, and in 1638 ʿAlī Mardān Khān, who held Ḳandahār for the Shāh of Persia, treacherously surrendered it to Shāh Djahān's officers, but the Persians recovered the town in 1649. In 1638 Badakhshān and Balkh were occupied but Awrangzīb who, having been recalled from the Dakan, was sent to retain them, failed to hold them and was obliged to retreat In 1652 the same prince and in the following year his eldest brother, Dārā Shikūh, failed to recover Ḳandahār from the Persians In 1653 Awrangzīb was again sent to the Dakan, where his aggressive policy was checked by his father, who ordered him to make peace with ʿAbd Allāh Kuṭb Shāh of Golkonda whom he had attacked, but in a campaign against ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II of Bīdjāpūr, who had succeeded Muhammad ʿĀdil Shāh, he captured Bīdar and Kalyānī. In 1657 reports of the failure of Shāh Djahān's health caused Awrangzīb to rebel and a contest for the throne began between him and his three brothers Awrangzīb defeated Dārā Shikūh at Samūgarh and Sulṭān Shudjāʿ at Khajwa, treacherously imprisoned and executed Murād Bakhsh and having imprisoned Shāh Djahān ascended the throne in Āgra on July 21, 1658 Shāh Djahān never regained his liberty and on January 2, 1666, died in the Āgra fort at the age of 74

Shāh Djahān, the wealthiest of the "Great Mughals", displayed his taste and magnificence in his restoration and adornment of Āgra, in the construction of his city of New Dihlī or Shāh-djahānābād, where he spent the greater part of a luxurious old age, and in the famous peacock throne, which was seven years in the making He had little military ability and was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous. A redeeming feature of his character was his deep love for his wife, Mumtāz Mahall, of which her splendid tomb is a lasting memorial, but she died early in his reign and after her death he sank into unbridled

licentiousness. His rule was oppressive and tyrannical and he ill deserves the favourable treatment which he has received at the hands of some modern historians.

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(T W. Haig)

SHĀH MĪR, an adventurer who founded the first dynasty of Muhammadan kings of Kashmīr, settled in that country in A D 1315—1316 and, having ingratiated himself with the *rādja*, Simhadeva, who was perhaps impressed by the stranger's pretensions to descend from Ardjuna, the Pāndava, entered his service Kashmīr suffered two invasions during Simhadeva's reign, that of Dulča, a Turk from Kandahār, and that of the Bhautta of Thibet, Rinčana, both of whom entered the country by the Zodji-lā Rinčana usurped the throne, made Shāh Mīr his minister and, according to Muhammadan accounts, was converted to Islām by him. He was succeeded on his death by a relation, Adnideva, under whom Shāh Mir retained his office and extended his power. On the death of Adnideva Shāh Mīr contested the sovereignty with his widow, Kotā, and having defeated and captured her compelled her to marry him. Shortly after the marriage she retired to, or was imprisoned in, the fortress of Djayapura and was there put to death by her husband's orders in 1339. In 1341—1342 Shah Mir ascended the throne of Kashmīr under the title of Shams al-Dīn and caused the *khutba* to be said in his name. The rule of the Hindu *rādja*'s had been oppressive and extortionate and the people were the gainers by the usurpation of the adventurer who limited the demands of his treasury to one sixth of the gross produce of the land He established order with a firm hand, and though he probably encouraged his people to accept his religion, his rule was tolerant and beneficent, and the forcible conversion of the inhabitants to Islām was not effected until the reign of his grandson, Sikandar Butshikan. Shāh Mīr is said to have accepted the claim of the Čakk and Mākarī tribes to precedence over the other tribes of the country and to have employed them in the principal posts both in the army and the civil administration It was by the Čakk tribe that the dynasty which he founded was overthrown about two centuries later. He died in 1349 and was peaceably succeeded by his eldest son, Djamshīd.

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(T. W. Haig)

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN. [See ṢAMṢĀM AL-DAWLA].

SHĀH SHUDJĀ^c, DJALĀL AL-DĪN B MUḤAMMAD B AL-MUẒAFFAR, a Muzaffarid. After Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, lord of Fārs, Kirmān and Kurdistān, had been deposed and blinded in Ramaḍān 759 (Aug 1358), he was succeeded by his son Shāh Shudjā^c but within a couple of months Muhammad, whose sight had not been entirely destroyed, seized the citadel of Kal^ca-i Sefīd [q.v.] where he had been placed, and fortified himself in it. Peace was soon afterwards made between him and Shāh Shudja^c, the terms being that Muḥammad should go to Shīrāz and have his name mentioned in the *khutba*, further no business of state was to be decided without his approval. After some time his followers decided to seize Shāh Shudjā^c and put him to death, but they were betrayed whereupon Shāh Shudjā^c had the conspirators put to death and his father imprisoned The latter died at the end of Rabī^c I 765 (Jan. 1364) Shāh Shudjā^c had next to fight with his brother Shāh Mahmūd In 764 (1362/1363) his officials had raised a claim to tribute upon the town of Abarḳūh, although it was governed along with Iṣfahān by Shāh Mahmūd This excited Shāh Mahmūd's distrust and he invaded Yazd and seized this province. On his return to Isfahān he was besieged by his brother, but soon a friendly arrangement was come to, as a result of which he recognised the suzerainty of Shāh Shudja^c In 765 (1363/1364) however, he made an alliance with the Djalā'irid Uwais, lord of Baghdād and Tabrīz, and invaded Fārs Shah Shudjā^c took the field against him, the final encounter was not decisive, Shāh Mahmūd then succeeded in taking Shīrāz after eleven months' siege, but lost it again in Dhu 'l-Ka^cda 767 (Aug 1366) After the death of Shāh Mahmūd on Shawwāl 9, 776 (March 13, 1375), Shāh Shudjā^c who had recognised the ^cAbbāsid Caliph of the day in 770 (1368/1369), also became lord of Isfahān He also wanted to extend his rule over Ādharbāidjān because the notables there had become discontented with Husain, successor of Uwais, who had died in 776 (1364/1365) With this object Shāh Shudjā^c set out with a large army, took Kazwīn, defeated Husain and advanced successfully up to the neighbourhood of Tabrīz The former surrendered and Husain had to retire to the south. But when Shāh Shudjā^c returned home a couple of months later, Tabrīz was again occupied by Husain and as the former had also to fight his nephew Shāh Yahya, he had to make peace with Husain To seal the treaty Shāh Shudjā^c's son Zain al-^cĀbidīn married Husain's sister Nevertheless hostilities soon afterwards broke out again. When ^cĀdil Āghā, one of Husain's emīrs, usually called Sārik ^cĀdil, equipped an army in 781 (1379/1380) to invade Muzaffarid territory, Shāh Shudjā^c went to Sultānīya to anticipate him, but was surprised and only escaped with difficulty. When he himself took the offensive, however, he succeeded in putting to flight Sārik ^cĀdil's troops, who were busy plundering the camp He then laid siege to al-Sultānīya, whereupon Sārik ^cĀdil had to surrender In the meanwhile Shaikh ^cAlī, a brother of Husain, after the murder of the governor of Baghdād, who ruled the city in Husain's name, was proclaimed lord of Baghdād, which again provoked hostilities To strengthen his position he made an alliance with the governor of Shustar, Pīr ^cAlī Bādak, who had been supported by Shāh Shudjā^c; Shaikh ^cAlī and Pīr ^cAlī had however to take to flight when Husain and Sārik ^cĀdil approached in 782 (1380/1381); but when the latter had departed, they came back and now it was Ḥusain's turn to fly. Soon afterwards — the usual date is Djumādā II,

783 (Aug.–Sept. 1381) — the latter was killed by his brother Aḥmad b. Uwais who then ascended the throne. He had first of all to defend his position against Shaikh ʿAlī and Pīr ʿAlī, these two were defeated and killed but the third brother Bāyazīd then came forward as a pretender. When he sought help from Sārik ʿAlī, Aḥmad appealed to Shāh Shudjāʿ who at once occupied al-Sultanīya then belonging to Bāyazīd and appointed the latter his governor. Shāh Shudjāʿ's officers, however, were soon expelled and al-Sulṭānīya passed into Ahmad's hands When Tīmūr soon afterwards approached, Shāh Shudjāʿ sent him all sorts of valuable presents to gain the friendship of the threatening conqueror As a pledge of fidelity, Tīmūr demanded a daughter of Shāh Shudjāʿ for one of his sons Shāh Shudjāʿ died, according to the usual statement on Shaʿbān 22, 786 (Oct 9, 1384), aged 53 years two months The poet Ḥāfiz lived at his court

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(K V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHAHĀDA, (A), testimony, whether in the ordinary sense of the word, the statement of an eye-witness (from *shāhada* „to see"), or in the religious and legal sense

1 In the religious use of the word *shahāda* is the Muslim profession of faith „there is no god but God, Muhammad is the Prophet of God" (cf. IASHAHHUD), and by extension it is the testimony one gives in fighting for Islām, and more particularly in dying for it in the holy war. The Muslim who falls on the battlefield is called *Shahīd* [q. v.] "witness, martyr", e g Eyub, Sultān Murād I, killed after the battle of Kossovo *Meshhed*, the tomb of a martyr, *meshhed ʿAlī*, *meshhed Husain*. This idea of the Muslim martyr is not explicit in the Kurʾān

2 In the civil and legal sense, the witness is called *Shāhid* e.g the witnesses of a marriage who accompany the relatives before the Imām, the witnesses in a case of adultery, Sūra, iv. 19 „If your wives commit the act of infamy, call four witnesses"

On the theory of evidence in law consult the article SHĀHID

Bibliography See the handbooks of law, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1778, i. p 176, ii, p. 319–324, 348–350, Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, iii, Paris 1923, chap. on Tradition

(CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAHĀRA, a town in South Arabia, mentioned by Yāḳūt among the fortified places in the district of Sanʿā', on the Djabal Shahāra A second place distinguished from the preceding as Shahārat al-Faish lies quite near it, a little to the east on the same hill, which lies due north of the town of Ḥabūr. Al-Hamdānī already knows this town as the source of the stone used in rings called *saʿwānī*, a red onyx with white veins, also called *ʿarwānī*. The town frequently played an important part in the history of South Arabia The Amir Dhu 'l-Sharafain Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, the last descendant of al-Ḳāsim al-ʿAiyānī died here in 478 (1085/1086) and was buried here His tomb is widely celebrated and the place was called Shahārat al-Amīr after him. The Sayyid al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, who raised the Yamanī rebellion against the Turks about 1630 was born and lived here. When he had succeeded in expelling the Turks he retained Shahāra as his capital He was the ancestor of the Imāms of Ṣanʿā'. When the Turks began to regain their hold on the Yaman in 1871—1872 Shahāra was taken by Muṣṭafā ʿĀsim Pasha in a bold campaign and the house of the ringleader in the anti-Turkish movement, Sayyid Muhsin al-Shahārī destroyed, the latter had for years been at war also with the Imām of of Sanʿā' Muhsin Muʿizz Sayyid Muhsin had to retire to Wādaʿa and in 1884 the notables of Habūr, Saʿda and Shahāra were forced to submit to the then governor of Yaman, ʿIzzet Pasha In the wars following Shahāra was again lost to the Turks and became the centre of all the elements hostile to Turkish rule

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHĀHĪ, a small coin of the Shāhs of Persia It was the smallest of the silver coins in the xviith and xviiith centuries and weighed 18 grains (1 17 grammes), it was worth ¼ of an ʿabbasī or ½ mahmūdī or ten copper kāzbegis, in Fath ʿAlī's reformed coinage 20 shāhīs were equal to the new silver unit, the *kerān* Under Nāsir al-Dīn the shāhī was a copper coin = 5 centimes, the 2 shāhi piece and ½ shāhi were also issued in copper

(J ALLAN)

SHAHĪD (A), witness, martyr (pl. *shuhadāʾ*) is often used in the Kurʾān (as is *shāhid* [q v.], plur. *shuhūd*, from which it is not definitely distinguished) in the primary meaning of witness The following examples are typical of the various contexts in which it occurs Sūra, ii 127 "Or were ye eye-witnesses when Jacob was at the point of death and he said to his sons". . Sūra, xxiv 6 "Those who slander their wives and have no witness except themselves". Sūra, ii. 137 "And thus we have made you a people in the middle that ye may be witnesses in regard to mankind and that the Prophet may be a witness in regard to you", Sūra, l. 20 "(On the day of judgment) every soul shall come, with an urger and a witness". (On the expression to give evidence from belief, etc, see the articles SHAHĀDA and TASHAHHUD). *Shahīd* frequently occurs as referring to God, e g. Sūra, iii. 93. "God is the witness of your deeds", Sūra, v. 117. "Thou art the witness of all things". *Shahīd* is therefore also one of "the most beautiful names" (*al-asmāʾ al-husnā*, cf. the article ALLĀH)

The meaning martyr is not found for *shahīd* in the Ḳurʾān. It is only later commentators that

have tried to find it in Sūra, iv. 71. The Ḳur'ān always uses circumlocutions to express this conception, e. g. Sūra, iii. 151 "If ye be slain or die on the path of God, then pardon from God and mercy is better than what ye have amassed" Sūra, iii. 161: "Consider not those slain on God's path to be dead, nay, alive with God; they are cared for". Sūra, xlvii. 5—7 "And those who fight for the cause of God, their works He will not suffer to miscarry. He will guide them and bring their heart to peace and lead them into Paradise which He has told them of".

The development of meaning of *shahīd* to martyr (there is not the parallel development in *shāhid*, this never means anything but witness, namely in a court of justice, cf. the article SHĀHID), took place under Christian influence, cf. the Syriac *sāhdā* for the N. T. Greek *μάρτυς*.

Wensinck's monograph on martyrdom in the east shows that the development in Christianity and in Islām runs parallel down to minor details and that the doctrine of martyrdom in both religions in the last resort goes back to old oriental (Jewish) and Hellenistic ideas The old meaning *shahīd* = witness, later became so forgotten in Islām that false etymologies are regularly given for it (e g. from *sh-h-d* to look, etc.).

The martyr who seals his belief with his death, fighting against the infidels is *shahīd* throughout the Hadīth literature and the great privileges which await him in heaven are readily depicted in numerous ḥadīths. By his sacrifice the martyr escapes the examination in the grave by the "interrogating angels" Munkar and Nakir, nor does he need to pass through the "purging fires of Islām", *barzakh* Martyrs receive the highest of the various ranks in Paradise, nearest the throne of God, the Prophet sees in a vision the most beautiful abode in Paradise, the *Dār al-shuhadā'* The wounds of the *shahīd* received in the *Djihād* become red like blood on the day of judgment, and shine and smell of musk. None of the dwellers in Paradise could ever come back to earth, except the *shahīd*. for on account of the very special privileges which are granted him in Paradise he still wishes to suffer martyrdom another ten times. Martyrs are freed by their death from the guilt of all sins so that they do not require the intercession of the Prophet, and indeed in later traditions we even find them interceding for other men. They are already pure, and therefore alone among men are not washed before their burial, a view which has found a place in the Fiḳh (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Martyrs*)

In the Fiḳh books the *shahīd* is dealt with in the section on *ṣalāt* in connection with the prayer for the dead, and the differences of opinion in the schools (the reasons for them are sometimes very interesting) centre mainly round the question whether the *shahīd* is washed, whether the prayer for the dead is uttered over him, whether he is to be buried in his bloodstained garments, or not, etc. In them we find the distinction made whether the *shahāda* has been for this world for the next or for both, for as an ethical action it must be judged according to its *nīya*, on the other hand we find the different kinds of *shuhadā'* in the wider sense, detailed below. The case of shahīd in the legal sense does not occur if the man concerned survived the battle in spite of his wounds and was able to arrange his affairs before his death. We sometimes find sections, *fī faḍl al-shahāda* in the book of *Djihād*, where martyrdom is praised quite in the style of the ḥadīth.

The praise of *shahāda* led to a real longing to meet a martyr's death and according to some traditions, even Muhammad and ʿOmar longed for it. This *ṭalab al-shahāda*, however, was by no means encouraged by orthodox theology but rather deprecated, perhaps — according to a suggestion of Wensinck — because this kind of self-sacrifice looked very like suicide, always condemned in Islām. Therefore peaceful moral duties are represented as equal to or even better than voluntary death, such as fasting, regularity in prayer, reading the Ḳur'ān, gratitude to one's parents, honesty as a tax-collector, learning· these are all deeds on the path of God, *fī sabīl Allāh* (this expression with the gradual cessation of the wars of conquest undergoes the same change from a warlike to a peaceful ethical meaning as *shahīd*, cf. the article SABĪL) and may enable men to share in the rewards otherwise promised for the *shuhadā'* But the conception of shahīd itself underwent an important extension which may be partly already seen in ḥadīth's, so that in the end almost anyone who had died any violent death and aroused pity was considered by the general public to be a martyr and soon was actually regarded as a saint An important factor in bringing about this development was the very old tendency of the people to worship holy men generally, cf. the article WALĪ. In this sense, for example, anyone who dies of disease, like the plague and the "diseases of the stomach", is considered a shahīd, anyone who dies a violent death, e. g. from starvation, thirst, drowning, being buried alive, burning, poison, a lightning stroke, being killed by robbers or wild beasts, or a mother who dies in childbed, also one who dies during the performance of a meritorious action, e. g on the pilgrimage or in a foreign land, where no friend or relative is with him, or on a journey which is *sunna* or while visiting a saint's tomb or while in the act of prayer, or as a result of continuous ablutions, or in the Friday night, or in the search for the knowledge of the faith *fī ṭalab ʿilm al-Dīn*, or in defending the right against injustice. of the *amr bi 't-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* against the *ẓālim*: whoever loves and remains chaste and does not betray his secret and dies, dies a shahīd and anyone who meets his death fighting against his own impulses in the *djihād akbar*, is shahīd.

The tomb of such a shahīd is considered *mashhad*, enjoys the reverence of the pious and becomes an object of pilgrimage. In many of these *mashāhid* it can be proved that we have pre-Islāmic local cults which have been continued in this form under Islām. This side of the survival of the ancient in the nearer East has been illuminated by van Berchem's study of the inscriptions, but only after further material is available will a final verdict be possible. The phrase found as early as tombs of the third century A.H : *hādhā mā yashhadu bihi wa ʿalaihi*, with which the term *mashhad* might perhaps be connected (according to a suggestion by M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.V.*, xxvi. 65[2], cf. however, Ritter in *Isl.*, xii. 148—150), is interesting When we further find Sulṭāns called *shahīd* in inscriptions, the word here has lost its

real significance and is no more than a pious term for deceased. In many cases the name *mashhad* was transferred to rites of local cults, which have nothing to do with a shahīd and in Turkish *shehīdlik* and *meshhed* (also pronounced *meshat*) is a name for cemetery in general (see Mordtmann, in *Isl*, xii. 223). The inscriptions also show that frequently the Muslim builders of *mashāhid* built them in their own lifetime, apparently in order to share in the blessings of their good deed while still here on earth (cf. MASHHAD).

In Cairo there used to be celebrated a festival in commemoration of martyrs, in which Muslims took part up to the VIII/XIVth century (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 68 *sq.*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p 399 *sq.*).

In contrast to orthodoxy the various sects often kept rigidly to the original sense of shahīd; for example the Khawārid̲j fanatically sought death fighting against the government, which they considered unrighteous, while the orthodox theologians taught that rebellion against the government was not a *d̲jihād* with a prospect of martyrdom.

Martyrdom plays a special role of peculiar importance for the Shī'a. For them Ḥusain is the *shahīd* par excellence, the king of martyrs, *shāh-i shuhadā* (much as the favourite martyr of the Ṣūfīs is al-Ḥallād̲j) In keeping with the character of the Shī'a, Husain is sometimes endowed with features which almost recall the passion of Christ or sufferings of St. Francis (deliberate self-sacrifice, transmission and inheritance of the divine light in the family of the Prophet, immortality etc., cf. the articles SHĪ'A, MUḤARRAM, ḤUSAIN). There is a rich literature of martyrologies describing very fully the sufferings of Husain and other members of the family of the Prophet, a speciality of the Shi'a, for example there is a famous work entitled *Rawḍat al-Shuhadā'* by Husain b. 'Alī al-Wā'iẓ al-Kāshifī, which has been translated into Turkish (by Fuzūlī with the title. *Ḥadīḳat al-Su'adā'*) and into Eastern Turkish and several times also abbreviated

The worship of shahīds has attained noteworthy developments in parts of India where there is a gigantic *Shahīd gand̲j* said to be the tomb of no fewer than 150,000 *shuhadā'*.

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SHĀHID (A., pl. *shuhūd*), witness. The statement (*shahāda*) of a witness, is a declaration on a legal claim in favour of a second person against a third, which is based on an accurate knowledge of the state of affairs and is made before the judge in prescribed form (*ashhadu bi-kadhā wa-kadhā*). The following main principles have grown up, based on the Ḳur'ān and Tradition and perhaps also influenced by the legal opinions in the Talmud and are in the main common to all *madhāhib*; there are of course numerous differences in points of detail which cannot be dealt with here.

The taking and giving of evidence (*shahāda*) is a *farḍ 'ala 'l-kifāya*, but if only one person was present on the scene, there is an absolute obligation on him to give evidence (*farḍ al-'ain*) In the case of a *hakk Allāh* it is, however, left to the discretion of the witness whether he cares to bring the culprit before the *ḳādī* or spare his Muslim co-religionist and remain silent; the last course is usually recommended as the more meritorious The witness must. 1 have accurate knowledge ('*ilm*) of what he is talking of and have perceived it with his own eyes and ears (cf. Sūra, v. 11), 2. be *mukallaf* [q. v.]; 3. be a free man, 4 be a Muslim (if he is giving evidence in a case brought against a Muslim), 5. be in full possession of his mental faculties; 6. be '*adl* [q. v.] (cf. Sūra, v. 105, and lxv. 2, *dhawā 'idlin*), he must also not have been previously punished with *hadd* for slander (cf. Sūra, xxiv. 4), 7. lead a decent and moral life (*muruwwa*), thus for example a witness is rejected, if he enters the bath without a shift or is devoted to gambling (chess, *nard*) or eats in public; 8 be above suspicion; he must not for example get any advantage for himself from his evidence or avert any injury to himself, he must not be on bad terms with the accused, if he is giving evidence against him Nor can those who have a claim for maintenance give evidence against one another, like parents and children, husband and wife, master and slave.

The following regulations concern the number and sex of the witnesses. 1. In *zinā'* four male witnesses are required (cf. Sūra, xxiv. 2 *sq.* and iv. 19) 2. In all other cases, which do not concern *māl*, like theft, murder, marriage and divorce, release of slaves etc., two male witnesses are required (cf. Sūra, ii. 282 *sq* and v. 105 *sqq.*), in cases which, as a rule, women alone are competent to deal with (child-birth, unchastity in women, etc.), four women are sufficient according to the Shāfi'ī teaching (two for the Mālikis and only one for the Hanafīs and Zaidīs). 3. In cases which concern *māl*, like claims arising out of contracts and bonds or accidental homicide, two men or one man and two women are required as witnesses (cf. Sūra, ii. 282 *sq.*). In these cases one male witness is usually sufficient along with the oath of the accuser.

Except in criminal cases, it is allowed to replace one original witness (*shāhid al-aṣl*) by two male deputy witnesses (*shuhūd al-far'*), the

so-called *shahāda ʿalā shahāda*, but only when the original witness is dead or cannot appear before the court on account of severe illness or is three days' journey or more from the place of trial.

The witnesses may withdraw their evidence before the judge, but if sentence has already been passed, they are liable for the injury done. If a statement is withdrawn, which affirmed *zinā*, the witnesses are punished with *hadd* for slander (*ḳadhf*). False witness (*shahādat al-zūr*) is already censured in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra, xxv. 72, ii. 283) and Tradition. Witnesses are frequently purchased in the east (cf. E Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], 1860, p. 100, 114, Ch White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, 1845, i. 103)

The most difficult point in the above rules is undoubtedly the question of *ʿadāla*, the witnesses must either be personally known as *ʿadl* to the kādī or their *ʿadāla* must first of all be established From the end of the second (eighth) century an assistant to the ḳādī, the *ṣāḥib al-masāʾil* or *muzakkī*, was appointed to conduct these often tiresome investigations. As Muslim procedure does not recognise documentary evidence as proof but only the oral evidence of eye-witnesses, such people were preferred for the verification of legal matters whose *ʿadāla* had already been proved Thus permanent "witnesses" came into existence at times their numbers rose to thousands but usually there were only a few They were officials of the ḳādī, and were appointed and dismissed by him Thus arose the body of notaries, who were called *shuhūd* in Cairo and Baghdād, in the east and the Maghrib *ʿudūl* Besides verifying legal matters they also decided smaller disputes independently They were as a rule young lawyers who later received judicial appointments. Muslim writers frequently complain of the corruption among these people. Their development began in the 11th (viiith) century (the first reference is in Cairo in 174 A H., al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, p 386) and they were abolished in the ivth (xth) century. These "witnesses" are properly to be regarded as a revival of the Roman-Byzantine notaries — For the present conditions see Lane, *op. cit*, i. 117, Vassel, *Über marokkanische Processpraxis* in *M. S. O S. As*, 1902, v., p. 175 *sq.*

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(W. Heffening)

SHĀHĪNSHĀH. [See shāh].

SHAHR (P.), a town. It is etymologically the same word as old Persian *khshathra* — (cf. skr. *kṣatra* —), the old Persian word, however, means only "dominion, reign", and also: "empire", this old significance the Pahlawī *shahr* (written ideogrammatically (שהרי) originally retained, but it means also· "a district, a large town". The Armenian loan-word *ashkharh* denotes: "a province, a land", also: "the world" (*κόσμος, οἰκουμένη*, cf. also the compound *ashkharhakal* = *κοσμοκράτωρ*). It seems to have been borrowed from the older (Arsacidian) middle-Iranian. The modern Persian *shahr*, which signifies "a (large) town", originally comprised the old meaning ("empire, realm") besides. It can be seen in phrases like *Īrān shahr*, *Shahr-i Kābul*, etc., which belong to the poetical style, cf. also the derivate *shahryār* (from *khshathra-dāra* —), "a ruler, a king".

It is perhaps no mere fortuity, that in old Persian there seems to be a trace of a similar semasiological transition in the case of the word *wardana* —, which in that idiom signifies "a town". In the Babylonian texts of the inscriptions of the Achaemenids, this word is rendered by *alu*, the old Persian term for "land, district" (*dahyāush*) is translated into Babylonian by *mātu*, now in Bīsutūn 2,6 (= § 25 Weissbach), Babylonian *alu* corresponds to Persian *dahyāush* and a Babylonian duplicate of a portion of the Bīsutūn inscription (cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achameniden*, p xiii.) has 2,12 (= § 31 Weissbach) *mātu* for Persian *wardanam*, whereas Bīsutūn 3,13 (= § 49 Weissbach), Persian *dahyāush* is rendered in the Elamite text by the ideogram for "town". That the old Persian here may have influenced the Babylonian, is not impossible, as one could suppose, that also the later Babylonian use of the verbal form *iddin(u)* (lit. "he gave") for "he created", which is found, e g in the Flwend-inscription of Darius, might have originated by the influence of Persian *adā* = he created (the Āryan roots *dā* and *dhā* no more being phonetically different in Irānian), cf Delitzsch, *Assyr Handwörterbuch*, p 451, Weissbach, *Keilinschr der Achem*, p 100, note *a* It seems probable, then, that already in old Persian the meanings "a district" and "a large town" were inclined to fade one into the other. This is not very surprising, taking into consideration the fact, that in later times also several large cities in Persia had their dependent localities, which were reckoned to belong to the town, so that the ideas of "town" and "district" in some cases might cover each other.

The modern Persian, according to the lexicographers, has also the collateral form *shār*.

The word *shahr* occurs in several names of towns, e. g Shahrābād, and, more often, in *idāfa*-construction, as Shahr-i Bilḳīs, Shahr-i Rustam, etc. (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Index), in personal names it retains its old meaning: "empire", as in the (already Pahlawī) names Shahrwarāz, or Shahrbānū

The word passed into Osmanlī under the form of *shehir*; town-names, in which it enters, are numerous, e. g Aḳshehir, Yeñi-shehir, etc.; see for this word and its derivations Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, s. v.

Shahrangīz or Shahrāshūb, in Turkish and Persian literature, denotes a kind of poetical composition, which satyrizes or praises the inhabitants

of a certain town (*madḥ u-dhammī kih shuʿarā ahl-i shahr rā kunand*: cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, s. v. *shahrāshūb*; Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 237/238, Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, II, 232 etc.). (V. F. BÜCHNER)

SHAHRASTĀN or Shahristān (P.), a derivation from *shahr* with the suffix — *stān* Collateral forms are *shahrastāna*, *shāristān* (and, metri causa, *shārisān*). In Pahlawī the word also occurs, written ideographically מ(נ)דינא, the meaning is, both in Pahlawi and in modern Persian a town, especially a fortified one, or a capital (cf Vullers, s. v. *shāristān* and *shahristān*, Le Strange *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 203, note 1) The principal part of several Persian towns is therefore named by this term, as was the case with that quarter of Barwān (according to al Muḳaddasī, the capital of Dailam), where the governor resided, also with the eastern part of the city of Djurdjān, the inner part of the city of Kazwin, the (new) city of Kāth [q v], according to al-Mukaddasī, also bore the name of Shahristān, and during the Middle ages, the old (eastern) city of Isfahān was known as Shahrastāna, otherwise, this latter locality was named Djay, or simply, Madīna, which term seems to be nothing but the Arabic translation of Shahrastāna

There are some cities and villages, which are designated by this name, either exclusively, or optionally, viz.

1) Shahrastān-i Yazdigird, a fortified town, built by the Sāsānian king Yazdigird II (438—457 A. D) against the inroads of the Turks, the king resided here from the fourth to the eleventh year of his reign The town must have been situated in the province of Djurdjān

2) A town in Khurāsān, at a distance of three days from Nasā (Nisā), on the border of the desert. This locality seems not to have been of great importance, it had textile industry, and was the birth place of the well-known al-Shahrastānī [q v].

3) A village in Sidjistān, situated near the ruins of the medieval capital of the province, Zaranḏj

4) Shahrastana, a village near Hamadhān

5) The city of Shāpūr [q. v] in Fārs also bore the name of Shahrastan, as was the case with

6) Rūyān, a city in the district of the same name belonging to Tabaristān

Bibliography G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (see Index), P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p 31, 586, J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 56, 73, C Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire .. de la Perse*, p. 358 etc., C Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX 121 (V F. BÜCHNER)

AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B ʿABD AL-KARĪM, the principal historian of religions in the oriental middle ages, was born in Shahrastān, a town of Khoṛāsān, in 469 (1076), the date of his birth is also given as 467 and 479 He studied jurisprudence and theology at Djurdjāniya and Nīsābūr, his teacher in scholastic theology was Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Anṣārī. According to Ibn Khallikān he belonged to the Ashʿarī school but Samʿānī says that he adopted the dreams of the Ismāʿīlīs and that in his conversation and discussions he only spoke of the philosophers and took no interest in religious law. He made the pilgrimage however and returning after having spent 3 years in Baghdād, he settled in his native town where he died in 548 (1153).

He wrote several books, of which the most famous is the treatise on religions and sects. *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, among the others we may mention, on speculative theology: *Nihāyat al-Iḳdām fī ʿIlm al-Kalām*, another on metaphysics, the title of which *Muṣāraʿat al-Falāsifa*, the duel of the philosophers, recalls that of the *Tahāfut* of Ghazālī, and one on "the history of the learned". *Taʾrīkh al-Huḳamāʾ*, which has the same title as the well-known work of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (d. 1248), written about a century later.

The treatise on religions and sects, one of the most remarkable documents of the philosophical literature of the Arabs, was written in 521 (1127) The author in it passes in review all the philosophic and religious systems that he was able to study and classes them according to their degree of remoteness from Muslim orthodoxy. He therefore begins with the Muslim sects, Muʿtazila, the Shiʿa and the Bāṭinīs. He next deals with the "people of the book", those who have a revealed book recognised by Islām, i. e. the Christians and Jews, next those who have revealed books either doubtful or false, e g. the Magi and the Dualists, after whom come the Sabaeans who worship the stars Leaving the sects founded on a revelation, he goes back to pagan antiquity and gives articles on the principal philosophers and sages of Greece, after which he gives an exposition of Arab Scholasticism as a derivative from Hellenism, the last part of the book is devoted to the religions of India.

The book is preceded by prolegomena, of which one chapter, the fourth, is an account of all the differences which broke out in Islām in the last moments of Muḥammad's life and which, influencing religion on the one hand politics on the other, gave rise successively to the sects of Shīʿa and Muʿtazila This is a very fine section. In another chapter of these prolegomena Shahrastānī deals with arithmetic and makes some pretensions to be a mathematician, but these are not justified in the result Shahrastānī's mind is essentially and almost exclusively a philosophic one He is interested only in ideas, he gives few biographical details, almost no titles of books, little chronology and no dates. As an analyst of the systems, he is very subtle and in general very objective He has not the primarily apologetic character which the lost work of al-Ashʿarī on the sects for example must have had

The most important parts of the work of al-Shahrastānī are those which deal with the Muʿtazila, the Shiʿa, the Dualists and the Sabaeans For the Muʿtazila, hair-splitting theologians and subtle thinkers, whose works have not come down to us, he is the one of the most important sources with al-ʿIdjī, the article on Ashʿarī and the Ashʿarī school which fixed Muslim orthodoxy, is interesting for the same reason. The articles on the Shiʿa, Khāridjīs, Murdjīs, divided into numerous sects political in character, which differed in the theory of the imāmate, are very interesting, but the author is rather brief on the Ismāʿīlis and Bāṭinīs. He is equally short on the Jews As to the Christians he knows three principal sects the Melkites, the Nestorians and the Jacobites, he contrasts St. Paul with St. Peter (Simon al-Safā), saying that Paul came to disturb the arrangements made by Peter and to mingle philosophic ideas in the teaching of Christ. He knows a little about the Christian scriptures but does not criticise them so acutely as Ibn Ḥazm.

The references to the Dualists, Manichaeism, Manes, Mazdak, Bardesanes, Marcion, are of course very valuable; the opposition between light and darkness plays a considerable part in them as in the philosophy of *Ishrāḳ*. It is the same with the long section on the Sabaeans, Shahrastānī puts in it a dialogue in which an orthodox Muslim argues with a Sabaean, opposing the idea of prophecy to that of the spirits of the stars, disputing the existence of the latter and criticising the conception of them.

At the present day, Shahrastānī appears quite ignorant of Greek philosophy; but he has quite a good article on Plato, whose theory of ideas he understands and another interesting one on Pythagoras, in which he gives an exposition of the theory of number and of geometrical ideas conceived as principles of beings. The article on Aristotle is derived from Avicenna and the commentary of Themistius. The very long article on Arab scholasticism is in the main a résumé of the *Nadjāt* of Avicenna. Lastly the section on India contains some curious passages. We know that Arab authors as a whole knew very little about India. Nevertheless we find in Shahrastānī some accurate notes on Buddhist psychology and doctrine, on the Bodhisattvas and the successive Buddhas and on certain practices of Hinduism — the worship of the goddess Kālī, whose idol (Mahākālia) is described, ablutions in the sacred rivers, religious suicides etc. Shahrastānī seems to regard Pythagoras as the founder of intellectual thought in India

Bibliography Muhammad al-Shahrastānī, *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, ed Cureton, 2 vol., London 1846, another ed., Būlāḳ 1261; transl. Th Haarbrucker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, 2 vol., Halle 1850/1851, Ibn Khallikān, ed. de Slane, al-Samᶜānī quoted in Yāḳūt, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, transl. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1861, p. 359 (CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAHRĪR, the name of the sixth Persian month, which has 30 days like every Persian month. The older form of the name found also in al-Bīrūnī is *Shahrīvar*. As the name is also that of the fourth day of every Persian month, the month and day are distinguished by the addition of *māh* or *rūz*. The 4th Shahrīr, on which the name of day and month are the same is called *Shahrīgūn*

Bibliography al-Bīrūnī, *Athār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42 *sq*, 70, 221, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ᶜAdjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, 1 79, 81 (German transl. by Ethé p 163, 167), on the linguistic history of the name cf Horn, *Neupersische Schriftsprache* (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 1. 2), p. 181. (M. PLESSNER)

SHAHRŪD, I Name of two rivers belonging to the system of the Kizil Üzen (Safidrūd this other name, however, which in the Middle-Ages designed the whole Ḳizil Üzen, at present belongs to its lower course, from Mandjīl to the Caspian, cf Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*², 1., col. 1736, Monteith, p. 16) The most important of the two Shāhrūds is that, which at Mandjīl (± 36° lat., 49° long.) joins the main river This Shāhrūd takes its rise in the mountain-system of the Alburz, and its direction is from the South-East to the North-West. According to Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, who gives a concise, but tolerably clear description of this river (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, text, p. 217/218, transl. p. 210), the Shāhrūd rises from the confluence of two streams in the Rūdbār-district of Ḳazwīn, one originating from the Ṭaliḳān hills, the other from the „Nasr and Takhmas mountains", as Le Strange constitues the text, which is uncertain, as it presents some variants. Hādjdjī Khalīfa, who, in his *Diihānnumā* (p. 304), as often, copies the *Nuzhat*, reads here *Kūh-i Shīr* (cf. the variants in Le Strange's edition, p. 217, N⁰. 4).

The Shāhrūd, according to Mustawfī, passes Alamūt, while flowing through the Rūdbār-district, and unites in the district of Bara, „which is of the two Tārums", with the Safīdrūd From its origin to its junction with the last-named river it measures 35 leagues (*farsang*), its water, but for a small degree, is not used for field-irrigation. With these last words, the statement of the same author, that most of the lands of the district of Rustamdār are watered by the Shāhrūd (text, p 160, transl. p. 157) should be compared or contrasted

The Shāhrūd, not being navigable, has no signification for traffic. Although the Ḳizil Üzen is well-known in antiquity under the name of Amardus, there seems to be no mention of the Shāhrūd before the Middle Ages. It is noticed by the Armenian geographer, translated and annotated by J. Marquart, in his *Ērānshahr*, p. 126, this authority mentions its rising in the mountains of Tālakān On the infrequent mentions of the Shāhrūd in Arab geographers, Andreas' article on the Amardus in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz* ², 1, col 1734 etc. may be consulted. In the nineteenth century, the river became known by the travels of Monteith and Rawlinson. The first, the account of whose journey dates from 1832, explored the valley of the Shāhrūd, starting from Mandjīl (or, as he calls it, Menjile), in search of the ruins of Alamūt He first notices the height of Menjile (800 feet above the sea), and gives the names of some localities, situated on the Shāhrūd: they are (retaining the orthography of the original) at 2 miles (from Mandjīl). Loushan, at 28. Berenzini; 36 miles from Berenzini Jirandey, „just where the stream from the mountains of Ala Mout in Mazanderan .. .. joins the stream of Kherzau, coming from the mountains behind Kasbine". In this region there were found ruins, which were considered to be the ruins of the renowned stronghold of al-Hasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Returning by the same route, Monteith visited, at 12 miles distance from Mandjīl, the alum-mines near the village of Surdar.

In the account of Rawlinson's journey from Tabrīz to Gīlān (1838) the Shāhrūd is also mentioned, but the last named traveller does not give a detailed account of it.

The other Shāhrūd, as appears from Kiepert's *Nouvelle carte générale des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire ottoman*, 1884, joins the Ḳizil Üzen between Senna and Miyānsarāy, the locality, mentioned by Monteith (pp 13 and 20) under the name of „Berendeh", must be the "Berinda" of Kiepert's map, to the North of Senna. This "Berendeh" might be compared with the „Bara" in the passage of Mustawfī, were it not, that the description of that author cannot but relate to the river of Mandjīl. One might, however, suppose, that Mustawfī has, in this place, mistaken the one Shāhrūd for the other. The second, or lesser Shāhrūd, called formerly the river of Shāl, which

receives some small tributaries (of, as it seems, unknown names) from the East, rises in the Shāl hills, and passes some localities, e. g. Shāl (see below), flowing almost parallel to the Ḳizil Üzen to the east; then, east of Berinda (which lies on what seems to be a western tributary to the lesser Shāhrūd), it takes a curve to the South-West, to merge into the Ḳizil Üzen, joining it, therefore, from the north-east. To assume, as Ritter does, in his *Erdkunde*, three Shāhrūds, is not necessary.

II. A district described by Mustawfī as belonging to the Ṭālish-districts (طوالیش). Among its villages, he mentions Shāl, Kalūr, Ḥims, Darūd and Kilwān. We see, then, that it is the region of the lesser Shāhrūd. The climate, according to our authority, is temperate, and the soil produces good corn, but not much fruit. The people are Shāfi'ites, but, as the author observes, only by name, for they do not care much about religion. The revenues, in Mustawfī's time (middle of the VIIIth = XIVth century), amounted to 10,000 dīnārs.

III. Name of a city in the West of Khurāsān, not far from the frontiers of the province of Astarābād. It lies to the South of Bisṭām; according to Fraser, its geographical position is lat. 36° 25′ 20″, long. 55° 2′ 23″, its height above the sea is 3500 feet. The town is a trade-centre, from it to the city of Astarābād there are two ways. The geographers of the Middle Ages make no mention of it.

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SHĀHRUKH MĪRZĀ, the fourth son of Tīmūr and the first of the Tīmūrid sovereigns, born at Samarḳand on the 14th Rabī' II, 779 (20th August, 1377) and thus named, according to the legend, because his father heard of his birth in the middle of a game of chess, when the knight "*rukh*" was on the point of checking the king "*shāh*". He received also the titles of *Bahādur*, "valiant", *Khāḳān-i Sa'īd*, "fortunate sovereign". Married at the age of eleven, governor of the Empire during the Ḳīpčāḳ campaign [q. v.] at the age of thirteen, he was sent back to Samarḳand during the great Persian expedition, but was called to the army in 795 (1392). At the age of seventeen he distinguished himself at the siege of Ḳal'e-i Sefīd [q. v.], cut off the head of the enemy leader, Shāh Manṣūr, and acted as mediator at the siege of Takrīt, became governor of Samarḳand and of the country around in 796 (1393/1394); and three years later, he took part in the expeditions to Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, and held important commands at the siege of Aleppo and at the battle of Ancyra. Chalcondylas, who calls him Σαχροῦχος, speaks of him with admiration. His presence being necessary at Herāt, he did not go to the *ḳūrīltāy*, which decided upon the Chinese expedition, and he contracted then a new marriage.

On the death of Tīmūr, Shāhrukh was recognized as sovereign of the provinces which he was governing (Ramaḍān 807 = March-April 1405). The other princes, very much divided, finally adopted the proposal of Pīr Muḥammad to rally around Shāhrukh, who would probably be content with a formal recognition and certain marks of respect Shāhrukh showed himself touched by the deference of his brothers.

One of the latter, Khalīl Sulṭān, dispossessed by the emīr Barandaḳ, had taken his revenge by seizing Samarḳand. Shāhrukh departed at once with his army for Transoxiana, he was conciliatory and his envoy, Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn, concluded a peace leaving Khalīl sovereign of the country. Soon after, war broke out between Khalīl and Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad. The latter was assassinated by his vizier, Pīr 'Alī Tāz. Rebellions deprived Khalīl of any authority. On the other hand, the Djalā'irids and Ḳara Yūsuf seized Baghdād and Ādharbāidjān, Pīr 'Omar was dispossessed and killed by his kinsman Iskandar. Shāhrukh then intervened, defeated Iskandar and annexed to his states 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī and contrary to the promise he had given, Khalīl's lands were given to Ūlūgh Beg, Khalīl received as compensation the governorship of 'Irāḳ, and Shāhrukh restored to him his love, Djawhar Shād, who had been insulted and maltreated by the rebels. In the same year (809 = 1406—1407), Māzandarān was finally conquered.

In the following year Mīranshāh, the brother of Shāhrukh, was killed in a battle against Ḳara Yūsuf The sons of Ḳara Yūsuf's enemy, Abū Bakr and Muhammad 'Omar, survived him only a short time, and Ḳara Yūsuf, following up his conquests, founded a vast empire embracing Tabrīz, Ādharbāidjān and the 'Irāḳ Shāhrukh, desirous of avenging his brother, attacked him in the year 823 (1420). Ḳara Yūsuf died suddenly at the moment of giving battle, his troops were disbanded and his corpse treated with indignity.

Several expeditions took place in the year 810 (1407—1408), one against Balkh in which Pīr 'Alī Tāz was conquered and put to death; one against Pīr Pādishāh, who had rebelled at Astarābād. War broke out between Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam, who was victorious, and made his entry into Iṣfahān where he behaved with moderation. Abū Bakr and Iskandar were at war in Kermān; Sistān was conquered by Shāhrukh. Pīr Muḥammad had a reconciliation with Iskandar, but 'Alā' al-Dawla revolted, his father, sulṭān Aḥmad, pursued him and Kara Yūsuf made him prisoner. At the end of 811 (1409) Samarḳand was under the power of Shāhrukh.

In the year 812 (1409—1410) there was an expedition against a rebel emīr, Khudāidād, whose head was sent by a Mongol Khān to Shāhrukh. The revolt of Shāh Bahā' al-Dīn in Badakhshān was put down and Transoxiana, after being conquered, was reorganized. Marw was rebuilt, the ancient course of the Murghāb was restored and the dikes repaired During the two succeeding years Shāhrukh had to return to Transoxiana in order to put down in that country the revolts of the

Emīr Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn, who was killed in Mongolia. New troubles broke out in Kermān, where Iskandar supplanted Mīrzā Rustam. Under the rule of Khalīl, the Tatars brought back from Asia Minor by Tīmūr, had fled from Transoxiana into Khwārizm, which they laid waste and they wished then to return to their native land. A first expedition sent against them in 815 (1412/1413) was a failure. Much affected by this lack of success, Shāhrukh sent another against them and, once master of Khwarīzm, handed it over to an able administrator, the Emīr Shāh Mulk.

In 817 (1414/1415) the revolt of Mīrzā Amīrak Ahmad took place; Ulūgh Beg departed to besiege Akhsī The Emīrs of Iskandar revolted and placed themselves under the authority of Shāhrukh, who offered Iskandar an honourable peace. This offer was rejected After a long siege Isfahān was taken by assault and laid waste. Shāhrukh intervened, undertook the defence of the inhabitants and gave them Rustam as governor He also ordered Iskandar to be treated with clemency. No attention was paid to his orders and the prince was blinded. The latter assisted by the Emīr Sa'd-i Wakkās, the ally of the Turkomans, had helped the revolt of Bāikara Mīrzā at Shīrāz (818 = 1415/1416). Besieging this town, Shāhrukh pardoned Bāikara and sent him into the district of Kandahār, after another revolt, he was exiled to India with Mirzā Amīrak Ahmad, another suspect, Mīrzā Ilangai, was sent into remote exile Two other rebels, Sultān Uwais of Kermān and the Emīr Bahlūl Barlās of Kandahār made their submission.

In 820 (1417—1418) Bāisonkor, the son of Shahrukh, was placed at the head of the government and he abolished the hated exactions of the vizier Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, whom he made disgorge some of his ill-gotten gains The death of this Emīr, which took place soon after, was considered a blessing from heaven

On 23 Rabī' II, 830 (Feb 21, 1427), Shāhrukh was the victim of a plot in the great mosque of Herāt, where the Darwīsh Ahmad Lor, who had come under the pretext of presenting a petition, tried to stab him. He was immediately lynched by the crowd. The consequence of this plot was that many arrests and executions of suspected people took place Iskandar, aided by his brother Djihānshāh, had rebelled again against Shāhrukh in 832 (1429). After being in revolt for six years, Djihānshāh submitted and became governor-general of Ādharbāidjān Iskandar, who had fled, was assassinated a short time after at the instigation of his son In Ramadān 838 (March 1435) the plague laid waste Herāt and its suburbs Hundreds of thousands are said to have died at this time

Shāhrukh died at Fīshāward, in the province of Ray on the 25th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 850 (March 12, 1447). Of the five sons that he had — Ulūgh Beg, Abu 'l-Fath, Ibrāhīm Bāisonkor, Suyūrghatmish and Muhammad Djūkī — only the eldest survived to succeed him

Historians are of one accord in eulogising Shāhrukh as a munificent sovereign, peaceful and void of ambition, loving peace without fearing war, in which he was always successful, and endeavouring to repair the damage done by Tīmūr. He rebuilt Marw, fortified and embellished Herāt A zealous Muslim, he was believed even to have the gift of working miracles. Himself a poet and artist, he was the patron of writers, of artists and of scholars, whom he attracted to Herāt, where he founded a magnificent library. Djāmī and the mystic poets Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī and Kāsim al-Anwār [q. v.] lived at this time Turkish poetry began to rival Persian Shāhrukh, who was particularly interested in historical studies, inspired or encouraged the works of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, Sharaf al-Dīn, 'Alī Yazdī, Fāsihī, 'Abd al-Razzāk, Samarkandī, as well as Hāfiz Ābrū, whom he commissioned to write a great work on geography. His sons, Ulūgh Beg, the learned astronomer, and Bāisonkor, the noted artist, who gave a great stimulus to painting and to calligraphy, followed his example.

With other states Shāhrukh maintained peaceful relationships. He exchanged embassies with China, the suzerain of the family of Tīmūr, who paid her tribute. India recognized his authority, at least nominally In 824 (1421) Khidr Khān, the sovereign of Delhī, sent him an embassy and we have the story several times published or translated of the embassy of 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī to China and India. Deferential to China, Shāhrukh was, on the other hand, arrogant with the Turks His correspondence with Muhammad I is the proof of this With Egypt his relationships were sometimes difficult. In 824 (1421) Tibet sent him an embassy.

On the death of Shāhrukh the decline began The Timūrid princes, who all aspired to power and found followers, exhausted themselves in struggles which hastened on the rise of the Safawis and the formation of the Ūzbek Empire.

Bibliography The *Matla' al-Sa'dain wa-Madjma' al-Bahrain* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarkandī is the most important work to consult, unfortunately it has never been published completely. Galland made a French translation still unpublished (*Bibl. Nat*, fonds français, Nos 6084—6087) and Quatremère has taken from it his *Memoires historiques sur la vie de sultan Schah-rokh* (*J. A*, 1836, II 193—233 and 338—364), which revised and continued until the year 924 (1421) resulted in the *Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre Matla-assadein* , Paris 1843 (*N.E*, XVI/1) Numerous passages of lost parts of Hāfiz-i Ābrū have been preserved by the *Matla'* which contains besides the substance of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and other historians of Tīmūr Mīrkhwānd, VI. 180—223 and Khwandamīr III, 178—214 are important The *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshāh gives but very scattered literary information, see on the same subject Mīr 'Alī Shīr, *Madjālis*, book VII (*J.A.*, 1861, XVII 285/286) The story of the plot is found in Barbier de Meynard's *Extraits de la Chronique persane d'Hérat* (*J. A*, 1862, XX 268—272).

Munadjdjim Bashī, *Sahā'if al-akhbār*, Constantinople 1285, III. 57 is important for the relations with the 'Osmānlīs Consult also — Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, London 1821, III. 485 *sq.*, Sédillot, *Sur un sceau de Schah Rokh, fils de Tamerlan, et sur quelques monnaies des Timourides de la Transoxiane* (*J. A*, 1840, X. 295—319) and reprinted in *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, I. 243—269; Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 379—387, and Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, p. 248–265 (on the relations of Shāhrukh with China).

(L. BOUVAT)

SHĀH-SEWAN, the name of several groups of Turkish tribes in Persia. The term means in Turkish "those who love the Shāh". Persian historians write: *shāhīsēwan*, thus indicating the Turkish accusative (*shāhī*) and the Turkish closed *e*.

History. According to Malcolm, Shāh ʿAbbās I (995—1037 = 1587—1628), in order to reduce the turbulent Turkish tribes known as *ḳïzïl-bash* (= "red-heads"), who played the part of praetorians, invited the men of all the tribes to enrol themselves in a new body which was called Shāh-sewan. Entirely devoted to the Ṣafawī family, this tribe enjoyed the particular favour of the sovereign. At one time they must have numbered 100,000 families, but this number diminished in time.

Malcolm quotes the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* and his version has been adopted by later historians The European travellers, who were contemporaries of the Ṣafawīs (R. du Mans, D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa, Chardin, Olearius), however, do not mention the tribe of Shāh-sewan and the known facts somewhat complicate Malcolm's story

I. The *ʿĀlam ārāyı ʿAbbāsī* frequently uses expressions like "*shāhī-sēwan*" *kardan*, *ṣalāyı-shāhī-sēwanī* in the sense of "to make appeal to the faithful" Thus the father of Shāh ʿAbbās, Shāh Sulṭān Muhammad, had already used this procedure in the rebellions of 989 and 992 "Shāh Muhammad", says Iskandar Munshī, "having launched the (appeal) *shāhī sēwān*, ordered that all those of the Turkoman tribe who were servants and partisans of this hearth (*ghulām wa-yakdjihatı ïn dūdmān*) should rally round His Majesty". These ad hoc appeals played upon the religious sentiments of the adepts of the Safawī family (*dūdmān*, *odjakh*) The sovereigns of this dynasty not only traced their origins to the *Shīʿī imāms*, but even claimed to be the incarnations of the latter (cf. KIZILBĀSH). In the time of Shāh ʿAbbās there was in Turkey a sect which regarded the Persian sovereign as its *murshid* In our own lay, the Ahl-i Ḥakḳ (cf the article ʿALĪ-ILĀHĪ) give a place in their theophanies to the Safawī kings The formula called of Shāh-sewan thus recalled to political recalcitrants their obligations to their superiors.

In 996, in the first year of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, the Ḳïzïl-bash rebelled against the authority of the majordomo Murshid Kulı Khān The Shāh had recourse to the process of "shāhı-sewan" and the faithful arrived en masse A few days later the rebels were captured and put to death This decisive blow dealt to the truculence of the Ḳïzïl-bash must have made an impression on his contemporaries, for in the firm reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, it was rarely necessary to resort to unusual measures Iskandar Munshī says nothing about the permanent results of the appeal of 996. He only adds that the Shāh-sewan who came at the king's call "mounted guard till morning".

II. On the other hand, Shāh ʿAbbās continued vigorously and successfully the policy of regrouping the great tribes. His grandfather, Shāh Tahmāsp [q.v.], about 936 (1529) had already reformed one of the most important Ḳïzïl-bash tribes the Takkalu (Malcolm, i. 506), remnants of which are still to be found in Kermān. The new military corps (*kullar*, *tufangčı*) made unnecessary the Ḳïzïl-bash *Ḳurčı* (Chardin V, 292). Another way of weakening the old praetorians was to dilute them with new elements personally devoted to the sovereign. These newcomers seem to have been particularly proud of the name of Shāh-sewan as is shown by the history of the Shāh-sewan of Ardabīl. To sum up then, it may be doubted if a single regularly constituted tribe was ever founded by Shāh ʿAbbās under the name Shāh-sewan.

The Shāh-sewan of Ardabīl. Although the inhabitants of this *ḳukūmat* all use the "Āzarī" Turkish dialect and are all Shīʿīs, the Shāh-sewan, even when settled, form a group apart, distinguished by its tribal organisation According to their traditions the Shāh-sewan came from Asia Minor under their chief Yunsur (?)-pāshā who had obtained permission to do this from Shāh ʿAbbās I Yunsur is said to have brought 3,300 families (hearths), a section of whom migrated later to Khurāsān

Among these Shāh-sewan three groups are distinguished (1) the tribe of Yunsur-pāshā, which later broke up into clans bearing the names of the descendants of the chief Saru-khān [q. v.], Kodja-bēg, Band ʿAlī bēg, Pūlād bēg, Damīr bēg, Kuzāt bēg, etc, with other later ramifications, (2) the tribe brought at the same time by Ḳurd bēg, of which following clans still exist. Tālish mīkailu, Khalīfelu, Mughānlu, Udulla, Murādlu, Zargai, etc, (3) the tribes which arrived in the time of Yunsur-pāshā, but independently of him Inanlu (*ʿĀlam ārā* īmānlū, evidently from the Mongol *ıman* "goat") with the clans Pīr-Eiwatlu, Kalāsh, Kūr (Kor?), ʿAbbāslu, Geʾiklu, Yuntči, Dursun Khodjalu, and Begdillu with the clans Adjirlu, Khodja-Khodjalu, Yeddi Oimaḳ, ʿArablu, Čakhïrlu, Kabādlu As to the Begdillu, the *ʿĀlam ārā* (p. 762) mentions the different fiefs (*tuyūlāt*) held in Ādharbaidjān by the Ḳïzïl-bash chief Gundoghmush Sultān Bēgdili, "who with his tribe and their tents dwelled at Tāʾuḳ near Kirkūk. Having become Shāh-sewan in the first Baghdād campaign (1032 = 1622), he presented himself to the Shāh and received the rank of Sultān" Alongside of these two tribes, mention is made of isolated groups, the Rizā bēglu, Saiwānlar ("camel-drivers") and Gïamushcı ("buffalo-breeders")

Saru-khān succeeded Yunsur-pāshā Among the descendants of the latter is mentioned Badı Khān, who accompanied Nādir Shāh on his campaigns. His sons, as the result of a quarrel, divided all the Shāh-sewan into two parties The Ardabīl section took the side of the Īl-bēgi descended from Nazar ʿAlī Khān and the Mishkhīn section those descended from Kučuk Khān.

The arrival of the Russians in Transcaucasia reacted on the fortunes of the Shāh-sewan. Between 1728 and 1732 several clans leading a nomadic life on the Kura (Kuir) recognised Russian supremacy The peace of Gandja (1813) established the Russians north of Mughān. The frontier fixed on the Turkman-čai (1828) and always rigorously maintained separated the Shāh-sewan from a great part of their winter-quarters. The Russians for a considerable time did not prevent the tribes from continuing to enjoy their pasturages, but there were continual incidents. In 1867, the Rizā-bēglu and Ḳodja-bēglu were refused access to Russian Mughān. On their side the Persian authorities burned the village of the Kodja-bēglu, Barzand [q v], and in 1876 the tribe was deported to Urmia, from which it has little by little regained its old home.

From 1869 a mixed commission was created on Russian territory at Bīlasuwār (on the river

Bolghārū) with the task of settling amicably the mutual claims of Russian and Persian subjects. In 1884, the Russian frontier was definitely closed to the Shāh-sewan and at the same time the Russian nomads (Perembel, Darwishlu) were forbidden to descend into Persia. This measure dealt a blow to the prosperity of the Shāh-sewan, but did not put a stop to their incursions. On the other hand, it encouraged the Shāh-sewan to settle down and they had to cultivate their lands more intensively.

The governors of Ardabīl had made very little impression on the Shāh-sewan. Only the expedition of 1910 undertaken against the turbulent tribes by the leaders of Persian revolution attained a notable succes. Towards April of 1923, Riḍā Khān Sardār Sipāh succeeded in disarming the Shāh-sewan.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were the following groups in Mughān, (1) Tarākama (Turkomans) 1,500 families of settlers; (2) Shaḳaḳı 8,000 families of nomad Kurds (?), (3) 10,000 families of Shāh-sewan nomads.

The Shaḳaḳı later withdrew into the interior of Persia Before the Russian frontier was closed, fourteen clans of Persian Shāh-sewan, numbering 3,500 families, arrived in Russia, while 27 clans with 2,600 families remained in Persia.

Before 1914 the position was as follows In the canton of Mishkhīn on the northern slopes of the Sāwalān [q. v.], N E. E. of Ardabīl, from which it is separated by the river Dodjukh (a tributary of the Ḳara-su), there were over 5,000 hearths of the Shāh-sewan divided into 37 clans governed by their hereditary chiefs. The latter in turn were subordinate to an Īl-bēgī The Shāh-sewan of Mishkhīn are nomads. They spend the summer on the high plateaux of Sāwalān and winter in Persian Mughān. The limit of their migration is about 120 miles On this stretch they have villages inhabited by peasants, who have come from the interior of Ādharbāidjān, who till the soil, receiving a third of the produce.

The number of Shāh-sewan in the canton of Ardabīl was over 6,000 hearths divided into 12 clans, whose chiefs did not have an Īl bēgī in common. Among these clans only two are nomad, they go to Mughān of the eastern road (Barzand-Bilasuwār). Four clans are becoming settled (*takhta-kapu* "the gates of wood"), especially in the S E and S. W. of Ardabīl (the strongest clans are the Pulādlu and Yurtčı). In all there are over 11,000 hearths at Shāh-sewan residing in the *hukūmat* of Ardabīl and they must number at least 75,000 souls.

The Shāh-sewan are Shīʿīs. The conversion of Yunsur-pāshā, who was at first a Sunnī, is said to have taken place when Shāh ʿAbbās passed through Mughān. Since then the house of Yunsur-pāshā has been regarded as an *odjaḳh* ("hearth") by which the tribes swear when taking an oath. The Kodja-bēglu are suspected of Sunnī leanings. One clan of Shāh-sewan consists entirely of *sayyids* (Seiyidlar). Like the majority of nomads, the Shāh-sewan are rather indifferent in matters of religion.

The language of the Shāh-sewan does not differ from the "Āzarī" dialect spoken by the rest of the population of Ardabīl, but it is said that the Zargar also use a Čaghatai dialect.

In the tribes a distinction is made between the clan of *bēg*'s and that of *bēg-zāda*, the latter being descended from lateral lines. The hired peasants who till the earth on behalf of the tribes, are called *hamrā(h)* ("companions").

The Shāh-sewan of Sawa. This group consists of two tribes. A Baghdādī, 800 families living between Sāwa [q. v] and Ḳum and governed by an Īl-khānī and four Īl-bēgī. The tribe is said to have come from Shīrāz in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I. It consists of 14 clans· Kalāvänd (the most important), Küselar, Ḳara ḳoyunlu, Mukhtabandlu, Yārdjānlu, Aḥmadlu, ʿAlī ḳurtlu, Satīllu, Ḳutlu, Kāsīmlu, Suldūz, Husein khānlu, Dugäı, Nılḳäz, Mahdīlu; B. Inānlu, 1000 families wintering between Teheran (Ṭihrān) and Ḳum south of the river Karadj; summer quarters (5½ months from April) at Parwāna in the province Khamsa (Zandjan).

The tribe used to live in Mughān, whence they were transported by Nādir Shāh (?) to Khamsa to form a bulwark against the incursions of the Bilbās Kurds (cf. SAWDJ BULAḲ).

Other groups. In the province of Khamsa [q. v.] the Doweiran, who dispute the power with the local Afshār, call themselves Shāh-sewan; they came from Mughān at the same time as the Inānlu. On the other hand, a tribe of this last mentioned name (Hādjdjī Mīrzā Hasan Fasā'ī, *Fārs-nāmayi Nāṣırī*, Tihrān 1313, ii. 309: *Il-ı Īnāllū*), numbering 5,000 families, forms a part of the confederation of the five tribes (*Khamsa*) in the eastern part of Fārs Of at least one of the 25 subdivisions of these Inānlu, viz of the Gok-pär, it is reported by Hasan Fasā'ī that, after having proclaimed themselves Shāh-sewan, i e. "friends of the king (*shāh-dūst*)", they had separated from the tribe Gok-par in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānı mentions the existence of Shāh-sewan even in Kābul and Kashmīr where they had gone in consequence of the dispersion policy practised by Nādir-shāh with regard to the Shāh-sewan (cf. J. Morier).

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHAI' (A.), a thing, anything, in Arab algebra the name for the unknown quantity in an equation. The expression is first used in the *Algebra* of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (about 820) and probably goes back to the Indian *yāvat-tāvat*. In the mediaeval Latin translations, it is translated by *res*, latterly *causa*, Ital. *cosa*, from which developed the name *coss* given to algebra. P. de Lagarde's attempt to trace the *x* of algebra to *Shai'*, which has found some credence among Orientalists, is untenable.

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SHAIBA (BANŪ), the name of the keepers of the Ka'ba (*Sadana*, *ḥadjaba*) whose authority does not extend over the whole of the sanctuary (*masdjid al-ḥarām*), nor even as far as the well of Zamzam and its annexes They are the *Banū Shaiba* or *Shaibiyīn* and have as their head a *za'īm* or *shaikh*.

Modern works only give brief references to them Snouck Hurgronje gives the days on which they open the door of the Ka'ba He notes that they only admit the faithful on payment of a fee and quotes the witty Mecca saying "The B. Shai'ba are wreathed in smiles; this must be a day for opening the Ka'ba". — They find a further source of revenue in the sale of scraps of the covering of the holy house, which is replaced every year by their care The embroidered parts reserved in theory for the sovereign are given more or less gratuitously to the great personages who represent him at Mecca and on the *ḥadjdj*. The remainder in accordance with custom (*Chroniken d. Stadt Mekka*, iii 72) is the perquisite of the *Shaibiyīn*, who sell it in the little booths at the Bāb al-Salām (Batanūnī, p. 139), the ancient Bāb B Shai'ba, the principal gate of the mosque. They also sell there the little brooms made of palm leaves, which are all alleged to have been used for cleaning the floor of the Ka'ba, a solemn ceremony in which the greatest personages glory in participating (Ibn Djubair, p. 138, Batanūnī, p. 109). They also have the charge and care of the offerings made by the faithful, which adorn the interior of the holy house This treasure comprisee the most diverse objects, articles of gold and of silver, precious stones, lamps richly adorned, foreign idols, the offerings of converts in distant lands. This treasure has regularly been plundered by the Amīrs of Mecca, by the governors, by its guardians and even by the Shaibiyīn themselves (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage*, p. 57) although according to tradition, the grand-master *Shai'ba* is said to have defended it against the attempts of the Caliph 'Omar (*Usd al-ghāba*, iii. 8). They have charge of the interior curtains of the Ka'ba. They had at one time the care of the *Makām Ibrāhīm* which was considered a dependence of the holy house, but do I not know what is the present rule.

The possession of these diverse functions by the Shaibiyīn is now so generally recognised that it attracts no attention. They evoked a more lively interest from earlier authors and especially from the pilgrims. The principal narratives are those of Ibn Djubair in 1183 and of Nāṣir-i Khosraw in 1276. The visit to the Ka'ba accompanied by a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'a* made if possible, at the very spot where the Prophet performed them on the day of the taking of Mecca, is a pious act, which is not a part of the rites of the pilgrimage, but one from which the pilgrims themselves hope to acquire further merit although the people of Mecca seem to attach but slight importance to it. The dates of the public opening seem to have varied a little (*Le Pèlerinage*, p. 60 *sqq.*) but the ceremony has remained unchanged. The *za'īm* alone has the key of the Holy House, the history of which I shall deal with below When the gangway (*dardj*), which gives access to the door which is above the ground level, has been put into position by the Shaibiyīn, their chief advances and, while he is inserting the key, one of his acolytes hides it from the gaze of the faithful In the 12th century (Ibn Djubair, p. 93, *Pèlerinage*, p. 59), he held a black cloth (the 'Abbāsid colour) in his extended hands In the thirteenth century (Nāsir-i Khosraw, p. 209), there was a curtain on the door which a Shaibi lifted to allow the *za'īm* to pass and which he let fall again behind him. The Prophet had veiled (*satarahu*) the door on opening it (Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed Houtsma, ii 61) In imitation of the Prophet the *za'īm* enters alone or with 2 or 3 acolytes, prays the two ritual *rak'a*, then opens the door to the public whose admission he regulates The Persian pilgrim as well as the Spanish made a visit to the Ka'ba and they have both noted the miracle, which allows this very small building to hold at one time such a large number of the faithful Nāsir-i Khosraw counted 720 in it at the same time as himself Ibn Djubair was particularly interested in the Ka'ba and its *ḥadjaba* He was present at the reception of Saif al-Islām Tughtekin, the brother of Saladin (p 146 and 147), on whose left hand the *za'īm* of the Shaibiyin solemnly entered the mosque, the *za'īm* Muhammad b. Ismā'il b 'Abd al-Rahmān was his chief informant (p 81). He tells us that during his sojourn the Amīr of Mecca, Mukthir, arrested the *za'īm* Muḥammad and, accusing him of such baseness of conduct as was "unworthy of the guardian of the holy house", confiscated his goods and set up in his place one of his cousins, whom popular report accused of the same vices Then some time after, he saw the *za'īm* Muḥammad, after paying 500 dīnārs to the Amīr, re-established in his office, strutting proudly before the gate of the Ka'ba (p. 163, 164, 166, 179). This act of violence does not prove that there was any exact custom which regulated the relations of the Amīr with the B. Shaiba. Under al-Mutawakkil (847—861), they sent delegates to the Caliph at Baghdād to assert, in opposition to the proposals of the governor of Mecca, their right to decide what works it was necessary to undertake at the Ka'ba, the master of works sent by the Caliph was to apply only to them. When he came to make his first enquiry the master Ishāk was, however, accompanied by the *ḥadjaba shaibiyīn*, and also by the governor, by pious individuals and by the *Ṣāḥib al-barīd* (cf. the art. BARĪD), "the postmaster", in reality the redoubtable intelligence officer of the sovereign (*Chron d Stadt Mekka*, i. 210/211).

The privilege of the B. Shaiba is very old; the historians of the ninth century Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, Ya'kūbī and the compilers of collections

of ḥadīths confirm this; but they pile up proofs of its legitimacy in a way that makes one think it was recent and disputed. We know what obscurity prevails in "spite of the texts" on the history of the "Arab kingdom" at the time when so many things were being organised of themselves.

According to tradition, Ḳosaiy, the ancestor of the Koraish, had reserved the guardianship of the Kaʿba (*ḥiḏjāba*) for ʿAbd al-Dār and his descendants At the time of the conquest of Mecca, it was in the hands of ʿOthmān b Ṭalha b Abī Ṭalha ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbd al-ʿOzza b. ʿOthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār (Tabarī, iii 2378, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii 7 and 372 etc). Ibn Saʿd (Tabakāt, v. 331) has a variant story which casts doubts upon the near relationship of ʿOthmān and Shaiba, while the genealogy given by the *zaʿīm* to Ibn Djubair (p 81) intercalates an ancestor Shaiba unknown to the other authors ʿOthmān by a happy foresight was converted at al-Hodaibiya with other notable personages of Mecca, although several members of his family had perished at Uhud in the ranks of the Ḳoraish (Tabarī, i 1604, Aghānī, xv. 11; Ibn Saʿd, v 331 etc) On the day of the taking of Mecca, he accompanied the Prophet to the Kaʿba and the latter demanded the key from him, in general the authorities say that he gave it up, but according to one tradition (al-ʿAinī, *ʿumda*, iv 609, *Chroniken*, i. 187), ʿOthmān, a new convert, had to get it from his mother, an infidel, who had charge of it and who refused to give it up ʿOthmān had to threaten to kill himself before her eyes According to another authority (*Chroniken*, i. 185), she heard in the court-yard of the house the threatening voices of Abū Bakr and of ʿOmar before she decided to give it up (cf Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii 44) But another tradition which does not assume the conversion of ʿOthmān in the year 8, shows him on the terrace of the Kaʿba holding the key in his hand and shouting to the Prophet "If I were sure that he is the messenger of God I would not refuse it to him". ʿAlī climbed up, held is hand out, took the key and himself opened the door, here ʿAlid bias is evident (Rāzī, *Mafatīh*, ii 460, Kalkashandī, *Subh*, iv 264) — The general tradition is that the Prophet, in possession of the key, opened the door and entered with ʿOthmān, Bilāl and Usāma, prayed two *rakʿa* in a spot which is to-day held sacred and went out holding the key in his hand At this point the traditions differ once more in detail, but end in the restoration of the key to ʿOthmān, according to one account, the Prophet either on his own motion or because of the appeals of al-ʿAbbās or of ʿAlī, leant on the posts of the door of the Kaʿba and made a speech which ended "Everything is under my feet except the *sidāna* and the *sikāya* of the pilgrims, which are going to be restored to those to whom they belong". He gave the *sikāya* to al-ʿAbbās and returned the key to ʿOthmān, according to the other tradition, the Prophet came out of the Kaʿba uttering verse 61 of Sūra iv., which according to an opinion which Tabarī (*Tafsīr*, v. 86) accepts as only of secondary value, was revealed at this moment and applies to the *Sidāna* and the *Sikāya* (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 625; Rāzī, *Mafatīh*, ii 460; *Chroniken*, i. 186).

But ʿOthmān, master of the *sidāna* and of the key, did not exercise his rights he followed the Prophet to Medīna and died there in the year 42 (662—663) or he was killed at Adjnādīn in 13 (634). No one mentions him further and authors take the precaution of making the Prophet say that he returned the *sidāna* to ʿOthmān and to Shaiba, and to the Banū Ṭalha (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, i. 138, Nawawī, p 407, *Usd*, iii 372; *Chroniken*, i. 184).

This attempt to make the cousin german of *ʿOthmān*, Shaiba b ʿOthmān b Abī Ṭalha, be present at the taking of Mecca is unfortunate. Shaiba was not yet a Muslim, although some late authors have tentatively tried to convert him at the taking of Mecca. They are not able to escape the legend, which has grown up round the conversion of Shaiba at Honain a month later. Shaiba searches out the Prophet in the middle of the combat in order to take vengeance for the death of his father, who had been killed at Uḥud by Hamza, but from the Prophet a light emanates causing him to lose heart Muhammad puts his hand upon his heart and causes the demon to depart from him. Shaiba is converted (Yaʿḳūbī, ii 64, Ibn Hisham, 845, Ibn Saʿd, v 331, Tabarī, *Annales*, i. 1661, 3; *Usd*, iii 7; *Chroniken*, ii 46, etc.) and without the writers knowing why, Shaiba becomes the keeper of the Kaʿba; all his family hasten to come to his assistance, his brother Wahb b ʿOthmān, the sons of ʿOthmān b. Talha, those of Musāfī b Abī Talha who was killed at Uḥud "It is then", concludes al-Azraki (*Chroniken*, i. 67), "all the descendants of Abū Talha who in general exercise the *ḥiḏjāba* (*Chroniken*, i. 67)" But according to all the traditionists, it is Shaiba who is their chief It is he who had the power to demolish the houses dominating the Kaʿba (*Chroniken*, iii 15) It is he who came into conflict with Muʿāwiya about the sale of a house and who at the time of the second pilgrimage of the Caliph, not wishing to be disturbed, sends his grandson Shaiba b Djābir to open the door of the sanctuary (*Chroniken*, i 89) It is he who arbitrates between the two hāḏjḏj chiefs, the partisans of ʿAlī and those of Muʿāwiya (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 3448 and iii. 2352, *Murūḏj*, ix. 56/57), one of his sons ʿAbd Allāh or Ṭalha was a victim of the "abominable" al-Kasrī (*Chroniken*, ii 37, 38, 175) It is he who appears in one of the versions of the hadīth where ʿĀʾisha wishes to have the Kaʿba opened (*Chroniken*, i. 220, 222, 223) There are discussions with ʿĀʾisha which settle that it is lawful for the Shaibīyīn to sell parts of the covering (*kiswa*) but only for the maintenance of the poor (*Chroniken*, i 180, 182 and iii. 70—72, al-Kalkashandī, iv. 283); in spite of the efforts of the makers of hadīths, the question is discussed by jurists and in 621 (1224) al-Malik al-Kāmil, the nephew of Saladin, purchased from the Shaibīyīn for an annual fixed sum, the revenues that they drew from the opening of the Kaʿba and forced them to open it free of charge (*Chroniken*, i. 266) Shaiba died in 57 (676—677) or under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (Tabarī, *Annales*, iii. 2378; Ibn Saʿd, v. 331; *Usd*, iii. 8).

The tradition which gave to the Shaibiyīn the *ḥiḏjāba* of the Holy House is an ancient one. It is still perpetuated in the name of the archway, which, beside Zamzam, marks the ancient boundary of the wall of the *masḏjid al-ḥarām*. When the former had been enlarged, the new gate, called at the present time Bāb al-Salām, which was in a line with the Kaʿba and the ancient arcade, was

called in its turn Bāb Banī Shaiba (*Pèlerinage*, p. 132 and 133). But for this institution as for many others the period when it was established and merged in an anti-Islamic institution, remains obscure

Bibliography: See the works cited in the article (GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES)

AL-**SHAIBĀNĪ**, ABŪ ʿAMR ISḤĀḲ B MIRĀR, who, according to Abū Mansūr al-Azharī, had the nickname al-Ahwas, was descended from Persian country gentry, but being a client (*mawlā*) of some person of the tribe of Shaibān was called al-Shaibānī He was the foremost of the Kūfī grammarians We are told that he was called al-Shaibānī because he was instructor to those sons of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who were under the care of Yazīd b Mazyad al-Shaibānī The date of his birth can only be ascertained approximately, but if the age at which he is said to have died is correct, he must have been born shortly after the year 100 (719—720). The date of his death is also uncertain, the years 205, 206 and 213 being given, the latter date is probably correct, as he is said to have died on the same day as the poet Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya and the singer Ibrāhim al Mawsilī who died in that year. Abū ʿAmr was not only celebrated as a grammarian, but has also the reputation of a trustworthy transmitter of traditions (*ḥadīth*), and is quoted as an authority in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b Hanbal He studied under the most celebrated masters of the Kūfī school and spent a long time among the nomad Arabs collecting poetry and linguistic data In later life he removed to Baghdād Earlier in life he compiled his large collection of the poetry of the Arabic tribes This collection, which has not been preserved to us, contained the poems of some eighty tribes and was extensively used by later editors of ancient Arabic poetry We find his name regularly mentioned, especially when poems are cited which were not known to other grammarians. He surpassed his colleagues, with the exception of Abū ʿUbaida, in taking an interest also in the historical allusions found in ancient poems, about which many others, like the Basrian al-Asmaʿī, seem to be particularly ignorant or uninterested Although a pious man, he was at times addicted to drink It is not surprising that he gives at times in good faith spurious poems as genuine, as for instance the 66th poem in the *Dīwān* of al-Aʿshā (ed Geyer), where the borrowings from the Ḳurʾān are too evident Only one of his works has come down to us, the *Kitāb al-Ǧīm*, which was intended to be a dictionary of the Arabic language but was never completed No doubt the *Kitāb al-ʿAin* of al-Ḫalīl b. Ahmad had given him the impulse for this undertaking It is arranged according to the ordinary Arabic alphabet, but only completed to the letter *ǧīm*. It is preserved in a unique copy in the library of the Escorial and being one of the earliest books in the Arabic language deserves special study (brief description in Cat Derenbourg, Nº. 572)

His biographers tell us that he would not dictate his *Kitāb al-Ǧīm* to anyone and that in consequence copies were taken only after his death. The scribe of the Escorial MS. whom I have not identified so far, belongs to a much older period than is stated by Derenbourg; he used a copy made by the grammarian al-Sukkarī [q. v.], but as some leaves were missing in that copy he compared it with one made by Abū Mūsā al-Hāmid The book is not a lexicon as the biographers would have us believe, though in a rough way the words are arranged in four chapters comprising words commencing with the first four letters of the alphabet. There are frequent errors due to the author himself. The particular value of the book lies in the fact that it is a large collection of expressions peculiar to certain tribes, on the first 27 pages no less than thirty different tribes being mentioned, and there is not the least doubt that Abū ʿAmr extracted the unusual words from the 80 old *Dīwān*'s of Arab tribes which he had collected. This is evident when he quotes e. g the poet Kuthayyir four times in succession A diligent search in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* reveals also that the book had not been used by the lexicographers whose works form the basis of that work The authorities and poets quoted are in many cases not cited elsewhere and I hope to prepare an edition of the complete work, which is the greatest monument of the Kūfic school of grammarians.

Biographers mention in addition the following works of Abū ʿAmr all of which seem to be lost *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, *Kitāb al-Ḫail*, *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, *Kitāb al-Lughāt* and especially the *Kitāb al-Nawādir*, a miscellany which has been freely extracted, generally without acknowledgment, by later authors Among his most prominent pupils were the Kūfī grammarians Thaʿlab, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Abū ʿUbaid al-Kāsim b Sallām and his own son ʿAmr The indices of the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* and the *Naḳāʾiḍ* give us only a faint idea of how often he is quoted as an authority for the earlier literature Kālī mentions him several times, e g i 136, 211 and 238

Bibliography Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p 68, al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Nuḥāt*, in *R.S O*, viii. 145, al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, p 120—125, Yākūt, *Irshād*, ed Margoliouth in *G M.S*, ii. 233, Ibn Ḫallikān, Nº 83, Cairo 1310, i 65. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahḏhīb*, Ḥaidarābād 1327, xii 183, al-Suyūtī, *Bughyat*, p. 192, Flugel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p 139—142, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 116. (F. KRENKOW)

AL-**SHAIBĀNĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B AL-ḤASAN B FARḲAD, Mawlā of the Banū Shaibān, a Hanafī jurist, born at Wāsit in 132 (749/750). Brought up in al-Kūfa, he studied at the early age of fourteen under Abū Ḥanīfa, under whose influence he devoted himself to *raʾy* At twenty he is said to have lectured in the mosque of al-Kūfa He extended his knowledge of ḥadīth under Sufyān al-Ṯawrī (d 161), al-Awzāʿī (d 157) and others and especially Mālik b. Anas (d 179), whose lectures he attended for over three years in Medīna His training in Fiḳh, however, he owed mainly to Abū Yūsuf, but he soon began to threaten the latter's prestige by his own lectures, so that Abū Yūsuf tried to get him a judgeship in Syria or Egypt, which, however, al-Shaibānī declined In 176 (792/793) he was consulted by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in the affair of the Zaidī imām Yahyā b ʿAbd Allāh. On this occasion he lost the Caliph's favour through his own fault and became suspected of being a supporter of the ʿAlīds (Tabarī III 619, Kardarī II, 163 *sqq.*). He was, it is true, like some of his teachers a Murdjiʾī (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Maʿārif*, p. 301, Shāhristānī, ed. Cureton, p 108), but he seems

to have kept clear of Shīʿa activities (*Fihrist*, p. 204). It was not till 180 (796) at the earliest — in this year Hārūn made al-Raḳḳa his capital (Ṭab., iv. 645) — that Hārūn made him ḳāḍī of al-Raḳḳa. After his dismissal (187 = 803) he stayed in Baghdād till the Caliph commanded him to accompany him on his journey to Khurāsān (189 = 805) and appointed him Ḳāḍī of Khurāsān (according to Abū Ḥāzim (d 292) in Kardarī ii, 147) He died there in the same year at Ranbuwaih, near al-Raiy.

He belonged to the moderate school of *raʾy* and sought to base his teaching wherever possible on ḥadīths. He was also considered an able grammarian Among his pupils are mentioned the imām al-Shāfiʿī [q. v.], who nevertheless wrote a polemic against him (*Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan* in *K. al-Umm*, Cairo 1325, vii. 277 *sqq*). It is to Shaibānī and Abū Yūsuf that the Hanafī *Madhhab* owes its first spread of popularity. His writings, which have had frequent commentaries made on them, are the oldest that enable us to judge the teachings of Abū Hanīfa, although they differ in many points from the ideas of Abū Hanīfa. The most important are. *Kitāb al-Aṣl fi ʾl-Furūʿ* or *al-Mabsūṭ*, *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, *K. al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (pr. Būlāk 1302 on the margin of Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*), *K. al-Siyar al-kabīr* (pr with the commentary of al-Sarakhsī in 4 vol., Ḥaidarābād 1335—1336), *K. al-Āthār* (lith in India).

We also owe to him an edition, with many critical additions, of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of his teacher Mālik b. Anas, which differs widely from the usual version (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 222, *sq.*, now printed in Kazan, 1909)

Bibliography· Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/ii 78 (synopsis in· Ibn Ḳutaiba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wustenfeld, p 251, al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2521; al-Nawawī, *Biograph dictionary*, p 104); *Fihrist*, p 203 *sq.* — The later sources are more legendary in character al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh* in al-Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, xx fol 342ᵛ and al-Nawawī, p. 103 *sqq.*; al-Sarakhsī, *Sharh al-Siyar al-kabīr*, Introduction, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i. 453 *sq.*; al-Kardarī, *Manāḳib al-Imām al-aʿzam*, Haidarābād 1321, ii. 146—167 (uses old sources), Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, ed. Flugel, N⁰ 159 — Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur Moh b. Hasan* in *J. A.*, 4. Ser., xx. 1852, p. 406—419, Flügel, *Classen der hanafit Rechtsgelehrten*, p. 283, Dimitroff, *Asch-Schaibānī und sein corpus iuris* in *M. S O. S. As*, xi 1908, p 75—98, Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 171 *sq.* (HEFFENING)

SHAIBĀNĪ, ABŪ NAṢR FATH-ALLĀH KHĀN of Kāshān, a Persian poet of the xixth century. His father Muhammad Kāẓim was the son of the Muhammad Sanī Khān who had been governor of Kāshān, had fought successfully against the nomad Turkomans and was fond of the society of men of distinction. The poet lived at the court of Muḥammad Shāh and then retired from the world He wrote a work in prose and verse entitled *Maḳālāt* „discourses" containing dithyrambics in honour of his patron Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the prime Minister Hādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳās, Ferīdūn Mīrzā, governor of Khorāsān, etc. A large selection of his poems was published in Constantinople in 1308, for the Akhtar press, 312 p.

Bibliography: Riḍā Ḳūlī Khān, *Medjmaʿ al-fusaḥā*, Teheran 1295, ii. 224—245; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p 344. (CL HUART)

SHAIBĀNIDS, descendants of the Mongol prince Shaibān, a brother of Bātū Khān [q. v.]. The names of the twelve sons of Shaibān and their earlier descendants are given by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed Blochet, p. 114 *sqq.*, with notes by the editor from the anonymous *Muʿizz al-Ansāb*, on its importance as a source see W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestwiya*, ii, 56) Later writers give information on Shaibān and his descendants which is more legendary than historical, the bias of these tales is decided by the political conditions of the countries concerned. For example, Ütemish Ḥādjdjī, writing in Khwārizm under Shaibānī rule, tells how Čingiz-Khān heaped distinctions on his grandson Shaibān at the same time as Bātū, but paid no attention to their brother, Tughai Timur; in contrast to this Maḥmūd b. Walī, writing in Bukhārā under the rule of the descendants of Tughai Timur, says that Bahādur, son and successor of Shaibān, always regarded the descendants of Tughai Timur as his suzerains. (*Zap.* xv. 231 and 256).

According to Abu ʾl-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 181), Bātū granted his brother Shaibān the land between his own territory and that of his eldest brother Orda-Ičen; the land between the Irghiz and Ural mountains and along the east bank of the Yāyiḳ was allotted him as summer residence and the lands on the Sīr-Daryā and the lower course of the Čū and Sarī-Su as winter residence. These statements are in general corroborated by the account of Plano Carpini, a contemporary of the three brothers (Engl. transl by W. W. Rockhill, Hakl. Soc, Ser. ii, N⁰. iv. p. 15).

According to Abu ʾl-Ghāzī, the sovereignty in the house of Shaibān regularly passed from father to son for several generations, the names of the princes concerned were Bahādur, Djūčī Bugha, Badakul, Ming-Timur and Fūlād After the death of the latter his kingdom was divided between his two sons, Ibrāhīm and ʿArabshāh, but the brothers remained together. Their summer-quarters were on the upper Yāyiḳ, their winter abode on the lower Sīr-Daryā

On the other hand, according to both the *Muʿizz al-Ansāb* and the *Tāʾīkh-i Abu ʾl-Khair-Khānī*, the sovereignty immediately before the accession of Abu ʾl-Khair (a grandson of Ibrāhīm) was in another line, the descendants of Fūlād's brother Tungā; according to the *Muʿizz*, in 829 (Nov. 1425/1426) there was ruling there a prince named Yumaduḳ (in the *Tārīkh-i Abu ʾl-Khair Khānī*· Djumaduk), a great-grandson of Tungā, although his father Ṣūfī was still alive For the names of the two brothers Ibrāhīm and ʿArabshāh, the ancestors of the later rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr and Khwārizm, the Özbeg used the compound Isā-ʿArab (according to Abu ʾl-Ghāzī, p. 182). The people ruled by the descendants of the two brothers called themselves Özbeg, presumably after the famous ruler of the Golden Horde under whom the rule of Islām on the Volga was definitely established.

The conquest of Mā warā al-Nahr by the Özbeg took place under Muḥammad Shāh Bakht or Shāhī Beg (also Shaibaḳ Beg) known as a poet under the name Shaibānī, which is also frequently given him by historians, a grandson of Abu ʾl-Khair. The capital Samarḳand was occupied by him

towards the end of the year 905 (1500) and definitely the next year. After Shaibānī had fallen in battle against Shāh Ismāʿīl, the founder of the modern Persian kingdom, at Merw (Ramaḍān 27, 916 = November 29, 1510), Bābur succeeded for a brief period in restoring the rule of the Timurids in Mā warā al-Nahr, but he was defeated in 918 (1512) and had to abandon Bukhārā and Samarḳand and in 920 (1514) also his last possessions in Mā warā al-Nahr (cf. BĀBER). Mā warā al-Nahr now remained under the rule of the Shaibānids (as descendants of Shaibān and not of Shaibānī, after whose death the suzerainty passed not to his sons, but to other princes of the house of Abu 'l-Khair) or Abu 'l-Khanids (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II, 1880, p 686 *sqq*) Cf. the names and dates of the members in Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, 1894 (21925), N° 98, additions and corrections in the Russian translation by W Barthold, and a few additional facts in W. Wyatkin, *Spravočnaya Knižka Samark Oblast.*, VI 242 *sq* from the inscriptions on the tomb of the Shaibānids in Samarkand On the most important ruler of this house, ʿAbd Allāh, cf the article ʿABD ALLĀH B ISKANDAR, on the latter's father, cf the article ISKANDAR. Central Asiatic sources always give as the last ruler of Mā warā al-Nahr the son and successor of ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, e.g Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p 183, Muhammad Yūsuf al-Munshī in J Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns*, etc, p 30, Mahmūd b Walī in W. Barthold, *Zap*, xv 260, Welyaminow-Zernow in his work on the coins of Bukharā and Khīwa also calls ʿAbd al-Muʾmin the last Khān of the house of the Shaibānids (*Trudī Vost Otd Arkh Obshč*, IV, 1859, p 402), also W Barthold, under ʿADB ALLĀH B ISKANDAR. On the other hand, in the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam Ārā-i ʿAbbāsī* of Iskandar Munshī, a successor to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is given, namely Pīr Muhammad, "a relative of ʿAbd Allāh and a prince of the house of Djānī-Beg". This statement is quoted by Welyaminow-Zernow in his later work on the Tzars of Kasimow (*Trudī*, etc, x. 345 *sqq*) and this Khān identified with Pīr Muhammad b Sulaimān, a grandson of Djānī-Beg, mentioned in the *ʿAbdallāh-nāma* Pīr Muhammad was soon overthrown by Bāki Muhammad, the founder of the new (Astrakhān) dynasty, taken prisoner and killed (end of 1007 = June/July, 1599) Therefore in Howorth (II 739 *sqq*.) and Lane-Poole the history of the Shaibānids ends not with ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, but with Pīr Muhammad II

Western European and Russian scholars restrict the term Shaibānids to the rulers of Mā warā al-Nahr, and do not apply it to the rulers of Khwārizm, although the descendants of Shaibān ruled for a considerable time in Khwārizm Khwārizm, like Mā warā al-Nahr, was conquered by Shaibānī (Rabīʿ I 21, 911 = Aug 22, 1505).

After the death of Shaibānī, it passed not to Bābur, but directly to the Persians Soon afterwards (according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p. 197, as early as the year of the sheep 1511, — the Hidjra date 911 given is certainly wrong) the Persians were driven out by another branch of the house of Shaibān, the descendants of ʿArabshāh. Khwārizm remained under the rule of this dynasty till the end of the seventeenth century, on one of the last rulers, Abu 'l-Ghāzī and his historical work, see the article ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ BAHĀDUR KHĀN. The son and successor of Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Anūsha Khān (1663—1687) also had considerable power; after the conquest of Meshhed, he took the title "Shāh"; from this the great canal, which he dug and which still exists, takes the name "Shāhābād". He was followed by his two sons, Khudādād and Muhammad Erenk; the year of the latter's death is usually given as 1099 (1687/1688); in the still unpublished history of Muʾnis, the historiographer of Khwarizm, 1106 (1694/1695) is given. After this for a considerable period there was no longer a dynasty until the foundation of the house of Kunghrat The Özbeg aristocracy installed as rulers only for periods princes of the line of Čingiz Khān.

On the history of the Shaibānids of Khwārizm, cf especially Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II 876—905, Weselowski, *Očerk istoriko-geografičeskikh svěd'emiy o Khivinskom Khanstve*, 1877, p. 101—157, S Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, N°. 101 and the genealogy in the Russian translation by W Barthold, p 304

According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, p 177, the princes of Siberia driven out by the Russians about 1003 (1594/1595), were also descendants of Shaibān.

(W BARTHOLD)

SHAIBĀNĪ KHĀN, ABU 'L-FATH MUHAMMAD, also called Shāhī Beg Üzbek, or better Shāh Beg Khān Üzbek and also Shaibak, a corruption of Shāhbakht, a name given him by his grandfather Abu 'l-Khair (the *kunya* Abu 'l-Fath is only found on his coins), Khān of the Üzbeks and conqueror of Transoxiana, over which he reigned from 906 (1500/1501) to 915 (1509/1510). Born in 855 (1451) the son of Shāh Būdāk and Āk Kūzī Begum, in 873 (1468) he lost his father, who was surprised and decapitated by Yūnus, Khān of Mongolia, who had come to the help of the Kazaks [q v] Entrusted to the guardianship successively of the Atabek Uighūr Khān, the Emīr Karāčīn Beg and Kāsim, Khān of Astrakhān, in the troubled period that followed the death of Abu 'l-Khair, he waited till he had sufficient followers to avenge his father He attacked and defeated Burke Sultān, whom a devoted follower endeavoured to save at the cost of his own life, but Burke was soon discovered and put to death. Defeated near Sabrān by Irānčī, son of Djānī Beg, Shaibānī took refuge in Bukhārā, then in Samarkand. The Khān of the Manguts (Noghāis) Mūsā, promised him the sovereignty of Kīpčāḳ [q. v], but did not fulfil his promise, saying that the people were opposed to it Resuming the struggle, Shaibānī defeated the Kazaḳ Barandaḳ, was defeated by Mahmūd Sultān, son of Djānī Beg, and received the hospitality of the Emīr of Khwārizm, ʿAbd al-Khālik Fīrūz Shāh

In the struggle between Ahmad Mīrzā Khān of Transoxiana and Mahmūd Khān of Mongolia, Shaibānī declared for the former, but by his defection at the battle of Shirr (893 = 1488) secured the victory of Mahmūd, entered the latter's service, and received from him the town of Turkistān, again defeated Barandaḳ, but failed in his siege of Ürgendj (Khīwa) The people of Sabrān, having rebelled, replaced their governor by Maḥmūd, brother of Shaibānī, but handed him over to the Kazaks, who laid siege to the town. Maḥmūd escaped, rejoined his brother who was besieging Yāsī, the governor of which, Mazīd Tarkhān, was made prisoner, restored to liberty, Mazīd made an alliance with the Kazaks against Shaibānī, who had

previously offered him his services. Peace was concluded with Baiandaḳ, who besieged Otrār, which was defended by Muhammad Tīmūr, son of Maḥmūd Sultān, the treaty was sealed by a marriage.

Entering Transoxiana in 900 (1494/1495), Shaibānī four years later was master of almost the whole of this region as well as of Khorāsān, in 906 (1500), the conquest was completed Bāisonḳor Mīrzā, the Timūrid sovereign of Samarkand, having demanded his assistance against Bābur in 904/905 (1498/1499), he came, but withdrew on seeing the enemy in force and went to raise a large army of mercenaries with which he took Samarkand, abandoned successively by Bābur and by Sultān ʿAlī, brother of Bāisonḳor, in 906. Zuhra Begum, mother of Sultān ʿAlī, is said to have offered to hand over the town to Shaibāni if he would promise to marry her. The town was taken by assault. Khwādja Yaḥyā, who defended it, was executed with his sons and Sultān ʿAlī is said to have met the same fate According to another story, Sultān ʿAlī was killed by Shaibānī He is also said to have been accidentally killed

Aided by the inhabitants, Bābur regained Samarḳand by a bold stroke All the country rose and the Ūzbeks were massacred. Shaibānī, who only retained Bukhārā and the neighbourhood, resumed the offensive some months later, seized Kara Kūl and Dabūsī, inflicted a disastrous defeat on Bābur at Sar-i Pul [q v.] and starved Samarkand into surrender. By the terms of the capitulation, Khānzāda Begum, sister of Bābur, was to marry the victor.

In 908 (1502/1503), Shaibānī quarrelled with his protector, Mahmūd Sultān, laid waste the region of Shāhrukhīya and Tashkent and left it before Bābur arrived. After a raid against Ūrātīpā, he gave his assistance to Sultān Ahmad Tambal, who had rebelled against Mahmūd Sultān, and recognised Shaibānī as suzerain of Farghāna Not strong enough to engage in battle, the enemy army stole away Shaibānī surprised it and scattered it near Akhsī Bābur escaped, but Mahmūd Sultān and his brother Aḥmad were made prisoners They were well treated, but had to agree to the cession of Tashkent and Shāhrukhīya, to the incorporation of 30,000 of their subjects in the army of Shaibānī and to several marriages with the family of the conqueror Returning to his estates, Mahmūd Sultān died soon after, poisoned, he said, by Shaibānī

In the same year took place several expeditions in the south of Transoxiana, in which Khusraw Shāh of the Ḳīpčāḳ, had taken several towns Balkh, which was governed by the Timūrid Badīʿ al-Zamān, was besieged Ahmad Tambal had entrenched himself in Andidjān, obliged to surrender, he was executed with his brothers, but pillaging was forbidden. Khusraw Shāh fled without fighting, leaving Shīrīn Čahra to succumb in Hisar after a heroic resistance, and abandoned Ḳundūz, which had supplies to last for twenty years.

In 911 (1505) Shaibānī set out to conquer Khwārizm, with an army of 30,000 former subjects of Mahmūd Sultān, undisciplined and dangerous, whom he tried to set at variance by suppressing their chiefs Besieged for ten months, Ūrgendj, valiantly defended by Čīn (or Husain) Sūfī, was only taken by treachery. Khusraw Shāh, arriving too late to help him, was massacred with his seven hundred men. Kičik Bī was made governor of Khwārizm, and the relatives of Shaibānī were given important posts.

Next year Shaibānī repelled the incursions of the Kazaks The Kīpčāḳ at that time had two rulers one *de jure*, Barandak, who died in exile in Samarḳand, the other *de facto*, Kāsim Beg The latter was so dreaded that the rumour of his arrival caused a panic in the Ūzbek army. At the end of 912 (spring of 1507), Shaibānī took the offensive against the kingdom of Herāt. Ḥusain Bāikarā summoned the help of his sons, who hurried up, except Muzaffar Mīrzā, but he died soon afterwards Coming to the help of the Timūrids, Bābur, indignant at their apathy and their rivalries, soon left them Crossing the Oxus, Shaibānī entered Andkhūd, which was surrendered by Shāh Mansūr Bakhshī, defeated Bābā Khākī and routed Dhu 'l-Nūn Arghūn, who was put to death. The Timūrids fled to Herāt, but left it in a few hours, leaving their harems and treasures in the palace of Ikhtiyar al-Dīn Shaibānī entered Herāt on Muharram 11, 913 (May 24, 1507), and levied a contribution of 100,000 *tangha*'s on it, but reassured the inhabitants by his humanity. Two or three weeks later, he entered the palace Falling madly in love with Khānzāda Khānum, wife of Muzaffar Mīrzā, he married her by force, without even observing the legal interval Troops were sent in all directions against the Timūrids, who were tracked down and put to death, Badīʿ al-Zamān alone escaped, through the protection of Shāh Ismāʿīl.

Two years were occupied in new expeditions against the Kazaks, a demonstration against Kābul and the siege of Kandahār, held by Nāsir Mīrānshāhī, which had to be abandoned At this time Shaibāni massacred the Dūghlāt princes, Saʿīd Čaghatāi, Mahmūd Khān, and his six sons, Muhammad Husain Mirzā, etc (914 = 1508/1509) Then posing as the champion of the *Sunna*, he next year summoned Shāh Ismāʿīl to return to orthodoxy The Persian ruler paid no heed to his threats and protested against the aggressions of the Ūzbeks, Shaibānī then sent him a dervish's *kashkūl* (wooden bowl) and ironically invited him to follow the profession of his ancestors Shāh Ismāʿīl promised to go on a pilgrimage to Meshhed, where he would meet his adversary, and at once took the offensive Shaibāni at this time was busy putting down a revolt at Firūzkūh, the Kirghiz had just inflicted a disastrous defeat on his son Muhammad Timūr, and Shaibāni took refuge behind the walls of Marw There he received an ironical letter from Shāh Ismāʿīl on his way to meet his adversary, who had not kept his promise to come to attack him in his own country. The battle was fought on the banks of the Murghāb Surrounded by 17,000 Persians, who had destroyed the bridges, the Ūzbeks, having lost half their fighting men, succumbed after a desperate struggle. Shaibānī left the field to die of his wounds in an abandoned farmhouse It has been said that his skull, mounted in gold, became Shāh Ismāʿīl's drinking cup, that the skin of his head, stuffed with straw, was sent to Bāyazīd II, and his right hand to Akā Rustam, prince of Māzandarān, who had always wanted his support. His tomb in the madrasa, which he had founded some months before in Samarkand, became a place of pilgrimage. The most probable date of his death is Shaʿbān 29, 915 (December 2, 1510). Cf. *Bābur Nāme*, transl. Beveridge, p. 350 note.

Shaibānī has rightly been reproached for his complete lack of scruples and for his cruelties; he only thought of extending his dominions and for him the end justified the means. But he was not the unlettered and boastful barbarian, extravagant and coarse, that Bābur shows us, giving lessons to theologians, correcting the works of artists and having his own bad verses recited before an audience (*Bābur Nāme*, ed. Beveridge, p. 206b and transl. p 325—326). He knew Persian and Arabic well and has left notable productions in Turkī. His official poet, Mullā Binā'ī, had ability. He helped and encouraged men of letters, artists and scholars, sought their society and founded several madrasas. The last of the founders of great empires to arise in Central Asia, Shaibānī brought Uzbek power to its apogee, his successor, Kūčkūndjī Khān, was able to restore it again and successfully resist the Persians and Bābur, but the death of Shaibānī, with the separation of the Shī'īs of Persia from the Sunnis of Transoxiana, marks a far-reaching change in the situation in Central Asia (cf. Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's* ii. 64).

Shaibānī had married Mīr Nigār Čaghatāi, daughter of Yūnus Khān, Khānzāda Khānum, whom Shāh Ismā'īl sent back to her brother Bābur with great honour and Zuhra Begi, who handed over Sāmarkand to him. In addition to Muhammad Timūr, he had a son Khurram, who died young.

Bibliography Mīrkhwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, vii. 61, *sqq*, Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 284 *sqq.*, Bāber, *Mémoires*, years 906 up to 915, This work, often biassed, has a much needed complement in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥaidar Dūghlāt (cf. especially p. 116—123, 158—169, 175—180, 190—211 and 221—237), Mrs Beveridge also calls attention to the importance of the *Tawārikh-i Guzīda Nuṣrat Nāma* (British Museum, Or 3222), a Turkish work dated 908 (1502/1503) of which the *Shaibānī Nāma* publ by Bérézine, Kazan 1849, is only a synopsis The epic of Muhammad Sālih Mīrzā with the same title is a long panegyric of Shaibānī, it has been published with a German translation by Vámbéry, Vienna 1885, and re-edited by Melioransky and Samoilovitch, St Petersburg 1908. The genealogical history of the Turks by Abu 'l-Ghāzī, often transl. or edited from Bentinck 1726 and Desmaisons 1874, devotes its viiith book to him The *Tadhkire-i Mukīm Khānī* of Mohammad Yūsuf al-Munshī only contains the main events (*Mélanges asiatiques*, iv 259) Véliaminoff-Zernoff, *Khāns de Kāsimoff*, p. 234—249, Erskine, *History of India* (cf. esp 184—192, 203—206, 295—325); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 691—713, Vámbery, *Geschichte Bochara's*, ii, 35—65, 191—193, 250—268.

(L. BOUVAT)

SHAIKH. This word means one who bears the marks of old age, who is over fifty (cf. *Lisān*, iii. 509). It is applied to aged relatives, the Shaikh is the patriarch of the tribe or family.

In pre-Islāmic antiquity the title *Sayyid*, the chief of the tribe, was frequently given the epithet *Shaikh* meaning full maturity in years and therefore of mental powers. The moral influence of the Shaikhs over the Bedouins was considerable and the term came to mean chiefs having a long career behind them, the glorious veterans.

In the history of the Muslim period, it has frequently the sense of supreme chief, especially among the royal pretenders seeking to revive Arab traditions. Thus in the fourth (tenth) century the reformer Abū Yazīd calls himself *Shaikh al-Mu'minīn*, i. e. Shaikh of the Believers (Dozy, *Bayān*, i 225, transl. Fagnan, i. 315) Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii 288—289) mentions a governor of a town with this title It is also the title of the governor of Medīna *Shaikh al-Ḥaram*. Ibn Khaldūn (Mokaddima, ii 14 and 165 of the transl.) tells us that at the Hafsid court of Tunis the first minister, regent of the empire, who appointed all the officials was called Shaikh of the Almohads Muhammad, the founder of the Wattāsid dynasty took the title al-Shaikh as did Muhammad al-Mahdī founder of the dynasty of Sa'dī Sherīfs.

The title, at the present day, at once a term of polite address and a sign of importance, respected, venerated, which all who govern, administer or hold a share of public authority are happy to have, whether in the spiritual or political sphere, in the mystic as well as the social life, is borne with unconcealed pride It is given to the head of a family, to the political head of the section of a tribe called *dwar* (in North Africa) and comprising a group of common origin. It is given to high dignitaries of religion, to teachers, scholars, to men of religion without distinction of age, to all persons respected for their office, their age or their morals. Thus we have the Shaikh al-Islām, the title of the Grand Muftī, the Pontiff of Islām, the Shaikh al-Dīn, Minister of Religion, Shaikh al-Madīna, Chief of police, Shaikh al-Balad, the mayor of a town Al-Bukhārī and Muslim are the two Shaikhs par excellence (Ibn Khaldūn, *Mokaddima*, ii 165), the official leader of the pilgrimage is called in Egypt Shaikh al-Djamal (Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence Musulmane*, ii 641)

But it is particularly in the Muslim religious brotherhood or *tarīka* [q. v] that the title Shaikh has an importance of its own. (A COUR)

SHAIKH AL-ISLĀM is one of the honorific titles which first appear in the second half of the fourth century A. H. While other honorific titles compounded with *Islām* (like *'Izz-*, *Djalāl-*, *Saif al-Islām*) were borne by persons exercising secular power (notably the viziers of the Fāṭimids, cf. van Berchem, *Z. D. P. V*, xvi., p. 101), the title of Shaikh al-Islām has always been reserved for *'ulamā'* and mystics, like other titles of honour whose first part is *Shaikh* (e g. *Shaikh al-Dīn*, the surname of *Shaikh al-Fatyā* is given by Ibn Khaldūn to the jurist Asad b al-Furāt; cf *Mukaddima*, transl. de Slane, i., p lxxviii) Of all these titles only that of Shaikh al-Islām has been extensively used. Thus in the fifth century the head of the Shāfi'ī theologians in Khurāsān, Ismā'īl b 'Abd al-Rahmān, was called by the Sunnīs the Shaikh al-Islām par excellence (cf also Djuwainī, *Djihān-Gusha*, ii 23, where there is a reference to the *Shaikh al-Islāmī-i Khurāsān*), while at the same period the partisans of the mystics Abū Ismā'īl al-Ansārī (1006—1088) claimed this title for him (al-Subkī, *Ṭabakāt*, Cairo 1324, iii. 117; Djāmī, *Nafakhāt al-Uns*, ed Lees, Calcutta, 1859, p. 33, 376) In the sixth century Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī was called Shaikh al-Islām. Other examples in the centuries following are the mystic Shaikh Safī al-Dīn of Ardabīl (cf. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 33), and the theo-

logian al-Taftāzānī. In Syria and in Egypt, however, Shaikh al-Islām had become a title of honour (but not an official one) which could only be given to jurists and more particularly to those who by their *fetwā*'s had attained a certain fame or the approval of a great body of jurists, especially at the beginning of the Mamlūk period. Thus in the polemics provoked by the teachings of Ibn Taimīya, his adversaries refused him the title of Shaikh al-Islām, given him by his partisans (cf. the article IBN TAIMĪYA, where in the *Bibliography*, Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shāfi'ī's treatise, *al-Radd al-wāfir ʿala man zaʿama anna man sammā Ibn Taimīya Shaikh al-Islām kāfir*, is quoted). The modernists of our day who are under the influence of Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Ḳaiyim al-Djawzīya, represent these two jurists as religious leaders who really deserve the title Shaikh al-Islām (*al-Manār*, IX 34, according to Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p 339). Towards 700 (1300) Shaikh al-Islām had thus become a title which each *muftī* of some authority could claim for himself. Maḥmūd b Sulaimān al-Kafawī (d 1582) in his biographies of Hanafī jurists, *al-Aʿlām al-akhyār min fukahāʾ madhhab al-Nuʿmān al-Mukhtār* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, II 83) says that among the *muftī* s those are called Shaikh al-Islām who settle differences and decide questions of general discipline (according to ʿAlī Emīrī in *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*, p 306) We thus find that in Egypt and in Russia down to the present day, and in Turkey till the XVIIIth century (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhatnāma*, passim) *muftī*'s (Shīʿīs as well as Sunnīs) of any importance may be given this title In Persia the development of the title has been different, here the Shaikh al-Islām has become a judicial authority who presides in each important village over the ecclesiastical tribunal, composed of Mollas and Mudjtahids. In the time of the Safawids he was appointed by the Sadr al-Sudūr (cf. Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1676, I 598, who calls him Scheik el-Selom and Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, I 452, 454).

But the title gained most glory after it had become applied more particularly to the Muftī of Constantinople, whose office in the Empire of the Ottoman Sulṭāns in time acquired a religious and political importance without parallel in other Muslim countries In the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire the influence of the ʿulamāʾ had been greatly surpassed by that of the mystic shaikhs and after the reconstitution of the empire by Muḥammad I, we see a furious struggle between the new Sunnī orthodox influences and mystic-Shīʿa influences (e g the incident of Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd), a struggle that ended in the victory of orthodoxy under Selīm I. Historical pragmatic tradition seems to have ignored this development and must be accepted with a good deal of reserve, while the older sources give but little information Thus the collection of biographies *al-Shaḳāʾik al-Nuʿmānīya* (written under Sulaimān I) is compiled from quite the orthodox point of view, but it is quite evident from it that the majority of the older jurists in Ottoman countries had studied in Egypt or Persia or had Arab or Persian teachers, some of the first *muftī*'s of Constantinople were themselves foreigners like Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī (*muftī* from 1430—1460) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿArabī Later tradition makes Shaikh Ede Bālī, father-in-law of ʿOthmān, already the first *muftī* of the Ottoman lands (*ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*, p. 315). They also claim that a Muftī al-Anām was appointed as early as under Murād II, with authority over all the other *muftī*'s (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, I. 6), and that Muhammad II after the taking of Constantinople gave the official title of Shaikh al-Islām to the *muftī* of the new capital, Khidr Beg Celebi, who was at the same time given authority over the two *kādī ʿasker* (d'Ohsson, von Hammer), but there is nothing to show that the *muftī* was already so important a personage at this time. According to the *Shaḳāʾik*, this Khidr Beg was only kādī of Stambūl, while Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿAdjamī was the *muftī* (*op. cit.*, p 111, 81) If we later find that the biographer of the Shaikh al-Islām in the *Dawhat al-mashāʾikh* (see *Bibl*), begins his biographies with the *muftī* Muhammad Shams al-Dīn Fenārī (d 1430), this seems to be purely conventional. It is only under Selīm I that the great influence of the *Muftī* of Constantinople begins to manifest itself during the 24 years in which the office was held by the famous Zembilli ʿAlī Djemālī Efendi [q v] In the time of the latter (he was *Muftī* from 1501 to 1525), the two *kādī ʿasker* still had precedence over him because they sat in the Imperial *Dīwān*, while the *Muftī* did not (*Shaḳāʾik*, p. 305), but on the other hand we are told that the same Djemālī Efendi refused to accept from Sultan Sulaimān I the two *kādi ʿasker liks* combined which were offered him (*Shaḳāʾik*, p 307) It is only in the reign of Sulaimān that the *Muftī* of Constantinople seems to have acquired undisputed authority over all the *ʿulamāʾ* of the empire, including all grades of judges. According to d'Ohsson and von Hammer, this *muftī* was Čiwi Zāde Muhyī al-Dīn Efendi [q v.], it should be noted, however, that the latter was also the first *Muftī* who was relieved of his office by the Sultān (in 1541)

The growth in importance of the *Muftī* of Constantinople was in any case spontaneous and not caused by the sovereign will of the Sultāns, expressed by the conferring on his part of the title of Shaikh al-Islām, which at this period was borne by many *muftī*'s (see below) To explain this development, we may investigate in several directions There is the tempting hypothesis of M Gaudefroy-Demombynes who sees a striking analogy between the position of *Muftī* of Constantinople and that of the ʿAbbāsid caliph at the court of the Mamlūks, before the conquest of Egypt by the Turks (*La Syrie*, Paris 1923, p xxii) On the other hand, the organisation of the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ottoman empire under a religious chief may be in some way influenced by that of the Christian hierarchy in the empire under the Oecumenical patriarch Lastly we may perhaps see in the Shaikh al-Islāmat a survival of the ancient mystical religious tradition in the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak the religious conscience of the people.

This last hypothesis would explain the tenacity with which the Shaikh al-Islāmat maintained his position through the centuries that followed in spite of the power of the Sulṭān to dismiss the holder of the title, a power of which they make frequent use. ʿOthmān II (1618—1622) went so far as to deprive the *muftī* of all his

prerogatives — on account of his refusal to issue a *fetwā* legalising the fratricide — but under his successor all these prerogatives were restored. Murād IV had the *muftī* Akhī Zāde Husain (1632) put to death, without the dignity of the office itself being compromised. Sixteen years later it was the *muftī* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi who took the initiative in the dethronement and execution of Ibrāhīm I, although this cost him his office. The last *muftī* who was able to retain his position for a long series of years was Abū 'l-Ṣuʿūd (1545—1574). After this time they succeeded one another at intervals averaging three to four years Since the end of the xvith century it has been possible for the same person to become *muftī* several times The frequent change of *muftī*'s became more and more connected with the political intrigues of the grand viziers, of the imperial harem, of the Janissaries, intrigues by which the *muftī*'s themselves were sometimes gravely compromised, e g the famous Kara Čelebi Zāde [q v], the majority, however, were men of integrity, although their political independence became for the most part quite illusory.

Since the beginning of the xvith century, the *muftī*'s have all been natives of Ottoman countries and, like all *ʿulamāʾ*, have belonged to Muslim families, in this they have been distinguished from the high officers of state and of the army who were frequently children of Christian parents, recruited by the *devshirme* Later the *muftī*'s sometimes belonged to different generations of one family They usually acquired the *mashyakhat-i islāmiye* (the usual Turkish pronunciation, however, is *mashikhat*) after having gone through the higher offices of the judicature, the majority of the *muftī*'s therefore had been *kādī ʿasker* before their appointment This custom gave rise to an esprit de corps among the *ʿulamāʾ* and their chief which often comes out in history Unlike the usage which gradually became established for the high judicial offices, the title of Shaikh al-Islām was not given to an individual without his actually accepting the office (there are only two exceptions)

The eminence of the Shaikh al-Islām's position in the state found its expression in the ceremonial As, according to the *Kānūn* on ceremonial, he was regarded as the Abū Hanīfa of his time, only the Grand Vizier was higher in rank than he. In the xviiith century the muftī was obliged to pay visits only to the grand vizier The formalities of his visits to the latter and to the Sultān were minutely regulated The duties and prerogatives of the *muftī* on the occasion of religious ceremonies, the burial of the Sultān, the taking of the oath to the new sovereign (*baiʿat*) and the solemn installation of the latter were equally defined In addition to Shaikh al-Islām he had several more titles, the oldest of which *Muftī al-Anām* was the most used, others were *Aʿlam al-ʿUlamāʾ*, *Bahr ʿUlūm Shattā*, *Asās* or *Afdal al-Fūdalāʾ*, *Sadr al-Sudūr*, *Mesned-Neshīn-i Fetwā* His dress was always characterised by simplicity, the early *muftī* Molla Khosraw (q. v., d. 1480) wore a little turban over the *tādj* of the Imām Aʿzam (*Shakāʾik*, p. 137). In later times he wore a white *kaftān*, trimmed with fur and a turban with a band of gold brocade (there are many pictures of the dress, e g in Choiseul Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, ii. 49).

The political function of the Shaikh al-Islām was formerly confined to his power of issuing *fetwā*'s In supplying the demand for *fetwā*'s to private individuals, he was soon replaced by the Fetwā Emīnī (see below) but enormous importance was attached to *fetwā*'s relating to questions of policy and public discipline To the first category belong for example the *fetwā* of ʿAlī Djemālī on the war against Egypt (1516) and that of Abū 'l-Ṣuʿūd on the war against Venice (1570) Under ʿOthmān II the *muftī* Esʿad Efendi declined to authorise by *fetwā* the fratricide of the Ottoman princes *Fetwā*'s regarding public discipline were for example, that of Abū 'l-Suʿūd authorising the drinking of coffee (see KAHWA), that of ʿAbd Allah Efendi on the establishing of a printing-press (in 1727, cf. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p 9) and that of Esʿad Efendi authorising the Nizām-i Djedīd of Selīm III [q.v.]. By their *fetwā*'s the *muftī*'s also collaborated in imperial legislation by legalising by their *fetwā*'s the different *Ḳānūnnāme*'s (e g. the *Ḳānūn* of Sulaimān I all had the approbation of Abū 'l-Suʿūd, cf *Millī tetebbuʿlar medjmūʿasī*, 1331, 1, Nos. 1 and 2) Besides, it was the custom to consult the Shaikh al-Islām on all political matters of any importance. In the majority of cases the *muftī*'s thus exercised a beneficial influence on public affairs, although by their personal interference they had often to suffer from the Sultān's arbitrary measures The decline of the Ottoman empire has sometimes been attributed to the reactionary spirit of the institution of the Shaikh al-Islāmat, it should be noted, however, that in many cases the *muftī*'s have shown themselves less reactionary than the majority of the clergy and that through their intervention they were able to prevent fanatical and arbitrary acts (e g. Abū 'l-Suʿūd's opposition to the forced conversion of all the Christians) Although in the Ottoman empire of the xixth and xxth centuries the Shaikh al-Islām no longer played this important political role, appeal was occasionally made to the traditional authority of this institution when policy required it, as on the occasion of the deposition of ʿAbd al-Hamīd in 1909, the proclamation of the *djihād* in 1914 and the *fetwā* against the nationalists of Angora in 1920. The *fetwā*'s of 1914 are not only concerned with the policy of the Ottoman empire but are addressed to the whole Muslim world This fact reveals a new, and more general, pan-islamic conception of the function of the Ottoman Shaikh al-Islāmat It is a conception which seems to have developed in Turkey in the course of the xixth century, probably in connection with new theories of the caliphate. And just as is the case with these latter theories, the idea of the central importance of the Shaikh al-Islām for all the Muslim world is first found in Christian European authors The xvith century travellers (e g Ricaut) already compare him with the Pope Volney (*Voyage en Syrie*, Paris 1789/1790, ii. 371) regards him as the representative of the spiritual power of the Caliph to the whole Muslim world. Legally speaking, it is true, the *fetwā* of a *Muftī* is addressed to every Muslim who wishes to follow it, but it was only in 1914 that the attempt was made to take advantage of the universal spiritual authority, which was attributed at the time by Christians as well as by Muslims to the Shaikh al-Islām in Constantinople (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii. 272).

As head of the hierarchy of the *ʿulamāʾ*, the *Muftī* had acquired the right of recommending to the sultān persons, who should be nominated to the six higher grades of the judicature. He himself only very rarely acted as a judge.

When towards the end of the xviiith century the administration of the Ottoman empire began to be modernised, there was gradually formed an administrative department with the Shaikh al-Islām at its head. By this time there were already several personages who assisted the Muftī in his many duties, such as the *ketkhoda* or *kyāya* who could represent the muftī, the *telkhiṣdjī*, who was his agent in the government, the *mektūbdjī* or general secretary and the *fetwā emīnī* whose duty it was to prepare and give out the fetwās asked for by the public. All these functionaries had their own offices In the period of the *tanzīmāt*, this departmental organisation was consolidated. The Shaikh al-Islām was given as his official residence the former residence of the Agha of Janissaries, it was in this office henceforth called Shaikh al-Islām Kapïsï or Bāb-i Fetwā (cf. the article Constantinople), that the offices of his department were housed till its abolition The department dealt with the administration and management of all institutions having a religious basis, except the administration of the *ewkāf*. The Shaikh al-Islām thus became the colleague of the heads of the other ministerial departments, which were created in the course of the xixth century He became a member of the Ministry and as such his tenure of office was limited by the life of the cabinet of which he was a member He retained his precedence over the other ministers; this priority was laid down in Art. 27 of the Constitution of Midhat Pasha of 1876, in which it is enacted that the Sultān is to choose the Grand Vizier and Shaikh al-Islām directly while the other ministers are appointed by the Grand Vizier As early as the xviiith century the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām were the only officials who received their investiture in the presence of the Sultān.

In proportion as the secularisation of the institutions of the Ottoman empire advanced, the influence of the Shaikh al-Islām in the State declined The institution in 1839 of a Council of State (*Shūrā-yï Dewlet*) deprived him of much of his influence on domestic politics, then the creation in 1879 of new civil and penal tribunals under a new Minister of Justice (*ʿAdliye Nezāreti*) took away another large share of his influence. A series of legislative measures was passed which defined the competence of jurisdiction according to the *sharīʿa* and *nizāmiya* tribunals This development filled a prominent part in the religious reforms of the Young Turks (cf. e g. the poem *Meshīkhat* of Ziā Gok Alp, p 62 of *Aus der religiosen Reformbewegung in der Turkei*, by Dr. A. Fischer, Leipzig, 1922) and was brought to its logical conclusion, when in 1916 the Young Turkish government removed the administration of all the *mahākim-i sharʿiye* to the Ministry of Justice and that of the *madrasas* to the Ministry of Education. This step was justified by appeals to modern public law. The declared object was to avoid the mistakes made at the time of the *tanzīmāt* and to make the *mashīkhat-i islāmiye* a department for purely religious matters (cf e g the *Ṭanïn* of Oct 31 and Nov. 2, 1916) It was in the same spirit that an office was established in 1917 at the Shaikh al-Islāmat, the *dār al-hikma al-islāmīya*, of a propagandist character But after the armistice of Mudros (Nov. 2, 1918) the Young Turkish reforms were revoked by the new government. But by this time, however, the life of the Shaikh al-Islāmat was nearing its end, for in November 1922 after the victory of Turkish nationalisation all that remained in Constantinople of the old government institutions of the Ottoman empire was abolished. Their functions were taken over by the officers of the new government at Angora This government no longer included the Shaikh al-Islāmat. At the constitution of the new government, it is true, a *sharʿiya wekāleti* had been instituted but the anti-clerical spirit of the Grand National Assembly did not allow this imitation of the Shaikh al-Islāmlik to survive, it was replaced by a modest *diyānet ishleri reʾïsliyi*, by a law passed on March 3, 1924, the day on which the Ottoman caliphate was abolished

The fullest description of the office of Shaikh al-Islām towards the end of his existence is found in the *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi* published in 1334 (1916) by the Shaikh al-Islāmat which was then under the vigorous direction of Mustafā Khairī Efendi The principal departments which composed it, were the *fetwā-khāne*, the *medjlis-i tedkīkāt-i sherʿīye*, a kind of court of cassation for the *mahākim-i sherʿiye*, an office for the administration of the medreses (*ders wekāleti we medjlis-i maṣālih-i talebiye*), an office which superintended the printing of Kuʾrāns and legal works (*tedkik-i maṣāhif we-muʾellefāt-i sherʿiye medjlisi*), an office dealing with the mystical orders (*medjlis-i meshāʾikh*) and the administration of the *bait al-māl* or *emwāl-i aytām* There were also administrative departments dealing with the archives, correspondence and accounts. As in other government offices, there was an under-secretary of state (*mustesḥār*) The Shaikh al-Islām Kapïsï also contained the great sharʿiya tribunals of the *kāʾi ʿasker*, the *kassām* and the *Istambol ḳādisi* Finally a large number of committees (*endjumen*) whose advice was asked on different matters, including a committe for the nomination of judges had their homes there. For further details see the *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*

Bibliography The biographies of 108 Shaikh al-Islām are given in *Dawhat al-Mashāʾikh* by Rifʿat Efendi, lithogr at Stambul n d ; the last biography is that of ʿOmer Husām al-Dīn Efendi (d 1288/1871). A *dhail* has been written by ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi Following these two sources the *ʿIlmīye Sālnāmesi*, p 322—641 gives the biographies of 124 Shaikh al-Islām down to Mustafā Khairī Efendi (held office till Nov 1916), edited by the historians Aḥmad Refïḳ and ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi The latter contributed to the same *Sālnāme*, p. 304–320, a *Mashyakhat-i Islāmiye taʾrïkhčesi*. At Vienna there is a manuscript of the *Dawhat al-Mashāʾikh* of Mustakīm Zāde (Flugel, ii, p 409 *sqq.*). Many western writers on Turkey have notices in their books of the Shaikh al-Islāmat Ricaut, *The history of the present state of the Ottoman empire*, [6], London 1686, p. 200 *sqq.*, D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, ii, Paris 1790, p. 256 *sqq* , J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815 ii 373 *sqq* , other descriptions· Dr. Stephan Kekule, *Über Titel*,

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SHAIKH ʿADĪ. [See ʿADĪ].

SHAIKH SAʿĪD, a seaport in South Arabia on the strait of Bāb al-Mandab, 2 miles from the island of Perīm. It lies on a cape whose cliffs 850 feet high dominate this island. Two volcanic hills which lie on a peninsula 6 miles long by $4^1/_2$ broad here form the extreme south-west corner of Arabia Between the latter and Perim runs the so-called Little Strait, called Bāb al-Manhali or Bāb Iskandar by the Arabs, because Alexander is said to have built a town here, there are actually ruins south of the cape A Sprenger and E Glaser have — probably rightly — identified Shaikh Saʿīd with the ancient Ocelis or Acila mentioned by Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi 23, § 104, 28, § 152, Ptolemy, i 7, and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, § 25 It took about 20 days to reach here from Berenice The name Ocelis, as Glaser suggests, probably conceals some name like Ukail. The harbour originally belonged to the kingdom of Katabān [q v], then passed to the Gebanites and finally to the Himyarites In the IVth (Xth) century it belonged to the Banū Madjid b Haidān b ʿAmr b al-Hāf b Kudāʿa The modern name of the place comes from the tomb of Shaikh Saʿīd, who is buried on the north side of the cape But the harbour is now of no practical significance It is a so-called monsoon harbour, which may become very dangerous for shipping at the turn of the monsoon

The unusually favourable strategic situation of the place prompted the French Admiral Mahé de Labourdonnais as early as 1734 to acquire the cape from a native Sultān. Louis XVI is even said to have kept an agent there. Shaikh Saʿīd continued to be a French sphere of interest No less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte wished to garrison the place, a proposal also suggested to Mehemed ʿAlī in 1828 by the French government But, when in 1838 he was actually preparing to put the plan into force, he encountered the resolute opposition of England who occupied ʿAden in 1839 and Perim in 1857 Not long afterwards the French again became actively interested in the place. After long negotiations a Marseilles firm bought the territory for 50,000 francs from the native sultān to whom it belonged It was not till 1871 that this purchase was confirmed to the Société de Bab el-Mandeb, founded by Rabaud-Bazin. During the Franco-German War, the port was used as a coaling station by the French But after the war French interest in this harbour declined and in 1873 an agreement was come to between England and Turkey in which the latter recognised England's sovereignty over Cape Bāb al-Mandab In 1884 Shaikh Saʿīd was occupied by the Turks The French had to reconcile themselves to this, especially as the Turks had planted fortifications in the Cape It was not till 1896 that the French Chamber again began to take an interest in the harbour. France is even said to have declared the territory of Shaikh Saʿīd to be a French Colony Later repeated attempts to enforce France's claims in a practical fashion have always come to nought. Turkey continued to occupy the place and in time made it a well defended fortress which, although bombarded by the English in 1914, was strongly supported next year by the troops of the Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn and was even able to bombard Perīm and close the straits for a time. The military collapse of Turkey in the world-war resulted in the restoration of the place to the native population. Like Mokhā, Shaikh Saʿīd is an important coast-town in the independent imāmate of the Zaidī lord of Yemen, which is of all the more value as coal and iron are found there

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SHAIKHĪ, followers of Ahmad Ahsāʾī [q. v], dissenting Shīʿa theologians of Persia Their teachers are the pupils and successors of the founder Sayyid Kāzim of Resht, teacher of Hadjdji Muhammad Karīm Khān of Kirmān and Mollā Muḥammad Māmaḳānī, a theologian who was one of the commission which tried and condemned the Bāb at Tabrīz towards the end of 1847 Their doctrines definitely prepared the way for those of the Bāb They are opposed to those of the Akhbārī, who follow pure tradition, they protest against the immoderate number of traditions and the complete absence of criticism with which they are adopted, from this particular point of view they approach the Sunnī way of thinking

They give new explanations of the principles of religion and of hadīth The twelve Imāms are the effective cause of creation, being the scene of the manifestation of the divine will, the interpreters of God's desire. If they had not existed, God would not have created anything, they are therefore the ultimate cause of creation. All the acts of the divinity are produced by them but they have no power in or of themselves, they are only organs of transmission Hence we have the charge of *tafwīd* (delegation of God's powers) wrongly brought against the Shaikhī by the Shīʿa theologians God being incomprehensible and escaping the thought of every created being, He can only be understood through the intermediary of the Imāms, who are in reality hypostases of the supreme being, to sin against them is to sin against God The *lawh mahfūẓ* is the heart of the Imām, which embraces all the heavens and all the worlds. The Imāms are the first of created beings and have preceded them all.

In eschatology the Shaikhī have been charged with denying the resurrection of the material body They reply that man possesses two bodies, one is formed by temporal elements "like a robe which a man sometimes puts on and sometimes takes off"; it is this which dissolves in the grave, the other which subsists when the first has crumbled to dust, is a subtle body which belongs to the invisible world (*djism huwarkiliyā'ī*), it is this which is resurrected on this earth and then goes into paradise or hell

Their thought became later more definite for they admitted two *djasad* and two *djism* (these Arabic words both mean "body"), the first *djasad* is composed of the four visible elements, it is it which is perceptible in this world below and does not share in the future life, the second *djasad* persists and reappears in the other life, the first *djism* is the body which the spirit reclothes in *barzakh* (purgatory), from the moment of death till the first sound of the trumpet, the second *djism* subsists pure it is in it that the spirit becomes incarnate which directs itself towards the second *djasad*; it is it and the latter which come out of the grave entirely purified

Knowledge of God For God there exist two kinds of knowledge, one is essential knowledge and has no connection with contingencies the other is a new knowledge created (*muhdath*), this knowledge is the actual being of the known and the Imāms are the gates (*bāb*) which give access to this knowledge. The world is eternal in time and new in essence, for accidents without substances, forms without any substratum cannot come into existence Accidents are transitory novelties, sometimes they exist, sometimes they disappear, they were nothing and they return to nothing Substance on the contrary is not a transitory novelty, in consequence matter is a novelty in essence, it is eternal in the future, but not in the past, otherwise the future life would have an end, paradise and hell would disappear. Paradise is the love of the people of the House, the members of the family of the Prophet, the Imāms Paradise and hell are created by the acts of men

The material bodies of the Imāms after their death fall into decay in the grave, while it is true that these bodies are subtle they show themselves under the human form, created of the four elements, as soon as their human body is no longer useful to men, they return it whence they have taken it and each of its molecules returns to its source while the Shī'īs believe that the bodies of the Imāms are not subject to the injuries of time

It is not possible for known things to be eternal, they must therefore then be new and contingent, they are different to the essence of God but knowledge existed before the objects of knowledge There are two kinds of knowledge, essential knowledge and newly created knowledge, the latter is of two kinds, that of possibility *'ilm imkānī* and that of beings *'ilm akwānī*, the first is used of beings before their existence, and the second once they exist. This second acquired knowledge is not an attribute of God, it is present before Him.

They attribute particular importance to the order given by God (*amr*) which is the first class of created things and precedes the creation in the strict sense of the word (*khalk*), the first constitutes a fixed world without change it is through it that time exists and in consequence the latter can exert no influence on it The knowledge of other creatures is preceded by ignorance, while this is not the case with God, this knowledge is new in the creature, it cannot be so for God. It is by the reflection of phenomena that man gains the apperception of the world which surrounds him This reflection does not exist for God who knows beings by their essence Just as beings are manifold and varied as regards their existence, so there exists in God's knowledge of beings plurality and multiplicity

They condemn Sūfism and its pantheism with such sayings as "It is impossible for the essence of God to be the being of multiple things" They explain the miracles of the Prophet (ascension by night, the split moon) not in a material sense but figuratively and with rationalistic interpretation.

At the beginning of the reign of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, troubles broke out in Tabriz in 1266 (1850) because a Shaikhī was forbidden to enter the public baths as a result of a decision of the *Mudjtahid*. The governor succeeded in quieting the disturbance and made peace between the two parties. Later persecutions were several times directed against the members of the sect

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(CL. HUART)

SHAIKHI (pronounced Sheikhi, in two syllables, *nisba* from Shaikh, q v), nom de plume (*takhallus* or *makhlas*) of a considerable number of Turkish poets V Hammer mentions sixteen of them in his "*Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*". (See the index s v Scheichi) The most important by far was Shaikhī Čelebi, alias Mevlānā (Mawlānā) Yūsuf Sinān Germiānī, a Turkish "Romantic" poet Born at Kutahia (Cotyaeum in Phrygia), the capital of the Germiān, he flourished at the beginning of the 15th century He is sometimes called *shaikh al-shu'arā*, "The sheikh of the poets".

It is difficult to form an exact idea of his life. Information is not lacking either from the „*tezkere-nuwīs*" (the authors of poetical biographies) or from the historians, but none of them was contemporary with Shaikhī, and their information is vague and they are sometimes difficult to reconcile with one another V Hammer and Gibb — the latter without even citing his sources — have combined the different data so as to obtain a continuous narrative, but one that does not give a great guarantee of truth

Here we give a résumé of the biography of the poet according to Sehī, an author less often cited than Latīfī but having, nevertheless, the advantage of being of an earlier date (he wrote between 1520 and 1548) Yūsuf Germiānī went to Persia where he studied under Saiyid Sharīf Djurdjānī [q v], showing a marked preference for medicine, whence the name of Hekīm (doctor) Sinān by which he was equally well known. The Emīr Suleimān (the son of Bāyazīd I, who ruled at Adrianople, then at Brussa from 1402 to 1410 and who was the patron of letters and of art) having noticed his poetical ability, Shaikhī entered into favour with

the Ottoman sovereigns and later Murād II wished to make him a vizier. Some envious individuals persuaded the Sultān to put Shaikhī's talent to the proof by imposing upon him a very difficult task, the translation of the "Five" Poems (*Khamsa*, q v.) of the Persian Niẓāmī Shaikhī having chosen the poem called Khusraw u-Shīrīn began by presenting the first 1000 verses of it to Murād who rewarded him generously On his return into his own country, the poet was assailed and robbed by brigands whom his enemies had placed in wait for him This was the occasion of his writing a well-known satire called *Khar-nāme*, "Laus asini". He was buried at Germiān (Kutahia)

According to *Tashkopruzāde*, Shaikhī had been initiated into Sūfism by Hādjdjī Bairām, the founder of the Bairāmī order, who was born and buried at Angora, in 833 (1429—1430). Shaikhī was actually at Angora, to which he was called to the court of Sulṭān Mehemed I (according to Rieu, wrongly Mehemed II) in 818 (1415—1416), (according to the *Tādj al-tewārīkh* of Sa'd al-Dīn) in his capacity as doctor to the prince of the Germiān, who had been seized with a lethargy. The poet-doctor is said to have declared that an entertaining romance would suffice to dispel the melancholia. The following verse taken from a *na't-i shārīf* of Shaikhī, which is quoted in the *Fā'ik Reshād* (p 86) seems to confirm this detail

lafz-in muferrihi maraz-i rūh-a dīr shefā

"The entertaining word is the remedy for the sickness of the soul"

Shaikhī is said to have been rewarded for his medical services by the title of physician in ordinary to the Sultān (*ser tabīb* or *hekīm-bashī*) which he is said to have been the first to hold officially The author of the *Sedjill-i 'Othmānī* in recounting this anecdote calls our poet Sinān instead of Sinān (III 113 and IV 721) and also gives the date of his death as 829 (1425—1426), which would make him die at a very early age, if it is true that he was born under Bāyazīd I (whose reign began in 1389). An anecdote which almost all the authors repeat and which resembles a folk-lore tale, tells how a patient with solemn countenance one day doubled the sum which he was giving to "doctor", Shaikhī in order to enable him to buy something to cure his own eyes, which were affected

The sojourn and medical practice of Shaikhī at the Ottoman court seem very different to reconcile with the continuous stay which he is said to have made at Kutahia according to Tashkopruzāde One is at times given the impression that two persons have been confused From the point of view of the history which is so little known of the local Turkish dynasties, which the Ottoman dynasty, particularly jealous of its own greatness, had absorbed and effaced, it would have been interesting to have had more precise ideas on the relations of Shaikhī with the Germiānoghlu. [q v] In the preface to his interminable *Shāhnāme*, Firdawsī Tawīl, who, having lived during the time of Bāyazīd II (1481—1512), is anterior to Sehī himself, tells us that Shaikhī had begun Khusraw u-Shīrīn not for the Sultān Murād II, but for a prince of the house of Germiān called Mustafā The historian 'Alī tells (IV/1 191) that the bucolic sovereign (*hākim-i rūstāyī*) of the Germiān, unable to appreciate the beauty of the "*kaṣīda*" of Shaikhī wearied quickly of his company. One day he greatly upset the poet by showing, by his generous gifts, his preference for the following verses which an „*uzan*" (popular bard) had recited to him.

Benim dowletlu Sulṭānīm, 'aḳībātīn (sic!) *khayīr olsun,*
Yeduyun balla kaimak, yuruduyuñ čayīr olsun.

"Fortunate Lord that thy end may be happy, may you have only honey and cream for fare and may you tread on your way, only on the meadows"

The necessities of the metre (*hezedj*) made it necessary to read *'akībātīn* instead of the correct *'ākibetin* and *khayīr* (metrical value ⏑ –) instead of *khair* (– ⏑) The pronunciation *khayīr* was in conformity with the vulgar Turkish usage but indescribably shocked men of letters.

The works of Shaikhī the most important is the poem already mentioned, Khusraw u-Shīrīn. All the authors say that it was left incomplete and that it was Shaikhzāde (Shaikh oghlu) Djemālī who finished it In reality the addition consists of 111 verses, in which the subject dealt with in very vague terms is the death of Shaikhī and in which we find a new eulogy of Murād II The first verse of the addition is *gelun ey bilu djamīn nūsh edenler, bu hikmet sozlarimi gūsh edenler*

According to the MS Anc f t 322 in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, Djemālī had as his prenomen Bāyazīd ben Mustafā (fol 273) The MS 328 follows this hint with the words Ahmed al-tardjumānī al-Akshahrī It is known that the poem attributed to Ferhād, the lover of Shīrīn, the bas-reliefs of Bisutūn (cf Hammer *Hist* II. 169) The work of Shaikhī is not the first Turkish translation of the poem See a translation into Kipčak Turkish of 1383, mentioned in J Deny's *Gram de la langue turque*, Paris 1920, p xx—xxi

The satire called *Kharnāme* was due, according to certain authors, to reasons other than those mentioned by Sehī The district where Shaikhī is said to have been the victim of brigands was called *Dokuzlu*

Shaikhī also composed *ghazel*'s, as well as *na't* and *terdjī'-i bend*, and a certain number of *kaṣīda* of which a few were dedicated to the house of Germiān, others to the Emīr Suleimān, which were discussed above. It seems difficult to admit that there is here, as in the case of the poet Ahmedī — see Gibb, I, p 265 — a confusion with the prince Suleimān of the family of Germiān the date of death († 790 A H) of the latter rendering the same hypothesis improbable

Like his predecessor and compatriot (?) Ahmedī [q v] but with greater authority, Shaikhī naturalized in Turkey the methnewī metre (which is that of Khusraw u-Shīrīn) He was, moreover, greatly influenced by mysticism which pervaded the methnewī par excellence, that of Mawlānā Djalal al-Dīn Rūmī Shaikhī was considered the greatest of the Turkish poets of the epoch before Ahmed Pasha, who accustomed the Turks to a language more refined. Too learned for the taste of the prince of Germiān, Shaikhī was, however, criticised by Laṭīfī for his "oghuzāne" style, this ethnic here meaning "vulgar". Certain Turkish critics, even modern ones, give vent again to these complaints, reproaching Shaikhī with the use of Turkish "archaisms". It is certain that in the eyes of Turks to-day these peculiarities are only an

additional merit, and that the relative simplicity of his poetry in which words truly Turkish are not systematically banned, is appreciated more and more.

Of other Turkish personalities of this name, there is to be mentioned the author of a supplement (*Dheil*, 1780 bibliographies up to the reign of Ahmed III) to the *Hadā'ik al-Ḥakā'ik* by ʿAṭā'ī, who composed a continuation of Tāshkopruzāde's work (cf. the *Bibliography*) Another Shaikhī (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, † 1002) was Shaikh al-Islām in the reign of Murād III.

Bibliography Oriental authors: the different *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā* (*tezkeret-ush-shuʿarā*) are easy to consult, being arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors (See those of ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Ḥinnāizāde or Kīnalīzāde, especially) Here are, however, a few more precise references for the printed *tezākir* Sehi, *Ḥasht Bihisht*, edited by Mehemed Shukrī (Library of Amid) 1325 (1909), p 52 *sqq*, Latīfi, *Tezkere-i Laṭīfī*, ed Ahmed Djewdet (Library of the Ikdām), Constantinople 1314, p. 215 *sqq* , do. in German *Latifi oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzuglichen turkischen Dichtern, nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken, aus dem turkischen des Mowla Abdul Latifi und des Ashik Hassan Tshelebi ubersetzt von Thomas Chabert*, Zurich 1800, p 219 *sqq*. (less complete), Tashkopruzāde, *al-Shaḳā'ik al-nuʿmānīya*, transl into Turkish by Edirnelī Mehemed Medjdī Ffendī, Constantinople 1269 (1853), p 128—129, ʿĀlī Efendī, *Kunhul-Akhbar*, Constantinople 1277, iv/1, p 190, *sqq*., Fāik Reshād, *Eslāf*, Consple 1311, p 36 *sqq*., do., *Ḥarīkh-i edebiyāt-i ʿosmāniye*, Consple n d, p 80 *sqq* (many verses from Shaikhī quoted), Shihāb al-Dīn Suleimān, *Tārīkh-i edebiyāt-i ʿosmāniye*, Consple 1328, p 37 *sqq* , Mehemed Thurayyā, *Sidjill-i ʿosmānī*, Consple. 1308, iii, p. 113 and iv, p 721

Western authors Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, Pesth 1836, p 104 *sqq* , Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, i, Chap vi (The Romantics-continued, Sheykhī), p 299—335, Hammer, *Hist Emp. Ott.*, index, Flugel, *Die arabischen, persischen und turkischen Handschriften der k.-k Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1867, i, p 617 (cf also index to Jusuf Sinan), Catalogue (manuscript) of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris Anc. f. t 322—326, 328—330, 363, Sup. t 353, 614 (all manuscripts of Khusraw u-Shīrin), for the principal manuscripts of other Libraries see the Catalogue of the Brit. Mus by Rieu, p. 165. (J Deny)

SHAIKHĪYA. Name of a sub-division of the Shādhilīya-order [q v], which deserves the name of a brotherhood rather than that of an order It was founded by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b Muhammad (951—1023 = 1544—1615), who bore the title of Sīdī Shaikh He was a lineal descendent of the caliph Abū Bakr and belonged to a branch that emigrated from Arabia to Egypt in the 1st century A H , and from there to Tunisia where it resided from 699—802 A H., from this date onward it had its quarters in the Maghrib, where it was known under the name of Būbakrīya or Ūlād Bū Bakr.

Sīdī Shaikh was *muḳaddam* of the Shādhilīya-order. He retained the rite of this order with the addition of a thrice repeated *fātiḥa* at the end of each of the five daily *ṣalāt*'s. His piety and character made him the chief of his people in matters spiritual and temporal. In order to procure accommodation for his many visitors, he built a *ḳṣar* at al-Abyad which to the present day is one of the five *ḳṣūr* of the Shaikhī's His position became hereditary in his family for some generations. In the second half of the xviiith century, however, a schism took place in consequence of which the Shaikhīya became divided into two groups, the Sheraga and the Gheraba. The further history is dominated by this schism

In the xixth century a certain Bū ʿAmama (ʿAmāma?) tried to unite the factions under his authority, which he based upon his being divinely appointed successor of Sīdī Shaikh. His personal attitude resembled that of the popular derwishes and was moreover marked by hatred of Christians. He extended the rite by the addition of a *dhikr* and a *duʿā'*

The Shaikhīya has its centre chiefly in the southern borderland between Algeria and Morocco Apparently it never spread abroad.

Bibliography L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p 349 *sqq* , O Depont and X Coppolani, *Les confreries religieuses musulmanes*, p. 468 *sqq* Cf also the art. ṬARĪḲA.

SHAIKHZĀDE, pronounced Sheikhzāde, a compound Persian word signifying "son (or descendant) of the Shaikh" [q v], synonymous with the Turkish expression *Sheikh-oghlu* The word sheikh, pronounced in vulgar Turkish, Shēkh, means according to Turkish usage "preacher in a large mosque, the head of a religious brotherhood" This expression must not be confused with *shāhzāde* (vulgar secondary form for *shāhzāde*) "prince imperial"

Sheikhzāde is a patronym of the same kind as *Imāmzāde* or *Imām-oghlu*, *Mu'edhdhinzāde* or *Me'zin-oghlu*, *N-Pasha-zāde*, *N-Bey-zāde*, *N-Efendi-zāde*. The Arabic synonym *Ibn al-Shaikh* is not used in Turkish, expressions like Ibn-i-Kemāl for Kemāl Pasha-zāde are exceptional.

The patronymic Sheikhzāde or Sheikh-oghlu has been employed as a proper noun in the names of the following Turkish personages

I The author of the *Khurshīd Nāme*, which was completed about May 20, 1387 It is in the preface and in the epilogue of this work that we find information about the poet Sheikh-oghlu or Sheikhzāde, and at the same time about his patron, Suleimān Shāh, the prince of the Germian (The quotations which follow are from the manuscript A. F T, N° 314 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris).

Sheikh-oghlu was born about the year 1340. He was in fact "about fifty years" of age when he finished his book (*ču shimdi elli-ye yaklashdī yashīm*, fol 304, b l 9) By birth on both his father's and his mother's side he was of high descent (*iki bashdan benum aslum ulu-dur*, l. 2). His ancestors were powerful (*devlet issi*), men of learning (*ʿilm issi fākhir beyler*), Muslims of note. Suleimān Shāh had absolute confidence in him (*Hem ič-idum aña hem tash-idum ben, Ne ḳilsam neylesem sabash (shābāsh) idum ben*, ibid., l. 6) and had granted him the right of acting as secretary as well as High Treasurer (*nishān u defter u māl u khazīne*, fol 6, l. 7). This entirely confirms Sehi, who says that Sheikh oghlu was *nishāndjī* and *defterdār* of the prince of the Germian.

It is also to this prince that he intended to dedicate his poem. He says in fact

Suleimān-shāh zemānī-di ki evvel,
Uzatdīm bu kitabī duzmeye el,
Ki shāhi-di temāmet Germiyanun
Hem ulu oghlī-yidi Čaghshadanun
(MS. N°. 355 *Čakhshadanun*)

"It was in the time of Suleimān Shāh when I first
"stretched out my hand to compose this book,
"he was the Shāh of all the Germiyān
"and the elder son of him who makes the weapons clash".

But this prince died when the author was in the middle of his work (fol 16, l. 10) Sheikh oghlu then entered the service of Yīldīrīm Bāyazīd, the son-in-law of Suleimān Shāh, still prince imperial, having already received as an appanage the capital of the Germiyān (see article GERMIYĀNOGHLU), and it is to Bāyazīd that the poem is dedicated in recognition of the benefits which he had heaped upon the author in his turn (fol 18, l 1) This combination of circumstances explains how the poet could at the same time write a eulogy of his former master He could not forget indeed that the latter must be eclipsed and over-shadowed by his powerful namesake, who was equally a patron of the Ottoman House (the Emīr Suleimān, son of Bāyezīd). His name has only been preserved on inscriptions and coins (Khalīl Edhem, *Al-i Germiyān kitābeleri*, *Revue de l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane* [in Turkish], i. 112—128, Aḥmad Tawhīd, ... *Kutahyede Germiyān* [*Germiyān*] *Beyleri*, ii 505—513).

In the eulogy of Bāyezīd, "young in age but old in knowledge" (*Yigit-dur ʿomrile, ʿaklile pīr*, fol 18, b l. 11), this prince is described in different ways in the different manuscripts That of Berlin, the oldest, styles him "Bāyezīd Bey, son (= descendant) of Orkhan Bey" In the MS. 314 of Paris (fol 16, b l. 1 and 2), he is the son of the Sultān Shāh (*Sultān oghlīdur Shāh*), these words being followed by this qualification *Ne* (*Na*) *Sultān ibn-i Sultān ibn-i Sultān, Shehinsheh Bāyezīd ibn-i Murād Khān* The same formula is found in the manuscript 355, fol 4, l 4, but in place of *Shehinsheh*, etc. there is *Čelebi Bāyezīd, ol Shīr-i merdān* It will be noted that the imperial princes actually bore the title of Čelebi up to the reign of Mehemed II (*Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i 89). The surname Īldīrīm (the form in old Osmanlī for Yīldīrīm) appears in the verse *savashda Īldīrīm dirlerse hakk-dur*, fol. 16. b. l 5

In the same preface it is said that the work was finished in the time of Bāyezīd (*devletinde*, fol. 17, l 10) and further on, the author expresses the hope of living long enough to finish under the name of the same prince (*Shehum adīle*) an *ʿIshk Nāme* The end seems to be a eulogy of a minister (the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha', cf fol 19, l. 10). All these differences and variations make one surmise that the preface was entirely remodelled at a later date, perhaps by the author himself. A critical edition would be desirable, but whatever may be the version adopted as definitive, one can adopt as certain the date of the completion of the work (May 20, 1387) given in the epilogue This date is thus formulated (fol 304, l. 13) ..... *yidi yuz seksen dokuzda — Ki takht vurmish-idi khurshīd okuzde* — "in 789 when the sun had raised his throne under (the sign of) Taurus". Then a description of spring follows, which concludes thus ... *rebīʿ ul-ākhirun* (sic) *ākhīr zāhir — Bu Khurshīd Nāme oldu evvel ākhir* (sic) "It was evidently at the end of the Rabīʿ II (spring), That the *Khurshīd Nāme* was finished (ibidem, l. 2)" Now the lunar month of Rabīʿ II, 789 extended from 21st April to 20th May, and that corresponds exactly with the passage of the sun to the zodiacal sign of Taurus. Such an exact coincidence, which is in contrast to the usual lack of precision in Ottoman chronology excludes the possibility of error. The poem then is older than is usually believed

It follows from what has been said that Suleimān Shāh had already been dead for some time in the year 789 (cf the article GERMIYĀNOGHLU) We may notice also that according to the eulogy of him by Sheikhoghlu, Suleimān Shāh was so devout that the dervishes forgot the respect due to a great prince (*ulu Shāh*) and did not salute him first (*selām onurtmez-idi*, fol. 15, b. l. 13). As regards the epithet *čaghshadan* which is given in a passage quoted above to the father of Suleimān Shāh (Germiyānoghlu Mehemed) and which we have translated by "he who makes the shields clash", it is obviously the regular participle in *-(y)an* of a causal verb of onomatopoeic origin *čagh(ī)-sh-a-t-mak* (*čakhshatmak*), synonymous with the metathesis of *kagh(ī)-sh-a-t-mak* or *kakhshatmak* (whence no doubt comes the proper name Fach Schad, wrongly given by v. Hammer, *Gesch d osm Dichtkunst*, i, p 110, note 1, we shall correct the other errors in the same quotation) The verb *čakhshamak* is given by Mahmūd Kāshghārī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, iii 212, below in the sense of "to jingle (little pebbles), to tinkle, in speaking of toys or other objects". (Cf also J. Deny, *Gram turque*, § 850, rem. 4 and note, add the words *čaghīshdī*, from the *Burhān-i kātiʿ* in Turkish, p 626, l. 24, *čaghīshmak*, from the Dict of Redhouse, p 722, b, *čakhshak*, from Kāshghārī, i 390, l 12—15, and *kaghsha sh-mak*, Vambéry, *Altosm*, p 185)

The *Khurshīd Nāme* describes the loves of Khurshīd, the daughter of the king of Persia Siyāwush and of Ferahshād, son of the king of Maghrib (see the analysis in Hammer, *loc cit*). It is a poem of 7,640 verses (with two rhyming hemistichs of 11 syllables), that is to say it is a *mathnawī* like the *Khosrew-u Shīrīn* and in the same metre, the *hezedj* (∪ – – – | ∪ – – – | ∪ – –) This poem is called *Khurshīd-u Ferrukhshād* by Sehī and *Ferāh Nāme* by Hādjdjī Khalīfa (iv 412), v Hammer, Gibb, and, following them, other authors pronounce it *Ferrukhshād*, and Gibb corrects the editor of Hādjdjī Khalīfa by reading *Ferrukh Nāme* In the Paris manuscripts quoted, this name is always written Ferahshād and this reading ought always to be retained as the only one compatible with the metre (∪ – –). The word is found indeed either at the beginning or at the end of the hemistich (fol 70, 72 b, 73, 78, 78 b., 76 etc) where Ferrukhshād (– – –) would be inadmissible. This last word besides does not occur either in the *Shāhnāme* or in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, and seems due to a confusion with Ferrukhzād and Ferrukhrūz (cf. an analogous confusion in the popular story of Ferrukhshād, Ferrukhrūz and Ferrukhnāz, translated into French by the Jeune de Langues Maltor in 1742, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Suppl. turc., N°. 945).

Sehi identifies Sheikhoghlu with the "nephew", on his mother's side, and continuer of Shaikhī. The historian ʿAlī who makes the same confusion, calls him Djamālī Sheikhzāde (Hammer Djemālizāde) The dates contradict this identification (Shaikhī, who wrote under Murād II, was still alive in 1421), and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer a nephew born in 1340 Two different individuals must therefore be distinguished.

Koprulu Zāde Mehemed Fuʾād notes in N⁰ 124 of the bibliography to his *Turk edebiyātînda ilk muteşavıfler*, Stambul 1918, an autograph and unique manuscript belonging to him of a work entitled *Kunz ul-kuberā* by Sheikhoghlu "extremely important from the point of view of the history of language and literature", but without more detailed information, it is impossible to say if it is here a question of our author

Bibliography See especially Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900, i 427 *sqq* , The manuscripts of the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris are A F T., N⁰ 314 (a fine vocalised *neskhī* MS of 882), 315 and 355 (the last two incomplete) The Berlin copy (Pertsch, N⁰ 365) is of Rabīʿ I, 807 (Sept 7—Oct 6, 1404)

II The author, or rather the translator, of the *Ḳïrk Wezīr* (*Wazīr*) *hikayısı*. "the history of the forty viziers" Only the little which is given in the preface of this work is known about this writer The text also varies according to different manuscripts In some one finds only Shaikhzāde, in others only Ahmed-i-Mısrī Gibb thinks it is one and the same person, the translator of the *Ḳïrk Wezīr* from Arabic into Turkish, from a work which has been lost, entitled *Arbaʿīn ṣabāh wa-masā*, "The Forty Days and Forty Nights". This translation is dedicated in the great majority of manuscripts to Sultān Murād II (1421—1451), and this indicates approximately the epoch in which our author lived (according to Pertsch he is said to have written the *Ḳïrk Wezīr* in 850 = 1446) It is to be noted, however, that according to the text of Belletête (which is in agreement with one of the manuscripts of Vienna) Shaikhzāde is the name of an author who wrote *in Arabic* for the Sultān of Egypt (*Mısr* and *Maṣr* in place of the *ʿaṣr* of other manuscripts), and it is an anonymous writer speaking of himself in the first person who wrote the Turkish translation, ornamenting it with diverse flowers of diction and quotations According to other manuscripts, we might suppose that Sheikhzāde (or Ahmad Mısrī) made the first translation and that an anonymous writer improved upon it Fleischer, Behrnauer and Gibb reject the reading Mısr as wrong, but the change of person (which passes from the third to the first) in the text of the preface remains none the less a puzzle. It is important then to set up a critical text from the different manuscripts of the *Ḳïrk Wezīr* in order to establish even the name of the author

Like the *Bakhtıyār-nāme* [q v.] or the "History of the Ten Viziers", "The Forty Viziers" are a ramification of the "*Sindbād Nāme*" [q v] or the "History of the Seven Wise Men" (seven viziers in the Arab version). The framework of "The Forty Viziers" may be summarized as follows. There was in Persia a sovereign called Shāh-i Khāfiḳayn (of the east and of the west), whose young wife fell in love with her stepson, a prince of marvellous beauty and of great virtue Solicited by the Queen (Khatun), the prince (Shehzāde) follows the advice which his tutor (*khodja*, *astād*) had given him, who after consulting his horoscope, recommends him to maintain, whatever happens, the silence of a mute, during a dangerous period which will last forty days Irritated by the indifference of the prince, the queen slanders him to the king, who orders his son to be put to death It is at this moment that the forty viziers intervene and the first of them in the presence of the executioner tells a story (that of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Maktūl, who died the victim of a woman's ruse), at the end of which the king consents to postpone the execution of the prince until he has obtained further information In the evening the queen on her part tells a story calculated to revive the anger of her husband, who again summons the executioner on the following morning. But the second vizier intervenes in his turn and so on until the forty stories of the viziers alternate with the forty stories of the queen. Finally, on the forty-first day, when the king was just going to give credence to the queen by putting his son to death and throwing the viziers into prison, the tutor, who had disappeared during this time, comes back and relieves the prince of the silence imposed by the omens Then the prince reveals the intrigues of the queen The latter, confounded by the testimony of her servants, is attached to the tail of a horse, which shatters her to pieces dragging her over stones and rough roads

The stories of the forty viziers are most frequently localized in Egypt, which is in accordance with the indications in the preface as to the place where the collection is said to have been written (Aqchid [Akshid], the Sultān of Egypt, of one of the tales — cf Chauvin, p 123 — is probably Ikhshid

Bibliography A very full bibliography of the Forty Viziers is given in V Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège and Leipzig 1904, viii. (Syntipas), p 18—21, 112 *sq* (and extracts publ by Smirnov, *Chrestomathie Ottomane* [Russian title], St Petersburg 1903, p 220—223 We might also note that a young Turcologist of Prague, M Duda, is preparing an edition of the Forty Viziers) The manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris are A.F T. 378, 388 to 392, Suppl turc. 428 to 434, 1392 to 1394, 644 For the other manuscripts and editions printed in Turkey, cf. Pertsch, Berlin, Catalogue No 454, 437, 438, Gotha, Catalogue No 230 and esp Rieu, British Museum p 216, a.

3 Muhyī al-Dīn Muhammad b Muslih al-Dīn Mustafā al-Kūdjawī, called Shaikhzāde, died in 951 (March 25, 1544—March 14, 1545), wrote a gloss in Arabic on the Commentary of Baidāwī, the *kaṣīdat al-burda* and other texts

Bibliography Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vii , Index, No 6432; Brockelmann, *G A L.*, i. 265—417, Dozy, *Catalogus . . . bibl. Ac Lugduno-Bataviae*, 1851, ii. 82

4 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Shaikh Muhammad b. Sulaimān, called Shaikhzāde (in Hādjdjī Khalīfa Shaikhīzāde), d in 1078 (June 23, 1667—June 11, 1668), finished in 1077, *Madjmaʿ al-anhur*, commentary (Arabic) on the *Multaḳā al-abhur*, a treatise on Hanafī law by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, see AL-ḤALABĪ. The Turkish translation

of this work by Mawkūfāti is at the root of d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman* This commentary was first published in Constantinople in 1240 (1824/1825) and again in 1305, 2 tomes in one large volume in-4°.

Bibliography Hādjdjī Khalīfa, vi 105, Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, No. 1450, Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, ii 432, Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes .... offerts . . par Decourdemanche*, 1909, ar. No. 6411 (misprints in the dates).

On other individuals who have had the surname Shaikhzāde see. Rieu, *Cat of Turk MSS.* in the *British Museum*, 82, b. and 120b, Dorn, *Das asiatische Museum*, St. Petersburg 1846, p 219 (J Deny)

SHĀʿIR (A.), poet The word is probably derived from the word *shiʿr* "poetry" or "poem", which may be of ancient Semitic origin, for we have in Hebrew *shīr* for a solemn hymn, and it is most unlikely that the derivation is from the Arabic verb *shaʿara* "to know", as Arabic philologers explain it The very fact that the verb is not used in the meaning of composing verses seems to speak against such a derivation [Goldziher in his *Abhandl z arab Phil*, 1, 17, has explained *shāʿir* as "the one with inspired knowledge"] The origin is lost in the remotest antiquity and though to my knowledge no ancient Arabic inscription contains any metrical verse, we cannot argue from this that poetry did not exist at those times The remarkable fact remains that the oldest specimens of Arabic poetry which we can consider genuine have already fully developed rules as to metre and rhyme That a poem must rhyme is imperative, but the *shāʿir* in some of the earliest specimens of his art which are preserved employs metres which the critics of the second century of the Hidjra did not acknowledge and did not know (e g poems by ʿAbid, Imruʾ al-Kais and ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa) Also in early times it was probably more frequent than we can now ascertain that the metre was not always correct, even if it corresponded with one of the 16 metres evolved by Khalil and al-Akhfash, for one verse of Zuhair has several syllables too many which the grammarians have not been able to amend

It is also important that the earliest specimens of Arabic poetry are by men who held an honourable position in their tribe, the time had not come when poor men, like al-Hutaʾa, practised the art Some authorities wish to emphasise that the *shāʿir* and the *kāhin* were probably identical, a view which I cannot endorse, as Arabic poetry as a rule in early times holds aloof from all that is religious. It is a strong point that it is as a rule strictly concerned with worldly affairs.

The short *radjaz* metre may have been the first which was practised in the *hidāʾ* or "leading the moving string of camels", but we have no ancient specimens of the *hidāʾ*, the earliest being preserved in the *Dīwān* of al-Shammākh who lived during the time of the rise of Islām.

The earliest poets of whom we have any knowledge lived in Eastern Arabia and in their poetry they employed only very few of the 16 metres, and it is significant that even such late poets as Djarīr and Farazdak never use the shorter metres, which seem to have originated later in the Hidjāz Djarīr only uses the metres *radjaz*, *tawīl*, *wāfir*, *basīṭ*, *kāmil* and *mutakārib*, the poet al-Aʿshā adds to this number only the metre *khafīf* As later poets in various parts of Arabia employ all other metres, the fact mentioned might point to the existence of some unknown cause for this peculiarity. The *shāʿir* was considered to be possessed of some special knowledge communicated to him by a kind of familiar spirit which inspired him, and he had in his company one or more real persons whose business it was to remember his verses and to recite them in other camps While the familiar spirit may only have been fictitious, the reciter of the poet, named *rāwī*, was very real and we have many names of such *rāwī*'s mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and by the poets themselves in their poems More important, however, is that in many cases the *rāwī* himself became a poet of note in the next generation. Among the *rāwī*'s of repute the following may be named. Tufail al-Ghanawī had for his *rāwī* Aws b Hadjar, whose *rāwī* was the poet Zuhair The latter was also *rāwī* of his uncle Bashāma The *rāwī*'s of Zuhair were his son Kaʿb, al-Hutaʾa and al-Shammākh Such chains of poets who recited each other's poems could be mentioned in greater numbers than is generally realised This points to a kind of school for poets and the *rāwī* at the same time made attempts at own composition, which he submitted to his master, this also accounts for finding in certain parts of Arabia a prevalence not only of specific metres, but also of special themes. It is not an accident that Abū Dhuʾaib, Sāʿida b. Djuʾaiya and al-Mutanakhkhul, the Hudhali poets, specialise in the description of bees, they were one the *rāwī* of another and not only used similar metres but also the same subjects which they had learned from their masters This also explains why we find a line word for word in a poem of Tufail, Aws b Hadjar and Zuhair "The unfettered horses of passion" was an idea which the *rāwī*'s of Tufail could not omit from their verses

The poet of the early times loved to fill his poems with fine words and it is specially in the earlier times that a large quantity of foreign words were used to adorn the poems, a practice which ceased after the first century of the Hidjra At this time the calling of the *shāʿir* had altered entirely In the earlier times the poet stood for the honour of his tribe, he had to mourn his relations or the valiant men of his clan or sing the defiant *hidjāʾ* against the enemies of his tribe Now the poet had sunk to be a beggar for favours from the mighty and rich, to this he added lampoons against rivals, who made his work of extorting presents more difficult, and new themes for the edification of drunken gatherings, poems on boys and obscene ditties. We have no Persian poetry as old, but Ibn Djinnī tells us (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, 1 252) that in Persia also poetry flourished and that they were very diligent in avoiding the use of any Arabic word in their poetry which was by critics considered a serious fault. We do not know the contents of this class of poetry, but we may assume that the lighter poetry in the Arabic language as represented by the poems of Bashshār and Abū Nuwās reflects the themes of Persian verse. The earliest authentic Persian poetry dates from the fourth century of the Hidjra and the specimens preserved agree remarkably well with the kind of verse composed in Arabic by their contemporaries like Abu 'l-Fath al-Bustī, who wrote in both

languages. Since then the *shāʿir* has never died out, but the art which seems so fresh in the earliest specimens has seldom been able to leave the old path and like sheep and cows the poets, whether Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Urdu, have been chewing the cud to this day.

The Prophet took a special stand against the poets. He was accused of being a *shāʿir*, which brought about the answer at the end of Sūra xxvi., which has been entitled "the Poets" from these verses "The poets are liars and those who follow them have gone astray" The poets, however, were too well established in Arab civilisation and the traditions know that the Prophet's immediate successors were well versed in ancient poetry, especially ʿAlī is credited with many verses, all of which are probably spurious Though the Prophet would not be called a poet himself, he made full use of several poets, especially Hassān b Thābit, who composed biting verses against the Mekkan adversaries The method the *shāʿir* had to use for such verses to reach the hostile camp was to teach the verses to a *rāwī* who recited them in another place before a neutral audience, which had, however, sufficient interest to repeat the verses to the party attacked As regards the art of the poet I am inclined to doubt that all ancient poems were originally complete poems, often the *shāʿir* could only get from his familiar spirit the inspiration for part, and, like Zuhair, had to work for a whole year on a single poem or recite it before it was complete, according to the rules which Ahlwardt e. g has laid down for every poem We have ample evidence that many poems were at all times only fragments, for an Arabic (or Persian) *kasīda* with the same rhyme going through a great number of verses is a very unreal thing. (F KRENKOW)

SHAIṬĀN, Satan (See also DJINN, IBLĪS) "Every proud and rebellious one among *djinn*, men and animals" is the meaning given in the dictionaries. As applied to spirits shaitān has two distinct meanings with separate histories The sense of devil goes back to Jewish sources and that of superhuman being has its roots in Arab paganism, though the two meanings interact In the stories about Solomon a shaitān is nothing more than a *djinn* superior in knowledge and power to other *djinn* But even their powers are limited. Closely connected with this is the use of the word in the sense of genius "He made up his mind, when they died, to hunger and disappointment, but his Demon said to him — Thou hast the charge of a household to meet" (*Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, xvii. 68). Belonging to the same order of ideas is the belief that a poet was possessed by a shaitān who inspired his words Later writers knew the names of these familiar spirits There is some evidence that the pagan gods of Arabia were afterwards reduced to the rank of demons Tabarī says (*Tafsīr*) that the shaitān are those whom the infidels obeyed while disobeying God The bow of Kuzah was afterwards called the bow of Shaitān and the two horns of Shaitān is a name for a phenomenon accompanying sunrise. Similarly old superstitions are preserved in the belief that a shaiṭān eats excrement and all manner of filth and frequents the borderline between shade and sunlight

The word is common in the Ḳurʾān but in the Sūras of the first Makkan period the indefinite singular alone is found and that only once. It is not till the second period that the definite form occurs, suggesting that the prophet had found or remembered another idea. Shaitān is tacitly identified with Iblīs who is obviously borrowed from Judaism. Thus al-shaitān is the chief of the evil spirits and shaiṭān is a spirit, though not necessarily evil. There is no fixed tradition as to the relation of al-shaitān with the shaitāns and other *djinn*. One account says that he is their father, another makes him produce eggs from which they were hatched and another says that God first created the devil then his wife and from the union came three eggs from which the various sorts of *djinn* were hatched The Ḳurʾān says that Shaitān is made of fire, the commentators refine on this and say that the angels are made of light, Shaiṭān of fire or of the smoke of fire. It is not settled whether the shaitāns have no bodies at all or have bodies of some very subtle substance. The punishment of Shaiṭān for resisting God is postponed to the end of the world when he will receive his reward in hell-fire. He is not the lord of hell, according to the Kurʾān Mālik is lord of hell His standing epithet *raḏīm* is derived by tradition from the stoning of the devil by Ibrāhīm at Minā, according to Prof Noldeke it is derived from the Abyssinian word meaning accursed. Other names for Shaitān are *Ṭāghūt* and *Ḏjānn* which is said to mean the father of the *djinn*. The serpent which helped shaitān to tempt Adam was punished by being deprived of its legs but the peacock, the intermediary, seems to have escaped scot-free. Perhaps there is some connection with the Malik Tāʾūs of the Yazīdīs

In religious thought Shaitān is the power that opposes God in the hearts of men He whispers his insidious suggestions in their ears and makes his proposals seductive to them The Kurʾān ascribes this activity now to one shaitān now to several. Later it is said that one shaitan is attached to each man so that it is possible for everyone to speak of "my shaitān" There are no exceptions to this rule for even Yaḥyā b Zakārīyā (the Baptist) had his shaitān though he was too good to listen to its insinuations The union between a man and his shaitān is as close as that between a man and his blood. But there is no hint of dualism for a shaitān has no real power over man, he owes his success to craft alone. He cannot exploit that success for he is afraid of God and leaves men in the lurch as soon as he has persuaded them to sin The activities of Shaitān are summarized in the following tale. He complained to God of the privileges granted to men and was thereupon given similar ones Diviners were his prophets, tattoo marks his sacred books, lies his traditions, poetry his religious reading, musical instruments his muezzins, the market his mosque; the baths his home, his food was everything on which the name of God was not invoked, his drink all intoxicating liquors and the object of his hunting women The popular view is that every man is attended by an angel and a shaiṭān who urge him to evil and good deeds respectively. Hasan al-Basrī is reported to have said — They are two thoughts that rush into the minds of men. He thus reduced these spirit forces to mental states.

Shaitāns were of both sexes and ugly. They could appear in human form without anything

unnatural betraying their identity Many had names. Those of the familiars of some poets were known. Farazdaḳ's demon was ʿ*Amr*. The shaitāns of India and Syria were among the most powerful and the names of their chiefs are given Diseases, particularly the plague, were their weapons Some said that the shaiṭāns were bound during the month of Ramaḍān and a cock was supposed to be a protection against them.

Attempts were made to reduce these ideas to some system. An unbelieving *ǧinn* was a shaitān, one strong enough to move buildings and overhear the divine plans was a *marīd* (rebel) and one capable of more than that was an *ʿifrīt* Spirits who attacked boys were called *arwāḥ* Some men had power over the various kinds of spirits, but this power was not for all. The body of the *makhdūm* had to be a fit temple (*haikal*) for spirits if a man was to control them

The Arab philologists accepted shaitān as a native word and derived it from the root *sh-ṭ-n* though some preferred the root *sh-y-ṭ* The word is very rare in early poetry Umaiya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt uses it in connection with the throwing of the stars at the devils ʿAdi b Zaid tells of Iblis being punished in fire. It might be urged that he was familiar with the idea but not with the word shaitān Umaiya also has the participle shāṭin in the sense of rebellious spirit It almost looks as if he were experimenting to find a suitable word. The form shaitan used by Belādhori seems to be an attempt to represent the Greek form of the word As the idea is obviously borrowed, it is probable that the word — a regular Arabic form — is also borrowed from the Ethiopic which is in turn derived from Hebrew.

Shaitān is also the name of a snake and has some metaphorical meanings.

Bibliography The passages of the Kurʾān and the commentaries thereon, Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. 106 *sqq* , Noeldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, p. 34, al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Thaʿālibī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Tabari, i 78, al-Ghazālī, *Ihyāʾ*, iii. 20 *sqq*., al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, al-Masʿūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris ed , iii 321.

(A S TRITTON)

SHAIYĀD, a term used as a synonym of the word *kalender* and meaning a certain kind of dervish The word has been derived from the root *sh-y-d*, which means "to perish", according to the translation of the *Ḳāmūs* by ʿĀsim. The same author defines *ishāda* as follows "to cry something with a loud voice, to raise (a building) to a great height, to mention some one loudly, i e to praise him openly and make him famous, to cry a lost article". Thus etymologically we might translate *shaiyād* by "some one who loses himself, who does not hesitate to annihilate himself on the path of Truth; who continually proclaims the Truth in a loud voice". This comes near Zenker's translation (p. 554) Ṭaiyār Efendi in his *Rehber-i Gulistān* (Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire, 1308, p. 156) gives the meaning impostor (*kadhdhāb*), but this is due to the fact that the word *shaiyād* is used as a synonym of *ʿaiyār* — which is also an old Ṣūfi-term — and is not a translation (the ʿaiyārs formed a special body which played a part in politics in Baghdād towards the end of the second century A. H. and whose influence long survived; they contributed a great deal to the spread of Ṣūfism in other lands of Islām and laid the foundations for the development of the *futūwa*, cf *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 100, 183, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*, ed Nicholson, i. 332, R. Hartmann, *As-Sulamī's Risalat al-Malamatiya*, *Der Islam*, viii 190—191. In the third century, we find in Khorāsān and in Transoxiana similar groups which in Khorāsān are called *ghāziyān* or *fityān* and in Transoxiana *djawālika*, [cf Koprulu Zāde Fuʾād, *Turkiye Tārikhi*, i. 81—82]).

We find this term — which is synonymous with *ḳalender*, *ḥaidarī*, *abdāl* — in general use from the seventh century A. H. onwards and especially in Asia Minor We know that there was a Ṣūfī named Shaikh ʿAbd al-Rahmān Shaiyād, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Din Rūmī, in Ḳonya (*Les Saints des Derwiches Tourneurs*, transl. Huart, i 113), Saʿdi, in the *Gulistān*, speaks of a *shaiyād* with dishevelled hair who claimed to be *ʿalewī* and referred a *ḳaṣida* of Enwerī to himself. In the seventh century and later, we find Turkish poets like Shaiyād Hamza [q. v] and Shaiyād ʿĪsā, author of a romantic poem called *Salṣal-nāme* (in the *Bibl. Nat.* there is a Turkish MS. N⁰ 1207, entitled *Salsal-nāme* by a Turkish poet called Ibn Yūsuf). The references in Fakīrī, a poet of the tenth century, in his *Risāle-i taʿrīfāt* (on this book cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Mutesawwifler*) show that these shaiyāds still existed in his time and that, both in their manner of living and in their mystic life, they did not differ from the groups of heterodox dervishes who had much in common and were closely connected with one another, like the abdāl's, haidari kalender's, djāmi's, edhemi's, bābāʾis and bektāshīs (for historical information, regarding them, cf. my *Anadoluda Islāmiyet*) In the *ʿĀlam-ārāy-i ʿAbbāsī*, among the events of 1029 A. H , there is mention of a shaiyād (cf Dorn, *Auszuge aus Mohammedanischen Schriftstellern*, 1858, p 370, the note which Dorn gives in his introduction on the word *shaiyād* is of no importance, cf p 18)

(KOPRULU ZĀDE FUʾĀD)

SHAIYĀD ḤAMZA, a Turkish poet who lived in Asia Minor in the seventh century A H. He was one of the Bātinī [q. v] bābās, who spread throughout Asia Minor in this century under different names like kalender, abdāl, bābāʾi, yesewi and haidari, and taking the opportunity of the material and moral crisis caused by the invasion of the Mongols, went from village to village, trying to spread their teaching among the people (on the religious situation and movements in Asia Minor at this time see my *Anadoluda Islāmiyet*, p 36—90). This explains the surname of Shaiyād [q v] which he took. The only information regarding his life is found in certain legendary biographies written in the tenth century. It is certain that he was the author of mystical-religious poems written in the language of the people in syllabary metre (*hidjā wezni*) in preference to the *ʿarūd* but these poems are lost like many of the literary products of this period. The only remnant that survives is a *mathnawī* of 15 *bait*'s preserved in the *Djāmiʿ al-naẓāʾir*, composed in 918 by Egerdirli Hādjdjī Kemāl (the only known MS. of this work is in the Kutubkhāne-i ʿUmūmī; for further information cf. the bibliographical index to my *Ilk Mutesawwifler*); this *mathnawī* has been published by me Shaiyād Ḥamza the memory of whom and his works sur-

vived till the tenth century, did not, like Yūnus Emre, have a powerful poetic personality but, like his predecessors and contemporaries whose names are now forgotten, he had an influence on the development of Yūnus (on the character of and formative elements in Turkish literature at this time cf my *Ilk Mutesawwifler*, Ch VII, p. 205–286) Nevertheless after gaining some fame at the period when this style of poetry was adopted by Yūnus Emre and his successors to the popular taste, the works of Saiyād Hamza gradually lost their popularity and became completely forgotten from the tenth century onwards.

Bibliography Besides the sources mentioned above· Koprulu Zāde Fu'ād, *Seldjūkiler devrinde Anadolu shā'irleri*, *I*, *Shaiyād Hamza*, in *Korosi Csoma Archivum*, I, No. 3, 1922, p 18—19 (KOPRULU ZĀDE FU'ĀD)

SHAIZAR, a town in Northern Syria, the ancient Σίζαρα, Byzantine *τὸ* Σέζερ. It is mentioned as early as the inscriptions of Thutmosis III and in the ʿAmārna tablets Seleucus I settled colonists here from Larissa in Thessaly and gave it the name of this town, but the new name could not drive out the old, which soon came into general use again in the Muslim period in the form Shaizar It is mentioned as Shaizarā along with Hamā by Imru 'l-Kais and ʿUbaidallāh b Kais al-Ruḳaiyāt (Imiu 'l-Kais, *Dīwān*, xx 40, ed Ahlwardt, *The Diwans of the six anc Arab Poets*, p 130, Kais al-Ruḳaiyāt, *Dīwān*, liv 9, ed Rhodokanakis, *S B. Ak Wien*, phil.-hist Kl., cxliv, Abh x, p. 240)

In the year 17 (638), the people of the town received Abū ʿUbaida with open arms They went out to meet him with music, and were satisfied with the same general terms of peace as had been offered to the people of Hamā, namely payment of the poll and ground-tax (*djizya* and *kharādj*) Shaizar later became a district (*iklīm*) of the military province (*djund*) of Hims Towards the end of the IXth century, the people were Kindīs (al-Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, II 324) When Nicephorus Phocas advanced on Halab, Saif al-Dawla retired to Shaizar, but fell very ill there and was brought back dying to his capital (356 = 967) In the following year Nicephorus took Shaizar and burned down its chief mosque. In the treaty between him and Karghūya of Halab (Safar 359) the town was included in the latter's territory (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubda*, transl Freytag, *Z. D M G*, XI 232 = Migne, *Patrol Greaca*, CXVII, Col, 1023). On the 16th Radjab 383 (Sept 6, 993), Shaizar, which then belonged to the Hamdānid Saʿīd al-Dawla, was taken by the Egyptian general Bandjutakin who guaranteed the commandant Sūsan, an old officer of Saʿīd al-Dawla, security of life and property When Saʿīd al-Dawla appealed to the Emperor Basil for help against the Egyptians, the latter came up and besieged Shaizar, the commander appointed by the Caliph, Mansūr b Karādīs, was bribed by him and handed over the fortress, which received a strong Greek garrison (383 = 994/995) But it again passed — apparently as a result of the defeat of Damianos Dalassenos at Afāmīya (998) — who installed Hamlān (or Halmān) b. Karādīs as governor there (who can hardly be identified with the above mentioned Mansūr as Rosen, *Zapiski Imp Ak. Nauk.*, xliv, p 311, note 266 and Schlumberger *Epopée byzantine*, II. 151, note 3, suppose, rather his brother) Basilios however attacked Shaizar the very next year (999), began hostilities on October 28 and destroyed the aqueduct which supplied the fortress with water. An attempt to bribe the commander failed, but want of water finally forced him to offer to surrender, if he and his troops were allowed to march out freely, without the usual proskynese before the Emperor, and the citizens were guaranteed security of life and property, the Emperor accepted these conditions, in spite of this, many citizens left the town with the garrison, and Basilios repopulated it with Armenian colonists

The town remained for the next eighty years in the hands of the Byzantines In the year 395 (1004/1005) a certain Ahmad b. al-Husain al-Asfar of the tribe of Taghlib appeared as a fāḳir and advanced against Shaizar with a prominent Arab named al-Hamalī, to drive the Greeks out of it. They defeated a Byzantine detachment and were only driven away by an Egyptian army sent in reply to an official complaint by Basil to the Caliph al-Hākim (Yahyā al-Antākī, in Rosen, *op cit.* p 41 [transl p 43] and Kamal al-Din, ibid p 342 *sq.*, in Muller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, p 2, *Sizaram* should be read for *Caesaream*, cf his note p 95) About 1025 Sālih b Mirdās [q v] granted the Munḳidhīs of the tribe of the Banū Kināna the land round Shaizar, which however itself still remained in the hands of the Byzantines The Munḳidhī Mukallad was ruling over Kafartāb in 1041, he was the ancestor of Usāma Abu 'l-Mutawwadj Mukallad b Nasr b Munḳidh, who extended his territory down to the Orontes, and probably built the fortress Djisr banī Munḳidh at the bridgehead below Shaizar. When he died in January 1059, he was succeeded by his son ʿIzz al-Dawla Sadid al-Mulk Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī, who in 1078, by arrangement with the last Mirdāsid of Halab, Sābiḳ, rebuilt the fortress above mentioned and the suburb of Shaizar, Hisn al-Djisr, in order to cut off the fortress from supplies and support from the Greeks, and thus force it to surrender. In the same year he gave shelter in this fortress to the Turkomans under Ahmad Shāh, who were fleeing before Tādj al-Dawla Tutush (Kamāl al-Din, *Hist Merdas*, p 85, 90, Derenbourg, *Ousâma*, p 20), but was able to win the favour of Tutush again, and later of Sharaf al-Dawla, who took Halab on June 18, 1080 On December 19, 1081 he succeeded in getting possession of the citadel of Shaizar which had hitherto belonged to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, by a treaty with the Bishop of al-Bāra, who resided in it The Greek garrison were allowed to depart Sharaf al-Dawla who envied him the possession of the fortress, and in vain endeavoured to take it from him, was appeased by rich presents from the Munḳidhī. The latter died next year (towards the end of 1082), he was succeeded by his pious son ʿIzz al-Dawla Abu 'l-Murhaf Nasr, a peaceful, art-loving prince, under whom the territory of Shaizar for a time also included Afāmīya, Kafartāb and al-Lādhiḳīya till he had to cede these towns in 1086 to Malik-Shāh of Isfahān Shaizar was several times besieged during his rule, but always unsuccessfully. He died childless in 1098, shortly after the conquest of Antākiya by the Crusaders (Oct 1097) He had destined as his successor his younger brother Madjd al-Din Abū Salāma Murshid (1068—1137), father of Usāma; but this hunter and calligrapher declined the emirate in favour of his youngest brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAsākir Sulṭān.

Madjd al-Dīn Mu'aiyid al-Dawla Abu 'l-Muzaffar Usāma (d. 1188), the celebrated author of the *Kitāb al-I'tibār* (born July 4, 1095), gives in this autobiography a valuable account of life and activities in his native town, which however he left in 1129 and never saw again after his father's death (May 30, 1137)

The fortress (*Ḥiṣn*, *Ḳal'a*) was built on a steep ridge running north and south, called *'urf al-dīk* ["cock's comb"] (Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 205) The Nahr al-'Āṣī flowed round it on north and east, on the south side it was cut off by a deep trench from a high plateau which formed its continuation. The upper town (in Usāma *balad*, in European sources *praesidium*, *oppidum*, *pars superior civitatis*) lay within this citadel, the fortifications of which were presumably strongest at the north and south ends, and therefore are still best preserved here. It had only three gates, through the north gate one crossed over a sloping stone bridge of several arches, which crossed a brook and formed the only entrance to the fortress, to the stone bridge Djisr Banī Munḳidh, leading straight across the Nahr al-'Āṣī, over which lay on the south side of the river the lower town (Usāma *Madina*, in European sources *suburbium*, *pars inferior civitatis*), which was called al-Djisr after it (*Gistium*, Γίστριον) and was defended by a fort which probably lay on the right bank (*Ḥiṣn al-Djisr*) The neighbourhood of Shaizar was well-watered and had a luxurious vegetation It was particularly rich in pomegranate-trees.

During Sultān's rule, Shaizar was frequently threatened by raids of the Banū Kilāb of Halab, the Franks and other enemies, without their being able to take this stronghold. The Emperor, John Comnenus, who laid siege to the fortress from the Djabal Djuraidjis opposite on the east bank of the Orontes for 24 days (April 29,—May 21, 1138), and bombarded it for ten days in succession, had finally to retire with no success, in spite of the fact that he had already promised it in the preceding year to Fulco of Antioch as a fief. Sultān died in 1154, or a little before that. He was succeeded by his son Tādj al-Dawla Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who perished in the middle of a festival in a terrible earthquake with almost all the members of his house (1157). In October of this year the Franks endeavoured to seize the ownerless shattered fortress, but were driven back by the Isma'ilīs, who had held the region of Masyād since 1140 Nūr al-Dīn, however, took Shaizar from them, restored the citadel and placed it under his foster-brother, Madjd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b al-Dāya. He also repaired Shaizar after a second earthquake which devastated a considerable part of Northern Syria on June 29, 1170 In the same year Abū Bakr died, and was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Dīn 'Alī Salāh al-Dīn who took Northern Syria in 1174 after Nūr al-Dīn's death from his eleven year old son, Isma'īl, made Sābiḳ al-Dīn 'Uthmān, his vassal in Shaizar; he was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd and later by his grandson Shihāb al-Dīn Yūsuf under the suzerainty of the Aiyūbids of Halab. Malik 'Azīz of Halab deprived the latter of his fief for insubordination in 630 (1233) Four years later, however, we again find him described as lord of Shaizar, but it is doubtful if he was still living there. In 638 (1240/1241), Shaizar was again occupied by a Halabī army. When the Mongols invaded Syria in 1260, Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Yūsuf of Halab fled before them, and razed his fortresses to the ground as he went, Shaizar was among these, Baibars had it rebuilt when he ascended the throne, after the expulsion of the Mongols in 1261. He visited the town in 1268 on a tour through the country. Under Sultān Ḳalā'ūn, Shaizar belonged for a year (1280—1281) to the rebel emīr Sunḳur al-Ashḳar of Dimashḳ. Henceforth it was a *niyāba* under the *nā'ib* of Halab (cf. the inscriptions of Shaizār of the time of Barsbāi, published by Littmann) After the troubles stirred up by Mintāsh and al-Nāsirī (1389), nomad tribes occupied this *niyāba* (Kalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, iv 227, 17) About 1450 Khalīl al-Zāhirī uses the modern form of the name, Saidjai, for the first time. No deduction can be made from the fact that al-Djī'ān Abu 'l-Baḳā' in his description of Ḳāitbāi's journey (1477) through Northern Syria, does not mention Shaizar (cf. Devonshire's edition in *B I F A O*, xx, Cairo 1921), as the Sultān's route did not take him near the town With Turkish rule or even before it began the gradual decay of the stronghold, which is still going on

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(E. HONINGMANN)

SHAKĀK (SHAKKĀK), a Kurdish tribe on the Turco-Persian frontier. In Persia to the west of Lake Urmiya before the war they occupied the cantons of Brādōst, Somāi [q v.], Čehrik (cf. SALMĀS) and Kotūi, in Turkey, the eastern districts of the wilāyet of Wān Sarāi (Mahmūdi) and Albak (Bashkal'a), i. e the territory which in the XVIIth century belonged to the Dumbulī tribe (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 313—314)

The name of the tribe is written by Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn Shikākān and by Shiwānī Shakāk, Khurshīd Efendī writes "Shikāḳī or Shikākī" To the south of Lake Urmiya in the canton of Bāhī we have a village Kāni-Shkāk ("the source of the Shakāk"), which not being far from Bulak-Shikaki (cf. SHAḲĀKĪ) may be evidence of contact between the two tribes, if it is not a phonetic variant of the same name.

Among the Persian clans, the principal are Kardāi and Delān (Somāi and Brādōst) and 'Awdō'i (Čehrik und Kotūi) There were in all about 2,000 families of Shakāk in Persia who formed the warrior caste (*'ashīrat*), their subjects (*ra'yat*) were the remnants of tribes who have disappeared

The 'Awdō'i have played a prominent part in local politics Their ancestor is said to have arrived in Diyār Bakr at Urmiya about 1700 The first known chief was Ismā'īl Āghā (d 1231/1816) whose stronghold and tomb are on the river Nāzlu-čai (N W of Urmiya). The 'Awdō'i harassed by the Afshar then entrenched themselves in Djūnī (Somāi) from which they went northwards to Čehrik Dja'far Āghā, sometimes frontier-commissioner and sometimes rebel and brigand, was killed at Tabriz in 1905 by order of the governor general His brother Ismā'īl, better known by the Kurdish diminutive of Simkō (Simitkō) succeeded him and operated between Čehrik and Kotūr He trimmed carefully between Persians, Turks and Russians, holding a practically independent position As a result of his numerous crimes (e g the assassination of the Nestorian patriarch, Mār-Shimūn, and the massacres of Muslims at Urmiya), the Persian government undertook several expeditions against Simkō who in 1922 was driven towards Turkey and Mesopotamia.

On the Turkish side, the principal clans are Muḳurī, Milān, Shamsikī and Takurī (at Mahmūdi) and Merzikī (at Bash-ḳal'a) The Turkish government used to recruit 5 "Hamīdiye" regiments from among these clans About 1900 these clans numbered 2,000 families, but the war must have severely reduced their numbers

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(V MINORSKY)

SHAḲĀḲĪ (SHĪḲĀGHĪ), a tribe of Kurdish origin. According to Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn, the word *shikāḳī* means in Kurdish a beast which has a particular disease of the foot According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i 148), the Shaḳākī were one of the four warrior tribes (*'ashirat*) in the nāḥiya of Finik of the principality of Djazīra According to the Ottoman *sāl-nāma*, there were Kurdish Shakāḳī in the nāḥiya of Sheikhler in the ḳaḍā of Ḳillīs in the wilāyet of Aleppo (cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, I 744) The nāḥiya Shaḳāḳ of the *Djihān-numā* (between Mukus and Djulāmerg) is certainly only a mis-reading for Shatākh. As a result of certain movements, probably in the time of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, we find the Shaḳāḳī leading a nomadic life on the Mughān on the frontier of Transcaucasia (cf. SHĀH-SEWAN). At the beginning of the XIXth century there were 8,000 families on Russian territory. Dupre speaks of 25,000 hearths of Shakākī among the tribes speaking Kurdish About 1814 J. Morier numbered them at 50,000 grouped along the Tabrīz-Zandjān road in the districts of Hashtarūd, Garmarūd and Miyāna as well as at Ardabil 'Abbās Mirzā drew from this tribe the main cadres of his infantry drilled in European fashion According to Morier, the Shakāḳī spoke Turkish. Shirwānī puts the summer and winter quarters of the 60,000 families of Shakākī in the region of Tabrīz-Sarāb (on the road from Ardabīl) and adds that it is a Kurdish tribe whose language is Turkish, which forms part of the Kïzïl-bash (*min tawābi'-i kïzïl-bash*), which evidently means that the tribe is Shī'a as is also suggested by its association with the Shāh-sewan. The importance of the tribe may be judged from the fact that at the beginning of the XXth century the Persian government recruited four regiments from the Shakāki we do not know the connexions that may exist between the Shakākī and the Kurdish Shakāk, but all indications point to their being a Turkicised Kurdish tribe (like the Kurds of Gandja) In the toponymy of the region south of Lake Urmiya (cf the article SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ), we find traces of the passage of the Shakāki (the village of Ḳishlak-Shikakī at Suldūz)

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(V. MINORSKY)

SHAKAR-GANDJ, Indian saint, whose real name was FARĪD AL-DĪN MAS'ŪD, was born in 569 A H. (1173 A D). He was a disciple of Khwādja Kutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and settled in Adjwadhan, better known as Pākpatan, in Multān and died there on Saturday, Muharram 5, 664 (October 17, 1265), at the age of 95 years. It is said that by continued fasting his body had become so pure that whatever he used to put into his mouth to allay the cravings of hunger, even earth and stones, used to turn immediately into sugar, hence he derived his title of *Shakar-gandj*, "sugar-store"

At the tomb of this saint there is an annual fair on the fifth day of Muharram, and Muslims in considerable numbers come there to pass through a narrow gate-way known as the *Bihishtī Darwāza* or "Gate of Paradise", which leads to the mausoleum and is opened only once a year

His teachings were collected by his famous devotee Badr al-Dīn Isḥāḳ b. 'Alī al-Dihlawī under the title of *Asrār al-Awliyā'*.

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Faiths of Man, II. 92; *J. A. S. Bengal*, v. 635, and Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, under Pauk Puttan. (M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN)

SHAḲĪḲAT AL-NUʿMĀN (A.), the blood-red Anemone hortensis or A. coronaria, which is a native of the Mediterranean lands and nearer Asia. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, I 288, it is also called *Khadd al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, "the virgin's cheek", and Persian *Lālah* (cf. Vullers, *Lex.*, II. 1074. "any wild flower and especially the tulip and anemone"). It opens by day and closes at night and turns towards the sun Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (reigned 482–489 A.D.) is said to have said as he passed a spot covered with anemones "any one who pulls up one of these, will have his shoulder torn out" Shakiḳa, however, was also the name of Nuʿmān's mother Others say the name comes from *shakīka* "summer-lightning" and *nuʿmān* "blood", which is probably truer According to de Lagarde, ἀνεμώνη is the Greek transcription of *an-nuʿmān*, according to Dozy, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, p 373, it is the other way round and *an-nuʿmān* comes from anemone. Ibn al-Baiṭār gives a detailed description of the plant, the medicinal uses of it and its root are numerous

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SHAḲUNDA, arabicised form of Secunda, name of a little town opposite Cordova on the left bank of the Guadalquivir According to al-Makkarī and Ibn Ghālib it was originally surrounded by a rampart. It was here that a decisive battle was fought in 747 A.D between the Maʿaddī clan under Yūsuf al-Fihrī [q. v.] and al-Sumail b. Hātim [q v] and the Yamanī clan commanded by Abu 'l-Khattār who was defeated Later at the zenith of the Umayyad caliphate, Secunda became one of the richest suburbs of Cordova and was also called the "southern suburb" (*al-rabaḍ al-djanūbī*) The celebrated Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl b. Muhammad al-Shakundī, the most famous man of letters in al-Andalus in his day was born in Secunda; he was appointed Kādī of Baeza and Lorca by the Almohad Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb al-Mansūr and died in 629 (1231/1232). It was he who wrote the famous epistle (*risāla*) on the merits of his native country as a companion piece to that which the author Abū Yahyā b al-Muʿallim of Tangier had composed on the excellence of North Africa. The text is given almost in full by al-Maḳḳarī in his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*. On him see especially. F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, No 234, p 276—280.

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SHAḲŪRA, a Spanish Arabic place-name corresponding to the Spanish Segura. This last name is now only applied to the river which waters Murcia and Orihuela and flows into the Mediterranean near Guardamar. In the Muslim geographers this river is usually called the "white river" (*al-nahr al-abyaḍ*). It rises like the Guadalquivir in the range called Djabal Shaḳūra, but on the eastern slope The mountains to which this name was given are of considerable extent They were, according to the Arab geographers, covered with forests and had no fewer than 300 towns and villages and 33 strongholds They corresponded apparently not only to the Sierra de Segura still called on the maps Sierra de Segura, but also to those called del Yelmo, de las Cuatro Villas, de Castril and de Cazorla. The highest points are the Yelmo de Segura (6,000 feet) and the Blanquilla (6,100 feet)

Shaḳūra was also the name in the Arab writers of a fairly important town in the district, clustered round a castle reputed to be almost inaccessible It was here that Ibn ʿAmmār, the vizier of the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtamid, came to seek refuge with Ibn Mubārak, lord of the town, who handed him over to his master. At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Segura was the usual residence of Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Hemoshko, lieutenant and vassal of the famous king of Murcia, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b Mardanīsh

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SHALṬĪSH (sometimes SALṬĪSH), Spanish Saltes, is the name which the Arab geographers give to the little island situated in the estuary of the river Odiel opposite the modern Huelva (Ar. Walba) A fairly minute description of it is given by al-Idrīsī it almost touches the mainland on the west coast, for the arm of the sea which separates it is only half a stone's throw in width This island has no spring of drinking water, there was a little town on it in the period of Muslim rule. It is a fishing centre of some importance, according to Ibn Saʿīd, the fish caught here were salted and sent to Seville Saltes formed part of the province of Sidona (Arab Shadhūna) and in the middle ages shared the destinies of Huelva. This island was the last possession of the Bakrī ruler Abū Musʿab ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz after in 1051 he surrendered his capital to the ʿAbbādī sovereign al-Muʿtadid.

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AL-SHALYĀḴ, the usual Arabic name for the constellation of the Lyre (Lyra), is the arabicised form of the Greek word χέλυς (= lyre), as the Arabs usually reproduce the Greek χ by *sh* (cf. Arshimīdes, Eutoshios) and are fond of adding a *k* to such foreign words (E B Knobel, see below, thinks the meaning of *shalyāḳ* is unknown) The word Sulḥafā is a second name for the Lyre occurring in Ulugh Beg, it again corresponds to the Greek χέλυς in its original meaning of "turtle". *Al-Lūra*, the form taken from the Greek λύρα, is also found quite early in the Arab astronomers, e g. in al-Bīrūnī, in the form *ṣūrat al-lūrā wahuwa al-ṣandj* (*al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Berl MSS. Or, 8°. 275, fol. 196b) and not for the first time in Ulugh Beg (as L. Ideler thinks) The word *al-ṣandj* (= cymbal, harp) comes from the Persian *zang*, *sang* or *čang* (= Persian harp)

The constellation of the Lyre is a northern one, but is not circumpolar in the latitudes of the Muslim world. It thus contains stars, one of which is particularly striking for its brightness and its white light This is α Lyrae or Vega The full name of the star is *al-nasr al-wāḳi'* ("the falling eagle") The last component of this expression was changed in course of time into Vega through the influence of the Spanish The star Vega was classed by the Greeks and Arabs as of the first magnitude, as a matter of fact its magnitude is 0.1.

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AL-SHA'M, Syria From time immemorial the Beduins, troublesome neighbours of Syria and Palestine have been attracted by the fertility of this land, "a land of wine and leavened bread". They succeeded sometimes by whole tribes, sometimes by driblets in slipping into the districts bordering on the desert. They founded there from the beginning of the 2nd century before Christ principalities at Hims, at Palmyra and at Petra They did not take long to adopt the Syrian language and civilization In the fifth century A D the Ghassānid phylarchs (cf. GHASSĀN) were entrusted with the defence of the Syrian *limes* They soon embraced Christianity So also did the tribes, which in the sixth century roved up and down the steppes which separated Syria from Arabia the Banū Kalb, the Banū Lakhm, the Banū Djudhām [q v.] As is attested of the Banū Kalb (*Aghānī*, xx. 127), these Syro-Arabs spoke a sort of *sabir*, a mixture of Arabic and Aramaic, related without doubt to the Ṣafaitic dialect. Thus any of these groups before the Hidjra might have given a name to the Arab Parnassus. They all believed themselves to be Syrians and had only commercial relations with the Arabs of Nadjd and the Hidjāz At Mūta [q v] they fought with the Byzantines against the invaders from Medīna

The Arab conquest. The death of Muhammad (June 8, 632) and the election of Abū Bakr, was the signal in Arabia for the *ridda*, the defection of the tribes. A year after that date bands were formed around Medīna amongst the Beduins who had taken part in the bloody suppression of this revolt. They undertook the government of Syria, in conformity with an order of the Prophet or simply with the object of ravaging this land now without defenders. Thinking he had only to deal with an ordinary raid of pillaging Beduins, Sergius, commander in Caesarea, hurried to meet them with several hundred hastily equipped soldiers He came upon the Arabs assembled in the valley of al-'Araba, to the west of the Dead Sea. Overcome by numbers, the Byzantines retired in disorder, and suffered a second defeat at Dāthina. Sergius fell in the debâcle (Feb. 634). The imperial troops collected reinforcements, and the Arabs received reinforcements from Medīna. Under the command of Khālid b. al-Walid [q v] who had hurried from the 'Irāḳ, they inflicted on the enemy the disastrous defeat of Adjnādain (July 30, 634) between Jerusalem and Baitdjibrīn The defeated forces tried to reform behind the marshes of Baisān. Dislodged, they crossed the Jordan, to be again defeated at Fiḥl (Pella) Palestine was definitely lost to the Empire

In March 635, the Arabs took up their position under the walls of Damascus Abandoned by the Greek garrison, the citizens capitulated in the following September. The army collected by Heraclius to raise the siege arrived too late The Arabs established themselves in Djābiya, then retired to entrench themselves behind the Yarmūk, the eastern tributary of the Jordan. A mutiny of Armenian troops broke out in the Byzantine camp. Abandoned by the Syrian Arabs in the middle of the battle, the imperial forces were completely routed. This battle (Aug 20, 636) settled the fate of Syria The conquest of the north and of the Phoenician coast was simply a route-march. Everywhere the towns, abandoned by their garrisons, paid contributions Nowhere was a serious resistance encountered. This was literally the *fath yasīr*, easy conquest, as Balādhurī tactfully calls it. Jerusalem did not surrender till 638, and Caesarea after a more or less continuous siege of seven years, in 640, thanks to the treachery of a Jew After the surrender of the last coast towns of Palestine, the conquest could be regarded as complete.

Shortly before the capitulation of Jerusalem, the Caliph 'Omar arrived in Syria, to preside over the congress or "Day of Djābiya" [q. v] The question of the organization of Syria was debated The year 18 was marked by the plague of 'Amwās [q v] Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Damascus, perished in the epidemic and was replaced by his brother, Mu'āwiya. 'Omar rigorously maintained the political inequality of the conquerors and conquered The latter formed the *dhimmī*'s. The privileged race of Arabs was to furnish the framework of a military and salaried aristocracy Syria was divided into *djund* or military districts Damascus, Hims, Palestine, al-Urdunn or the Province of Jordan. Yazīd I later added the *djund* of Kinnisrin for the north of Syria From their military cantonments — the chief of which was Djābiya — the conquerors controlled the country and collected the taxes Besides the land tax, the *dhimmī*'s paid a personal or poll-tax. In Syria, as in the other conquered provinces, "organisation was confined to a military occupation for the exploitation of the natives. The Arab government was confined to finance, their chancellery was an audit office" (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich u. sein Sturz*, p 20).

At the beginning of his administration, which under ʿOthmān extended over all Syria, Muʿāwiya realised the necessity of getting the support of the Beduin tribes, politically more developed than the Beduins of the peninsula. For his military operations see the article MUʿĀWIYA.

ʿAlī, ʿOthmān's successor, wanted to dismiss him, but the Syrians took the side of their governor. The encounter between Syrians and ʿIrākīs on the battlefield of Siffīn [q v] being undecided, arbitrators were appointed to decide between the two parties. The conference at Adhroh [q. v] proclaimed the overthrow of ʿAlī (Jan 658) Profiting by this diplomatic success, Muʿāwiya sent ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs, his lieutenant, to conquer Egypt On January 24, 661, ʿAlī fell a victim to a Khāridjī dagger, and the field was left clear for his rival

Omayyad Syria Muʿāwiya had only been awaiting this day to found a dynasty, that of the Omayyads The elder branch is called Sufyānid, from Abū Sufyān [q v], father of Muʿāwiya The younger line begun by Marwān b al-Ḥakam took from him the name Marwānid

Muʿāwiya was acclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem by the troops and emīrs of Syria. By taking up his residence in Damascus, he made it the capital instead of Medīna, or Kūfa Whether deliberate or not, this step displaced the centre of gravity of the caliphate to the advantage of Syria It dealt the unjustified supremacy of the Beduins a blow from which it never recovered Muʿāwiya made the Syrian Arabs supreme, and under the Omayyads they held all the principal offices He twice tried to besiege Constantinople For a verdict on the policy and character of the sovereign, who was with ʿOmar I the real founder and organiser of the Caliphate, see the article MUʿĀWIYA He died at Damascus in April 680 (aged 75)

His son and successor, Yazīd I, had to face a rebellion, which the ability of his father had been able to prevent breaking out Husain b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh b al-Zubair [q v], nephew of ʿĀʾisha, the prophet's widow, refused to recognise Yazīd and took refuge on the inviolable territory of Mecca Husain left the sanctuary to fall in the massacre of Karbalāʾ (cf MASHHAD HUSAIN), on October 10, 680 Medina quarrelled with Syria, and its inhabitants proclaimed Yazīd deposed After futile negotiations recourse was had to arms Victorious on the day of al-Harra [q v], the Syrians marched on Mecca, where Ibn al-Zubair had declared himself independent His headquarters were in the great mosque. A scaffolding of wood covered with mattresses protected the Kaʿba from the Syrian catapults The carelessness of a Meccan set it on fire (Nov. 683) The news of the death of Yazid (Nov 11, 683) decided the Syrian army to retreat Yazid was not a worthless sovereign, still less the tyrant depicted by anti-Omayyad annalists He continued his father's policy The patron of artists and poets, and himself a poet, he completed the administrative organisation of Syria by creating the *djund* of Kinnisrin (cf above). He perfected the irrigation of the *Ghūta* [q. v.] by digging a canal which was called after him. The *Continuatio Byzantino-Arabica* calls him "*jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus gratissime habitus . cum omnibus civiliter vixit*" Beloved of his subjects, he lived *civiliter* like a private citizen "No Caliph", says Wellhausen, "ever had such praise· it comes from the heart".

His younger son, the valetudinarian Muʿāwiya II had but a transitory reign. He was apparently carried off by the plague which was raging in 684. His brothers were all very young. The fact that they were minors compelled the Syrian chiefs to give their support to Marwān b. al-Hakam [q.v.], first Caliph of the Marwānid branch (June 22, 684) The Syrian Kaisīs having refused to recognise him, were defeated at Marḏj Rāhiṭ [q v]. His reign was a continual series of battles A rapid campaign secured him Egypt Exhausted with his exertions, the septuagenarian Caliph returned to Damascus to die on May 7, 685 His eldest son ʿAbd al-Malik [q v.] succeeded him. He had to retake the eastern provinces and Arabia from the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zubair, and at the same time repel an invasion of the Mardaīs or Djurāḏjima [q v] In Jerusalem we owe him the building of the mosque of al-Aḳṣā. His reign marks the beginning of the nationalisation or arabicising of the administration, which had remained in the hands of the individuals of the conquered races. He succeeded, if not in substituting Arabic for Greek, in getting it used alongside of Greek in the keeping of the official accounts and registers. He was the creator of Arab coinage ʿAbd al-Malik died in Oct 705, after a reign of 20 years

His successor, Walid I, brought to the throne an autocratic temperament and a display of religious fervour unknown in his predecessors. He was the great builder of the dynasty. According to the earliest evidence it seems that the Christians of Damascus had been allowed to retain the splendid Basilika of St John. Walid took it from them and turned it into a mosque In his reign the Arab empire attained its greatest extend. Walīd was singularly successful in his enterprises His autocratic mood revealed itself in a diminution in tolerance to the conquered peoples. The great administrative offices were definitely taken from the Christians By his fondness for magnificence, Walīd secured undisputed popularity with the Arabs of Syria He died on February 23, 715.

His brother, Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik [q. v], founder of al-Ramla [q. v.] in Palestine, succeeded him He perished at the disastrous siege of Constantinople. He was succeeded (Aug 717) by his cousin ʿOmar II b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q v] who died on February 9, 720, and was replaced by the incapable Yazīd II. From the time of Walid I the Omayyads had begun to forsake Damascus, the official capital, it ceased to be the Caliph's residence The decline of the dynasty set in after the death of ʿOmar II. Hishām, who succeeded Yazīd II, vainly endeavoured to revive the prestige of the Syrian caliphate The conquests ceased In France the Arabs suffered the disastrous defeat of Poitiers, Oct. 732. Hishām allowed the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch to reside in Syria His greed, the failure of his military plans, and finally the way in which he shut himself up in his desert palace of Rusāfa, made this ruler unpopular, though he was the most hard-working of the Omayyad caliphs He was succeeded in February 743 by his nephew, Walīd II, son of Yazid II. This prince, an artist and poet, lived contentedly in the desert, where he began the building of the splendid palace of Mshattā [q. v.]. He died at the hands of an assassin before finishing it (April 744) His successor, Yazīd III, was the

first caliph born of a slave He died five months later, having designated as his successor his insignificant brother, Ibrāhīm, who did not succeed in getting himself acknowledged

In the midst of the general anarchy, there came on the scene the energetic governor of Mesopotamia, Marwān b. Muḥammad [q v], grandson of the caliph Marwān I. The victory of ʿAindjarr in the Bḳāʿ broke the resistance of his adversaries, the Syrian Yemenīs. Becoming caliph in December 744, Marwān II made the mistake of moving the capital to Ḥarrān (Mesopotamia) which alienated the Syrians from him. He exhausted himself in putting down their rebellions and those of the Khāridjīs. The ʿAbbāsids, were now secretly conspiring against the Omayyad dynasty Taking advantage of the disaffection in Syria, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ [q. v] had himself proclaimed caliph at Kūfa (Nov 749) After his defeat on the great Zāb (Jan. 750) Marwān had to evacuate Mesopotamia, and then Syria Abandoned by the Syrians, he took refuge in Egypt where he died at Abūsīr in August 750 The Omayyads were everywhere pursued and exterminated, their tombs desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds The Syrians tried in vain to regain their lost ground. They raised the "white flag" of the Omayyads in opposition to the "black flag" of the ʿAbbāsids They found too late that by indifference to the fall of the Omayyads they had thrown away the future and supremacy of Syria They hoped henceforth for speedy coming of al-Sufyānī [q v], a national hero and champion of Syrian liberty As his name shows, al-Sufyānī, was to be a descendant of Abū Sufyān He was to bring back the golden age and the happy days of the dynasty, the memory of which his name perpetuates.

Immediately after the conquest, the tribes of Syria had to learn the dialect of the Kuraish, now promoted to be the classical language. Among the Syrian Arabs, distracted by foreign conquests and the suppression of revolts in the provinces, intellectual activity under the Omayyads had been confined to poetry The chief representatives of this literary renaissance were, next to the Taghlibī Christian Akhṭal [q v], the Caliphs Yazīd I and Walīd II. Arts and liberal professions remained the monopoly of the subject races, like banking and commerce The Kadarī movement [q v] which seems to have started in Syria, shows that the Arabs of Syria were beginning to take an interest in the philosophical problems to which they had been introduced by their Christian compatriots

Agriculture remained flourishing in spite of the greed of the exchequer. As a result of the war with Byzantium, maritime trade had considerably diminished. On the other hand the fall of the Persian empire had opened up Central Asia to the Syrians, but they were soon to meet the competition of the commercial cities of the ʿIrāḳ, notably Basra. Syrian commerce, so active in the time of Justinian, became dormant under the Arabs When maritime relations were resumed, it was the western peoples who secured the advantage from it, at the time of the Crusades. From the time of the Marwānids, the great towns of eastern Syria — Damascus, Ḥimṣ, etc — began to be islamised as a result of the abolition of the military cantonments. The subject races learned Arabic, without, however, abandoning Aramaic or Greek. Decimated by epidemics, famine, civil strife and foreign wars, the Arab population of Syria grew slowly. If we neglect local outbursts of fanaticism, there is no evidence of systematic persecution or proselytising encouraged by the authorities. The latter only exercised pressure on the Christians of Arab race, the Tanūkh and Taghlib. The Banū Kalb and other Syrian tribes had adopted Islām soon after the conquest.

In spite of their position as political helots, this was a period of marked tranquillity and tolerance for non-Muslims, if we compare it with the troubles that awaited them under the ʿAbbāsids For the Arabs, paid and fed by the State, it was a golden age, a continual feast. Their chiefs, growing rich in exploiting the provinces, acquired enormous fortunes What favoured the success of the ʿAbbāsid conspiracy was the incapacity of the latter Marwānid caliphs, excluding of course Hisham and Marwān II

Then came the grave and continuous dissensions, after Marḏj Rāhiṭ, between Ḳaisīs and Yemenis, and lastly the refusal of the conquerors to grant political rights to the non-Arabs, who were their intellectual superiors

ʿAbbāsid and Fātimid Syria With the fall of the Omayyads, Syria lost its privileged position, and ceased to form the centre of a vast empire. It found itself reduced to the rank of a simple province, and jealously watched on account of its attachment to the old régime The capital of the caliphate was moved across the Euphrates. Straining under a power, the hostility of which they never ceased to feel, the Syrians found themselves systematically excluded from all share in government affairs, as they were henceforth to be under the Fātimid and succeeding rules The caliphs of Baghdād only intervened in Syria to make it feel its position of inferiority by inflicting increased taxation on it Driven to extremes by the exactions of the caliph's agents, the Christians of Lebanon attempted without success to gain their freedom in 759—760. On the occasion of the pilgrimage or of the war against the Byzantines, the Caliphs al-Mansūr, al-Mahdī, Hārūn and al-Maʾmūn passed through Syria. In the midst of the troubles that preceded the accession of al-Maʾmūn (813—833), the position of the Christians became intolerable and many of them migrated to Cyprus.

The misfortunes of their country, the loss of its autonomy, could not decide Ḳaisis and Yemenis to forget their regrettable differences, which ended by weakening the Syrians and dooming to failure their efforts to shake off the ʿAbbāsid yoke A descendant of Muʿāwiya, ʿAlī b ʿAbdallāh al-Sufyānī, raised the "white standard" which had become the symbol of Syrian independence. But to get the support of the Kalbis, he alienated the Kaisis (809—813) Another rising was no more successful. An Arab of obscure antecedents, named Abū Ḥarb of Yemeni origin, proclaimed himself the Sufyānī (cf above) The indifference of the Kaisis once again brought about his defeat in the reign of the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (833–847) Yielding to caprice the moody caliph al-Mutawakkil (847—861) thought of shifting his capital and living in Damascus A mutiny in his guard forced him to return to Mesopotamia His reign was a period of severe trial for the Syrians. From his reign dates for the most part the intolerant legislation, which it has been proposed to attribute

to ʿOmar I· the wearing of a special dress, the prohibition of riding on horseback etc Numerous churches were turned into mosques. At this date there were no longer any Christians of Arab stock in Syria. Under the Omaiyads, the Banū Tanūkh had resisted all advances of the government The Caliph al-Mahdī (775—785), however, forced them to apostatise.

It is to the early ʿAbbāsids, that the Syrian military marches owe their origin, the *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* [q v.], lines of forts built to check the progress of the Byzantine invaders. In 906 an agitator claiming to be the Sufyānī was arrested. This was the last attempt at an Omayyad restoration, it failed before the apathy of the demoralised Syrians A Turkish Mamlūk, Ahmad b Tūlūn [q v], already master of Egypt, invaded Syria under pretext of defending it against the Byzantines He declared himself independent there. The dynasty which he founded had only an ephemeral existence (875—905), as had that of the Ikhshīdids (875-905) who repeated the experience of the Tūlūnids In the interval, Syria had been devastated by the Kaimatians [q v] who left behind them the germ of Ismāʿīlī doctrines. From the time of the Tūlūnids, the country may politically speaking be considered lost to the ʿAbbāsids. Their power was only felt there during a few brief periods of restoration

In their turn the Bedouin tribes wished to take their share in plundering an empire in decay A Taghlibī clan, the Banū Hamdān [q v] found themselves entrusted with the reconquest of Syria for the Ikhshīdids and checking the Byzantine advance. They installed themselves as masters of the south of the country, without however breaking with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate The most famous of these Hamdānid emirs was Saif al-Dawla [q v], who in his court at Aleppo, showed himself an enlightened patron of arts and letters (949—967) After the fall of the Hamdānids (1003/1004) in spite of a brief ʿAbbāsid reaction at Damascus (975—977), Syria fell into and remained for over a century (977—1098) in the hands of an ʿAlid dynasty, or more accurately Ismaʿīlī, that of the Fatimids [q v].

Having conquered Egypt, the Fātimid armies invaded Syria (969), and conquered Palestine and then Damascus, without encountering any particular resistance In the centre and north it is difficult to say what form the Egyptian conquest took The direct authority of the Fātimids was enforced so long as their troops occupied the region After their departure, the local Emirs did as they pleased without openly breaking with the suzerain in Cairo. Fātimid rule was only kept up in Syria by continually dismissing the agents to whom it was forced to delegate its authority, thus perpetuating administrative instability. In Palestine it had to reckon with the Banū 'l-Djarrāḥ These Emirs of the tribe of Tayy arrogated to themselves for over a century a regular hegemony over the nomad Syrians. In the reign of al-Hākim (996—1020), the Banū 'l-Djarrāḥ amused themselves by appointing an anti-caliph, and then sending him back to Mecca, whence they had brought him. In Tyre a humble boatman succeeded for a time in declaring himself independent (997).

Taking advantage of the anarchy the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963—969) had conquered Northern Syria. His successors, Tzimisces (969—976) and Basil II (976—1025), easily conquered the valley of the Orontes and the Phoenician coast. Of all these conquests all that the Byzantines were able to keep for over a century was the "duchy" of Antioch, which included northern Syria, except the emirate of Aleppo We have already mentioned the Caliph al-Hākim [q v] with whom is connected the origin of the Druses [q. v]. This moody prince quarrelled with the Christians and ordered the Basilika of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to be destroyed. Syria gradually detached itself from Egypt. In the midst of the political disorders, the pernicious influence of the Bedouins increased About 1023, the Banū Mirdās of the Kaisī tribe of Banū Kilāb established themselves in Aleppo, and held it with interruptions till 1079

By this time the Saldjūks [q. v.] had already gained a footing in Syria The provinces of Syria fell into their power, Damascus in 1075 At Jerusalem a Saldjūk Emīr Ortok, founded a local dynasty (1086—1087) In 1084, the Greeks lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. Syria was now divided into two Saldjūk Sultānates, that of Aleppo and that of Damascus Saldjūk Emīrs more or less independent commanded at Aleppo and Hims, all at war with one another At Tripoli, a humble *Kādī* founded the dynasty of Banū ʿAmmār To the south of this town the towns on the coast remained in the hands of the Egyptians Into the midst of this confusion, this piecemeal distribution of territory, came the armies of the Crusaders

The persistent hostility shown by the ʿAbbāsids to the intellectuals of Syria, the political anarchy, the rule of Turkish and Berber adventurers, unlettered and greedy masters, were all circumstances unfavourable to the progress of ideas A few poets had gathered at the court of the Hamdānids and Mirdāsids of Aleppo The patronage of Saif al-Dawla encouraged the preparation of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Aghānī* The reader may be referred to the articles on Abu Tammām, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, al-Mutanabbī, a native of Kūfa, but a Syrian by education and upbringing, al-Makdisī, one of the most justly esteemed of Arab geographers Less tolerant, more irritating than the Omayyads, the authorities began to encourage conversion to Islām Arabic slowly began to take the place of Syriac as the spoken language of the subject races, who began to write in it. Profane sciences, especially medicine, began to be cultivated, mainly by Jews and Christians The end of this period coincides with the institution of the Madrasas [q v.] which grew up under the stimulus of the Saldjūks, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. The lack of respect into which the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had fallen reacted on orthodox Islām it favoured the rapid growth of sects practising initiation and following the Shiʿa the Druses, Ismaʿīlīs, Nusairīs and Mutawālīs [q v]

The exactions of the ʿAbbāsid and Fātimid agents diminished without however destroying the great vitality of the country In 311, a governor of Damascus was sentenced to pay 300,000 dīnārs to the treasury The country began to become depopulated and agriculture languished. Its complete decline was only checked by the introduction of new crops sugar-cane and the orange. Cotton-growing was developed and cotton was used for the manufacture of paper. In the tenth century there was a paper factory in Damascus One should

read the sketch of the commerce of Syria in al-Maḳdisī's geography, *Aḥsan al-takāsīm* (p. 180, 184), to get an idea of the varied resources of a country which centuries of oppression and the most deplorable administration had not been able to impoverish.

Syria under the Franks. On October 21, 1097, the army of the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Antioch After a very laborious siege, they entered it on June 3, 1098. Then following the valley of the Orontes through the mountains of the Nusairīs and along the coast, the Franks, now reduced to 40,000 men, debouched before Jerusalem The city, which the Fāṭimids had just retaken from the Ortoḳids, was taken by assault on July 15, 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected head of the new Latin state (1099–1100) But the first Frank king of Jerusalem was really his brother and successor, Baldwin I. He conquered the towns on the coast, Arsūf, Caesarea, Acre, Saidā, Bairūt and Tripoli (1109—1110). This brave leader, the most remarkable of the crusading sovereigns, died during an expedition against Egypt (1118). His successor, Baldwin II du Bourg, captured Tyre in 1124, he failed before Damascus, but the town had to promise to pay tribute

It was towards 1130 that the Latin kingdom attained its greatest extent stretching from Diyārbakr to the borders of Egypt. In Syria its frontier never crossed the valley of the Upper Orontes, nor the crest of the Anti-Lebanon The great cities of the interior, Aleppo, Hamā, Hims, Baalbek, Damascus while agreeing to pay tribute, remained independent. The kingdom consisted of a confederation of four feudal states 1 On the east, the county of Edessa lay along the two banks of the Euphrates 2. In the north the principality of Antioch included in its protectorate Armenian Cilicia 3 In the centre the county of Tripoli stretched from the fort of Margat (Markab) to the Nahr al-Kalb. 4 Lastly came the royal domains, or kingdom of Jerusalem, strictly speaking It included all cis-Jordan Palestine and in Transjordania, the ancient districts of Moab and Edom, which became the seigneury of Crac (Kerak, q v) and of Montréal (cf SHAWBAK) "in the land of Oultre-Jourdain" For a time it had a dependency, the port of Aila-ʿAḳaba To defend these possessions the Crusaders built strong castles the Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, q v.), Chastel-Blanc (Safitā), Maraclea (Maraḳīya), Margat (Markab) and in southern Lebanon, Beaufort (Shakīf Arnūn) Lastly in Transjordania the two massive fortresses of Crac and Montréal

After the death of Baldwin II (1131) the decline of the Latin state began, it was hastened by the isolation of the Crusaders and their lack of unity The Byzantines claimed the rights of a suzerain over the north of the kingdom. The Armenians sought to form a national state for themselves in the region of the Taurus. Instead of coming to an agreement, Franks, Byzantines and Armenians only succeeded in enfeebling one another to the advantage of the Muslims, who were gathered round remarkable leaders like Zangī, Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q. v.] Baldwin III (1144–1162) resumed the siege of Damascus (July 23–28, 1148) without any more success than his predecessors Already Lord of Aleppo, Nūr al-Dīn installed himself in Damascus Amaury, king of Jerusalem from 1162, formed the bold project of seizing the heritage of the dying dynasty of the Fāṭimids He was anticipated by Nūr al-Dīn. The latter sent his lieutenant, the Kurd Ṣalāḥ al Dīn, to Egypt. On the death of the last Fāṭimid Caliph, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn proclaimed himself independent in Egypt, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty there, then seized Damascus from the sons of Nūr al-Dīn. On July 4, 1187, at Ḥaṭṭīn between Tiberias and Nazareth, the whole Christian army under Guy de Lusignan fell into the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Jerusalem capitulated on October 2 following. Deprived of their defenders, the other cities, except Antioch, Tripoli and Tyre, had to surrender.

The preaching of the third crusade brought to the camp before Acre, which the Franks had been besieging two years, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England. The town surrendered on July 19, 1191. A truce between the belligerents ceded the coast from Jaffa to Tyre to the Crusaders In default of Jerusalem, which they had been unable to reconquer, Acre was henceforth the capital of the kingdom. The death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn produced dissension among his numerous heirs. The Emperor Frederick II took advantage of the discord to negotiate with al-Malik al-Kāmil, Ayyūbid Sultān of Egypt, for the cession of Jerusalem and other places of no strategic importance Threatened by the sons of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had made an alliance with the Franks, their uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil called in the help of the Khʷārizmis who crushed the combined Syrian and Frankish forces near Ghazza (1244) and enabled the Egyptians to occupy Jerusalem, Damascus and Hims

The seventh crusade brought St Louis to Syria after the check to his expedition to Egypt. For four years (1250—1254) he was engaged in fortifying the towns of the coast It was the Mamlūk Sultāns, Baibars, Kalāʾūn and al-Malik al-Ashraf, son of the latter, who dealt the last blow to the Latin kingdom Acre fell (May 31, 1291) after a heroic defence In the course of the next months, Tyre, Ḥaifā, Ṣaidā, Bairūt and Tartūs were taken or evacuated ʿAthlīth [q.v] the imposing fortress between Ḥaifā and Caesarea was the last to surrender (Aug 14, 1291). The Frankish colonies in Syria were at an end

The Crusades introduced into Syria the feudal organisation of contemporary Europe. The elective character of the kingship soon gave place to dynastic succession The king only ruled directly the Palestinian kingdom of Jerusalem. His authority was limited by the privileges of the three orders the clergy, nobility and bourgeoisie "He cannot", notes Usāma b Munḳidh, "annul the decisions of the Court of Seigneurs". The authority of the great feudatories within their principalities was circumscribed in the same way. Agricultural serfdom was retained, as had been the custom in Syria. The name "poulains" (*pullani*) was given to the issue of marriages between Franks and natives the etymology of this word is still obscure The army was recruited not only from Franks but also from Armenians and Maronites. The Turcopols were the Muslim auxiliaries. The position of Muslims and Jews recalled that of the *dhimmī*'s [q.v] in Muslim lands, with this difference that they were not so heavily taxed According to Ibn Djubair, his co-religionists did not conceal their satisfaction with Frankish rule.

Every principality had its own silver coin

There were also gold ducats, "besants sarracenats", or "sarrasins" with Arabic inscriptions. Commerce, more or less dormant since the Arab conquest, again became active as a result of maritime relations with the west, which were never greater. The principal ports were Acre, Tyre and Tripoli In the principalities of the north, the terminus for continental trade was La Liche (Lādhikīya) or Soudin (Suwaydīya) now called Port St. Simeon. We have to go back to the time of the Phoenicians to find a period of so great economic activity

The state of war hampered, but did not put a stop to intellectual activity among the Muslims of Syria. In Damascus, al-Kalānisi was busy with his history, and Ibn ʿAsākir finished his monumental encyclopaedia, *Taʾrikh Dimashk*, devoted to individuals who had a more or less remote connection with Syria At the end of his troubled career, the Emīr Usāma b Munkidh, produced an autobiography which is very valuable for the study of the relations which existed between Franks and Muslims Barhebraeus, Syrian and Mesopotamian, wrote Arabic and Syriac with equal elegance It was in this last language that the Jacobite patriarch wrote a voluminous *Chronicle* Muslims, Christians and Jews studied medicine with success Never except in the Roman period had there been so much building The fortresses built by the Crusaders are wonderful specimens of mediaeval military architecture Among the churches which they built, we mention that of Djubail, the monumental basilika at Tartūs, the graceful cathedral of John the Baptist, now the great mosque of Bairūt, with its walls once covered with pictures Many crusading lords had adopted Syrian customs (*taballadū*, [*Usāma*]). In the collaboration of Franks and natives was hailed, as by Pope Honorius III, a "Nova Francia", the dawn of a new civilisation The destruction of the Latin kingdom destroyed any hopes based on it The coming of the slave dynasty (Mamlūks) opened a period of anarchy, such as Syria had not yet seen

Mamlūk Syria. We have already given a resumé of the exploits of the early Mamlūk Sultāns against the Frank principalities. Fearing a return of the Franks and the warships of the European navy, which ruled the Mediterranean, the Mamlūks began to lay waste the towns of the coast, not even excepting the most prosperous, Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, they demolished the citadels at Saidā and Bairūt Tripoli was rebuilt two miles from the coast. From the administrative point of view, they retained the old Ayyūbid appanages and divided Syria into six main districts called *mamlaka*, or *niyāba* Damascus, Aleppo, Hamā, Tripoli, Safad and Kerak (Transjordania)

The past history of Damascus assured its *nāʾib*, or viceroy, not only authority over his Syrian colleagues, but a special prestige of his own. This high official had little difficulty in persuading himself that he had the same rights to the throne as his suzerain in Egypt. To guard against the ambition of the Syrian *nāʾibs*, Cairo took care to change them continually (Ṣālih b Yahyā). Never did instability of government and greed of rulers, uncertain of the morrow, attain such proportions. Lebanon continued to enjoy a kind of autonomy. The dissenting Muslims of the highlands — Druses and Mutawālīs — took advantage of the troubles of the Mamlūks, occupied with the Franks and Mamlūks, to proclaim their independence. All the forces of Syria had to be mobilised, and a long and bitter war endured (1293—1305) which ended in the complete destruction of the rebels and the devastation of Central Lebanon.

The Mongol Khāns of Persia were burning to avenge the military defeats which the Mamlūks had inflicted upon them. The most energetic of these sovereigns, Ghāzān (1296—1304), in 1299 secured the support of the Armenians and Georgians as well as of the Franks of Cyprus, and routed the Mamlūks near Himṣ. The troops occupied Damascus, and advanced up to Ghazza. The Egyptians having again invaded Syria, Ghāzān recrossed the Euphrates to meet them, but he was defeated in 1303 at Marḏj al-Suffar near Damascus Syria had nothing to gain by the coming of the Burḏjīs, who in 1382 replaced the Bahrī dynasty. They "preserved" Ibn Ayās tells us, "the old laws", that is to say the anarchical rule of their predecessors. Sultan Faraḏj (1392—1405) had to begin the reconquest of Syria no less than seven times. The year 1401 coincided with the invasion of Tīmūr [q v] After the capture of Aleppo which they sacked, his hordes appeared before Damascus. The town having agreed to surrender, the Tatars plundered it methodically. The majority of the able-bodied inhabitants were carried off into slavery, especially artists, architects, workers in steel and glass. They were almost all taken to Samarkand. Fire was then set to the city, to the mosque of the Omayyads and other monuments Tīmūr led back his army and left Syria a prey to epidemics and bands of brigands Meanwhile on the plateaus of Anatolia, the power of the Ottomans was gathering The capture of Constantinople (1453) had increased their ambition Death alone prevented Muhammad II from invading Syria His successors did not cease preparations Kāʾitbāy (1468—1496) and Bāyazīd [q v] signed a treaty of peace, but it was only to be a truce

The destruction of Baghdād by Hūlāgū and the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had shifted the centre of the Muslim world to the west of the Euphrates, Arabic literature found in the land of the Mamlūks an asylum, at best precarious No encouragement was to be expected from ignorant and brutal sovereigns, many of whom could not even sign their own names The intellectuals lived in the past, their activity lacks originality. It was the golden age of epitomizers, compilers, authors of handbooks and encyclopaedias They were interested in collecting knowledge and learning it by heart Among the encyclopaedists a special place must be given to the worthy Shihāb al-Dīn b. Fadlallāh al-ʿOmarī, author of the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, a voluminous compilation of a historical, geographical and literary character for the use of officials of the Mamlūk chancellery We may next mention Abu 'l-Fidāʾ [q. v.], historian and geographer, the geographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashkī (d 1327), markedly inferior to his predecessor al-Makdisī [q. v.] The versatile al-Dhahabī [q v] was born in Mesopotamia but lived and died in Damascus (1353). Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 1450) was the author of a history of Tīmūr. Al-Ṣafadī [q. v.] compiled a great biographical dictionary (1296 — 1383), Ṣālih b. Yahyā (d 1436), the author of the *Tārikh Bairūt*, has left us in this work on the Emīrs of the Ghaib the best contribution to the history of the Lebanon and a valuable supplement to the annals of the Frankish states. Ibn Taimīya [q. v.[

and his pupil Ibn Kaiyim al-Djawzīya are among the most original figures of this period. Their activities covered the whole field of Muslim studies. Indefatigable polemicists with a keen scent for heresies, they have had the peculiar good fortune to be exalted both by the Wahhābīs and the modernist Muslims of to-day

The departure of the Crusaders marks the end of a period of astonishing economic prosperity Syrian commerce fell back into stagnation Little by little, however, necessity forced the resumption of relations with Europe. The decline of Acre, Tyre and Tripoli, ruined by the Mamlūks and the fall (1347) of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, to which western merchants had first gone, were to the advantage of Bairūt For over a century this town became the principal port of Syria Near Damascus and opposite Cyprus, — the kingdom of the Lusignans and rendezvous of the European shipping — Bairūt was every year visited by ships of the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, Provençals and Rhodians. These various communities had henceforth consuls as their representatives, officially recognised by the Mamlūks and receiving a grant or *d̲j̲āmakīya*. On the other hand the Cairo government regarded them as "hostages" [*rahīna*] (Khalīl al-Zāhirī), it held them responsible not only for those under their jurisdiction, but also for acts of hostility by Corsairs. The consuls protected pilgrims and intervened if required on behalf of native Christians Thus we already have the system of capitulations which was to be developed in succeeding centuries

Syria under the Ottomans. With the opening of the XVIth century the rule of the Mamlūks had begun to break up Their exactions had exasperated the populace The Ottomān Sultān Selīm I [q. v] resolved to take advantage of the occasion to invade Syria Taking the initiative, the Mamlūk Sultān, Ḳānsūh al-Ghūrī [q v] mobilised his forces, and marched via Damascus and Aleppo towards Anatolia The two armies met at Dābik, a day's journey north of Aleppo The Turkish artillery and the Janissary infantry scattered disorder through the Egyptian ranks Ghūrī disappeared in the disaster of Dābik (Aug. 24, 1516). Aleppo, Damascus and the towns of Syria opened their gates to the conqueror who went on to Egypt and put an end to Mamlūk rule. The Turks retained at first the territorial divisions or *niyāba* The Mamlūk Ghazālī, *nāʾib* of Damascus, had gone over to the Ottoman camp after Dābik The renegade was in return given the administration of the country except the *niyāba* of Aleppo, which was reserved for a Turkish Pasha.

On the death of Selīm I (1520), Ghazālī had himself proclaimed Sultān under the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf. He was defeated and killed at Kābūn at the gates of Damascus (Jan 1521) Before the end of the 16th century, Syria had become divided into three great pashaliks. 1 Damascus, comprising ten sandjaks or prefectures, the chief of which were Jerusalem, Ghazza, Naplus, Ṣaidā and Bairūt; 2. Tripoli, including the sandjaks of Ḥimṣ, Hamā, Salamiya and Djabala, 3. Aleppo, including all North Syria, except ʿAintāb, which was included in the pashalik of Marʿash. In the century following, the pashalik of Ṣaidā was created to include Lebanon. In its main outlines, this administrative division lasted till the middle of the xviiith century, when the centre of government of Saidā was moved to Acre.

The Dīwān of Stambul was only interested in Syria in so far as it enabled it to watch Egypt and Syria, and to levy upon its resources contributions to the expenses of the palace and for foreign wars. The taxes, which were put up to auction went to the highest bidder. According to a Venetian Consular report, the pashalik was worth 80,000 to 100,000 ducats (probably the silver ducat, the Venetian *grosso* whence *kurṣ̲h* plur. *kurūṣ̲h*, or piastre = 5 francs) The Pashas only administered directly the important towns and their immediate neighbourhood The interior of the country was left to the old feudal tenants whose number and influence had increased since the Mamlūks — Bedouin emīrs, Turkomans, Mutawālīs, Druses, Nusairis. The Porte only asked them to pay the tribute of *mīrī*, without worrying if it saw them fighting with its own representatives Every year the Turkish Pasha at the head of his artillery and janissaries set out to collect the taxes The force lived on the country and laid it waste if resisted. Is it remarkable that agriculture, the principal resource of Syria declined, the population diminished, the country districts emptied in favour of the Lebanon and mountainous districts where the harassed people sought an asylum?

The instability of their position increased the rapacity of the Turkish functionaries. Damascus saw 133 Pashas in 180 years This period saw the rise of Fakhr al-Dīn [q v.], the champion of Syrian independence (1583—1635), the Mutawāli emīrs, the Banū Ḥarfūsh, lords of Baʿalbek and al-Bkāʿ, the Banū Mansūr b Furaikh, Bedouin Shaikhs, who carved out for themselves an appanage in Palestine and in the region of Naplus These feudal lords were fairly well organised in spite of their cupidity, and they were able to defend their gains from the arbitrary Turk By sending round the Cape the traffic of the middle East, the Portuguese occupation of India proved fatal to Syria The harbour of Bairūt remained empty Tripoli at first, then — thanks to the initiative of Fakhr al-Dīn — Saidā attracted European ships which came for cargoes of silk and cotton. Aleppo, thanks to its situation between Mesopotamia, the sea, and the Anatolian provinces whose market it was, the principal depot on the direct route to the Persian Gulf, remained for three centuries the chief commercial centre of Northern Syria

In the second half of the xviiith century, the doings of three individuals suddenly attracted attention to the town and region of Acre These were Dāhir (Syrian pronunciation of Ẓāhir) al-ʿOmar, Djazzār and Bonapaite Dāhir, a Bedouin Shaikh, lord of the land of Safad, extended his authority over Galilee, and settled at Acre which he fortified and raised from its ruins He resisted the Porte (1750—75) with assistance lent by the Egyptian Mamlūks ʿAlī Bey and Abu Dhahab and a Russian squadron cruising in Syrian waters. Besieged in Acre by the Turks, he died there in 1775 His successor Djazzār [q v.] held out for three months (March—May 1799) against the military genius of the youthful Bonaparte. Pasha of Damascus and of Acre, he remained the arbiter of Syria for nearly 40 years (1775—1804), in spite of his exactions and his cruelty.

The four million inhabitants of Syria and Palestine at the time of the Arab conquest were reduced

to one and a half after three centuries of Turkish rule The cultivation of cotton, which with that of silk, formed one of the main sources of Syria's wealth had completely declined, when Muḥammad ʿAlī [q. v.] of Egypt, decided to attract to Egypt the disheartened Syrian planters. It was this state of anarchy that enabled the Lebanon emīr Bashīr [q. v] to intervene in Syrian politics Down to about 1840 we continually find him mixed up with the history of Syria. Even the great Turkish officials sought his intervention Yūsuf, Pasha of Damascus (1807—10) implored his help against a threatened invasion of the Wahhābīs Bashīr presided in Damascus at the installation of Sulaimān, Pasha of Acre and successor-designate of Yūsuf Pasha. In the middle of the general confusion however Muhammad ʿAlī of Egypt was watching for an opportunity of adding Syria to his governorship of Egypt. ʿAbdallāh Pasha who succeeded Sulaimān at Acre (1818) undertook to give it him He refused to allow the extradition of Egyptian fellāhin and the repayment of a million piastres. Summoned to contribute towards this sum by the Pasha of Acre, under whom the Lebanon was, the Christians of the Lebanon refused to pay. The rising of the Christians was a new feature in Syrian politics, but it was not to be the only one Through contact with the Europeans the Christians were becoming enlightened and they were learning their own strength Taking as a pretext the refusals of ʿAbdallāh Pasha, Muhammad ʿAlī sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha [q v] into Syria at the head of an army trained on European lines. Acre surrendered on May 27, 1832, after a siege of seven months On July 8 at Hims, Ibrāhīm routed the Turks A little later he forced the pass of Bailān and entered Anatolia A treaty (May 1833) assured Egypt temporary possession of Syria

The new rule proved tolerant It admitted Christians to the communal councils, it favoured the abolition of measures humiliating to non-Muslims It endeavoured to reform the police and the tribunals On the other hand it provoked discontent by introducing forced labour and conscription even in the semi-independent regions of the Lebanon Rebellions broke out among the Druses of the Lebanon and of the Hawrān, among the Nusairīs and in the never properly subjected province of Naplūs. Ibrāhim exhausted himself in suppressing these risings. The Turks thought the moment had come for the re-conquest of Syria They were completely defeated (June 27, 1839) at Nizīb, north of Aleppo European diplomacy then intervened at the instigation of England, which was disturbed by the ambition of Muhammad ʿAlī. Until the expedition of Bonaparte, England had taken no interest in Egypt. Henceforth she was continually occupied with Egypt and the Red Sea Her agents stirred up the whole of Lebanon. An allied fleet bombarded Bairūt (Sept. 1840) On Nov 2, Acre surrendered and Ibrāhim Pasha had to agree to evacuate Syria Shortly before, the Emir Bashīr had gone into exile

From the reign of Mahmūd II. [q.v.] the Porte had inaugurated a policy of administrative centralisation, and decreed the abolition of local autonomies and feudalities. After the departure of the Egyptians, it moved to Bairūt, whose importance was steadily increasing, the administrative centres of the ancient pashaliks of Acre and Ṣaidā, in order to prepare for the annexation of Lebanon. With the same object it declared the old line of princes of the Lebanon, the Shihāb Emīrs, deposed The only result was to perpetuate anarchy there. The Christians who had fought against the Egyptians claimed to be treated on terms of equality to the Druses In the southern Lebanon several had acquired the confiscated lands of the Druse chiefs banished by Ibrāhīm Pasha. The latter, coming back from exile, demanded a return to the *status quo* and the restoration of their ancient privileges. In taking their side, Turkey paved the way for new conflicts and sanguinary fighting. The Syrian Muslims showed no less animosity to the Christians, whom Egyptian rule had partly enfranchised. They took no account of the intellectual and material progress made by the Christians, nor of the political equality promised by the *khaṭṭ* of the Sultan. The *khaṭṭ-i humayūn* [q v] of Sultān ʿAbd al-Madjīd [q. v.] communicated to the congress of Paris (1856), and tacitly placed under the guarantee of the Powers, scandalised Muslim opinion, but inspired confidence among the Christians. At Damascus and in the large towns they took advantage of the occasion to enrich themselves A secret agitation began to stir up the Druses and Muslims, and waited for the events of 1860 to burst forth

The Druses of the Lebanon combining with their co-religionists of the Wādi 'l-Taim and of the Hawrān, scattered fire and death through the villages of the Maronites, who were at sixes and sevens, as the result of an agrarian dispute The anti-Christian movement reached Damascus, which the Muslims pillaged and then set fire to the prosperous Christian quarter, after massacring its inhabitants In this city, in the Lebanon, and in Bairūt, the Turkish authorities intervened only to disarm the Christians, and watched the butchery inactively, powerless or abetting it. Under a mandate from Europe, France disembarked at Bairūt (Sept. 1860) a body of troops „to help the Sultān to restore peace." Taking the initiative, the Porte had sent Fu'ād Pasha [q. v.] with discretionary powers to Syria He began to inflict summary judgment. Sentences of exile pronounced against the Turkish leaders and the most compromised Druses, faced Europe with the *fait accompli* French intervention, though paralysed by the cunning of the Turks and the distrust of England, nevertheless restored confidence to the Christians, and preserved their native land for the people of Lebanon The latter, given an autonomous organisation under the direct supervision of Europe (cf. LUBNĀN) thus gained half a century of peace and prosperity.

After 1864 Syria was divided into two wilāyets Aleppo and Damascus In 1888 Bairūt, the chief port, the centre of the commercial life of Syria was made a separate wilāyet Falling into stagnation after the shocks of 1860, the country saw with indifference the fall of Sulṭāns ʿAbd al-Azīz and Murād, the coming of ʿAbd al-Hamīd [q v] and the granting of a constitution in 1876 (soon withdrawn). Between 1881 and 1883 we have the foundation of the first Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine, which paved the way for Zionism The latter received official recognition by the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 1917). It has been incorporated in the text of the British mandate over Palestine (1922).

Under ʿAbd al-Hamīd also, emigration began to assume disquieting proportions Having no room for development at home, exploited by a greedy

and untrustworthy power, the Syrians began to emigrate Among the just complaints of the Syrians, was the indifference of the Turkish government to public works. France, with its capital, came to the relief of Syria, now left to herself, and having suffered a further economic blow by the opening of the Suez Canal. With the exception of the Syrian section of the Baghdād railway and the Damascus-Medīna railway — the work of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the Syrian railway system is in the main a French creation. These enterprises have considerably increased the wealth and productivity of Syria, by linking it up with an extensive series of connections, the Taurus, Anatolia and Constantinople on the north, and Arabia and Egypt on the south.

The Turks took even less interest than the Mamlūks in furthering intellectual progress. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd showed himself frankly hostile to Arabic literature, and instituted a system of turkicising In spite of all obstacles the Christians of Aleppo in the xviiith century succeeded in resuming contact with Arabic studies, which had been practically closed to them for centuries We owe to them the establishment of the first printing press in the Lebanon (1610) and in Aleppo It is to their beginnings that we owe the literary revival of the xixth century when Syria became the centre of Arabic studies. Under the stimulus of foreign missions, French, Americans, etc, Syria became covered with schools and printing-presses which published newspapers, reviews and standard editions. Bairūt took the lead in the intellectual life of Syria, less by its own energy than under the stimulus of Europe. Still more efficaciously than the American mission, the Society of Jesus, with its very well organised printing-press, contributed to the renaissance of Arabic letters and no less to the diffusion of European culture Bairūt and Syria in general thus produced a large number of young literary men Their native land soon becoming too small for them (Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii. 492), some migrated to Egypt. Among them we may note the two Yazidji, Nasīf [q v.] and his son Ibrāhīm (d. 1906) and Butrus al-Bustānī [d. 1883, q v] Turkey took no part in the movement for the education of Syria Here it was again foreigners, particularly French and Americans, who made up for official indifference. They developed education in all three grades In 1878 the Jesuits founded the Université St. Joseph at Bairūt. The older Syrian Protestant College of the Americans at Bairūt has recently been made a university (1923)

Syria of to-day A revolution prepared secretly by the young Turkish party overthrew Abd al-Hamīd and set up in his place his brother Reshād (April 1907). The Constitution of 1876 was re-established, and the Parliament which had been closed by the Sulṭān was reopened. Syria hailed with enthusiasm the revolution as the dawn of a new era This illusion was of short duration The young Turks, whom the Syrians had trusted, were not long in resuming once more the process of turkicising begun by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. With more method and continuity they declared war against all who were Arab by race or language. They insisted everywhere in Parliament and in the government offices on the employment of Turks only, and removed the Syrians from high offices and important military commands. This provocative policy brought together for the first time Muslims and Christians in Syria. It awakened amongst all the desire to come to an understanding in regard to a common policy and to take joint action. Their demands were limited to reforms of a decentralizing nature. They asked that in the allotment of public offices, regard should be had to the progress which had been made made by Syria, the most civilised province of the Empire, and that in the imposition and spending of taxes regard should be paid to the needs of their country They thought the time had come to grant it a certain administrative autonomy It was the obstinacy of the young Turks in rejecting these moderate demands which opened the door to separatist ideas, and finally convinced the Syrian nationalists that there was nothing for it but to rely upon their own efforts and upon the sympathies of Europe

On the 29th of October 1914, Turkey entered the Great War It began by suppressing the administrative autonomy of Lebanon, and imposing on it a Turkish governor. Djamāl-Pasha took into his own hands the government of all Syria with discretionary powers. He at once proceeded to hang the principal patriots whether Syrian, Muslim or Christian Hundreds of others were sent into exile Soon afterwards famine and disease decimated the population, principally of the Lebanon. Energetic but presumptuous, dreaming of the conquest of Egypt, Djamāl proceeded very unsuccessfully to attack the Canal of Suez (Feb 1915) After the repulse of the second attack (August 1916), the English, commanded by Allenby, advanced as far as Ghazza By November 1917 they had become masters of the southern portion of Palestine, and on the 11th of December, they entered Jerusalem, which the Turks had evacuated. The latter defended themselves for a further nine months on a line extending to the north of Jaffa as far as the Jordan. The decisive action took place on the 19th of September, 1918, on the plain of Sarona near Tūlkarm The forces of Allenby broke the Turkish front. It was a rout. At the end of the month the English, without meeting with any resistance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Damascus The advance was delayed for a few days, in order to allow the Emīr Faisal, the son of the Grand Sherīf of Mecca, time to hasten from the remote end of Transjordania and to make on the 1st of October his entry into Damascus at the head of a body of Bedouins. On the 31st of October, the Turks signed an armistice. A week later, the last of their soldiers had repassed the Taurus

The English occupied the country with a military force The French contingent, which had brilliantly contributed to the victories in Palestine, established itself on the Syrian side. During the course of the war the allies, in order to secure the help of Husain b ʿAlī, Grand Sherīf of Mecca, had promised to support the establishment of a federation of Arab states „with reservation of the rights acquired by France". The Emīr Faisal took advantage of these equivocal formulae to claim the whole of Syria, and organised a form of government at Damascus This town became a hot-bed of intrigues, from which hordes of bandits and assassins went out to perpetuate the insecurity in Syria On March 7th, 1920, an alleged "Syrian Congress" at Damascus proclaimed "Faiṣal I, King of Syria" General Gouraud, appointed High Commissioner of the Republic of Syria, called upon

Faisal to produce his credentials When the ultimatum received no response, the French, after a few hours fighting, scattered at Khān Maisalūn in the Antelebanon, the bands who opposed their advance (24th of July 1920) On the following day they entered Damascus; Faisal had taken to flight. On August 10th following, the Treaty of Sèvres separated Syria from Turkey, in order to form provisionally an independent state, on condition that the councils of a mandatory should guide its administration until such time as it should be capable of independent government. Previous to this, the Congress of San Remo decided that the mandate should be confided to the French government. On the 1st of September 1920 at Bairūt, Gouraud solemnly proclaimed the constitution of "Grand Liban" (v LUBNĀN) Thereafter the "Federation of Syrian States" composing the three independent states of Damascus, of Aleppo and of the "territory of the ʿAlawīs" (the name officially adopted for the Nuṣairīs) was formed The administrative centre of this last state is Lādhikīya A fourth state was formed for the Druses of the Hawrān Like the people of Lebanon they had been allowed to remain outside the Syrian Federation The latter had as its chief a Syrian president Native officials, with the help of French advisers, assumed the government of these states Representative councils were entrusted with the discussion of affairs of general interest and settling the budget

Syria, placed under French mandate, adjoins Turkish Anatolia The Northern frontier is defined by a line running from Alexandretta, crossing the Euphrates to the south of Djerāblus, and ending at Djazīrat b. ʿOmar on the Tigris On the west Syria is bounded by the kingdom of ʿIrāk, on the south by Transjordania and English Palestine This part of the frontier runs on irregularly from Rās al-Naḳūra between Tyre and Acre On the East it goes round the Lake of Tiberias, traverses the valley of Yarmūk, leaves the town of Darʿā (Hawran) on the north and after crossing the desert reaches the district of Djazīrat b ʿOmar by way of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates

The following are the approximate results in round figures of the census of 1921—1922, the first taken in Syria since the Arab conquest The nomads in the district of Aleppo and of Damascus are not included in it The state of Aleppo, comprising the independent sandjaḳ of Alexandretta had 604,000 inhabitants. This number was made up as follows 502,000 Sunnīs, 30,000 ʿAlawīs, 52,000 Christians of diverse denominations, 7,000 Jews, 3,000 foreigners. The state of Damascus contains 595,000 inhabitants, of which 447,000 were Sunnīs, 8,000 Ismaʿīlīs, 5,000 ʿAlawīs, 4,000 Druses, 9,000 Mutawālis, 67,000 Christians of different denominations, 6,000 Jews, 49,000 foreigners. In the state of the ʿAlawīs, there were 60,000 Sunnīs, 153,000 ʿAlawīs, 3,000 Ismaʿīlis and 42,000 Christians of different denominations, in all 261,000 inhabitants. The state of Ḥawrān was remarkable for the homogeneity of its population. There were 43,000 Druses against 700 Sunnis, and about 7,000 Greek, Catholic, or orthodox Christians For the population of Grand-Liban, see the article LUBNĀN.

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SHAMAN (P), an idolater The word belongs to the poetical language, and is at present obsolete. In Asadī's *Lughat al-Furs* (ed. Horn, p. 104), it is explained. „*butparast*", while quoting the following verse of Rudakī

„butparastī girifta īm hama,
in djahān čun but ast u mā shaman īm"

[„We have all adopted idolatry; this world is like the idol, and we are idolater(s)", or „because this world is the idol, etc "].

The same explanation is given in the *Farhang-i Shu'ūrī* (ii., fol 132 verso) where besides the verse just mentioned (here reproduced in a somewhat altered, seemingly corrupt, form), quotations are given from Sanā'ī, Shams-i Fakhrī, and Amīr Mu'izzī, by Shams-i Fakhrī (*Lexicon Persicum*, ed Salemann, p 105); by 'Abd al-Ḳādir of Baghdād (*Lexicon Shāhnāmianum*, ed. Salemann, p. 143). The last named author cites *Shāhnāma*, 1074, 155 (Vullers), with which verse may be compared Minūčihrī, *Diwān* (ed. Kazimirski), ii. 2 *sq*, and Kazimirski's note, p. 320, where two passages from Sanā'ī's poetry are cited, one of which is also given in Shu'ūrī.

In all these passages, shaman signifies nothing but „idolater", and a term, expressing the idea „idol" (*ṣanam, but, wathan*) always occurs in the verse also. Shu'ūrī, *l. c.*, besides the signification „idolater" gives that of „idol" (*but*) too. It is, however, not probable, that these two ideas would be expressed by the same word; moreover, an instance for this signification: „idol" seems to be wanting. This second explanation, then, may be due to a mistake.

Respecting the etymology of the word, the derivation from Sanskrit *śramana*, a Buddhist monk, seems to be very probable. Words, denoting a religious person of some foreign sect, after passing into Persian, more than once acquired a less definite sense, for instance the word *nighūshā*, which, while originally denoting the „auditor" of the Manichees, in Persian poetry signifies simply „an infidel". As to the medium, through which the term *shaman* has been derived, we must look to the East-Irānian countries, where Buddhism once flourished In Sakian as well as in Soghdian we find resp. the forms *ṣṣaman(a)* and *shmn* (to be pronounced *shaman*'), reflecting the Indian *śramaṇa*. Most likely, then, the word entered the Persian from the Soghdian The question, whether the East-Middle-Irānian word come directly from the Sanskrit or from some popular dialect, is of minor importance The Pāli form *samano* does not come into consideration, as the East-Irānian Buddhism belonged to the Northern form of that religion, besides, the initial *s* of the Pāli word could scarcely have been represented by Soghdian *sh* or Sakian *ṣṣ*. A derivation direct from the Sanskrit seems probable for the Soghdian word (comp R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, 1914—1923, i, § 177), and for the Sakian one also, for in all Prākrits, except Māgadhī and one minor dialect, Skt. *ś* becomes *s*. Moreover, a word like *śramana* would rather be taken from the scriptural language of the religion, in this case Sanskrit.

A second question refers to the relation between the Persian word and the modern European term Eng *shaman*, German *Schamane*, Russian *shaman*, etc, which designs the sorcerer-priest of the North-Asiatic and some North-American peoples First, we must state, that the Persian *shaman* has no connection with any priestly function, but simply signifies an idolater Kazimirski, who, in his edition of Minūčihrī's poems, translates the word by „bonze" seems to be led to this interpretation by his supposition, that the Persian *shaman* and the Siberian *shaman* were originally the same, cf. his note p 320. Now, the European word occurs, so far I can see, for the first time in Brand's relation of Eberhard Isbrand's embassy to China, by order of the Russian government, in the years 1693—1695. The passage runs in the original (A. Brand, *Beschreibung der Chinesischen Reise, welche .. a° 1693, 94 und 95 . . verrichtet worden*, Hamburg 1698, p. 80) „wo funf oder sechs Tungusen bey einander wohnen .. halten sie einen Schaman, welche auf ihre Art einen Pfaffen oder Zauberer bedeutet" The European term, therefore, originally designates the sorcerer of the Tunguses And, indeed, only the Tungusian dialects (as well those of Siberia as the Mandju) call the sorcerer *saman* (cf. M. A Castrén, *Grundzuge einer Tungusischen Sprachlehre*, St. Petersburg 1856, p 7, 91; A. Rudnew, *Nowyja dannyja po żiwoj Mandżurskoj rěči i šamanstwu*, St. Petersburg 1912, p. 9). It is not quite certain, if this word *saman* is originally Tungus; W. Schott (*Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1842, p. 462) is inclined, though hesitatingly, to derive it from a Tungus root; a different etymology, but also from the same language, is proposed by C. de Harlez (*La religion nationale des Tartares Orientaux*,

Brussels 1887, p. 28 *sq.*). On the other hand, however, it is difficult to assume an Indian (or Irānian) origin for the Tungus word, as the other North-Asiatic idioms designate the sorcerer in a different manner. If Buddhist influence had been at work here, the term might have spread over a wider area The derivation of the Tungus word from a Chinese one, which itself might be taken from the Indian (though representing rather *Çākya* than *çramaṇa*) seems also to be excluded (cf Schott, p 463) The form *Schaman* in the German work of 1698 presents an irregular *sch* in stead of *s*, we may, however, be sure, that the traveller acquired the word through a Russian medium, and therefore the difficulty lies in the Russian *shaman*, having *sh* instead of the Tung. *s*, de Harlez (*op. cit*, p. 28, n. 1), thinks that this fact may be due to Chinese influence

The European „shaman" therefore, seems to be independent of the Persian *shaman*, which latter has nothing to do with any definite branch of religion. (V. F BUCHNER)

SHAMDĪNĀN [1]), known also under the Kurdish name of NĀW ČIĀ (between mountains), ḳadā of the sandjak of Hakkāri, in the wilāyet of Wān, is one of the least explored regions of Central Kurdistān. Its boundaries are — on the north, the kadā of Guiawar, on the south, Baradost and Barzān (mahall of Rawāndīz), on the west, Oramār (nāhiya of the sandjak of Guiawar), on the east, the Persian districts, dependencies of Urmiya Desht, Merguiawar and Ushnū Situated between 37° and 38° N. and 44° and 45° E. (Greenwich), Shamdīnān is divided into three nāhiya (1) Zerzan with Nehrī, the administrative centre and seat of a Kā'immaḳām, (2) Humārū, with the seat of a mudīr at Benbō or Surunis, (3) Guirdī Herikī (Herkī), mudir at Bitkār. Guirdī is divided into three parts (a) Guirdīye Baroža (against the sun), (b) Guirdiye Nāwpār (middle), (c) Guirdiye Bīn Čia (under the mountain). The greater part of the population is Kurd with a small Christian (Nestorian) minority. In 1914 there were about 13,000 Kurds and 2,000 Christians. The Kurd tribes of Shamdīnān are the Herkī, Guirdī and Shamdīnān This last tribe is divided into Zerzā and Humārū Every tribe recognizes the authority of its chief and all obey the power of the powerful family of Shaikhs of Nehrī (Sadāte Nehrī) [see below]. There are in all 126 villages in Shamdīnān. In view of the importance of Kurdish toponymy, it may be useful to give here the names of the principal groups viz Nāhiya Humārū Nehrī, Benbō, Surunīs, Bai, Deimān Suflā, Melaiane Humārū, Begirdī, Awliān, Nāhiya Zerzān Gāre, Masirū, Helana, Nowshahr (Benārwe), Hezna, Serārū, Ribunīs; Nāhiya Guirdī G. Baroža, Nehāwa, Isian, Berūh, G Nāwpār Biskān, Zet, Mawān, G Bīn Čia. Sūne, Shepatāne Guirdiān, Besūsin, Zewia Rezī, Begūr, Sherwenān, Keled; Nāḥiya Herkī. Bitkāi, Nefsī Herkī (which includes three villages under the common name of Shīwa Herkī: Gunde Zheri, Kerespāni, Zizāni), Bedāw, Stūni, Dīri, Bégālte, Sate.

A few observations are suggested by the above names. On the subject of the name of Nehrī a suggestion has been made (Minorsky, *Zap. Vost Otd*, xxiv., 1917, p. 157) connecting it with that of *Nairi*. This name, according to him, may have been brought here at a later date by the Christians Delattre (*Esquisse de géographie assyrienne*, in *La Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, July, 1883) expounds at length the controversy on the subject of the site of Naïri, "which matter is of capital importance in the study of Assyrian geography." He is against the application of the names of Upper Sea of Nairi and Lower Sea of Nairi to the Lakes of Wān and of Urmiya respectively. Note, however, his remark that the name in question is rendered Nairi, Nahri or Nahiri, according to the different ways of writing it. He also says "What must above all be noted is that Samsiraman locates the country of Nairi to the east of the Great Zāb, on the frontiers of Media." On the other hand, according to Thureau-Dangin (*Une relation de la 8eme campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912), there is every sign that Na'iri or Hubūshkia is the valley of the Bohtān-Su. It is that part of the ancient region of Nairi which remained independent of the kings of Urartu (*op. cit.*, p. x., xi) According to the same authority, "the Guiawar probably forms the centre of the country of Musasir. This localisation is confirmed by the itinerary of the thirty-first campaign of Salmanasar... Up to this time the site of the country of Musasir was placed further south, in the district of the steles of Kelichin and of Topzawa.. " If this is so, Shamdīnān must have formerly formed part of the country of Musasir Mention should also be made of the opinion of Th Reinach (*Un peuple oublié les Matiènes*, in *Revue des Études grecques*, vii, 1894) "the territory of the Matienes of Herodotus corresponded in the main to the greater part of the present Turkish wilāyets of Hakkiari and of Mosul it is, in a word, the Turkish Kurdistan of to-day " Besides Nehrī, other names seem to suggest certain links with this ancient epoch We refer particularly to Bitkār (cf. *Bit - Ka - ri*, page 222, M. Streck, *Glossen zu O. A. Toffteen's Geographical List to R. F. Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, vols I—VIII* in *Amer. J of Sem Lang. and Liter.*, vol. xxii, No. 3, 1906) and some names in *-is* (Surunis, Ribunis) or *-ang* (village of nāḥiya Humārū, the mountain Baski Gazang, between Helāna et Kātūna Yukhārī) Dr. W. Belck (*Beitrage zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*, Leipzig 1901, i. 46—47) points to the importance of such names, saying "I have discovered a whole series of ancient Chaldaean names among those ending in *-is* or *isch*". It is well to point out, however, in regard to the name Shepātān, that it might perhaps be connected with Sciabatan mentioned by Assemani (*Salmasa . . sub Abdjesu Patriarcha Anno 1554 subjectas ecclesias habebat Sciabatam .*) May there be some connection between Gulnica (Assemani, *Bibl. Or*, iii, p. i.) and Gulang, mentioned above?

As regards Kurdish orography of Shamdīnān the following names are worth mentioning Shehīdān (Kur Shehīdān), on the frontier of Desht; Seri Gāwlekān, above Nehrī; Kūri Mizgewtān, above Awliyān (Kur means a separate summit), Čiāye Keleshine, above Geleshim; Māye Helāna, at Helāna; Seri Salāiān at Salārān; Čiāye Resh (ou Resh Ruiyān), at Benawūk; Čar Čel, nāḥiya Herkī; Taste, at Bedāw; Gerasūr, at Ardwel, Čiāye Huzuli, between the nāhiya of Guirdī and Heikī; Mengure, nāḥiya Guirdī Baroža; Seri Sūlu,

1) The editors have not attempted to bring the Kurd names in this article into uniformity with the transcription adopted for the *Encyclopaedia*.

near Besūsīn and Begor, Dola Mehendī, Geweiūk, Gilhebai and Čiāye Spi Rezi — on the frontier of Guiawar.

The principal passes leading into Merguiawar are: (1) the pass of Keleshin, very difficult, which must not be confused with the pass of the same name to the south of Ushnu, famous on account of the celebrated stele which was found there, (2) the much easier pass, rendered passable even by vehicular traffic during the war, which is known by three names Zimiya Sorik, Zimiya Pirgoule, Beid Hishtir. Mention must be made also of the pass of Guirve Tabūtān between Kātūna Yukhari (nāhiya Zerzan) and Djerma (Desht). Finally the road from Nehrī to Mosul (telegraph line) passes by Beguirdi (ancient bridge) Ruwān (pass Zimiya Beri) and Shepātān. The principal water-course is given by the Turks the name Shamdīnān Su, but amongst the Kurds it is known by the name Rubāri Beguirdi in its higher regions, and Rubāri Shin in its lower regions. It is a tributary of the Great Zāb into which it flows at the spot called Tengui Bīlinda, in the neighbourhood of the village of Suriya, in the district of ʿAmādiya Its source is near the pass of Zimiya Sorik Its principal tributaries are on the right — Humārū (upper course called Dura), Nagailān, Herkī, Rubāri Shīn (or Oramār Su), Awi Marik, on the left — Sherwenān (Hunudel), Mawān, Begizhne

Holy places. Amongst the places which are venerated by the Kurds mention must be made of the numerous places of sepulture. There is the cemetery of Čel Shehīdān on the mountain of the same name, where it is popularly believed that the remains of the companions of the Prophet are buried. At Melāiāne Humārū there is the tomb of Molla Hādjdjī, the founder of the family of the Sheikhs of Nehrī. At Nehrī itself, there are the tombs of the saiyid ʿAbdullāh, the disciple of Māwlānā Khālid, the propagator of the Nakshbandiya doctrine, of the saiyid Tā and of the sheikh Sālih. These three tombs are found in a family vault called *Makbarē Shutukha* in the northern part of the village Other tombs venerated are those of Pīr Rashīdān at Rashīdān, Pīr Abū Bakr at Gawlekān, Pir Wesān, at Basiyān. The gift of telepathy is attributed to the latter two saints Having married one another's sisters, they were able to communicate with one another at a great distance The tomb of Shaikh Farakh or Farkho at Nehāwa possesses a special virtue in gaining the acceptance of prayers that are offered there There is also an ancient tomb which is not attributed to any one person, but bears the name of *rim kesk* (green lance) He who is buried here, the Kurds say, is continuing in the other world with this lance the fight against the infidels In the village of Belūtiān there is a tomb called *markade Sheikh Behal* This sheikh, at the invitation of the angels who appeared to him, is said to have been transported from Guiawar, where he lived, to Belūtiān, on a praying carpet, in order to build a mosque there. There is still shown on a stone of the gate of this mosque the imprint of the sheikh's foot. In order to correct the work of the masons he pushed with his foot and set in line the layer of stones, although other stones had already been placed above it Under a cupola, at the side of his master, is interred the Sheikh's favourite cat. He always sent him with his little caravan to superintend the muleteers.

Besides the tombs there are other *ziyāret gāh*, in the veneration of which we see signs of the ancient cult of the spirits of the mountains. Thus on the mountain of Seri Sāte the place called *Marum* is venerated without distinction by Muslims and Christians. This sanctuary is always guarded by a Christian of the village of Sāte, who is exempt from taxes and treated with esteem by the Kurds. We must remember in this connection, with B Dickson, that on this mountain there are "the remains of Urartic construction." On the other hand, the summits of Kūri Mizgewtān at Awhiyān and of Čiāye Resh at Benawūk (a place called *Melā Sharāni*) are also considered holy places.

The ruins which have associations of a more or less historical nature, ought next to be mentioned. Near the road between Benārwe and Nehrī, on the hill of Kemi Tūwān, is the Ḳalʿa Guzel Ahmed Its site is very spacious and the remains of a fountain, to which the water was lead from Dera Resh are found. Guzel Ahmed is said to have risen in revolt against the Persians, the masters of Shamdīnān at this period, to have been besieged in this fortress and to have perished with all the garrison after having thrown the women from the walls, feminine ornaments have frequently been discovered at the foot of the hill.

It is difficult to pronounce with certainty regarding the exact period of Persian domination in these districts Did Shamdīnān share the destinies of the district of Mosul or on the other hand did it go rather with the district of Hakkāri? In regard to this question, no direct evidence is given in history, but it is just this vague frontier zone whose possession was in dispute between Turkey and Persia Under the Safawids Shamdīnān belonged to Persia. It passed to the Turks after the victory of Sulṭān Selīm, but returned to Persia under Nādir, etc All these frontier districts, Shamdīnān as well as Merguiawai, Terguiawai, Barādost-Somāi, Ushnū and Lahidjān, were known at first among the Turks by the name of *Mutanazawn fihi*, then by that of *Nawāhiye Sharkiye* The final delimitation, with Anglo-Russian assistance, took place exactly on the eve of the outbreak of the war It must be added that in all this district on this side of the Grand Zāb, Persian is the language employed by the Kurds

At Shīwa Herkī, on an isolated rock, the ruins called Kishki-Kelāti should be noted (*kishk* = little mountain in the Herkī dialect) This fortress is attributed to a certain Mīr Dāʾūd and it is believed that it was razed to the ground at the Arab conquest We read in the *Sheref-Nāme* (i, 177), "... A great river passes under the bridge of stone in front of the Chateau of the Emir Dāwūd." The reference here is to a castle in the neighbourhood of Guiawar, while the one which concerns us, is in the middle of Shamdīnān. Moreover, the name Dāʾūd is very frequently applied to the remains of the past in this part of Asia (Cf for example the grotto Dukāni Dāʾūd near Sarī Pūl [q. v.], cf. G. Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Volker* in *Der Alte Orient*, iii., iv., Leipzig 1908).

In the district round the village of Begālta on the peak of Begālta (Kela Begālta) are the ruins called Kelāta Timūr Leng, very difficult of access. It is known that the Mongol warriors overran Central Kuidistān in many directions (cf Hammer,

Geschichte der Ilchane). According to a tradition, which is quoted by G. Soane (*To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*), after the conquest of Diyārbakr by Tīmūr, an Emīr Ḳara Usmān is said to have been nominated governor of Ḥakkāri and to have married a Kurd lady of noble birth, which marriage contributed to the rise of the family of Ḥakkāri. Now the family of Hakkāri, as is shown below, seems to have been very intimately connected with the history of the governors of Shamdīnān. Moreover, a historical example of these conjugal alliances between the Mongols and the Kurds is known, namely that of Nas Khatun (cf. Hammer, *op cit.*, ii. 289) "Nas Chatun was the daughter of the lord of Kurdistan, which Čoban's father, Melik, son of Turan Behadu, conquered in the time of Hulagu and took the lady Nas prisoner" Emir Čoban is said to have seized certain lands at Kazwīn, Sharkan and Hamadān under the pretext that they formerly belonged to Nas Khatun. In a valley of the same peak of Begālta, at a place called Tuya Deri, the remains of an important construction are to be seen On the other side of the peak Kela Begālta, at the village of Basiyān, are found the remains of an aqueduct which are connected with the ruins of Tuya Deri Names formed with *deir*, *dera* (church — the Syriac *dair(a)*, convent, cf also the Armenian village of Deir near Bash Kal'a with the convent of St. Bartholomew), such as Deira Baniye, Dera Barozha, Dera Resh, etc, indicate a certain connection with Christian tradition The history of the Nestorian church in fact shows us that from the fifth century Christianity was more prevalent in these districts than it is at present There are grounds for surmising that Shamdīnān formed part of the ecclesiastical province of Hadyab (Adiabene) "The Syrians understood by this name the district stretching between the Great and the Little Zāb" (cf J B Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou recueil de Synodes nestoriens*, Paris 1902, p. 673, 617). F. N Heazell (*Kurds and Christians*, London 1911, p 64) thinks one can say of Shamdīnān "The ancient name of this region was Rustaka (that is to say black mountains), which described in a picturesque fashion the beautiful mountains covered with dark forests". This statement seems difficult to reconcile with what one knows about the name of Rustaka from other sources Rustak, town in Fārs (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionn Géogr de la Perse*), and in the *Sheref-Nāme* (i 226) "The name of Restaḳ, read Rustaḳ, is given to the towns of Maweranehr... the name is also given to the small towns of Khuzistan" Whatever may be the actual location of modern Shamdīnān in the framework of the ancient Nestorian administration of this country, before the last *diṯhād* passed over it, the principal church was situated at Dera Resh, the residence of the Metropolitan Nestorian, Mar Hanānīsho' The right of sanctuary which was attached to this spot was respected by the Kurds. They had also churches at Shepātāne Zerzān and Guirdī, Betīwū, Dera Bāniye, Sate and Zerīn. Christian tradition supports the view that the Ḳaṣr at Kātūna was built on the ruins of a very ancient church. Mention must be made finally of certain ruins, which are not named, but which are very extensive, between the villages of Heran and Nani (nāḥiya Guirdī) and that on the hill between Begor and Sherwinān there are also ruins, which are not named.

Genealogy. The Kurd tradition traces the origin of the name of Shamdīnān to that of Shaikh Shams al-Dīn, the founder of the very noble and ancient local line of Bekzāde 'Abbāsī. It is said to have belonged to an Arab tribe (the Kurds usually show a marked preference for Arab pedigrees) between Moṣul and Baghdād Defeated by Shammar [q. v.], he is said to have taken shelter in the mountains of Shamdīnān, where his first residence was at Stūnī, in the nāḥiya of Herkī. His son, 'Izz al-Dīn, extended his power over the districts of Mergiawar, Tergiawar, Guirdī, Barādost, Duskāni, Oramār and Rekān. Six or seven generations of this family resided at Stūnī, which was at last abandoned for Bitkār in the time of Mīr Zain al-Dīn whose name a mosque at Nehri bears. After three or four generations the capital, in the reign of Mīr Zain al-Dīn, was transferred from Bitkār to Harūnān in the nāḥiya of Humārū. The remains of the fortress which he erected at that spot are visible to the present time One of his sons, 'Imād al-Dīn, left his father after a quarrel and migrated to the district of Urmiya, where the beglerbegui Afshār gave him Berde Sūr and Tergiawar as a fief From him sprang the family of the Bekzāde of Desht The second son, who succeeded his father, was the first to take the name of Mīr of Shamdīnān For two or three generations the Mīrs remained at Harūnān and thereafter they established themselves at Nehri, where they exercised their power until the time of the Shaikh 'Ubaid Allāh (1870—1883), who imposed his rule not only on Shamdīnān, but on many other Kurd districts, even in Persia.

The Kurd oral tradition, which has only recently been written down, offers only rather uncertain chronological data Only one reference to Berde Sūr is said to be known It is given in Minorsky (*Matériali po izučéniu Vostoka*, *publ secr. du Minist des Aff Etr*, St. Petersburg 1915, p 473), who in speaking of the Bekzāde of Desht points out that at first this region was governed by a branch of the Mirs Hasanwaihi The line of the latter having for a long time been extinct at Tergiawar, their place was taken by the Bekzāde of Desht, who trace their origin to the three 'Abbāsid brothers of Bohtan Rashīd Beg, who died at Djūlāmerk, Mūsā Beg, who died at Shamdīnān, and Ḳalandar Beg at Berde Sūr. The fortress which was erected there in 970 (1562) is still visible These indications allow us perhaps to assign to the reign of the Shāh 'Abbās the period at which the separation into two lines of the 'Abbāsī Begzāde took place, for it was not till then that the Afshārs who accepted 'Imād al-Dīn, established themselves firmly at Urmiya and began to exercise authority over the neighbouring Kurds

On the other hand, v. Hammer (*op cit.*, i 55) speaks of the presence at the Kurultai of Gujuk (August 1246) of "the two rulers of Kurdistan, Shemseddin and Schihabeddin", while according to one story (*Sheref-Nāme*, ii/1 67), "the Hakkery princes, *who are descended from Chemsuddin*, are called Chemmo" (a regular Kurd etymology; cf. 'Izz al-Dīn = Izo, etc). A confirmation of this is offered by G. B. Margaioli (*Dizionario Geografico storico del' Impero Ottamano*, Milan, 1829), who is relying probably on the authority of Père Garzoni, "the father of Kurdology". (He refers to his name in the second volume under the name Kurgestan, ... "secondo Garzoni"...). Margaroli says

on the subject of the Djulāmerk (II. 3) "... Its inhabitants call themselves *Sciambo*, according to others they have still the name of Hakiari, which is perhaps that of the principal family reigning in that place". Djulāmerk on the Grand Zāb is not far from Shamdīnān. These concordances — Shams al-Dīn, Shamdīnān, Shembo, Sciambo, Hakkāri — seem to establish a certain connection between Shams al-Dīn and the powerful tribe of Ḥakkāri, which is well-known in Kurd annals It should be recalled that, if on the one hand a Kurd (Hakkāri ?) prince Shams al-Dīn, was present at the Kuriltai of Gujuk along with other Mongol vassals, on the other hand at a later date in 1286, under Arghūn (cf. Hammer, *op cit.*, I 314), a revolt of Ḥakkāri took place, "after which 16,000 horsemen, commanded by the Amir Masuk Kuschdschi and the Djalair Nurinaga, were sent against the Hakari Kurds and their rising put down" This rather scanty documentary evidence does not permit any definite conclusion to be made, and we are content to note the references.

The Power of the ʿAbbāsī Begzāde, which we have seen to have been very great, had to bow before the family of Nehrī Sadāte The genealogy of this family traces its origin to the person of the Shaikh ʿAbd al-Kādir Gilānī (or Djilī, cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, p 81, N° 1, contrary to the belief of Nicholson, we are here concerned with the locality called Gilān in southern Kurdistān and not with the province to the south of the Caspian) One of the sons of this promoter of the Ḳādirīya doctrine, Shaikh ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, is said to have established himself at Akra (to the north of Mosul), where his tomb is still venerated His son, Shaikh Abū Bakr, proceeded to establish himself in the district of Herki at the village of Stūnī, which had been the capital of Shams al-Dīn Of the descendants of the Shaikh Abū Bakr, Shaikh Haidar and three or four generations resided at Stūnī, then afterwards in the time of Molla Hādjdjī they moved, some to Melaiān, some to Demāne Suflā in the Humārū, until the time of Mollā Sālih Of the two sons of this latter, Saiyid ʿAbd Allāh and Saiyid Ahmad, the first was the disciple and successor of Mawlānā Khālid. After having studied Nakshbandīya doctrine under him, he chose Nehri as his domicile which became from that time the residence of this family. At first it was content with purely spiritual influence, but in time it seized upon temporal authority also, which reached its apogee under Shaikh ʿUbaid Allāh The ambitions of this great Kurd chief, who invaded the Ādharbāidjān about the year 1883 and who was overcome only by the joint efforts of Persia and of Turkey, are well-known (cf S. E. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1895. See also in the English *Blue-Book*, Correspondence respecting the Kurdish Invasion of Persia, Turkey, 1881, N°. 5). Saiyid Tā II and Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh II, grandsons of the Shaikh ʿUbaid Allāh, are the present representatives of this family

Besides these two principal families which disputed for primacy in the Shamdīnān, we may mention amongst the lords of less importance the Aghawāte Zerzān. This tribe is divided into two branches, one at Ushnu in Persia and the other gard to Guirdī, the family of the Mīrs divided i time into two branches, Zerīn Begzāde and Bī Čiā Begzāde. For about a century, power belonge to the former. At Guirdī as at Zerzān besides th Mīrs, there were pashmīrs. The Taifei pashmī family of Zerzān is extinct, that of Guirdī, know as Kuče Begān, has pretentions to a more ancien nobility than that of the Mīrs. In the Guirdī Ba roža, the Mīr Leshkeri family is well known. Lastl amongst the Herkī, the most ancient family i that of Māla Shabe Aghā at Shīwa Herkī It n longer possessed influence nor wealth, but th prestige which it had formerly won, still remains in all the assemblies of the Herki Kurds the firs place is reserved for it. The Herkī tribe has man branches. The settled part, Herkī Benedjī (1,00 hearths), constitutes the population of the distric of this name in Shamdīnān; the nomad part (6,00 tents) passes the winter between Rawandiz an Eibil (Hawler in Kurd), the Sidān and Serhāt and at Akra, the Mindan and in the summer a Terguiawai and Merguiawar in Persia. The com mon ancestor of the Aghas of Herkī was a certai Abū Bakr, a dangerous rival of Zain al-Dīn, Mi of Shamdīnān, who ended by getting rid of him Abū Bakr had four sons Mendo, Sido, Serha and Mam Shaikh, from which are derived the name of the nomad Herkī clans Jaba in his *Recuei* wrongly places a part of the tribe of Herkī i Kirmānshāh [q v]

Amongst clerical families the following enjoy certain renown in the Zerzā, Shaikh Djamāl, a Sūri, in the Guirdi, the family of Shaikh ʿĪsā that of Mollā Nabi of Kelit and that of Shaikl Faiakh at Nehāwa It should be mentioned tha the evil spirits, *djinn*, recognize the authority o the families of Shaikh Djamāl, of Mollā Nabī an of Shaikh Babīk Pīrāni (in the ʿashiret of Shirwani which adjoins Shamdīnān).

Bibliography. As has been indicated a the beginning of this article, Shamdinan is Kurd country very little studied Apart fron certain vague references in the books of th American missionaries of the Presbyterian mis sion of Urmiya, e g Dr A Grant, *Ten Los Tribes*, New York, 1841, there is a comparati vely full description only in the works of B Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan* in the *Journa of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1910. On can consult also W A. Wigram and Edga T. A Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind* (*Lif in E. Kurdistan*), London, 1914, ch viii.; V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, II 717 *sqq*

The author of the present article is believec to be the first to publish details of the geography and history of Shamdīnān, which he has beer able to bring together during his sojourn a Urmiya and his expeditions to Kurdistān Cf also his publications, B Nikitine and E. B. Soane *The Tale of Suto and Tato Kurdish text wit translation and notes* in *Bull of the School o Oriental Studies*, III 1 and *Les Kurdes et l Christianisme* in *R H R*, 1922, *Les Kurde racontés par eux-mêmes* in *As. Fr. B*, No 231 May 1925; *Vue d'ensemble sur le théâtre de la grande guerre dans le N. O. de la Perse*, ibid. No 234 (B. NIKITINE)

Russian rule (cf above, i., p. 890). Like his predecessors he belonged to the people of the Avars. Born in the last years of the xviiith century in the village of Gimri where the family estate was, he distinguished himself for the first time in 1830 in the unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Khūnzāḳ. After the murder of his predecessor Ḥamza Beg (1834), he was chosen by the rebels as their leader. In 1837 he was defeated and forced to surrender, he was able to regain his power next year and extend his rule over a great part of Dāghestān and over the land of the Čečentzen west of it. His institutions (*nizām*) were based on the religious law (*sharīʿa*) so that his rule was later known in Dāghestān as the "period of the Sharīʿa". His territory was divided into 32 districts, with a *nāʾib* at the head of each and a *muftī* for judicial matters under whom were four ḳādīs appointed by him. Shāmil's armed force amounted to 60,000 men The mountains of Dāghestān and the still less accessible forests of the Čečentzen formed the bulwark of his rule, in it was the fortress of Wedeno, Shāmil's residence from 1845 till the Russian conquest (April 1/13, 1859).

After several unsuccessful attempts to put down the rising by the superiority of military force, there began in 1845 a slow penetration of the mountains and clearings of the forests. Shāmil's attempts, especially during the Crimean War, to get help from the Turks were unavailing After the fall of Wedeno the struggle was decided Shāmil was forced to surrender in his last mountain fastness Gunib on Aug 25 (Sept 6) 1859 After being received by the Tsar Alexander II in St. Petersburg, the town of Kaluga was allotted to him and his immediate relations as a residence There by his own request he and his sons in 1866, took the oath of allegiance to the Tsar In Feb 1869 he was allowed to go to Mecca, he died in Medīna in March in 1871 Before his death his oldest son Ghāzi Muḥammad (local pronounciation in Russian transliteration = Kazī Magoma) received permission to visit his sick father; later he entered the Turkish service and took part in the war of 1877 and in the efforts to stir up the people of Dāghestān He died in Mecca in 1903. Shāmil's second son, Muhammad Shafīʿ, entered Russian service and ultimately settled in Kazan with the rank of Major-General

Bibliography. A survey of the numerous Russian writers about Shāmil is given by M Mansarow. *Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876, i, p. 798 *sqq*, N⁰ 4781—4840. Notes on this by E Kozubskiy, *Pamyatnaya Knižka Dagestanskoi oblasti*, 1898 and especially *Dagestanskiy Sbornik*, 1904, ii., p. 209, 213—243. — Mīrzā Ḥasan Efendi, *Āthār-i*, *Dāghistān* (cf. above, i. 928), p 194 *sq*., 202 *sqq* A work on Shāmil and his imprisonment was written in Arabic by his nephew ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Kaluga. The MS. is now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. A Russian translation by A. Runowskiy appeared in Tiflis in 1862 (first in the newspaper *Kawkaz*, N⁰. 72—76). Cf. also E Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kawkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 164—200

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B ABŪ ʿUTHMĀN SAʿĪD B. ʿABD AL-WĀḤID, a learned jurisconsult and Abādī biographer, died in Djumādā 928 (= March 29—April 28—May 26, 1522) in one of the villages of the oasis of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania. Among his pupils was Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyāʾ b Ibrāhīm al-Hawwārī.

He was the author of the following works· 1. A commentary on the *ʿAḳīda*, a short treatise on theology by Abū Ḥafs Omar b. Djamīʿ al-Nafūsī; 2. A commentary on his synopsis of the *K. al-ʿadl wa 'l-inṣāf* on the sources of law by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī; 3. *K al-siyar*, a biographical collection, spiced with anecdotes and a few historical events, of the principal Abādī personnages. A few extracts transl into French have been published by Masqueray in his *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1879, p 325 *sqq*., the Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1301.

Bibliography Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab* in *Bull. de Correspond afric*, 1885, i, ii p 47—70; do., *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, p. 90, note 1, al-Shammākhī, *K al-siyar*, p. 562, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm al-Yūsuf Aṭfiyash al-Djazāʾirī, *al-Diʿāya ilā sabīl al-muʾminīn*, Cairo 1342/1923, p 28, note 1

(MOH BEN CHENEB)

AL-SHAMMĀKHĪ, ABŪ SĀKIN ʿĀMIR B ʿALĪ B ʿĀMIR B ISFĀW, Abādī jurisconsult, died at a great age in 792 (= December 20, 1389—December 8, 1390) in one of the villages of the Ifren of the Djabal Nafūsa, in Tripolitania

After studying with Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b ʿĪsā al-Shammākhī, he attached himself to Abū ʿAzīz b Ibrāhīm b Abū Yaḥyā On the conclusion of his studies, he settled at Metiwen where he devoted himself to teaching for thirteen years He then settled in the oasis of Ifren in 756 (= January 16 1355—January 4, 1356)

His pupils were· his son Abū ʿImrān Mūsā, his grandson Sulaimān, Abū 'l-Kāsim b Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b Misbāḥ, etc.

He composed the following works 1 a *Dīwān*, which remained unfinished in four great volumes which has become the fundamental lawbook of the people of the Djabal Nafūsa, 2. *ʿAḳīda*, a theological treatise dedicated to Nūh b. Hāzim, 3 *Kaṣīda fi 'l-azmina*

Bibliography al-Shammākhi, *K. al-siyar*, Cairo 1301, p 559, Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab* in *Bull de Correspond afric*, 1885, i, ii., p. 44. (MOH BEN CHENEB)

SHAMMAR, (*a*) the plateau containing the parallel ranges of Djabal Adja and Djabal Salmā, "the two mountains of Tayʾ" In extent it stretches southward from the Nafūd to the Wādi 'l-Rumma and includes Irnan, Misma, Hubrān and Rummān which shelter Shammar tribesmen Politically the term is inconstant Thus, when the Amīr of Ḥāʾil [q. v.] was at the height of his power Djawf and Riyād were included to Shammar Inasmuch as the tribe gave its name in the district, like its predecessors, the Tayʾ, it is best to confine the name to the Djabal where the tribe is paramount. The capital is cut off from the outside world by its mountain barriers, fair access only being possible from the direction of Taima by the Riʿ al-Salf which pierces the mountain to the S. W of Ḥāʾil and by a pass through the Djabal Salmā. Between the ranges water is plentiful, but outside the fertile fringe wells are few. The climate is bracing and healthy and epidemics like those recorded by Doughty (i. 296) are doubtless of external origin. In the

oases water is near the surface and cultivation correspondingly easy

(*b*) The confederation of tribes in this region and in al-Djazīra Local traditions as to the origin vary. It is claimed that the Shammar are of Northern stock in the lines of Rabīʿa and Mudar. Wallin (*J. R. G. S.*, xx. 331) reported that they differ considerably from Syrian Arabs in racial characteristics and resemble in features the Yamanīs, and that their tradition is that they were the last to migrate from southern Arabia. The ruling clan, the Djaʿfar, is a sub-tribe of the ʿAbda of ʿAbida, descent from Kaḥtān, so that they may be Yamanīs. They certainly hold that they displaced and in part absorbed the Tayʾ Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed Wustenfeld, p. 233, merely says that the Banū Shammar are *min Tayʾ*. Doughty, ii. 41, reports that Nadjdean opinion favours a mixed ancestry. There is no good clue as to the date of the Shammar irruption At the beginning of Islām the Tayʾ were in the Shammar lands and probably their expropriation was gradual. Al-Kalḳashandī mentions the Shammar merely as Arabs inhabiting the Tayʾ mountains He does not connect them with any known stem

Their hereditary foes are the ʿAnaza; Beduwin war has gone on for at least a century and a half About a hundred years ago, the ʿAnaza succeeded in dividing the Shammar They forced a large section of them to cross the Euphrates and occupied the intervening *dīra*. By this time the two groups of Shammar are politically distinct, the Mesopotamian section following Ibn Djerba. Nevertheless the blood tie is still honoured in that the pasture land of the Djabal is open to any of the Djerba Shammar The Shammar *dira* extends almost to Nadjaf, though the assaults of the ʿAnaza, the Dhafīr and recently the Amīr of Riyād tend to confine them to the Nafūd

The Djazīra Shammar are practically all nomads, their range being between Tigris and Euphrates They come as far south as Baghdād and Zubār A rendez-vous is Dair al-Zōr and they move up the Khābūr [q v.] towards Nisībin In the absence of an official estimate their numbers may be said to be 10,000.

The Amir, who takes the name of his house and is known as Ibn Rashīd, is not only the paramount *shaikh* of the Shammar tribes he is also the ruler of the settled population in the line of oases between the ranges of Adja' and Salmā, and outlying settlements like Mustadjidda Hāʾil [q v.] and Faid (population about 1,000), Ḳafar, Aḳda, Muḳaḳ and Samīra deserve mention

The renowned Tamīm still form a considerable proportion of the settled population, though they incline to Ibn Saʿūd of Riyād The townspeople are regarded as superior to the Beduin brethren in courage and military skill They form the backbone of the army: each man is compelled to furnish his own camel or horse, weapons, ammunition and equipment, and afterwards a summons is sent to the nomads, who, though they turn out in great numbers, are merely regarded as auxiliaries. The great strength of the Shammar in the past has lain in their discipline and they may yet again assert their strength under a capable Amir.

Wallin noted that apart from the Khatīb and Ḳādī, men with any knowledge of Arabic literature were extremely rare; and the former knew little but the Ḳurʾān, the Ḥanbalī traditions and the specific tenets of the Wahhābī faith. The Shamm have been some of the most devoted champio of Wahhābī doctrines and they have done much propagate it throughout western Arabia. Latter they have revolted against the excessive austeri of the sect, and tobacco and silk are not tab as in Nadjd Doubtless up-to-date information the effect of Ibn Saʿūd's régime in Ḥāʾil wou lead to a modification of some statements mac above

I refrain deliberately from noticing the wo of William Gifford Palgrave, as Philby (ii. 117-156) has shown that he was a liar.

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(A. GUILLAUME)

AL-SHAMS (A), the sun As in Gree astronomy, whose conception of the cosmos t Arabs had taken over, they made the sun round the earth from east to west in a true (trop year The centre of the sun's orbit (epicycle *falak al-tadwīr*) did not coincide with the earth centre but was eccentric to it (*al-kharidj al-marka* to account for the inequality of the seasons whic had already been established by Hipparchus T sun itself was a ball-shaped solid body sunk in the so-called eccentric sphere of the sun (*fal al-shams*) in such a way that the ball of the su nowhere protruded beyond the surface of t sphere (A pictorial illustration of this idea is give in Rudloff und Hochheim, *Die Astronomie d Gagmīnī*, Leipzig 1893, p. 13) If we put t radius of the sun's orbit at 60^p, then according Hipparchus the distance of its centre from the cent of the earth = approximately 2^p 30′ = $\frac{1}{24}$ of th radius, according to al-Battānī = 2^p 4$\frac{3}{4}$′, while t calculations of Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizm result in an eccentricity, the magnitude of which h been variously estimated from 2^p 10′ to 2^p 2 (cf H Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Mu b. Mūsā al-Ḵẖʷārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914, p. 45 The two directions at which one looks at the su from the two centres mentioned thus form a angle calculated by Hipparchus as = ± 2° 13′ a maximum (by al-Maʾmūn's astronomers at 1° 59 by Battānī at 1° 58′) This magnitude is calle the equation (*taʿdīl al-hāṣṣa wa 'l-markaz* In consequence of the eccentric sun's orbit whic (in modern language) is simply the elliptic pat of the earth round the sun projected on th sphere of the heavens, there were two outstandin points for the motion of the sun; that at whic it is nearest the earth (*perigee*, *perigaeum*, *ḥadīḍ buʿd aḳrab*), and that of its greatest distance fro

the earth (*apogee*, *apogaeum*, *awdj*, *buʿd abʿad*) It is one of al-Battānī's most important contributions to knowledge, that he discovered the turning movement of the apogee which we can now prove to be a necessary result of the disturbance of the earth's path by the attraction of the moon (three body problem). Al-Battānī found it amounted to 21″ in a year, according to the results of modern astronomy it is about 11″ 50 (cf. e.g Israel-Holtzwart, *Die Elemente der theoretischen Astronomie*, i., Wiesbaden 1885, p. 17). This movement of the apogee has nothing to do with that which is produced by the precession of the equinoxes and is added in the same direction to the former. While Hipparchus and Ptolemy estimated its annual amount at 36″, al-Battānī came much nearer with 54″ — 55″, while Nasīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī about 1260 calculated it at 51″ which is practically correct. Whether now the introduction of trepidation into this movement of precession in the zodiacal circle, i.e. the assumption of an inequality in it in the form of a see-saw movement (*ḥarakat al-ikbāl wa 'l-idbār*) is due to lack of agreement in calculations or, as S Gunther thinks, was learned by the Arabs from the Hindus (cf. his *Studien zur Geschichte der mathemat und physikal. Geographie*, ii, Halle 1877, p 78), need not be discussed here. It will be sufficient to refer to the work of Thābit b. Ḳurra (826—901) which was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona with the title *Liber Thebit de motu accessionis et recessionis* (cf. H Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leizip 1900, p 37) Both texts, Arabic and Latin, are in MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale Delambre has investigated the Latin MS He quotes it as *Thebit ben Chorath de motu octavae sphaerae* and finds that Thābit introduces a second movable ecliptic, which rises and falls alternately above and below the fixed ecliptic The equinoctial points at the same time advance or retire as much as 10° 45″ (cf J B Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen âge*, Paris 1819, p 74)

The divisions of time are caused by two kinds of solar motion. The first is that which is completed within a tropic year along the eccentric solar sphere, during which time the sun traverses the twelve constellations of the zodiac (ecliptic = *falak al-burūdj*) to return again to its starting point (beginning of spring = *nuḳṭat al-iʿtidāl*) The duration of the tropic year was calculated by al-Battānī at $365^d\ 5^h\ 46'\ 24''$ (actually it is $365^d\ 5^h\ 48'\ 47''$), i.e. much more accurately than by Ptolemy who puts it as $365^d\ 5^h\ 55'\ 12''$ Secondly, the sun as a result of the revolution of the globe of heaven around the earth performs its daily round in the heavens from east to west The Arabs understood by natural day (*yawm*), the day of sunlight and night combined Muslim religious ceremonies are closely connected with the different stages of daylight. Dawn and twilight (*fadjr*, *shafaḳ* q v.) are periods for prayer and it was necessary to define them astronomically. In the meridian or at midday (*niṣf al-nahār*), the sun attains its greatest height (*ghāyat al-irtifāʿ*) and then begins to sinks (*zawāl*). The *ẓuhr* is the period of prayer immediately after noon. The distance of the sun from the meridian is called *faḍl al-dāʾir*. The position of the sun in the heavens was usually obtained from the length and direction of the shadow of the *miḳyās*. The Ḥākimī astronomer Ibn Yūnus (1009) called attention to the half-shadow which is a result of the flatness of the sun's disc. The shadow instruments of the Arabs i.e. their sundials were of varied kinds. At the moment when the afternoon shadow on the *basīṭa* (horizontal sundial) exceeded the midday shadow by the length of the *miḳyās* (*shaḳḳ*), the time of *ʿaṣr* began (afternoon prayer). The hours (*al-sāʿāt* see SĀʿA) were either equal (*al-sāʿāt al-mutaʿdila*) or unequal i.e. temporal (*al-sāʿāt al-zamānīya*). Later the equal hours were also marked on the sundial

The procedure for ascertaining the beginning and magnitude of the eclipse of the sun (*kusūf al-shams*) among the Arabs is based on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. As regards accuracy in calculating the beginning of and observing an eclipse of the sun, the same holds as for the moon (cf. AL-ḲAMAR). In such questions as solar parallaxes, apparent size of the sun, its distance from the earth etc., the Arabs also closely followed the Greeks. Ibn al Haitham notes that in solar eclipses a similar reddish black is seen on the sun's disc as on the moon, at the time of its total eclipse He remonmends the observation of a solar eclipse in its reflection in a vessel filled with water, in view of the too fierce light, especially in partial eclipses.

Bibliography In addition to the references in the text C A Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1899—1907, i 41, 43, 71, 104, 135, and the corresponding Adnotationes, Vol. ii with the plates of the sun, R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, Munich 1877, p 47, 160, 173 On Ibn Yūnus's proof that the shadow (*al-ẓill*) of a *miḳyās* gives the height of the upper rim of the sun and not that of its centre, cf. C Schoy, *Über eine arabische Methode, die geographische Breite aus der Höhe der Sonne im ersten Vertikal (Höhe ohne Azimut) zu bestimmen (Annalen d Hydrographie u maritimen Meteorologie*, 1921, p 131) On sundials, the division of the days and hours. C. Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923 and do, *Sonnenuhren der spatarabischen Astronomie*, *Isis*, vi, N° 18, 1924, p 332—361 On the greatest declination of the sun or sphere of the ecliptic (*ghāyat al-mail*, *al-mail al-aʿẓam*), cf the article AL-SARATĀN Ibn al-Haitham's note on the observation of the eclipse of the sun is in his *Fī Māʾiyat al-Athr alladhī fī Wadjh al-Ḳamar* (Madjlis baladiy in Alexandria). (C. SCHOY)

SHAMS AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR B FAḴHR AL-DAWLA, a Būyid After the death of Fakhr al-Dawla [q v.] the amirs proclaimed as his successor his four-year-old son Madjd al-Dawla under the guardianship of his mother Saiyida and gave the governorship of Hamadhān and Kirmānshāhān to Shams al-Dawla who was also a minor When Madjd al-Dawla grew up, he sought to overthrow his mother and with this object made an arrangement with the vizier al-Khaṭīr Abū ʿAlī b ʿAlī b al-Ḳāsim in 397 (1006/1007) But when they sought assistance from the Kurd chief Badr b Ḥasanawaih, the latter set out for al-Raiy with Shams al-Dawla and took Madjd al-Dawla prisoner. The government was then given to Shams al-Dawla but as he was not so pliant as Madjd al-Dawla, the latter was released from his prison after a year and again proclaimed ruler, while Shams al-Dawla returned to Hamadhān After Badr had been murdered by the soldiers in 405 (1014/1015), Shams al-Dawla

seized a portion of his territory and when the grandson of the dead man, Ṭāhir b. Hilāl b. Badr, wished to dispute the possession of it, he was defeated and thrown into prison. His father Hilāl b. Badr had already been imprisoned by Sulṭān al-Dawla [q. v.], but the latter released him and sent him with an army to regain the lands occupied by Shams al-Dawla. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 405 (April/May 1015), he came upon the enemy but the battle resulted in Hilāl's defeat and death. After this victory Shams al-Dawla seized the town of al-Rayy, Madjd al-Dawla and his mother took to flight, but when Shams al-Dawla wished to pursue them, his troops mutinied and forced him to return to Hamadhān, whereupon Madjd al-Dawla and his mother returned to al-Rayy In 411 (1020/1021) the Turks rose in Hamadhān, Shams al-Dawla appealed to Abū Dja'far b Kākawaih, governor of Isfahān, and with his help succeeded in driving the mutinous element out of the town About 412 (1021/1022), Shams al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Samā' al-Dawla but within two years (414 = 1023/1024), Hamadhān fell into the hands of the Kākōyids [q v] (Kākwaihids)

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Ḳāmil*, ed Tornberg, ix 93, 144, 173—175, 182, 208, 226, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv 466 469—473, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, ed Browne, i 429, 431, Wilken, *Gesch. d Sultane aus d Geschl Bujeh nach Mirchond*, Chap xii , Weil, *Gesch d. Chalifen*, iii. 53, 57 *sqq* , Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 142, I G. Covernton in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1909, 220—240. (K V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHAMS AL-DĪN. [See DJUWAINĪ, i 1070a, ILDEGĪZ, ÍLTUTMISH, PEHLEWĀN, TIBRĪZĪ],

SHAMS AL-DĪN, IBN 'ABD ALLĀH AL-SAMAṬRĀNĪ (the *nisba* is variously given, as the pronunciation of the name of the country varies), = belonging to Samatrā < Samudra, a district in North Sumatra which in those days formed a part of the kingdom of Pasei, cf. the art. SUMATRA), a Malay mystic author, who was born probably before 1575 and died in 1630 (Radjab 12, 1039 A. H , as we know from Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, the part in question has been edited by G K Niemann, under the title *Ḥikāyat Nagarī Atjeh*, in *Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften*, the Hague 1907, ii.[4] 127) On his personality al-Rānīrī says "This Shaikh was learned in all branches of learning, especially his knowledge in the field of the *'ilm taṣawwuf* was well known; a number of books have been written by him". He is often mentioned along with his contemporary Hamza al-Fansūrī (= belonging to Baros, on the West coast of Sumatra, cf. the art. ḤAMZA AL-FANṢŪRĪ in the Supplement), whose importance is, however, much greater Whether Shams al-Dīn was Ḥamza's pupil, as H. Kraemer suggests (*Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, diss. Leiden 1921, p 28), seems to be not quite certain.

After the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese (1511), the importance of Acheh as a centre of Muslim economic and religious life had increased. Especially during the reign of Iskandar Muda (= Makūta 'Ālam) (1607–1636), who extended his sway over parts of the Malay peninsula, religious life in Northern Sumatra was very intensive. Our sources speak of a struggle between the radical mysticism of Ḥamza and Shams al-Dīn and their adherents, and the more orthodox Nūr al-Dīn Rānīrī, as Shams al-Dīn was granted the favour of Iskandar Muda, al-Rānīrī left Acheh for some time, but later on, during the reign of Iskandar he succeeded in securing the assistance of t public authorities and, by a *fatwā*, caused t books of his opponents to be burnt publicly (H Kraemer, *op. cit*, p 30; do , *Noord-Sumatraansc invloeden op de Javaansche mystiek*, in *Djau* 1924, iv 30, cf also H. N. v d. Tuuk, *Ko Verslag der Mal Handschr.* etc., in *B. T. L.* 1866, Series 3, vol i 463, where Muqul Maâ Sjâh is another name for Iskandar II).

Kraemer, *op cit.*, p. 30 *sqq* , mentions the f lowing works of Shams al-Dīn

1) *Mir'āt al-Mu'min*, "Mirror of the Believer deals with dogmatics in an orthodox mann written in 1009 (1601). Cod Or. Leiden N° 17 (H H Juynboll, *Cat. Mal .. Handschr. Leidse Univ Bibl*, Leiden 1899, p. 256—257) and N 1952 (Kraemer, p. 30) contain parts of it; t former is provided with a Dutch MS. translation P. v d Vorm (d. 1731), and is therefore the same M as has already been described by G H. Werndl the complete work contained 211 questions a answers on religious subjects (G H. Wernd *Maleische Boekzaal*, Amsterdam 1736, p 354—35 the author also says that this work was very popul in his days and cites [Introduction, p I—III] t beginning sentences, according to which Shar al-Dīn wrote this book for those who were n acquainted with the Arab and Persian language 2) *Mir'āt al-Muḥakḳikīn*, "Mirror of those w have acquired a deep mystic knowledge", me tioned by al-Rānīrī, seems to be lost. V. Tuuk's identification of this work with Cod C Leiden N° 1332 is, according to Kraemer, 31, wrong 3) *Sharḥ Rubā'ī Ḥamzat al-Fanṣū* (written in 1611), perhaps a commentary on Ḥamz *Rubā' al-Muḥakḳikīn* (Kraemer, p 29 and note which has not survived to us Juynboll, *op ci* p 289, supposes that Cod. Or. Leiden, N°. 19 (2) contains this commentary

Excerpts of works by Shams al-Dīn are mention by Kraemer on p 31, on p 32 we find a list works which are only known by name (cf al p 30 above) As it is not always certain th Shams al-Dīn is the real author, and our kno ledge of their contents is still very limited, seems not to be necessary to enumerate them here Only scanty notice of Shams al-Dīn's teachin can be gathered from the fragments preserved us, even Codex Leiden, coll Sn H, N°. 3 described by Prof Ph S van Ronkel (*Sup Cat Mal. ... Handschr Leidsche Univ Bib* Leiden 1921, p. 145, N° 341) as a résumé Shams al-Dīn's teachings, has only the charact of a collection of annotations which presuppo a fuller account or oral explanation.

Al-Rānīrī mentions Shams al-Dīn (Kraemer, 28) as a representative of the Wudjūdiya [q. v.], and from the information on h teachings given by Kraemer (p. 46—48) we m conclude that there is no essential deviation fro the general Muslim mystic conceptions of his da On the other hand he has exercised a considera influence on the peculiar Javanese mystic liter ture, which is, however, not yet fully investigat (cf. the art. SULŪK). Continued researches w perhaps solve the question whether Indonesi elements, which are so well represented in J

vanese mystic treatises, are already to be found in the literary inheritance of Shams al-Dīn and his contemporaries.

According to v. d. Tuuk (*op. cit.*, p. 463–464), al-Rānirī's [q. v.] *Nubḏha fī Daᶜwā al-Zill* and his *Tabyān fī Maᶜrifat al-Adyān* are especially intended as polemics against Shams al-Dīn (cf. also Kraemer, p 32—33).

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SHAMS AL-MAᶜĀLĪ. [See ḲĀBŪS]

SHAMSĪYA, order of dervishes called after Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṯhanā' Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Barakāt Muhammad Siwāsī or Sīwāsī-zāde, also called Kara Shams al-Dīn and Shamsī (d 1009 = 1600—1601) He is mentioned by the historians Naᶜīmā (Constantinople 1281, i. 372) and Pečewī (Constantinople 1283, ii. 290) among the saints of the reign of Muhammad III, and they state (probably on the authority of this sovereign, whose letter is cited by von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii 286) that he fought at the taking of Erlau (1005 = 1596) He was the author of numerous works in Turkish, enumerated by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who, however, confuses him with other persons, of one called *Manāzil al-ᶜĀrifīn* there is a copy in the British Museum, and another called *Gulshanābād* is preserved in the Vienna Library Notices of this order in European works are mainly derived from d'Ohsson, who mentions it in his list (*Tableau*, iv. 625), whence von Hammer obtains his information in the *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, iv 236, adding that the founder lived and died at Medina in the odour of sanctity In his later work on Ottoman Poetry, *loc cit*, he states that this person was head of the Khalwatī order in Sīwās; and in the *Ḳāmūs al-Aᶜlām* he is called the restorer of the Khalwatī order In a pedigree of orders made by a Nakshabandī and cited by Le Châtelier, *Confréries*, p. 50, the Shamsīya is represented as a branch of the Khalwatīya and appears to be confined to Sīwās. It does not figure in the list of *tekye* at Sīwās drawn up by Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i 666), whence it was probably a local name for the Khalwatī order which speedily became obsolete Le Châtelier, *loc. cit*, p. 179, mentions an order of this name as a branch of the Badawīyah in Egypt.

(D S MARGOLIOUTH)

AL-SHANFARĀ was a poet of the time before Islām and is reckoned by the Arabs as one of the great racers, along with others like Ta'abbata Sharran, and also as one of the ravens (*aghribа*) on account of his black skin The genealogists know his complete genealogy, but as the various sources consulted are not even unanimous as to his name and that of his immediate ancestors, it is hazardous to attach great credence to the chain of his forebears named. There is, however, perfect agreement that he belonged to the South-Arabian clan of the Banu 'l-Iwās b. al-Ḥidjr b. al-Hanw b al-Azd and consequently he is one of the very few South-Arabian pre-islamic poets of whom poems are preserved. As a boy he was captured by the tribe Shabāba b. Fahm, a clan of Kais ᶜAilān, and he remained a prisoner among them till he was exchanged for a man of the Banū Shabāba, whom the Banū Salamān b. Mufarridj, a clan of al-Azd, had captured. He remained among the latter as one of their tribe till he began to make love with a girl of the Banū Salamān who resented his wooing, and when he was insulted by the father of the girl he ran away to his first captors When he learned from them his real descent he swore that he would take vengeance upon the clan of Salamān by killing a hundred of their men. He succeeded in this in so far that he killed actually 99 of them. The small tribe of Fahm were noted robbers, associated with Ta'abbata Sharran he was for a long time a terror to tribes which often lived very long distances from the home of the clan of Fahm It is reported that he, like his companion, made all his raids on foot, crossing large stretches of desert, through which he made his retreat sure by burying ostrich-eggs filled with water in the sand. As soon as he had made his murderous attack he would, upon being pursued, race back into the wilderness, where his pursuers were compelled to give up their chase for fear of dying of thirst.

When his murderous career against the Banū Salamān had assumed the dimensions indicated, three men of the clan Ghāmid waylaid him in the night when he was going to a lonely well at al-Nāsif near Abīda and though he wounded two of them by shooting at them as he espied their form in the dark they overpowered him and after cutting one of his hands off brought him to their camp, where they killed him. It is stated that on this occasion he uttered the defiant verses telling them not to bury his body but to leave it to the hyenas, which are found in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammam and have several times been translated into European languages Al-ᶜAinī in his commentary on the verses of the *Alfīya* (iv 596, 10) mentions his *Dīwān* among the books which he has consulted, but this book is now probably lost.

We have, however, two celebrated poems of some length attributed to him, one found in the collection of ancient odes entitled *al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (ed Lyall, N⁰. 20, ed Thorbecke, N⁰. 18) in which he celebrates his murder of Haiām b. Djābir, a man of the Banū Salamān, but the chief beauty of this poem lies perhaps in the *nasīb* or amatory introduction. This poem is accessible to European readers in the excellent rendering of Lyall. Greater celebrity, however, is enjoyed by his other poem which is generally known under the title of the *Lāmīyat al-ᶜArab*, a poem full of defiance and manliness, which since it was made accessible to Western readers by Sylvestre de Sacy has been acknowledged as one of the finest products of Arabic poetry. It has been translated into several Western languages, even Polish. It was also appreciated by Arabic scholars and we possess an early commentary which is attributed in the printed editions (Constantinople 1300 etc.) to al-Mubarrad; this is, however, an error as the commentator himself mentions that he derived his text from Abu 'l-ᶜAbbās in more than one place and once

(p. 26) from Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā i. e. the Kūfī grammarian Thaʿlab who died in 291 (903). Printed with the same commentary is another commentary, more extensive, by al-Zamakhsharī who died in 538 (1143/1144)

While the poem in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* is considered the undisputed work of al-Shanfarā, this is not the case with the *Lāmīyat al-ʿArab*. The earliest scholars appear to have no knowledge of the poem at all, it is not mentioned by Ibn Ḳutaiba in his book on poets, nor is there any reference to this poem in the fairly long account of the poet in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (xxi. 134–143). Though al-Ḳālī (died 358 = 969) quotes the poem at length in the appendix of his *Amālī* (iii 208–212) he informs us in an earlier part of his work (i. 157) that the poem, though generally attributed to al-Shanfarā, is in reality the work of Abū Muḥriz i e the Baṣrian philologer Khalaf al-Aḥmar. Al-Ḳālī, who derives about two thirds of his book from Ibn Duraid, has received this information also from him and probably from this source it is repeated in later literature. Ibn Duraid was well informed about the activities of the scholars of the Basrian school and only two generations separated him from Khalaf al-Aḥmar, his information being as a rule derived from pupils of al-Asmaʿī from Khalaf. We are consequently compelled to attach some weight to his statement, which is largely corroborated by the internal evidence of the poem itself The entire lack of names of places and personal names, except such as cannot easily be identified, is so unusual in early poems that it must give rise to suspicion, for we have not a fragment, but a harmonious complete poem To this must be added that in its diction occur words and phrases which cannot easily be confirmed from poems which are acknowledged as originating from poets who lived contemporary or near the time of al-Shanfarā and we must come to the conclusion that Khalaf inspired by the fragment found in the *Ḥamāsa* composed his masterpiece, which truly represented the defiant nature of the wild robber and murderer

Added to this comes the remarkable fact that another poem of equally wild nature and attributed in the *Ḥamāsa* to Taʾabbaṭa Sharran, the companion of al-Shanfarā, is also attributed to al-Shanfarā, but by critics vindicated as a forgery of the same Khalaf al-Aḥmar (*Ḥamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 382 = ed. Būlāḳ, ii 160) Besides these poems the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* cites a fragment of a longer poem, and in several early works are quoted fragments of four other poems, which probably are not remnants of longer *kasīda*'s

Bibliography The whole subject is most exhaustively dealt with by G. Jacob in his *Schanfara Studien*, Munich 1914—1915, from which it is evident that the poems of al-Shanfarā have attracted greater attention in European literature than any other Arabic poet, and to the works cited there I can only add an édition-de-luxe of the *Lāmīya* in German translation. Hanover 1923. Scattered verses by al-Shanfarā are found in several other older works besides those used by Jacob, but they add nothing to our knowledge (F. KRENKOW)

SHANT YĀḲUB (Yāḳūt, in Abu 'l-Fidāʾ), Arab transcription of the Spanish Santiago, in French St. Jacques de Compostelle, is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in Christian Spain, the former capital of the kingdom of Galicia, situated 760 feet above sea-level, between Vigo and La Coruña, to the east of Cape Finisterre. It is there that according to the legend are the relics of the apostle St James the Greater, the patron-saint of Spain, who landed on the coast near Santiago to convert the peninsula. There was, before the eleventh century, a celebrated church dedicated to St. James Compostelle, with which the Arab authors deal with full details. It was for the Christians, says the author of *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, what the Kaʿba is for the Muslims.

In 387 (997), the *ḥāǧib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir directed an important expedition from Cordova against Santiago, of which Dozy has given a detailed account from the chronicler Ibn al-ʿIdhārī. On Shaʿbān 2 (10th August), the town, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, was taken by the Arab army and burned to the ground, only the tomb of the saint was respected. The king of Galicia, Bermudo II, recaptured Santiago from the Muslims at the end of the eleventh century and restored all its traditional splendour to the place of pilgrimage The building of the present cathedral on the foundations of the sanctuary destroyed by al-Mansūr, was undertaken in the reign of Alphonso VI in the last quarter of the eleventh century

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHĀPŪR (P), Arabic Sabūr (the form *Shāhafūr* in a verse of Aʿshā quoted in Thaʿālibī, *Hist des rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, p 493 is nearer the Pahlavi *Shāhpuhr*), the name of several members of the Sāsānid dynasty The three Persian kings of this name have associations with Muslim tradition

SHĀPŪR I B ARDASHĪR called Sābūr al-Djunūd by the Arabs, the Sapor I of the classical historians (241—272 A D) who waged war with the Romans for the greater part of his reign, for he continued the offensive which had been begun by his father Artaxerxes. He succeeded in capturing important towns like Nisibis (which were however lost again after his defeat at Resaina in 243) later (256 ?) he took Antioch and in 260 he even took the Emperor Valerian a prisoner The Roman wars, waged with varying fortune, thus seemed to have ended in the definite victory of Sapor, when he discovered an enemy in the king of Palmyra, Odenathus, who forced him to evacuate the conquered territory. Odenathus remained the enemy of the Persians till his death; it was only his successor Zenobia that concluded a treaty with Sapor. On this and other historical facts which cannot be gone into here, see Pauly-Wissowa, ii , *Realenz.*² ii , col 2325 *sqq* ; here we are only concerned with the Muslim tradition, based on an older Persian tradition, which can on the whole claim little real

historical value, although it will not be disputed that it has preserved many historical, important and valuable details, otherwise unknown. The facts of the legendary biography of Shāpūr I as contained in Muslim sources are in the main as follows

Youth. Ardashīr, Shāpūr's father, had married a daughter of the Arsakid Ardawān, whom he had dethroned and slain. The princess attempted to poison Ardashīr but the plot was discovered and the king ordered a trusted court official to put her to death. When the latter saw that she was pregnant, he spared her life and when she gave birth to a boy, he called him *Shāpūr*, i.e. "king's son". Shāpūr grew up in concealment Ardashīr was lamenting that he would leave no heir to succeed him at his death, the courtier thereupon revealed the secret and brought the son to his delighted father.

This story is already found in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak*. Muslim tradition agrees with it in the main, although all the sources do not have the same details. Firdawsī gives two details, which are lacking in the *Kārnāmak* but can be shown from the rest of the story to be old, in order not to run any danger should the fact of Shāpūr's birth become known, the official entrusted with the execution of the Arsakid princess acts exactly like the Lycian Combabos, the second is that Shāpūr is recognised as a real prince by the fact that he dares, while playing, to pick up the ball near Ardashīr who is looking on, without showing any awe at the king. Al-Ṭabarī knows this story also, but says nothing of a poison-plot In his story Ardashīr is bound by an oath to destroy all Arsakids but does not know that his wife belongs to this family, so also al-Dīnawarī, only he makes the princess a niece of the Arsakid Farrukhān

The legend next deals with the story of Shāpūr's wooing and the birth of his son Hurmizd, it is practically a repetition of the preceding. An Indian sage has predicted to Ardashīr that the throne will be inherited by the family of the Mihrak dynasty overthrown by Ardashīr, therefore the king has all the descendants of Mihrak put to death, only a daughter escapes; Shāpūr meets her while out hunting and brings her home without Ardashīr's knowledge. When her son, later Hurmizd I, is grown up, Ardashīr recognises royal blood in the boy, who is without fear in the presence of the king (the same motif as in the story of Shāpūr), everything then ends happily. This is the story of the *Kārnāmak* and Firdawsī and al-Ṭabarī agrees. The other sources do not give this story, but Hamza al-Isfahānī says (ed Gottwaldt, p 49) that there was a well-known story about the mother of Hurmizd I, whom he calls Gurdzād.

The legend preserved by Ṭabarī tells that Shāpūr, before his accession, took an active part in a fight between Ardashīr and Ardawān, Shāpūr killed the *dabīr* of the Parthian king Shāpūr succeeded Ardashīr on the latter's death, the statement in Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 160) that Ardashīr resigned the throne in favour of his son and henceforth devoted his life to religion, does not seem to belong to the old tradition.

Hatra. The conquest of Hatra is ascribed by al-Ṭabarī and Thaʿālibī to Shāpūr I, by Ibn Ḳutaiba and Eutychius to Ardashīr, and by Firdawsī and al-Dīnawarī to Shāpūr II. The story is as follows:

The Persian king was unsuccessful in taking the stronghold of Hatra, the residence of the prince Sāṭirūn (according to others· Daizan) until the latter's daughter Naḍīra fell in love with him and put the town in his hands by making her father and his soldiers intoxicated, or by betraying to the enemy the talisman on which the ownership of the fortress depended. The Persian king married Nadīra as he had promised, but afterwards had her executed, in disgust at her ingratitude to her father

Our authorities quote Arabic poems in this connection, which are, of course, of much later date and are of as little value as sources as the stories of the historians. They are evidence, however, that the Arabs also had the tradition that the warlike Sābūr once besieged Hatra. Whether the king who took Hatra was Ardashīr or Shāpūr I, cannot be certainly ascertained. We know from a really reliable source (Dio Cassius) of only one siege of Hatra by a Sāsānid, namely Ardashīr, and this siege was unsuccessful. It is assumed by many, what is not in itself improbable, that either Ardashīr himself after an unsuccessful attempt, or Shāpūr I soon after his accession took Hatra. But we have no reliable historical information, what we have is a version of the widespread Scylla (Komaithō) story. There may be an echo of history in the name of the king Sāṭirūn, he must have been a Syrian with an originally Parthian name (Sanatruk?) The name Daizan is an intrusion from another context (cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 35) The version which places the taking of Hatra in the reign of Shāpūr II, makes the Arab prince Daizan (in Firdawsī Tāʾir) carry off a Persian princess, his daughter by her is the traitress (so in Firdawsī). Here we find the better known Shāpūr II in this story in place of his earlier namesake and the treachery of the king's daughter at Hatra excused to some extent because she is of Sāsānid descent on her mother's side Firdawsī further knows nothing of her execution, which al-Dīnawarī inserts from another, apparently older, version of the story (cf the article HATRA in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz* ², vii, col 2516 *sqq.*)

War with the Romans Persian tradition preserves a memory of the capture of Valerian and the taking of Nisibis and other towns of the Roman empire. From the old, not quite coherent and often not quite clear tradition, it seems that Sapor I took Nisibis twice, according to the western accounts the Romans retook the town after the battle of Resaina and it was later taken by Odenathus from the Persians (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz* ², ii., Reihe i., col 2328 and 2331; cf also Noldeke, *op cit*, p. 31, note 3) Firdawsī makes the Romans the attackers, because they hoped to profit from a possible weakness in the Persian empire as a result of the change of ruler (a similar idea is found in the history of Shapūr II) The Roman general Bazānūsh (a corrupt form which goes back to Valerianus) is defeated and taken prisoner. He only regains his freedom by planning the dam of Shūshtar for Shāpūr. Practically the same story is found in the other sources, only that al-Ṭabarī more correctly calls Valerian a king (*malik*) The Persian version of al-Ṭabarī (transl Zotenberg, ii 79 *sq*) is somewhat fuller than the original text. There were also stories, as Ṭabarī points out, according to which Shāpūr had the Roman's nose cut off and even put him to death. Here we cannot tell how far we have to deal

with native tradition or a non-Persian version. Thaʿālibī calls the Roman emperor in question Constantine His source, therefore, does not seem to have contained the correct name. Eutychius, whose synchronisms between the Roman emperor and the Sāsānids are wrong, puts the capture and death of Valerian (who appears here as an unnamed son of Gallienus, while in reality their relationships were the reverse) in the reign of Bahrām II (Eutychius, ed. Cheikho, p. 113) That, according to al-Ṭabarī, Valerian was besieged in Antioch by Shāpūr is a reminiscence of the taking of this city by the Persians under Sapor I (the year is not certain, indeed Antioch seems to have been taken twice Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit*, cols. 2327 and 2329). The name Cappadocia, which occurs several times in the Persian tradition (cf Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 2) is likewise an echo of the events of 258 A.D and the following years, namely the capture of the Cappadocian capital Caesarea by Sapor I (c 260). There is a wonderful story associated with the fall of Nisibis. Shāpūr is said to have invested the town in the eleventh year of his reign, then to have raised the siege because his presence was required in Khorāsān Later he laid siege to the city a second time and succeeded in taking it because the walls split open by a miracle. The story is found in Ṭabarī and more fully in Eutychius, the interruption of the siege and the splitting of the walls reflect events of the reign of Shāpūr II. According to Thaʿālibī Shāpūr I also took Tarsus, there is also a historical basis for this in the taking of this city by one of Sapor's generals (c. 260 A D, cf Pauly-Wissowa, *op cit*, col 2331 supra).

City-Foundations Miscellaneous The oriental writers ascribe to Shāpūr I the foundation of the following cities Shādh-Shāpūr (in Kashkar), Djundai-Shāpūr (in Ahwāz) near Shūshtar (with an absurd story that the king settled the Romans taken in Antioch here) Firdawsī's Shāpūrgird is probably the same town, Ḥamza further mentions the towns of Bīshāpūr (in Fārs), Shāpūr Khwāsht and Balāsh Shāpūr which cannot be exactly located, and wrongly (they are foundations of Shāpūr II) Nīshāpūr (also attributed to Shāpūr I by Firdawsī) and Fīrūz-Shāpūr (al-Anbar). Ibn Kutaiba says that Shāpūr settled his prisoners of war in three cities Djundai-Shāpūr, Sābūr in Fārs (probably Ḥamza's Bīshāpūr) and Tustar in Ahwāz (cf. also Thaʿālibī, p 494)

Some historians like Ṭabarī and Dīnawarī, place the first appearance of Mānī in the reign of Shāpūr I, but the catastrophe did not occur till the reign of a later king (Hurmizd I or Bahrām II) Firdawsī, who wrongly places the event in the reign of Shāpūr II, alone makes a continuous story of it the painter Mānī from Cīn appeared before Shāpūr as a prophet and the founder of a sect, but he was refuted by the Mobeds and executed by the king's orders. Thaʿālibī (p. 501) has a similar story in the reign of Bahrām I, Mānī had a disputation with the chief mobed, was worsted and flayed. According to Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, II. 164), Shāpūr I was a Manichaean for a time; this can hardly be historical; perhaps we have had a reminiscence of the later king Kawādh and his inclination to Mazdakism. Shāpūr I died, according to the Muslim tradition, after a reign of thirty years, after giving the usual exhortations to his son and successor Hurmizd.

Shāpūr II b. Hurmizd, called Dhu 'l-Aktāf (because he had the shoulders of Arab prisoners dislocated or pierced), is the Sapor II of history (310–379 A. D), throughout whose long reign wars were waged with Rome. Persian arms were not successful against Constantine and under Julian the Roman offensive threatened to be dangerous to the Sāsānid empire The death of the gifted emperor (363) was the reason that the treaty of peace which his successor Jovian made with Sapor was as advantageous for Persia as it was shameful for Rome. In the reign of the Emperor Valens, also the war with Persia continued, within this period falls the capture of Arsakes of Armenia by Sapor and following this the intervention of Rome in favour of Pap, son and successor of Arsakes. These wars, which were interrupted from time to time by negotiations, dragged on and had not yet brought about any important decisions when Sapor died in 379 For all details and references to original sources see the Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit*, col 2334 *sqq*. Here we are only concerned with the oriental traditions. It must be remembered that in Persian tradition, although on the whole it has kept distinct the figures of Shāpūr I and II, details originally referring to one have been transferred to the other. Incidents from the Julian story, which has of course nothing to do with Persian tradition, have penetrated some of the sources

Youth and Arab wars All sources agree that Shāpūr was not yet born when his father Hurmizd II died, but in case his mother should give birth to a son, the throne was set aside for the latter, so that Shāpūr was born a king All this must be legend, the older western sources suggest that Sapor II only ascended the throne as a young man (cf Pauly-Wissowa, *op cit*, col 2334, Noldeke, *Gesch d Perser*, p. 51, note 3) Adhar-narsai must also have reigned between Hurmizd II and Sapor II

During the time that Shāpūr's youth rendered him incapable of ruling in person, the kingdom was attacked on all sides (say the oriental sources) by enemies, particularly by the Arabs Among the tribes mentioned are the ʿAbd al-Kais, the inhabitants of Bahrain and Kāzima (Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḳutaiba), the Ghassānids (al-Dīnawarī, who also mentions Bahrain and Kāzima), and the Banū Iyād (Masʿūdī, Thaʿālibī). The young king early gave an indication of his foresight by ordering a second bridge to be built beside the bridge over the Tigris at Ctesiphon, so that traffic between the two banks of the river could develop unhindered When sixteen years of age (according to some fifteen), Shāpūr led an army against the Arabs Here Firdawsī and al-Dīnawarī place the Ḥatra episode which belongs to the reign of Shāpūr I The fairly full details of these Arab wars, probably in part at least, became incorporated in the old Persian tradition in the post-Sāsānid period That the king dislocated or pierced the shoulders of the prisoners (in Eutychius, the captured kings) seems to be based on quite an early tradition: Ḥamza (ed Gottwaldt, p 51) gives the Persian equivalent of the epithet Dhu 'l-Aktāf as شونبه (?) *sunbā*. On the whole the account of these wars is unhistorical. Shāpūr certainly never advanced so far as some writers say. He is said to have not only conquered Baḥrain and Yamāma, but even to have reached Medina. The story of Shāpūr's encounter with ʿAmr b.

Tamīm b. Murra in Bahrain (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 176 *sqq.*; a connected story in Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 520 *sq.*) is an invention of Arab fancy. How far these stories reflect historical happenings, it is difficult to decide; nor can we say whether tradition has here kept Shāpūr II and I quite distinct [of the latter a war of destruction against the Ḳudāʿa and the Banū Hulwān is reported, cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, p. 38. (The Ḳudāʿa here appear as allies of Daizan of Hatra)]. The Arabic verses quoted in Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii 176 *sq.*) which are referred to Shāpūr II 's campaign against the Banū Iyād, are of course, of a much later date and seem to have had nothing at all to do with Sāsānid history. If the other verses quoted there (ii. 178) really date from the time of ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib, this would be the oldest Arab reference to these events. But all these stories must have some historical background, it is known that Shāpūr II had dealings with the Arabs; the Emperor Constantine negotiated in 338 with Arab tribes and urged them to conduct raids into Persian territory. Julian also had Saracen chiefs as allies in the war against Sapor II That the Persian king took steps to protect his frontier against the Arabs is very probable (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p 57, note 1).

Shāpūr and the Romans. In the tradition the account of the Roman wars is introduced by the well known motif of the king who visits an enemy country in disguise. This is found, for example, in the Greek Alexander romance (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Müller, ii 14 *sq.*, iii. 19—22, cf. Malalas, ed Bonn, p 194, 19), in Sāsānian legend a similar story is told of Bahrām Gūr Firdawsī reports the story as follows The astronomers prophesied misfortune to Shapūr, nevertheless he decided to risk entering the enemy land of Rūm in disguise He appeared before the emperor as a Persian merchant, but was recognised by a Persian staying at the court, sewn up by the Emperor's orders in an ass's skin and put in prison A young woman whose duty it was to keep the keys of his prison was herself of Persian descent and aided him to liberty by softening the ass's skin with hot milk. When a great feast was being celebrated and the imperial palace was empty, the two fled to Īrān On their way they stopped at the house of a gardener, who told the king, whom he did not know, that the Emperor of Rūm had invaded Persia and laid it waste in dreadful fashion in the absence of the legitimate king Shāpūr then ordered the man to take his (Shāpūr's) signet-impression to the chief mobed The latter saw that the king had returned. An army was soon collected with which the king attacked the Romans in the night, wrought great slaughter and took the emperor himself prisoner The Romans found in the Persian empire were massacred everywhere Shāpūr levied a heavy indemnity on the Emperor, but did not release him; on the contrary he had him mutilated and put into prison. The Persian king then carried fire and sword into Rūm, defeated the Emperor's brother and slew many Christians. The Romans then chose a certain Bazānūsh as Emperor, the latter sought for peace which Shāpūr granted on condition that the Roman Emperor rebuilt the destroyed Persian towns, paid a yearly tribute of 600,000 dīnārs and surrendered Nisibis. This was done, but the people of Nisibis resisted Shāpūr as they would not serve a fire-worshipper. The king subdued them by force of arms. He then rewarded the young woman who had liberated him and the gardener, he sent to Rūm the body of the previous emperor who had died in prison He settled the Roman prisoners-of-war in towns specially built for the purpose (Khurramābād, Pīrūzshāpūr, Kunām-i Asīrān).

This story is for the most part fictitious. The beginning (the prophecy of the astrologer) also forms the introduction to another story which develops differently, but is no doubt connected, and which is related in mediaeval oriental sources of Shāpūr II b Ardashīr; the latter king is foretold that he is doomed to be unfortunate for some years He therefore goes voluntarily into banishment (cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 544, note 6). We have already called attention to the occurrence of the motif of the unknown king, afterwards discovered Shāpūr's flight with the young woman recalls the story of Ardashīr's flight before Ardawān, which is already in the *Ḳārnāmak* It is quite in the style of Īrānian story-telling that the Emperor of Rūm in his request for peace mentions incidents like Mīnūčihr's revenge for Iradj It should further be observed that the representation of military events agrees in some respects better with the deeds of Shāpūr I; the capture of the emperor (which here appears as a kind of revenge for Shāpūr's imprisonment in Rūm) and his death without regaining his liberty, recall the historical facts of Sapor's war with Valerian Even the name Bazānūsh occurs again although in a somewhat different connection. The imposition of indemnities was also found in the story of Shāpūr I On the other hand, as we saw above, the account of the (historically true) capture of Nisibis by Shāpūr I, has features which belong to the vain siege of this town by the historical Sapor II in 350 (fall of a part of the wall, withdrawal of the king as a result of an invasion of Persia by nomads). The following elements in Firdawsī's narrative may be considered historical, Shāpūr's hostility to the Christians (Sapor II began a great persecution of Christians in 339 A.D.), the ravaging by the Romans of the Persian kingdom (Julian plundered and burned a great part of it) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op cit*, col. 2347), the cession of Nisibis (by the peace of 363 ceded by Jovian to the Persians) and the disinclination of the Nisibenes for Persian rule (Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, col 2351)

The other sources (apart from the fact that Tabarī and Dīnawarī also contain elements of the Julian romance with which we are not concerned here) differ mainly in the fact that they make the Emperor take Shāpūr with him sewn up in a skin on his campaign At the siege of Djundai-Shāpūr the king is released by Persian prisoners of war and taken into the town by the garrison This causes the defeat and capture of the emperor who has to make good the damage done and is sent back mutilated to his kingdom. This version of the story is also found in the poem quoted by Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 185, echoes of the phraseology of which seem to be found in Thaʿālibī (cf. Thaʿālibī, p. 525: *fa'ūtanahum Sābūr* with Masʿūdī *op. cit.*. *Jarāṭana 'l-Fursā*, Thaʿālibī, p. 527: *waghrisa makūna kulli nakhlatin ḳaṭaʿtahā zaitūnatan* with Masʿūdī *op. cit.*. *idh yaghrisūna min al-zaitūni mā ṣakarū min al-nakhīli*).

City-Foundations and Miscellaneous. Shāpūr II, according to tradition renewed the walls of the city of Djundai-Shāpūr. According to Ḥamza,

p. 52, he lived in this city till his thirtieth year and then moved to Ctesiphon, a statement which does not agree with the story of his building the bridge while still young. The new foundations are: Buzurg-Shāpūr (ʿUkbarā), Fīrūz-Shāpūr (Anbār), Īrān-Khurra-Shāpūr, with which Sūs is mentioned, he probably restored the latter town under the name Īrān-Khurra-Shāpūr (cf. Noldeke, *Gesch d. Pers*, p 58, note 1) Roman prisoners were settled there Nīshāpūr also was one of this king's foundations, Ṭabarī also mentions a town which cannot be accurately identified with a fire-temple Saīūsh-Ādharān. The rebuilding of Djundai-Shāpūī formed part of the reparations the Emperor had to make, besides in the stories of these feats, there are confusions between Shāpūr I and Shāpūr II (Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p 66, note 2). The king is said to have sent for an Indian physician and given him a dwelling in Sūs, from him the people of Sūs learned the art of healing, in which they afterwards excelled all other Persians. Hamza says finally that Ādharbād (quite well known from Pahlawi literature) lived under Shāpur II There are no legends associated with Shāpūr's death.

SHĀPŪR III, the historical Sapor III (probably 383—387 A.D.). On the historical events of his reign, his relations with Armenia and Rome, see Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit*, col 2355. Oriental tradition deals chiefly with his accession and his death Shāpūr III was a son of Shāpūr II. According to Firdawsī, the latter at the end of his reign handed on the government to his brother Ardashir, who had to bind himself to give it to the young Shāpūr when he came of age This he did as promised More in keeping with historical truth, Ṭabarī says that Shāpūr III followed his predecessor Ardashir when the latter was overthrown by the nobles Al-Dīnawarī quite wrongly makes Shāpūr III succeed Shāpūr II directly Masʿūdī knows of a war of Shāpūr III against the Banū Iyād and other Arab tribes The death of this king is ascribed to the collapse of his tent, caused by a storm, (Firdawsī, Thaʿālibī) or by a plot of the nobles (Ṭabarī), the latter is probably nearer the truth. That Eutychius makes this king wage war on Julian is due to the fact that his synchronisms between the Sāsānids and the Roman Emperor are wrong

Bibliography See the article SĀSĀNIDS.

(V F BUCHNER)

SHĀPŪR (1) Name of the river of the district of Shāpūr Khūra in Fārs, also called Bishawur (in Thevenot. Suite du Voyage de Levant, Paris 1674, p. 295 Bouschavir, p 296 Boschavir), and river of Tawwadj. It must be identical with the antique Granis, mentioned by Arrian, *Indica*, 39, Pliny *Nat Hist*, vi. 99. The lower course, the proper river of Tawwadj, is formed by the junction of two streams, the Shāpūr and the Dalakī-Rūd, rising both on the S. W border-mountains of the Īrān-plateau, which extend along the Persian Gulf The upper course is called by the Arab geographers Nahr Ratīn this name is, very likely, found in Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi. 111, where *Dratinus* (with v.l *Ratinus*) must, however, mean the river down to its mouth. (This statement must be due to another source than Iuba, on whose authority the Granis was mentioned in vi. 99) In his *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī seems to indicate, that the Ratīn, whose source is, according to him as well as to al-Iṣṭakhrī, in the Upper Humāyidjān (Iṣṭakhrī. Khumāyidjān) district, is a tributary to the Shāpūr Rūd (Gibb Mem.-Ser. xxiii., ii. 217: "It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpūr river, its length, till it joins the Shāpūr river being 10 leagues") By this way of putting things, he can but mean, that the river of Tawwadj originates from two different streams, one of which is the Ratīn. This, then, must be the older name for either the Shāpūr or the Dalakī-Rūd. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (ed. de Goeje, p 120) represents these facts in the same manner, there is said, that the Ratīn flows through the district of al-Zīriyān (with v l.) before joining the Shāpūr.

The other rivers of the system are the Djirra (or Djarshīḳ), which joins the Shāpūr on the left, below Khisht, and the Ikhshīn. The name of the latter (it signifies "blue") can have originated from the colouring property of its waters, mentioned by the medieval geographers. Djarshīḳ is the older name of the Djirra river, although in the *Nuzhat* Djarshīḳ and Djirra are erroneously described as two different streams The account which the latter work gives of the Djirra is for the most part copied from Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārsnāma* This states (Gibb Mem Ser , New Series, i. 151) that the Nahr Djirra, rising in the Māsaram-district, waters the lands of Musdjān and Djirra, and part of Ghundidjān, after which it joins the Shapūr. In addition, al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the bridge of Sabūk, under which the river Djarshīḳ flows before entering the *rustāḳ* of Khurra (Ibn al-Balkhī's Djirra, on the reading *Khuria* in the text of al-Istakhrī, cf. P Schwarz *Iran im Mittelalter*, p 35, ann 4), after Khurra the stream passes into Dādhīn, where it unites with the Ikhshīn The *Nuzhat* makes the Djirra join the Shāpūr and the Djarshik the Ikhshin as its author erroneously splits up the one river Djarshīk-Djirra into two, his account is here worthless.

The Ikhshin, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī and Mustawfī, rises in the Dādhīn-hills, and unites with the Shapūr at al-Djunkān The *Nuzhat* calls it a great stream; now at day, it is identified with a little water course to the S W. of the lake of Kāzerūn There appears, then, to be a difference as to the question, whether the Djarshik and the Ikhshin first join each other, and then unite with the river of Tawwadj, or flow into that stream each apart

Concerning the Shāpūr itself, the *Fārsnāma* (p. 152) says, that it rises in the mountain region (*Kuhistān*) of the Bishāpūr district, which it waters, as also Khisht and Dīh Mālik. It flows in the sea (Persian Gulf) between Djanābī and Māndistān. This account is repeated in the *Nuzhat*, which only adds. "its length is 9 leagues" In *Fārsnāma*, p. 142, the Bishāpūr district is said to have its water from "a great river, called Rūd-i Bishāpūr" Owing to rice-plantations being there, its water is unwholesome (*wakhīm u nāguwār*) A short description of the river in modern times is given in J Morier's *Second Journey through Persia ... between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, p. 49 "a river which .. having pierced into the plain of the Dashtistan, at length falls into the sea at Rohilla. It takes its source near the site of Shapour, and when it begins to flow is fresh. But when it reaches the mountains it passes through a salt soil, and then its waters ... become brackish A lesser stream of the same river branches off before it reaches the salt soil, and flows pure to the sea".

The mouth of the river is at a short distance to the North of Bushīr, near the frontier of the district Arradjān. Opposite to it lies the island Khārik, in the shipping-route from Basra to India. The name Māndistān in the Persian geographers is connected by Tomaschek ("*Topographische Erlauterung der Kustenfahrt Nearchs*" in *S B. Ak Wien*, cxxi. 65) with the *Dexamontani* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi 99 (The edition of Jan-Mayhoff reads *Dexi montani*, in two words). According to Pliny, the river (Granis) is navigable for small vessels. Now at day, the principal mouth presents difficulties to navigation because of its shallows two minor mouthes can be navigated up to some distance On the present conditions, the delta, and the bitumen wells on the left bank of the river, S. of Dalakī, Tomaschek, *op. cit*, may be compared

In antiquity, there was on the Granis a royal residence, Taoke, 200 stadia from the sea. This must be the same as the medieval Tawwadj (or Tawwaz), from which place the Shāpūr is named river of Tawwadj. In early Muhammadan times it was an important trade-city, which also had a considerable textile industry the stuffs named *tawwazīya* were well-known This town belonged to the district of Ardashīr Khūra (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p 114) During the vith/xiith century, the place had already declined, in Mustawfī al-Kazwīnī's time (viiith/xivth century) it was totally ruined. Its site can not exactly be determined, nowadays the coast-district of the Shāpūr river is called Tawwadj Le Strange (Gibb Mem Ser xxiii, ii. 115, ann. 2) thinks, that the site of the town may be identified with the present Dih Kuhna, "the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkāra sub-district of the Dashtistān district".

On another Shāpūr (Shāwūr), a tributary of the Dizfūl-Rūd, comp the article KĀRŪN (ii 833).

(2) Name of the ancient capital of the district Shāpūr Khūra of Fārs, according to Mukaddasī, it was also called Shahrastān, its older name is Bishāpūr (from Pahlawī *Wih-Shāhpuhr*) A naive etymology is found in the *Nuzhat*, whose author, Mustawfī, says, that the word Bishāpūr is a contraction of binā-i Shāpūr, building of Shāpūr Ibn al-Balkhī on the other hand states, that the first syllable of the original Bīshāpūr (with a long ī) may disappear by way of *takhfīf*.

Shāpūr-Khūra, the area, watered by the system of the Shāpūr-Ratīn, the smallest of the five provinces of Fārs, contained besides the town of Shāpūr some other important localities, e. g Kāzerūn [q v], which was regarded as its chief town after Shāpūr had fallen into ruins, moreover Nūbandadjān and Djirra

The old town of Shāpūr was situated on the Shāpūr Rūd, at the road from Shīrāz to the sea, to the north of Kāzerūn. Mustawfī gives its situation as long 86° 15′, lat 20°. Its climate belongs to the *garmsīr*, but its atmosphere was considered not to be healthy, because the territory of the city was shut up by the mountains from the northern side. The environs were fruitful: they produced, besides many kinds of fruits and flowers also silk, the mulberry-tree being frequent in that region. Honey and wax also came from its territory. The town was founded by the Sāsānian king Shāpūr I. It was one of the three cities, where he colonized his captives of war. It has been supposed, with much reason, that the king made use of the skill of these Roman captives in the construction of his buildings, and also in the execution of his famous reliefs, that have been found in the ruins. These reliefs relate to the campaigns of Shāpūr against the Romans. Tree later kings, Bahrām II, Narsai and Khusraw II have also added each a relief of themselves.

These works of art, who are already described in detail by Morier, have also been noticed by the Oriental geographers of the Middle-ages at least, they mention a great statue, standing in a cavern, which European travellers could identify.

The Orientals have excogitated a mythical history of the city from before the times of its Sāsānian founder It was, according to these traditions, originally built by Tahmūrath, at a time, when there existed in Fārs no other town besides Istakhr Later on, it was laid waste by Alexander, to be only renovated by Shāpūr I The name of Tahmūrath's foundation had been دس د (Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārsnāma*, p 63, 142)[1]

The Muslims subdued Shāpūr Khūra in 16 (637), after the conquest of Tawwadj and the battle of Rīshahr Bishāpūr is mentioned on the occasion of the disturbances which ensued at the beginning of the khalīfate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the insurrection in Fārs (25 = 645/646) against the Arabs seems to have been directed for some time from Bishāpūr by a brother of Shahrak, the governor of Fārs, who had fallen in the battle of Rīshahr. After the submission of the rebels, the inhabitants of Bishāpūr once more broke the treaty, in consequence thereof it was reduced by Abu 'l-Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿUthmān b Abī 'l-ʿĀs

In the time of the geographer Mukaddasī (end of the ivth/xth century), the town of Shahrastān or Shāpūr was already decaying, its outskirts being ruined, the environs however were well cultivated. He notices the four city-gates and the ditch, also the *masdjid al-djāmiʿ*, outside of the city. Perhaps this may be the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī, whose words seem to imply, that it still existed when he wrote (beginning of the vith/xiith century) In the end of the Būyid rule, the Shabānkāra chieftain Abū Saʿd b Muhammad b Mamā destroyed Shāpūr, but, as Ibn al-Balkhī remarks, in his time the (Saldjūk) government tried to restore the damage. These endeavours may have had effect as regards the district as a whole, but the city of Shāpūr never has been raised from its ruins As Morier visited the site (1809), he found only a poor village, Darīs, in the neighbourhood of the remains. The opinion of this traveller, that the town may have existed till the xvith century of the Christian aera, because its name occurs in a table of latitudes and longitudes in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, carries no weight, for such a table may have been composed from older sources

On the other foundations of Shāpūr I, which were called after his name, comp the article on that king, in addition to which it may be remarked, that the town of Shāpūr Khwāst, according to the *Fārsnāma* (p. 63), was situated in Khūzistān, near al-Ashtar.

Bibliography (Besides the authorities quoted in the article). The articles Dratinus and Granis in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*[2] (v. 1668; vii. 1815); Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Calıphate*, p. 259—263, 267; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Perse*, p. 142 *sq.*;

P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p 7 *sq*, 30 *sqq*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., p. 827 *sqq*., J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor ... in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, p. 85 *sqq*., 375 *sqq*, C A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, 1845, i 206 *sqq*; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851· *Relation du Voyage*, ii 248 *sqq*; M Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, v. 119 *sq*, Pl. xviii—xxi.; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p 213 *sqq*., Pl. xl.—xlvi

(V F. Büchner)

SHARʿ. [See shariʿa]

SHARĀB (a., plur *Ashriba*), beverage The collections of traditions deal with two subjects in the chapter on *Ashriba* beverages and the laws to be observed in drinking Here we only deal with the latter as the former has been dealt with in the article khamr.

Blessings should be uttered before and after drinking (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 21, Dārimī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 3, Ibn Ḥanbal i. 225, 284, iii 100, 117). The cup should be held in the right, not the left hand. The Prophet of God said "When one of you eats, let him eat with the right hand and if he drinks, he should drink with the right for Satan eats and drinks with the left hand" (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 105, cf 106)

Opinions differ on the question whether it is permitted to drink standing. On the one hand there are a large number of utterances which represent this attitude in drinking as forbidden (e g Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 112—116)

On the other hand Ibn ʿAbbās says that he gave the Prophet Zemzem water and that he drank it standing (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad 117—120) ʿAlī abolished any misgivings on this point by saying that he had seen Muhammad drink standing (e g. Ibn Hanbal, i 101 *sq*)

It is further considered forbidden to drink out of the mouth of the water-skin (cf. Abū Dāʾūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 14) or to bend the latter inwards to drink (Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, bāb 20); but this is also allowed (Tirmidhī, *Ashriba*, bāb 18)

In drinking one should not lap like a dog (Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba*, bāb 25) or blow or snort on the drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad 121, Abū Dāʾūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 16, 20); on the other hand one should inhale and exhale the breath (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ashriba*, bāb 10, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, ed Sachau, i/ii 103) and not drink the whole at one draught (Abū Dāʾūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 18) If one is drinking in company the cup should be passed to the right (Bukhārī, *Sharb*, bāb 1)

The knowledge of these matters distinguishes the believer from the infidel. The latter "drinks in seven stomachs, the former in one" (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Ṣifat al-Nabī*, bāb 10).

(A. J. Wensinck)

SHARAF AL-DĪN, ʿALĪ YAZDĪ, Persian poet and historian, born at Yazd, was the companion of Shāh Rukh and more particularly of his son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Sulṭān (d 838 = 1434/1435) In 846 (1442) Mīrzā Sultān Muḥammad, appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, summoned him to Ḳumm and treated him as one of his councillors. This prince having rebelled in 850 (1446—1447), Sharaf al-Dīn, suspected of being involved in the plot, was saved from execution, ordered by Shāh Rukh, through the intervention of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, son of Ulugh Beg, who brought him to Samarḳand Sulṭān Muḥammad, who became lord of Khurāsān after the death of Shāh Rukh, allowed him to return to Yazd (853 = 1449—1450), where he died in 858 (1454). He was buried in the Sharafiya madrasa, which he had built in the village of Taft.

In 828 (1424/1425) he wrote the history of Tīmūr under the title *Ẓafar-Nāme*, in a vigorous style, on materials apparently taken from an unpublished work with the same title written by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī by Tīmūr's orders in 804—806 (1401—1403), of which there is a unique M.S. in the British Museum. This history was translated into French by Pétis de la Croix (1722) and from French into English by J. Darby (1723) The text has been published without the preface in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1887—1888). He also composed under the *takhallus* of Sharab a treatise on enigmas, another on magic squares, a commentary on the *burda* of Būṣīrī and various poems.

Bibliography Khondemīr, *Habīb al-Siyar* iii/iii, 148, Dawlat Shāh, *Taḏhkira*, ed. Browne, p 378—381, J. von Hammer, *Geschichte d. schön. Redek Pers*, p 284, Rieu, *Pers Catal. Brit. Mus*, p. 173—175; E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers Liter under Tartar dominion*, p 183, 362—365. (Cl Huart)

AL-SHAʿRĀNĪ, a *nisba* by which several individuals are known, it is usually derived from *shaʿr* "hair" and is applied to any one with a strong growth of hair or with long hair (cf al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G M* S., fol. 334b, 2, Wright, *Arabic Grammar*3, i. 164c); in the case of the best known bearer of the name, it is a *nisba* from a place like the form also found, indeed more frequently, al-Shaʿrāwī (which has however a different origin Vollers, *Z D M G*, 1890, p. 390 *sq*) but came to be interpreted as above

1 Abu 'l-Mawāhib (ideal *kunya*, also Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from his son, his family still existed in modern times) ʿAbdalwahhāb b. Aḥmad (d. 907) b Alī b Aḥmad b Muḥammad b. Mūsā b Mawhūb b ʿAbd-allāh al-Zughalī (Sultān of Tilimsān) b ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʿī al-Miṣrī a famous Ṣūfī, born 897, lived in Cairo from his early youth and died there in 973 (other dates given are wrong). Since 1188 his favourite mosque beside which he is buried, has borne his name He earned his living as a weaver He belonged to the *ṭarīḳa* founded by ʿAlī al-Shādhilī (d. 656 Brockelmann, *G A.L.*, i. 449, N° 29, and the article al-Shādhilī) and himself founded *al-Ṭarīḳa al-Shaʿrāwīya* (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1899, p. 252, but not mentioned in Kahle, *Islam*, vi, p 154) Among his Ṣūfī teachers the most important was ʿAlī al-Khawwās (d after 941), whose *madjālis* he attended for ten years. A number of other teachers are mentioned by him in various works, e g in *al-Baḥr al-mawrūd*, *al-Djawhar al-maṣūn wa 'l-Sirr al-marḳūm* and in the *Laṭāʾif al-Minan*; a full list of the shaikhs whom he knew and whose lectures he had attended is given at the end of his *Ṭabaḳāt*. Like many Ṣūfīs he had to endure persecution but was successfully in overcoming all hostility.

His literary activity was mainly concerned with mysticism, but he also dealt with learning, generally Kuranic sciences, dogmatics, fiḳh, grammar, and medicine; further we may mention his *Ṭabaḳāt* of the Ṣūfīs and an autobiography (*Laṭāʾif al-*

Minan). A list of his writings is given in Brockelmann, II 336 *sqq.* (and supplement, p. 711); on that list the following corrections and additions are now made: 7*a* and *b*) *al-Mīzān al-Shaʿrānīya* and *al-Mīzān al-kubrā* are identical, also printed Cairo 1276, while *al-Mīzān al-Khiḍrīya* is a synopsis of the other work; 8) in the title also *fī Mukhtaṣar al-Futūḥāt al-makkīya*, a synopsis of this entitled *Mukhtaṣar Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār*, prepared in 1166 by Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Pūdghūrīdjawī (Berlin, N°. 3046), 11) printed Cairo 1306 on the margin of 2); 12) full title *Tanbīh al-Mughtarrīn fī 'l-Ḳarn al-ʿāshir ʿalā mā khālafū fīh Salafahum al-ṭāhir*; 13) in the title also *Maʿrifat* in place of *Bayān*, add Berlin, N°. 3101; 14) read *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiya*, in place of *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwāl al-ḳudsiya fī [Bayān] al-ʿUhūda al-Muḥammadīya*, printed Cairo 1311 on the margin of 44), 18) also a *Wird al-Rasūl*, Berlin, N° 3780, 21) also printed Cairo 1332, 22) in the title in place of *ʿalā Fatāwā* also *fī Manāḳib*, the marginal edition Cairo 1304 rather has 23); 35) read *fī ʿIlm Kitāb Allāh*, 37) read *al-Talabbus*, printed Cairo 1279; 40) lithographed Cairo 1276, 43) in the title also *al-Sādat al-Akhyār*, also called *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kubrā*, also printed Cairo 1299, while the marginal edition Cairo 1311 rather has 14), 44) also printed Cairo 1321, 47) *Waṣāyā al-ʿĀrifīn* (cf Berlin, N° 3183), 48) *Mufakhkhim al-Akbād fī Bayān Mawādd al-Idjtihād*, 49) *Lawāʾiḥ al-Khadhlān ʿalā kull man lam yaʿmal bi 'l-Kurʾān*, 50) *Ḥadd al-Husām ʿalā man awdjab al-ʿAmal bi 'l-Ilhām*, 51) *al-Tatabbuʿ wa 'l-Fahṣ ʿalā Hukm al-Ilhām idhā khālaf al-Naṣṣ*, 52) *al-Burūḳ al-khawāṭif li 'l-Basar fī ʿAmal al-Hawātif*; 53) *Tanbīh al-Aghbiyāʾ ʿalā Ḳaṭra min Bahr ʿUlūm al-Awliyāʾ*, 54) *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī ʿUlūm al-Kurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 55) *al-Manhadj al-mubīn fī Bayān Adillat al-Mudjtahidīn*, supplement to 21)ʿ 56) *Kitāb al-Iktibās fī ʿIlm al-Ḳiyās*, 57) *Mukhtaṣar Ḳawāʿid al-Zarkashī*, extract from the work of al-Zarkashī (d 794) quoted in Brockelmann, II 91, N° 18, 2, 58) *Minhādj al-Wuṣūl ilā ʿIlm al-Usūl*, a compilation from the Commentary of al-Maḥallī (d. 791 Brockelmann, II 114, N° 23) on the *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ fī 'l-Usūl* of al-Subkī (d. 771. Brockelmann, II 89, N° 14, 1 and *c*) and the glosses of Kamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī Shaṭṭif (d 906· ibid *α*) on this commentary

Al-Shaʿrānī was a comprehensive and honest scholar of wide education but uncritical and highly superstitious. His tremendous exaggeration of his own value is an unpleasant feature in him, he usually boasts of his own works that they were pioneers and nothing similar existed on the particular subject In his autobiography (no 44), which he significantly calls *Manākib nafsihī*, under a pretence of being humbly grateful to God for having endowed him with wonderful gifts of mind and holiness, he tells us the most remarkable things about his wonderful qualities, his intercourse with God, the angels and the prophets, his ability to work miracles, to ascertain the secrets of the world, etc But the honesty, uprightness and enthusiasm of his character, his championship of justice, humanity and toleration, his sincerity and the frankness with which he holds up the modesty of the Christians and Jews as a pattern for the *ʿUlamāʾ*, and finally his high respect for the dignity of womanhood all make an exceedingly favourable impression

Besides his intellectual importance, which must not however be over-estimated, he owes his far-reaching influence on the Muslim world to his extremely prolific pen, writing in an easily intelligible form, which has contributed to the popularity of his works His books were already popular in his life-time and are still very highly esteemed as may be seen from their numerous reprints. In spite of his insistence to the contrary there is hardly any originality in them; in mysticism especially he simply repeats the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q v*]. N°. 8, for example, is a synopsis of his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkīya*, N°. 11 a synopsis of 8, with reference to passages from the *Futūḥāt* itself. N°. 9 an explanation of the verses of the *Futūḥāt*, N° 10 a defence of Ibn al-ʿArabī; he tells us for example in N°. 2, that he has used the terms used by Ibn al-ʿArabī and not those of other Ṣūfīs. Al-Shaʿrānī endeavoured to bring about a synthesis of Ṣūfism and Fiḳh in his person and was therefore in no wise hostile to the *Sharīʿa* Several of his writings show this, notably, N°. 7, 21, 28, 48—51, 55—58

Cf Brockelmann, II. 335 *sqq* (where further literature is given) and Ḥādjī Khalfa, ed. Flugel, Index (Vol VII), p. 1145, N°. 5446 Edition of N° 2) by Flugel in *Z D M.G*, 1866, p 1 *sqq*, of N° 16) by Kremer in *J A*, 6, XI., 1868, p. 253 *sqq.*, of N° 43) by Horten, *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Orients*, 1915, p. 64 *sqq.* (cf Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p 393, N°. 19), brief synopsis of N° 44) by Flugel in *Z D M G*, 1867, p 271 *sqq* Biography in the *Tarādjim* of his pupil ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī (d 1031 Brockelmann, II. 306, N° 13)

2) Abū Muhammad al-Faḍl b Muḥammad b al-Musaiyib b. Zuhair b. Yazīd b. Kaisān b Badhān (the Persian governor in Yaman in the time of Muḥammad) a traditionist who travelled widely to collect traditions, he also studied with the Kūfa grammarian Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231 Brockelmann, I 116, N°. 6), learned Ḳurʾān reading with Khalaf (d 229 Noldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*[1], p 291, N° 9, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, VII/II. 87, al-Samʿānī, fol 77[b], 30) and heard the lectures of Ahmad b Hanbal (d. 241, *q. v*), he did not however obtain general recognition and died in 282 His epithet which he received from his habit of wearing his hair long, was transferred to his descendants, his son Abū Bakr Muhammed al-Baihakī and his sons Abu 'l-Hasan Ismāʿīl (d 347) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammed al-Ṭūsī. Al-Samʿānī, fol 334[b], 2—12 and 101[b], 12

3) Abu 'l-Abbās Ahmad b. Djafar b Muhammad b Marzūk b. Bustān (this should perhaps be the reading of a meaningless word in al-Samʿānī, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p 74) b Farrūkh al-Azdī al-Djurdjānī. Traditionist, who studied under Shuʿaib b al-Habḥāb (died before the middle of IIth/VIIIth century Ibn Saʿd, VII/II 18) and others. Al-Samʿānī, fol. 334[b], 14—16.

4) Thirteen further individuals with the same *nisba* will be found dealt with in the following passages *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p. 7, 19; al-Samʿānī, fol. 334[b], 12 *sq* ; *Fihrist*, p. 314, 23, al-Samʿānī, fol 334[b], 13 *sq.* (cf. Ibn Saʿd, VII/II. 51, 78), ibid. 28 *sq* ; Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, p. 80, 735, ibid. p. 333; al-Samʿānī, fol 334[b], 17—23; ibid. 23--28 (read 371 for 372), ibid 16 *sq* ; (cf. Brockelmann, I. 334); al-Djāmī (cf 1, p 1055), *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, N°. 298 (Calcutta 1859, p. 265; turkish

Constantinopel 1270, p. 181), Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften Berlin*, x. s. v. al-Shaʿrānī. (J SCHACHT)

AL-**SHĀRĀT**, from the Latin *serra* through the Spanish *sierra*, is the term applied by certain geographers of Muslim Spain to the mountains which stretch from the east to west in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The best definition is given by Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmarī. According to this author, the mountain range called al-Shāīāt stretches from the country behind Madīnat Sālim (Medinaceli) to Coimbra. This term therefore describes the mountains now known under the names of Sierra de Guadarrama (Ar Wādī 'l-rāmla'), Sierra de Gredos and Sierra de Gata in Spain and Serra de Estrella in Portugal In the time of al-Idrīsī, however, it was applied only to the Sierra de Guadarrama, to the north of Madrid The geographer Abu 'l-Fidā', quoting Ibn Saʿīd, described the mountain system of the centre of al-Andalus under the name of Djabal al-Shāra. According to him, it divided the peninsula into two well marked divisions, the north and the south.

Al-Idrīsī, in his description of al-Andalus, gives the name of al-Shāīāt to one of the twenty-six climes of this country, the twenty-second in his classification; this region, which embraced all the Sierra de Guadarrama, included the towns of Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, Madrid, al-Fahmīn, Guadalajara, Ucles and Huete

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Register, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p. 66 and 167, E Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger 1924, p 93 and index *sub* ach-Châràt, E. Saavedra, *La Geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, p 48, J Alemany Bolufer, *La Geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, ds la *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, vol X, Granada 1920, p. 3—4 (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARDJA, name of three places in Arabia 1 Shardjat al-Karīs, a port on the coast of the Yaman, where there were storehouses for the *durra* which was shipped to ʿAden, the native town of Sirādj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Zabīdī, the famous grammarian who taught in Cairo and died in 802 AH (1399—1400)

2. A place near Mekka

3 A port on the Pirate Coast, on the Persian Gulf between ʿOmān and Bahrain.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, II 19, al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G A*, III. 53, 69, 86, 92, Ibn Khurdadhbeh, *B G A.*, VI 143; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *B G A*, VII. 317, 319; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, s v.; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s v. (G. S. COLIN)

SHARḤ (A), opening, commentary, *sharaḥa* means to enlarge, expand, open, then to explain, comment upon, *tashrīḥ*, dissection of bodies, anatomy.

1. The word *sharḥ* was taken as the title of Sūra xciv. of the Ḳurʾān, as the first verse is. "Have we not opened, expanded your heart?" A legend has grown up round this verse. Muḥammad, while still in the arms of his nurse, had his chest opened by two angels, who took out his heart and replaced it after washing it. This is why it is called the "opening of the heart".

2. *Sharḥ*, commentary on a work which is being come the glosses, *ḥāshiya*. The greater part of the famous treatises or poems in Arabic and Persian literature have had commentaries written on them; e.g. commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt* (Arabic poetry), on the *Mathnawī* (Persian poetry); on the *Mowaṭṭaʾ* (law); on the *Alfīya* (grammar); on Ḥarīri, philology, on astronomical treatises, the great, middle, and little commentaries on Aristotle by Averroes. For the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, a special word is used, *tafsīr* [q.v.]. (CARRA DE VAUX)

SHARĪʿA (A.) also SHARʿ (originally infinitive), the road to the watering place, the clear path to be followed, the path which the believer has to tread, the religion of Islām, as a technical term, the canon law of Islām, the totality of Allāh's commandments (also used as the term for a single commandment = *ḥukm*, the plural *sharāʾiʿ* = *aḥkām*, which is also used as identical with *sharīʿa*); *shirʿa*, which was also used for custom and later became obsolete, is synonymous. *Shārīʿ* is also used as a technical term for the Prophet as the preacher of the *sharīʿa*, but more frequently it is applied to Allāh as the law-giver. *Mashrūʿ* is what is laid down in the *sharīʿa*. Anything connected with the canon law, or anything in keeping with it, or legal is called *sharʿī* *Sharʿī* is also used in opposition to *ḥissī* ("purely sensible"), the former means the outward perceptible actions, which come under the cognisance of the law, the latter, all those in which this is not the case and so they have no significance in the *sharīʿa* (offer and acceptance are, for example, in concluding a bargain, *sharʿī*, in other circumstances *ḥissī*). Similarly *sharʿ* and *ḥukm* are in contrast to *ḥakīka*, the actual relations, from which those created by the law may be divergent

The technical use goes back to some passages in the Korʾān xlv 17 (of the last Mekkan period; on the dating cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, I 58 *sqq.*, and Grimme, *Mohammed*, II 24 *sqq*) "Then we gave them a *sharīʿa* (a path to be followed) in religion, follow it and not the wishes of those who have no knowledge", xlii. 11 (the same period, perhaps somewhat later) „To you he hath prescribed the religion (*shara'a*), which", etc , ibid 20 " . gods, who have prescribed a religion for them (*shara'ū*), which Allāh hath not approved"; v 52 (Medīna, perhaps of the first Medīna period) "To every one (people) of you, we have given a *shirʿa* (a path to be followed) and a *minhādj* (a clear path)" Here *sharīʿa* and *shirʿa* are not yet technical terms.

An old definition of *sharīʿa* is given by Tabarī on Ḳurʾān, xlv 17 the *sharīʿa* comprises the law of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*), the *ḥadd*-punishments, commandments and prohibitions. In the later system by *sharīʿa* and *sharʿ* are understood Allāh's commandments relating to the activities of man, of which those that relate to ethics are taken out and classed together as *ādāb* (cf. ADAB, AKHLĀḲ). *Fiḳh* (along with the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* and the ancillary sciences) is the science of the *sharīʿa* or the *sharāʾiʿ* (cf. FIḲH) and can sometimes be used as synonymous with it, and the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are also called *uṣūl al-sharʿ*. According to the orthodox view, the *sharīʿa* is the basis (*mansha'*) for the judgment of actions as good or bad, which accordingly can only come from Allāh, while according to the Muʿtazila [q.v.], it only confirms the verdict of the intelligence

The *sharīʿa* (as *forum externum*) regulates only the external relations of the subject to Allāh and his fellow-men and entirely ignores his inner consciousness, his attitude to the *forum internum*. Even the *nīya* (intention) which is required, for example in many religious exercises, implies no impulse from the heart The *sharīʿa* demands and is only concerned with the fulfilment of the prescribed outward forms. The *sharīʿa*, the legal judgment of actions based on it (*ḥukm*) and the judicial verdict (*ḳaḍāʾ*) which is only concerned with the external circumstances, are in contrast to the conscience and religious feeling of responsibility (*diyāna*, *tanazzuh*) of the individual and his inner relation to Allāh (*mā bainahū wabaina 'llāh*) Religious minds like al-Ghazālī therefore protested against the over-estimation of the legal point of view and the *faḳīh*'s themselves say that it is not sufficient simply to fulfil all the commandments of the *sharīʿa*. With this is connected the position of the *sharīʿa* among the Sūfīs [q. v.], for which cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam* ², 165 *sqq* and R. Hartmann, *al-Kuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums*, 72, 102 *sq* The law is a starting-point on the path of the Ṣūfī; on the one hand, it can serve as an indispensable basis for the further religious life, which the fulfilment of the law has to intensify (*sharīʿa* = *amr bi-'ltizām al-ʿubūdīya* = "commands to follow the path of recognition", and *ḥakīḳa* = *mushāhadat al-rubūbīya*, "direct vision of the divine" form a correlated pair), on the other hand, only as a symbolical parable and allegory, finally even as superfluous and even dangerous forms which one has to cast off entirely (cf MALĀMATĪYA).

The knowledge of the *sharīʿa* was originally obtained directly from the Koʾān and Tradition (hence, as already mentioned, the sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* belong to the *Fiḳh*), but later among the Sunnīs (in contrast to some Hanbalīs, the Wahhābīs and the Shīʿīs) no one was considered qualified to investigate these sources independently (cf IDJTIHĀD, TAḲLĪD) The knowledge of the *Sharīʿa* is authoritatively communicated to later generations through the system of *Fiḳh*, which has been worked out to the most trifling details, and the authority of which is ultimately based on the infallible *idjmāʿ*. No orthodox Muslim can escape it, while for example the Mahdī Muḥammad Aḥmad did so (cf. *Islam*, XIV 271, 275) and modernism does (cf e.g for Turkey A. Fischer, *Übersetzung una Texte aus der neuosmanischen Literatur*, do , *Aus der religiosen Reformbewegung in der Turkei*; A. Muhiddin, *Die Kulturbewegung im modernen Turkentum*, for Egypt ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Islām wa-Uṣūl al-Ḥukm*, Kairo 1344, for India Syed Ameer Ali, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, do., *The Spirit of Islâm*; M. Barakatullah, *The Khilafet*).

A result of the development of the *Fiḳh* has been that there is no codification of the law in the modern sense nor can there ever be one (cf. especially: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV/II. 260 *sqq*). At the same time the Fiḳh books, especially those of later date and recognised as authoritative in wide circles (by *idjmāʿ*), are practically "law books" for the orthodox Muslim; in them he finds Allāh's *sharīʿa* expounded in the way in which it is binding on him, and according to the particular *madhhab* which he follows while the Ḳoʾān and Ḥadīth may have no more value for him than edifying literature. But it is not everyone who is able himself to ascertain from the fiḳh books with sufficient technical knowledge how the law affects particular cases; the laity rather require instruction from experts. This is done through *fatwā*'s (legal opinions) and a scholar who gives *fatwā*'s is therefore called *muftī*.

Allāh's law is not to be completely grasped by the intelligence, it is *taʿabbudī*, i e. man has to accept it without criticism, with its contradictions and its incomprehensible decrees, as wisdom into which it is impossible to enquire. We must not look in it for causes in our sense, nor for principles; it is based on the will of Allāh which is bound by no principles, therefore evasions are considered as a permissible use of means put at one's disposal by Allāh himself. Muslim law which has come into being in the course of time through the interworking of many factors, which can hardly be exactly appreciated (cf. Bergsträsser, *Islam*, XIV 76, *sqq*), has always been presented to its followers as something elevated, high above human wisdom, and with justice in so far as human logic or systematic has little share in it. A modest enquiry into the meaning of the divine laws so far as Allāh himself has indicated the path of enquiry is also not prohibited There is therefore frequent reference to the deeper meaning and suitability (*ḥikma*) of a law. But one must always guard against placing too much stress on such theoretical considerations.

For this very reason the *sharīʿa* is not "law" in the modern sense of the word any more than it is on account of its subject matter It comprises as an infallible doctrine of ethics the whole religious, political, social, domestic and private life of those who profess Islām, to the fullest extent without limitation and that of the tolerated members of other faiths in so far as their activities are not inimical to Islām. Only one who has attained years of discretion (*bāligh*) and is in full possession of his mental powers (*ʿākil*) is bound to obey the ritual law (*mukallaf*). The prescriptions of the *sharīʿa* may be classed in two main groups according to their subject (1) Regulations relating to worship and ritual duties, (2) regulations of a juridical and political nature. These are absolutely similar from the Muslim point of view (although it is of course felt that the former, the so-called *ʿibādāt*, are more closely connected with Allāh), and this is also true of the numerous regulations scattered everywhere through the Fiḳh books regarding the most varied matters, which can hardly be brought under the heads of the two main groups, e g. permitted and forbidden musical instruments, the use of gold and silver vessels, the relations of the sexes, racing and shooting for wagers, the copying of living things, clothing and ornaments for men and women, etc The fundamental tendency in the growth of the *Sharīʿa* was the religious evaluation of all affairs of life and legal considerations were only secondary (cf Bergsträsser, *l. c.*). A systematic division of the *Sharīʿa* was never reached. The Sunnīs sometimes classify it quite formally into *ʿibādāt* (obligations regarding worship), *muʿāmalāt* (civil and legal matters) and *ʿuḳūbāt* (punishments), without any special stress being laid on this. We find more systematically worked out among the Shīʿī Twelver Imāms an equally formal division and one not logically carried through to its con-

clusion into *ʿibādāt*, *ʿuḳūd* (legal matters affecting two parties), *iḳāʿāt* (legal matters affecting one party), *aḥkām* (the remaining laws).

Among the early generations of Muslims, no unanimity prevailed as to what were the main duties of Muslims. Muḥammad himself had laid special weight on the *ṣalāt* (ritual worship), *zakāt* (charity) and *ṣawm* (fasting) Many further regarded participation in the *ǧihād* (war for the faith) as one of the first duties of a Muslim, a view still held among the Khāridjīs. The Mahdī Muhammad Aḥmad also adopted the *ǧihād* as one of the main duties as revised by him (cf. *Islam*, xiv. 285). [The Shīʿīs regard recognition of the imāmat as one of the main duties] But according to the view that has come to prevail among the Sunnīs, Islām is based on five pillars (*arkān*, sg. *rukn*) *shahāda* (the profession of faith), *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ḥaǧǧ* (pilgrimage to Mekka), *ṣawm* (fasting in the month of Ramaḍān). The profession of faith is not dealt with in the Fiḳh books. Questions connected with the creed were so numerous that the teaching of the first pillar soon became a special branch of study, the science of *kalām*. The other four *arkān* are sometimes classed together with *ṭahāra* (ritual purification) as the five *ʿibādāt* In the traditional arrangement of the fiḳh books, which is already the basis of the oldest books that have survived to us, but regarding whose origin, which must be earlier than the formation of the modern *madhhab*'s and probably belong to the second century, nothing is definitely known, the first five chapters are always devoted to these five *ʿibādāt*, usually followed by the following subjects in succession contracts, inheritance, marriage and family law, criminal law, war against unbelievers and attitude to unbelievers generally, laws regarding food, sacrifice and killing of animals, oaths and vows, judicial procedure and evidence, liberation of slaves

All the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa* are not to be taken as absolute commands or prohibitions In many cases it is regarded, from the religious point of view, only as desirable or undesirable to do or permit something Finally the law also regulates actions which it neither recommends nor condemns, but regards with indifference. In keeping with this, the following five legal categories (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa*) are distinguished (1) "duty" (*farḍ*) or „necessary" (*wāǧib*. cf below), i.e prescribed actions, the performance of which is obligatory, whose performance is rewarded and omission punished, of the further divisions of *farḍ* (*wāǧib*), the most important is that into *farḍ ʿain* and *farḍ kifāya* (cf FARD), a similar division being made in the following category, (2) meritorious (*mandūb* "recommended", *sunna* „ordained custom", [*sunna* in this meaning is not to be confounded with the „*sunna* of the Prophet", one of the *uṣūl al-fikh*, although these two senses are connected; sometimes, however, the meaning of *sunna* as quality of an action did not remain uninfluenced by the other one], *mustaḥabb* "desirable", *nafl* or *nāfila* "voluntary meritorious action"; the performance of such is called *tatawwuʿ*), i.e actions the neglect of which is not punished, but the performance of which is rewarded, (3) permitted or indifferent (*mubāh*, rarely *ǧāʾiz*, cf. below), i.e actions the performance or neglect of which the law leaves quite open and for which neither reward nor punishment is to be expected; (4) reprehensible (*makrūh*), i.e actions which although not punishable are disapproved of from the legal point of view; the later Shāfiʿīs further distinguish a milder form of *makrūh*, the *khilāf al-awlā*, "diverging from the path that is nearest"; correspondingly there is also an *awlā* „that which lies nearer" which lies between what is permitted and what is meritorious, (5) forbidden (*ḥarām*, also *maḥẓūr*), i.e. actions punishable by Allāh. Something the law approves of is called *maṭlūb*; this may be *farḍ*, *sunna* or *awlā*; the term is sometimes used for „permitted", so as to include "the reprehensible", i.e. what is not definitely forbidden. There are still further subdivisions and grades in the categories mentioned (cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr Geschr*, Register, s.v. Kategorieen; Tj. de Boer, *De Wijsbegeerte in den Islam*, Haarlem 1921, 33 *sq.* and the works on the *Uṣūl*, cf the art UṢŪL)

The reasons which lead to an action being classed under one of these categories may be of the most varied kind and here there is a wide field for difference of opinion (*iḫtilāf*) among jurists What one party considers absolutely forbidden or an absolute duty, the others often regard as reprehensible or meritorious or even indifferent. Here, however, the catholic tendency of Islām makes itself felt. Thus it may happen that something is considered *sunna* by one *madhhab* simply because the latter is unwilling to differ too much from the view of another school of fikh, which considers it a duty. That the same action according to circumstances can be sometimes forbidden, sometimes reprehensible, sometimes permitted, sometimes meritorious, sometimes a duty is generally recognised

At the same time actions from the point of view of their legal significance in civil life are classed as: *ṣaḥīḥ*, "valid, right", opposite *bāṭil*, "invalid", and *fāsid*, "wrong", *ǧāʾiz*, "valid, permitted" (to be strictly distinguished from the meaning of *ǧāʾiz* given above), but both meanings have the same root and the former is the older, cf Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*), opposite *ghair ǧāʾiz*, "invalid, not permitted", *nāfidh* "legally valid", opposite *ghair nāfidh*, *lāzim*, *wāǧib* "binding" (also in *wāǧib* the two meanings are to be distinguished, as to the sense, the above mentioned is more original, whether this is the same case in the application of the word as *terminus technicus* may be doubtful), opposite *ghair lāzim*, or *wāǧib*, etc, divisions which are not mutually exclusive and whose historical relations and the relations of the concepts behind them to one another and to the five categories still require explanation.

In the first thirty years of Islām the same individuals may be said to have possessed the knowledge of the legal prescriptions to be enforced and authority in the guidance of the community, namely the companions of Muḥammad; there was therefore little danger of utterly impractical ideas forcing their way in. After the coming of the Omayyads, however, the representatives of the religious and juridical ideals lost their position of authority, and this continued to be the case — the early ʿAbbāsids being to some extent an exception. They then began — being no longer so bound by realities — to take a pleasure in developing their doctrine of duties in an ideal direction in a way which became more and more irreconcilable with practical life They were particularly ardent in constitutional law against any abuses, without

regard to persons; but they also showed a rabbinical turn for dialectic in continual new deductions and in stating cases. Thus a mere learned body developed the school out of the council of the first Caliphs. It was only after many fruitless attempts to regain power that the pious became resigned and concluded a kind of truce with the temporal powers, a truce which is not laid down in any document, the terms of which are nowhere expressly formulated, but which was observed by both sides under the pressure of circumstances, they obeyed it in practice, retaining full liberty to censure theoretically, and thus we find everywhere laments about "the present age" and warnings against "the princes of this world". The latter in their turn recognised the law in theory and did not claim for themselves the right of legislation in the field of *sharīʿa*, but when they thought fit, put the latter practically out of action by regulations in a contrary sense (*ḳānūn*, cf below). This did not prevent them when they wished to be considered particularly pious, from sometimes — usually at some one else's expense — enforcing one or another regulation of the *sharīʿa*, especially penal laws, but without themselves fulfilling the demands of the *sharīʿa* or being able to do so. One must not imagine too sharp a line drawn between the influence of the schools and the power of the state. This is particularly evident in the office of *ḳāḍī*, the religious judge who is at the same time a state official (cf e.g Amedroz, *J. R. A S*, 1909, p 1138, 1910, p. 761, 1911, p 635, 1913, p 823, Bergsträsser, *Z D M G*, 1914, p. 395, Margoliouth, *J. R. A. S*, 1910, p. 307). Finally there was only left to him public worship, the law of marriage, family and inheritance, vows, in part also pious foundations (*waḳf*), all fields which in the popular mind are more or less closely connected with religion, and in which the *sharīʿa* always prevailed. So far as circumstances permitted, sins in the proper sense did not so much come under his consideration, as for example, invalidity of contracts, yet the religious character of the separate sections of the *sharīʿa* was variously emphasised from the first (cf Bergstrasser, *Islam*, *loc cit*) In the field of commercial law, practice therefore went its course unencumbered, only the *sharīʿa* never really prevailed. Constitutional and criminal law, law relating to war and taxation and all the more important suits regarding property were more and more appropriated by the temporal power and cases were settled by a mixture of arbitrariness, local custom (*ʿāda*; cf. below) and a feeling of equity, and latterly also according to laws on the European model Thus everywhere in Islām, quite independent of western influence, a twofold legal practice has grown up, which may be called the religious and the temporal. It is true that with the coming of the Ottomans a new wave of appreciation of the *sharīʿa* even in practice sets in, which found expression, for example, in the office of *Shaikh al-Islām* [q v] and ultimately in the codification of the *medjelle* [q.v.]; but even here we do not have an actual enforcement of the *sharīʿa* according to the *sharīʿa* even the *medjelle* is illegal and the temporal jurisdiction continued to exist in this case also. This period is not only long past (cf the words quoted above on Turkish modernism), but an attempt is being made to drive the *sharīʿa* entirely out of public life even out of the spheres reserved to it hitherto and European codes have been boldly adopted (cf. the articles in the *Oriente Moderno* and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*).

Of the impossibility of enforcing the *sharīʿa* under prevailing conditions the *fakīh*'s themselves were quite aware under the pressure of the facts. Even their truce with the temporal power was based on a recognition of this To brand almost all Muslims as sinners or heretics, because they had continually to break the law, if they were not prepared to withdraw from the world entirely, was not feasible; on the contrary, these things had rather to be taken as arranged and even willed by Allāh. Thus the *sharīʿa* was rendered actually powerless in so far as it could not be enforced in practice; the way was even pointed out to evade its rules, appeal was made to the principle that necessity breaks the laws; it was emphasised that one does not become an infidel by breaking the law, but only by doubting its eternal validity The conviction that the Muslim community would steadily become corrupted till the coming of the Mahdī and that the breaches of Allāh's commands, which had been deduced in the course of development, would still increase, were expressed in traditions which were invented and even put in the mouth of the Prophet as prophecies; these conditions were thus sanctioned as a fulfilment of his prophecy. To sum up, the law in the convinced opinion of the *fakīh*'s themselves is intended only for the ideal community of the early decades of Islām and for the time of the Mahdī, this was a confession of the impotence of the pious in face of the circumstances of the age. The *sharīʿa*, essentially academic in character, has at the same time always been a considerable educational force and is still ardently studied, in spite of al-Ghazālī's advice to the contrary, it is still regarded in wide circles of Islām as the only subject of true learning But as it was held up as an unattainable ideal and because the doctrine of the infallibility of the *iḏjmāʿ* together with the conviction of cessation of the *iḏjtihād* forbade any divergence from what had been formerly customary, it has become quite rigid the jurists are opponents of all progress; even yet many prescriptions are still emphasised which only referred to the early Arabs and can have no longer any practical significance even for the most orthodox Muslim of to-day.

The heads of the law which are of practical importance for the Muslim (not regarding the later developments in Turkey) have already been mentioned, the following notes are now added and it should always be remembered that there may be considerable differences in detail in different periods and countries and that strictness and slackness in following the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa* have nothing to do with the degree of intolerance. Even in ritual and the religious duties in the narrower sense, which mean most to Muslims, ignorance and gross neglect is never general, but nevertheless throughout the whole Muslim world there is perceptible a striving to perform some at least of the main obligations as closely as possible. The usages especially, by which Muslims are externally distinguished from members of other creeds, are in general very closely observed and considered very important even if they are not quite in accordance with the letter of the law, while, on the other hand, many religious obligations imperative

in theory are generally quite neglected. In the law relating to marriage, families and inheritance, which usually can be quite closely followed in practice, we have already the limitations enforced by ʿāda [q. v.] or ʿurf, the local customary law that has existed from time immemorial in the different Muslim lands The other parts of the law have no practical significance although everywhere and in every period we find conscientious, pious men who endeavour to take account as far as possible of the teaching of the sharīʿa even in commercial affairs, but here the ʿāda everywhere outweighs the rules of the sharīʿa, although according to the fiḳh books the former only has binding force in cases where the law definitely refers to it. But this low estimation is not quite in keeping with the position which the ʿāda had in the history of the sharīʿa. Muhammad himself allowed the Arab ʿāda's to remain, so long as no uniform regulation was necessary or the ʿāda's did not conflict with his principles He only laid down a few rules and the ʿāda was to be in no wise deposed, although of course he did not lay down this as a principle Islām then carried the Arab ʿāda's into foreign lands and even foreign ʿāda's were at first partially recognised to a far-reaching extent; later this doctrine was given up in theory, although the ʿāda always retained great influence, as the *faḳih*'s have continually lamented, even the recognition of the ʿāda as the fifth of the *uṣūl al-fikh* was rejected But public opinion knows only the ʿāda; even the obligations of the law, which are actually observed, are observed simply because they belong to use and wont, and in the Dutch East Indies, for example (apart from the theologians proper), the ʿāda is recognised among authoritative Muslim circles as being even in theory equal in every way to the sharīʿa

The position of the Ḳānūn [q. v] with regard to the sharīʿa is similar to that of the ʿāda. The word is sometimes used in the sense of ʿāda, generally, however, it is applied to the (in part based on the ʿāda) regulations laid down by temporal princes of Islām, in this way *kānūnī* is the opposite of *sharʿī*. The best known are the *Ḳānūnnāme*'s of the Ottoman Sultāns (cf. ḲĀNŪNNĀME, ḲATL at the end, to the literature given there add *Dżerīde-i ʿadliye*, N⁰. 156, p. 463 *sqq* ; N⁰. 158, p. 669 *sqq.*, N⁰. 163—167, p. 1196 *sqq.*)

The collections of *fatwā*'s from the Fiḳh literature along with other sources for ʿāda and *ḳānūn* are important for ascertaining the actual practice, from the questions of those who seek *fatwā*'s we see in what parts of the law the people of a country are most interested, what heresies and abuses are most prevalent and what conditions arouse misgivings regarding their legality among pious laymen. At the same time the *ḥiyal* (stratagem) literature has to be considered, which describes evasions of the law (cf. above) and deals fully with the actual practice; finally the documents, original documents as well as collections of forms and precedents (*Shurūṭ* books, cf. SHARṬ), because in them more notice is taken than elsewhere of actual practice.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.; *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*, ed. . . . . under the superintendence of A. Sprenger (Bibliotheca Indica, Old Series), i. 759 *sqq.*; al-Ṭabarī on *islāmischen Gesetzes*, § 15—17; do., *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche Wet*², § 16 *sq.*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, esp. vol. ii. and iv. 1, 2; do., *Der Islam* in A. Bertholet—E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*⁴, 648 *sqq.* (695 *sqq. Das Gesetz*); I Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 30 *sqq* , Art : LAW in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islām*. Also in the works on the *Uṣūl* [q v.]. — Add to the literature of ʿĀDA · E. Ubach and E Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika* (*Quellen zur ethnologischen Rechtsforschung* 1, suppl.-vol. to *Zeitschrift fur vergl. Rechtswissensch* , xl) and the pertinent works in the bibliography *Isl* , xiii. p. 349 *sqq.*

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHARĪF (A) (plur. *ashrāf*, *shurafā*') "noble, exalted", the root of which expresses the idea of elevation and prominence, means primarily a freeman, who can claim a distinguished position because of his descent from illustrious ancestors (cf. *Lis.* ʿ*Ar* , xi. 70 *sq.*). It is of course assumed here that the meritorious qualities of the fathers are transmitted to their descendants The possession of several illustrious ancestors is the requisite condition for a *sharaf* (also *hasab*) *dakhm*, a "solid" nobility (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud*, Halle a. S , 1898—1890, i. 41 *sq* ; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, p 289 *sqq.*) Although in Islām the doctrine — based on Kur'ān xlix, 13 "Verily the noblest among you in the eyes of God is he that fears God most" — of the equality of all Arabs and ultimately of all believers grew up (Goldziher, *op cit* , i. 50 *sqq.*, 69 *sqq*), it never quite displaced the old reverence for a distinguished genealogy.

The *ashrāf* were the heads of the prominent families, to whom were entrusted the administration of the affairs of the tribe or alliance of towns; cf Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wustenfeld, p 237 l 2 ; 295, 17; al-Tabarī, *Akhbār al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk*, ed. Leiden, i 1191, the *Ashrāf* of al-Ḥīra, ibid , i 2017, the *Ashrāf al-Ḳabā'il*, ibid , ii. 541, 17; the *Ashrāf* in Kūfa, ibid , ii. 631 *sqq.* passim; the *Ashrāf* of Khurāsān, ibid , iii 714, 1, the *Ashrāf al-Aʿādjim*, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 176, 8 The *ashrāf* regarded themselves as the aristocrats (*Ahl al-fadl*) with whom were contrasted the rude and untutored masses (*ʿawāmm*, *sufahā'*, *akhissā'*) (al-Tabarī, ii 631, 7) *Sharīf* also means a person of importance in contrast to one of low social status (*ḍaʿīf*, *waḍīʿ*, al-Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Waḥy* b 6, *al-Ḥudūd*, b. 11, 12). In this sense the word is frequently found in the older literature of Islām, e. g. in the very title of al-Balādhurī's history, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* and in chapter-headings, for example in Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Afʿāl mim Afʿāl al-Sāda wa'l-Ashrāf* (*ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, 1, Cairo 1343, p. 332), in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Būlāḳ 1293, ii. 29· *Maʾāthir 'l-Ashrāf*, 207. *Ashrāf Kuttāb al-Nabī*, iii. 311 *Nawka 'l-Ashrāf*, iii 406: *man hudda min al-Ashrāf*) and in al-Thaʿālibī (*Ṣinaʿāt al-Ashrāf*, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*, ed. de Jong, Leiden 1867, p. 77); cf. also L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i. 230, note 6.

In Islām under the influence of Shīʿa views and the increasing veneration for the Prophet, membership of the house of Muḥammad became

al-Bait comes from Ḳur'ān xxxiii. 33*b*: "God will remove the stains from you, O people of the house and purify you completely" which the Shī'īs applied to 'Alī and Fāṭima and their sons (cf already al-Kumait *al-Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horovitz, Leiden 1904, text, p. 38, verse 30, cf. p. 92, verse 67) by interpreting it through the well known tradition of the mantle (*ḥadīth al-kisā'*, *ḥ. al-'abā'*) also adopted in orthodox tradition The explanation of the phrase as referring to the "women", which is more in keeping with the context, said to have been put forward by Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ikrima is found in some versions of this tradition, in which Umm Salama is recognised by the Prophet as belonging to the *Ahl al-Bait* The current orthodox view is based on the harmonising opinion, according to which the term *Ahl al-Bait* includes the *Ahl al-'Abā'*, i e the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain as well as the women of the Prophet But even the 'Abbāsids relied on the verse of purification and therefore we have the counterpart of the *ḥadīth al-kisā'* which includes al-'Abbās and his sons in the *Ahl al-Bait*.

Ahl al-Bait is given a still wider interpretation in a version of the so-called *ḥadīth al-thakalain*, where the term is referred to those to whom the sharing in *Ṣadaka* is forbidden; among such are definitely mentioned the Āl 'Alī, the Āl 'Aḳīl, the Āl Dja'far and the Āl al-'Abbās. According to this, the *Ahl al-Bait* includes the Ṭālibids and 'Abbāsids, historically the most important families of the Banū Hāshim. Cf. the article AHL AL-BAIT and on the traditions just mentioned al-Maḳrīzī, *Ma'rifa*, f 103b *sqq* , al-Sabbān, *Is'āf*, p 96 *sqq.*, al-Nabhānī, *Sharaf*, 6 *sqq* , Lammens, *Fāṭima*, Rome 1912, p. 95 *sqq* , Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 19 *sq* ; van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden, p. 65 *sqq* , see also the articles ĀL and 'ITRA.

The clan of the Banū Hāshim was put in the forefront by the editors of the *Sīra* of the Prophet. God's deliberate choice after a gradual process of elimination of families finally selected the Hāshim as the family to produce the Prophet. A tradition which occurs in several versions runs as follows The Prophet of Allāh said: "Allāh chose Isma'īl from the sons of Ibrāhīm and from the sons of Isma'īl the Banū Kināna and from the Banū Kināna the Ḳuraish and from the Kuraish the Banū Hāshim" (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabakāt*, ed. Sachau, i. i, 2). One of these versions concludes with the words: "consequently I (i e. Muḥammad) am the best of you as regards family and the best of you as regards genealogy" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *op. cit.*, ii 247). Cf also al-Khafādjī, *Nasīm al-Riyāḍ fī Sharḥ Shifā' al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyāḍ*, Cairo 1325—1327, i 429 *sqq* , chap on the *Sharaf* of the Prophet, al-Nabhānī, p. 37—39.

To al-Kumait who lauded the noble blood of the Prophet in exuberant language (*op. cit.*, text, p. 14, l. 45 *sqq*) the Banū Hashim are "the peaks of splendid nobility" (ibid , p. 5, l 14), who are granted "a pre-eminence over all men" (p. 58, l. 87). To be able to show kinship with the Prophet was thus an important claim to *sharaf* (cf. also al-Baihaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwi*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, p. 95 *sqq*); al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain were regarded as the noblest by birth (al-Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 *sqq.*).

This special position of the Banū Hāshim, among whom the Ṭālibids are already celebrated by al-Kumait as *ashrāf* and *sāda* (*op cit.*, text, p. 10, l 29, p. 56, l. 80), led in the later 'Abbāsid period (about the ivth/xth century) to a limitation of the title of honour *al-sharīf*, which is also said to have been a *laḳab* of 'Alī (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Tabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira*, Cairo, 1327, ii. 155, 18) to the descendants of al-'Abbās and Abū Ṭālib. al-Tabarī (iii 635, 6) also mentions the *ashrāf* as a special group alongside of the Banū Hāshim

In al-Māwardī (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya*, ed. Enger, Bonn 1853, p 165, 7) the *ashrāf* are divided into Ṭālibīyūn and 'Abbāsīyūn. From the literary history of the second half of the ivth (xth) century we know of the two brothers al-Sharīf al-Riḍā and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L* , i. 82). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ris al-Sulāla al-Zainabīya*, f. 4*a sq.* (= al-Sabbān, p. 112 *sq*) the name al-Sharīf was used in the earlier period (*al-ṣadr al-awwal*) of all who belonged to the *Ahl al-Bait*, whether a Hasanī, Husainī or 'Alawī, i e. a descendant of Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya or of another of 'Alī's sons, or a Dja'farī, 'Aḳīlī or 'Abbāsī He points out that in the chronicle of al-Dhahabī [q v] we often meet with titles like *al-Sharīf al-'Abbāsī*, *al-Sharīf al-'Aḳīlī*, *al-Sharīf al-Dja'farī*, *al-Sharīf al-Zainabī*, which however proves very little for the older period The Fāṭimids however, as he observes, restricted the name *al-Sharīf* to the descendants of al-Hasan and al-Ḥusain and this had remained the custom in Egypt down to his time. Although this does not seem quite to agree with the very brief note that he quotes from the *Kitāb al-Alḳāb* of Ibn Ḥadjar (al-'Asḳalānī) according to which *al-sharīf* was used in Baghdād as a *laḳab* of every 'Abbāsī and in Egypt of every 'Alawī, we may assume that the word *al-sharīf* in the strict sense was at that time applied only to a Hasanī or Husainī For, as al-Suyūṭī notes in another connection (p 6*a*/*b*, al-Ṣabbān, p. 190 *sq* , similarly Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-hadīthīya*, p. 124 *sqq*), a *waḳf* or a testamentary deposition in favour of the *ashrāf* is only awarded to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Husain for such depositions are decided by local usage ('*urf*) and according to the usage in Egypt, dating from the Fāṭimid period, this term was applied only to the Hasanids and Ḥusainids. In conclusion al-Suyūṭī observes that according to the linguistic usage of Egypt the noble blood (*sharaf*) was divided into different classes, namely a grade which included the whole of the *Ahl al-Bait*, another which contained only the *Dhurrīya*, i e. the descendants of 'Alī which included the Zainabīs, the descendants of Zainab bint 'Alī and also all sons of 'Alī's daughters, and finally a still smaller class the *sharaf al-nisba* which only admitted the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Husain.

Among the historians the title *sharīf* is first used for the 'Alids in the period of the dissolution of the 'Abbāsid empire, when the 'Alids were rebelling everywhere and attaining power in Ṭabaristān and Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 56 *sq.*).

The case of *saiyid* "lord" was similar to that of *sharīf*. *Saiyid* means the master in contrast to the slave (cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *al-Aḥkām*, b. 1, etc.; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Birr*, b. 53), and the husband as opposed to the wife (e.g. Ḳur'ān, xii. 25). *Saiyid* was also the usual name for the head of a tribe or clan (cf. Ḳur'ān xxxiii. 67; Ibn Hishām, p

295, 17), whose authority was based mainly on personal qualities like discretion (*ḥilm*), liberality and command of language (cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *ʿUyūn al-Aḫbār*, i. 223 *sqq.*; G Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 2 ed, Berlin 1897, p. 223 *sq.*; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 206 *sqq.*) Certain physical qualities are also said to mark a man as a *saiyid* (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *loc. cit*; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 144). The Kurʾān praises the prophet Yaḥyā as a *saiyid* (iii 34). *Saiyid* may have become particularly used as a title for ʿAlids and Ṭālibids at about the same time as *sharīf*. This development was probably not unaffected by traditions which describe al-Ḥasan and al-Husain and their parents as *saiyid(a)*. The Prophet is recorded to have said of al-Ḥasan, "this my son is a *saiyid* and perhaps Allāh will bring about reconciliation between the two parties of Muslims through him" (al-Bukhārī, *al-Fitan*, b 20, N°. 2, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, b 22, al-Tirmidhī, *Manāḳib al-Ḥasan wa ʾl-Ḥusain*, b 30). Al-Husain appears in the Hadīth as *Saiyid Shabāb Ahl al-Djanna*, "lord of young men among the inhabitants of Paradise" (al-Nabhānī, p 64, 17 *sqq*) and along with his brother he is celebrated as *Saiyidā Shabāb* etc. "the two lords of the young men" etc. (al-Tirmidhī, *op. cit*, al-Nasāʾī, *Ḫaṣāʾiṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib*, Cairo 1308, p 24, 26), while their mother Fāṭima is lauded by the Prophet as "mistress of the women of my (this) community" or "mistress of the women of the worlds", "mistress of the women of the dwellers in Paradise" (*Saiyidat Nisāʿ Ummatī*, and *hādhihi ʾl-Ummia*, *S. N. al-ʿĀlamīn*, *S. N. Ahl-Djanna*, cf Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii. 17, 7 *sqq.*, al-Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥāba*, b. 29, al-Nasāʾī, *op cit*, 23 *sq*, al-Nabhānī, p 54, 3 *sqq.*). The Prophet is said to have called ʿAlī *Saiyid al-ʿArab* and *Saiyid al-Muslimīn* and to have once said to him "Thou art a *saiyid* in this world and a *saiyid* in the next" (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op cit*, ii 177). In a verse in al-Baihaḳī, *op. cit*, p 96, 10, ʿAlī is described as *saiyid al-nās*, but as a rule such expressions are only applied to the Prophet (*Saiyid Wald Ādam*, Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, i/i. 1 and 3, 15, *Saiyid al-Baṣhar*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, ii. 246, 17)

In the beginning the term *saiyid* may have been first applied to those who possessed some authority in their own sphere In the genealogical work of the Ḥasanid Ibn Muhannā, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, individual ʿAlids are often described as *saiyid* (Bombay edition 1318, e g. p. 51, 16, 52, 2, 4, 54, 10, 59, 2, 6, 9, 16, 65, 15, 17, 117 ult., 142, 7, 149, 9) Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Islām*, MS. Leyden, 1721, f. 65ª gives this title to the Twelver Imām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. We also find the combination *al-Saiyid al-Sharīf* or vice versa (al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1342, ii., p. 277, 12; al-Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳūd al-Luʾluʾiya*, i., Gibb Mem. Ser, iii. 4, Leyden—London 1913, p. 314, 11). The word *saiyid*, also came to be applied to Ṣūfī authorities, saints and notable theologians, e. g. *al-Sāda* (*al-Ṣūfiya*), *al-Sādāt al-Awliyāʾ* (al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Khawāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321, p. 2, 9, 3, 1, 195, 3); *al-Sāda al-Aʿlām* (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthiya*, p. 124, 4 v u). The term *Saiyidī* or *Sīdī* (frequently in al-Shaʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Akhyār*, Cairo 1315), became very popular for persons regarded as holy, and is the expression used by the slave in addressing his master.

Like *al-sharīf*, *al-saiyid* came in many Muslim lands to be applied only to Ḥasanids and Ḥusaimids. Thus in Ḥaḍramawt their usual title is *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii. 163) To judge from al-Khazradjī (*op cit.*, i. 315 *sqq.* passim) *sharīf* was in his day the usual name for them, now according to Amīn al-Raiḥānī (*Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Bairūt 1924, i 92, note 1) it is *saiyid*. In the Ḥidjāz it was the custom to call *sharīf* only those Ḥasanids whose ancestors had lived in Mecca and to give the name *saiyid* only to the Ḥusaimids. But the Meccan talks of the Grand Sharīf as *saiyidanā* and the latter gives the members of his family the title *saiyid* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i 57, do, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iii 163, v 31, 40, al-Nabhānī, p. 41) The names *saiyid* and *mīr* (*amīr*) used in Persia were also current in Turkey and India (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, v 290, d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1786—1820, i. 70, J von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung u Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii 398; Jaʿfar Sharīf-Herklots, *Islām in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, new ed by W Crooke, London 1921, p. 26–28). Along with the title *saiyid* usual in the Malay Archipelago we also find in Atjeh the honorific *habīb* (beloved) also used in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i 155)

In the ʿAbbāsid period, the *Ashrāf*, ʿAbbāsids and Ṭālibids, were usually under the authority of a *naḳīb* "marshal of nobility" chosen by them The history of this office has so far been little investigated. That it already existed under the Umaiyads as von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte d Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875, i 449, note 1) supposes from Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, ii 134, 5 from below, is very doubtful as the passage quoted is probably corrupt (cf al-Ṭabarī, ii. 16, ult, 17, 1). The two branches of the Banū Hāshim were from the first probably under a marshal as was the case about 301 (913/914). (ʿArīb, ed de Goeje, p 47, 10) Yet we find mentioned in al-Ṭabarī (iii 1516, 5) in the year 250 (864) as administrator of the affairs of the Ṭalibids (*yatawallā amr al-T*) ʿUmar b Faraḏj (al-Rukhkhādjī) who apparently was not a Hāshimī The ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b Djaʿfar al-Ḥimmānī who died in 260 (873/874) was *naḳīb* in Kūfa (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḏj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1861—1877, viii 338) Perhaps at this date there were in the larger towns as at a later date, marshals of the nobles, who were under a grand marshal (*nakib al-nuḳabāʾ*). In general theory it was the duty of the *nakīb* who had to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of nobility, enter births and deaths in it and to examine the validity of alleged ʿAlid genealogies (cf. thereon, ʿArīb, p 49 *sq*, 167) He had to keep a watch on the behaviour of the *ashrāf*, to restrain them from excesses, to remind them to do their duty and avoid anything which might injure their prestige He had also to urge their claims, especially those on the treasury, to endeavour to prevent the women of noble blood from making mésalliances and to see that the waḳf's of the *ashrāf* were properly administered. The chief naḳīb had other special duties, including certain judicial powers Cf. al-Mawardī, *op. cit.*, p. 164 *sqq*; von Kremer, *op. cit.*, i 448 *sq.*; Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 145, see also the article NAḲĪB.

The green turban which became usual as a mark of the *ashrāf*, especially in Egypt, owes its origin to an edict of Sulṭān al-Ashrāf Shaʿbān (764—778 = 1363—1376) who ordered in 773 (1371/1372) that the *Ashrāf* should wear a green badge (*shuṭfa*) fastened to their turbans to distinguish them from other people and as an honour for their rank (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, Cairo 1311, i. 227, ʿAlī Dede, *Muḥāḍarat al-Awāʾil wa-Musāmarat al-Awākhir*, Būlāḳ 1300, p 85, Dozy, *Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam 1845, p. 308; Mez, *op. cit*, p. 59) This edict which is commemorated by the poets of the time recalls that of al-Maʾmūn which replaced in Ramadān 201 (817) the black colour of his house by green, when he designated the Husaimid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā as his successor (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1012 *sq*) The Hasanid Muḥammad b Djaʿfar al-Kattānī in his treatise on the turban (*al-Diʿāma li-maʿrifat ahkām sunnat al-imāma*, Damascus 1342, p 97 *sq*) supposes that the descendants of ʿAlī and Fātima henceforth retained green as their colour, but confined themselves in practice to wearing a piece of green material on the turban. This, he thinks, fell into disuse in time, until Sultān Shaʿbān revived it by his edict According to the work *Durar al-asdāf* which is quoted by al-Kattānī, the wearing of an entirely green turban dates from an edict of the Pasha of Egypt al-Sayyid Muhammad al Sharīf (cf in al-Ishākī, *Akhbār al-Uwal fī-man tasarrafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwal*, Cairo 1311, p 164 infra) of the year 1004 (1596) when he had the *kiswa* for the Kaʿba exhibited, he ordered the *ashrāf* to come before him, every one wearing a green turban Al-Suyūṭī observes that the wearing of this badge is a permissible innovation (*bidʿa mubāḥa*) which no one, whether a *sharīf* or not a *sharīf* can be prevented from following, if he wishes to do so, and which cannot be forced upon any one who wishes to omit it, as it cannot be deduced from the law. At most it can be said that the badge was introduced as a distinction for the *ashrāf* it is therefore equally permissible to limit it to the Hasanids and Husaimids or to allow it to the Zainabīya also and to the still wider circle of the remaining ʿAlids and the Ṭālibids. An endeavour is made to connect this custom with Kurʾān xxxiii. 59 in which some scholars see a suggestion that learned men should be distinguished by their dress, for example, by wearing long sleeves or by the winding of the *ṭaylasān*, so that they may be readily recognised and honoured for the sake of learning (al-Suyūṭī, f 5a—6a, complete in al-Sabbān, p 189 *sq*, abbreviated in Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthīya*, p. 124 and al-Nabhānī, p. 41 *sq*) With regard to the Korʾānic verse above mentioned, it should, according to al-Ṣabbān (p. 191), be held that the wearing of the green badge or green turban is recommended for the *ashrāf*, and blameworthy for others than they, because the latter by wearing it would put themselves into another than their real genealogical category, which is not permitted. On this account according to al-Kattānī, even the Mālikī authorities considered the wearing of a green turban as forbidden to a non-sharīf. With regard to a tradition transmitted by Ibn Ḥanbal, according to which the Prophet on the day of resurrection is clothed by his Lord with a green turban, Shāfiʿī teachers are said to incline to the view that this headgear is desirable for the *ashrāf* (al-Kattānī, p. 98 below, cf 95). Other authorities like to insist that green is the colour of the garments of the dwellers in Paradise (cf. Ḳurʾān xviii. 30, lxxvi. 21), and that it was the Prophet's favourite colour (al-Kattānī p 95 *sq*., with references to Hadīth).

The green turban did not became the general headgear of the *Ashrāf* throughout the Muslim world. In Arabia they rarely wear other than white turbans (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/1. 63) The green colour was preferred in Persia (Chardin, *Voyages*, *loc cit*), according to P. M Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p 24, note 1, the *sayyid* is distinguished there by a blue turban and a green loin-cloth. In India *sayyid*'s wear green, they are therefore occasionally called. *sabzpūsh*. "green-robed" (Jaʿfar Sharīf-Herklots, *op. cit*, p. 303) According to al-Nabhānī (p 42 *sq*) the green turban is not a mark of noble blood in Constantinople It is worn there not only by learned men and students but also by artisans and street merchants, especially in winter as it does not show dirt so quickly. On this account many *ashrāf* are said to avoid the colour green

Those of the Prophet's blood are also distinguished in other ways according to orthodox views For example the sharing in the *ṣadaḳa* (*zakāt*, q. v.) is forbidden them The Prophet is recorded to have frequently said of the *ṣadaḳa* "It is the filth of men (cf Kurʾan, ix 104) and permitted neither to Muhammad or the family (*āl*) of Muhammad". The legal authorities differ on the question whether this rule applies not only to the Banū Hāshim but also to the Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib and the clients of these families, and whether also free-will offerings (*ṣadaḳat al-nafl*, *ṣ al-taṭawwuʿ*) are included under it (al-Nabhānī, p 33 *sqq*)

The sons of Fāṭima have the privilege of being called "sons of the Prophet of God" and thus having their descent traced directly to the Prophet They are therefore frequently addressed as *Ibn Rasūl Allāh*. From the work of al-Ṭabarānī sayings of the Prophet are quoted in justification such as "All the sons of one mother trace themselves back to an agnate, except the sons of Fātima, for I am their nearest relative and their agnate" (*Waliyuhum wa-ʿAṣabatuhum* Cf Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthīya*, p. 123, 24 *sqq* , al-Nabhānī, p 48 *sq*)

From the fact that the *Ahl al-Bait* are the noblest in descent it results that the female members of the family have no one of equal birth to them (*kuf*ʾ). According to al-Suyūṭī (f. 3*a sq*., cf. al-Sabbān, p. 188, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *op cit*, p 123, 31) it is a very old opinion that the son of the marriage of a *sharīfa* woman with a man who is not a *sharīf*, is not a *sharīf*. As al-Sabbān, p. 192, points out there are many however who consider him a *sharīf* In practice however marriages of a sayyid's daughter with men not their equals are extremely rare (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Leyden 1906, i. 158, do., *Verspr. Geschr* , iv/1. 297 *sqq*.; Mrs. Meer Hasan Alī, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*², with notes by W. Crooke, London 1917, p. 4 *sq*.); al-Shaʿrānī (in al-Nabhānī, p. 89 *sqq*) does not consider it seemly to marry the divorced wife or widow of a *sharīf*. one may only enter into matrimony with a *sharīfa* woman, if he knows

he is in a position to afford her all that is due to her, will obey her pleasure and consider himself her slave.

The following saying of the Prophet refers particularly to the *Ahl al-Bait*: "Every bond of relationship and consanguinity (*sabab wa-nasab*) will be severed on the day of resurrection except mine" They are therefore the only ones whose relationship can avail them (al-Nabhānī, p. 22, 30, 39 *sq.*, 47).

A weak tradition makes the Prophet say "The stars are a security (*amān*) for the dwellers in the heavens and my *ahl al-Bait* are a security for the dwellers on earth" (or "for my community") According to the commentators by the *ahl al-Bait* are here meant the descendants of Fāṭima Their existence on the earth is a security for its inhabitants in general and for the community of the Prophet in particular against punishment or against overwhelming by "temptations" (*fitan*) It is not the pious among them that are specially meant here; this distinction is solely based on their descent from the Prophet (*al-ʿunṣur al-nabawī*) apart from any qualities, meritorious or otherwise, which they happen to possess as individuals. An allusion to this opinion is also sought in Ḳurʾān viii. 33 (al-Nabhānī, p 28 *sq*, 30 and 47, cf al-Sabbān, p. 119 *sq.*; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ*, p 144; *al-Fatāwī al-hadīthiya*, p. 122, 11 *sqq*).

None of the *Ahl al-Bait* will suffer the punishment of Hell (al-Maḳrīzī, f. 109b, al-Nabhānī, p 21, 17 *sqq*, 33, 5 *sq*, 45) and ʿAlī, al-Hasan, and al-Husain with their families will be the first to enter Paradise along with the Prophet (al-Nabhānī, p. 48, 11 *sqq*).

The "sons of the Prophet of God" may be certain of divine forgiveness and any wrong inflicted by them must be accepted like a dispensation of Allāh, if possible with gratitude Ibn al-ʿArabī, who takes the verse of purification in connection with Kurʾān xlviii 2, in which the Prophet is promised pardon for his sin, observes, *inter alia* "It behoves every Muslim, who believes in Allāh and in what he has revealed to recognise the truth of the word of Allāh. "Allāh will remove the stain from you, O people of the house and purify you completely", so that he may be convinced with respect to everything done by the *Ahl al-Bait* that Allāh has given them pardon for it. It is therefore not fitting for a Muslim to criticise them, neither for what is not in keeping with the honour of those of whom God has testified that he has purified them and removed the stain from them nor for pious works performed by them, nor for good deeds which they have performed, but always to remember God's watching care over them (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, Cairo 1329, Chap. 29, l. 196, 17—198, 25, esp 196, 31 *sqq.*, cf. 197, 14 *sqq.*, in al-Maḳrīzī, f 108b, 13 *sqq.*; in al-Nabhānī, p. 11—13, 76—79).

A *sharīf* who has received *ḥadd* punishment for incontinence, taking intoxicating liquor or theft may be compared with an *amīr* or *sulṭān* whose feet have become soiled but are wiped clean by one of his servants. He is also likened to a refractory son, who is however not deprived of his inheritance (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 20 *sqq* ; al-Nabhānī, p. 46)

The duty of love for the *Ahl al-Bait* is based on Ḳurʾān xlii. 22, where *ḳurbā* is referred to relationship with the Prophet (Ibn Biṭrīḳ al-Ḥillī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ Wuḥy al-Mubīn*, p. 51 *sqq.*; do., *al-ʿUmda*, p. 23 *sqq.*; al-Maḳrīzī, f. 112a, 16 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ*, p. 104 *sqq.*; al-Shabrāwī, p. 4 *sq.*, al-Ṣabbān, p. 96 and *sqq.*; al-Nabhānī, p 72 *sqq*). It is further pointed out that the conclusion of the *tashahhud* [q. v.] contains a prayer for the Āl Muḥammad (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ*, p 143; al-Nabhānī, p. 75 below). A saying attributed to al-Shāfiʿī [q v.] is as follows "O ye members of the house of the Prophet, love for you is a duty to God, which he has revealed in the Kurʾān" It is a great honour for you that any one who does not say the *taṣliya* [q. v.] over you has not performed the *ṣalāt* (*op. cit*, p 88) There are further a large number of traditions, which urge this affection, represent it as a proof of belief, and promise in return for it the *shafāʿa* of the Prophet on the day of the resurrection and a heavenly reward, forbid signs of hatred and even describe the latter as infidelity (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ*, p 141 *sq* , al-Shabrāwī, p. 3 *sq.*, al-Nabhānī, p 81 *sqq*).

Reverence and respect ought therefore always to be shown to the *ashrāf*, especially to the pious and learned among them, this is a natural result of reverence for the Prophet One should be humble in their presence the man who injures them should be an object of hatred Unjust treatment from them should be patiently borne, their evil returned with good, they should be assisted when necessary, one should refrain from mentioning their faults, on the other hand their virtues should be lauded abroad, one should try to come nearer to God and his Prophet through the prayers of the devout among them (al-Shabrāwī, 7, 17, *sqq*) According to al-Shaʿrānī, one should treat a *sharīf* with the same distinction as a governor or a *ḳādī al-askar*. One should not take a seat if a *sharīf* is without one Special reverence should be paid to the *sharīfa*; one hardly dare look at them. Any one who really loves the sons of the Prophet will present them with anything they wish to buy. Whoever has a daughter or sister to give in marriage with a rich dowry, should not refuse her hand to a *sharīf* even if he has no more than the bridal gift for her and can only live from hand to mouth If one meets a *sharīf* or *sharīfa* on the street, who asks for a gift, one should give him what one can (al-Nabhānī, p 89 *sqq.*).

One should not refuse marks of respect even to a *sharīf* whose conduct is contrary to the law (*fāsiḳ*), because one knows his sin will be forgiven him. This high esteem is his due on account of his pure origin (*al-ʿunṣur al-ṭāhir*) and *fisḳ* does not affect his genealogy (al-Nabhānī, p. 45). If it is doubtful whether a man is a *sharīf* but there is nothing to object to in his genealogy from the legal point of view he should be treated with the proper respect. Even if his pedigree is not legally established, one should not assume he is lying without being absolutely certain on the point (Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Fatāwī al-ḥadīthiya*, p. 122, 27 *sqq.*; al-Nabhānī, p. 46). There are a number of anecdotes in which an individual who has been neglectful of respect to a *sharīf* or who has irritated one has been corrected in a dream by the Prophet or by Fāṭima (al-Maḳrīzī, f 144a, 11 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ*, p. 148, al-Nabhānī, p. 45, 95 *sqq*).

The numerous saiyids and sharīfs are represented throughout the whole Muslim world. Several families have attained ruling power for longer or shorter periods, e. g. in Ṭabaristān and Dailam, in western Arabia, Yemen and Morocco. Other families have exercised local influence but by far the great majority lived and live in poor circumstances. The genuineness of an ʿAlid pedigree has for long not been unassailable. The genealogical tradition has survived in its greatest purity in western Arabia and Ḥaḍramawt. The family of ʿAlawī's in Ḥaḍramawt, which has produced many notable jurists, theologians and mystics, regard only the west Arabian sharīfs as their equals in birth.

The saiyid, who distinguishes himself by a pious life, readily becomes reverenced as a saint His blessing is expected to bring good fortune, while his wrath brings misfortune. By vows and gifts it is hoped to secure his auspicious intercession and his tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage On the much visited tombs of saiyids and saiyidas in Cairo cf al-Shablandjī's work cited below.

In the Yemen as in Ḥaḍramawt, the saiyid who is to be distinguished there from the armed *sharīf* carrying a staff (*ʿukkāz*) and rosary, acts as intermediary between two disputing parties. He also drives away the locusts and his prayer puts an end to infertility while his curse makes it continue. Many saiyids are also visited for their healing powers Reverence for the saiyid frequently finds expression in presenting him with lands (H. Jacob, *Parfumes of Araby*, London 1915, p 45, 173, *sqq.*).

For a fuller description of the sharīfs and saiyids and the reverence paid to them see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 32 *sqq.*, 70 *sqq* , on the saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt, who are also strongly represented in the Malay Archipelago and to whom belong the founders of the sultānates of Siak and Pontianak, cf do , *Verspr Geschr.* iii. 162 *sqq* , and *The Atchehnese*, i. 153 *sqq.*

For the history of the Sharīfs who ruled in Mekka and the Ḥidjāz from the ivth (xth) century till 1924, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. and the article MEKKA (history), cf. also the sketch in al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*[2], Cairo 1329, p. 73 *sqq* — Information on the families of *ashrāf* in Arabia is given in *A Handbook of Arabia*, i., comp by the Geogr. Sect. of the Naval Intelligence Division, London n.d., Ind. and *Ashrāf.*

On the Sharīfs of Morocco cf. the art. ḤASANĪ, ḤUSAINĪ, SHURFĀ; on the Saiyids of India cf. art. INDIA (Brit.) ii.

The genealogy of the Ṭālibids is discussed in Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ... Ibn Muhannā al-Dāʾūdī al-Ḥasanī, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318.

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AL-SHARĪF AL-RAḌĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ṬĀHIR AL-ḤUSAIN B MŪSĀ descended from al-Husain b. ʿAlī through Mūsā al-Kāẓim on account of which he and his brother ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā [q v.] were given the family name al-Musāwī. His father who was born in the year 307 (919/920) was under Būyid rule in Baghdād *Nakīb* of the Ṭālibīs, an office resembling that of a heralds'-college for the descendants of the Prophet through ʿAlī's wife Fātima. al-Raḍī was born in Baghdād in the year 359 (970) and appears to have been very precocious, we are told by Thaʿālibī, his contemporary, that he composed his first verses when he had hardly passed the age of ten years. The earliest dated poem in his *Dīwān* was composed in the year 374, when he was 15 years old. Thaʿālibī, and the authors who copy him, assert that al-Radī was undoubtedly the greatest poet of the Ṭalibīyīn, perhaps even the greatest poet the tribe of Kuraish had produced. If we take the measure of so much inferior poetry composed at that time, for the times were prolific in poets, Thaʿālibī may be right, and we cannot but admit that some of his elegies upon friends have a touch of genuine feeling. The quantity of poetry composed by him in his short life is also remarkable, as his *Dīwān* filled originally four volumes. al-Raḍī must have been of feeble constitution and he tells us himself in one of his poems that he began to show grey hair at the early age of 21 years. Several other poems tell us of his recovery from serious illness. Perhaps the anxiety for his father who for a long time was imprisoned in Shīrāz for some offence which I have been unable to elucidate, and the agitation in Baghdād due to the marked preference given by the Būyid amīrs to the Shīʿa and the consequent rancour of the Sunnīs, may have contributed to undermine his health. His father had retired from the office of *Nakīb* and al-Raḍī was honoured with the appointment to this important office. Thaʿālibī, and other biographers who copy him, state that he received this post in the year 388, but the introduction to the poem which he sent to Bahāʾ al-Dawla thanking him for his favour tells us that the diploma was sent to him from al-Baṣra, together with the command to serve as leader of the pilgrim-caravan, and arrived in Baghdād on the 1st of Djumādā I of the year 397 The following year Bahāʾ al-Dawla honoured him further by conferring upon him the title of al-Raḍī by which name he is generally known. Three years later in the month Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 401, he received from the same amīr the further title of al-Sharīf. Bahāʾ al-Dawla continued to confer other honours upon him and on Friday the 16th of Muḥarram 403, he was appointed *Nakīb* over the

descendants of the Prophet in the whole dominions of the amīr, but in Djumādā I of the same year he felt so seriously ill, that his life was despaired of However two months later in the month Radjab he had so far recovered that he was able to send another poem to Sulṭān al-Dawla who was then in Arradjān, where Bahā' al-Dawla died in Djumādā II His last poem composed in praise of any prince was a poem he addressed to Sultān al-Dawla in the month Safar 404 and the last dated poem in his Diwan is an elegy upon the poet Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Battī who died in the month Shaʿbān 405 He himself died on Sunday morning the 6th of Muharram 406 (26th of June 1016) His brother ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā was so overcome with grief that he could not stay in Baghdād to attend his funeral and the wazīr Fakhr al-Mulk said the prayers over his grave He was buried in his house in the quarter of the Anbārīs in the suburb al-Karkh of Baghdād In the time of Ibn Khallikān the house as well as the grave had been demolished From occasional references to al-Raḍī found scattered, we can form the opinion that he was of an amiable character and broad-minded as is proved by his friendship with al-Ṣābī, whom he honoured with two elegies though he was not a Muslim, and even the reproaches of his brother on account of the first of these did not deter him from composing a second one in which he pronounces his grief even more. His poems as already stated are very numerous and were collected by several friends, manuscripts are not rare and we actually have two printed editions (Bombay 1889 in one volume and Bairūt 1890/1892 in two volumes) Both these editions are in alphabetical order, this is also the case in the two MSS. in the British museum (Add 19410 and Add. 25750) consulted, except that in one manuscript the Elegies are separated from the other poems. It is of value that both in the MSS and the printed editions many of the poems are precisely dated and these dates have furnished some of the details of the biography, but as many poems are elegies upon eminent persons who died in Baghdād, these dates have additional historical value. There are poems for every year from 374 to 405 and a full analysis would require too much space. In addition to his poems al-Raḍī is credited with two works dealing with the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān entitled *Maʿānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān* (obscurities of the Kurʾān) and *Madjāzāt al-Ḳurʾān* (Metaphors in the Ḳurʾān), these works have not come down to us. In his Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of the Escorial, Dérenbourg describes under No 348 a manuscript of a work entitled *Ṭaif al-Khayāl* as being by al-Raḍī. Whether the error is due to Dérenbourg or to the scribe who wrote the codex, there can be no doubt that this is a mistake. The brother of al-Raḍī, ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā, certainly wrote a book of this title and another ʿAlid author, Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjarī quotes in his *Ḥamāsa* (Paris, MS. Arabe, No. 9257, fol. 96 recto) from the *Ṭaif al-Khayāl* of al-Murtaḍā, further in the introduction of the Escorial MS. the author mentions that he had previously written a book on "grey hair" (*fi ʾl-Shaib*). This latter book we possess in a printed edition (Constantinople 1302) and it certainly is by al-Murtaḍā, who tells us at the end that he finished it in the year 421, or fifteen years after the death of his brother al-Raḍī. We cannot possibly admit that the two brothers wrote two books with exactly the same titles and the same, or similar contents, and we consequently have to attribute the work in the Escorial MS. to al-Murtaḍā.

Bibliography Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Damascus, ii 297—315, with many extracts of his poems, Ibn Khallikān, ed Wüstenfeld, p. 639, Cairo ed, ii. 2, Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-Djinān*, iii. 18–20; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 82. — Poems by al-Raḍī are found in nearly every anthology.

(F. KRENKOW)

SHARĪF PASHA, an Egyptian statesman in the reigns of the Khedives Ismāʿīl and Tawfiḳ. He was of Turkish origin and was born in 1823 in Cairo where his father was then acting as ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳudāt sent by the Sultān. When some ten years later the family was again temporarily in Cairo, Muḥammad ʿAlī had the boy sent to the military school recently founded by him Henceforth his whole career was to be spent in the Egyptian service. Sharif was a member of the "Egyptian mission" sent to Paris for higher education (cf. the article KHEDIVE) which included the future Khedives Saʿīd Pasha, Ismāʿīl Pasha and ʿAlī Mubārak Pasha He then took a military course at St Cyr (1843—1845) and served for some time in the French army until the mission was recalled by ʿAbbās I in 1849 For the next four years he acted as secretary to Prince Halīm, then took up military duties again in 1853 and attained the rank of general under Saʿīd Pasha During this period he was much associated with the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Sulaimān Pasha (de Sèves), whose daughter he married

In 1857 Sharif Pasha began his political career as Minister of Foreign Affairs and he acted as deputy for the Khedive Ismāʿīl when the latter went to Constantinople in 1865 He later filled in succession all the high offices of state. It was he who in 1866 drew up the plans for the new *Madjlis Niyābi*.

After the inauguration of constitutional government in Egypt in 1878, three cabinets were formed by Sharif Pasha When in February 1879 Nūbār Pasha's cabinet (which included two Europeans) had been overthrown by the nationalist parliament, a constitutionalist movement was begun under Sharīf Pasha, the leader of which in Parliament was ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muwailiḥī This party drew up a plan of financial reforms, which was laid before the Khedive who in April 1879 entrusted Sharīf Pasha with the formation of a cabinet composed of purely Egyptian elements This new cabinet (see the list of members in Sabry, p. 153, note) instituted a Conseil d'Etat and had a new organic law passed by the Chamber (promulgated on June 14, 1879). After the accession of the Khedive Tawfiḳ Pasha, Sharīf Pasha's cabinet was remodelled, but the new government was not so national as the preceding. In August of the same year the new Khedive refused to approve the constitution drawn up by the Prime Minister and on the 18th of the same month Sharif Pasha resigned and was succeeded by Riyāḍ Pasha Sharīf then took part in the formation of the "National Party" at Hulwān, which published a manifesto against Riyāḍ Pasha on November 4. Two years later after the nationalist military revolution of Sept. 9, 1881, Sharīf Pasha was the only statesman in whom the military party had sufficient confidence to entrust with the formation of a new cabinet

(Sept. 15). Sharīf then called together an assembly of notables intended to counterbalance the influence of the military. This assembly met on Dec. 26, but the nationalists in it soon combined with the military against the Khedive and his cabinet, who were thought to be too much under the influence of the political and financial control by the Great Powers. Sharīf Pasha was unwilling to co-operate with the Madjlis in the modification of the rules on the budget vote and he resigned in January 1882. His successor was Maḥmūd Pasha Sāmī. On Aug. 10 of the same year, after the Khedive had taken up a definitely anti-ʿArābī attitude, Sharīf Pasha again became Prime Minister (Aug 18, 1882). He held this office after the defeat of ʿArābī and the English occupation but in the end came into conflict with the English cabinet and its representative, when they demanded the evacuation of the Sūdān. Sharīf Pasha thought the evacuation a political and economic danger to Egypt but he had to yield to English pressure (Jan 1884) He then retired from politics and died three years later at Graz, to which he had gone on account of a malady of the liver He was buried in Cairo in April 1887.

By birth Sharif Pasha belonged to the Egyptian-Turkish class and was bound to be khedivalist rather than nationalist. The nationalists, however, never doubted his sincerity He sincerely endeavoured to make Egypt a constitutional state under the Khedival dynasty, as a political figure he occupies a position intermediate between the tendencies represented by ʿArābī, Nūbār and Riyād

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(J. H. Kramers)

SHARĪSH (adjective Sharīshī) was the Arabic name for the modern Jerez de la Frontera, an important town in Spain, in the province of Cadiz, a little north of this town It has to be distinguished from Jerez de los Caballeros, the *Shaniṭa*, of the Muslim period (cf al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Esp*, pp 175, 186, 211, 226), a little town in the province of Badajoz, south of this capital and west of Zafra. Jerez de la Frontera, from its position in a country blessed with remarkable fertility, was while under Muslim rule as at the present day a rich and prosperous city According to some geographers it formed part of the province of al-Buḥaira (Lago de la Janda), according to others of Shadhūna (Sidona). Its vineyards were already renowned in the middle ages, like its olive-groves. A speciality of the town was the making of *muḳabbanāt* (a kind of cheese-pastry).

Muslim Jerez never rose to be a capital. It was too near its great neighbour Seville, whose political fate it usually shared It used to be thought that it was in the district of Sharīsh, on the banks of the Guadelete, that the first encounter between Christians and Muslims took place at the time of the conquest of Spain but we now know that this battlefield should be located in the valley of the Rio Salade farther east. The town plays little part in subsequent history and not even the names of its governors have been preserved. After the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, it formed part of the kingdom of ʿAbbādids [q v.] and in 650 (1233) it submitted to the Naṣrid rulers of Grenada after having successively rejected Almoravid and Almohad suzerainty. Jerez was taken by the Christians for the first time in 1251 three years after Seville, but in the years that followed, it was twice retaken by the Muslims in spite of the efforts of the Castilan leaders Garci Gomez Carrillo and Fortún de Torre. In the end it was definitely retaken by Alfonso the Wise on Oct. 9, 1264. The Marīnid Sulṭāns then tried in vain to recapture it, notably Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, who made it and Seville his main objectives on his various campaigns in Andalusia and several times laid waste the whole district.

Among celebrated Muslims born in Sharīsh, we may mention, besides the commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Harīrī (see the next article) the jurist Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī al-Sharīshī born in 601 (1204/1205) and died in Syria in 685 (1286) after declining the post of Mālikī Kādi 'l-ḳudāt of Damascus.

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 206, transl, p. 254, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s v.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 166; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p. 82, 106, al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, *Analectes* ..., i. 113, 292, 892, Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Kawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniae*), Upsala 1843, Marīnid dynasty, *passim*, Ibn Khaldūn *K. al-ʿIbar*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl de Slane, text, t ii., transl., t. iv, Index (E Lévi-Provençal)

AL-SHARĪSHĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (or ʿAbd al-Munʿim, according to al-Suyūṭī, followed by Brockelmann) b Mūsā b. ʿIsā b ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḳaisī Kamāl al-Dīn, Arab author of Spain, a native of Sharīsh [q v.], where he died in 619 (1222). He wrote a commentary on the *al-Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī and another on the *al-Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and wrote a treatise on prosody. He also compiled an anthology of ancient Arabic poems and made a synopsis of the *Nawādir* of al-Kalī; but he is best known as a commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Harīrī. He wrote three commentaries on the *Assemblies*, a large one, literary, a medium, philological and a small one, a résumé. The first was published at Būlāḳ in 1284, 1300 and in Cairo in 1306, the second is in the Library at Leiden, N°. 415

Bibliography. Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Ṣila*, vol. i., ed. Bel and Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, p. 136—137, N° 281, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 143; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, *Analectes*, i 536; Brockelmann, i. 277, 6.

(E Lévi-Provençal)

SHARḲĀWA, or Sherḳāwa, the common ethnic of a Marabout body in Central Morocco, belonging to the Shādhilī-Djazūlī brotherhood through the intermediary of the mystic Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tabbāʿ [q. v.]. The singular is *Sharḳāwī*, synonym of *sharḳī* (*shargī*, pl. *shrāga*), a geographical ethnic (cf. on the other hand *tādilī*, ethnic from Tādlā confined to the *shurfā* of this name, while the geographical ethnic is *Tādlāwī*). The principal *Zāwiya* of the Sharḳāwa is in the town of Abu 'l-Djaʿd (modern spelling:

Boujad), in the Tādlā, between the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic coast. It attained importance at the end of the xviiith century and henceforth became one of the most frequented sanctuaries in Morocco.

Among the more notable of this Marabout family may be mentioned: 1. the founder of the Zāwiya of Abu 'l-Ḏjaʿd, MAḤAMMAD (with initial *m* vocalised in *a*) B ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-SHARḲĪ AL-SUMAIRĪ AL-ZAʿRĪ AL-ḎJABĪRĪ, d. 1st Muḥarram 1010/1012 (July 1601); a monograph was devoted to him by one of his descendants, Abū Muhammad ʿAbd al-Ḫālik b. Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Tādilī al-Sharḳāwī, entitled *al-Mustaḳṣā fī dhikr baʿḍ manāḳib al-ḳuṭb sayyidī M. al-Sharḳī*, 2. the latter's son, MUḤAMMAD AL-MUʿṬĀ, d Rabīʿ II 1092/April—May 1681; 3. his son MUHAMMAD AL-SĀLIH, who was the patron of the historian al-Ifrānī (or al Wafrānī, q v) a monograph entitled *al-Rawḍ al-yānīʿ al-fāʾiḥ fī manāḳib al-shaiḫ Abī ʿAbd Allāh M al-Ṣ*, was devoted to him by a scholar of Fās who was ḳādī of Meknes (Miknāsat al-zaitūn) in the reign of the ʿAlawid Sultān Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Maʿdānī al-Tādilī, d. 1140/1728, 4. the son of the preceding, MUḤAMMAD AI-MUṬʿĀ, who restored the Zāwiya and wrote a collection of prayers in no fewer than 40 volumes entitled *Dhaḫīrat al-ghānī wa 'l-muḥtāḏj fī sāḥib al-liwā wa 'l-tāḏj* (there is one volume in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, N°. 100, cf E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits Arabes de Rabat*, i., p 36); he died in Muḥarram 1180/June 1766. A monograph has been devoted to him by his secretary Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAbdūnī, d. 1189/1775–1776, entitled *Yatīmat al-ʿuḳūd al-wusṭā fī manāḳib al-shaiḫ al-Muʿṭā*

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ*, lith. Fas, 1313 A. H, p. 121; al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, lith. Fas, p. 25, al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fas, 1310 A H., i, p 58, ii, p. 277, al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fas, 1316 A H, i, p 193; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat al-anfas*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIVème Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, p. 34, N°. 91, p. 45, N° 128; Cimetière, *La zaouia de Boujad*, in *R.M M*, xxiv, p. 277 *sqq.*, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p 119, 297—298, 330—331.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHARḲĪ, the name of a dynasty which reigned at Djawnpūr, so called from the title of Malik al-Sharḳ (Lord of the East) conferred upon its founder, the eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khwādja Djahān [q.v.], who, having in March, 1393, placed Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd of the Tughlaḳ dynasty on the throne of Dihlī, suppressed the Hindū rebellions in the Gangetic Doāb and Awadh. and assumed independence in Djawnpūr. He died in 1399, leaving his dominions to his adopted son, Malik Ḳaranful, who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh. Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī made two abortive attempts to recover Awadh, and Mubārak Shāh died in 1402, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who assumed the title of Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh. Ibrāhīm was a patron of learning and art, and it was during his reign that Djawnpūr was adorned with most of those buildings the remains of which excite our admiration to-day. He annexed some districts in Katehr which had belonged to Dihlī, invaded Bengal, where he protected the Muslims from persecution, made an unsuccessful attempt to annex Kālpī, and was succeeded, on his death, in 1436, by his son Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd Sharḳī quarrelled with Maḥmūd Khaldjī I of Mālwa over Kālpī, and an indecisive campaign was closed in 1445 by a peace not altogether honourable to Djawnpūr. In 1452 he unsuccessfully attacked Dihlī, then held by Bahlōl Lodī, and in 1457 he died just as he was about to meet Bahlōl Lodī in the field, and was succeeded by his son Bhīkan, who styled himself Muḥammad Shāh. His tyranny was so galling that his nobles, even while confronted in the field by Bahlōl Lodī, dethroned him and proclaimed Husain, his younger brother Husain concluded peace with Bahlōl and then led a successful expedition against the Hindus of Uṛīsa. In 1466 he failed to take Gwāliyār but compelled the Rādjā to pay tribute and do homage. In 1473 he invaded the dominions of Dihlī and during the next three years strove to subdue it He was often on the threshold of success, but as often failed owing to carelessness or excess of confidence, and in 1476 Bahlōl Lodī occupied Djawnpūr, and with Husain's flight to Bengal the Sharḳī dynasty came to an end. Husain lived for twenty-four years after his fall, and although he made no serious attempt to recover his kingdom, lost no opportunity of fomenting dissension and rebellion in the south-eastern provinces of the kingdom of Dihlī. He died in 1500

Bibliography Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, lith , Bombay 1832, Khwāḏja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii., chap. x

(T. W. HAIG)

SHARḲĪ. As opposed to the Turkish popular ballad which has arisen among the people and is composed on the national system, syllabic (*parmak ḥisābī*) not metric and is found in various forms notably the turku and also as *turkmanī*, *warsaghī*, *koshma*, *kaya bashī*, *manī* and *tuyugh* (on the latter cf Samoilowič in *Musulmanskiy Mir*, Petrograd 1917, i. N°. 1, p 1 *sqq*), the Sharḳī is a poem regularly composed by a poet on literary lines in more or less accurate agreement with the laws of Persian and Arabic prosody, following the quantitative system of metre the sharḳī is the *turku* adapted to literature.

While the popular song as regards matter, imagery and phraseology is quite free from restrictions, the sharkī is usually a gay love-song and follows the model of the traditional love-lyric in metre, language and contents

It is distinguished from the *ghazel*, which is intended only for recitation and reading, by the fact that it is intended to be sung. In contrast to the double verse system of the ghazel with the monorhyme running through it, the stanza form, taken from the folk-song, is peculiar to the sharḳī. The separate stanzas, of which the third (*miyān-khāne*) is traditionally meant to be the most impressive, are linked together by a refrain of one — sometimes two — line (called *naḳarāt*, chorus) which recalls the rhyme of the ghazel. The rhyme scheme is usually as follows a a a b (and more frequently a b a b); c c c b; d d d b or a a a a, b b b a, c c c a, in the case of a two line refrain, a a a a a, b b b a a, c c c a a.

The language is elevated in the sharḳī, free from dialectic forms; the rhyme is more strictly observed than in the *turku*. But although it is free from extravagant language, it is nevertheless much too literary to be at once intelligible to the common people.

The link between the türkü and sharḳī was probably formed by the popular poets and mystics, notably the *ʿāshiḳ*, the successors of the *uzan* and dervish poets, who very early recognised this intermediate form, the ballad with a literary flavour suitable for singing, as a form of literature admirably suited for dissemination, which could also be to some extent used as a chant to accompany the exercises of the *dhikr*. But it was long before the sharḳī won itself an official position in the traditional "regular" Dīwāns of the classical poets The fact that the Dīwāns of poets of the people so rarely contain shaikī is amply explained from the literary intolerance with which non-classical forms of verse were rejected.

The first poet in whose Dīwān we find sharḳī's seems to be Nazīm (d 1107 = 1695). The sharḳī is the characteristic poem of the period of transition which begins with Sulṭān Aḥmad III (1703—1730) and marks a concession to popular taste and a reaction from Persian influence Nedīm (d 1143 = 1730) and Enderūnī ʿOthmān Wāsif (d. 1240 = 1824/1825) are the most famous of sharḳī writers

The many printed and lithographed collections of shaikī's are evidence that they are still very popular

Bibliography Smirnow, *Očerk istorii tureckoi literatury* in Korsh, *Wce-obščaya istoriya literatury*, St Petersburg 1891, iv. 445, Kúnos in Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stämme*, viii, St. Petersburg 1899, i, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 96, iii 319, iv. 8, 44, 280. (TH. MENZEL)

AL-SHARḲĪYA, name of a kūra and of a province (formerly *ʿamal*, now *mudīrīya*) in Egypt.

1. The *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya, which replaced the Byzantine pagarchy of Aphroditopolis, was one of the few districts which received an Arabic name, the latter is explained by its situation on the eastern bank of the Nile.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of its territory, which lay immediately south of the capital of the country, Fustāṭ. The first capital of the *kūra*, situated on the right bank of the river, was Anṣinā (Antinoe), but the small number (17) of villages in the *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya allows us to suppose that the next *kūra*, Dallās (Nilopolis) or at least al-Ḳais (Kynopolis) lay on both sides of the Nile. The capital of the *kūra* was very probably Aṭfīḥ since one of the censuses quoted by Makrīzī gives it in addition the name of Aṭfīḥīya. It should, however, be noted that Dimashḳī, very late for information of this kind, distinguishes a *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya and a *kūra* which, lying beyond the district of Aṭfīḥ, included also that of Wasīm to the north-west of Fusṭāṭ, which is exceedingly improbable.

In the Fāṭimid division into provinces, there was a province of al-Aṭfīḥīya, larger than the old *kūra* (50 villages at the time of Ibn al-Diʿān), which now forms a district (*markaz*) of the *mudīrīya* of al-Djīza. The capital is now al-Ṣaff, a few miles to the north of Aṭfīḥ.

In the time of the governors of the Caliphs, the *kūra* of al-Sharḳīya enjoyed at times a certain prosperity. On account of an epidemic of plague, ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Marwān transferred the government offices to Ḥulwān; a little later and for the same reason another governor transferred them to Askur (or Sukur) towards the south. To the north of the *kūra* lie the quarries of Ṭurā.

Bibliography: cf. the art. AṬFĪḤ; Kindī, ed. Guest, *Index*, p. 643; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi., p. 22, 112, 173, 175, 177, 180—182, 184, 185; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed *M. I F. A. O.*, iv., p. 18; v., ch. xi., § 2.

2. The Eastern province of the Delta of Egypt, situated to the east of the province of al-Daḳahlīya and bordered towards its south-west point by that of Ḳalyūbīya. Now it has 749,130 inhabitants (in 1897), 393 towns, villages and hamlets, and is divided into 6 districts (*markaz*) which are as follows: (1) Bilbais, (2) Fāḳūs, (3) Hihyā, (4) Kafr Sakhr, (5) Mīnā al-Ḳamḥ, (6) Zaḳāzīḳ The capital is Zaḳāzīḳ (41,741 inhabitants in 1917, against 35,700 in 1897)

The present area of the *mudīrīya* of al-Sharḳīya corresponds roughly to the following pagarchies of the Byzantine epoch, divisions retained by the Arabs under the name of *kūra*; Bubaste (Basṭa), Arabia (Ṭarābiya) and Pharbaithos (Farbaiṭ). The Delta was at this time divided into three large divisions not administrative in character, which are mentioned by the historians the Hawf Gharbī, situated to the west of the Rosetta arm, the Batu al-Rīf applied to the territory lying between this arm and that of Damietta All the land which extended to the east of the latter district was called the Hawf Sharḳī and it is probably this name which gave rise to that of al-Sharḳīya. The Hawf Sharḳī followed the two Augustamnics. It included 11 or 12 *kūra*'s and 529 villages.

At the time of the division into provinces under the Fāṭimids the Ḥawf Sharḳī included those of al-Sharḳīya, of al-Murtāhīya, of al-Daḳahlīya and of al-Abwānīya. Thus delimited, the province of al-Sharḳīya, which extended farther than at the present time in the direction of Cairo, still included 452 towns and villages (the three other provinces together accounted for 165) It brought annually to the Treasury 694,121 dinars. The southern part of al-Sharkīya was separated from it in 715 (1315) at the time of the survey of Malik Nāṣir Muḥammad, and received the name of al-Kalyūbīya. From this time the province of Sharḳīya must have shown little variation. Thus reduced it contained, according to Ibn al-Diʿān, 380 towns and villages and the taxes were valued at 1,411,875 dinars. The capital was Bilbais in the Middle Ages and it was also in this town that the Turkish *Kāshif* resides. It was only during the nineteenth century that Zaḳāzīḳ supplanted Bilbais.

This eastern region of lower Egypt plays a considerable role in the history of Muslim Egypt, for if we except the Fāṭimid conquest, which came from the north of Africa, the Crusaders' attack on Damietta and in modern times the French occupation by Bonaparte, all the invaders of Egypt entered the country by this route. The anonymous military memoir called the "*Devise des chemins de Babilonie*", which is simply an exposition of the different plans of attack upon

Cairo, shows in the first place the itinerary of an army setting out from Ghazza with the object of marching on the capital through the province of al-Sharḳīya (Sassarquie).

This region offered the difficulty to the owners of Egypt for the time being that it had no natural defences. The Byzantines had made up for this by stationing several garrisons in the Augustamnic, the sites of which we know from references in the accounts of the Arab conquest. The Arabs, avoiding the fortresses in the neighbourhood of Rhinocolura (al-ʿArīsh), advanced on Pelusa (al-Faramā), near which they were held up for two months. The defences of the region of Pharbaithos (Farbaiṭ) and Bubaste (Baṣṭa) did not inconvenience the conquerors, who, turning their route southwards and following the valley of the Wādī Tūnūlāt, attacked Phelbes (Bilbais), which only held out for a month.

If we review the military events of which the province of al-Sharḳīya was the scene, it will be seen that the main resistance was offered by the successive defenders of Egypt round the towns of Bilbais. As early as the end of the period of conquest, we find — in obedience to some instinct for security — the Djūdhām in the army of ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣ, given some towns in this district, notably Farbaiṭ and Basta, as fiefs (*iḳṭāʿ*). A century later portions of the tribe of Kais were settled in Bilbais, then sparsely populated, who had also the task of organising the caravans for Kulzum intended to provision the Ḥidjāz. We further know that Bilbais was in time provided with another chain of fortresses (Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, publ in *M. I F.A.O.*, iii., p 188, *Sulūk*, transl. Blochet, p 258).

It was by this route that Marwān I came from Aila to Fustāt to regain Egypt, which had been stirred into rebellion by the partisans of Ibn al-Zubair. At a later date Hawf Sharḳī was the scene of the Coptic rebellions, which soaked the Delta in blood in the second century A H, especially towards its end — in 107 (725) at Natū, Tumaiy, Farbait and Tarābiya. — in 178 (794) in 186 (802) and on this occasion the tribe of Kais joined the Copts, who were overcome at Djubb ʿUmaira, halfway between Fustāṭ and Bilbais. In 191—192 (807—808) a new rising was put down; in 214 (829) a series of rebellions began which lasted with varying success till the arrival of the Caliph Maʾmūn in 217 (832) In 469 (1076) the Saldjūk Emīr Atsīz, who had reached the outskirts of Cairo, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Badr al-Djamālī; the chronicles do not give the exact site of the battle In 558 (1163) the Franks under Amaury I occupied Bilbais, next year near this town Shāwar, coming from Syria, defeated Dirghām and later Shīrkūh was besieged in Bilbais by Shāwar, helped by the Franks In the course of Saladin's wars with the Crusaders, the latter, on at least one occasion, attempted a diversion on Fāḳūs The Sultān of Egypt, who did not fear an attack by the north of al-Sharḳīya, but was more anxious about the Franks of the principality of Montréal, placed advanced lines of defence at Kulzum and at al-Suwais (Suez) and even farther to the east at Ṣadr, where his fortress had just been identified (Barthaux and Wiet, *Découverte d'une forteresse de Saladin*, *Syria*, iii. 44—65, 145—152). We also know from official documents that Ḳalʿat Ṣadr was administrated by the governor of al-Sharḳīya. When in 591 (1195) Malik ʿĀdil and Malik Afḍal resolved to dethrone Malik ʿAzīz, the plot was begun with a siege of Bilbais. It was in the same region that the last serious rising of the Arabs in Egypt ended (651 = 1253). Their leader, Ḥisn al-Dīn Thaʿlab, was taken at Bilbais and gallows were erected from here to Cairo Lastly it was by this, the natural route of invasion from the east, that the Ottoman army reached Cairo in 923 (1517).

This province was of course travelsed by the post route which connected the capital with Ghazza. The following are the stages in Egypt as given by Ibn Khordādhbeh

Fustāṭ-Bilbais	24	miles
Bilbais-Masdjid Ḳudāʿa .	21	„
Masdjid Ḳudāʿa-Ḳāṣira (var Ghāḍira, at any rate taken from Fāḳūs .	18	„
Ḳāṣira-Djardjīr	24	„
Djardjīr-Faramā	30	„

In the Mamlūk period, the post stages for the same stretch were Siryāḳūs (which took the place of al-ʿUshsh, which was too far from Cairo), Biʾr al-Baidāʾ, Bilbais, al-Saʿīdīya, al-Kharrūba, al-Khattāra, Kabr al-Waʾilī, al-Sālihiya, Biʾr ʿAfrī (or Biʾr Ghazī), Habwa, al-Ghurābī and Kaṭyā (cf. also *Devise des chemins de Babiloine* and the analysis in Schefer, in *Arch. Or lat.*, ii 94—95).

It may be also mentioned that there were dovecotes for carrier-pigeons at Bilbais, al-Sālihīya and Kaṭyā (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 253).

The pilgrim route also passed through this province, in the south of it, it was only abandoned for about two centuries between 450 and 660 A.H. Some stages are difficult to determine, for the names have become much corrupted by the copyists of manuscripts, the known points are Birkat al-Djubb (= Djubb ʿUmaira mentioned above), ʿAdjrūd and Kulzum (cf the article in *Syria*, iii 148—149).

In conclusion we may mention that Trajan's canal passed through the province of Sharkīya, it was renovated by order of the Caliph ʿOmar, whence its name of Canal of the Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph Manṣūr had it partly filled in

Bibliography J Maspero, *Organ milit. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p 28—29, 135—137, Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *M I F. A. O*, i 333—339; iii 224—226; iv. 85—87, Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux*, *M.I.F.A O*, xxxvi., Index, see esp. p. 45, 112, Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv 27, 66, 69—70, xiv. 376—368, Quatremère, *Mém sur l'Égypte*, ii 190—195, 212—214; Hartmann, in *Z D M G.*, lxx 485—487, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, xix 52—61 (irrigation canals of the province) (G. WIET)

AL-SHARRĀṬ (the manufactuier of string from palm-fibre, *shrīṭ*), ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAISHŪN, son of a *mudjāhid*, slain in battle which the Spaniards at al-Maʿmūra (al-Mahdīya = San Miguel de Ultramar) was born at Fās in 1035 (1625/1626) and died there in 1109 (1697) after having adopted Sūfism He is credited with the authorship of a hagiographical collection, but this has sometimes been disputed by his compatriots; it is entitled. *al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀṭir al-Anfās bi-Akhbār al-Ṣāliḥīn min Ahl Fās.* According to al-Kattānī it was really the work of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Ḳādirī. In it among the biographies are a synopsis of the *manāḳib* of 99

saints of Fās dating for the most part from the xvith and xviith centuries They are all included again in the *Salwat al-Anfās*. There is a manuscript of this work dated 1203/1788 in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, N°. 389.

Bibliography: al-Kādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, lith Fas, 1310 A. H, ii., p. 161; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, lith Fas, 1316 A. H, i, p. 8 and ii, p. 347; René Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques .....*, p. 32, N°. 86, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 280—283 (E. Lévi-Provençal)

SHARṬ (A. pl *sharā'iṭ*, *shurūṭ*), condition It is defined in different ways. Al-Ghazālī for example says (*K. al-Mustasfī*, Būlāḳ, 1325, ii 180) *sharṭ* is that with the non-existence of which the conditional (*mashrūṭ*) does not exist, with the existence of which however the conditional must not exist also, in contrast to the cause (*'illa*) the existence of which demands the existence of the caused The non-existence of the condition (*sharṭ*) demands the non-existence of the conditional (*mashrūṭ*), but its existence does not demand the existence of the conditional (e g place and life) — As a term in the *Uṣūl* the Hanafīs define *sharṭ* as that upon which a matter is based, but which is neither within it (in contrast to *rukn*) nor leaves a trace in it (in contrast to the *'illa*) Thus for example in theft the minimum value of the object stolen is a *sharṭ*, on the other hand the removal of the object from its place of keeping is a *rukn* (cf. SĀRIḲ)

In the Furū' the word has a more specialised meaning· condition = reservation in an agreement Thus for example certain conditions make a contract to purchase invalid. On this question see the section on the *buyū'* in the Fiḳh-books Of special importance among these is the right to withdraw (*khiyār al-sharṭ*) within an agreed period after the conclusion of the purchase (usually three days cf van den Berg, *De contractu "do ut des"*, Leiden, Jur Diss 1868)

From the use of the word *sharṭ* for reservation in an agreement, it came to be applied to the document itself At quite an early date a special branch of study the *'ilm al-shurūṭ* was formed which dealt with the correct drafting of documents There are many works on the subject of the third century entitled *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* or *Kitāb al-Wathā'iḳ* The oldest representatives of the subject are al-Shāfi'ī, al-Muzanī, al-Khassāf, al-Ṭaḥāwī (cf. *Fihrist*, p 206 *sqq*, Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, ii 233). One such work is printed in al-Sarakhsī *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, Miṣr 1331, xxx 167—208.

In grammar *sharṭ* means the conditional sentence, *djawāb al-sharṭ* the apodosis, and *ḥarf al-sharṭ* the conditional conjunction

Bibliography Besides the works above mentioned see the various dictionaries and works on *Uṣūl* such as Ṣadr al-Dīn, *Tawdīḥ*, ed Taftāzānī, Kazan 1883, p 575 *sq*, 598 *sqq*.; also *Dictionary of the technical terms* ii 752 *sqq*, Djurdjānī, *Definitiones*, ed. Flugel, Leipzig 1845, p. 131; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiose Subjektivismus Ghazālīs*, Wien 1921, p. 68 *sqq* (Heffening)

[It is worth mentioning that Sharṭ among the Arabic speaking population of the Western Maghrib has acquired the sense of legal agreement between the head of a village and the schoolmaster. *Mshārat* means the schoolmaster]. [Editorial]

SHĀSH. [See ṬASHKENT].

SHAṬĀ, a place celebrated in the Middle Ages, situated a few miles from Damietta, on the Western shore of the Lake of Tinnīs, now called Lake Manzala.

This town existed before the Arab period, since it is mentioned as the see of the bishop (Σάτα) There is no reason for giving credence to the romantic story of the pseudo-Wāḳidī, which gives as the founder of this town a certain Shaṭā b. al-Hāmūk (var al-Hāmirak), a relative of the famous Muḳawḳis This Shaṭā is presented to us as a deserter from the garrison of Damietta who helped to secure the possession of Burullus, Damīra and Ashmūn Ṭanāḥ for the Muslim army and who was killed at the capture of Tinnīs, on Sha'bān 15, 21. Every year at this date, it is the custom to celebrate the anniversary of his death and to this origin the writers attribute the pilgrimage which still took place at Shaṭā in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

To guard against the maritime attacks of the Greeks the Arabs stationed regiments of troops on certain parts on the coast, and Shaṭā was amongst the number This port became in the Middle Ages a very active industrial centre, in this region sharing with Damietta, Dabīḳ and Tinnīs, the manufacture of valuable materials. Each of these towns probably manufactured a special article since the materials which they exported bore a name indicative of their place of origin Travellers and geographers never tire of praising the goods of Shaṭā called *shaṭāwī*. Very probably there was at this place in addition to the private industry a government workshop, a *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, analogous to those of Alexandria and Tinnīs The historian of Mecca, Fākihī, has preserved the text of an inscription embroidered on a cover intended for the Ka'ba It was the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who ordered it to be made in the year 191 at the tirāz of Shaṭā

We do not know the part which Shaṭā played in the two occupations of Damietta by the Franks. Certain writers have tried to place at the spot the site of the encampment of Jean de Brienne, but this view has been disputed Between the two crusades, Tinnīs had been razed to the ground by order of Malik Kāmil in the year 624, and as military reasons had probably induced this destruction, Shaṭā perhaps suffered the same fate.

But while the ruins of the former have survived under the name of Tell Tinnīs, a miserable hamlet of fishers now bears the name of Shaikh Shaṭā. Their huts surround the mosque in which the relics of the hero of the Arab conquest, who became the Shaikh Shaṭā, are venerated. But the town is no longer a port on Lake Manzala; the waters have receded to a distance of 5 or 6 hundred yards The depth of the lake in this district is insignificant, and the inhabitants use flat-bottomed boats for navigation

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ii. 811, *Lisān al-'Arab*, xix. 162, the bibliography, given in J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux*, *M I. F. A. O*, xxxvi, 112—113, Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, iv. 80—82. (G. Wiet)

SHAṬḤ (A, pl. *shaṭaḥāt* or [*kalimāt*] *shaṭḥiyāt*) a technical term in mysticism, signifying an "ecstatic phrase", or more exactly a "divinely inspired utterance".

Etymology: This term, which was probably a Syrian loan-word (*shaṭṭaḥ* = expands) is derived

from the root *sh-ṭ-ḥ* in Arabic: "disturb, agitate" (*miṣḥāḥ* = place where flour is ground). Adopted in the tenth century A D. by the Ṣūfīs it is applied to the perturbation of the consciousness, into which divine grace suddenly penetrates, then to the "divinely inspired utterance" which this supernatural commotion extracts from the subject.

The Muslim mystics are unanimous in seeing in the *shaṭḥ*, following preparatory anagogic graces (*khaṭarāt*, *fawā'id*, *nukāt*), the sign of a perfect purification reaching the soul of the mystic. But the majority of theorists — at first from scruples of orthodoxy, later from monistic conviction — consider that this state is transitory and is only a stage before the definitive annihilation of personality in the divine silence. Some, notably Muḥāsibī and Ḥallādj [q v], on the other hand consider that these divine touches transfigure the faltering voice of the lover, give him an intermittent divine investiture, which will make him consent for ever to the dialogue of love (*muḥādatha*) "between Thee and me".

The first "ecstatic sayings" were incorporated by tradition in the classical collections of *Ḥadīth*, not as utterances of the mystics but as "words of God" (*ḥadīth ḳudsī*, q. v.).

From the third century A H. Muslim orthodoxy excluded this source of traditions and the *shaṭḥīyāt* circulate under the names of those responsible for uttering them Here we give the most famous, arranged according to two tendencies, the one class referring rather to an immediate psychological commotion, the other which betrays a scholarly reconstruction, or at least a retrospection influenced by the prejudices of the school, sometimes showing an insolent and cynical familiarity

a. Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (d. 261 = 875). "Praise be to Me! (*Subḥānī*) My intercession is greater than that of Muḥammad! Thou obeyest me no longer than I obey Thee Adam sold his God for a mouthful Thy Paradise is only a children's game" — Ḥallādj (d. 309 = 922): "I am the Truth (*an'al-ḥaḳḳ*) It is Thou, or it is I? That would make two gods. Ah! for mercy's sake take away this *annī* ("it is I") from between us two! I do not desire thee for my joy but for my hurt Pardon them and do not pardon me. Prayer for the perfect lover becomes impiety". — Abū Bakr Nassādj Ṭūsī (d. 487 = 1094) "Guide of those who have gone astray, lead me still further astray" — Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 517 = 1123) "God alone understands God There is no master more persuasive than Desire! The call for the union is the essence of the beloved, the call for separation is the essence of the lover whether We torture him with desire, whether We kill him by severing him from contemplation".

Ibn Sahl Tustarī (d. 283 = 896) "I am the Proof of God, in face of the saints of my time. Divine omnipotence has a secret; if it is revealed there is an end of the prophetic mission. "— Al-Wāsiṭī (d 320 = 932). "Ritual acts are only impurities." Al-Shiblī (d. 334 = 945): "I am the diacritical point under the letter *bā'*! In Paradise there is no person except God. Mysticism is only polytheism, since it is engaged in purifying the heart of that which is not God, when God alone is." — Khorḳānī (d. 426 = 1034): "I am only two years younger than God. God is my instant (my unity of psychological time)." — Ibn Abi 'l-Khair (d. 440 = 1048): "Under my robe there is only God". — Ghazālī, the elder (d. 505 = 1111): "There is nothing more in the possible than in the created". — Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638 = 1240): "The slave is the lord and the Lord is the slave; ah; how can one tell which of the two is the debtor?" — 'Alī Ḥarīrī (d. 645 = 1247): "The perfect poor man has no longer a heart, nor a lord." — Ibn Sab'īn (d 668 = 1269): "There is nothing but God" (*laisa illa'llāh*, the *dhikr* of his order). — 'Afīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 690 = 1291): "The whole Ḳur'ān is simply polytheism"

Whole monographs have been devoted to elucidating, criticising or justifying one or other of these ecstatic utterances Dūrī and Sarrādj were the first to perceive their theological importance, and we possess in three books by Rūzbahān Baḳlī (d. 606 = 1209) a full treatise on the question.

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On the *Ḥadīth Ḳudsī* cf Rāghib pāshā, *Safīna*, Cairo 1282, p 162, L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p 100—108, and S. Zwemer, in *Moslem World*, 1922, p 263—275. (L MASSIGNON)

SHĀṬIBA (adjective *shāṭibī*), the Arab name of Játiva, the *Saetabis* of the Romans, a town in the East of Spain, in the province of Valencia, 35 miles to the South West of this last town, at an altitude of 500 feet. Játiva, which has at the present time about 12,000 inhabitants is built on a splendid site at the foot of Mount Bernisa on whose steep slopes the Muslim city was built The latter was celebrated in the middle ages for its manufacture of paper which was sent not only throughout the whole of Spain but also as far as Egypt. This paper can still be recognized in old Arab manuscripts, on account of the watermarks bearing the name of its place of origin and in Morocco the name *Shaṭbī* "Játiva paper" is still given to a kind of coarse grained paper There still remained at Játiva at the time of the Muslim occupation remains of the Roman occupation. Al-Maḳḳarī quotes the verses of a poet called Abū 'Umar al-Buryānī about an ancient statue which was to be seen in his day in the town. On account of its strategic position of the first order, Játiva was one of the most important fortresses of the whole of Andalusia; from the height of its rock it dominated and guarded the whole of the very rich and fertile plain which stretched below it. There still exists at the present time remains of the wall and of the *ḥiṣn* of the Muslim Játiva of very great archaeological interest, in spite of alterations and unfortunate restorations to which it has been subjected since the „reconquista". Abu 'l-Fidā' has preserved the names of three pleasure resorts near Játiva: al-Baṭḥā', al-Ghadīr and al-'Ain al-Kabīra.

Játiva is too near to Valencia not to have shared the latter's political history. In the Muslim period it was the second town in the district of Valencia, and its population was without doubt larger in those days than at the present time Mention is hardly made of it during the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, and its history commences, when, with Valencia, it formed a part of the independent principality founded at the end of the XIth century A D by the grandson of the celebrated *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, after the reign of the two "Slavs" (see article ṢAḲĀLIBA) Mubārak and Muẓaffar When the king of Toledo, al-Ḳādir, with the help of the Christian sovereign of Castile, took possession of the kingdom of Valencia, Ibn Mahḳūr, who was at that time governor of Játiva, refused to come in person to Valencia to pay homage to his new master An expedition was therefore decided upon against the town. But it miscarried, the Hūdid prince al-Mundhir b al-Muktadir who reigned over Lerida, Denia and Tortosa, came to the rescue of Ibn Mahḳūr and took possession of Játiva for some time. The town was also taken by the troops of the Almoravid Sultān Yūsuf b Tāshfīn at the time of the expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Zallāḳa, Játiva was finally conquered in 1239—1240 by the king of Aragon Jaime I and the last Muslims were driven out of the town at the end of the year 1247

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AL-SHĀṬIBĪ, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-ḲĀSIM B. FARRUH B KHALAF B AHMAD AL-RUʿAINĪ, generally called Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī, was born towards the end of the year 538 A. H (1144 A. D.) in Xativa (Shāṭiba, q. v) In his native town he studied under Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b. ʿAlī b Muhammad al-Nafazī, known as Ibn al-Lāyuh (Leo) and according to Ibn Khallikān he was actually preacher in the mosque of his native town in spite of his youth Later he removed to Valencia, where he studied under Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b Muhammad b Hudhail and others enumerated by his biographers the reading of the Ḳur'ān and Tradition. On his way to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca he availed himself in Alexandria of the opportunity of hearing the teaching of Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī and upon his return from the pilgrimage in 572 (1175) he found a patron in the Ḳāḍī 'l-Fāḍil, who appointed him head-teacher in the Fādilīya Madrasa which he had founded. In 589 (1193) he visited Sulṭān Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in Jerusalem after the conquest of the city from the Christians He returned to his post in the Fādilīya Madrasa and taught there till the time of his death which occurred on Sunday the 28th of Djumādā II, 590 (June 19, 1194) at the age of 52 years. He was buried the following day in the smaller Ḳarāfa cemetry in the part which the Ḳāḍi 'l-Fāḍil had given; and Ibn Khallikān tells us that he had visited the grave of al-Shāṭibī several times He was a man of very humble and devout character and during his last illness, when he was suffering very much, he always replied in answer to enquiries that he was recovering. He was renowned for his extensive learning in the sciences concerned with the reading and interpretation of the Kur'ān and his reputation as an author rests upon his two didactic poems, or better rhymed prose, dealing with these matters 1) A poem rhyming upon the letter *l* consisting of 1173 verses, which the author entitled *Hirz al-Amānī wa-Wadjh al-Tahāmī*, but which is generally known by the name of *al-Shāṭibīya* after its author It is a versification of the work on the same subject by ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (born 371, died 441 A.H.) entitled *al-Taisīr* As Yāḳūt in the *Irshād* says that the verses of al-Shāṭibī are awkward and difficult to understand, it is no wonder that they are not easy for us and that the poem has been the subject of numerous commentaries. The author after the introduction begins with the explanation of the correct way of reading the letters when unvocalised, when to read a word *maksūr* or *mamdūd*, how to pronounce the Hamza especially if two should occur in one word; then follow chapters on *Tanwīn*, *Imāla* etc, till at last he comes to the chapters of the Kur'ān indicating the various readings of the seven "Readers". To understand the seemingly endless rhyming is only possible with a commentary, or by comparison with books in prose dealing with the same subject. The great popularity of the book is undoubtedly due to two reasons, first a student according to the old method could more easily learn the whole thing by heart, whether he understood it or not, but here the second reason for its popularity came in, as this gave the teacher ample scope for displaying his own learning in commenting on the obscure verses. The poem is found in many manuscripts in most libraries of Arabic literature and there exists a printed edition (Cairo 1328 A.H) which contains also the second poem of al-Shāṭibī As regards the commentaries, these are very numerous, the best is said to be that by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b ʿUmar al-Djaʿbarī who died in 732 (1332) and who finished his work in 691 A.H.; this commentary was amplified by Shams al-Dīn Ahmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Kawrānī who died 893 A H Another commentary is by a pupil of al-Shāṭibī, Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b. Muhammad al-Sakhāwī, who died in 643 A.H. This was the first commentary written upon the poem and has the title *al-Fath al-Wasīd fi Sharh al-Ḳasīd*, a third commentary is by Abū Shāma ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ismāʿīl who died 665 and called his commentary *Ibrāz al-Maʿānī min Ḥirz al-Amānī*, of which manuscripts are in several libraries To enumerate more commentaries would take quite a page, but the existence of such an abundant literature shows that the poem was after the taste of the following generations. 2) A poem rhyming upon the letter *r* in about 300 verses which has the title *Aḳīlat Atrāb al-Ḳaṣā'id fi Asnā al-Maḳāṣid*, also on the reading of the Ḳur'ān, but this poem is more concerned with reading the holy writ elegantly than with the variants as was the case with the poem rhyming upon *l*. It is, like the other poem, not an original work, but a versification of a book on the same subject by al-Dānī (see above) which

has the title *al-Mukni*ᶜ. This poem is composed in the same obscure language as the *Ḥirz al-Amānī* and has found numerous commentators for the same reasons and the earliest commentators are the same as for the other poem, namely al-Djaᶜbarī and al-Sakhāwī, the first called his commentary *Djamīlat Arbāb al-Marāṣid*, while the second named his work *al-Wasīla ilā Kashf al-Akīla*. Both these poems have in the eyes of the pious another merit i.e. that they are charms against all kinds of evil influences 3) A poem of about 500 verses rhyming upon the letter *m*, which is a versification of the work *al-Tamhīd* by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr Abū Umar Yūsuf b ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḳurtubī on the law (*Fiḳh*) as found in the Traditions. This poem I have not seen, but according to Yāḳūt it is also very obscure. Fragments of other religious poems of al-Shāṭibī are occasionally cited in anthologies, but all are of little literary value. — The name of al-Shātibī's father is explained as meaning in Spanish "iron" and we must read *Ferro*, because at that time the word was pronounced so and not *fierro* as in modern Spanish. There are rather many errors in all biographies of the author consulted as regards the proper names, but I hope I have been able to correct them

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(F. KRENKOW)

SHAṬRANDJ, the game of chess. The game of chess was known in Greek antiquity when Palamedos was said to have invented it From there it spread through various countries The Muslims say they got it from India, but the stories on this subject are legendary, and it is more probable that it came to them from ancient Persia

In the middle ages there were several games in the East played with a board, notably *nard* (tricktrack, backgammon) and chess (*shaṭrandj*), the pieces and the rules of the game have varied in course of time. The words *shatrandj* and *tricktrack* seem to be Indian (Sanskrit) in origin, as to the word chess itself, it has been derived from the Persian '*yā shāh*,' 'O king', said when the king is threatened; but this etymology is not very satisfactory.

The legends relating to the origin of chess have a Pythagorean character. According to Masᶜūdī, learned kings of India invented the arts and discovered the principles of the sciences. The first was Brahman, the second Bāhbūd under whom *nard* was invented, the third Dabshelim who is connected with the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimnah*, the fourth Balhit and it is in his reign that chess was invented, even at this time there was a treatise on the game entitled *Tarak djenkā* which has remained popular among the Hindus. The pieces were figures of men and animals and were thought to be representations of the signs of the zodiac. The game was not yet fixed in the time of Masᶜūdī (ivth—xth century). He knows six main forms of the game: two squares with 64 or 100 squares, one oblong, two round, one attributed to the Byzantines and the other called zodiacal; the latter invented in the time of the author had twelve pieces played with six on each side and representing the different organs of the human body. Even then there were treatises on chess and celebrated players.

Al-Bīrūnī became acquainted with the several forms of this game in India That which he describes as the commonest is a regular game of chance and played with dice. It is the dice that settle the movements of the pieces and not the skill of the player Thus 1 and 5 move the king or the pawn, 2 moves the *rukh*, 3 the knight whose move is already what it now is, the 6 and 4 move the elephant which goes in straight lines and which among the Arabs had already been replaced by the castle. The pieces had values which were counted up and the total decided the victory.

Firdawsī has written charming pages on chess and describes a game in poetical language He puts the king in the centre with the vizier who plays the part of our queen; on either side of them are two elephants, next dromedaries, then knights and lastly two *rukh*. This *rukh* is an animal, it is the same as the fabulous bird mentioned in the *Arabian Nights* and it is from it we get the term 'rook' Another variety, mentioned by the same poet, is still nearer our modern game, this board has 64 squares, in the middle is the king with his minister, on either side are elephants, horses and rukhs, in front are the foot-soldiers, our pawns

The game of chess has an interest in arithmetic, in which it has given rise to a question of some importance that of the summation of the successive powers of 2 The story is well known in which an inventor asked a king as his reward, a grain of wheat on the first square, 2 on the second, 4 on the third and so on, doubling each time. The result is a number in 20 figures beyond possibility of fulfilment This legend is given by al-Sadafī, al-Bīrūnī in trying to shorten the calculation was led to interesting observations

Chess was a noble game in the middle ages both in east and west During the Crusades it was played in both camps Hārūn al-Rashīd sent a chessboard as a present to Charlemagne The Old Man of the Mountains presented a very handsome one to St Louis ᶜOmar al-Khayyāmī has taken a beautiful image of fatalism from the game

"Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days,
Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays.
Hither and thither moves and mates and slays,
And one by one back in the Closet lays".

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(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB. The word *shaṭṭ*, properly the bank of a stream, is used in Mesopotamia for a large river, as *baḥr* is in Egypt and *wād* in Morocco. Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab is the name given to the tidal estuary formed by the united streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris (v. AL-FURĀT and DIDJLA), known in the middle ages as the Blind Tigris (Didjla al-ʿAwiā), the Faiḍ of Baṣia, and, in Persian, Bahmanshīr. A modern name is the Baṣra River It is generally reckoned as extending from Ḳurna to Abbadān [q. v] or Fao. The confluence of the two streams took place at Kurna during five or six centuries until quite recently, but it now takes place some thirty miles farther down stream, at Garmat Ali, not much above Baṣra (so W Willcocks in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1910, p 11). In addition to the two great rivers, the Shatt al-ʿArab receives also the waters of the Kārūn [q v] River (Dudjail of al-Ahwāz) and its tributaries The Shatt al-ʿArab is some 100 miles long and about 1,200 yards wide It is navigable by vessels of 15 feet draught The obstacle to navigation is the bar at the mouth (whence the epithet "blind") Vessels which can cross it (drawing 17 to 20 feet) can reach Basia, 70 miles up The lights and buoys on the coast are kept up by the British Government The country on both sides of the estuary is practically level, Baṣia, where the tide rises and falls nine feet, being only five feet above sea-level The land along the banks is higher than that at a distance, owing to the silt brought down by the current In the middle ages the stream met the sea at Abbadān, but now some 20 miles further south at Fao, where there is a fixed light The land is therefore encroaching on the sea at the rate of 20 miles in every 1,000 years Plantations of date-palms line the banks of the stream for its whole length

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SHAṬṬĀRĪYA, Ṣūfī order included in the list of 161 orders furnished to S Anderson by the Imperial Board of Derwīshes at Constantinople (*Moslem World*, 1922, p 56) It is called *madhhab-i shuttār* (or *shaṭṭār*) in the Persian work cited below, since a person named Shattār is not mentioned in the chief biographical dictionaries of saints, the former vocalization may be correct, as the plural of *shāṭṭ*, according to Redhouse "a mystic who has broken with the world", though this sense is not recognized by Sami Pasha The order is mentioned by Abu 'l-Fadl (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, transl. Jarrett, III. 422) as one which provided his father with instructors, though he does not deal with it in his list of orders (*ibid.* 349—360), and he suggests that its headquarters in India were at Jaunpur (*ibid* 373). Allusions to it in Sūfī literature are rare.

Some notice of its doctrines is to be found in the *Irshādāt al-ʿĀrifīn* of Shaikh Muhammad Ibrāhīm Gazur-i Ilāhī, contemporary of Awrangzeb (transl Khaja Khān· advance sheets lent by Prof. Nicholson) The following are the chief passages· The sect of Shuttaris dispense with negation and adhere to affirmation. It is waste of time in Muraqaba (meditation) to "attend to negation, for it is negativing a nonentity. In the religion of Shuttar there is no self-effacement. There is nothing in it except "I am I".

Tawhid is understanding one, saying one, seeing one, and being one "I am one and no partner with me".

With the Shuttaris there is neither opposition to nafs, nor Mujahada; neither is there Fana nor Fanau 'l-Fana, for Fana requires two personalities; one that is to be annihilated, and the other one is the one in which this one is to be annihilated, which is opposed to Tawhid. The Shuttaris affirm Tawhid and observe the Dhat with its sifat in all stages and tajalliyat

The Shuttaris do not complain, they eat whatever they get, keeping the real Gift-giver in view.

Consider your dhat, sifat and afal as the Dhat, sifat and afal of God and become one. This is the way of the Shuttaris and not of the other gnostics (*abrar* and *akhyar*), who adopt the practices and mujahidat, and say "consider your nafs in the way of fana, and God's in the way of baqa; your nafs in the way of Ubudiyyat (servantship) and His in the way of Rububiyyat (rulership)".

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SHĀWAR, ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ MUDJĪR AL-DIN B. MUDJĪR AL-SAʿDĪ, a Fātimid statesman, vizier of the last caliph al-ʿĀḍid and in this capacity bore the honorific surname of Malik Mansūr

At first in the private service of the vizier Malik Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ, Shāwar obtained from his master the government of upper Egypt with Ḳūṣ as his residence. This office was then the highest in the administrative service and the fact that Shāwar is said to have asked for it shows his ambition. On his deathbed Talāʾiʿ is said to have expressly regretted that he had thus contributed to the rise of Shāwar as he feared he would cause trouble to his son Ruzzīk who was going to succeed him. But, knowing the man, he had advised his son to exercise great caution and to deal carefully with this possible rival. The two adversaries then intrigued against one another, taking great care not to make a mistake The first slip was made by the minister who recalled Shāwar from his governorship, shortly before Shawwāl 557 (Oct 1162) Shāwar had been expecting this and in anticipation had collected numerous troops and put into a state of defence a territory which he had practically owned as if it were a fief Without awaiting the arrival of his successor, he resolutely took the offensive but was defeated at Daldja in Middle Egypt and took the road of the oases, thinking to leave the enemy behind him. He thus succeeded in becoming forgotten until suddenly in Muharram 558 (Dec 1162) he appeared in the Delta and by promises of booty rapidly recruited an army of ten thousand men. Ruzzīk was unable to resist and fled from his capital Shāwar installed in the vizierate in Ṣafar (Jan. 1163) had or allowed his rival to be put to death.

His first period of office was to be of short duration on account of the unpopularity of his three sons, Ṭaiy, Shudjāʿ and Sulaimān, whose avarice and excesses alienated even the officers of his immediate entourage from their father. Ḍirghām, an emīr whom Shāwar himself had just raised to the office of grand chamberlain, put himself at the head of the malcontents, who were secretly supported by the Caliph. Shāwar did not attempt

to fight but fled to Syria in the course of the month of Ramaḍān (August)

He went to Damascus to the court of Nūr al-Dīn and was given an army by him to help him to return to power. Shāwar in his turn promised to hand over one third of the revenues of Egypt, to pay the expenses of maintaining the army The troops sent by Nūr al-Dīn, who had entrusted the command to Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh marched on Cairo and inflicted a serious defeat near Tell Baṣṭa on the unreliable soldiers that Dirghām had been able to collect. On entering the capital in Djumādā II, 559 (May, 1164), Shāwar resumed the vizierate Difficulties immediately broke out between Shīrkūh and Shāwar. some accuse the former of treachery while others accuse Shāwar of not fulfilling his engagements to Nūr al-Dīn. In any case after some skirmishes which jeopardised his authority, Shāwar appealed for help to Amaury, pointing out to the Franks the danger of allowing their enemy Nūr al-Dīn to establish himself in Egypt. The Franks, whom Shāwar had promised to indemnify, accepted the terms offered with pleasure in the hope of conquering Egypt for themselves Shīrkūh, besieged in Bilbais, when his provisions were almost exhausted, accepted the terms offered him to return to Syria The Franks on their side, impressed by Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Ḥārim were not long in leaving the country

In 562 (1167) Egypt was again invaded by Shīrkūh, who defeated Shāwar, again allied with the Franks at Bābain in Middle Egypt near Ashmūnain (Djumādā II 25, 562 = April 18, 1167). This defeat did not lead to a definite decision and Shāwar was able to rally his troops and besiege Shīrkūh in Alexandria On capturing this town he succeeded in getting Shīrkūh to leave the country once more. But the treaty with the Franks was onerous for the Fātimids, who besides paying an annual tribute, had to allow certain points in Cairo to be occupied by troops and to have a kind of High Commissioner (*shiḥna*) quartered there.

In 564 (1168) Shīrkūh was sent into Egypt for the third time by Nūr al-Dīn with the avowed object of driving out the Franks, whose demands had provoked a rupture with Shāwar Besieged by them in the two towns of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, Shāwar set fire to this area which he could no longer defend. He got out of his difficulty once more by negotiation and purchased the departure of the Franks. But his own position was becoming precarious, the policy of balancing between the Franks and Syrians being no longer possible; besides, the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid had in the meanwhile made a personal appeal to Nūr al-Dīn. Shīrkūh began by calling upon Shāwar to fulfil the terms of the treaty concluded between them and, in view of his shuffling, his death was decided upon by Shīrkūh's entourage notably by his nephew Saladin. Shāwar was drawn into an ambush near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī and assassinated by Saladin and the officers of his suite on Rabīʿ II 17, 564 (Jan. 18, 1169).

He was, strictly speaking, the last statesman of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the decline of which was signalised by the rise of Shīrkūh. Shāwar, although praised by the poet ʿUmāra of Yemen, has left the reputation of being crafty and cruel; a Christian writer sums him up as very able, experienced in wars, tricks, plots and stratagems.

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AL-**SHAWBAK**, a fortress of the Crusaders east of the Araba in the mountains of al-Sharā. It was built in 509 (1115) by Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 18 days in *Syria Sobal* and was called *Mons Regalis* (*Montréal*, also *le Crac de Montréal* to distinguish it from *Crac des Moabites*, i e. Kerak [q v] and *Crac des Chevaliers*, i e. Hisn al-Akrād [q v.]) by the Franks. The site of the fortress was, as William of Tyre (xi 26, Migne, *Patrol Lat*, cci, col 514 *sqq*) points out, very suitable for the building of an impregnable fortress It is therefore not improbable that, as Yāḳūt (iii 332) indicates, there had already been a settlement here in ancient times (according to R Hartmann, *Z D.P V*, 1913, 188, *sub* A 28 the ancient *Θαιμαν*) The fortress commanded the desert road from Damascus to the Ḥidjāz and Egypt, its possession was therefore of extraordinary importance for both Arabs and Crusaders The town and the gardens west of it were supplied with water from two springs, its apricots were famous and were exported to Egypt (Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 247) and its groves of sugar-cane were also noted (de Mas Latrie, *Arch Venet*, xxv. 479).

Romanus de Podio (*Romain du Puy*) is the first *dominus regionis illius quae est trans Jordanem* mentioned. He lost his fief in 1132, which consisted of the land of Moab and al-Shawbak, and instead the former royal cup-bearer received *Paganus* (*Payen*), which is already called *Paganus Montis Regalis* in a document of 1126 (Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolym.*, p. 28, N° 115), the *terra trans Jordanem*. In 1142 he built the fortress of al-Karak which henceforth was the capital of this feudal state. He was succeeded by his nephew Mauricius (to whom we have references in 1152 and 1153); then came Philippe de Milly who received those lands in exchange for Nābulus (1161) but when he later became Grand Master of the Templars (1169) gave them up in favour of his daughter Stephanie After losing her two first husbands, Humphrey of Toron and Milo de Plancy, while still young (1174), the latter married the valiant Raynald de Chatillon, who by his vigorous character seemed particularly fitted to defend from the south the kingdom of Jerusalem, then seriously threatened by the attacks of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. But his challenging and faithless attitude to the Muslims irritated the Sulṭān and brought about the downfall of the kingdom. How anxious Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was to gain the two fortresses of al-Karak and al-Shawbak is evident from his frequent campaigns against them (in

1171, 1172/1173, 1182, 1183 and 1184) on which however he had to be content with laying waste the country round them, as he was not able to take them. Indeed Raynald even had the boldness to take a fleet and make an advance on Mecca and Medīna. Even the eastern frontier of Egypt was threatened by his raids and to defend it Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn fortified Ḳulzum, al-Suwais (Suez) and the citadel of Ṣadr (Ḳalʿat Kindī) in the Sinai desert (Barthoux and Wiet in *Syria*, 1922, iii. 44—65, 145—152). It was only after Raynald had been taken prisoner in the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (1189) and executed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that al-Shawbak surrendered to the Arabs. The Franks, however, did not thereupon abandon their claims to *Montréal* so that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn only liberated Humphrey IV of Toron, the captured son of Stephanie de Milly, after the conquest of the fortress In 1190 the latter calls himself *Henfridus Montis Regalis* (Rohricht, *op. cit*, p 186, N⁰. 696): after his death (1198) his sister Isabella of Toron and then her daughter Alice of Armenia inherited these claims. After the treaty of Frederick II with Egypt (1229) these lands came in part back to the Franks; but al-Shawbak is not mentioned in this connection Afterwards the claim to Montréal passed to Alice's younger daughter Maria of Armenia, then to her son Rupin and finally to his daughter Maria of Antioch.

Actually the fortress seems to have been lost for ever to the Franks in 1189, the majority of the inhabitants like those of al-Karak, remained Christians however (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op cit.*). Among the Emīrs, who besieged ʿAkkā along with Salāh al-Dīn in 1189 is mentioned a certain Hazadinnersel (ʿIzz al-Dīn Arslān?) of al-Karak and al-Shawbak (Radulfus de Diceto, ii 81) After Salāh al-Dīn's death in 1193, his brother Malik al-ʿĀdil became lord of these two fortresses, which had previously been granted to him as a fief Shortly before his death in 615 (1218) he transferred them to his son al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā

In the peace negotiations of Dimyāt (1219), the question of the ownership of the two fortresses played a decisive part (Rohricht, *Gesch d. Kœnigr. Jerus.*, p 768, 4, 754). Towards the end of his reign (about 1226), al-Muʿazzam seems to have ordered the fortresses of Ṣafad, Tibnīn and al-Shawbak to be razed to the ground (Ibn Furāt in Rohricht, *op. cit*, p 768). But he extended and fortified the town according to ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-Abṣār* in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 133) to such an extent that it is said to have rivalled Damascus. His son al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd received in exchange for Damascus, which he had to cede to his uncle, Sulṭān Malik al-Nāṣir, the rule over al-Karak, al-Shawbak, al-Balḳā, al-Ṣalt and the Ghawr territory. The last Ayyūbid ruler of al-Karak, al-Mughīth ʿUmar, who fell into the hands of the Mamlūk Baibars through treachery in 1263, had previously lost al-Shawbak to him, for we have an inscription of Baibars in a building there of as early as 646 (1248). His successor Ḳalāʾūn took the town in 1279 (Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, ii 7 *sq.*). In 697 (1297/1298) Lādjīn had the fortress restored, according to several inscriptions under the supervision of the prince ʿAlā al-Dīn Ḳibriṣ(?) al-Manṣūrī. In the Mamlūk period al-Shawbak formed an office (*ʿamal*) of the province (*mamlaka*) of al-Karak; the names of the governors of al-Karak and al-Shawbak are known from inscriptions of Djaʿfar at Mūta of the years 727 (1327) and 752 (1351) (de Luynes, *Voyage*, p. 206, N⁰. 23 *sq* ; Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i 105) About 1340 ʿUmarī says of al-Shawbak· "its citadel is now emptied of men, its gate is closed" (R. Hartmann, in *Isl.*, ii. 138). In the country round at this time the Banī ʿUḳba, who now dwell around al-Karak, lived in tents (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

The present al-Shōbek (Musil also writes al-Shōbač) whose greyish walls still surround gardens and terraces which were formerly covered with vines, is a miserable village In the castle are ruins of baths and other buildings, also (according to Socin-Baedeker) an underground passage, which leads by 375 steps down to a well. The threefold line of defences of the Crusaders' castle mentioned by William of Tyre and Thietmar no longer exist, the existing remains rather date exclusively from the time of Baibars and Lādjīn, to whom belong the foundation inscription running along the outside of the enclosing wall.

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Inscriptions Sauvaire in Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'explor.*, ii. 209—213; Brunnow and Domaszewski, *op. cit*, i 118 *sq*

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-SHĀWĪ (*nisba* from Shāwiya; q v.), ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD, one of the most popular saints (*sayyid*) of Fās, died there on Muḥarram 26, 1014 = June 13, 1605 and was buried in the *Zāwiya* which still bears his name, in the al-Siyādj (el-Siāj) quarter Many notices of him are given by the Moroccan hagiographers, and a collection of his *manāḳib* was made by the famous Abū Muhammad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī (1058—1110/1648—1698), entitled *Muʿtamad al-rāwī fī manāḳib waliy Allāh sayyidī Aḥmad al-Shāwī*.

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHĀWIYA (plur. of *Shāwī*, "sheep-breeder") a name, originally applied in contempt, which has become the general designation of several groups in the Maghrib, of which the most important are in Morocco, the Shāwiya of Tāmasnā

and in Algeria, the Shāwiya of the Awrās. E. Doutté (*Marrâkech*, p 4—5) mentions several other groups of less importance. An endeavour has also been made to connect Choa, the name of a district in Abyssinia, with Shāwiya

Wherever it is found, the term is applied to Berbers of the Zanāta and Hawwāra, more or less arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements; almost always, moreover, these ethnic groups seem to have schismatic tendencies.

[The massif of the Awrās, occupied by the Shāwiya of the department of Constantine, was in the viiith century the centre of resistance of the Abādi [q. v.] Khāridjis as the Mzāb still is at the present day Now among the Shāwiya of Morocco, the successors to the heretical Baraghwāṭa [q. v] we find a tribe of Mzāb and the memory of "judaising" ancestors On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn tells us that at the beginning of the Marīnid dynasty in eastern Morocco, a group of Shāwiya lived in contact with the Zakkāra, whose heterodox practices have been studied by A Mouliéras].

According to Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist des Berb*, i. 176—182, transl, i. 271—282) the original home of the Hawwāra (vulgo Huwwāra [q. v]) was the province of Tripoli and the adjacent part of the territory of Barḳa, conquered and oppressed by the Arabs, they had scattered through the whole of the Maghrib where, crushed by taxation and having lost that pride and independence which once characterised them, they devoted themselves to sheep-breeding, whence the name ultimately given them As to the Zanāta, they were nomadic Berbers, like the Arabs, living in tents on the produce of their flocks and spending the summer in the Tell and the winter in the desert (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii 1, transl, iii. 179—180).

The name of Shāwiya seems to be first found in Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolégomenes*, i 226, 16, transl i. 256, *Hist. des Berb*, i 179, 10, transl i. 278, ii. 245, 3, transl. iv. 31, the Shāwiya mentioned in this last passage do not seem to correspond to those of Tāmasnā but to some people of Eastern Morocco, neighbours of the tribes of Hawwāra and Zakkāra).

Next, Leo Africanus (i. 83—84) who calls them *Soava* tells us that they are African (i. e. Berber) tribes who have adopted the Arab way of living. The majority live at the foot of the Atlas or in the mountain range itself, living by cattle- and sheep-breeding. Wherever they dwell they are always subject to the local dynast or to Arabs This author already knows two main groups one in Morocco, in Tāmasnā, the other on the borders of the kingdom of Tunis and the "land of Dates" (*bilād al-djarīd*)

It will be readily understood that in the Arab world, the term "sheep-breeders" would have a contemptuous significance. As M. W. Marçais observes "in ancient Arabia a certain disgrace seems to have been attached to the breeding of the smaller domestic stock. North African opinion has retained a prejudice against the rearers of sheep. The great camel-rearing nomads have nothing but contempt for them. In the middle ages the feeling may have been strengthened by racial antagonism, real or imaginary But in general at this period, to abandon the camel and adopt the sheep was an avowal of a terrible downfall for a tribe. It meant renouncing the long free travels, the secure refuge of the desert, and independence, to submit to local rulers, endure their blows and tolerate their fiscal exactions".

2 Shāwiya of Tāmasnā They occupy in the N. E. the lower course of the Umm al-Rbīʿ, vast fertile plains which extend to the latitude of the little harbour of Fedāla. They are descended, according to Leo Africanus (ii 9) from the Zanāta, and Hawwāra whom the Marīnid sovereigns settled there and who mixed with the remnants of the Baraghwāṭa [q v], the ancient heretical inhabitants of the region, as well as with the Arabs brought from Ifrīḳiya by the Almohad Sultān Yaʿḳūb al-Mansūr These Shāwiya now speak Arabic, the modern tribes which seem to be of Berber origin are the Znāta, Medyūna, Mzāb, Mellīla, Zyāida, and the Ūlād Bū-Zīrī.

3. Shāwiya of the Awrās. They occupy this mountain mass, in the south of the department of Constantine, between Batna and Biskra Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist des Berb*, ii 1, transl iii 179—180) already mentions sections of the Zanāta settled in the Awrās alongside of Hilālī Arabs who had conquered them It is no doubt to their living in a mountainous country that these Shāwiya have preserved a Berber dialect to the present day

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3 Shāwiya of the Awrās Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii 1, transl. iii. 179—180; E Masqueray, *Le Djebel Chechar*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1878, xxii 259—281, De Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aures*, Constantine 1904, esp. p. 123—125 and the bibliography given on p. p. 477—480 On their Berber dialect, cf. G. Mercier, *Le Chaouia de l'Aurès*, Paris 1896 See also the *Bibliography* to the article AWRĀS.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

SHAWWĀL, name of the tenth month of the lunar year. In the Kurʾān (Sūra ix 2) four months are mentioned during which, in the year 9 A H, the Arabs could move in their country without exposing themselves to attacks (cf "the sacred months" in verse 5). These four months were, according to the commentaries, Shawwāl, Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja and Muḥarram In *Ḥadīth* Shawwāl is therefore among "the months of pilgrimage mentioned in Allāh's Book" (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, bāb 33, 37)

In pre-islāmic times Shawwāl was considered ill-omened for the conclusion of marriages (*Lisān*

al-ʿArab, s. v.). In order to prove this opinion baseless, ʿĀʾisha emphasised the fact that Muhammad had married her in this month (Tirmiḏhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 10). In the modern Muslim world there is difference of opinion concerning this point. Among the Muslim Tigré tribes Shawwāl is one of the months suitable for celebrating marriages; in ʿUmān, on the other hand, it is considered ill-omened in this respect.

The law recommends fasting during six days following the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* ([q.v.], cf. Tirmiḏhī, *Ṣawm*, bāb 52· Whosoever fasts the month of Ramadān as well as six days of Shawwāl, has reached the *ṣawm al-dahr*, cf also Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 203). Nevertheless these days usually partake of the solemn character of the "lesser festival". For the same reason Shawwāl bears not only the epithet of *al-mukarram* ("the venerated"), but also such names as *faṭer ḳadām* (Tigré), *bairam* (Turkey), *faṭri 'l-awli* (ʿUmān), *uròe raya* (Acheh).

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(A. J. Wensinck)

SHAʿYĀ, Isaiah, son of Amos, a prophet sent to the Israelites in the reign of Sadiḳa (Sedecias, by confusion with Hezekiah), took part in the siege of Jerusalem under Sennacherib, announced to the king that his death had been postponed for fifteen years, the besiegers all perished except their king and five of his secretaries who took refuge in a cave For 66 days the king of Judah made the prisoners walk round Jerusalem, giving them two loaves of barley each day as their food. According to Muhammad b. Ishāḳ, Isaiah fleeing from the Israelites who had turned against him on account of his prophecies, came in the course of his flight to a tree which bent down and he took refuge in it Satan having caught the hem of his garment which remained visible, betrayed him by this means and the Israelites sawed the tree through the middle Tabarī gives as his authority Wahb b Munabbih, an echo of the Talmud (*Jewish Encyclop*, vi. 636) which places the event in the reign of Manasseh The book of Isaiah is quoted by Mutahhar b Tāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de la Création*, ed. and transl. Huart, i 188, ii. 172

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SHEB-I BARĀT. [See SHAʿBĀN]

SHEBEK. [See SHABAK]

SHEBISTARĪ, Saʿd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā, author of the Persian mystical *maṯnawī* entitled *Gulshan-i Rāz*, was born *circa* 650 at Shabistar (Čabistar), a village near Tabrīz, and died in 720. He composed the *Gulshan-i Rāz* in 717 in answer to fifteen questions which had been sent to him by an eminent Ṣūfī of Khurāsān, whom Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt*, p. 705) identifies with the celebrated Mīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Ḥusainī of Ghūr. These questions, written in rhymed verse, form part of the *maṯnawī*, each one standing at the head of a separate section. The popularity of the poem is attested by the large number of commentaries upon it (Ethé, *India Office Lib. Cat.*, 996, N⁰. 1816). Within the compass of little more than a thousand verses Shabistarī explains concisely and in simple language the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, the descent and ascent of the "perfect man" (see *Insān al-Kāmil* and H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1925, p. 253, *sqq*), and other leading ideas of the later Persian mystical poetry — which was deeply influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī — as well as the terms used in the erotic symbolism "whereby the Ṣūfīs express their conceptions of God and the universe and their ecstatic experiences" The author refers to his want of practice in versification, but though some traces of this are apparent, he shows himself to be a true poet. Besides the *Gulshan-i Rāz* he has left three prose treatises on Sūfism, namely. (1) *Ḥaḳḳ al-yakīn fī Maʿrifat-i Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*, (2) *Saʿādat-nāma*; (3) *Risāla-i Shāhid*

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(R A Nicholson)

SHEFĪḲ MEḤMED Efendi, called Muṣarrifzāde, Ottoman imperial historian and stylist. Not much is known of his life. He was born in Stambul, received an appointment as clerk in the Dīwān (*dīwān kʿātibi*), later became one of the *khodjāgjān* i.e head of one of the 28 chancelleries (cf J von Hammer, *G O R*, viii. 431), was next appointed chief of the smaller audit office (*muhāsebe-i kuchuk*) of the pious foundations (*ewḳāf*), and ultimately was appointed imperial historian (*waḳʿa nuwīs*). He seems to have died not long after his appointment to the office, the date of his death is given as 1127 (1715/1716). Mehmed Shefīḳ Efendi is not prominent on the roll of official imperial historians as the work of the *waḳʿa nuwīs* Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā (q v) who died in the Morea in 1128 (1716) was immediately continued by Mehmed Rāshid, the former dealing with the years 1000—1070 and the latter with 1071—1134. Mehmed Shefīḳ Efendi only described — by command of Sulṭān Aḥmad III — the important events of the year 1115 (1703), that is practically the fall of Muṣṭafā II and accession of Ahmad III, under the title *Tuʾrīkh-i ʿAbdallāh* (by which he meant himself). There is a good manuscript of this short work (c. 75 folios) in the Vienna National Library; cf G. Flugel's *Katalog*, ii 278 *sq*. Mehmed Shefīḳ also describes the same revolution in a work entitled *Shefīḳ-nāme*, which has become famous on account of its involved allegorical style, the difference between the two works is that, as it was not advisable in the former work to discuss quite openly the secret workings of the rising and its course, in the latter he used a secret, allegorical style and at the same time gave his political and historical creed (cf Flügel, *op. cit.*, ii 279, according to J. von Hammer, *G. O R*, ix. 207, N⁰. 92) The *Shefīḳ-nāme* has been several times printed [Stambul 1282 (1865), small 8⁰, p. 112; Stambul 1289 (1874), p. 154,

small 8°, with a commentary (*Shefīḳnāme sherḥi*) by Djelāl ed-Dīn Maḥmūd Pasha *Rawḍat al-kāmilīn* under this title also published separately 1289, p. 312, 8°, Stambul] and several times annotated; beside the above commentary mention may be made of that by ʿAbdallāh Meḥmed b. Aḥmad (original MSS in the Yeñi Djāmiʿ Library in Stambul, cf. Brusalı Mehmed Tāhir, *ʿOṯhmānlı Muʾellifleri*, ii, 426, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vi 600, N° 14822) A French translation planned by Arthur Alric does not seem to have been printed.

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(Franz Babinger)

SHEHR. [See SHAHR.]

SHEHR-I SEBZ. [See KASH]

SHEHRIZŪR (Shahrazūr, in the *Sheref-nāme* Shahra-zūl), a district in Kurdistān Shehrizūr, strictly speaking, is a beautiful and fertile plain (36 × 25 miles) situated to the west of the chain of Awrāmān (cf. SENNE) To the south-east it adjoins the Persian district of Awrāmān-i luhūn On the south the river Sīrwān is the boundary of the district, on the south-west Shehrizūr extends as far as the pass of Darband-i Khān by which the Sīrwān (Diyāla) makes its way to the south On the west Shehrizūr is bounded by Arbet which belongs to Sulaimānīya To the north a buttress of the Awrāmān (Kurra-Každw) separates it from the district of Ḳara-čwolān (Shahr-i bāzār)

The plain is watered by the tributaries of the Tāndjerō (Tādjerūd) which coming from Sulaimānīya flows into the Sīrwān, the chief of these tributaries is the river Zalm, which in its turn receives the Čowtān from the North

The mountains Nādōr and Balambō rising on the right bank of the Sīrwān separate the plain from the right bank of this river (the district of Shāḳ-maidān) The district of Shamīrān situated on the left bank in the bend of the Sīrwān is also considered a dependency of Shehrizūr.

The old centre situated where the river Zalm enters the plain, is Gul-ʿanbar, whose real name seems to be Ghulām (Khulām)-bar, to which the Kurd name Khurmāl corresponds phonetically The present chief town is Alabča (Alafča Halabča), a township of 500 houses, 25 being Jewish and there are a few Christian families

The plain belongs to the Djāf Kurds. In the time of Rich (i. 107) there were Afghān colonies in the province of Shehrizūr; these were the remains of the troops of Āzād-khān, who during his struggle against Karīm Khān Zand [q. v.] besieged Senne (in 1168).

To the south-east of Shehrizūr, in the two parallel gorges formed by the spurs of the Awrāmān amongst vineyards and woods are situated the villages of Bēyāra and Tawēla belonging to Naḳshbandī Shaikhs. Numbers of pilgrims come there from all parts, even from Russia and India At Tawēla there is a beautiful mosque built by Shaikh ʿOmar, who is himself buried at Bēyāra. The two villages form enclaves in Awrāmān-i luhūn and the Awrāmī dialect is spoken in the north. It is said to extend even as far as Pandjwīn

The district of Shehrizūr is closely associated with the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (v. ʿALĪ-ILĀHĪ); the initiates of the sect await the last judgment which is to take place in the plain of Shehrizūr; "in the threshingfloor of Shehrizūr (*Shahrazulūñ kharmanînda*) all the faithful will receive their due"

In the wide sense of the word, Shehrizūr served to denote the eyālet of Kerkūk whence, as one can see, there resulted a considerable amount of confusion in geographical terms

History For the epoch of the Assyrians, Billerbeck places at Shehrizūr the centre of the Zamua country, inhabited at the time of Aššurnāsirpal by the Lullu people Streck seems to agree with this localisation of Zamua (*Z A*, xv. 1900 p 284) The Arabs (Ibn Muhalhil) associated with Shehrizūr (more precisely Duzdān) the biblical legends concerning Saul (Tālūt) and David, which suggests the presence in these districts of strong Jewish colonies

The numerous tumuli in the plain of Shehrizūr confirm the testimony — of Theophanes as well as of Musʿir b Muhalhil — regarding the number of settlements in this region. The most important town bore the name of Nīm-az-rāi (Nīmiāh) i.e "half-way" between Ctesiphon and the great fire-altar of Shīz [q v] (Takht-i Sulaimān in Ādharbāidjān). Čirikov and Herzfeld (on his map) identify Nīmrāh with Gul-ʿanbar, and this corresponds with the indication of Misʿar (in Yāḳūt) regarding the proximity of the town to the mountains of Shaʿrān and Zalm The most persistent tradition (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 199, Mustawfī, p 107) attributes its construction to the Sāsānid Kawādh, the son of Pērōz (488—531) The ruins of a Sāsānid bridge on the Sīrwān protected by the fort of Shamirān (Čirikov, 438) indicate the line of communications of Nīm-rāh with Kasr-i Shīrīn At this latter point the route coming from Ctesiphon forked to run towards Hamadān and towards Shehrizūr (Ibn Rusta, p 164, Edrīsī, ed. Jaubert, p 156) On the other hand, according to Rawlinson (*J R A S.*, 1868, p 296—300), the monument of Pāi-kūlī on the right bank of the Sirwān not far from the ford of Bānkhēlān marked a station on the road from Nīm-rāh, which the great explorer thought was to be found at Yāsin-tapa to the North-West of the plain of Shehrizūr. As the monument dates back to the epoch of the first Sāsānids, the road, before the construction of Nīm-rāh, might well have followed another direction in the plain According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (p 120) the Sāsānids, after their accession to the throne, made a pilgrimage on foot to Shīz The monument of Pāi-kūlī may mark the road Herzfeld promises to publish separately the geographical part of his new explorations in this district Finally, the Kurds told Rich (i. 269) that "the ancient town of Shehrizūr" was at Kīzḳalʿa to the south-east of Arbet (cf Haussknecht's map).

Shehrizūr, forming part of the diocese of Bēth Garmai (Bā-Djarmaḳ) is often mentioned in the history of the Nestorian Church. The *Synodicon Orientale* (ed. Chabot, 1902, p. 266) gives the names of its bishops between 554 and 605.

During his third Persian campaign the Emperor Heraclius spent the month of February in 628 in Shehrizūr "laying waste the district and towns by fire" (*Theophanis Chronographa*, ed de Boor, p. 325· *εἰς τὸν Σιάζουρον*, *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, i. 730: *ἕως τοῦ Σιαρσούρων* — the two graphies indicate the pronunciation *-zūr* and not *-zōr*).

The Arabs had reached Shehrizūr even in Sāsānian times (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 130). The remote situation of Shehrizūr frequently attracted rebels and schismatics to it (Khāridjis, Khurramī). The district is often mentioned along with Dāmaghān and Dārābād (Kudāma, p. 232) the exact sites of which are unknown In the time of Ibn Mulhalhil (330/942) there were in Shehrizūr 60,000 (?) tents of Kurds: Djalālī (Rich, i. 280, Ghellali ?), Bāsiān, Ḥakamī, and Sūlī (Shūlī ?).

The same author (in Yāḳūt) counts Shīz (perhaps a misreading cf. Hoffmann, p. 251) among the towns of Shehrizūr and mentions a little town Duzdān (?) between Nīm-rāh and Shīz. The other names of places in the region of Shehrizūr were Tīrānshāh (Ibn al-Athīr), Ḳīnā (?) and Dailamastān (Yāḳūt) Between 400 and 434, scions of the Kurd dynasty of the Hasanwaihids ruled at Shehrizūr. In the vith (xiith) century the Turkomans and the Zangid Atābegs held the district. In the time of Yāḳūt, Muzaffar al-Dīn Kokbori, Atābeg of Arbil had settled himself there. In 623 (1226) an earthquake ruined the district. According to al-ʿUmarī (d. 749 = 1348) Shehrizūr "before its depopulation" was inhabited by Kūsa Kurds (Rich, i. 281 notes a few remnants of them in this region, cf. also place-names like Kosa-madīna, Māmenū-Kosa). After the capture of Baghdād by Hūlāgū these Kurds migrated to Egypt and Syria and their place was taken by the Ḥwsna (?) who "are not true Kurds". The reference is perhaps to the mountaineers of Awrāmān, who still occupy the western slope of the mountains On the other hand, a Kūsa whom A von Le Coq met in 1901 at Damascus spoke the *zaza* dialect [q. v.] which is not a proper Kurd one

Timūr crossed Shehrizūr in 803 (1411) on his way from Baghdād to Tabrīz (*Ẓafar-nāme*, ii 370, *az rāh-i Shahrizūr wa-Ḳalāghī* (?)

Shehrizūr played an important part in the Turco-Persian wars. According to the *Sharāf-nāme*, the Ardilān family (cf SENNA) had been at first settled in Shehrizūr. The local history of Senna even claims that the fort of Zalm was built by Bābā Ardilān in 564 (1158) Sulṭān Sulaimān about 944 (1537) sent the governor of ʿAmādiya to conquer Shehrizūr but although a fortress was built at Gul-ʿanbar, the Ardilān re-established their authority in the region (*Sharaf-nāme*, 84). Shāh ʿAbbās dismantled this fortress but it was restored during the Persian campaign of Khusrew-pasha [q. v.] in 1630. The treaty of 1049 (1639) allotted to Turkey the western slope of the Awrāmān with the fort of Zalm. Changes, however, must have taken place slowly, for Tavernier on his journey in 1644, seems to place the Turco-Persian frontier much further west. The representative of Sulaimān-Khān, Wālī of Ardilān, maintained a garrison in a "large town", the situation of which corresponds to that of Gul-ʿanbar. We may note here that Tavernier seems to mention the town of Altun-koprū (?) under the name "Shehrazul".

The Ardilān being finally removed from Shehrizūr, the district was governed by local hereditary chiefs who received their investiture from Constantinople. At the beginning of the xviiith century the governor of the ʿIrāḳ, Ḥasan-Pāshā, was allowed by the Porte to have southern Kurdistān placed under his control. The eyālet of Shehrizūr was then formed containing the sandjaks of Kerkūk, Arbil, Kōi-sandjak, Ḳara-ċolān (Shāra-bāzēr), Rawānduz and Ḥarīr, the mutesellims of which were appointed from Baghdād (Khurshīd Efendī, p. 199—262). But soon the Bābān chiefs (cf. SULAIMĀNIYA) attained to power and Shehrizūr was placed under them. After the administrative reforms of 1867 and the creation of the wilāyet of Mawṣil the name of Shehrizūr was given to the sandjaḳ of Kerkūk (the ḳaḍā were Kerkūk, Arbil, Rāniya, Rawānduz, Kōi and Ṣalāḥiya) but to complete the confusion the plain of Shehrizūr proper was included in the sandjaḳ of Sulaimāniya (v. Cuinet, *La Turquie en Asie*, ii. 764).

From the xviith century a branch of the tribe of Djāf (cf. SENNA) had been established on Turkish territory. The plain of Shehrizūr, as well as many villages in Kifrī, Pandjwīn, etc, belonged before the world war to the powerful Djāf chiefs, Othmān Pāshā and Maḥmūd Pāshā. This family exercised administrative functions of which the Porte gradually tried to deprive them. For a considerable time the effective administration of Shehrizūr was in the hands of the widow of ʿOthmān Pasha, the energetic ʿĀdila-Khānum, a native of Senne. Soane has given an interesting description of her little court at Alabča.

Archaeology. Among the half score of tumuli on the plain of Shehrizūr (Haussknecht's map) the most important are Bakrāwa (Čirikov: 120 feet high, diameter 450 feet, remains of walls, ditch 60 feet broad) and Yāsīntapa (F Jones: square in shape 90 feet high, surface sloping from N. to S. 320 feet). Important ruins exist at Gul-ʿanbar (Čirikov walls of trimmed stone, towers and an ancient aqueduct). In the ravine of the river Zalm above Gul-ʿanbar lies the fort of Zalm. Kazwīnī (*Āthār al-Bilād*, ii. 266) explains that *zalm* is a seed (*habb*) possessing aphrodisiacal qualities and not found elsewhere. Tavernier mentions lilies between Shehrizūr and Senne having similar properties The *Djihān-numā* (p. 442) gives the gorge at Zalm the epithets, "habitation of the blue sorcerer" (*azrak-djādū*) and "cave of the confusion of speech" (*Khilāt-i kalām*) He mentions the local sights. the fort of ʿAlī Zālim (apparently for Zalm), another ruined fort of Yezdedjird and a cave (natural) with a staircase and windows carved out of the rock We may recall in this connection the Christian tradition of the monk Sabrishō who had built a cell in the mountain of Shaʿrān (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persan*, Paris 1904 p. 210). The number of fortifications on the river Zalm show the importance of the place. Their object was to protect Shehrizūr from invasion from the east. The usual routes of communication with Ādharbāidjān were however by the more convenient passes more to the north (Čaghār Gārān, Nawkhuwān, the passes of Bāna).

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The references in the Arab authors have been collected by Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, p. 190—191 and notably by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1925 vi/1. 694—705. The two versions of the account by Misʿar b. Muhalhil are in Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld iii. 340 and Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 266, the transl. of Shihāb al-Dīn

al-ʿUmarī in *N E.*, xiii., 1838; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, Stambul 1145, p. 445 (transl in Charmoy, *Cheref-nameh*, i/i. p. 127, 423); Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, Paris 1692, i. 197, Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, 1836, i. 107, 269, 290—391, Hammer—Purgstall, *G O.*², 1840, iii (events of 1630), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix p 442—447, 459; F Jones, *Narrative of a journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia*, in *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, xliii. new series (n d.), p 204, Čirikov, *Putevoi Journal*, St Petersburg 1875, p 438, and *passim*; Khurshīd-efendī, *Siyāhat-nāma-i hudūd* (Russ. transl. 1877) Shehrizūr-eyāleti, p 199—262, Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten pers Martyrer*, 1880, p 254 and *passim*, E Soane, *In disguise to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan*, London 1912, 2nd ed. 1926, *Materiali po Wostoku*, Petrograd 1915, p. 203, 340, 354

Cartography: Map by F. Jones; Haussknecht—Kiepert, *Routen im Orient*, iii, Kurdistan and Irak, E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian Empire*, Berlin 1924, map 1 : 200 000

(V. MINORSKY)

SHEKER BAIRAMI. [See ʿID AL-FIṬR]

SHEKKĪ, a district in Eastern Transcaucasia In Armenian it is called Shakhē, in Georgian Shakha (and Shakikh), the Arabs write Shakkai = Shakhē (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 123, Istakhrī, p 183, Balādhurī, p 206), Shakkī (Yāḳūt, iii 311), Shakkan (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 293, Balādhurī, p 194), Shakīn (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii 68).

The usual boundaries of Shekkī were on the east, the Gok-čai which separates it from Shīrwān [q. v.] proper, on the west, the Alazan (Turk. Ḳanlïḳ) and its left tributary the Ḳashka-čai, which separates Shekki from Georgia (Kakhetia) and the Georgian cantons later occupied by the Dāghistānīs (Eli-su, now Zakāt ʿAlī), in the north the southern slopes of the Caucasus (Salawāt-Daghī, the passes of which, however, are within the confines of Dāghistān), to the south the Kura (Kur) Shekkī is watered by the tributary of the Alazan, Agri-čai ("river running diagonally" i. e from east to west) and the river Aldjigān (Gilān) and Tūriyān which run towards the Kura Shekkī consists of three regions, one of high valleys covered with forests and orchards; a central one, a treeless and desert plateau, lastly a fertile plain declining to the Kura.

The variety of the factors that have influenced this remote region is responsible for the remarkable character of its local history in which we see pass before us in succession, the Albanians (Aghowāns), Armenians, Georgians, the people of Dāghistān, Persians, Turks and Russians.

In ancient time it formed part of Caucasian Albania (cf. ARRĀN) which was a confederation of 26 tribes speaking different languages (Strabo, xi 4) The remnants of one of these tribes are believed to survive in the Udi, who are still to be found at Shekkī (Balādhurī, p. 203: Ūdh). From their name they must have originally come from the region of Uti (Strabo, xi. 7; Οὐίτιοι, Pliny, vi. 13. Otene) lying on the right bank of the Kura (the modern Gandja, Shamkūr, Ṭā'ūs); it at first belonged to Armenia Major but was later occupied by the Albanians (cf. "the Armenian geography" of the viith century translated into Russian by Patkanov, 1877, p. 51). The present language of the Udi is related to the S. E group of languages of Dāghistān (Khinalugh, Budugh etc.) and has been subjected to very heterogeneous influences, especially Turkish (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzuge*, p 49). The Albanians were very early converted by the Armenians and according to the Armenian legend the church of Gish (now Kīsh) was built by Elishē, a disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus.

Among the places mentioned in Albania by Ptolemy Χαβάλα and αἱ Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι occupying the same position, long 80°, lat 47°, must correspond to Ḳabala and to the passes which above it give access to the valley of Samūr (Khačmaz and Kutkashen roads). The ruins of Kabala lie near the confluence of the two branches of the Tūrlyān-čai. Ὄτικα (long. 77° 30′, lat. 44° 45′) may correspond to the town of Shekkī which has now disappeared (Yanovski places it S. W of Nūkhā, near the village of Shekīlī) The other identification (Νίγα = Nīž) has still to be examined carefully. The present capital Nūḳhā or Nūkhī (on the river Kīsh) is said to have taken its name from a village more to the east (Sultān-Nūkhā near Nīž), its name is only found from the xviiith century onwards, unless it is connected with Iekhni (name of an Albanian canton according to the Armenian geographers)

When the Arabs talk of towns of Arrān built by the Sāsānians they probably only refer to the rebuilding of ancient sites, thus Ḳubād b Fīrūz (488—531) is credited with the building of Kabala (Ibn al-Fakih, p 288, Yākūt, iv. 32) and his son Khusraw Anūshirwān (531—579) with Abwāb-Shakkan, Ḳambīzān (Καμβυσήνη, Khambēč'an in Kakhetia) and Abwāb al-Dūdāniya (Balādhurī, p 194).

Under the Caliph ʿUthman, Salmān b. Rabīʿa having crossed the Kura conquered Kabala but confined himself to concluding a treaty of peace with the chiefs of Shakkan and Kambīzān Later Djarrāh b ʿAbd Allāh al-Hakamī halted at Shekkī on his return from the Dāghistān campaign.

The Christians of Shekkī remained for a long time in the majority According to Maʿsūdī (ii 68) the principality of Shakīn, adjoining that of Ṣanārī (Ptolemy, v. 9, Σάναροι, Dzanar in the valley of the river Samūr), was inhabited by Christians and the Muslims who worked as merchants and artisans. The king was called Adarnarsa b. Humām. The next district on the east was Ḳabala, „a haunt of robbers and bad characters", the town of which had a Muslim population while the environs were inhabited by Christians The king (*Malik*) of Kabala was called ʿAnbasat al-Aʿwai (the "one-eyed"). The identity of these is still uncertain. Towards the end of the viith century Georgian and Armenian sources mention a mysterious Adarnarse the Blind (Brosset, i/i, 249), in the ixth century the name of Atrnarse was fairly common in the family of Mihrakān (Albanian princes of Sāsānian origin, Brosset, i/2, 480). According to Muḳaddasī, p. 51, Ḳabala and Shekkī were little towns.

Shekkī later belonged to the Shīrwānshāhs, with whom, however, the Georgians disputed its possession In 1117 King David conquered Gishi (Kish above Nūkhā on one of the tributaries of the Agri-čai) This little town was the residence of the governor (*eristhaw*) of Tsukheth (district N E. of Alazan), and of the bishop whose diocese comprised

Elisen (Eli-su), Tsukheth and Shakikh. Brosset, I/1, 250, thought the latter name identical with Shekkī.

In 622 (1225) we again have the Shīrwānshāh Farīburz complaining to the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn of the loss of Shekkī and Kabala which had been taken by the Georgians Towards 626 (1229) Djalāl al-Dīn established his authority over both towns simultaneously (Nasawī, ed. Houdas, I. 146, 176).

In the time of Tīmūr we find Sīdī ʿAlī of the Arlāt tribe acting as wālī of the wilāyet of Shekkī. [Arlāt is the name of one of the four chief tribes of the Ulūs of Čaghatāi; q v]. A punitive expedition sent by Tīmūr (796/1393) drove him from his office. Although a "good Muslim" he joined the Georgians and perished in a skirmish under the walls of the fortress of Alindjaḳ (near Nakhičewān). About 801 (1398) through the intercession of Amīr Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān (who had originally been a humble landowner in Shekkī) Sīdī Aḥmad, son of Sīdī ʿAlī, was re-established as chief of tribe and governor of Shekkī. Ibrāhim and Ahmad afterwards acted in concert (*Ẓafar-nāme*, Calcutta, I. 731, II 204, 218, 222)

To judge from the dates upon tombstones found by Yanovski in the cemetery of Kabala (890—901 = 1474—1485), this town must have no longer existed towards the period of the Kara-Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu dynasties.

At the beginning of the Ṣafawī period Shekkī was ruled by the hereditary chief Husain Beg, a scion (according to the *Gulistān-i Iram*) of the Shīrwānshāh dynasty Hard pressed by the Georgians, he appealed for help to Shāh Ismāʿīl, but was killed in a battle against Lewan I, king of Kakhetia (1520–1574) When Shīrwān was conquered by Shāh Tahmasp (in 945 = 1538), Darwīsh Muḥammad, son of Husain, aided the last Shīrwānshāh against the Persians In 958 (1551) Shāh Ṭahmasp with the help of King Lewan besieged Kīsh and the fort of Galasan-gorāsān ("come and see it") near the modern Nūkhā Shekkī was annexed by Persia

When in 984 (1578) the Ottoman troops under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāshā fought a battle at Ḳanīk against the Khāns of Gandja, Erīwān and Nakhičewān, King Alexander II of Kakhetia, an ally of the Turks, occupied Shekkī without striking a blow, and it became an Ottoman sandjaḳ. The Turks re-established at Shekkī the son of the former governor Ahmad Khān (Hammer, *G.O R* ², II. 484) but an Ottoman governor (Ḳaitās Pasha) was placed in Āresh

When the Ṣafawīs again became masters of Transcaucasia, Shāh ʿAbbās appointed the Georgian prince Constantin-Mīrzā (son of Alexander II of Kakhetia) wālī of Shīrwān (in 1014 = 1606) Shāhmīl Khān of Shekkī became his faithful vassal. Later the Ṣafawīs removed their protection from the kings of Kakhetia who were turning towards Moscow, tried to reduce their possessions and towards 1643, Shekkī fell into the power of local *malik*'s and *sulṭān*'s. Under ʿAbbās II Ewliyā Čelebī visited Shekkī (II. 286—293). At this time (about 1057 = 1647) the Sulṭān of Shekkī was under the Khān of Āresh The town had 3000 houses, although he puts the stronghold of Shekkī in the eyālet of Shīrwān Ewliya adds that it is considered to belong to Georgia, "because the Georgians had founded it".[6] Ewliyā's notes on the tribe of Ḳaitāḳ whom he met near Maḥmūdābād (Ḳabala[7]) are very curious; these people talked pure Mongol (II. 291) which has now completely disappeared from these regions.

Nādir and his troops several times traversed the territory of Shekkī and Kabala (in 1147, 1154). To be able the better to resist him the local petty chiefs chose as their leader (*Āṯhār-i Dāghistān*. "*baṣhčī*") the former tax-collector Ḥādjdjī Čelebī, son of Ḳurbān. In 1157 (1744) Nādir Shāh besieged the fortress of Galasān-gorāsān without success. After the death of Nādir (1160 = 1747) local dynasties arose again throughout the Eastern Caucasus Ḥādjdjī Čelebī consolidated his position and only allowed authority to the sultans of Āresh and Ḳabala. On two occasions he inflicted defeats on King Irakli of Georgia. This energetic man, whose character is not without chivalrous features, played a considerable part in Transcaucasia (Brosset, II 2, 131). Hādjdjī Čelebī, a grandson, we are assured, of the priest (Ḳara-Ḳashīsh) of the former church of Kīsh, was a zealous Muslim and converted to Islām forcibly a large number of his Christian subjects. He died in 1172 (1759) His descendants (Agha-Kishi, Husain, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir) relying alternately on their neighbours in Darband (Fath ʿAlī Khān) or Ḳara-bāgh (Ibrāhīm Khān) expended their energies in intrigues and internal struggles. Finally in December 21, 1783, Muhammad Hasan, son of Ḥusain Khān, established himself at Nūkhā after having massacred the whole family of ʿAbd al-Kādir (who had murdered Muhammad Hasan's father) He proved an able administrator He annexed to Shekkī the cantons of Āresh and Ḳabala, colonised the open lands and drew up a written canon of laws (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) by which the population were divided into five classes the begs (3 categories; in all 1550 of whom 51 were Armenians), the monks, the *maʾaf* (= *muʿāf*) — 700 men-at-arms excepted from taxation, the *raʿyat* (peasant-proprietors) and the *randjbar* (peasants).

About 1209 (1795) Salīm Khān, brother of Muhammad Hasan, seized Shekkī and transferred the seat of government to Galāsān-Gorāsan. Muhammad Hasan, taking refuge with Agha Muhammad Kadjār was blinded by his orders and ended his days in exile in Russia. In May 1805 Salim Khān submitted to the Russians and promised to pay tribute but soon rebelled against his new suzerains. On Dec 10, 1806 the Russians invested Djaʿfar Kulī Khān Dumbulī, the former governor of Khoi [q v] who had been expelled by the Persians, with the governorship of Shekkī. By the treaty of 1813 Persia recognised Russian suzerainty over Shekkī and the other neighbouring khānates. After the death in 1819 of the unpopular Ismāʿīl Khān, son of Djaʿfar Ḳulī, General Yermolow incorporated Shekkī as a separate province in the Russian empire. At this date (1824) the khānate covered 7,600 square miles, contained 200 villages and had a population of 98,500 of whom 80,000 were Ādharbāidjān Turks, 15,300 Armenians, 1500 Udi and 1000 Jews.

Since 1846 Shekkī, divided into two districts (*uyezd*): Nūkhā and Āresh (capital: Aḳ-dash) has been under the governor of Elizavetpol (Gandja). According to the census of 1896, the district of Nūkhā (1600 square miles) had a population of 94,767 of whom 66,000 were Turks, 14,800 Armenians, 7,400 Udi, 4,400 Lezgis and 1800 Jews. The town of Nūkhā had 25,000 inhabitants (81%

Turks and 18% Armenians). Among the villages of Nūkhā may be mentioned the two last refuges of the Udi. Waitashen (majority Jewish; the Udi half Armenian-Gregorians and Orthodox) and Nīž or Než (5000 Udi, Armenian-Gregorians). The village of Djulūd (Yāḳūt, iii. 311) still exists west of Wartashen The district of Nūkhā produces raw silk, fruits and wine. The district of Āresh covers 1000 square miles, has 125 villages and 52,371 inhabitants, of whom 37,577 are Turks, 12,278 Armenians and a few Gregorians, Kurds and gipsies The district consists of steppes and flat lands where rice is grown. Many of the inhabitants are semi-nomads

Since the Russian revolution the old khānate has formed part of the Ādharbāidjān republic (at first affiliated to the Transcaucasian federation, later independent and finally, since 1920, Soviet.

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SHELLA, in the texts of the middle ages, *Shālla*, necropolis of the Marīnid Sulṭāns of Morocco, S E. of the Almohad fortress of Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ (Rabat), 300 yards below the gate now called Bāb Zaʿīr. It occupies the site of an ancient Phoenician settlement, later the Roman *Sala Colonia* (cf. RABAT), some distance above the mouth of the Wādī Bū-ragrag. With Salā (Sale) on the other side of the river and the Almohad Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ, it formed from quite early times a centre of mobilisation for the holy war.

At the end of the xiiith century, the Marīnid princes decided to use this site for their dynastic necropolis. The first member of the family to be buried there was the princess Umm al-ʿIzz (d. 683 = 1284), she was the wife of Sultān Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ and the mother of Sultān Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf On his death which took place at Algeciras in 685 (1286), Sulṭān Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb was taken to Shella to be buried, 706 (1307) his son Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf after his assassination at Tlemcen and in 708 (1308) Sulṭān Thābit ʿĀmir who was poisoned at Tangier were likewise buried there.

Down to this time the necropolis seems to have been a simple sanctuary of modest size. It was the Sultān Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī who gave it the appearance which it has retained to the present day He enclosed the original sanctuary within a vast enclosure of cement, with three gates, one of them monumental. The work was finished, as the inscription testifies, at the end of 739 (July 1339) Within the necropolis, various restorations, extensions and decorations were undertaken at the same time. A new mosque was built with a splendid funeral chamber. In the lifetime of the Sultān, his son Abū Mālik (d 740 = 1340) and his wife Shams al-Duhā (d 750 = 1349) were buried at Shella. On his death in 752 (1361) on the mountain of the Hintāta in the Great Atlas, the Sultān's body was brought here for burial by order of his son Abū ʿInān.

No Marīnid Sulṭān was buried here after Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the enclosure however continued to receive the remains of members of the royal family. It was for some time a splendid sanctuary, some idea of which may be gathered, not only from what remains of the present day, but also from the enthusiastic descriptions written in the xivth century by the celebrated Andalusian writer Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb. With the fall of the Marīnid dynasty, the necropolis of Shella began to fall into ruins as it was no longer cared for. Since the French occupation, the remains that still exist are preserved against any further injury.

An historical, epigraphical, monumental and folk-lore study, with numerous illustrations has been devoted to Shella by Henry Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, entitled *Chella Une Nécropole Mérinide*, collection *Hespéris*, vol. i., Paris 1923. The bibliography — rather limited — of the subject is collected there.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHEMĀKHA. [See SHIRWĀN.]

SHENDĪ, SHINDI, 18° 1′ N. 33° 59′ E., a town on the right bank of the Nile, about 104 miles north of Khartūm, on the old caravan-route between Egypt and Sennaar. It also gives its name to a district in the Berber Province. Nowadays it is an important station on the Wādī-Ḥalfa-Khartūm Railway, with many locomotive and leather and iron works. Although still a thriving city, in the olden times it was one of the outstanding marts in the whole of the Eastern Sudan with over 50,000 inhabitants. In the course of history it has suffered at the hands of ruthless invaders and merciless marauders. The

result has been that it has shrunk from its former greatness. It is the centre of a district that has been noted for its tall, beautiful women, and it is significant that this region in past ages was ruled by a succession of queens. A vague relic of that period lingers in an eighteenth century traveller's tale of his meeting a "Queen" of Shendī in 1772 (Bruce, *Travels*, vi 448). Until modern times the town was a busy market for slave-traders and other traffickers The neighbourhood, north and south, contains many remnants of ancient splendour, ruins of Meroe and its crumbling pyramids. In 1882 a dreadful catastrophe befell the town. The native Governor, who is called the *Mek*, and given the sobriquet of *Nimr* or Panther, invited Ismāʿīl, the son of Muhammad ʿAlī, who had been sent by his father to quell the rebellious tribes and punish the fugitive Mamlūk Beys, to a splendid banquet When the Egyptians were in a drunken stupor the building was set on fire and Ismāʿīl and his suite perished in the flames. In retaliation the place was bombarded by Muhammad Bey the *Defterdār*, and thousands of the inhabitants massacred in a most revolting fashion In 1884 the Gordon Relief Expedition passed by Shendī Ever since the Anglo-Egyptian occupation in 1898 the town has developed to a great extent

Bibliography Prince Ibrahim Hilmy, *Bibliography of Egypt and the Sudan*, ii 233; James Bruce, *Travels*, Edinburgh 1813, Burckhardt, *Travels*, p 277—361, Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, ii 402 *sqq*

(J. WALKER)

SHERSHEL (French CHERCHEL), a town in Algeria, 60 miles W. of Algeria, long L 10′ E Long, 36° 37′ N lat — Population 5500 of whom 1490 are Europeans — The town is built on a plateau 1000 yards broad lying between the sea on the north and wooded hills, the outer buttresses of the massif of the Banī Menaser, in the south. The calcareous rocks of the plateau provide excellent building materials, the fertility of the soil and humidity of the climate are conducive to the growth of all kinds of produce. The country round is covered with gardens and vineyards. The harbour, sheltered from the west winds by the little island of Joinville and from the east winds by Cape Tizirine is small but safe Its annual trade is about 30,000 tons and it exports the agricultural produce of the region

History. The advantages of the site of Cherchel were remarked in very early times. The Phoenicians had a trading station here called Iol, which later passed to the Carthaginians After the Second Punic War, Iol became the capital of the King of Mauretania, Bocchus, and his successors. Placed on the throne of Mauretania in 25 B.C. by Augustus, king Juba II gave the town the name of Caesarea and adorned it with monuments and works of art When, after the death of Ptolemy, successor of Juba, Mauretania had been annexed to the empire the town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (Colonia Claudia Caesarea) and was the capital of the province of Mauretania. It was considerably extended and in the second century A D had about 150,000 inhabitants. Its walls were about 5 miles round. The ruins of baths, theatres, the amphitheatre, statues and mosaics discovered since the French occupation attest its wealth. Having previously lost its importance by the partition of the two Mauretanias in the time of Diocletian, it was burned during the rebellion of Firmus (371) and at the beginning of the next century was sacked by the Vandals. The Byzantines reoccupied it in 585 but never restored to it its past prosperity; at a date which is not accurately known, but probably in the early years of the viiith century A D., Caesarea fell into the hands of the Arabs who completed its ruin. It was perhaps not completely abandoned. The harbour in any case still existed in the time of Ibn Hawkal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1842, p 184) In the time of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 165) it was in ruins According to this author there was nothing left at Shershel but an "anchorage commanded by an enormous town of ancient buildings and still inhabited". Bakrī, however, mentions the existence of several "ribāt" where a large crowd of people assembled every year. Idrīsī describes Shershel as a town of small extent but well populated (transl de Goeje, p. 103). The country round was occupied by Beduin families who devoted themselves to cattle-rearing, to growing vines and figs and they harvested more wheat and barley than they could consume These circumstance explain the descent made on the town by the Normans of Sicily in 1144. According to Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, Bk iv, ed Schefer, iii. 52 the town was continuously inhabited during the five centuries that followed the Arab conquest. During this period Shershel was held in turn by the various dynasties which disputed the possession of Central Maghrib After the disruption of the Almohad empire, it fell to the ʿAbd al-Wādīs of Tlemcen, was taken from them by the Marīnids in 1300 A D, became a part of the ephemeral kingdom founded about 1350 by the Ulad Mendīl and ultimately recognised the authority of the Ziyānids in the reign of Abū Tabet In the xvth century fugitive Moors from Spain settled here in large numbers and built 2000 houses (according to Leo Africanus, *op cit*) The newcomers devoted themselves to agriculture and industry, especially to silk growing, and commerce but also to piracy. In the first years of the xvith century A D a Turkish corsair named Kara Hassan settled at Sherishel but was put to death by Arūdj [q v] who made himself master of the town and placed a garrison in it Temporarily liberated from the authority of the Turks as a result of the defeat of Khair al-Dīn [q v] by the Kabyls, the people of Shershel had again to recognise the Turkish government and this time finally in 1528. An attempt made by the Spanish to seize the town and make it a base of operations against Algiers failed in 1531. Andrea Doria had to reembark after losing 600 men.

During the Turkish period, Shershel simply stagnated The population never exceeded 2500–3000 men occupying a limited part of the old town. The depredations wrought by the corsairs who sallied out from it, led to its bombardment by Duquesnes in 1682. Turkish authority was represented by a ḳaid, aided in the administration of local affairs by a council of six notables and supported by a garrison established some distance south on the al-Hashim The mainstay of Turkish power, however, was the Marabout family of Ghobrini, whose ancestors had come from Morocco at the end of the xvith century and who had acquired considerable influence throughout this region. At

the beginning of the XIXth century, the Turks quarrelled with them. Al-Hādjdj b. Awda al-Ghobrini was put to death by order of the Dey and his relatives had to take refuge in al-Dahra.

The disappearance of Turkish government in 1830 enabled the Ghobrini to return to Shershel and become masters of the province. But they found their influence assailed by that of another Marabout family, that of the Brakna who lived among the Bani Menaser Finally ʿAbd al-Ḳādir who had established a *khalīfa* at Mihana forced the people of Shershel to submit to him. He tried to use the harbour of Shershel for an attempt to revive piracy An attack by a Shershel corsair on a French warship decided the governor-general Valée to occupy the town in 1840 and to establish there a colony of a 100 European families The new settlement prospered rapidly and by 1850 had over a thousand inhabitants. They began the development of the country round and this has been steadily continued. An attack on it in July 1871 by the Bani Menaser who besieged it for a fortnight is the only incident that has occurred since the occupation.

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SHĪʿA, the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting point of all of which is the recognition of ʿAlī as the legitimate caliph after the death of the Prophet.

The Motives of the Shīʿa and the Earlier Period

Islām is a religious and a political phenomenon as its founder was a prophet and statesman. The development of the community of Islām into separate sectional groups was therefore a natural result of the different possible relations which the political constitution and religious belief might bear to one another Three main schools may be distinguished. The middle line was taken by the Sunnīs Their leading principle that the "imāmate belongs to the Kuraish" is a simple expression of recognition of the historical fact that the world of Islām in the early centuries was ruled by Meccan families. The intelligible demand that the rulers who represented the state which was founded upon religion should be really religious personalities very early led among the Sunnīs also to the unhistorical glorification of the first "four pious caliphs" and further faced them with the problem of finding formulae to explain that it was also a religious duty to owe obedience to caliphs of little worth and even to foreign Sultāns, so long as the exercise of religion and the maintenance of order was afforded by them. How little, however, such principles arose out of pleased approval is best shown by the constant warnings, not only from pious circles, to be careful in dealing with secular, though Sunnī rulers. If we have here on the Sunnī side less a clear theory than rather the attempt to reconcile a religious ideal with political reality, on the other hand on the two flanks of Islām we find two fundamental theories. The one demands cleancut separation of the constitutional question from the religious one, the other has interwoven the two. The former question, although already in existence, only obtained greater publicity in the first civil war among the Khāridjīs [q. v.] for whose salvation the question of the person of the caliph was a matter of such indifference that he might "even be an Abyssinian slave". The Shīʿīs on the other hand lay religious value on the question of the imāmate and their dogmatic books contain a special section, the leading idea of which is the traditional principle "whosoever dies without knowing the true Imām of his time dies the death of an unbeliever".

There was a political Shīʿa, more accurately a *Shīʿat ʿAlī* i.e. a party of ʿAlī [q. v] at the very latest immediately after the death of the Prophet If we may believe the Shīʿa stories the original Shīʿa consisted of three men. Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dharr and al-Mikdād b al-Aswad al-Kindī. They were the only ones — some stories give a few more names — who championed ʿAlī's succession on the death of the Prophet and therefore did not falter from their faith For the other companions of the Prophet are credited by the majority of the Shīʿīs with *ridda* [q v] for paying homage to Abū Bakr But the stories, especially about Salmān al-Fārisī — if he ever really existed (cf Horovitz in *Islam*, XII 178, *sqq*) — are quite legendary. A large number of the later Shīʿa traditions and many prophecies regarding the future of ʿAlids are associated with his name

The desire that the imāmate in Islām should be kept for the ʿAlids [q v] as the family of the house (of the Prophet) (*Ahl al-Bait*) has not been fulfilled The brief reign of ʿAlī from 35–40 (656–661) was only a strongly contested partial caliphate while his son Hasan [q v.] can hardly be seriously considered to have been caliph The first ʿAlid independent principality was founded in 172 (789) in Morocco by the Hasanid Idrīs I b ʿAbd Allāh [q v] But his territory was entirely Sunnī, that is to say we have not here a Shīʿa state but simply an ʿAlid kingdom. At the present day there still exist a few small states with ʿAlid chiefs, all more or less under European Christian powers, of whom however the Imām of Sanʿā' in Yemen alone is Shīʿī and indeed a Zaidī (see below)

As the energies of the Shīʿa forces met with too much resistance in the political field they devoted themselves to the religious. The political experiences of the Shīʿa had been particularly suitable to further this development The martyr's death of one ʿAlid succeeded that of another. Much more than the blood of ʿAlī who was murdered by a casual Khāridjī, it was the blood of Ḥusain [q.v.] who perished under the swords of the government troops that was the seed of the Shīʿa church. The passion motive was thus restored to religion again among the Shīʿa; it had been lost to official Islām since the turn of fortune which after the Hidjra set the Prophet's career on the path of worldly prosperity and excluded all possibility of it by a peaceful death, devoid of any tragedy that might have borne fruit in this direction. The insistence on the idea of a passion has so thoroughly penetrated the Shīʿa that it has formed legends full of difficult historical problems, which make even the lives of ʿAlids, who never attained any prominence, end in martyrdom, usually through poison at the instigation of the caliphs, as in the case of Ḥasan I, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, ʿAlī al-Riḍā, etc.

That this feeling of passion, which can remain

worldly and among the Zaidīs who are closest to the Sunnīs, has remained very worldly, was transformed to something completely religious in the majority of Shīʿīs, i.e. that to the Shīʿīs the death of Ḥusain paved the way to Paradise, is a result of the fact that another religious idea came into play, which is, as the history of religions shows, often associated with the passion motive, namely the idea of the manifestation of the divine in man (epiphany). It was not strange to Muhammad, indeed to him for example Jesus was "a word of God" (Ḳorʾān iii 40) But he had not placed the intermediation between God and man in a person and certainly not in his own (Korʾān, xviii, 110, xli. 5, xvii. 95) but in a revelation, the Ḳorʾān From this point of view the characteristic of the Shīʿa can be thus defined: — to the First Article "I believe in God the One" — and the Second Article "I believe in the revelation of the Korʾān which is uncreated from all eternity" — is added a Third Article· — "I believe that the Imām especially chosen by God as the bearer of a part of the divine being is the leader to salvation" But if such an Imām possesses in the eyes of his believers any quality or more frequently a substance of divine origin, then when faced with his decease, they do not console themselves with the thought of his living on in paradise, which he only shares, although in a higher degree, with all believers, but to them the death of an Imām is rendered void by the idea of *radjʿa* [q v], belief in "concealment" and parousia The Imām becomes Mahdī [q v] Many indeed abandon the earthly part of the Imām but make his divine element pass into the next Imām, after the manner of the doctrine of transmigration. The mutual interaction of the idea of passion and epiphany again shows that the expectation of parousia arising from the latter, which, as the example of the hidden Mahdī, Muḥammad b al Hanafīya shows, can also arise independently of a martyrdom, was increased by martyrdom

The state of our sources does not enable us to have a reliable insight into the confluence of the various Shīʿa motives It must for example remain an open question how far the Shīʿa ideas of epiphany and the intercession of the Imām are the direct continuation of the similar ideas which, according to Ibn Ishāḳ, certain singers of primitive Islām already associated with the person of Muḥammad i e the question arises how far these religious ideas of the Shīʿa were within Islām before the year 11 (632) Under ʿAlī, however they appear as important dogmas of religion If the tradition through ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabā [q v] is still obscure, we find it somewhat clearer in the many poets of Shīʿa mentality. One Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī [q. v] who fought by the side of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn praised him with more than ordinary infatuation· "When I looked into the face of Abu 'l-Husain, I saw the full moon, which filled the spectators with reverent wonder The Ḳuraish now know, wherever they may be, that thou art their noblest in merit and religion". His attitude to ʿAlī is therefore already religious In accordance with traditions referring to him, therefore already current (see below), he calls him "our *mawlā* and *waṣī*". Phrases like "I seek God and the future state through my love to ʿAlī" are frequently found. Kuthaiyir [q. v.], d. 105 (723), expects the *radjʿa* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya; Kumait [q. v.], d. 126 (743), sings of the light emanating through Adam through Muḥammad to the holy family. In the ʿAbbāsid period political disillusionment for the first time exceeds this religious devotion. Saiyid al-Ḥimdjarī [q.v.], devotes his poems to it. In Diʿbil [q. v.], the "panegyrist of the holy house" the coarse attacks on the ruling family, in which "one sinner inherits the caliphate after another" are explained by his belief in the unique claim of ʿAlī Riḍā to the imāmate at the time. In a poem on the death of Husain, often previously celebrated by him, he looks for the *kāʾim* [q v]. "If it were not for what I hope for to-day or to-morrow, my heart would break for woe the "passing" of an Imām, who will without doubt pass, who will appear in the name of God and with all blessings"

The ʿAlids at this time as a rule had not the leadership in the political field in their own hands. They were urged on by their followers, just as Husain and Zaid b ʿAlī had been used for political purposes and as Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya had been a pawn in the hands of al-Mukhtār and Muhammad b. Ṭabāṭabā and Muḥammad b. Muhammad b Zaid in the hands of Abu 'l-Serāya. It was the same in the sphere of religion. Religious fanatics gathered round every prominent ʿAlid Of those around ʿAlī we may mention his client Ḳanbar, who is said to have recognised the "tongue of the word of God" in his master That this was considered mild language is seen from the legend in which Kanbar himself figures as opposing those extravagant Shīʿīs who had attributed *rubūbīya* (divinity) to ʿAlī and who are therefore condemned to fire by the two.

Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī attached himself to Husain's son Zain al-ʿĀbidīn and his son Muhammad al-Bākir, the former had paid homage to the Prophet in the first battle of ʿAkaba along with the first Medīnese to do so. He opposed the young ʿAlid as the preserver of the continuity of Shīʿa belief, and had intercession assured him by Muhammad al Bāḳir on the last day With Bākir and his successors Djaʿfar al-Ṣādik and Mūsā al-Ḳāzim were found theologians like Djābir b Yazīd al-Djuʿfī, Hishām b Sālim al-Djuwailikī b al-Hakam, a former prisoner of war and Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, a client of ʿAlī b Yaḳtīn b. Mūsā. Yūnus also belonged to the great circle of ʿAlī Riḍā. The fundamental principles of their theology are of course of the Muslim type.

Tradition. The Shīʿīs are to a much greater degree "Sunnīs" than the so-called Sunnīs. We must not place the origin of their *ḥadīth*'s too late, since some are as early as Duʾalī. The most celebrated are: ʿAlī is Aaron; ʿAlī is the *waṣī* who is designated by the Prophet and Allāh He is the *Mawlā* (see also GHADĪR AL-KHUMM) The holy family is the ark of Noah; the holy family and the Ḳurʾān are the two treasures of the earth; Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain are the five companions of the cloak. Similar principles also underlie their exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, which regards a vast number of verses (e. g xxxiii. 33; lvii. 26, xi. 76; xxiv. 35) as evidence for the Shīʿa claims.

The particular character of the Shīʿa offerred so much incentive to dogmatic speculation and religious fantasy that it never, like the Sunna, attained any far-reaching uniformity. Three main

forms may be distinguished within the Shīʿa: The Zaidīs [q. v.] who are nearest akin to the Sunnīs, limit the manifestation of God in the Imām quite rationalistically to mere divine "right guidance" and deny the miraculous influx of the divine portion of light into a definite ʿAlid individual The martyrdom of the Imāms finds expression among them mainly in the political field in constant endeavours to attain with the sword of man and help of God the goal of ʿAlid supremacy They have successfully resisted various chiliastic expectations of the Mahdī that have appeared among them. On the other wing, the epiphany becomes completely inherent, absolute *ḥulūl* [q v], the mortal in the Imām is entirely swallowed up, in the end God himself has no place beside him The representatives of this school are ardently fought by the Zaidīs and Imāmīs, the representatives of the middle school, as people who have brought the Shīʿa into discredit and have fallen away from Islām — they call them Ghulāt (sg ghālī, q. v.) To the Imāmīs the Imām remains mortal but a divine light-substance is inherent in him by partial *ḥulūl*. The death of the Imām, which among the Ghulāt e g the Druses, is simply the withdrawal of the deified, becomes with them the religious force which makes it a joy to die Its voluntariness is emphasised with dogmatic intention In the battle of Ḳerbelāʾ God sent the angel of victory to Husain; but he preferred "to approach to God".

In the course of history each of the three divisions had perforce to divide into many subdivisions, simply on account of the specifically Shīʿa ideas of each. Thus, as a result of the Zaidī agitations, small principalities arose in Ṭabaristān and Dailam from 250 (864) and in Yemen from 288 (901) which from the distance between them could not form a unity nor even possess uniformity The Zaidīs of the ʿIrāḳ, who never attained independence in a kingdom of their own, but were often able to make up for this by exerting considerable influence in the Caliph's empire, had to adapt themselves to conditions there by a greater use of the *takīya* [*q v.*] or the *kitmān* The school of the Ghulāt, who went furthest beyond Muhammad's inheritance and gave the greatest play to individual initiative, found very varied expression in the Ḳarmaṭian groups, the Ismāʿīlīs and the Druses and ultimately in the Nusairīs and ʿAlī Ilāhī [*q v*]. These groups also to a great degree cut themselves away from the members of the holy family. This is already seen in the Kaisānīya [*q v.*] whose Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, is not a descendant of the Prophet; this is also expressed in a tradition. "Salmān al-Fārisī belongs to the family of the house". It led for example in the ixth (xvth) century among the Ḥurūfī [*q. v.*] to the exclusion of the ʿAlid Imāms in favour of the deity incarnate in Faḍl Allāh al-Astarābādī But the very principle of the Imāmīya had the seeds of dissension within it. For the contact between God and man is not at a point of intersection but in a continuous line, not in a single individual but in an uninterrupted series of Imāms, among whom the divinely inspired father appoints the son on each occasion or — according to others — the divine element is transmitted directly to the eldest son, whose mother also comes from the holy family. But religious adherence to an Imām might become so fervent that one could not abandon him even after his death; or the successor might be a person of very doubtful character; or he might be quite defective. Thus arose the subordinate groups of the *Wāḳifīya* and *Ḳiṭṭīʿīya* or *Ḳaṭʿīya* The former "hesitate" regarding the death of the Imām, therefore "stand" by him and see in him the Mahdī, the latter regard the death of the Imām as "destined" and therefore continue the line There are a whole series of such Wāḳifīya, like the Djaʿfarīya with Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, the Mūsawīya, the Riḍāwīya etc.; in the narrower sense the term applies only to the Djaʿfarīya. For the reasons mentioned, however, the line could not be continued endlessly even among the Ḳiṭṭīʿīya. It is very doubtful whether the eleventh Imām Ḥasan al-Khāliṣ left a child at all at his death in 260 (873), but the belief has prevailed among the Imāmīs in the existence, the mysterious disappearance and the Mahdī character of a son Muhammad Ḥudjdjat Allāh. Thus the Imāmīs become "Twelvers", *Ithnā ʿAsharīya* [*q. v*], although it was for a period still disputed whether there was not a thirteenth Imām.

If we thus see among the Shīʿa denominations, simply in so far as they are Shīʿī, a range which corresponds to that in the Christian church history which separates the Theopaschites from the Socinians, we must remember we are only considering one of the principles that have gone to form it. For the Shīʿa belongs to Islām and is therefore faced with all the problems that agitate Islām generally. But Islām does not look at the world from the point of view of religion only, but has its cultural, economic, and social and through the question of the *khalīfa* its political problems also The results for the Shīʿa can only be briefly indicated here. In dogmatics we find besides the Muʿtazilīs, [*q v*] predestinarians like the Zaidī Sulaimān b Djarīr and anthropomorphists like the already mentioned Imāmī Hishām b Sālim al-Djuwaliḳī; and how much the dispute common to all Islām regarding the nature of the Ḳorʾān was also a disintegrating danger for the Shīʿa is shown by the tradition attributed to Djaʿfar al-Sādiḳ, said to have been uttered to the above mentioned Yūnus b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a saying which suggests a provisional formula. "The Ḳorʾān is neither creator nor created, it is the word of a creator". In relation to philosophy both attraction and repulsion were considerably stronger than among the Sunnīs. For on the one hand their richer theological speculation required to a greater extent the categories of philosophy and its dialectic for dogmatic stabilisation, on the other hand the Shīʿa was here particularly sensitive, indeed vulnerable, like every religious community, which sets out from pure metaphysical postulates, as it does with the belief in the Imāmate. Apart from epistemological antagonistic principles which philosophy, called in to its aid, introduced into the Shīʿa, the latter had also to settle well known disputed points within Islām on the fundamentals, the *Uṣūl al-Dīn* and the *Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, for example on the binding force of a single tradition or on *ḳiyās* [*q. v.*]. In the same way there were in Shīʿa law disputed points from the Ẓāhirīs to the Hanafīs. In worship there was in all groups a strong impulse to satisfy the tendency towards adoration by the reverencing of Imāms and places of pilgrimage at the graves of their martyrs, which was in conflict with the conservative tendency still to remain Muslims.

The dividing line between the Shīʿa and domestic politics i.e. nationalism is very intricate and much broken. It is not simply that the conquered people like the Persians from the first had sided with the Shīʿa opposition. The oldest of the principal leaders were genuine Arabs, of the south, it is true. Among those around Riḍā for example, Yūnus and Hishām al-Djuwailiḳī were clients, but Diʿbil a race-proud South Arabian and an opponent of the Northern Arabs. Two hundred years later we still find Mufīd (see below) priding himself on his South Arabian descent "from Yaḳtān, the first man to speak Arabic". Social disputes were brought into the Shīʿa as early as al-Mukhtār when he mobilised his clients and slaves Among some Ghulāt, like the Ḳarmaṭians, socialistic demands increased to communism, which however here in view of the authoritative attachment to an imām or his representative was only a mask for a despotic oligarchy.

A more obvious aristocracy was formed by the circles of higher administrative officials at the ʿAbbāsid court, who, for the most part Iranians, were bound together by ardent devotion to the Imāmate, among these, for example were the family of the Nawbakht. As regards women also the Shīʿa had to deal with all aspects of the problem. Some of the Ḳarmaṭians are accused — at least — of having community of women; the Imāmīs allow temporary marriages (see MUTʿA); the Zaidīs confine themselves to polygamy as defined by the Sunna: the ʿAlī Ilāhī decided on monogamy.

As the numbers of possibilities in the fields of dogma, epistemology, law, worship, politics and social sciences are not additional to but multipliers of the figures of possibilities in the question of the Imāms, the result is that, although we do not have in practice all the possible combinations, we have a number of Shīʿa subdivisions, which far exceeds the well known 72 sects At the same time this possibility of variation explains the many discrepancies in the usual Muslim books on the various sects, as the latter, as can easily be understood, divide one and the same community into several groups according to the special feature they emphasise!

In view of the elemental force with which the Shīʿa creed, in itself full of problems, made its appearance in the world of Islām which was already full of its own problems, we can understand that the personalities who are considered heads of schools in the present Shīʿa communities were less creators than circumscribers, but we can also see that the consensus each time became limited to a smaller circle. In the language of the Shīʿa, the *idjmāʿ* affects only the individual ecclesiola, which alone will be blessed. In dogmatics this limitation has never attained very great success: Zaidīs, as well Imāmīs, finally joined the Muʿtazila. This is not mere accident, as the example of the Ḳurʾān already shows: of the above mentioned articles of belief, the third was bound to drive out the second. The *homoiusia* of an uncreated Ḳurʾān had in the long run no place beside an imām as a guarantor of the true faith. It is also logical that the Imāmīya for the purpose of its classification among the beliefs of the imāmate undertook an allegorical explanation and that on the extreme wings the Ghulāt fought it, made interpolations or even rejected parts and became themselves Bāṭinīs (cf. BĀṬINĪYA). The Muʿtazilà was not simply the first step; but through these borrowings from philosophy, primarily only seeking the formal, it penetrated into the space left vacant by the supernatural belief in revelation; theology thus became theosophy and gnosis.

The origin of the Shīʿa motives is not explained if we again emphasise the fact in itself illuminating after what has been said above that Gnostic Neo-Platonic, Manichaean and old Iranian ideas have intermingled. But in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot go far beyond this statement, as the literary modes of approach have not yet been indicated. With the echoes of Christianity also, one must for the time be content with the general remark that Islām spread over countries formerly Christian and made many converts whose forefathers had been Christians. Still more general but not less important is the observation that motives so fertile from the religious point of view like passion and divine epiphany need not be lost at the foundation of a new religion like Islām.

THE LATER PERIOD

The consolidation of the separate groups begins in the second half of the third (IXth) century. Signs of this process were earliest noticeable among the Zaidīs. Al-Ḳāsim b Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā al-Rassī (d 246 = 860) selected the dogmatic and legal foundations for an ecclesiastical state, which his grandson Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain carried into effect in Yemen in 288 (901). His teaching also found recognition in the territory of the older Zaidī state which had been founded in 250 (864) on the Caspian Sea. In 297 (909) the kingdom of Ismāʿīlī Fāṭimids arose in Africa and at the same time bodies of Karmaṭians held small tracts in N. E. and S. Arabia. Here we may refer the reader to the special articles for the lateral branches but we shall consider the main branch somewhat more fully, the Imāmīs or "Twelvers". It is of them one usually thinks when using the term Shīʿīs generally They form also numerically by far the majority of Shīʿīs, with their 4—5 million Persian followers and in addition to sporadic groups also considerable bodies in India and in the ʿIrāḳ. Their literature, which is still the most easily accessible of all Shīʿa, also forms the best approach to Shīʿī problems, on account of intermediate position of the Imāmīya.

Even the old ʿAlids like Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, ʿAlī al-Riḍā had not themselves been the real leaders. Envoys and plenipotentiaries (*safīr* and *wakīl*, plur. *sufarāʾ* and *wukalāʾ*) acted on their behalf — or alleged behalf. The office of *wakīl* became still more important when the Imām had disappeared. He claimed to be the only one who knew the concealed Imām. Four men have succeeded since 260 (873) in establishing this claim for themselves. When the fourth, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Samarrī died in 334 (939) the so-called "Little *Ghaiba*" was at an end and has been succeeded to the present day by the "Great *Ghaiba*", in which for example the Friday service dependent on the cooperation of the Imām is in abeyance. A clerical aristocracy took over the leadership, many representatives of which claimed to base their teachings on miraculous meetings with the hidden "Lord of the Age". It is true that the modern Persian theologian can still be a *Mudjtahid* (q.v. and below); but in all essentials he still remains like the Sunni, bound by what that aristocracy has made canonical. The literary deposit of the process of forming a

canon, in the usual Muslim way, produced a large number of books on the criticism of the authorities and theological authors. They formed a kind of clerical censorship, long before the Ṣafawids instituted a Shaikh al-Islām for the state church.

Political aspirations were opened up to the Shi'īs by the rise of the tolerant Sāmānids, — not themselves Shi'īs however — especially after the conquest of Khorāsān by Ismā'īl in 290 (903) and by the rise of Shi'ī Ḥamdānids of Mōṣil from 317 (929). When the Būyid Aḥmad Mu'izz al-Dawla entered Baghdād in 334 (945), a great period began for the Shi'īs who had for long been in the capital, occupying, for example, the whole Karkh quarter. To this external consolidation corresponded an inner one. The canonical collections of traditions arose, the so-called "Four Books": 1. *al-Kāfī* (pr. Ṭeherān, 1312—1318) of Kulīnī, d. 328 or 329 (929), of over 16,000 ḥadīths on the *Uṣūl* and *Furū'* chapters, 5072 are considered "sound" by later authorities, 140 "good" and 1118 as "established", 302 as "strong" and 9488 as "weak", a popular commentary is *al-Shāfī* of Khalīl b. Ghāzī al-Kazwīnī begun at Mecca in 1057 (1647) and also published by him in Persian with the title *al-Ṣāfī* Smaller in extent than *al-Kafī* is 2. *Man la yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* (pr. Teherān 1324) by Ibn Bābūya the younger (d 381 = 991) Of about 6,000 ḥadīths some 4,000 have a complete *isnād*; in recent times a commentary was written on the collection by Muhammad Tāḳī al-Madjlisī, father of the author of the *Biḥār al-Anwār* (see below) in two editions, Arabic (*Rawdat al-Muttaḳīn*) and Persian (*Lawāmi'-i Ṣāḥib Ḳirān*), while the commentary *Man la yaḥḍuruhu 'l-Nabīh* of 'Abd Allāh b. Sālih al-Samāhidjī (d 1135 = 1722) was never finished; 3. *al-Istibṣār fīma' ḵhtulifa min al-Aḵhbār* (Lucknow, n d) and the more comprehensive 4) *Tahḏhīb al-Aḥkām* (Ṭeherān 1314) are both by the celebrated author of the Shī'ī *Fihrist* (see *Bibl*) Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī and were originally intended as commentaries on the *Mukni'a fī 'l-Fiḳh* of Mufīd (d. 413 = 1022). In both the attempt is made to sort out the huge mass of material that has been handed down, of course not in a critical fashion but according to the degree of agreement with the doctrines that have come to prevail. This *Tahḏhīb* is not to be confused with the lawbook *Tahḏhīb al-Shī'a* of Muhammad b Aḥmad b. al-Djunaid al-Iskāfī (d. 381 = 990) which has fallen into neglect because he goes too far in the application of *ḳiyās*. Only very rarely do we find the larger collection of Ibn Bābūya, *Madīnat al-'Ilm* recognised as the "Fifth Book".

Among the Shi'ī-Imāmī leaders of the fourth and fifth centuries may be mentioned Kulīnī Muḥammad b. Ya'ḳūb al-Rāzī. He is celebrated as the "renovator" at the beginning of the fourth century just as year 100 was made sacred by the fifth Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir, 200 by the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā and later 400 by the Shaikh Murtaḍā, while for 500 there is no one of equal importance to place alongside of al-Ghazālī who is also esteemed by many Shi'īs. A maternal uncle of Kulīnī, 'Allān, had been one of the leading Shi'īs of Raiy-Ṭeherān. He himself worked in Baghdād where his grave enjoyed the reverence paid to that of an Imām. Ibn Bābūya Muḥammad b. 'Alī, called al-Shaikh al-Ṣadūḳ, claimed to have been born to his father on the intercession of the hidden twelfth Imām. He was Shaikh of the Shi'īs in Ḳumm, which already was strongly 'Alid in sentiment in the second century but down to late in the fourth century was still exceptional in Persia which was mainly Sunnī. Of his works the *Risāla fi 'l-Sharā'i'* to his son was used by the latter in his *Man la yaḥḍuruhu 'l-Faḳīh*. In Baghdād the son became associated with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who was able to make good use of his teaching of the imāmate for political purposes. Among the many pupils of the younger Ibn Bābūya was the father of Nadjāshī (see *Bibl.*). Raiy is mentioned as the place of his death, but the tomb now honoured in Ṭeherān was only discovered in 1238 (1821) by the members of the court of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh after an alleged miracle. There was a necessity for graves of saints in Persia proper, besides those in Meshhed Ṭūs and Ḳumm especially as Nadjaf, Kerbelā, and the great Shi'ī cemeteries of al-Kāzimēn of Baghdād lay in foreign lands under Turkish rule The tomb of the father in Ḳumm beside the tomb of the saint Fāṭima the second sister of the eighth Imām al-Riḍā, was, we know, very much visited even in ancient times. Of the some 300 writings of the son a considerable number has been printed, e g the *Ḥiṣāl* on good and bad qualities (Teherān 1302), the *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'* and the book on the concealment of the Mahdī *Kamāl al-Dīn wa-Tamām al-Ni'ma* (ibid. 1301) (on the latter cf. E. Moller, *Beitrage zur Mahdilehre des Islams*, Heidelberg 1901). His *Madjālis* are very popular, notably his *'Uyūn Aḵhbār al-Riḍā* (Berlin MS 9663 etc). While these already contain beside theological, legendary, edifying and polemical matter, many questions of law, a special comprehensive *Fiḳh al-Riḍā* (2 vols., Tabrīz 1274) was first compiled by Mufīd Muhammad b Muhammad al-Nu'mān b 'Abd al-Salām al-'Ukbarī al-'Arabī. His conscious pride in his Arab descent did not prevent his close association with the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla. His funeral service was conducted by the Sharīf Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī b. al-Husain. In him the Shi'a in Baghdād reached its zenith A direct descendant of the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, he was, as official naḳīb, the recognised representative of the 'Alids and also held the offices of chief secretary and leader of the pilgrim-caravan. His authority gave his lectures and his participation in the business of the court great theological and political importance. He conducted a vigorous correspondence with the faithful in Mōṣil, Dailam, Djurdjān, and as far away as Syria in Ḥalab and Tripolis, the latter of which was wholly Shi'ī according to the testimony of the contemporary Nāṣir-i Khosraw (*Safar-Nāme*, ed. Schefer, 12 ult.). The discourses held at the halting-places with his pupils on a journey to Mecca, *Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa-Durar al-Ḳalā'id* were printed at Ṭeherān in 1312; the *Intiṣār* dedicated to the vizier 'Amīd al-Dīn, ibid. 1315; the *Amālī* also at Cairo in 1325. On the fundamental question of the Shi'a he published his attack on the three first caliphs in *al-Shāfī* (Ṭeherān 1301) Al-Nadjāshī had died before Murtaḍā and was laid to rest in the burial-place of his ancestors in al-Kāẓimēn For another 28 years the pupil of Murtaḍā and of Mufīd, al-Ṭūsī Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b Ḥasan, called the "Shaikh" or the "Shaikh of the (Shi'a) people (Shaikh al-Ṭā'ifa)", worked in Baghdād alongside of Murtaḍā, who lived to be over 80. When the Saldjūḳ Toghrīl

Beg entered Baghdād (447 = 1055), the position of the Shīʿa became more difficult. This and the desire of being buried in the holy Meshhed ʿAlī induced Ṭūsī to move to Nadjaf, where he died between 458 and 460 (1065—1068).

The enormous Shīʿī literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, of which only a few authors and books can be mentioned here, seems at the first glance to be very one-sided The same traditional themes crop up again and again: the imāmate, the estimation from the theological and legal point of view of the earliest caliphs and of the opponents in the battles of the "camel" and of Ṣiffīn; the *ghaiba* and all that is connected with the concealed Imām; then along with Fiḳh in general, special Imāmī subjects like the *mutʿa* marriage or the *mutʿatān*, i e. the *mutʿa* marriage and the *tamattuʿ* on the pilgrimage, besides complete exegesis of the Ḳorʾān, special interpretations of favourite Shīʿa passages like Sūra xlii, 22 and xxxiii, 33 and notably the "light-verse" xxiv., 34; finally continuously recurring polemics against opponents within the Shīʿa. But a development cannot be denied, as a reference to the main problem may show Ibn Bābūya the younger had still granted the possibility in Prophets and Imāms of *sahw* ("neglect") in secondary matters and even described the opposite view as the first step to *ghulūw* (heretical exaggeration). Against him for example Mufīd had urged in a special pamphlet their absolute infallibility (*ʿiṣma*), although later the position is still often discussed But that on the other hand the gates were not at once closed against extremes is shown by the estimation in which the principal book of the Ismāʿīlīs, the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* long continued to be held The author, Nuʿmān b Muhammad b Manṣūr Ibn Ḥayūn (d. 363 = 974), the "Abū Ḥanīfa of the Shīʿa" mentions no later authorities than the sixth Imām Djaʿfar al-Sādiḳ. That there were none later might be judged from an alleged *taḳiya* of this Fāṭimid Ḳādī of Cairo as the special Imām of the Seveners was also left out. But Ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī (d. 588 = 1192) (see *Bibl.*) says simply "he is not an Imāmī" and he is followed by later writers like Tafrīshī (see *Bibl.*).

In the centuries following arose for example the great commentary on the Ḳorʾān (printed in Ṭeherān) by Abū ʿAlī al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī died between 548 and 552 (1153—1158), *Maḍjmaʿ al-Bayān* and *Djāmiʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* which is still in use along with the quite concise *Tafsīr* of al-Ḳummī ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim (Ṭeherān 1301), which dates from the time of Kulīnī and gives the special Shīʿa features in moderate compass. Al-Faḍl, who belonged to a family with literary traditions was in Ṭūs the centre of a learned Shīʿa circle which included for example Ibn Shahrāshūb and Abū Faḍl Shādhān b. Djibrīl, author of one of the many Shīʿī *K. al-Faḍāʾil wa ʾl-Manāḳib* (Tabrīz 1304). By moving to Sabzawār al-Faḍl contributed to the spread and consolidation of the Shīʿa in Persia; but he is buried in the sanctuary of Riḍā in Ṭūs. A leading personality in the next century was Djaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿḳūb b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, called al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ (d. 676 = 1277). His influence in Baghdād extended to the immediate entourage of the last Abbāsid al-Mustaʿṣim. His circle included several members of the Saiyid family of the Banū Ṭāʾūs, also distinguished for its literary activity. To this family also belonged the then *naḳīb* Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b Mūsā al-Ṭāʾūsī, the author of the still very popular little books of prayers, passion, guides for pilgrims and amulets, like the *al-Muḍjtana min al-Duʿāʾ* (Bombay 1317) and *al-Iḳbāl* (Ṭeherān 1314). To Djaʿfar al-Ḥillī also the modern Shīʿa owes one of its most popular handbooks, the *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* which has been continuously commented on in Persian and Arabic (Calcutta 1839, Ṭeherān 1274, part 1, ed. and transl. by Kasembeg, St. Petersburg 1862). While Djaʿfar al-Ḥillī secured permanent importance for his work on *Furūʿ*, his countryman Ḥasan b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, called al-ʿAllāma for short, is regarded as the great authority on *Uṣūl*. His father before him had been represented as such in the presence of Djaʿfar to the philosopher, mathematician, astronomer and ardent Shīʿī Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 672 = 1273) when this confidant of Hūlāgū went to Ḥilla near Babel, which had long been strongly Shīʿī; Nāṣir al-Dīn himself, the "Khwādja", is not exactly renowned for his theological writings although these are still studied among the Shīʿīs in spite of the fact that they are not easy to understand; but he is one of the most dazzling figures in Shīʿa politics. He assisted in winning the Assassin strongholds of Alamūt and Maimundīz for the Mongol Khān, entered Baghdād with the latter's army and induced this pagan to execute the last caliph. He thus still has in the eyes of the Shīʿa the merit of having destroyed two of its worst enemies, the *ghulāt* and the "wicked" ʿAbbāsids, the betrayers of the holy family. His constructive work for the Shīʿa was taken over by Ibn al-Muṭahhar, who was brought by him into contact with the family of the Khān and later attached himself to Khān Uldjaitū as leader of the Shīʿīs He disputed before the latter with the Ashʿarīs, "sophists", and wrote pamphlets against them and against the Sunnī law-schools, and converted to the Imāmiya the Khān himself who had been baptised when a prince, later became a Ḥanbalī, then a Shāfiʿī. Some twenty of the works of Ibn Muṭahhar are still in use, for example the *Nahḍj al-Mustarḍjidīn* on theological principles (Bombay 1303) with the commentary of al-Miḳdād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suyūrī, who was trained in philosophy; the *Kashf al-Fawāʾid* (Teherān 1305) is a commentary on the *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿAḳāʿid* of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī who was his teacher. For the fuller understanding of the middle school of Shīʿa his two volumes *Mukhtalif al-Shīʿa* (Ṭeherān 1324) are most important.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar was neither the first nor the last to thrust the fundamental doctrines into the foreground. They generally play a more essential part among the Shīʿīs than among the Sunnīs for the gate of *iḏjtihād* is not closed to the former. The learned faḳīh in Persia claims the title of a *muḏjtahid* who gives his fetwās and bases his teaching on the material basis of the Ḳurʾān and Sunna through the formal factors of analogy, the search for connections and approval, and by recognition of the above mentioned consensus of the spiritual aristocracy. There is thus at all times a kind of invigorating unrest in the Imāmī theology and jurisprudence, the matter of which otherwise has a tendency to rigidity. Ibn al-Muṭahhar had given his doctrines formulation in the disputes which he waged, especially against a daughter's son of the old Shaikh al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b.

Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī al-ʿIdjlī, who appeared to him to destroy the idjtihād arbitrarily. In the XIth (XVIIth) century a reaction came from the opposite side through the Mullā Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī (d. 1033 = 1623), whose views are still much disputed. As he only allows the Shīʿī Sunna as a source of law beside the Ḳurʾān, although he also worked on commentaries to the "Four Books", he and his followers are called Akhbārī in opposition to the Uṣūlī who favour the *Idjtihād*. In his polemics which he conducted from Mecca he was very severe. He refuses to rate the *idjmāʿ* higher than the consensus of the Jews, Christians or philosophers. His activities however enlivened the discussion on *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān*, *istiṣḥāb* and on the legal force of a unique tradition in the same way as the attacks of Ibn Ḥanbal or Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī had done among the Sunnīs The matter of the disputed principles among the Shīʿīs is of course put in the foreground in keeping with the system; as is the recognition which he demands of the authority of the dead, *taḳlīd al-mayyit*, the subjection to the principles of the holy Imāms laid down in the Sunna.

The conception of the passion has always remained alive in the Shīʿa Out of the multitude of Shīʿī learned men special honour is therefore given to the one who combines the fame of an author with the glory of martyr. Four martyrs are particularly famous. The first *shahīd* is Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī al-Djazīnī, the author of the Fiḳh book *al-Lumaʿ al-Dimashḳīya*. Betrayed by seceders, he was imprisoned in Damascus and executed with the sword on the fatwā of the Shāfiʿī and notably also of the Mālikī ḳāḍī, impaled and burned, according to most authorities in 786 (1384) The second *shahīd* is Zain al-Dīn b ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Taḳī al-ʿĀmilī al-Shāmī. After fruitful activity in Damascus, Baalbek and Ḥaleb and after much travelling, he was put to death about 966 (1557) in Constantinople or on the way there for delivering a Shīʿī legal opinion. In addition to several legal eschatological and edifying writings his *Commentary on the Lumaʿ* (2 vols) has been printed (Tabrīz 1287). The third shahīd is usually held to be Saiyid Nūr Allāh also (Nūr al-Dīn) b. Sharīf al-Dīn al-Marʿashī al-Shushtarī. His well known biographies, the Persian *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn* (Ṭeherān 1268 etc.), have been used by Ethé and Horn for the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (vol. ii. 214, 252). His *Iḥḳāḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ* (Ṭeherān 1273) was destined to be fatal for him, on account of its polemics or more accurately apologetics directed against Sunnī writings like *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-Muḥriḳa ʿalā Ahl al-Rafḍ wa ʾl-Zandaḳa* (Cairo 1307, 1308) of the Shāfiʿī Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī. The fanatical Emperor Djahāngīr had him whipped to death in 1019 (1610) (cf. also Horovitz in *Isl.* iii. 63); his co-religionists used quite recently to visit his tomb in Akbarābād (Agra). The honour of being the fourth shahīd is given to Muḥammad Mahdī b. Hidāyat Allāh al-Iṣfahanī but he is surpassed in importance by his pupil Saiyid Dildār ʿAlī b. Muʿīn al-Nāṣirābādī, d. 1325 (1819), who expounded his theology in *ʿImād al-Islām* (printed in India in 1319). In more recent times Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḳazwīnī, attained martyrdom, an opponent of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī (see below) and of the Bābīs, from among whom came his murderer in 1263 (1847).

The first two shahīds were Syrians, the third lived in India. But Persia had become the centre of the Shīʿa under the Ṣafawids from 907 (1502). The temporary persecutions under the Afghāns from 1135—1142 (1722—1729) and under Nādir (1148—1160 = 1736—1747) made no difference to this. A man whose family had the same native place and the same Ṣūfī tendencies as the ancestor of the new ruling house, Ḥusain b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Ardabīlī al-Ilāhī (the theologian) immediately adopted Persian culture as such and wrote his tractates and commentaries in Persian. In the still mainly Sunnī country he was often forced to lead the life of a *muhādjir* (wanderer) between Tabrīz, Shīrāz, Herāt etc. The necessary vitality was imported into the Persian Shīʿā from outside which is also important for the problem: Persia and the Shīʿa Those concerned were mainly Shīʿīs from the Southern Syrian mountains of ʿĀmil (Muḳaddasī, p. 161, 12, 162, 3; 184, 8 always writes. ʿĀmila). The last Serbedār ʿAlī Muʾaiyid of Sabzawār is said to have offered an asylum to an ʿĀmilī, the First Shahīd. These rustic scholars came into the Ṣafawid kingdom in increasing numbers. They settled there and receiving continual accessions to their numbers retained the traditions of their home. Further Shīʿīs came from Baḥrain This is why we find so frequently in the nisbas of Persian Shīʿīs, ʿĀmilī or Baḥrānī, or names showing the origin more definitely like Karakī in the one and Aḥsāʿī in the other. We can mention very few names for this later period here. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī al-Mashgharī had a great success with his first book *al-Djawāhir al-Sanīya* (Ṭeherān 1302) because in it he collected, for the first time it is said, the Shīʿī "ḥadīth ḳudsī" (utterances of God not in the Ḳorʾān) But later the extravagance, volume and speed of his literary output, brought upon him sharp criticism even from theologians used to wholesale production, his 6 volume *Tafṣīl Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa ilā Masāʾil al-Sharīʿa* (Teherān 1288) with a special index *man lā yaḥduruhu ʾl-Imām* is still however of value on account of the great mass of tradition he has worked into it and the fact that he gives the authors. Ibn al-Ḥurr only migrated at the age of 40; after long pilgrimages he settled in Ṭūs and Iṣfahān. Among natives the leading family in its day was the Madjlisī. Their most notable representative Muḥammad Bāḳir b. Muḥammad Taḳī, d. 1110 or 1111 (1698—1700), was appointed Shaikh al-Islām by Shāh Sulaimān I. He aimed at reaching the people and wrote about half his works in Persian; he also translated edifying writings in Arabic by Abu ʾl-Kāsim al-Ṭaʾūsī. His own largest work is called *Biḥār al-Anwār*, a great encyclopaedia of law and theology in 25 volumes, which has been printed in Tabrīz and Ṭeherān. Several were translated into Persian, for example the thirteenth on the Mahdī, by order of Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn.

The attitude to those Ṣūfīs, who do not require an imām as mediator, and to whom the spiritual union with God attainable by every believing lover is something at the opposite pole from the inherence of the "divine part" in the chosen imām, is naturally a hostile one, and also the reverencing of saints in the two schools is of course very different in origin and aim. The most notable encounter between the two was the active part taken by the

Imāmī Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (d. 311 = 923) in the destruction of Ḥallādj, who indeed had severely injured the Shīʿīs by his claim to be the wakīl of the hidden lord of the age (see the article ḤALLĀDJ and L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922, i. 138 *sqq.*). The attitude to the philosophers is at least one of suspicion, since, as the case of the *Ghulāt* warned the Imāmīs, scholasticism might undermine them. But there are many offshoots, mystics and philosophers who profess to be conscientious Shīʿīs and are not to be disposed of simply by the usual polemics. All the centuries therefore show examples of a fundamental revulsion together with those of mutual attraction. Khwādja Nāṣir al-Dīn himself the author of the mildly Ṣūfī work *Anṣāf al-Ashrāf* (Ṭeherān 1320) is in spite of the verdict of Ibn Bābūya, Mufīd, Shaikh Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Muṭahhar, an admirer of Ḥallādj; Radjab b. Muhammad al-Ḥāfiz al-Bursī is, it is true, censured as the "renewer of Ṣūfism" since he built up his system on "deceitful fanciful interpretations" and ultra-Shīʿī "exaggerations", but his books like *Mashārik al-Anwār* written about 800 (1397) were used even by such an enemy of the Ṣūfīs as Madjlisī, although with caution, for the *Biḥār*; and the fair-minded concede to Mullā Ṣadrā i.e. Muhammad b Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, d. between 1040 and 1050 (1630—1641), that in the "Explanation of the Throne-Verse" (Sūra ii 256) he has kept himself free from Sūfī fancies, his commentary on the *Uṣūl al-Kāfi* of Kulīnī, the *Mafātīh al-Ghaib* (Ṭeherān, n d) is also used and his version of the fourfold ascent to God in *al-Asfār al-arbaʿa* or *al-Ḥikma al-mutaʿālīya* (Ṭeherān 1282) is tolerated, but it is always objected to him that his commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāk* of the mystic Suhrawardī has too much of the language and sentiments of the mystics. His pupil Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā al-Kashshī, called Muḥsin-i Faid, author of the Shīʿī commentary on the Ḳurʾān *al-Ṣāfī* (Ṭeherān 1276) vigorously defended himself against similar reproaches in *Inṣāf fī Bayān Ṭarīḳ al-ʿIlm li-Asrār al-Dīn* (in the collected *Rasāʾil*, Ṭeherān 1301) and as a matter of fact he is cited by his pupil Sayyid Niʿmat Allāh al-Djazāʾirī against the Ṣūfīs. There is a better foundation for the orthodoxy of the two teachers of Mullā Ṣadrā, the two friends at the court of ʿAbbās I, Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Bahāʾī al-Dīn or Bahāʾī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030 = 1621) and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Astarābādī (d. 1041 = 1631) called Mīr Dāmād, as son of the "son-in-law" of ʿAlī b Abd al-ʿAlī al-Karakī, i.e. also an ʿĀmilī and one of the many commentators on the *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*. In spite of his many sided interests, Bahāʾī, who was also Shaikh al-Islām, as a true Shīʿī revived a very old Shīʿī feature, the ritual interdiction of meat killed by the "people of a book" in the *Risāla fī Taḥrīm dhabāʾiḥ ahl al-Kitāb*. His *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī* (Tabrīz 1309, Bombay 1319) contains decisions in the vernacular on all heads of the law relating to worship. Mīr Dāmād although he also reverenced Ḥallādj showed himself a good Shīʿī in his *al-Rawāshiḥ al-samawīya fī Sharḥ al-Aḥādīth al-Imāmīya* (pr. 1311), and in *al-Ḳabasāt* (Ṭeherān 1314) he reconciled his philosophy with orthodoxy, acknowledging that God had existed from all times and is eternal and that the world is transitory. Philosophical discussions were further enlivened by the fact that they were interwoven with specifically theological problems. There were therefore both Uṣūlīs and Akhbārīs among the scholastic Mutakallimūn. The conflict occasionally became so fierce, as recently as last century, that, for example in Kerbelāʾ, books were only handled in a wrapper of cloth lest a member of another school might have used them. One of the chief leaders in the feud was Shaikh Aḥmad b. Zain al-Dīn al-Aḥsāʾī, a Baḥrānī as his name shows. A theologian, poet, astronomer, and mathematician he fought against Ṣūfīs and philosophers and especially for *idjtihād* and *idjmāʿ* against the Akhbārīs (cf. his *Djawāmiʿ al-Kalām* or *Ḥaiyāt al-Nafs*, Tabrīz 1276). A much too philosophical belief in the resurrection which to the rigidly orthodox seemed ill founded, brought him on and his school, the Shaikhīya (cf SHAIKHĪ), the reproach of sectarianism, and as was later the case with Radjab (see above) the responsibility for the heresy of the Bābīs. They themselves like their offshoot, the Bahāʾīs, saw to it that (even in quite recent times, the feud was vigorously maintained by deed and pen.) Nor was there a lack of other polemics. Madjlisī was not the last to write against the Jews. War was waged on Christianity after the arrival of missionaries beginning with H. Martyn in 1195 (1781) and later C. G. Pfander's missionary pamphlet *Mīzān al-Ḥaḳk* and in recent years the activities of the societies for distributing the Bible. (Popular expression of the Shīʿa creed is found in the legends of martyrs, *maḳātil*, and passion-plays, *taʿziyāt*. The apocrypha are also numerous; the frequently printed songs and sayings of ʿAlī (cf. Fleischer, *Alis 100 Sprüche*, Leipzig 1837); the collection of his utterances in the *Nahdj al-Balāgha* of Muḥammad al-Riḍā, a brother of Shaikh Murtadā, also many little books of prayers like the *Ṣaḥīfa* of ʿAlī, those of the fourth Imām ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn and those of the eighth Imām ʿAlī al-Ridā, also the *Ḥadīth kudsī* of ʿAlī collected by Bahāʾī al-ʿĀmilī and finally commentaries on the Ḳorʾān, which are attributed to the sixth Imām Djaʿfar Ṣādiḳ or the eleventh like the *Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī* (Teherān 1315), which the younger Ibn Bābūya still used freely, though many later authorities express doubts as to their authenticity.

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al-Ṭūsī, *Asmāʾ al-Riǧāl*, Teheran 1271 and *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (ed. by Sprenger and Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Calcutta 1853—1855); Ibn Shahrāshūb, d. 588 = 1192, *Maʿālim al-ʿUlamāʾ*, MS. Berl 10047 incomplete; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣat al-Maḳāl* (also called *K. al-Riǧāl*), Teheran 1310, Muḥ b. ʿAlī al-Akhbārī, al-Astarābādī (d 1208 = 1619) *Manhaǧ al-Maḳāl*, Ṭeherān 1307; Ibn al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-ʿĀmil fī Dhikr ʿUlamāʾ Ǧabal ʿĀmil*, ibid. 1307; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (Pers.; written 929 = 1523, Bombay 1273 etc.); al-Tafrīshī, *Naḳd al-Riǧāl* (written 1015 = 1606, Ṭeherān 1318); Yūsuf b Ahmad al-Bahrānī, d. 1187 = 1773, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrain* (Ṭeherān 1269; Bombay n d); Muḥ. Bāḳir al-Khwansārī, *Rawḍat al-Ǧannāt* (written 1287 = 1870, Teheran 1306), Muḥammad b. Ṣādiḳ b. Mahdī, *al-Nuǧūm al-Samāʾ* (Pers , Lucknow 1313), Iʿǧāz Ḥusain al-Kantūrī, d. 1286 = 1870, *Kashf al-Ḥuǧūb wa 'l-Astār* (ed. by Hidayet Husain and Denison Ross, Calcutta 1330) — On the Imāms: Abu 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣbahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibīyīn* (Teherān 1307, first half also on the margin of Fakhr al-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Naǧafī, *al-Muntakhab fī 'l-Marāthī wa 'l-Khutab*, Bombay 1314); Ahmad b ʿAlī b Muhannā, d. 818 = 1415, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭalib*, Bombay 1318, ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh (wrote in 1240 = 1824 etc), *Maktal al-ʿAwālim*, 1295 — Traditions. Yaḥyā b al-Ḥasan b al-Biṭrīḳ, d. 600 = 1284, *Khaṣāʾiṣ Wahy al-Mubin fī Manāḳib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, 1311, do., *al-ʿUmda fī ʿUyūn Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akhbār*, Bombay 1309 — Recent works on the doctrine of Nūr Al-Husain b Murtadā al-Yazdī al-Tabātabāʾī, *al-Raḳḳ al-Manshūr wa-Lawāmiʿ al-Ẓuhūr*, Bombay 1303. — Sunnī polemics with reference to internal disputes, Mahmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, d 1270 = 1853, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tuhfa al-ithnā ʿasharīya*, 1301.

(R Strothmann)

SHIBĀM, the name of several towns in South Arabia

1. Shibām Harāz. A mountain two days' journey W. of Ṣanʿā' and S.W. of Menākha, according to E Glaser 8700 feet and to A. Deflers 8050 feet high The lofty peak of the mountain commands the town of Menākha, the Gibraltar of the Yemen. The little town of Shibām lies close under it built up against the cliffs; it is a fortified place with massive stone houses, which was taken by the Turks in 1871 and with Menākha was the strongest bulwark of their power in the Yemen. The country round the little eyry is well cultivated and cereals and coffee grow well on the terraced fields; from the summit of the Djebel Shibām, a splendid view is obtained over the whole massif of the Ḥarāz.

2. Shibām al-Ḳaṣṣa in the Djawf. This is perhaps the שׁבם mentioned in the South Arabian inscription, Halévy, 344, 10 (from al-Baiḍā' in the Djawf) and 444, 2 (from Barāḳish).

3. Shibām Kawkabān. The town lies at the foot of a small spur of the Djebel Sirwahb (a part of the Djebel Ḍulāʿ) called Lubākha. On this little ridge N W. of Shibām lies the fortress of the town of Shibām, of which there only remain the surrounding wall and a few other ruins at the present day. West of Shibām there is another old building called Ḍafrān, higher than Labākha but also on the eastern slope of the Djebel Ḍulāʿ close against the rocky wall.

The town is separated by the Wādī Nabhān into a southern and northern part and according to Deflers is 8800 feet above sea-level. It is surrounded by a wall and has 2500 inhabitants but it is said to have been much larger formerly. The inhabitants told Glaser that several places which now lie outside the town were once within its limits and had been markets, namely ʿÉrret Shukrī (the poultry-market), 500 yards from the town in the direction of Ṣanʿā', ʿÉrret al-Baṭṭa (oil-market) on the road to ʿAyāl Srēḥ in the north, two red mounds which are supposed to have been ancient palaces of the Ḥimyars, and al-Mallāhī (salt-market) on the road to ʿAmrān, ed-Ḍafʿa (butter-market) between the modern Jewish quarter, which lies on the north slope of the Lubākha, el-Djaʿserī (joined to eḍ-Ḍafʿa but a little higher and built against the Djebel Ḍulāʿ), el-ʿÁder (pottery-market), consisting of a temple with a poorly housed school and mud-houses. The town is said to have had at one time four gates (Bāb el-Fedjrēn, Bād el-Ahdjir, Bāb el-Shuḳbī, Bāb Metbāʿ) The chief mosque is a splendid old square building which in Glaser's opinion is as old as the Sabaean period. The tower is now much decayed and crooked but marvellously hewn black blocks 18 inches by 15 are used for the mosque which the natives say was a palace of the Himyars The other mosques are also said to be ancient. Glaser mentions Kubbat Shemsī on the road to Kawkabān. Mesdjid el-Ghail, Mesdjid Yūʿes near the Jewish village with old walled cisterns, Mesdjid Meshhed, Mesdjid el-Ziyādī, Mesdjid Hāfet Khallake, Mesdjid el-Maʿberī The three gates of the town are Bāb el-Hadīd and two smaller ones called Bāb el-Mugharr On the southern slope of Lubākha are numerous chamberlike caverns of sandstone, reached by breakneck narrow steps along the cliff They lie in tiers above one another, are of different sizes, some large, some small, and are hewn out of the sandstone, quadrangular in shape. The entrance is formed by a hole 3 feet by 2 and the floor of the chamber is 3 feet below the entrance. In one of these chambers Glaser found a grave so that they were probably used for burials Shibām is connected with Kawkabān by an old artificial path formed of steps. The country round the town is very fertile. Cereals, — barley, maize and durra, — beans, mustard, clover, and the better kinds of fruit grow very well here and a mine here still yields the famous Yemen carnelian, amethyst and alum.

The settlement is undoubtedly very old. The ancient south Arabian inscription Glaser, 110, 2, *sq* speaks of the Aḳyān of Shibām and the later name Shibām Bait Aḳyān mentioned also by al-Hamdānī and others is no doubt connected with this. The town is also mentioned in the great inscription of Ṣirwāḥ (Glaser 1000 A. 15). The citadel of Shibām was the original centre of the Dhū al-Rumḥain. The town is said to have been originally called Yahbis and then to have been called after Shibām b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad b. Djusham b Hāshid, who lived there. The Sukhaim at a later date lived there who were descended from Yashum b Bidāʿ b. Dhū Khawlān. From them the town gets its epithet of Sukhaim. Al-Hamdānī was still able to see in the town splendid columns of ancient date which supported a throne. The fortress was still considered impregnable after his time.

Ya'fur b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥiwālī was besieged in it in vain by the generals of al-Mu'taṣim al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil. Ibn Rosta's statement that the district then contained 500 palaces and at least 40 villages is of course an exaggeration. A silver mine was also worked here at this time When Ḥasan Pasha ruled in the Yemen, the castle was in ruins. He built the village of Ghirās from the masonry of the ruins.

4. Shibām in the Wādī al-Kasr in Ḥaḍramūt, one of the largest towns in the country, which is now under the Sulṭān of Mukallā. Th. Bent estimates the number of inhabitants at 6,000, Wrede at 20,000 but the latter figure is certainly much too high. The town lies in the lowest part of the valley, on an eminence which has arisen out of the ruins of a series of earlier settlements, the brick buildings of which have supplied the material for its formation. The eminence commands the whole surrounding country and forms one of the best strategical points for miles around. In the south lies the plain of Suhēl el-Bilād which is enclosed by the Djebel Khibbe which runs in a west-southwesterly direction right across in front of the town. The southern half of Suhēl el-Bilād is well covered with palm-trees but at an earlier date the palm-groves were still more extensive Cereals grow in the fields and excellent fruit and vegetables are grown while indigo is also much cultivated. The town contains not less than 30 mosques and 2 palaces. The one built by the grandfather of Sulṭān Munassar of Mukallā is a large well preserved building and the gateway is a masterpiece of the mason's art. The pillars in the lofty rooms are splendidly executed and the vast doors are covered with fine carving The windows are artistically proportioned, bolts, doors and window-frames are finely carved The palace of the Djem'adār 'Abd Allāh is also beautifully decorated and makes a pleasing impression. A high clay wall about 20 feet high runs from the two palaces around the whole town. Outside the town lie brickworks, oil-presses, indigo factories and lime-kilns, in which the business energy of the populace finds its outlet. Many houses — there are 600 — and a number of mosques are however now in ruins.

The settlement of Shibām undoubtedly goes back to a very ancient date. The name of the town שבם appears on a fine ancient South Arabian inscription which Bent brought back from Ḥaḍramūt which came from Sē'ūn and on an inscription of the third century A.D. A number of graffiti scratched in the rocks about 2 hours' journey from Shibām are further evidence that the town was inhabited in ancient times. A cave with South Arabian inscription, probably a tomb, is said to exist in the neighbourhood Shibām is said to have been founded by the people of Shabwa, who abandoned the latter and settled in Ḥaḍramūt (cf SHABWA). Al-Bakrī knows the town by the name al-Djarīma "the large", as the most favoured town in Ḥaḍramūt. Its inhabitants however did not have a very good reputation, if we may believe Ibn al-Mudjāwir. In the wars which the Banū Kinda waged in Ḥaḍramūt, Shibām suffered a good deal and a considerable part of its mosques were destroyed. Idrīsī and Abu 'l-Fidā' have confused Shibām in Ḥaḍramūt with Shibām Ḳawkabān, as C. Niebuhr long ago pointed out.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHIBARGHĀN, called by the Arab geographers Shaburḳān and Sabūrḳān, is a town of northern Afghānistān, situated in 36° 35′ N, and 65° 45′ E. It was formerly one of the three chief towns of the district of Djūzdjān, the others being Yāhūdīya and Fāryāb. The oldest form of the name is Asapuragān, from which it has been conjectured that it was an ancient seat of the Asa, or Asargartii. ʿAzīzī describes it as the capital of Djūzdjān, but this position is usually accorded to Yāhūdīya It lay on the old high road from Balkh, from which it is distant nineteen parasangs, or sixty-five miles, to Marw al-Rūd and Herāt, and is frequently mentioned in the *Ẓafar Nāma* and other historical works According to Mustawfī its climate was temperate and grain was sold cheap in its market, but he adds, somewhat disparagingly, that some little corn and fruit were grown there. Marco Polo, on the other hand, says. "It has great plenty of everything, but especially of the very best melons in the world. They preserve them by paring them round and round into strips and drying them in the sun There is also abundance of game here, both of birds and beasts" The dried melons of Shibarghān were exported not only to Herāt, but also to India and China, where they were famous The town and its neighbourhood are watered by underground channels (*ḳanāt*) from the mountains Early in the nineteenth century, when Afghānistān was in disorder, Shibarghān was the capital of a small Uzbeg state, but it long since lost its independence and is now a mere district of the kingdom of Afghānistān. It contains some 12,000 inhabitants, and the land about the town is richly cultivated, though it is on the verge of the desert.

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(T. W. HAIG)

SHIBL AL-DAWLA NAṢR B. ṢĀLIḤ B MIRDĀS of the family of Mirdāsids (see the account of them in the article on the history of Aleppo [ḤALAB, II., p. 230] and also the article MIRDĀS B. ṢĀLIḤ), inherited the town of Aleppo after the death of his father Ṣāliḥ in the battle of Uḳkhuwāna on the Jordan in 420 (1029) while his brother Thimāl received the citadel Naṣr has won a place in history by his victories over the Byzantines in the defence of the northern marches. After Ṣāliḥ's death the Byzantine governor Spondīl (not Niketas as the Arabic historians say) of Antioch thought the moment had come, by destroying the two Mirdāsid rulers to free the southern province of the Byzantine empire from the continued attacks, the so-called summer campaigns (*ṣaifīya*) to which the Arabs felt themselves bound in fulfilment of the Holy War ordered by the Koran. Spondīl who in spite of his incapacity held the important post of governor of Antioch was completely defeated by the brothers Naṣr and Thimāl in the same year (420). In this year the Emperor Basil died and his ambitious successor the Emperor Romanos III hoped to gain glory from a campaign against these two princes and set out for Syria with a huge army which included Bulgarian and Russian auxiliaries. In the meanwhile Naṣr who wished sole control of Aleppo had taken advantage of the absence of his brother to seize the citadel. Thimāl, thoroughly roused at this act of violence, won the Arab tribes over to himself and advanced on Aleppo. Thus threatened Naṣr sent his nephew as an envoy to the Emperor in Antioch and asked him for assistance, promising to recognise him as suzerain and to pay him tribute But it did not come to fighting between the two brothers, as the tribes, who saw the necessity of uniting in face of the danger threatening from the Emperor, negotiated a peace between them Naṣr remained, as was only right from the political and military point of view, sole lord of Aleppo, and Thimāl was given Raḥba and Bālis in compensation Strengthened by the help of the Arabs, Nasr withdrew his allegiance to the Emperor. The latter therefore (421 = 1030) advanced on Aleppo via Antioch and pitched his camp north of the town in Tabbāl. A body of cavalry which he sent out to reconnoitre was wiped out by the Arabs. Thus encouraged, the Beduins began to harass the camp itself, to intercept the men sent to bring provisions and water, so that the Emperor was ultimately so hard pressed that he had to retire hurriedly and leave vast booty to the Arabs. He is said to have been in such danger on the flight that he put off his tiara to avoid recognition The victory of the Arabs brought no great results The new governor of Antioch was, it is true, also defeated but Naṣr preferred to make terms with the Emperor. He sent an envoy to Constantinople, who was well received and sent back with rich presents for Nasr. The latter bound himself to pay the Emperor tribute of 500,000 dirhems. Peace reigned henceforth between the two rulers Naṣr was also able later to gain the favour of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir and his successor, or of his vizier, in 427 (1035) by rich presents from the Byzantine booty so that he was confirmed in the possession of Aleppo and could rest in peace and security. Only the old enemy of the Mirdāsids, Anushtikīn al-Dizbirī, intrigued against Naṣr and succeeded in gaining a promise of the Emperor's neutrality in a war against Naṣr; Anushtikīn again succeeded in uniting the Arab tribes of Ṭay, Kalb and Kilāb. Thus reinforced he took the field against Naṣr. In the battle of Latmīn Naṣr was killed, his head brought to Anushtikīn, who is said to have deeply lamented his death Anushtikīn became lord of Aleppo and it was not till four years later, after his defeat and death that Thimāl regained it for the Mirdāsids.

Bibliography: (s under ḤALAB) J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum*, based on Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīḫ Ḥalab*, Bonn n. d.; text of Kamāl al-Dīn in MS. Or. 522, Musée asiatique, St. Petersburg, fo. 41r—43v. Also Gustav Schlumberger, *l'Epopée byzantine*, iii., Paris 1905. Abu 'l-Faradj, *Chronicum syriacum*, ed. Bruns, Leipzig 1784 and the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, Paris 1858. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

AL-SHIBLĪ, ABŪ BAKR DULAF B. DJAḤDAR, a Sunnī mystic. Born in Baghdād (of a family which came from Transoxiana) in 247 (861)

he died there in 334 (945). At first an official (and *wālī* or deputy-governor of Demāwend) at the age of 40 he became a convert to asceticism under the influence of Khair Nassādj, a friend of Djunaid, he brought into mystic circles in Baghdād the enthusiasm, at times cynical, of a dilettante, bolder in words than deeds. The tragic end of the trial of his friend al-Ḥallādj [q. v.] frightened him; he denied him before the vizier and went, it is said, to accuse him at the foot of the scaffold (309 = 922); in the end whether deliberately (through remorse or to avoid possible persecution) or unconsciously (through an excess of asceticism) Shiblī affected a bizarre mode of life, cultivating eccentricities of speech and action which caused his internment in the lunatic asylum in Baghdād; there he used to discourse readily on mysticism in presence of distinguished visitors.

He has left no works, but his sayings (or "allusions" *ishārāt*) figure in the classical collections on *Shaṭḥ* [q.v.] as do his deliberate eccentricities, his ridiculous penances, humiliating or painful, such as putting salt in his eyes to prevent himself from sleeping In the legend of al-Ḥallādj the part attributed to Shiblī is very important. He seems to have revered him in secret after denying him in public. In dogma, his ideas are those of Djunaid; in law he followed the Mālikī school, which saved him in his lifetime and caused him to be canonised after his death in legal circles, as a rule very hostile to Ṣūfism. In the classical transmission of *khirḳa* (cf. ṬARIḲA) Shiblī figures as a link in the chain, between Djunaid and Nasrābādhī, the latter indeed was his pupil.

His tomb is still venerated at the Aʿzamīya in Baghdād, beside the *madfan* of Abū Hanīfa.

Bibliography. Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, p 395—406 and index (cf Bakli, *Shaṭḥiyāt*); Ḳushairī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1318, p 30 and transl R. Hartmann, index; Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, Cairo, p. 206; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, transl. Nicholson, p 155—156 and index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1340, p. 216, 268, 361—362, 383—386; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira*, ed. Nicholson, ii. 160—182; L. Massignon, *Passion d'Al-Hallaj*, p. 41—43, 306—310 and index; do., *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Cairo 1912, ii, p. 80—81 (for the present state of the tomb). (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**SHIBLĪ** (from *al-Shiblīya*, a village in Ushrūsana in Transoxania)· SIRĀDJ AL-DIN ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. ISḤĀḲ B. AḤMED AL-GHAZNAWĪ AL-DAWLATĀBĀDĪ AL-HINDĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ, celebrated *Faḳīh*. He was born about 714 (the date 704 must be wrong) He studied *Fiḳh* with Wadjīh al-Dīn al-Dihlawī al-Rāzī, Shams al-Dīn al-Dūlī al-Khaṭīb, Sirādj al-Dīn al-Thaḳafī al-Dihlawī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Badāʾunī, pupils of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Tanūkhī (d. 670), *Ḥadīth* with Aḥmad b Manṣūr al-Djawharī and others. In 740 he came to Egypt and became deputy for Djamāl al-Dīn al-Turkmānī as *Ḥākim*; through the influence of Yilboghā he was then appointed *Ḳāḍī 'l-ʿAskar*; after the death of Turkmānī in Shaʿbān 769 he became chief Ḳāḍī (*Ḳāḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt*) of Egypt and held the office till his death on Radjab 7, 773. He had also Ṣūfī tendencies; in Mecca he associated with Khiḍr and he was later a follower of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. below).

His best known works are: 1. *al-Tawshīḥ*, a commentary on the *al-Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 376, N⁰. 24); 2. a second commentary on the *al-Hidāya* in syllogistic form; 3. *al-Shāmil fī 'l-Fiḳh*, dealing with *furūʿ*; 4. *Zubdat al-Aḥkām fī 'Khtilāf al-Aʾimma al-Aʿlām*; 5. a commentary on the *Badīʿ al-Niẓām fī Uṣūl al-Fiḳh* of al-Sāʿātī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 383, N⁰. 49, 2); 6. a commentary on the *al-Mughnī fī 'l-Uṣūl* of al-Khabbāzī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, N⁰. 48); 7. *al-Ghurra* (this seems to be the correct form of the title) *al-munīfa fī Tarḏjīḥ Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa*; 8. *Kitāb fī Fiḳh al-Khilāf*; 9. a commentary on the *al-Ziyādāt* of al-Shaibānī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 172, N⁰. 2); 10 an unfinished commentary on his *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (identical with the *Mukhtaṣar al-Talkhīs*, ibd., N⁰. 3 preserved in his autograph; the work is said to have originally included also *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*); 11. a commentary on the *al-Tāʾiya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (cf. Brockelmann, i. 262, N⁰. 8); 12. a work on *Taṣawwuf*; 13. a commentary on *al-Manār fī 'l-Uṣūl* of al-Nasafī (cf. Brockelmann, ii 196, N⁰. 1, i.); 14. a commentary on the *al-Mukhtār fī 'l-Fatāwā* of al-Buldadjī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 382, N⁰ 47, 1); 15. *Lawāʾiḥ al-Anwār fī 'l-Radd ʿalā man ankar ʿala 'l-ʿĀrifīn Laṭāʾif al-Asrār*; 16. *ʿUddat al-Nāsik fī 'l-Manāsik*, 17. a commentary on the *ʿAḳīda* of al-Ṭaḥāwī (cf. Brockelmann, i. 174, N⁰. 7, 7; where on MS. is quoted); 18. *al-Lawāmiʿ fī Sharḥ Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* (of al-Subkī; cf Brockelmann, ii 89, N⁰ 1); 19. finally gives a collection of his *fatwā*'s. On manuscripts of the surviving works cf Brockelmann, ii. 80, N⁰. 9.

Bibliography Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, *loc. cit.*, where further references are given; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahīya fī Tarādjim al-Ḥanafīya*, 1324, 148 *sq* On other individuals called al-Shiblī, including the famous mystic [q.v], cf al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, 329ᵃ, 9 *sqq*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 256; Brockelmann, i. 199, N⁰. 6; Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, passim (cf. Index); *Isl*, xv., 121.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SHIBLĪ NUʿMĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD, Urdū writer and historian, was born during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, in a village, 8 miles away from Aʿẓamgaṛh, U. P, in which his ancestors had been living as *zamīndār*'s for about 300 years. His father, Shaikh Ḥabībullāh, was a *wakīl* at Aʿẓamgaṛh with a good legal practice. Shiblī, after having been educated in Islāmic sciences at home, under the famous scholar Muḥammad Fārūḳ of Čiraiyākōt, made a further study of *fiḳh* under Mawlawī Irshād Ḥusain at Rāmpūr; in 1289 (1872) he went to Lāhōr, where he specialized in Arabic literature under the eminent Arabist, Professor Faiḍ al-Ḥasan. After his return from Lāhōr, he specialized in *ḥadīth* under Mawlawī Aḥmad ʿAlī of Sahāranpūr, and then went to Dēoband, where he learnt *Farāʾiḍ* in about 6 weeks.

In 1880 he passed the *wakīl*'s examination, practised law at Aʿẓamgaṛh and Bastī but for a few months, acted as copyist and *amīn* in the Aʿẓamgaṛh district for a short time, and took to indigo trade; but nothing suited him. While staying with his younger brother who was being educated at ʿAlīgaṛh, Shiblī was introduced to Sir Saiyid Aḥmad who made him a teacher in the Collegiate School and soon after appointed him as one of the professors of Arabic and Persian (February 1, 1882). His coming in contact with Sir Saiyid had a very healthy influence on the young man's literary activities, and he very soon learnt to utilize the store of knowledge he had gathered

during the past years of his life. In 1892 he undertook a journey to the Near East to get acquainted with the literary and educational conditions there, and visited Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo and other places. He was given a literary pension by the Nizām of Ḥaidarābād in 1314 (1896) and resigned his Professorship in 1898; was Director of the Department of *ʿUlūm-u Funūn*, Ḥaidarābād (April 1901—January 1905), Hony. Secretary of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* of the *Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ*, Lakhnaʾū (1905—1913); was also, for sometime, Hony. Secretary of the *Anǧuman-i Taraḳḳī-i Urdū*. He died in 1914, and, just after, his pupils established, in his memory, the *Dār al-Muṣannifīn* at Aʿẓamgaṛh, with a library and a publishing house, and with the monthly journal "*Maʿārif*" as its organ. Shiblī's works are: Urdū. *Musalmānōñ kī guzashta Taʿlīm*, Āgra 1887; *al-Maʾmūn*, a biography of the *Khalīfa*, Āgra 1887; *Sīrat al-Nuʿmān*, a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa, Āgra 1891, *al-Diyya*, on the origin of the word, Āgra 1891 (Engl translation, ʿAlīgaṛh), *Kutubkhāna-i Iskandarīya*, Āgra 1891 (Engl translation, Haidarābād), *Safarnāma*, Āgra 1893; *al-Fārūḳ*, ʿUmar's biography, Kānpūr 1899; *al-Ghazālī*, the *Imām*'s biography, Kānpūr 1903; *ʿIlm al-Kalām*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1903, *al-Kalām*, Kānpūr 1903; *Sawāniḥ-i Mawlānā Rūm*, Lakhnaʾū 1902; *Muwāzana-i Anīs-u Dabīr*, a criticism of two Urdū poets, Āgra 1906, *Shiʿr al-ʿAǧam* I–IV, ʿAlīgaṛh 1909–1912, V. (unfinished), Aʿẓamgaṛh 1919; *Sīrat al-Nabī*, I.—II, Kānpūr 1919—1920, III (unfinished), Aʿẓamgaṛh, *Kulliyāt* I *Urdū* (Poems), *Rasāʾil-i Shiblī*, *Maḳālāt-i Shiblī*, *Makātīb-i Shiblī*, 2 vols (all published lately, Aʿẓamgaṛh). Persian *Kulliyāt* (Poems), Aʿẓamgaṛh. Arabic. *al-Diyya*, ʿAlīgaṛh; *al-Intiḳād ʿala ʾl-Tamaddun al-Islāmī li Dūrḳī Zaidān*, Lakhnaʾū.

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(A. SIDDIQI)

SHIGHNĀN. [See SHŪGHNĀN]

SHIHĀB AL-DAWLA. [See MAWDŪD.]

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN. [See MUḤAMMAD B. SĀNĪ.]

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀDJID, an Arab navigator of the XVth century, author of sailing instructions for the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the western China Sea and the waters of the Malay Archipelago.

When Vasco da Gama had reached Malindi on the east coast of Africa in 1498, he was able to get a pilot there who took him direct to Calicut. The incident is briefly recorded by one of the sailors in the expedition (*Roteiro da viagem de Vasco de Gama em MCCCCXCVII*, 2nd. ed , ed by A. Herculano and Castello de Paiva, Lisbon 1861, p. 49); and in greater detail by the Portuguese historians of the XVIth century, notably by Damião de Goes (*Chronica do serenissimo Rei D. Manuel*, Coimbra 1790, I , Ch. XXXVIII., p. 87), Castanheda (*Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, 1833, Bk. I., end. of chap. XII and beginning of ch. XIII., p. 41) and Barros (*Da Asia*, Decade I , Bk. IV., ch. VI , p. 319—320 of the little edition of 1778) who give the name of this pilot as. *Malemo Canaqua* in Castanheda and Goes, *Malemo Cana* in Barros, I. e. *muʿallim kanaka* or "master of astrological navigation".

This story is confirmed by an Arabic text: *al-Barik al-yamānī fi ʾl-fatḥ al-ʿOthmānī* (MSS. nos 1644—1650 and 5927, Arabic collection of the Bibl Nat. [1]) by Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (1511—1582, cf. above), but the pilot there is called Aḥmad b. Mādjid. Kuṭb al-Dīn records that, after several unsuccessful attempts, a Portuguese caravel arrived in the Indian Ocean. "[Before they reached the west coast of India and while they were on the east coast of Africa,] the Portuguese continually sought information regarding this sea [of Western India] until a skilful sailor named Ahmad b. Mādjid put himself at their disposal; the leader of the Franks called *Almilandī* (= Portuguese *Almirante* = "Admiral") had become friendly with him and he used to become intoxicated with the Portuguese Admiral. This sailor being intoxicated showed the route to the Admiral, saying to the Portuguese: "Do not approach the coast in this part [of the east coast of Africa north of Malindi], steer straight for the open sea; you will then reach the coast [of India] and be sheltered from the waves". When they followed these directions, a large number of Portuguese ships avoided shipwreck and many ships reached the sea of western India" (MS 1644, fol. 5*b*, l. 9 *sqq*).

The story of the intoxication seems to be a complete invention; it seems that it was a pious fiction intended to excuse an action which the Muslims of Mecca where Kuṭb al-Dīn lived must have regarded as treachery. On the contrary it is more likely that the Arab *muʿallim* agreed to pilot the flagship of the Portuguese squadron on the promise of a handsome reward for his services. The Portuguese reports, which had no reason to conceal the fact, give quite a different story to this Arabic text.

Barros, who gives the most detailed account of the event, says that while Vasco da Gama was at Malindi some banyans from the kingdom of Cambay in Gujarat came to visit the Admiral. These Hindus, who paid homage to an image of the Virgin (taking her for a Hindu goddess) were thought by him to be members of one of the Christian communities which existed in India in the time of St. Thomas. With them came a Moor (= Muslim) of Gujarat (*sic*!) called Malemo (= *muʿallim*) Cana (= *Kanaka*). The latter as much for the pleasure he took in the company of our men as to please the king (of Malindi) who was looking for a pilot for the Portuguese, agreed to set out with them (to show them the route to India). After discoursing with him, Vasco da Gama was very satisfied with his knowledge, especially when the Moor had shown him a map of the whole coast of India arranged as those of the Moors are with meridians and parallels (= degrees of latitude and longitude) in great detail without indicating the rhumbs of the winds. As the squares (formed by the intersection) of these meridians and parallels were very small (the direction of) the coast by

the two rhumbs N. S. + E. W. was very exact without the map being overloaded with the quantity (of signs indicating the direction) of the winds and the needle, as on our Portuguese map which served as a basis for the others. Vasco da Gama showed the Moor the great wooden astrolabe which he had with him and other astrolabes in metal, with which the altitude of the sun was taken. The Moor displayed no astonishment at seeing such instruments. He said the (Arab) pilots of the Red Sea used instruments of brass, triangular in form and quadrants to take the height of the sun, and of the (pole-)star which they used most in their navigation. But, he added, he and the sailors of Cambay and the whole of India sailed with (the help of) certain stars, southern as well as northern, and other notable stars which crossed the centre of the heavens from east to west. They did not take their altitude with instruments like those (that Vasco da Gama showed him) but with another which he used himself, and he brought it at once to show him (on this instiument cf Reinaud, *Introduction Générale à la Géographie des Orientaux* in *Géogr. d'Aboulféda*, i., p. ccixl. *sqq.*), it was an instrument made of three plates. As we are dealing with the shape and method of using this instrument in our *Geogiaphia* (*universalis*, a work unfortunately now lost) in the chapter devoted to instruments of navigation, it is sufficient to mention here that the instrument in question is used by the Moors for the operation for which we use in Portugal the instiument called by the sailors *a balestrilla*, which is also dealt with, along with its inventors in the chapter just mentioned (of the *Geogiaphia Universalis*) After this discourse and others which they had with this pilot, Vasco da Gama had the feeling that he had found a great treasure (*parecia-lhe ter nelle hum grão thesouro*). In order not to lose him, he put to sea as soon as possible and sailed for India on April 24, 1498" (*Da Asia*, Decade i, Bk iv, Ch. vi, p. 318—321, of the edition of 1778)

According to Goes and Castanheda (*loc. cit.*) the pilot in question was "a Gujarat pilot", according to Barros "a Muslim of Gujarat", the description of him by the two Portuguese historians is a bilingual expression — *malemo* = Arabic *muʿallim*, in nautical language — "master of navigation" and *Canaqua* = *Kanaka*, the Tamul form of the Sanskrit *gaṇaka* = "astrologer" (cf *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. M. Longworth Dames, Hakl. Soc., 1921, ii. 61/62 with v. Ronkel's correction in *Museum*, 1925, N°. 1, p. 18). On the other hand this *malemo canaqua* is undoubtedly the same person as Aḥmad b. Mādjid of the *al-Barḳ al-yamānī*, and we know from himself that the celebiated *muʿallim* was an Arab of Arab descent, and born at Djulfār. The mistake made by Goes, Castanheda and Barros or rather by their sources is obvious but I am not able to explain it.

We know Ibn Mādjid from other sources also. In the preface to his collection of sailing instructions entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, the Turkish Admiral Sīdī ʿAlī says: "During a stay of five months which I made at Basra (in 1554) which lasted till the beginning of the monsoon, and during my three months' voyage from Baṣra to India, from the beginning of the month of Shaʿbān to the end of the month of Shawwāl (July 2 = Sept. 27, 1554), during these eight months I never missed an opportunity of talking day and night on nautical matters with the pilots of the coast and the sailors (of the country) who were on board my ship. Thus I learned how the old pilots of Hormuz and Hindustān: Laiṯh b. Kahlān, Muḥammad b. Shādhān and Sahl b. Abān used to sail in the Indian Ocean. I also collected the books that had been written by modern (pilots), like Aḥmad b. Mādjid of Djulfār in the province of ʿOmān and Sulaimān b. Aḥmad (cf. the article SULAIMĀN AL-MAHRĪ), a native of a town called Shihr in the land of Djurz (Southern Arabia), as well as the books entitled: *Fawāʾid*, *Ḥāwiya* (by Ibn Mādjid, see below), *Tuḥfat al-fuḥūl*, *Minhādj*, *Ḳiladatu ʾl-shumūs* (by Sulaimān al-Mahrī); and I studied each one thoroughly. For as a matter of fact it was exceedingly difficult to navigate the Indian ocean without these works. The (foreign) Captains, Commanders and sailors do not know how to sail here and a pilot is always indispensable for them because they have not the necessary knowledge. I therefore have thought it at least a duty to write down all that is best in these books and to translate it into Turkish and then to write a good book so that those who consult it may attain their goal without needing a pilot and not have to seek advice from a pilot. My translation from these Arabic documents was finished in a short time with the help of the Powerful King (Allāh) As my books contain all the extraordinary things about navigation it has been entitled *al-Muḥīṭ*, "what surrounds our coasts, what includes all in itself" (*Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Moḥîṭ*, transl. M. Bittner, with preface and 30 maps by W Tomaschek, Vienna 1897, p. 53). Sīdī ʿAlī mentions Ibn Mādjid later (p 51) and speaks highly of him; he calls him the "reliable among the sailors, the *muʿallim* of the sea of India, most worthy of belief among modern (writers of sailing instructions)".

So far as one can judge from the published extracts, the *Muḥīṭ* of Sīdī ʿAlī is only the Turkish version, often mediocre, of a part of the route-book and sailing instructions of Ibn Mādjid and of Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Neither Maximilian Bittner nor his predecessor, von Hammer, endeavoured to trace the Arabic texts, the titles of which are briefly given by the Turkish admiral and their authors No literary history mentions them but they appear in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibl. Nat.* under 2292 and 2559 (the former was acquired by the Bibliothèque in 1860, the latter according to a note made by the Syrian priest Joseph Ascari was already in the Arabic collection in 1732); these two valuable manuscripts contain all the works used by Sīdī ʿAlī and other texts which he does not appear to have known.

The MS. 2292 which is a copy of the original is in 181 folios of 270 × 180 mm, 19 lines to the page and contains 19 route books and nautical treaties by Ibn Mādjid copied in the following order by a scribe who troubled little about chronology:

I. *Kitāb al-fawāʾid fī uṣūl ʿilm al-baḥr wa ʾl-ḳawāʿid*, folio 1—88ª (it is the text called *Fawāʾid* by Sīdī ʿAlī). This work in prose, divided into xii. chapters, is dated 895 (1489/1490). The early pages deal with the legendary origins of navigation and of the magnetic needle. Ibn Mādjid then deals with the 28 lunar mansions; the stars corresponding to the 32 rhumbs (*khann*, plur. *aḵhnān*) of the compass; of the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean; the latitudes of a number of harbours in the Ocean and Western China Sea;

the landmarks (*ʿalāma*, *iṯ̲ārа*) formed by birds and the outline of the coast; the landfalls (*nataḳ̲ka*, class. Ar. *nadaḳ̲ka*) of the west coast of India; the ten famous large islands (Arabian Peninsula, island of Ḳomr or Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, al-Ghūr or Formosa, Ceylon, Zanzibar, Baḥrain, Ibn Gāwān in the Persian Gulf and Socotora); monsoons favourable for the voyage with the date in the Persian computation of each monsoon. This treatise concludes with a description of the Red Sea which gives in detail its anchorages, shallows, banks and reefs. "The style of the work", says de Slane (*Catal.*, p 401), "is very prolix and full of technical terms the meaning of which was only known to those who sailed the Indian Ocean". This is only partly true The texts of MSS 2292 and 2559 have been certainly prepared by sailors and for sailors. Technical terms abound in them, as might be expected, and the nautical vocabulary which they have yielded to me will be an important addition to the Arabic dictionaries (2).

II. *Ḥāwiya al-iḳ̲tiṣār fī uṣūl ʿilm al-biḥār* (this is the text mentioned by Sīdī ʿAlī under the title *Ḥāwiya*) occupies ff. 88b—117a. The text in *raǧaz* verse is divided into 11 sections (*faṣl*). After a brief prose introduction of 20 lines the first section begins, dealing with signs of the proximity of land which pilots ought to know. The second section deals with the lunar mansions and rhumbs, the third with the knowledge of the years, Arabic, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian, the fourth with the knowledge of the *bāṣ̲hī* or correction to be made in the position of certain stars, the monsoons (*sic*!) of the *bāṣ̲hī*, the months in which the stars appear, the fixed character of their latitudes, and their disappearance, the dates being represented in the Persian way; the fifth, the sea-routes on the coasts of Arabia, of the Ḥiǧāz, of Siam (i. e. in the language of Ibn Mādjid, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula which in those days all belonged to Siam), of the extremity of the land of the negroes (lit.: of the negro coast); the sixth, the sea routes on the coast of Western India, down to the countries situated below the wind (i. e. according to Ibn Mādjid, east of Cape Comorin), like the island of Billiton on the east coast of Sumatra, [the land of the] Maharāǧa = Sumatra (cf. ff. 101b—103ab) and China, Formosa; the seventh, the sea-routes along the coast of the eastern islands, Sumatra, the Fāl or Laccadines, Madagascar, Yemen, Abyssinia, the land of the Somālis, of al-Aṭwāḥ in southern Arabia, and of Makrān; the eighth, the distance of the seaports of the Arabian coast from those of Western India; the ninth, the latitudes of the harbours of "the Surrounding Sea (*baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) which runs deeply into the north, i. e. of the sea of Western India"; the tenth, on navigation in the strict sense of the word, on the knowledge of currents of deep seas and of "the Surrounding Sea which runs far in between the coasts of the land of the negroes, India and China", i. e. the Indian Ocean of our maps; the eleventh deals with nautical astronomy.

The *Ḥāwiya*, which is frequently cited in the preceding treatise (i.) is thus dated on folio 116b: "this poem was finished in the month of the pilgrimage at Djulfār (in the S. W. of the Persian Gulf), the native land of the Lion of the Sea (surname of Ibn Mādjid), among countries on the day of the Ditch (*yawm al-Ghadīr*) (3), the finest of days which is specially consecrated to good works and to fasting, and it was, my friend, in the year 866 A. H.", i. e. 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥiǧdja 866 = Sept. 13, 1462.

Folios 117b—123a are blank.

III. An *urǧūza* on the navigation of the Gulf of Berbera, the Gulf of Aden of our maps, from folio 123b—127a; it is dated 890 (=1485).

IV. A treatise in verse preceded by an introduction of 33 lines in prose entitled: "Book on the *ḳibla* of Islām for the whole world". This poem, says the author, has been prepared "especially for those towns which are near the sea and for towns frequented by travellers". It is dated 893 = 1488 and occupies ff. 128a—137a.

V. An *urǧūza* on navigation along the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, fol. 137b—139b, n d.

VI. An *urǧūza* on the Banāt naʿsh ($\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\varepsilon\zeta\eta$ of the Great and Little Bear), ff. 139b—145b; dated 900 = 1494—1495.

VII. An *urǧūza* entitled "The treasure of the *muʿallim* or masters of navigation and treasures of the science of unknown things about the sea, the stars, the planets, their names and their poles". This is not dated but from the context is before 1489, fol. 145b—147b.

VIII. An *urǧūza* dealing with the landfalls (4) on the west coast of India and the coast of Arabia from 25° N to 60° N.; n d ; ff. 147b—154b.

IX. An *urǧūza* rhymed in *m*, n. d., dealing with certain northern stars, ff 154b—156b inclusive.

X *Urǧūza mukhammas* dealing with certain northern stars, n d., ff. 156b—157b.

XI Poem in 13 lines rhymed in *n* on the Byzantine months; n d. (before 1489).

XII. *Urǧūza* entitled *Darībatu 'l-ḏarāʾib*, "The obligation of obligations" dealing with its utilisation of certain stars for navigation; n.d.; ff. 158a—163a.

XIII. *Urǧūza* entitled "*Urǧūza* attributed to the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, dealing with the knowledge of lunar mansions, their exact position in the heavens, their form, their number; a complete description"; before 1489: ff 163a—165b.

XIV. Rhymed poem in *r* entitled "The Meccan poem" dealing with sea routes from Djedda to Cape Fartak (South Arabia), Kālikūt, Dābul, the Konkan, Gujarat (Western India); to al-Aṭwāḥ, Hormuz ....; n. d.; ff. 164b—169b.

XV. Rhymed *urǧūza* in *r* entitled *Nadiratu 'l-abdāl* "The Rarity of the Generous" or *al-Wāḳiʿ*, *Ḏhubbān* and *al-ʿUiyūḳ*; ff. 169b—171a (before 1489)

XVI. Poem rhymed in *b* entitled "The Golden Poem", ff. 171a—176a; before 1489. It deals with "the investigation of reefs, great depths and what one should do there and shallows; signs indicating land like birds and winds, land-falls on capes during the monsoon from the South-West, landfalls in wind from the West". It is mentioned folio 402, l. 10 and dated from the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan Ashraf Saif al-Dīn Ḳāʾit Bey (873—901 = 1468—1495).

XVII. *Urǧūza* dealing with the observation of *al-Ḍafdaʿ* 'the Frog' = α of the Southern Piscis or β of the Whale according as it is the first or second Frog. This poem rhymes in *n*, and is called al-Fāʾika; it occupies ff. 176a—178a and was written before 1489.

XVIII. *Urǧūza* rhyming in ʿ, called *al-Balīgha* 'The eloquent', dealing with the observation of the stars Canopus and Arcturus; it occupies ff. 178a—179b. — n. d.

XIX. Nine brief sections (*faṣl*) in prose, not dated, dealing with soundings in different parts of the Indian Ocean, &c.; ff. 179b—181b and last.

The second MS. in the Arabic collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, N°. 2559, is a small 4° of 215 × 150 cm., 187 folios of 15 lines to a page; it contains the following treatise by Ibn Mādjid:

XX. *Urdjūza* entitled *al-Sabᶜiya* (divided into seven sections) because it deals with seven branches of nautical lore; ff. 93a—103b; dated 888 (1483). At the end it is referred to as "the great *Urdjūza*". "The Golden poem" (cf. XVI above) is reproduced on ff. 103b—109.

XXI. A *ḳaṣīda* rhyming in *ḳ* dealing with astronomy; ff 109b—111a; before 1489.

XXII. *Ḳaṣīda* entitled "..... and (*sic*) observations regarding it and the stars which are useful for landfalls and the description of the landfall points and of the coasts from Din to Dābul", ff. 111a—116a. The proper title of this nautical poem is given on f. 116a in the following verse. "I have called this *ḳaṣīda* "The good path of the *muᶜallim* because it is faultless". At the end he says. "End of the *ḳaṣīda* called *al-Hādiya* (which directs into the good path)"; before 1489.

The first nautical treatise in prose (I) contains also quotations of verses taken from ten other treatises by Ibn Mādjid which have not come down to us (XXIII—XXXII)

Chronologically these thirty two treatises may be thus classified:

(*a*) 1462. *Ḥāwiya* (II).
(*b*) 1483. *al-Sabᶜiya* (XX).
(*c*) 1485. The poem on the Gulf of Aden (III).
(*d*) 1488. The poem on the Ḳibla of Islām (IV)
(*e*) 1489—1490. The Book of Useful Information (I).
(*f*) 1494—1595. The *urdjūza* (VI).

The texts VI, XI, XIII, XVII, XXI—XXX are quoted in *e* and *a* which places them in the period before 1462. XV is earlier than XVI and XIV which refer to it IX is earlier than XV and XVI and XII than XIV. VIII, X, XVIII and XIX contain no hint to enable one to date them, even approximately.

The period during which Ibn Mādjid published his thirty nautical texts lies between an uncertain date before 1462 and 1489/90. The most important work of the celebrated *muᶜallim*, for size as well as its practical nature is undoubtedly his Book of Useful Information (I). It contains 178 pages (folio 1b—88a with 48 bis) of 19 lines to the page, i. e. 3382 lines, to which are to be added marginal notes of one or several lines on 27 pages. Concluded in 1489/90 this book seems to be a compendium of the known knowledge of theoretical and practical navigation. It is therefore more and better than the result of personal experience and labour; we must regard it as a kind of synthesis of nautical science of the latter years of the middle ages. Ibn Mādjid is at the same time the earliest of modern writers of nautical guides. His work is admirable. The description of the Red Sea, for example, has never been surpassed or even equalled, neglecting the inevitable errors in latitude, by any of the writers of nautical guides for sailing boats. The information given on the monsoons, local winds, routes and latitudes for crossing the whole Indian Ocean are as precise and detailed as could be expected at this period.

Indonesia is less well known to him than the continent and islands of the Indian Ocean. By an error, which is inexplicable, Java is placed lying north to south, contrary to its real orientation; and this same error appears again in the nautical texts of Sulaimān al-Mahrī (MS. 2559) who lived in the first half of the xvith century, from which it passed into the Turkish translation of Sīdī ᶜAlī. It is the only important rectification necessary.

MS. 2292 incidentally contains some biographical information about Ibn Mādjid and his family. He was called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādjid b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAmr b. Faḍl b. Buwīk b. Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. Abī Maᶜlaḳ al-Saᶜadī b. Abī 'l-Rakā'ib al-Nadjdī (f. 2b, infra). He gives himself the title of "poet of the two Ḳibla's (Mecca and Jerusalem), who has performed the pilgrimage to the two noble sanctuaries, the descendant of the Lions (5) (f. 137a, 65a, 145b and 147b)"; "the Lion (*asad*) of the sea in fury (f. 88 *sq.*)". He also says on f. 117a: "I, Aḥmad b. Mādjid, am the Arab *muᶜallim*".

According to certain passages in MS. 2292 the father and grandfather of Ibn Mādjid were *muᶜallim*, authors of nautical treatises and their son and grandson continued their work. "He who (sails in the southern Red Sea) sails on the route of the pilgrims to Mecca", he says on p. 78a. "My grandfather knew it with accuracy and in detail; he yielded to no one in this respect. My father added the results of his revised personal experiences. His knowledge surpassed the knowledge of his father. When our hour came and when we had in our turn gone through these experiences for nearly 40 years, when we had corrected the scientific work of these two exceptional men, when we had put into writing the results of our own experience and our written observations, we saw appear facts and principles which no one had combined in our time and which are only found scattered through different writers".

My father, he tells us on p 78b, was called by the pilots, "the pilot of the two coasts" (of the Red Sea). He prepared the famous *urdjūza* called *al-Ḥidjāziya* containing over 1000 verses. We have corrected the errors we found in it and have completed it methodically". There is another reference to this poem on f. 81a.

Regarding a reef on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, adjoining the island of Marmā which lies to the south of the 20° Lat., Ibn Mādjid says (f. 87a) that most people call it "Mādjid's reef" because his father had moored his ship to it. This is evidence of his fame among seafaring people of his day.

On several occasions Ibn Mādjid shows full confidence in statements made by his father, differing with the usual practice of the pilots of the xvth century. "I have owed my safety, "he says on f. 84a", to the information given me by my father rather than to that of the pilots". Further on he shows by an actual incident that his confidence in his father's knowledge was justified. "When we were moored there (between Asmā and Masnad, two islands on the Arabian Coast of the Red Sea to the south of the 17°) in 890 A. H. (= 1485), he says on p. 84b, the *nāḵhūdha* and the pilot were agreed upon passing between the islands of Asmā and Masnad, but I did not agree with their opinion because I had read in a poem compiled by my father that "there is no

passage in the neighbourhood of these islands; therefore (he advised) keep away, avoid these islands, there are only reefs there and there is only one passage two fathoms deep". We discussed the question with one another, Ibn Mādjid continues, after quoting this from his father's book and I said to them "The best thing to do in my opinion is to send the *sanbūḳ* (a kind of skiff) to go a day in front of us". The *sanbūḳ* set out with the sounding lead and found two fathoms of water. The *sanbūḳ* confirmed what I had said and returned passing between Masnad and Sāsūh. It found the passage and came back to us at the end of the day. And (the statements made in) my father's poem proved to be, in this place, the best part of my inheritance".

Regarding the legendary origins of navigation, the needle, the compass, the astrolabe, Ibn Mādjid says: "The first to build a ship (f. 2 v. infra of MS. 2292) was Noah. He built it on the advice of the Angel Gabriel, who had been sent to instruct him by the Almighty Creator The ark was built in the shape of the figure formed by the five (*sic*) stars of the Great Bear; the stern of the ark corresponds to the third star (f. 3[a]), the keel to the fourth, fifth and sixth stars and the stern to the seventh. Even now [1489] the people of Zang (eastern coast of equatorial Africa), of Ḳomr (Madagascar), of Mrīma (the African coast opposite Zanzibar) and of the land of Sofāla call the fifth and sixth stars of the Great Bear *al-khirāb*, "the keel of the ship".

These two stars are observed for the determination of latitudes, at the moment of the culmination of *al-Ṣarfa* (β of Leo), in the absence of the *farāḳid* (β and γ of the Little Bear) because they have the form of the keel of the Ark of Noah. Traditionists differ as to the length and breadth of the Ark. It is said to have been 400 cubits long, 100 cubits broad and 100 cubits deep, not including the height of the masts. It had two oars (in the stern to act as rudder). When the ark was finished and the flood came, Noah embarked with those who were to accompany him. It carried them and saved them from the deluge and shipwreck The Ark is said to have sailed seven times round the site where the Ka'ba of Mecca was later to stand This place was then a region of red sand where nothing was built The deluge did not reach it"

"When (f 3[b]) the Ark was built and men had learnt the art of navigating along the shores of the sea in all the climes [of the earth] which Allāh divided among the children [of Noah]· Japhet, Sem and Ham [Son of Noah], who is the second Adam, each began to build ships in the maritime countries, the gulfs and shores of the sea surrounding the earth until the world reached the epoch of the 'Abbāsids (132 = 750) which dynasty had Baghdād as its capital in 'Irāḳ 'Arabī. All Khorāsān belonged to them. The road from Khorāsān to Baghdād is three or four months' journey in length."

"At this time (i. e. under the Abbāsids) there lived three famous men: Muḥammad b. Shādhān, Sahl b Abān and Laith b. Kahlān (not Ibn Kamilān). I have seen that written in a work [by Ismā'īl b Ḥasan b. Sahl b. Abān], the grandson [of Sahl], in a *rahmānī* (or *rahmāng*, Pahlavi *rāhnāmag* "book of the route") (6) dated 580 A.H. (1184/1185). They exerted all their efforts in composing this *rahmānī* which begins „We have expounded to thee that... " None of it is in verse and the subjects dealt with are not linked together, which is not the case with a well composed work. Their book has neither finality or authority. It can be added to or have parts cut out of it. These men were compilers and not original authors. They only sailed on the Red Sea from Sīrāf to the coast of Makrān (f. 4[a]). They went from Sīrāf to Makrān in seven days, from Makrān to Khorāsān in a month. They shortened the way, for before their time, it was a journey of three months from Baghdād. They set themselves to enquire on every coast of the people of these coasts and they have left a narrative [of their voyage]".

"In their time among the celebrated *Mu'allim* were Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Maghribī, Mūsā al-Kandarānī, Maimūn b. Khalīl and, a thousand before them (*sic*), Aḥmad b. Tabrūya [who had written nautical books]. They borrowed from the works of the latter and from those of the *Mu'allim* Khawāshīr b. Yūsuf b. Ṣalāḥ al-Afrikī who had travelled in the year 400 (1009/1010) and the years adjacent to this date (and who had written a narrative) of what he had seen in travelling on the ship of Dabawkara the Indian Among the famous *Nākhūdha* of their time were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b Abu 'l-Faḍl b Abi 'l-Mughairī (or Mughīrī) Their principal knowledge lay in the description of their coasts and their extent. The majority of the countries described formed part of the lands situated under the wind (i. e. lands east of Cape Comorin) and on the coast of China. Now these ports and towns (which they described) have disappeared. Even their names no longer exist. The indications given by them are no longer of any use for our period (xvth century), lacking as they do the solid basis of our modern knowledge and experience and our discoveries which are recorded in this book. For it is a book in which everything has been checked and verified by experience and there is nothing superior to experience. The point reached by the predecessors should be that from which their successor starts and here we are increasing considerably their knowledge and their works We have paid tribute to their work in saying "I am the Fourth after the Three". Sometimes in the work we have produced in what concerns the sea, there is a single leaf which contains more perfection, accuracy, utility, valuable advice than [all] they have composed" (f. 4[b]).

"The Three borrowed their good points and their ability from the above mentioned individuals and others also They took from each his knowledge of the coast and sea with which he was familiar; they made a story of it but they are compilers and not writers recording their own experiences, and I know no Fourth (who could be mentioned alongside of them) except myself. I honour them when I say: „I am the Fourth [after these three famous authors]." I have honoured them by taking into account the fact that they are before me in the era of the Hidjra. Certainly after my death another will come and [there will be] men who will put each of us in our place When I studied the work of my predecessors and found it feeble without reality or certainty, without order, I adopted what was worth keeping and recorded the discoveries I had made, my corrections and the results of my experience, year by year in the verses of the (nautical) poems and in this book [which has been published or finished] in the year 880 A. H. =

1475/1476 (7). Men experienced in nautical science have approved my work, used it and taken it as a basis to solve the difficulties presented to them, such as for example, the aspect of mountains, astronomical observations, names and knowledge of the stars, and the way to steer by them. The people of my time knew very little more than what the ancients had handed down to them regarding, for example, the proper sea-routes, the *tu'fāt* (co-efficient indicating the length of the route to be traversed to a given cape to obtain the same displacement in latitude as in the route to the north) and the *ruḥūbāt*. As to distances they did not know them. We have already spoken of this in the commentary on the nautical poem entitled *al-Dhahbīya* (8) and we shall refer to them again."

"In reality, the people of the early ages had plenty of courage in their hearts, but they only sailed with the help of the sailors of the coasts who were endowed with considerable energy, while the others feared the sea and had an aversion for it. The sailors equipped their boats excellently, they never allowed [the favourable period of] the monsoon to pass, they did not load their ships above what was usually done. We however know more and have had more experience than they Every improvement in seafaring matters had an inventor. The maker of the Ark was, as we have said, Noah. As to the lodestone to which one trusts oneself, the art of navigation was not complete without it. It was David who invented it; it is the stone with which he killed Goliath. As to the lunar mansions and the signs of the Zodiac, the prophet Daniel wrote on this a book which was completed by [Naṣīr al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī (d. 1261) But let us come back to our first subject, the stars [to which correspond] the rhumbs of the compass. Their names are found in an old book earlier than the work of the Lions, our predecessors. But these rhumbs and these *zām* (= 3 hours sailing') are not absolutely exact data (i. e. the direction of the courses which they give and their duration expressed in *zām* are only approximations and not certainties) As to the description of the coasts (f. 5b) which we know from experience, we have written it with care and we only give it after repeated personal experience. Our description of the coast is better than that of our predecessors....."

"As to the making of the house of the needle with the lodestone (i. e. the compass) it is said that Daniel was its inventor for he knew how to make use of iron and the properties of this metal. Others say that it was al-Khidr (cf. AL-KHAḌIR) who invented the compass, when he set out to look for the well of life, when he penetrated into the land of darkness and the sea of darkness and when he travelled to one of the poles up to the place where he no longer saw the sun. It is said he found his directions with the lodestone. Others say that he found his direction with the help of light. The lodestone (f. 6a) is a stone which attracts iron. This is the only thing that it attracts. It is said that the seven heavens and the earth are held in suspension by the lodestone and the omnipotence of Allāh. Many other things are said on this subject".

"The first inventor of the *Kiyās* (or astronomical observation) with the astrolabe", Ibn Mādjid goes on (f. 14a, l. 3 *infra*), "was Idrīs [q.v]. He was the inventor of the astrolabe with degrees. [The ancients] changed these degrees into *iṣba'* (finger). They have recorded it in the story of the City of Copper (9) and the astrolabe was included among instruments of navigation by others than the Three, Muḥammad b. Shādhān and his (two) companions; for the ships sailed the ocean by steering by astronomical observation (with the astrolabe) in the time of the Prophets — on whom be peace! —. Our Three (predecessors) only lived in the time of the 'Abbāsids. Such is the story given in histories written by their hands".

Ibn Mādjid pays a tribute to his predecessors, by saying on several occasions that he is the "fourth after the Three" or "the fourth of the Lions" but he does not fail to warn sailors against the gaps and errors in their works, with which he contrasts the extensive documentation of his own *Nautical Instructions*. "Canopus, he says (f. 31b of MS. 2292), rises far from the south pole on the 222nd day of *Nīrūz* at dawn and sets on the 40th day of *Nīrūz*. If you ask a sailor, he will never know that, unless he has studied this book, he will not be able to answer the question, even if he had read for a hundred years the works of Muhammad b. Shādhān and his two companions". It seems from a passage in MS. 2559 (f. 126b, l. 5 *sqq.*) that the works of the Ancients, i. e. of the Three, were still consulted in the first half of the XVIth century

According to the text of Ibn Mādjid, the Three, Muhammad b Shādhān, Sahl b. Abān and Laith b Kahlān, were neither *mu'allim* nor masters of navigation nor sailors, but only learned authors of route-books and nautical instructions who had used for their works the stories of sea-voyages. The passage in question in the *Book of Useful Information* (I), besides, gives two definite statements. — The Three or at least Sahl b. Abān lived in the first half of the XIIth century A.D. and the above mentioned records of voyages contained more particularly the descriptions of the countries under the wind (East of Cape Comorin and of China). We can imagine that the works of the Three were based on records of travels in India, Transgangetic India, Indonesia and China, like that of the merchant Sulaimān, published in 851 which was revised and expanded by Abū Zaid Ḥasan about 916 (10). An amateur of geographical science, the latter lived in Baghdād and there collected all the information he could find in manuscripts or gathered from the sailors of his time, and it seems that this is what the Three did, whose continuer Ibn Mādjid calls himself, for he expressly points out that he differed from the others in writing of seafaring matters from a long personal experience.

According to Ibn Mādjid, the works of the Three mentioned towns and seaports which had disappeared in the XVth century. This reference is to ancient place-names which would have been of great use to us in identifying the geographical names preserved in Chinese text and in Ptolemy's lists But we have now lost this source of information it is nevertheless important to know that it once existed. Anything is possible in the east, — even the chance discovery of a manuscript of the Three, of Aḥmad b. Tabrūya, or Khawāshīr b. Yūsuf b. Ṣalāḥ al-Afrikī. The acquisition by the Bibliothèque Nationale of the MSS. 2292 and 2559 is a lucky chance which one can always hope may repeat itself.

The *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* (I), the importance of which can be seen from the résumé and extracts given

above seem to be the work of Ibn Mādjid's ripe experience. We do not know the date of his birth. If he was 25 or 30 in 1462 when he wrote the *Ḥāwiya* (II) he would be 52 or 57 when the *Book of Useful Information* appeared (I) and 53 or 63 at the time when he finished the poem (VI) which is dated 1494—1495. Three or four years later, in April 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Malindi where Ibn Mādjid embarked as his pilot. We do not know the date of the mu'allim's death.

According to James Prinsep, the memory of Ibn Mādjid was still alive in India and the Maldives in the first half of the xix[th] century.

"I endeavoured therefore," says Prinsep to procure an Arabic compass, but not one could be met with in all the vessels — at length my friend Saiyid Ḥusain Sīdī found a drawing of it in one of the practical works on navigation — called the *Mādjid kitāb*, "Book of Mādjid" or, as my Maldive friend facetiously expressed it, the "*John Hamilton kitāb* of the Arabs" — in possession of a nakhoda, and without ceremony tore out the leaf to show it to me, as the captain was afraid of parting with the volume, without which doubtless he would have been greatly at a loss on his return voyage" (*Note on the Nautical Instruments of the Arabs*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1836, ii., p. 788) The reference here is evidently to a nautical work analogous to MSS. 2292 and 2559, with the addition of plates showing the instruments used in navigation and perhaps charts; or perhaps it was even a copy of MS. 2292, whence it would have its name of *Mādjid kitāb* or "Book of Mādjid".

In his *First Footsteps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar* (London 1856, p. 3—4), R. F. Burton says: On Sunday, the 29th October, 1854, our manifold impediments were pronounced complete. Friend S. threw the slipper of blessing at my back, and about 4 p.m. embarking from Maala Bunder (the part of the port of Aden reserved for native bouts), whe shook out our "muslin", and sailed down the fiery harbour. Passing the guard-boat, we delivered our permit, before venturing into the open sea we repeated the Fatihah-prayer in honour of the Shaykh Majid (*sic*), inventor of the mariners' compass, and evening saw us dancing on the bright clear tide....". Burton adds in a note: "It would be wonderful if Orientals omitted to romance about the origin of such an invention as the Dayrah or compass. Shaykh Majid is said to have been a Syrian saint, to whom Allāh gave the power of looking upon earth, as though it were a ball in his hand. Most Moslems agree in assigning this origin to the Dayrah, and the Fatihah in honor of the holy man, is still repeated by the pious mariner". There is every reason to believe that Shaikh Mādjid is not a saint belonging to Syria but simply the *mu'allim* Ibn Mādjid who has found a place in Muslim hagiography for the eminent services which his nautical works have rendered to navigators since the xv[th] century. The process is obvious and many similar cases are known.

In 1913 my regretted colleague and friend Paul Ottavi who lived for some fifteen years at Zanzibar and Mascat, had a search made in these seafaring centres for nautical texts by Ibn Mādjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī, but the very names of these two *mu'allim* were unknown to the Arab sailors there.

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Notes. 1. There are numerous copies in Europe and in the East.

2. A second copy of MS. 2292 has just been accidentally discovered in Damascus and has found a home in the Arabic Academy; cf. *Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, Feb 1921, Damascus, p 33—35. Another copy but incomplete of MS 2559 was found at Djedda where our colleague Aḥmad Zeki Pacha had kindly had enquiries made on my behalf.

3. The use of this specifically Shī'a expression in place of the ordinary Arabic word seems to show that the author was himself a Shī'ī or at least had an inclination towards the partisans of 'Alī.

4. Land-fall is here to be taken in the special sense of reconnaissance of a cape or land to enable one to ascertain the route.

5. Play of words on the name of his predecessor, Laith b. Kahalān (*laith* = lion in Arabic).

6. On this very important term, cf. *J. A.*, 1924, 209—215.

7. The book in question is however dated in all cases 895 A. H.

8. This commentary has not come down to us.

9. On the legendary City of Copper, cf. M. Gaudefroy–Demombynes, *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, p. 284—348 and the authors quoted.

10. Cf. *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IX[e] siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, arabic text by Langlès, transl. and notes by Reinaud, 1845. I have published a new translation entitled *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū Zayd Ḥasan (vers 916)*, Paris 1922.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

AL-SHIḤR, the name of a town and district on the coast of South Arabia, which is still known as the Sheḥrāt coast. The learned Nashwān gives also al-Shaḥr as the dialectic pronunciation for al-Shiḥr, which latter he calls the correct form. This form is of interest because it recalls SARA, first suggested by A. Sprenger as the basis of the corrupt SABA in Theophrastus and Pliny; when the latter says the word means *mysterium*, this recalls Ibn al-Mudjāwir's derivation of the name Saḥra, which is applied to the Mahra people, from *siḥr* "magic". That SARA is the coast district now called al-Shiḥr, which classical and Arab authors know as the land where the frankincense tree flourishes, is in any case certain. The name Xaer and Xaer given by the Portuguese to this region, recalls the apparently older pronunciation Shaḥr, which means "coast". To the Arab geographers the name al-Shaḥr is synonymous with Mahra, the strip of South Arabian coast, which, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, is 400 parasangs long and about 5 broad, the eastern end of which is 100 parasangs from Masḳaṭ, while the western end is the same distance from ʿAden. Al-Ashghā and Samʿūn are given as old names of this territory, which was not reckoned a part of Ḥaḍramūt proper, and the names al-Ashḥār and al-Aḥḳāf are also of frequent occurrence. That the inhabitants, as is still the case, spoke a peculiar, unintelligible dialect, was already known to the Arab geographers. The South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1899 studied this language thoroughly, and the comprehensive works of D. H. Muller and M. Bittner, also of W. Hein, A. Jahn and N. Rhodokanakis give us a complete survey of this peculiar idiom

The coast of al-Shiḥr with its hinterland, has passed through various vicissitudes At the beginning of the tenth century A.D, it was taken by Badr b. Ṭuwērik al-Kathīrī from the Ghassānid ʿAmir b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, then later by the Portuguese who occupied the whole coast from ʿAden to Maskaṭ. After holding this stretch of country for thirty-five years, the Portuguese were driven out by the Banū Kaḥṭān and all attempts to re-establish themselves failed A fleet of twenty ships, sent to reconquer the lost territory, was sunk with every man on board, in a fearful hurricane. The Kaḥṭān ruled the country for fifty-five years, and then the coast was conquered by Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Himyarī. Various owners held the much disputed coast in succession until in 1866 Sulṭān Ghālib b. Muhsin al-Kathīrī seized al-Shiḥr, but lost it the very next year to the Kaʿaitī, who gradually won the whole coast.

The town of al-Shiḥr, which lies in the centre of a sandy desert, is surrounded by a clay wall, with square watch-towers and round forts. Formerly one of the most important ports of Ḥaḍramūt, from which were exported the precious frankincense and the amber known as *ʿanbar shaḥrī*, and which conducted a busy trade with Mokhā, ʿAden, Masḳaṭ and al-Baṣra, it is now completely overshadowed by the much more favourably situated port of Makallā, as it only has an open roadstead for shipping. Remains of ancient civilisation and former prosperity are still to be found. The houses, now much ruined, as nothing is ever renovated, frequently show beautifully carved stonework in the doors and windows. The mosque has a very picturesque situation, but has been much neglected; the minaret has a decided inclination to one side. The population is about 6000—10,000, and is mainly industrial. Dyed cottons are woven on primitive looms and loin-cloths, with gay and and pretty patterns. White cottons imported from India are dyed here with indigo and madder. Smiths make all kinds of weapons, notably strong knives, which have a particularly good reputation. Silversmiths, of whom there are many, find plenty of employment in decorating these arms with silver, according to the local custom, and making the ornaments beloved by the women. More elaborate articles are imported from India, notably valuable sword hilts. The bazaar of the town is quite insignificant. Coloured cottons and other goods of European origin like soap, candles, ironmongery, Indian cottons and silks, petroleum, matches, dried dates, rice, durra, wheat, coarse wheaten flour, imported from India, coffee and tobacco are also dealt in here. As the flesh of goats and sheeps is relatively dear, the main food is the small sardine-like *ʿaid* fish, which is also used as manure and to make oil Al-Muḳaddasī long ago emphasised the wealth of al-Shiḥr in fish, and he reports that fish in his time were exported to ʿOmān, ʿAden and even al-Baṣra and the lands of Yemen The *ʿaid* fish is probably identical with the little fish called *warḳ*, which according to Ibn Ḥawḳal was the principal food of the inhabitants, and according to Idrīsī was dried and given to the camels as food, which Th. Bent also saw done in Ḥaḍramūt. At the present day, salted and dried shark is an esteemed article of export into the interior The gild of merchants, however, has few wealthy members, and the foreign connections are mostly with India (Malabar), Central Africa and al-Baṣra. Gum-arabic and resin, especially frankincense are brought to the market by the Bedouins and exported from here. The trade in those articles is, however, now quite insignificant, compared with what it was in antiquity.

In conclusion we may note that al-Aṣmaʿī in al-Bakrī mentions a palace named al-Shiḥr in Ḥaḍramūt; how far this is correct cannot be ascertained There is probably a confusion with the town on the coast, which however, as noted above, never belonged to Ḥaḍramūt proper

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SHIKĀRĪ, a word formed from the Persian word *shikār* ("sport", in the sense of hunting or shooting) and meaning a hunter There are many castes in India whose occupation is the snaring, trapping, tracking, or pursuit of birds and beasts, but the caste which has adopted or received the word Shikārī as its tribal name is found chiefly in Sind. A writer in 1822 said: "Shecarries are generally Hindoos of low caste, who gain their livelihood entirely by catching birds, hares, and all sorts of animals", but the Shikārīs of Sind seem to have abandoned the occupation from which they take their name. They are described as outcast immigrants from Rādjputāna, found from Bangāl to the Pandjāb, the origin of whose honourable appellation is unexplained, though they probably possessed, like other aboriginal races, a knowledge of wild animals and skill in tracking and were employed by the Musalmān nobility in quest of sport. They are now engaged in making baskets, and as sweepers and scavengers, and appear to correspond, in most points, to the Bhangīs of Bangāl and Hindūstān They eat carrion, and, even when professing Islām, are considered unclean, and not allowed to enter a mosque, unless they undergo a ceremony of purification by fire, after which they are classed as Māččhīs. Those whose occupation is the taking of life are naturally held in small esteem in a land which has been permeated by the principles of Buddhism, Djainism, and Brahmanism, but the purification ceremony demanded by Muslims before admitting Shikārīs to their worship is an example of the extent to which Islām in India has been infected by the prejudices of Hinduism.

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SHIKĀRPŪR, a town of Sind, situated in 27° 57′ N. and 68° 40′ E., was founded in the seventeenth century by the Dāūdputras, a tribe of warriors and weavers, who established their supremacy in Upper Sind and made their new town their capital. In 1701 it was captured by Yār Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Kalhora dynasty, with the aid of the Sirāi or Tālpūr tribe of the Balūč, and became, in turn, his capital, but the district in which the town is situated remained in the hands of the Dāūdputras until it was conquered in 1719 by Nūr Muḥammad, the son and successor of Yār Muḥammad.

In 1739 Thatha and Shikārpūr, with all that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus, were ceded by Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī to Nādir Shāh, who in 1740 invaded Sind to punish Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora for concluding with Muḥammad Shāh's governor of the province an agreement which infringed his sovereign rights. Nūr Muḥammad was obliged to surrender and to relinquish his possession of Shikārpūr and Sibī, which Nādir Shāh handed over to the Dāūdputras, but in 1754 Muḥammad Murād Yār Khān was recognized as governor of the whole of Sind by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, to whom the province was tributary, and remained thereafter in the hands of the rulers of the province.

Shikārpūr has long been famous, both under British and under native rule, for the enterprise of its merchants, who carry on an extensive trade not only with other parts of India, but also with Persia and Central Asia, where many of them reside for long periods. The import trade of the Kirmān province of Persia, in tea, sugar, and other commodities is almost entirely in the hands of Shikārpūr merchants, who have taken advantage of the situation of the town on one of the great routes from Sind to Khurāsān viâ the Bolān Pass, but since the middle of the nineteenth century, it has lost much of its importance owing to the construction of the North-Western Railway and its extension to Kwetta (Quetta). It is still, however, a considerable entrepôt Its great covered bazar is famous throughout Asia, and is continued by a modern structure, the Stewartgandj market.

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SHIKESTE. [See i, 391b]

SHIḴḴ 1. Shiḳḳ is the name of two diviners who lived shortly before the rise of Islām. According to the *Synopsis of Marvels*, Shiḳḳ the elder was the first diviner among the Arabs of ʿAriba. He is quite a fabulous personage. Like the Cyclops, he had only one eye in the middle of his forehead or a fire which split his forehead into two (*shaḳḳa* to split) He is also mixed up with Dadjdjāl, Antichrist, or at least Dadjdjāl is of his family. He is said to have lived chained to a rock on an island where volcanic phenomena occurred. The second Shiḳḳ called al-Yashkarī was the most famous of his time along with Saṭīḥ; he expounded a vision of Rabīʿa son of Naṣr the Lakhmid prince of Yemen, foretelling the conquest of Yemen by the Abyssinians, its liberation by Ibn Dhī Yazan and the coming of the Prophet.

2. According to Ḳazwīnī the Shiḳḳ are a kind of Shaiṭān forming part of the group of Mutashaiyaṭīna, they are in the shape of half a man with one arm and one leg. The Nasnās, other halves of men, are produced from Shiḳḳs and whole men. These Shaiṭāns appear to travellers. It is said that ʿAlḳama b. Ṣafwān b. Omaiya met one of them one night near Ḥawmān and after an exchange of high words, the man and the djinn killed one another.

Bibliography: *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, transl. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1898, p. 145 and 152; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. and transl. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, iii. 364 and 395; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Gottingen, 1848—9, i. 371. — On the Kāhin in general cf. *Chronique de Tabari* (Belʿamī), transl. H. Zotenberg, Paris 1867, ii. 169. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SHILLUḤ (in Berber: masc. sg. *ashelḥai*), the name given to the Berber speaking peoples of Sūs, of the High and Anti-Atlas (South of Morocco). This is the name they give themselves; the word is widely used in Morocco; it

is often used by Europeans as a synonym of Berber-speaking, and is applied by them to people of the Middle Atlas also, and among them it is taking the place of *amazigh*.

The language called *taṣḥelḥaɪt*, like the Berber language generally, is found in the form of many local dialects closely connected with one another, none of which has risen to the level of a language of culture. These dialects are among the most conservative of the Berber dialects; in phonetics they are occlusive, with however a tendency in the dental to affrication (e. g. *Ida gunidif*); in morphology they show many clear traces of archaism (cf. the verbs of quality in particular). M Lévi-Provençal has recently discovered an Arabic manuscript 800 years old containing a number of Berber expressions from this region. This valuable manuscript, in view of the scarcity of old Berber texts, gives confirmation of the stable character of these dialects.

This district, especially Sūs, is one of the most striking in Barbary from the literary point of view. The poets there are particularly renowned and one of them, who may however be quite a legendary individual, Sidi Ḥammu, has so to speak become the symbol of poetry and all the popular verses are attributed to him. This literature is mainly oral; there are however a few Berber manuscripts in the Arabic alphabet; this is one of the few districts in Barbary in which they are found.

This region has had no unity from the point of view of historical continuity. A few places are known from the part they have placed at particular periods, e. g. Tinmel, Tazerwalt (cf. the separate articles).

Bibliography *a.* Study of the language there are a certain number of books all practically of the same period by H. Stumme. The chief one is *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt*, Leipzig 1899. M. Destaing has undertaken a study of the dialects of the Ida u Semlal in five volumes, one of the best enquiries into the Berber language — only the first volume has so far appeared: *Tachelḥît du Soûs, I, vocabulaire Français-Berbère*, Paris 1920, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents d'Histoire Almohade* (in the press).

b. Literature: Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920 (esp. p. 349 *sqq*.) (ANDRÉ BASSET)

SHĪN, thirteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, whose numerical value is 300. It is distinguished from *sīn* by three diacritical points, cf. I, 381 *sqq*. For linguistic particulars see SIN.

SHINĀSI (derived from the Persian *shināsi*, the verbal stem of *shināḵhten* "to know"), poetical name or *takhalluṣ* of a number of Turkish poets (five in Hammer). See Index to Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* and to Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*; cf. Rieu, *Catal. British Museum*, p. 101.

The best known of the writers bearing this name is IBRĀHĪM SHINĀSI EFENDI, who is according to some the father and according to others one of the first pioneers of modern Turkish literature (given new life as a result of the *Tanzīmāt*). The son of an artillery captain, a native of Bolu, Shināsi was born at Constantinople in 1242 (1826—1827) and soon afterwards lost his father, who was killed in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829. His mother who became an invalid had him admitted as a clerk in the General Artillery Office (*Topḵhāne-i ʿāmire*), where he attracted the attention of his superiors by his poems, ḳaṣīdas in honour of the grand vizier Rashīd Pasha and other statesmen and his chronograms (*tārīḵh*), more or less complicated (*tāmm, muḏjewher* and *mulemmaʿ*), for tombstones, for fountains and other monuments. A French officer, the Count of Châteauneuf, who was later to become a Muslim under the name of Nūri Bey, taught him the elements of the French language. The young civil servant poet thus found himself chosen among the first students who were sent to France. In his petition addressed to Marshall Fatḥi Pasha (*Topḵhāne mushīri*) Shināsi asked to be sent to Paris in order to perfect himself in the study of the French language (*ṭrsān-ī ʿazeb ul-beyān-ī frānsewi*), and asked for a pension to be paid to his mother during his absence. The decision of the Council of Ministers (*meḏjlis-i wukelā*), approved by Rashīd Pasha, which gave him 5,000 piastres for his travelling expenses and a pension of 300 piastres monthly for his mother, is dated the end of the month Rabīʿ al-awwal 1265 (January 1849) but may have appeared after a certain delay. Tradition has it that Shināsi took an active part in the Revolution of 1848, hanging the Republican flag on the Pantheon, and that he associated with scholars and men of letters such as Silvestre de Sacy, Renan and Lamartine. He stayed abroad for five years.

On his return to Constantinople, Shināsi was appointed a member of the first Council of Public Instruction, created in accordance with the plan which he had brought back from Paris. He worked also on the Finance Commissions with the object of elaborating certain administrative reforms, but having lost his protector Muṣṭafā Rashīd Pasha (who died in 1274) and being in bad odour with the bureaucrats, who even reproached him for not wearing a beard, he quitted the government service and took up journalism

He began by collaborating in the *Terdjumān-ī aḥwāl*, the first non-official Turkish newspaper, founded on the 6 Rabīʿ al-ākhir, 1277 (October 22, 1860) by Agiāh Efendi, *muteṣarrif* of Izmit. Shināsi was the chief editor of this organ. But soon afterwards he was able to found a journal under his own name, the *Taṣwīr-i Efkʿār*, which, thanks to the energy of Shināsi's successors, Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīḳ and his son, was to survive with slight changes of title (*Taṣfīr-i efkʿār, tewḥīd-i efkʿār*) until its recent suppression by the government of Angora (March 6, 1925). Shināsi's paper which, according to its sub-title, was an organ for information and public instruction appeared at first in a very modest and impersonal form; the first number alone contained a preface of several lines, signed by the author. Appearing twice weekly and printed on four pages, in a much reduced "format" the *Taṣwīr-i efkʿār* had four rubrics: Home news (*ḥawādisāt-ī dāḵḵiliye*) mostly official appointments, foreign news (*ḵḵārdjiye*), advertisements (*ʿilānāt*) and a feuilleton (*tefriḳa*). In these feuilletons were published the works of Subḥi Bey (one of which is on numismatics), lectures by Aḥmad Wafīḳ on the philosophy of history, and older works such as the *Mīzān ul-ḥaḳḳ* of Kātib Čelebi They also contained translations from Buffon, by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (*Shedjere-i türki*). The *Taṣwīr* supported the

Courrier d'Orient (edited in French) by Pietri against the *Rūznāme*, the supplement of the *Djerīde-i ḥawādis* in which Sa'īd Bey (the future grand-vizier Küčük Sa'īd Pasha) wrote Begun à propos of a sale of coal to the Admiralty the polemic took a literary character on the subject of an Arabic barbarism committed by Sa'īd Bey who had employed the expression *mes'ele-i mebḥūse 'anhā* (instead of *mebḥūs 'anhā*) "the affair in question". It required the intervention of the Syrian Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāḳ, the editor of the Arabic newspaper *Al-Djawā'ib* to cause Shināsi to triumph before the public

Shināsi also collaborated in the *Djerīde-i 'askarīya* "Journal Militaire" founded by the minister of War Fu'ād Pasha, and in the "Courrier d'Orient", whose editor Pietri he had got to know through the offices of a friend of his Paris days, the Albanian Sa'īd Sermedi Bey After Sermedi had been arrested and exiled to St. Jean d'Acre because his ideas were thought to be too advanced, Shināsi took fright and fled with the aid of Pietri, on board a French ship, in order to take refuge in Paris He did not return to Turkey until after the death of the grand-vizier, who was hostile to him. He himself died in September 1871 in the prime of life.

Apart from his journalistic activity the literary activity of Shināsi is not very extensive Consisting mainly of scattered articles, it has not been collected into *kulliyāt* (complete works)

In 1859 he published a pamphlet entitled *Extraits de poésies et de prose traduits en vers du français en turc*, Constantinople, Eastern Press, 11 pages of French text and as many of Turkish text in 16° (contains short extracts and isolated verses of Racine, Lamartine, La Fontaine, Gilbert and Fenelon) — 2nd edition, press of the *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, 1287 (1871/1872). — This small work is important because it was the first translation into Turkish of literary works of the West (practically all French works).

The poetical works of Shināsi were published 1287 (1871/1872) in another little book entitled *Müntekhabāt-i eshʿār*, "Selection of Poems", by Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīḳ (*Taṣw Efk* Press).

This selection of poems combined with the "Extracts" just mentioned above was reprinted by the same editor under the title of *Dīwān-i Shināsi* on the 1st Muharram 1303 (October 10, 1885), with the authority of Shināsi's son and again later in 1310 (1892/1893), 118 pages in 16mo.

The poetical works of Shināsi do not contain anything revolutionary nor do they give evidence of great poetical talent; they are panegyrics, chronograms, ghazels, satires, hymns (*ilāhi*) etc. But they include two or three rhymed fables and a bold innovation, confined however to two verses only; this is an attempt to write a poem with Turkish words only (*Ṣāfi Türkče*). Here is the meagre result of this attempt:

Gowè-mi erdi bashîm yer yuzune gieldım-se?
War-mî baḳ bendjileyın yîldîzî dushkun kimse?

"Having come on this earth has my intellect soared to heaven?"

"Does there exist a man whose star is as ill-omened as mine?"

(It should be noted that the metre which has been adopted [*remel*] is still borrowed from the old prosody).

In dramatic art Shināsi was also a pioneer? writing the first comedy or rather the first Turkish vaudeville, under the title *Shā'ir ewlenmesi*, "A Poet's Marriage". Feeble in itself, this work has independently of the merit of novelty, that of criticizing the old-fashioned matrimonial customs; it deals with a fraudulent attempt to substitute in the place of a veiled bride, an uglier sister. It has been translated into German by Vámbéry.

Shināsi, besides, collected in 1268 (1851/1852) about 2,000 Turkish proverbs to which he added some Arabic, Persian and French equivalents This collection appeared under the title of *Durūb-u emsāl-i osmāniye*, at the Taṣw. Efk. press in 1280 (1863) and in 1287 (1870—1871). Finally in 1301 (1883/1884) Abu 'l-Ziyā brought out a third edition, which he enlarged by bringing it up to 4004 proverbs (cf. *J. A.*, 1863, ii 269, 143 and 1871, ii. 147, 22).

The influence which Shināsi exerted on the development of Turkish literary movements cannot be compared to that of his young rival and protégé Nāmiḳ Kemāl, but his part was considerable in the restoration of the language itself. He contributed a great deal to simplifying the language by bringing it nearer the spoken language and by combatting scholastic influence of Arabic and Persian so as to make Turkish a language adapted to the requirements of modern civilisation.

In the field of syntax, this reform consisted in writing shorter sentences. Kučuk Sa'īd Pasha (then President of the Senate) said in his *Gazetadjı Lisānî* (*Ṣabāḥ*, 1327 [1913], 144 pp. in 16mo) that the credit of having first used short sentences was not due to Shināsi and that Rashīd Pasha had done so in his youth, when he was *amedhdjı* "referendar", but afterwards came back to the old turgid style. The real initiative is said to have come from the *Fenerli* or Greeks of the Phanar employed in the civil service by the Turks and this movement is said to have begun as early as 1245 (1829/1830). Sa'īd Pasha adds that this need not lessen the real credit of Shināsi who was able to rid the Turkish language of obsolete lumber and rejuvenate it by contact with Western literature (*op cit*, p 106—107)

A letter written by Shināsi to his mother from Paris, dated 30th *Kānūn-i sāni* 1269 (1853), is regarded as a model of the modernised style (reproduced by Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīḳ in his *Numūne-i edebīyāt*)

'Abd al-Ḥalīm Mamdūḥ also thought that Kemāl Bey and Abu 'l-Ziyā had exaggerated the scope of the literary influence of Shināsi. He thinks that he was not only surpassed by his immediate successors but was also preceded by important reformers like 'Ākif and Pertew Pasha. Shināsi is nevertheless the founder of literary criticism in Turkey.

The writer of this article has sought in vain for traces of Shināsi's stay in Paris. A lucky chance may one day make his researches more fruitful. An examination should also be made of the Turkish dictionary in thirteen volumes which Shināsi is said to have left in manuscript — part in the National Library of Budapest and part in the Library at Vienna (cf also 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Mamdūḥ).

Bibliography: The best documental study on Shināsi is that of Vladimir Gordlevski, *Očerki po novoy osmanskoy lit'eratur'e*, Moscou 1912 (Russian; Travaux de l'Institut Lazarev, fascicule xxxix.), 146 pages gr. in 8°. Cf. also

Abu 'l-Ziyā Tawfīḳ, Constantinople 1879, 2nd ed. 1886, *Numūne-i edebīyāt*, p. 253; 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Mamdūḥ, *Tārīkh-i edebīyāt-ī osmānīye*, Constantinople 1306, p. 93—99; Sa'īd Pasha (cf. above in the text of the article); *Mebḥūsatun 'anhā*, pamphlets N°. 23 and 24 of the collection *Kutub-khāne-i Ebu-z-Ziyā*; Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Shināsının berāyı taḥṣīl Parıse gıtmesi, Turk tārīkhi endjumeni medjmū'asī*, of 1st May 1341 (1925), p. 215—216; Paul Horn, *Geschichte der turkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 10—12 (cf. p. 5, the bibliography of this work); L. Bonelli, *Della lingua e letteratura turca contemporanea*, Venice 1892, Safar Bey, *A travers la littérature turque (II)*, *La Revue*, formerly *Revue des Revues*, 1st September 1907

(J. DENY)

SHINTARA (or Shantara), Arabic name of the modern Cintra, a little town in Portugal, at a height of 700 feet above sea-level, 16 miles N.W. of Lisbon. It was quite prosperous under Muslim rule and the Arab geographers remark on the fertility of the country round, its apples were universally famous. Cintra always shared the destinies of its great neighbour Lisbon as long as it was in the hands of the Muslims; it was reconquered in 1147 by Alfonso Henriquez, king of Portugal. After it had become Christian again, it was the favourite residence of the Portuguese kings; it was in the palace of Cintra that Dom Sebastian decided in 1578 upon the expedition against Morocco which ended disastrously on the banks of the Wādi 'l-Makhāzin near al-Ḳasr al-Kabīr

The modern Cintra is dominated by the ruins of an old stronghold of the Muslim period. Of this fortress now called *Castello dos Mouros* built at a height of 1430 feet, there only remain two masses of masonry with the remains of a chapel and baths.

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SHIR. [See ASAD]

SHI'R (A.), poetry. The earliest literature of the Arabs is poetical but the most ancient poems are not older than 500 A. D. We know nothing about its origin. We are told the name of the man who made the first *ḳaṣīda*, but in matters historical the Arabs abhorred a vacuum. Throughout the pre-islāmic period poetry is governed by the same set of conventions, the stereotyped beginning, conventional epithets, stock similes, a limited and arbitrary choice of subjects. These suggest a long previous history. Indeed one poet complains that his predecessors have left him nothing to say. On the other hand, the words. "Let us weep as Abū Humān wept", suggest that the poet was following a new fashion in his art. It is obvious that poetry is closely connected with the rhymed prose (*sadj'*) of impassioned speech and it is probable that some of its measures had their origin in the song of the cameldriver or horsemen. There was something uncanny about poetry, as the name shows. The poet was *shā'ir*, the man of extraordinary knowledge, who knew things hid from common men, was in the council of unseen powers, had a familiar spirit. This comes out most clearly in the branch of the art called *hidjā'*, commonly but badly translated satire. This was in origin a spiritual attack on one's enemies, supplementing the material assault of sword and lance, an attempt to destroy them by the use of supernatural powers. The declamation of such verse was accompanied by symbolic actions. This is another link with *sadj'*, the speech of soothsayers and wizards. Though in historical times the belief in the magical power of poetry was largely lost, yet verses that seem to us pointless had a shattering effect on those at whom they were directed.

Formally, Arabic poetry consists of metre and rhyme. With one exception, *radjaz*, all metres consist of a double line with the rhyme at the end only Metre is quantative and considerable freedom is allowed in the substitution of long for short syllables and *vice versa*. Indeed it is better to say that certain syllables are fixed long or short and the others are allowed to vary. In two metres the classic rule that two short syllables equal one long is followed. Pre-islāmic poets used 15 metres and another was added later. They did not use the *radjaz* for long poems. There was a feeling that it was doggerel not rising to the dignity of poetry and it was chiefly used in *extempore* verse. In addition to these, poets sometimes experimented with other metres but they did not find favour and are treated as irregularities. The rhyme may include as many as three syllables. Throughout a poem all the double lines have the same rhyme and the opening line has it also in the single line. Only one poetic form was known, the *ḳaṣīda*; a poem with one rhyme and one metre, from 30 to 120 lines long. No satisfactory explanation of this name is known Many fragments of *ḳaṣīda*'s exist and it is probable that they were never more than fragments At first the *ḳaṣīda* had no fixed plan save that it nearly always began in a deserted camping ground which the poet recognized as the scene of a passage of love with some fair one (the *nasīb*). On this may follow a description of his camel of a journey — preferably by night — through the desert, an antelope hunt or indeed almost anything the poet chooses. His own warlike prowess or that of his tribe is a common theme. Often it is hard to say that the poem has any purpose. The poet speaks because he must. Later the *ḳaṣīda* was bound by fixed rules. The regular sequence of subjects was the amatory prelude, the description of a camel, the journey and finally the main subject; usually the praise of some great man with a view to touching his pocket. Two aspects of life are shown. A frivolous side where men drink, gamble away their goods and give presents to the girl who fills the wine-cup and sings, thus upholding the fame of their tribe for generosity, and a serious side where the chief spends his substance in feeding the needy and all are ready to rush to arms to defend their honour. Although an Arab was always ready to fight, he was not necessarily in a hurry to be killed, and said so without shame. The poets were fond of commonplace moralizings on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death. Arab theory recognized the elegy (*rathā'*) as a special branch of the art but without sufficient reason. The form was the same but for the omission of the erotic introduction which was felt to be unsuitable. While but for the lamentation over the dead and the call

to vengeance (if he had died a violent death), the subject-matter is very like that of other poems. Very often women composed elegies; some poetesses were famous. It seems that religion had very little place in the life of the Arabs. A mild fatalism is the limit of their experience.

Each line of verse had to be complete in itself. So Arab poetry is essentially atomic; a string of isolated statements which might be accumulated but could not be combined. Sustained narrative and speculation are both alien to it. It is descriptive but the description is a thumbnail sketch; it is thoughtful but the result is aphoristic. The poet looks on the world through a microscope. Minute peculiarities of places and animals catch his attention and make his poetry versified geology and anatomy; untranslatable and dull Forceful speech is his aim and the result is — to Western minds — often grotesque or even repulsive. The comparison of women's fingers to the twigs of a tree, or to caterpillars, are examples. There is little connexion between the lines or parts of a poem. The only bond of union is the personality of the poet. Indeed it is the poet rather than the poetry who is admired. A freeman among his peers, he enjoys life to the full, often coldly calculating, yet, when his narrow code of honour calls, ready to risk all for a friend or the stranger who has claimed his protection. Behind all is the constant shadow of starvation and death; but they cast no permanent gloom on the picture. Most of the poets so described were Bedouin but there were others known as town-dwellers. As a class they differed from the Bedouin type. They show signs of acquaintance with books, prefer other metres to the favourites of the Bedouin and their subject-matter includes fables and historical tradition. Their language, too, inclined more to prose, a sentence might run into two or even three lines of verse. The men of Madīna were held to be the best of these poets. Both Jews and Christians were poets and their verses are often indistinguishable from the work of the pagans. The homes of the various Arab kinglets — especially Hīra — were centres of poetic activity. Thither came the Bedouins eager to get something from the patrons of literature. They also met at the several fairs where matches of rival poets took place.

Bedouin poetry was preserved by oral tradition. The poet declaimed his own verses and was followed by a professional reciter (*rāwī*) who learned and declaimed them. Many a poet began as *rāwī* of another. This raises the question of the genuineness of Arab poetry It is generally assumed that it was not written down till one hundred years A.H. In that time the natural infirmity of human memory and the peculiar character of Arabic make great changes probable. The lack of connections inside a poem help. Often different versions of a poem exist and it is impossible to tell which is the original. We cannot be certain what were the exact words of a poem, all we can say is that the philologists who collected the remains of pre-Islāmic literature during the second century read a certain text. We know too that there was at least some forgery. The conclusion is that the great mass of the poems are genuine or at least ancient, though it may not be possible to prove this conclusively for any one poem. (It has recently been argued that writing was much more common than is generally believed, that the poets were acquainted with that art and that some variant readings can only be explained on the hypothesis of written copies.) A few dialectical variations are preserved but for the most part poets used one language throughout the peninsula. Possibly the wealth of vocabulary is due to the inclusion of words from the many dialects; though their origin is now forgotten. There are some signs that the language of everyday was dropping the inflections used in poetry; had begun the series of changes that produced the vernaculars of to-day. When scholars began to take an interest in poetry for its own sake they gathered the remnants into diwans "collected works" of individuals or tribes or in anthologies some of which contained complete poems and others fragments.

Islām made a great change; partly due to religion, for poetry was the devil's Kur'ān; but chiefly through the change of circumstances. The centre of interest had moved outside Arabia and desert life had not the same appeal. It is almost impossible for one who does not live the life of the desert to appreciate its poetry. Some kept up the old tradition, finishing their poems with praise of the caliph or some other great man whose patronage was desired. Some kept the amatory prelude and then went straight to the business in hand. Others broke from tradition and composed fragments (*ḳiṭʿa*, q. v.) treating of one subject only, it might be love, religion or philosophy. In some of the later poets we can admire the verbal skill that fills a volume with extravagant and sometimes blasphemous adulation, with scarcely a repetition; but the utter emptiness and lack of ideas is revolting. The rule of one poem one rhyme is still observed, no new form is invented. A mystical poem contains over 700 lines with the same rhyme. It took several centuries for these changes to be made Another innovation was that the despised *raǧaz* metre was used for long poems; the authors using all their skill in the handling of words to counterbalance the simplicity of the metre, with the result that they are often unintelligible. Tradition says that in the time of Hārūn a slave girl started the fashion of making verse (pedants did not consider it poetry) in the language of the people. This style was called *laḥn*. In Spain it was raised to literary rank in the *zaǧal*, a short poem in stanzas. A variety of this but in fully inflected speech was the *muwashshaḥ*. At first this was a poem in four or five line stanzas the last line uniting the stanzas by a common rhyme. Each stanza had its own rhyme and one metre was used throughout. The next step was the use of more than one rhyme and metre in each stanza. Sometimes the bonding line was in *laḥn*. For the most part however Spanish poets followed the older custom; though they tried various experiments in rhyme. In subject-matter they broke away from tradition and their work is much more congenial to Europeans than that of the poets of Arabia. Perhaps the most interesting features are a conception of love that suggests the romances of chivalry and an almost modern sensibility to natural beauty.

The early poets knew nothing of the theory of metre. This was discovered by Khalīl b. Aḥmad [q.v.]. It is said that the idea came to him as he heard a smith working with his hammer. The critics hardly thought of a poem as a whole; for them it was a string of detached beauties. It is true

that poets were praised for their skill in certain branches of their art e.g. for the description of the ostrich; but as a rule criticism dealt with details and words only. It tended to be finnicking One is praised for his skill in managing the transition from the *nasīb* to the description of the camel and another is blamed for putting words of ill omen in the opening verse of a poem. In other ways also criticism ran wild. Some held that the pre-Islāmic poets were — by that fact alone — raised high above all others. It was men of this type who denied to Mutanabbī and others the title of poet because they did not observe the early conventions. With no critical principles to guide and a tendency to imitate the old, modern Arabic poetry is not inviting; especially as it is written in what is essentially a dead language.

It would be absurd to attempt even an outline history of Persian poetry in the space available. The utmost possible is a description of the forms of verse The Persians borrowed their metres from the Arabs though they have other favourites. They also borrowed the *ḳaṣīda* and *ḳiṭ'a*, about which it is not necessary to say more. The *ghazal* is really a *ḳiṭ'a* of a dozen lines or so with complete freedom in the choice and treatment of subject. It has less continuity and a looser connection of ideas than the *ḳiṭ'a*, though it is usually a love poem. Of native forms the chief are the *mathnawī* and *rubā'ī* or *dū-baīt*. The former consists of two long lines in the metre named *ramal* trimeter catalectic rhyming at the end of the double verse, a sort of heroic couplet. It is the form used for long poems whatever their subject may be. The *dū-baīt* is two long lines with the first second and fourth half-lines rhyming and occasionally the third. The metre used is one of the many variants of the *hazadj*. A *dū-baīt* is always independent, they are never combined into a longer poem

The same desire as was felt in the west produced variants of the monorhymed poem which are all classed as *musammaṭ*. These consist of stanzas of anything from four to ten lines in the same metre, each stanza having its own rhyme. Some forms have a refrain with a separate rhyme The earliest Persian poetry dates from shortly after 900 A.D. and since then the language and the forms of verse have changed very little. Fashions have changed, now simplicity has been in vogue and now fantastic conceits, but the outward form remains the same.

Turkish and Urdu poetry are little more than imitations of the Persian. Urdu, however, does show some signs of Indian influence both in form and subject-matter; to a small extent in earlier times and to a much larger extent during the last few years.

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(A. S. TRITTON)

SHĪR 'ALĪ, BĀRAKZĀĪ, Amīr of Afghānistān, was the third son of the Amīr Dūst Muḥammad and succeeded his father, in accordance with his will, on June 9, 1863. His overtures to the Government of India on his accession were, unfortunately, coldly received. The Amīr found it necessary to march, almost immediately, into the Khuram district to compel his brother 'Aẓīm Khān to swear allegiance to him and early in the following year both 'Aẓīm Khān in Kuram and Afḍal Khān, the eldest brother, in Balkh, rebelled. Muhammad Rafīḳ, the Amīr's most able officer, defeated the former and compelled him to flee to India, and the latter submitted to Shīr 'Alī and was pardoned and restored to his post, but his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, fled to Bukhārā, whereupon Shīr 'Alī imprisoned Afdal Khān. Early in 1865 Sharīf Khān and Amīn Khān, two other brothers, rose in rebellion at Ḳandahār and 'Aẓīm Khān returned from India to Kuram. Muḥammad Rafīḳ again expelled him and Shīr 'Alī marched towards Ḳandahār. He met and defeated the rebels near Kalāt-i Ghilzāī, but was stupefied with grief at the loss of his eldest son, Muḥammad 'Alī, slain by Amīn, who was also killed. He pardoned Sharīf and was roused from his lethargy by the news that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had returned from Bukhārā, corrupted the state officials in Balkh and Muḥammad Rafīḳ, and, having been joined by 'Aẓīm, entered Kābul on March 2, 1865. Shīr 'Alī marched against him, but was defeated, and fled with no more than 500 horse. The governor of Ghaznī refused to admit him, and released Afḍal Khān, who joined his son and was proclaimed Amīr in Kābul The Government of India recognized him as ruler of Kābul, but he died almost immediately and was succeeded by his brother, 'Aẓīm Khān. In January 1868, however, Shīr 'Alī returned from Afghān Turkistān, entered Herāt, and in June was received as a deliverer in Ḳandahār. His army marched on Kābul and compelled 'Aẓīm to flee once more to India, where he died in exile. In January, 1869, 'Abd al-Raḥmān was defeated and expelled, and Shīr 'Alī re-established himself as Amīr of Afghānistān. In 1869 he met the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at Ambāla, but received little beyond vague expressions of goodwill, instead of the offensive and defensive alliance which he sought. Again in 1873, alarmed by the Russian conquest of Khīwa, he sought an alliance from the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and on receiving another rebuff rejected proffered subsidies and entered secretly into relations with Russia. In 1876 Lord Lytton was authorized to offer Shīr 'Alī the alliance which he had sought, but the offer came too late. The Amīr ostentatiously received a Russian envoy and, though warned that war would be the result, turned Sir Neville Chamberlain, who was accredited as British envoy, back from his frontier. On November 20, 1878, the British Government, after vainly awaiting an apology, declared war, and on February 21, 1879, Shīr 'Alī

died, and was succeeded by his son, Yaʿḳūb Khān.

Bibliography: G. B. Malleson, *History of Afghānistān*, London 1878; *The Second Afghān War*, 1878—1880, *Abridged Official Account*, London 1908; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908. (T. W. HAIG)

SHĪR SHĀH, FARĪD AL-DĪN, founder of the Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, was the son of Ḥasan Khān, of the Sūr tribe of Afghāns [q. v] who received from Sikandar Lodī the fief of Sahsarām in Bihār. Shīr Khān pursued his studies assiduously at Djawnpūr, and afterwards, in the administration of his father's fiefs, obtained a minute knowledge of all the details of revenue administration. He was presented to Bābur, but, alarmed by the instinctive dislike which the emperor conceived for him, fled from his court. His successes against the Sultān of Bengal rendered him virtually independent in Bihār, and though Humāyūn invaded Bihār and Bengal and seemed to have established his authority there, Shīr Khān was secure in Rohtās, and when Humāyūn was recalled from Bengal by the rebellion of his brother Hindāl, followed him, and on June 26, 1539, inflicted a severe defeat on him at Čawsa, on the Ganges. Shīr Khān assumed the royal title in Bengal, and in the following year marched on Āgra. Humāyūn met him at Kanawdj on May 17, 1540, but was again defeated, and, after a short stay in Āgra, fled towards Lāhor, pursued by Shīr Khān, now Shīr Shāh Humāyūn fled into Sind and his brother Kāmrān to Kābul, and Shīr Shāh remained master of northern and eastern India. He secured his northern frontier by building in the Nandana hills a fortress which he named Rohtās, after his stronghold in Bihār, and then, marching into Bengal, distributed that province among petty fief-holders, his own career having proved the danger of entrusting it to one powerful governor. In 1542 he established his authority in Mālwa and, leaving Shudjāʿat Khān there as governor, returned to Āgra in 1543. In 1544 he attacked the Rādja of Jodhpūr, and defeated him, but by so narrow a margin that he remarked, alluding to the poverty of the soil, "that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet". In 1545 he besieged a Hindū chieftain in the strong fortress of Kālindjar, and on May 22, as he was watching the effect of the bombardment, a live shell or grenade fell into the powder magazine by which he was standing and he was terribly scorched by the explosion. He lay in great agony, directing the assault in his intervals of consciousness, until he was informed that the fortress had fallen, and then died. He was succeeded by his son, Islām Shāh.

The sycophantic chroniclers of the Timūrids have done scant justice to "Shīr Khān" as they call him, one of India's greatest rulers, and his fame is overshadowed by that of Akbar, to whom he was superior in some respects and inferior in few. On 1800 Indian leagues of road, from Sonārgāon to the Indus and from Āgra to Māndū, he built 1800 caravanserais, each with a mosque and full establishment. Cooked and uncooked food were provided for Muslims and Hindūs, post-horses were in readiness and fruit-trees planted beside the roads refreshed the traveller. Such was the order maintained by him "that an old woman with a basket of gold might sleep securely at night in the open plain without a guard". The historian Budāonī thanks God that he was born in the reign of so just a king, and to his subjects, as to himself, it was matter for regret "that he did not obtain his kingdom until the time of evening prayer".

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SHIʿRĀ, Sirius, Greek Σείριος, i.e. the brilliant, the brightest star in the constellation of Canis Major (*al-Kalb al-akbar*) known as *α Canis Majoris*. It shines with a white light and surpasses with magnitude 1.6 all other fixed stars in brightness. That the Arabic word Shiʿrā comes from the Greek Σείριος, has been proved by I. I. Hess (cf. I. I. Hess, *Über das prafigierte und infigierte ع im Arabischen*, in *Z. S.*, 1924) as *r* in a foreign word gives ع in Arabic. As further evidence that Shiʿrā is a foreign word in Arabic, Hess calls attention to the fact that this name of Sirius is unknown in the interior of Arabia; Beduins and settled Arabs alike call it al-Mirzam, which is found in the Bishārī language as Mirdim.

As might be expected, so striking a star plays an important part in Muslim astrology, and the possibilities of prophecy from the course of Sirius are exceedingly numerous. Its rising at the same time as the moon has always been a favourite conjunction with the astrologer. The moon may rise in any of the twelve zodiacal circles, but not so Sirius, on account of its fixed position with regard to the fixed stars But its ascension may coincide in time with the risings of the moon just mentioned. We possess an astronomical writing by the celebrated Hākimī astronomer, Ibn Yūnus (d 1009) entitled *Fī Aḥkām al-Shiʿrā yamānīya* (Gotha, A, 1459).

[Hermes, the wise one says, "When the rising of the moon coincides with that of Sirius in the Ram, the changing fortunes of men will be good at the beginning of the year; they will be hale and healthy and free from bodily ills, but only until the fifth day before the entry (of the joint rising), then illnesses will come again; in that year all quadrupeds with young will miscarry, the dismissals and deposition of governors will be frequent and the King of Romans will die quite suddenly in that year on the 3rd of the month (H)atūr"]

(C. SCHOY)

SHĪRĀZ, a town in Persia, capital of the province of Fārs in a vast plain to the south of Iṣpahān It was conquered by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣī at the end of the caliphate of ʿOmar; it was rebuilt by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Hakam b. Abī ʿAḳīl al-Thaḳafī, cousin and lieutenant of al-Ḥadjdjādj in the reign of the Caliph Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik on the ruins of an ancient city which belonged to the province of Ardashīr-Khurra, the capital of which was Gūr (Djūr), the modern Fīrūzābād. Its walls were built by the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār Sulṭān al-Dawla, from 436 to 440 (1044—1048), who gave it twelve gates (Muḳaddasī, p. 430 only gives eight, with their names);

these walls were repaired in the middle of the viiith (xivth) century by Mahmūd Shāh Indjū, the rival of the Muẓaffarids. In 795 (1393) Tīmūr arrived in front of the town and was attacked by Shāh Manṣūr the Muẓaffarid, who lost his life there. It was taken by the Afghāns in 1137 (1724) Karīm Khān Zand [q. v.] made it his capital surrounded it with walls and ditches, paved its streets and erected fine buildings there, notably the great bazaar. It was laid in ruins by the earthquakes of 1813 and 1824. It had at one time an ancient citadel called Shāh-Mobadh (Iṣṭakhrī, p 116). In the early centuries of Islām it still retained two Zoroastrian fire-altars, one called Kārnīyān and the other Hormuz; there was also a third outside its gates called Masūbān in the village of Barkān (Iṣṭakhrī, p 119)

The wine of Shīrāz is famous; it comes from the village of Khullar or Khullār, also noted for its honey and its millstones. Water is brought to it by the Ruknābād canal, sung by Hāfiz and built by Rukn al-Dawla the Būyid, father of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and by the canal from the tomb of Saʿdī. The city has three principal mosques. 1. Djāmiʿ ʿAtīḳ, built by ʿAmr b. Laiṯ in the second half of the third (ninth) century, 2. the new Mosque built by the Salghurid Atābeg Saʿd b. Zangī, in the second half of the vith (xiith) century, 3. Masdjid Ṣonḳor, built by the first Atābeg of the Salghurids. There are also many saints' tombs which have earned for this city the name of Burdj al-Awliyā "citadel of the saints", notably that of the ʿAlid Ahmad b Muḥammad b Mūsā al-Kāẓim, and those of the mystic poets Saʿdī and Hāfiz, to the north of the city. There are the gardens of Dilgushā and Hafttan. The city manufactures mosaics called *khātam-kārī*, dress materials, gauze, brocades, silk-floss It was the birthplace of the poets Athīr called Shafiʿā, Ahlī, Boshaḳ (Abū Ishāḳ Hallādj), Hāfiz, Saʿdi, ʿUrfī, Bābā Fighānī, Mānī, Madjd al-Dīn Hamgar, and of the religious reformer ʿAlī Muhammad called the Bāb.

There is also a village of the same name north of Samarkand 4 parasangs, about 16 miles from it (Quatremère, *N E.*, xiv. 490, *J A*, Jan. 1852, p. 83; Burnes, *Voyage a Boukhara*, iii. 207).

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AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābādī, a Shāfiʿī jurist, born in Fīrūzābād in 393 (1003). To study Fiḳh he went to Shīrāz in 410, then to Baṣra and in Shawwāl 415 (Dec. 1024) reached Baghdād, where he completed his studies in the *Uṣūl* with Abū Ḥātim al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 440) and in the *Furūʿ* with Abu 'l-Ṭaiyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450). In 430 (1038/1039) he began to teach in Baghdād (Subkī, iii. 177); the fame of his learning soon became so great that students sat at his feet from all over the Muslim world. Many of his pupils held offices as Ḳāḍīs and preachers in the east of the Caliph's empire. In 459 (1067) the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk appointed him to open the first public Medrese founded by him in Baghdād, the Niẓāmīye. But as Shīrāzī did not appear, it was opened by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh; when his pupils threatened to go over to the latter, he finally accepted the chair. Here he taught till his death (Ibn al-Ṣābiʿ in Ibn Khallikān, i. 304). When the dispute between Abū Nasr b. al-Ḳushairī (d. 514) and the Ḥanbalīs in Baghdād on the teachings of al-Ashaʿrī came to such a pitch that blood was shed, Shīrāzī energetically took the side of the Ashaʿrīs and persuaded the vizier to incarcerate the Ḥanbalī Shaikh (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 71; Subkī, iii. 98 *sq.*; iv. 251). His journey to Nīshāpūr on a mission from the caliph in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 475 (May 1083) is evidence of his great prestige, it was like a triumphal procession. At Nīshāpūr the Imām al-Ḥaramain came out to receive him and carried his cloak. He held disputations with him, in which the Imām al-Ḥaramain recognised the superiority of his opponent Shīrāzī died soon after his return to Baghdād on Djumādā II, 21, 476 (Nov. 5, 1083) and was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Abraz with great honour — the caliph pronounced the burial prayer. The Nizāmīya was closed for a whole year by its founder's command, as a sign of mourning. The vizier Tādj al-Mulk (d. 486) had a *turbe* built and a madrasa near it (Ibn al-Athīr, x 147).

His principal writings are. 1) *Kitāb al-Tanbīh fi 'l-Fiḳh*, written in the year 452/453, ed Juynboll, Leiden 1879, a legal compendium on which commentaries have been frequently written; 2) the comprehensive *Kitāb al-muḏhḏhab fi 'l-Maḏhhab*, composed in 455—469, still unprinted, cf Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 214; 3) *Kitāb Taḏhkirat al-Masʾūlin*, an Ikhtilāf-work in several volumes on the teachings of the Ḥanafī's and Shāfiʿī's which has apparently not survived, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 2848; 4) *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahāʾ*, short biographies of jurists of the first two centuries and of the four Madhāhib down to his own day, a work often cited by the later biographers, e g. al-Nawawī, al-Subkī, Ibn Khallikān, al-Kurashī, as well as many times copied without mentioning the source (I am preparing an edition).

Bibliography: al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb G M.S.*, xx., fol. 435v, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii. 349; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 38, 71, 81 *sq.*, 85; al-Nawawī, *Biograph. dictionary*, p. 646—649, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i. 5 *sq.*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iii. 88—111, 275—280; Wüstenfeld, *Schafiʿiten*, N°. 452 (= *Abh. Gott. Ges. Wiss.* xxxvii [1891]), Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 387, cf. also i 324, N°. 2. (Heffening)

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Abu 'l-Husain ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, a mathematician, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. He studied Greek mathematics and astronomy. In his time there was already available a good Arabic version of the *Conic Sections* (*κωνικά*) of Apollonius of Perga by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī (d. 883/884) and Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī (826—901). With the help of this he prepared a synopsis of the contents of the *κωνικά*, the Arabic version of which

is in Oxford (Bodl. 913, 987, 988). There is also attributed to him a compendious version (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, from which Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (1236–1311) [q.v.] prepared a Persian translation of the *Maǧisṭī*. The Arabic versions of the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius are of great value for the history of mathematics because the three last of the seven books of this important work only survive in Arabic, while the eighth book of the κωνικά (Arab. *Makhrūṭyāt*) had already disappeared from knowledge by the time of the Arab translator.

Bibliography: H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, p. 126, 158; L. M. Ludwig Nix, *Das fünfte Buch der Conica des Appollonius von Perga in der arabischen Übersetzung des Thābit ibn Corrah*, Leipzig 1889, p. 3—7 (not free from typographical errors). (C. SCHOY)

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN (d. 1640) is one of the great unknown men in the history of human thought. Holding a humble and poorly paid post as a teacher he found time and energy to build up his own philosophy, ordering and shaping the whole knowledge of his time from new points of view. The great problems, which the older philosophy handed down to his period were solved by him in his own way. His world-system is a theory of being. The real things of the world around us are "individua of being", similarly limited sections of an endless primordial being, emanating from God as the primordial light like individual rays From this fundamental principle, Shīrāzī thinks out the whole arrangement of reality in a new fashion: what we take for "entity" in things is the separation of the individual rays of the "being" and what we take for "existence" in them is the presence of this ray. This gives a new solution of the age-long great problem of being and existence, each being a different aspect and side of the same metaphysical reality.

The idea of the transmigration of souls was still quite alive in his time. He transformed it according to his own metaphysics of existence; according to its spirituality the soul of man attains to a higher stage of existence, likeness to God and union with God. The principle of this evolution is according to him gnosis, the higher form of knowledge which by the creation of its content in man supplies the defects and wants of his being and thus makes for perfection. The cognition of our mind is an act which is influenced by the active intelligence and possesses relationship in essence with the creative activity of God. God is not only the primordial being but also the centre of values. The reflection of these primordial values are the things of creation. If we therefore find in the world and its confusing multiplicity reflections of truth, goodness, beauty and loveliness, these are the reflection of God, which shines upon us and points the way to God. The path to ethical perfection is thus at the same time indicated.

The three great intellectual aspects of Islām converge in Shīrāzī for he is at once theologian, philosopher and mystic, taking up and equating the ideas of these movements. His special tendency however is the typical Persian mysticism of "illumination" (*iṣhrāḳ*) as Suhrawardī developed it, which he based on Aristotelian proofs through Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī; he developed the system further (in the doctrine of entities whose immutability he disputes). The objections of the Indian monistic type of Muslim mysticism, he also overcomes by his thesis of the emanations of being. That philosophy did not die out in Islām after 1100 but still flourished at a late period is proved by the existence of Shīrāzī. He gathered together the higher culture of the brilliant epoch of Shāh ʿAbbās into a synthesis planned on a large scale.

Bibliography: Horten, *Die Gottesbeweise bei Schirazi*, Bonn 1912, do., *Das philosophische System des Schirazi*, Strassburg 1913; do., *Die Philosophie des Islam*, Munich 1924, p. 93 *sq.*, 124—126 et passim. (M. HORTEN)

AL-SHIRBĪNĪ, YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-DJAWĀD B. KHIḌR, an Egyptian writer of the XIth (XVIIth) century and author of a work entitled *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf bi-Sharḥ ḳaṣīd Abī Shādūf*. "The tossing of heads in the commentary of the poem of Abū Shādūf". No biographer devotes a notice to him. Al-Shirbīnī tells us incidentally that in 1075 (1664/1665) he was on the road from the Nile (Ṣaʿīd) to al-Ḳoṣair (al-Ḳoṣēr) on the Red Sea (cf. the commentary on verse 13, *ya ʿandīf*, Būlāḳ, 1308, p. 152).

Among his teachers he mentions Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Ḳalyūbī (d end of Shawwāl 1069/1659) and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Sandūbī, who is said to have engaged him to compose the poem and to write a commentary on it afterwards (cf. p. 215).

In the first which is a kind of introduction, the author describes the *fallāḥ* (peasants) of the Nile valley and gives anecdotes in which he records their coarse customs, speaks of their food which no man to any degree civilised can smell or touch, describes the marriage ceremony among them etc. The first part ends in an *urdjūza* in literary language in which he sums up the various customs of the *fallāḥ* which he has just described.

The second part is a poem of 47 verses (and not 42 or 52) in the Egyptian dialect attributed to an imaginary Abū Shādūf in which each verse is followed by a full commentary in the classical language, spiced with facetious digressions sometimes fairly long, anecdotes very often sarcastic, quotations in verse and prose of which those in the spoken language are more numerous than those in the literary language.

Al-Shirbīnī, a moralist in his own way and a highly educated man as well as a poet (cf. his *Muwashḥah*, p 193), describes from careful observation the customs, especially the bad ones, and particularly the vices not only of the peasants of the Nile valley but of his contemporaries in the cities; his gauloiseries suggest a comparison with Brantôme. His book has been lithographed in Cairo without indication of place and date and at Alexandria in 1289 and printed at Būlāḳ in 1274 and 1308 and Cairo in 1322.

Bibliography: Van Dyck, *Iktifāʾ al-ḳanūʿ*, Cairo 1313, p. 294; Vollers in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1887, xli. 370 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 278; C. Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto*, Milan 1913, p. 482. (M. BEN CHENEB)

SHIRK (also *iṣhrāk*, A.), association, especially associating a companion to God — honouring another besides God, polytheism. In the oldest sūras of the Ḳurʾān, during the so-called first Meccan period, the conceptions *shirk* and *mushrikūn* do not occur. Muḥammad was probably at first exclusively concerned with his own fate, being

completely under the ban of the imminent Last Judgment, and only with the increasing hostility on the part of the unbelievers did he begin to take an interest in them. In the latter parts of the Ḳur'ān they are often mentioned, and regular disputations with the Mushrikūn sometimes occur; in particular they are continually threatened with the Last Judgment; the mushrikūn will then receive their punishment (Sūra, xxviii. 62 *sqq.*). They think their idols will intercede for them with Allāh, but these cannot do this (Sūra, vi. 94; x. 19; xxx. 12; xxxix. 4 and 39); quite the contrary, for they will accuse their worshippers on the Last Day (Sūra, xix. 84 *sq.*; x. 29 *sq.*) and they will become fuel for hell with them (Sūra, xxi. 98 *sq.*). The mushrikūn are not grateful to God for saving them from the perils of the sea (Sūra, xxix. 65). The believers are to keep away from them and not to marry the mushrikāt (Sūra, ii 220) but they are not to revile the unbelievers but endure them unless the latter in their turn attack Allāh (Sūra, vi. 108). In the year 9, however, Muḥammad finally casts off the mushrikūn (Sūra, ix. 3, cf. however earlier Sūra, xv. 94 *sq*); the mushrikūn are unclean (Sūra, ix. 28) The believers are not to pray for them, even if they are their nearest relatives (Sūra, ix. 114 *sq.*). Muḥammad had already earlier expressly declared shirk to be the sin for which God has no forgiveness (Sūra, vi. 51, 116; xxxi 12) and rejected it as absurd (Sūra, xxi 22)

This development is very similar to that of the conception of the *kāfir* [q. v] in the Ḳur'ān. Kāfir is the most usual term for the unbelievers, and comprises both mushrikūn and the "people of a book". Thus Sūra xcii. 5, says "those who are unbelievers, the possessors of a scripture as well as the servants of idols will dwell eternally in Hell-fire". The commentators on this passage differ in their views. Some hold the view that the people of a book are to be included among the mushrikūn and that here we have the narrower term used first, and then the more comprehensive one. Other commentators have distinguished the people of a book from the idolators in the narrower sense and this corresponds to the use of the phrase which later became predominant. But everywhere in the Ḳur'ān shirk is used in direct contrast to the profession of the oneness of God, which has been given its most pregnant expression in Sūra cxii. (*Sūrat al-Tawḥīd* or *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*) and according to one but rather artificial explanation, a definite variety of *shirk* is made impossible by each single verse of this sūra.

In the Ḥadīth literature, Shirk has usually the same meaning of "an external obscuring the belief in the oneness of God". The mushrikūn are — as in the above mentioned Ḳur'ānic passage — ungrateful to God and say in their vain boasting, "if we had not our dogs we would be robbed", and so on.

For the rest, the hostile feeling against the mushrikūn in the period of the great conquests is reflected in the rest of the Ḥadīth literature. Before the battle the mushrikūn received the demand to adopt Islām; on one occasion Muḥammad even prays to God for right guidance for them; on another he curses them and calls down fire on their houses and tombs, and wishes for subsidences and earthquakes. According to one ḥadīth the believer very rarely falls before the shirk, and the Prophet says, full of confidence "Shirk is in my community more difficult to find than a black seed on a hard rock in the darkest night" — or he says to Abū Bakr, "I will tell a word to thee, the utterance of which protects thee against any shirk: O, God, I take refuge with Thee, lest I wittingly give thee a companion and beseech Thy pardon if I have done it unwittingly".

In the Fiḳh books, mushrik is the proper legal term for unbeliever, although *kāfir* is often also found. The unbeliever according to the Fiḳh is in general regarded as an outlaw and of little value. Unbelievers, especially if hostile, can be killed without punishment, while on no account can a believer be put to death for the sake of an unbeliever. On this point in general, cf. the article KĀFIR and on special points DJIHĀD and DĀR AL-ḤARB for the laws of warfare, and the articles DHIMMA, KHARĀDJ and DJIZYA for the constitutional law. On some points the unbelievers are allowed to make legal arrangements among themselves, as for example in the law of marriage: — Unbelievers are at liberty to arrange the marriage of their children as they please; unbelievers can be witnesses at a marriage between believers; unbelieving husband and wife must be divorced if one of the two adopts Islām. Law of Inheritance. — Bequests from one unbeliever to another, even of different religions are quite as valid as in the case when either the testator or legatee is a Muslim; but in no case can anything be bequeathed to an enemy unbeliever. The Ḳāḍī has to prevent the appointment of an unbeliever as executor to a will. On the law of slaves cf. the articles ʿABD and MUKĀTABA; and the article TAḲIYA on the cases of urgent necessity in which a believer is permitted to conceal his faith.

The broadening of the Muslim outlook in the wars of conquest had naturally quite early brought about a recognition of the fact that all mushrikūn are not the same and are not to be treated alike. In the books on *Milal wa-Niḥal* we find more or less full accounts of the different foreign religious systems, which term includes also the philosophers, star-worshippers and atheists, and in the apologetic literature, we occasionally find systematic expositions of the various foreign religions. Attempts are not wanting which explain psychologically the origin of idolatry. From such considerations the conception of shirk came to be divided into many varieties, with which we cannot deal here. But these researches had a practical legal significance insomuch as through them the oaths came to be formulated, by which members of strange religions were sworn, to get a binding promise from them, especially in the case of recognition of the authority of Muslim State. An interesting collection of such formulae for oaths for the Mamlūk period is given by Ḳalḳashandī *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, xiii. 200 *sqq.*

In the course of the dogmatic development of Islām the conception of shirk received a considerable extension through the circumstance that the adherents of many sects had no compunction about reproaching their Muslim opponents with shirk, as soon as they saw in them any obscuring of monotheism, although only in some particular respect specially emphasised by themselves, and in the later systematised dogmatic works, which as a rule in connection with *tawḥīd*, go into a

opposite shirk, one can trace in almost any sentence what sectarian view is referred to or refuted, and then trace the path by which the present formulation has come about. Shirk nowadays is no longer simply a term for the unbelief prevailing outside of Islām, but has become a reproach hurled by one Muslim against another inside of Islām.

The Mu'tazilīs, for example, called their opponents mushrikūn in as much as they, by adopting eternal attributes of the Deity, postulated their existence as eternal existence beside God. The attributes rather, they say, do no exist for themselves, but are inseparably one with God and not different from Him, and expressions like "God is all-knowing", "God is mighty", "God is living", simply mean "God is"

Quite in the same spirit, the Almohads, whose special programme was the *tawḥīd*, accused their opponents of shirk, because they held the doctrine of the non-creation of the Ḳur'ān and their *tawḥīd* includes the demand to recognise its uncreatedness, only in this way is it possible to exclude the Ḳur'ān from being a second eternal being besides God. Mushrikūn to them also are the anthropomorphists who make God possess physical human qualities and thus affect his *waḥdānīya*. According to their strict view, they alone are professors of the oneness of God (*mu'aḥḥidūn*) in the true sense, the whole of the rest of the Muslim world is *mushrikūn* to them and the Christians *Ahl al-Kufr*. (The Ismā'īlīya also were fond of calling themselves *mu'aḥḥidūn* but this was not a distinctive name for them, for them every one who associates another with his Imām, is like one who associates another with God or the Prophet, i e is unclean)

The shirk theory of the Wahhābīs went to the greatest extreme. Their hostility is directed against shirk which in their view infects the whole of orthodox Islām in the form of the cult of prophets, saints, and tombs. Besides, there have not been wanting in orthodoxy and elsewhere (cf e. g Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 189; cf. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, p 67 *sq*) those who condemn the cult of saints for reasons of *tawḥīd*, and at bottom it is only tolerated as a concession to the overwhelming practice of the people. The Wahhābīs also consider themselves the only *mu'aḥḥidūn*, all other Muslims are mushrikūn and they alone are called to the *iḥyā' al-sunna* The old sunna and the picture of the character of the Prophet and therefore the very heart of Islam has indeed been falsified by the worship of saints. Therefore they attack the very holiest places of Islām of the Sunnīs and Shī'īs, because these in their eyes are regular strongholds of idolatry

According to the theorists of the Wahhābīs, they directed their opposition in detail against 1. *shirk al-'ilm*: prophets and saints have no *'ilm al-ghaib* except when it is revealed to them by God, who alone possesses it. It is shirk to credit or ascribe knowledge to them or to soothsayers, astrologers and interpreters of dreams. 2. *shirk al-taṣarruf* is the assumption that any one except God has power. Whoever then regards a saint as an intervener with God commits shirk, even if it only, he thinks, serves to bring him nearer to God. Any kind of intervention (*shafā'a*, q. v.) is therefore rejected on the authority of Sūra xxxix. 45; the Prophet himself will only receive from God permission to intervene on the Last Day and not before. 3. *shirk al-'ibāda*: the reverencing of any created thing, the grave of the Prophet, the tomb of a saint, by prostration, circumambulation, giving of money, vows, fasting, pilgrimage, mentioning the name of a saint, praying at his grave, kissing certain stones, etc. 4. *Shirk al-'āda*: superstitious customs like *istiḵhāra*, belief in omens, in good or bad days, etc, in personal names like 'Abd al-Nabī, asking soothsayers for advice, etc. 5. *Shirk fi 'l-adab*: swearing in the name of the Prophet, of 'Alī, of the Imāms, or Pīrs.

Shirk has a special meaning in Muslim ethics, notably in al-Ghazālī. To the refined ethical conscience "every kind of worship of God which is not absolutely disinterested" is shirk. Thus the hypocritical practice of religion which is performed for the sake of reward, i. e to gain the admiration or applause of men, is shirk, because it associates consideration for men with the thought of God. Similarly arrogance and egoism are a kind of shirk. Numerous grades of this shirk are further distinguished, and it is called also *shirk ṣaghīr* or *shirk asghar* in contrast to crude and obvious polytheism, *shirk 'aẓīm*; the ethical value of an action is based on the degree of admixture or omission that clouds the pure intention, *iḵhlāṣ* [q v]

Just as the term *iḵhlāṣ* for the Ṣūfīs now has the meaning "exclusive devotion to God", so shirk has for them come to have the meaning "being prevented by something from exclusive devotion to Him". For example the mere illusion of the soul (*nafs*) that it has something good in it and has a certain worth is a secret idolatry (*shirk khafī*). It is the same with the assertion "I know God", because here we have an admission of the duality between the subject, which knows and the object of knowledge For the Ṣūfī seeking union with the deity, difference of rites and religions loses all significance, and this does not exclude Islām, and the following bold saying is ascribed to Tilimsānī, a pupil of Ibn 'Arabī, that "the Ḳur'ān is absolute shirk, profession of oneness is found only in our (i.e. Ṣūfī) speech" (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 171)

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, index s. v.; Muḥ. A'lā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ii 770 *sqq* , Fagnan, *Additions*, p. 88; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i 129 [6], 225, 229, Weitbrecht-Stanton, *The Teaching of the Qoran*, index under Idolatry and Idols; Hamilton, *Hidāya*, index· Infidels; Abū Yūsuf, *Kit. al-Ḵharādj*, Būlāk, 1302, p. 73 *sqq.*, 118 *sqq.*; *Il Muḥtaṣar o Sommario del diritto malechito di Ḫalīl ibn Eshāq*, transl. Guidi-Santillana, index guerra santa, kitābī; "*Corpus Iurus*" *di Zaid ibn 'Alī*, ed Griffini, index Mušrik; al-Nafūsi, *Ḳanāṭir al-Khairāt*, i 227, 231, 252, 289, Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ash'ari*, p 16 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Materialien zur Kenntnis der Almohadenbewegung*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xli. 68; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. Mushrik, Shirk, Wahhābī; R. Hartmann, *al-Qoshairi's Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, p 15 *sqq.*, 59 and 77; H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, i p. 45 *sqq.*, 64 *sqq.*, 68 *sqq.*; Obermann, *Der .... Subjektivismus al-Ghazālī's*, p. 154 [3], 263. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SHIRKA (or SHARIKA; the former is according to al-Faiyūmī, *Miṣbāḥ* and the more usual form in the Turkish legal language). Shirka originally implied simply that a thing belonged to several

persons in common in such a way that each one had ownership in every smallest part of it in proportion to the share allotted to him. This idea seems to be a general Semitic one. It is found similarly in the Talmudic שותפות, cf. L. Auerbach, *Jud. Obligationenrecht*, § 45. Like this conception shirka was also later transferred to the different forms of trading companies. The jurists therefore understand primarily by shirka common property (*shirkat al-amlāk*) which arises for example through inheritance, gift or indissoluble combination. One joint owner can only deal with his share with the approval of the others; the second kind of *shirka* is the company which is based on contract i. e. on offer and acceptance (*shirkat al-ʿuḳūd*).

The conditions for its foundation are ability to give and undertake a commission (*wakāla*) or money or goods representing it The shirka is a trading company, the profits are divided either into equal parts or in proportion to the shares The relation of companies to one another is a relation of confidence (*amāna*) The company is dissolved (1) by the declaration of the wish of a member (renuntiatio), (2) by secession from Islām or departure into the *Dār al-Ḥarb* (cf capitis diminutio) and (3) through death or mental disease (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 4; 17, 2, 63, 10, Basil., xii. 1, 4). The heir can only continue the company through a new contract of association (cf. Dig 17, 2, 35, 36, 37 = Basil , xii 1, 35, 36, 37)

The Hanafīs know four kinds of companies (1) *Shirkat al-Mufāwaḍa*, when the shareholders are equal in respect of capital, right to disposal, shares in profit and loss, if every shareholder is not only "authorised agent" of the others but is also "surety" for them Mufāwada with slaves and unbelievers is not permitted The Mālikīs do not recognise this form, by mufāwaḍa they understand a company in which the shareholders are only general agents for each other profit and loss are divided among them in proportion to the amount of their shares (2) *Shirkat al-ʿInān*, capital and profits in indefinite shares, the quota of profit may be greater than the quota of capital in recompense for the work of management. Each member is responsible for his own transactions only and has only the right to demand from the other shareholders their share This corresponds to what the Mālikīs call mufāwaḍa, while by *ʿinān* they mean a company in which the right of the shareholders to dispose of the capital is limited. (3) *Shirkat al-Ṣanāʾiʿ* (or *Sh. al-Abdān* or *Sh. al-Taḳabbul*) when artisans combine on a common task. All the members are bound to carry out the work. Even if only one works, the others yet have a share in the profits. Among the Mālikīs however illness of some duration makes their contract invalid. (4) *Shirkat al-Wuǧūh* (or *Sh. al-Ḏhimam* or *Sh. al-Mafālīs*) only permitted among the Ḥanafīs. The members work without capital and sell on credit.

The Shāfiʿīs only recognise the *Sh. al-ʿInān* but they only allow this company in the case of indissolubly combined things (e g money, cereals) and allow the distribution of profit and loss only in proportion to the shares in the company. Historically it is probable that this *Sh. al-ʿInān* is the older form; there is evidence of it in the pagan period from the poet al-Nābigha al-Ḏubyānī. On the other hand the *Sh. al-Mufāwaḍa* (societas quaestus) seems to have been taken over from Roman-Byzantine law. It is vigorously condemned by al-Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, iv. 206) and disowned by Abū Ḥanīfa also; on the other hand it is recognised by Ibn Abī Laylā, al-Shaibānī, and Abū Yūsuf. Sufyān al-Thawrī (in Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xi. 153) is unique in making even a legacy to one of the shareholders become the property of the company (lucrum ex fortuna) which suggests the societas omnium bonorum (cf. Dig. 17, 2, 3, 1; Basil., xii. 1, 3, 1). The classification and doctrine of the Hanafīs have been bodily adopted in the Turkish civil law (*Mejelle*, art. 1045, 1060 *sqq.*; 1329 *sqq*).

On the other forms of companies see the separate articles: MUḌĀRABA, MUZĀRAʿA, MUSAḲĀT.

Bibliography: The pertinent sections in the Fiḳh-book, especially: al-Kāsānī, *K. Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vi. 56—79; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 361—373, ed Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, Berlin 1897, p. 415—420, v. Tornauw, *Moslem. Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 115—118; Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i. 496—503.

(HEFFENING)

SHĪRKŪH, ABU 'L-ḤĀRITH ASAD AL-DĪN, son of Shādhī, and brother of Aiyūb b. Shādhī, the father of Saladin. At first a general of Nūr al-Dīn, prince of Aleppo and of Damascus, he became vizier of the last Fāṭimid Caliph al-ʿĀḍid, and in the last capacity bore the honorary title of Malik Manṣūr.

We first meet with Shīrkūh at Takrīt, where his brother Aiyūb was governor in the name of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, and it was after a murder committed by Shirkūh that the whole family had to abandon the town, and offer its services to the prince of Aleppo, Zankī, who accepted them. Shīrkūh remained at the court of the son of Zankī, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and at his command, went to take Damascus which his brother Aiyūb was defending in the name of the Būrid princes. The matter was arranged without a blow being struck; Aiyūb kept Damascus, but on behalf of Nūr al-Dīn who gave the territory of Ḥims to Shīrkūh as an appanage Such was the origin of the Aiyūbid principality of Hims, which later passed to his descendants.

When in the year 558 (1163) Nūr al-Dīn was asked by Shāwar [q. v] to assist him in gaining the vizierate, Shīrkūh was put at the head of the Syrian expeditionary force With an army very inferior in number to the forces gathered by the vizier Ḍirghām, Shāwar and Shīrkūh obtained a brilliant victory near Tell Basṭa. Whatever may have been at first the designs of Shīrkūh with respect to Shāwar, this battle marks an important point in the relations of the two men; Shīrkūh seemed afraid of the spirit of intrigue which animated Shāwar. The assurance, verified in the result, which was given by Shāwar that he had means of information in the army of Ḍirghām was disturbing With the installation of Shāwar in the vizierate the quarrel broke out openly; Shīrkūh was unwilling to quit Egypt before the execution of the agreement concluded with Nūr al-Dīn. Fighting resulted on several occasions and the different encounters which took place in the suburbs of Cairo, went against Shāwar, who appealed for help to the Franks. Shīrkūh, besieged in Bilbais, had to capitulate. Before the end of the year 559 (Nov. 1164) he returned to Damascus.

In the year 562 (1167) Shīrkūh again invaded Egypt to fight Shāwar for a second time; the latter was still allied with the Franks. He won the battle of Bābain, which had been forced upon him by his adversaries. This very bloody victory did not lead to any final decision. Shīrkūh found a base at Alexandria which he occupied with ease and where he installed his nephew Saladin as governor. This whole effort proved useless, because Shāwar succeeded in recapturing the town after a long siege and brought about the departure of Shīrkūh.

He had to be recalled two years later by the Caliph al-ʿĀḍid when the Franks besieged Cairo; the third invasion was to prove decisive. After the departure of the Franks, Shīrkūh threw in his lot with Egypt and refused to yield to the pressing appeals of Nūr al-Dīn, who was unwilling to be deprived of his services. After the assassination of Shāwar, he accepted the office of vizier to the caliph al-ʿĀḍid, but it is not known if in his heart he was considering a dynasty of his own. The contrary can be believed, and it may be supposed that the idea of it came to Nūr al-Dīn, who determined to strike a double blow, to bring back his officers to his allegiance and whilst bringing them back to the Sunna, to reign in Egypt, which he would annex to his Syrian kingdom. Because of his relationship with Saladin, the question ought to be raised in an article on Shīrkūh but there is nothing to indicate a definite attitude on the part of the latter.

His attainment of power coincided with a rising of the populace of Cairo, who pillaged even the offices of the vizierate. Shīrkūh, who according to the account of William of Tyre was "vielz, patiz de cors et mout gras" joined his nephew Saladin. Historians praise his ability; although a Sunnī, he wisely allowed the Egyptians, to remain faithful to their own religious opinions. His power was, moreover, of too short a duration to give a new political system to the Empire. Shīrkūh died very suddenly after being vizier for a little more than two months, on the 22 Djumādā II, 564 (March 23, 1169). He died, the victim of his violent appetite, which was the cause of frequent indigestion accompanied by suffocation; as is generally the case in the East, poison was also spoken of. In accordance with his expressed desire his remains were transported to Medīna, but not until sixteen years later.

His successors included a certain number of Mamlūks, who were known at the beginning of the Aiyūbid régime under the name of *Asadiya*. The same *nisba* was used to name the madrasas which he had built at Aleppo and at Damascus.

Bibliography: Cf. the article AIYŪBIDS, and also SHĀWAR; Abū Shāma, i. 8, 10, 15, 46—48, 55, 58, 67, 81, 96, 107—109, 120, 122—124, 129—132, 137, 141—147, 154—162, 166—174, 178, 180, 210—211; ii. 67, 218; Ibn Shiḥna, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, p. 112, 119; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Hist. d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, p. 230; Derenbourg, *ʿOumāra*, ii., Fr. part., index, p. 396; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāḳ, i. 284—285, ii. 502; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, ii. 247; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* iv., p. 112, x. 6, 80—90; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 76; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 343; Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, iii. 56; ʿAlī Pāshā, *Khiṭaṭ djadīda*, i. 19; von Kremer in *S.B.A.K. Wien*, 1850, iv. 305, 308; Sauvaire, *Descr. de Damas*, *J.A.* 1894, i. 304, 387—388, 451, 474; ii. 492; Helbig, *Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, p. 55—56.

(G. WIET)

SHĪRWĀN, also written Shirwān and Sharwān (e.g. in Yāḳūt, iii. 282, 7, according to al-Samʿānī, ed. Margoliouth, f. 333*a*), a district on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, east of the Kura, originally a part of the ancient Albania or the Arrān [q. v.] of the early middle ages. According to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 192 = Yāḳūt, iii. 317 19, the road from Bardhaʿa [q. v.] led via Shīrwān and Shamākhiya (in Yāḳūt: Shamākhī) to Derbend [q. v.]. The distance between Shamākhiya and "Sharwān", according to Iṣṭakhrī, was three days' journey: in some MSS. and in Yāḳūt we have "Shāberān" for "Sharwān"; in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, f. 33*b*, Shāberān (there written Shāwerān) is described as the capital (*ḳaṣaba*) of Shīrwān. This road as well as the towns on it did not lose their importance until the Transcaucasian railway had been built. Shāberān is still mentioned as a town as late as 1578 in the report of Turkish conquests of that year (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 485). In the seventeenth century a new town Ḳuba or Ḳūba appears as the capital of the Khān of this region, about fifteen miles N. W. of Shāberān; by 1770 Gmelin only found "miserable" ruins in Shāberān of the old, now completely deserted town (S. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland zur Untersuchung der drey Natur reiche*, iii. 36); its importance as a trade centre had passed to Ḳuba. As late as 1851, the governor of Derbend, Worontsow, travelled to Tiflis via Ḳuba, Shemakha and Gandja (*Arkhiv Knyazya Worontsowa*, xl. 405).

Shamākhī, Russian Shemakha, the later capital of Shīrwān, is said to have been founded in the Muslim period and to have taken its name (Balādhurī, p. 210) from Shammākh b. Shudjāʿ, king of Shīrwān, during the governorship of Saʿīd b. Salm (the contemporary of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, cf. Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii. 517 *sqq.* and al-Ṭabarī, iii. 648) As the territory of the Shīrwānshāh (see below) Shīrwān included the lands from the Kura to Derbend; the same frontiers are given in the Mongol period for Shīrwān (in Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 92, 7). The capital Shemākha was then as later of importance, especially as a centre of silk manufacture and of the silk trade.

After the abolition of the Shīrwānshāhs by the Ṣafawīs, Shīrwān formed a province of Persia and was usually governed by a Khān, who is often called Beylerbey or Emīr al-Umarāʾ. The inhabitants several times rebelled against the Shīʿī dynasty and as Sunnīs appealed for help to the Sulṭān of Turkey. With other Caucasian lands Shīrwān was taken by the Turks in 1578, held after a series of battles with varying results, and finally ceded to the Sulṭān by the peace of 1590. Under Turkish rule Shīrwān was divided into fourteen sandjaḳs; it included Shakī in the north-west and Bākū in the south-east, i. e. practically the whole of mediaeval Shīrwān. Derbend, which had long been separated from Shīrwān, formed a separate governorship. Persian rule was not definitive restored till 1607. In the seventeenth century, Ḳuba and Sālyān were given as a separate principality to the Ḳaitaḳ, who had migrated southwards (cf. i., p. 989 *sq.*). In 1722 the Khān of Ḳuba, Ḥusain ʿAlī, submitted to Peter the Great and was confirmed in his dignity. By the treaty between Russia

and Turkey of the year 1724, the coast territory with Bākū, now occupied by the Russians, was for the first time politically separated from the rest of Shīrwān, which was left to the Turks with Shemākha as capital. This division was retained as regards administration even after both parts were reunited to Persia. By the treaties of 1732 the coast lands north of Kura still remained to the Russians and the other parts of Shīrwān and Daghestān to the Turks; it was only after Nādir Shāh had taken their conquests from the Turks by force of arms (capture of Shemākha, Oct. 22, 1734) that the coast lands were ceded to him voluntarily by the Russians (treaty of Gandja, March 10/21, 1735). After the death of Nādir Shāh, Persian rule could no longer be enforced in these regions, several independent principalities arose; the name Shīrwān was now limited to the territory of the Khān of Shemākha, which was later under Russian rule divided into three administrative districts (Shemākha, Gokčai and Djawād). Fath ʿAlī Khān of Kuba 1758—1789) succeeded in bringing Derbend as well as Shemākha under his sway, so that, as Dorn observes, "a true Shīrwānshāh arose in him". During the last years of his reign, Fath ʿAlī flattered himself with the idea of bringing Persia itself under his sway and ascending the throne of the rulers of Īrān. When the Kādjārs had succeeded in restoring the unity of Persia, the sons of the Khān were no more able to maintain their independence than the other Caucasian chiefs and had to choose between Russia and Persia. General Zubow, who had been despatched by Catherine II, had already reached the Kura below Djawād (1796) when he and his army were recalled by the Emperor Paul. The Khān of Shīrwān (Shemākha), Mustafā, who had already entered into negotiations with Zubow, submitted to the Russians in 1805, who occupied Derbend and Bākū next year (1806), but soon afterwards he made overtures to the Persians and sought help from them By the peace of Gulistān (October 12/24, 1813), Persia gave up all claim to Derbend, Kuba, Shīrwān and Bākū. Nevertheless Mustafā continued to have secret dealings with Persia. It was not till 1820 that his territory was occupied by Russian troops; the Khān fled to Persia and Shemākha was incorporated in Russian territory. The outbreak of hostilities again in 1826 was taken advantage of by Mustafā and by an earlier Khān of Bākū, Husain, for an attempt to stir up their subjects against Russia, but without success. Since 1840 the former territory of the Khān of Shīrwān has been united with Kuba and Bākū to form one administrative area (at first the "Caspian territory"; from 1846 the "government of Shemākha"; from 1859, after the destruction of Shemākha by one of the earthquakes frequent there, the "government of Bākū"). At present the ancient Shīrwān forms a part of the Soviet republic of Ādharbāidjān with the capital Bākū; the division into "governments" is abolished, but that into "circles" retained. The old capital of Shīrwān, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, had a larger population than Bākū; according to Ritter's *Geografisch-Statistisches Lexicon*[5], 1864—1865, Shemākha had 11,550 and Bākū 10,600 inhabitants. In the eighties the relationship was reversed (E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kawkazu*, Tiflis 1888, p. 342 and 396: Bākū 45,679, Shemākha 28,545); Shemākha is now quite a small town compared with Bākū (1917: Bākū 231,000; Shemākha 27,800).

Bibliography: See especially B. Dorn, *Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chanen von 1538—1820* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Länder und Völker*, ii. = *Mém. de l'Acad.*, etc., Ser. 6, *Sciences politiques*, etc., v. 317—433). (W. BARTHOLD)

SHĪRWĀNSHĀH, a title of the rulers of Shīrwān, probably dating from the pre-Muḥammadan period (Balādhurī, p. 196 *infra*). In the history of the conquest this ruler is called simply king (*malik*) or lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Shīrwān (ibid., 204 and 209). Yazīd b. Usaid al-Sulamī, governor of Armenia under the Caliph Manṣūr, took possession of the naphtha-wells (*naffūṭa*) and saltworks of Shīrwān (*mallāḥāt*); the eastern part of the land was therefore at that date of greater importance than the western (cf. what is said above on Shāberān as the capital of Shīrwān). The title Shīrwānshāh is said to have been afterwards assumed by the descendants of the Arab governor Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaibānī. Yazīd himself died in 185 (801—802); when and why his descendants moved their residence to Shīrwān is not known; according to a later source (Shahrīzāde, *Matn al-Tawārīkh*, written in 1173 [1759], quoted in Dorn, *Schirwanschahe*, p 544, cf. now Brockelmann, ii. 429) one of them, Haitham b. Khālid, declared himself independent during the troubles that followed the death of the Caliph Mutawwakil in 247 (861) and assumed the title of Shīrwānshāh. His dynasty (usually called Mazyadid) is said by the same source to have ruled till 460 (1067/1068). Contrary to this, Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii. 69) says that in his time, i e. shortly before 332 (943—944) after the death of the Shīrwānshāh ʿAlī b. Haitham, the Īrānshāh (according to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 119, this is the reading, i.e. "lord of Arrān in the narrow sense", the manuscripts usually have Līrānshāh) Muḥammad b. Yazīd, a descendant of the Sāsānids, seized the land of Shīrwān and assumed the title of Shīrwānshāh; he is said to have also held Derbend (*Murūdj*, ii. 5) and thus united the whole of the ancient Albania into a political unit once more. Contrary to what was stated above, i., p. 460 *sq.* that Masʿūdī's statements are confirmed by no other source, we can now quote the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (written in 372 = 982—983), f. 33*a*, according to which the three lands Shīrwān, Khūrsān and Īrān were at that time under the rule of one sovereign who had the titles of Shīrwānshāh Khursānshāh (in Balādhurī, p. 196 infra, called Djursānshāh, as king of the Lakz, i. e. of the Lesgians, cf. above i., p. 887 *sq*) and Īrānshāh. His capital was the camp of his armies (*leshkerhā*), 1 farsakh from Shamākhī. The dynasty of the Kesrānids was probably founded by Muḥammad b. Yazīd (Banū Kesrān) and the centre of the principality transferred to Shamākhī, which later always appears as the capital of the Shīrwānshāh. The rule of this house was perhaps interrupted for a short time by the Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī mentioned as Shīrwānshāh by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 250, 8 and 254, 12); in no other literary sources is this name mentioned, but it is found on undated coins which from the epigraphy must belong to the fourth (tenth) century.

The next historical references to the Kesrānids refer to their relations with the Seldjūḳ Sulṭāns (Houtsma, *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ii. 139 *sqq.*) In the reign of

Malikshāh (465—485 = 1072—1092) Farīburz is mentioned as king, lord of Shīrwān (*al-Malik Ṣāḥib Sharwān*), and we still have coins struck by him. When Malikshāh was in Arrān, Farīburz after some resistance paid homage to him and pledged himself to pay a tribute of 70,000 dīnārs; by later negotiations this tribute was reduced to 40,000 dīnārs (the tribute which the above-mentioned Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī had to pay the ruler of Ādharbāidjān Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir was a million dirhams). Under Sulṭān Maḥmūd (511—525 = 1118—1131) Shīrwān was occupied by the Sulṭān's troops; the Sulṭān was asked by the leaders to come there himself; after his arrival the Shīrwānshāh (his name is not known) went to him and hoped to obtain justice from him but was imprisoned. The people of Shīrwān with whom the prince was very popular tried to procure his release, but without success. This state of affairs encouraged the Georgians to invade Shīrwān but they were driven out by Maḥmūd. The population suffered very much from the occupation of their country and these events became known as the "devastation" (*takhrīb*) of Shīrwān. The campaign took place in the first and last years of office of the vizier Shams al-Mulk, who was put to death by the Sulṭān's orders in Rabīʿ I, 517 (April 29—May 28, 1123) in Bailaḳān (probably on the way back to Persia from Shīrwān).

The same campaign appears in quite another light in Ibn al-Athīr, x. 433 *sq.* (cf. above 1, p. 943) The campaign is said to have been caused by the invasions of the Georgians and the complaints of the people, especially of the town of Derbend Soon after the arrival of the Sulṭān in Shamākhī a large Georgian army appeared before the town, which terrified the Sulṭān; soon afterwards however a quarrel broke out between the Georgians and their allies, the Ḳipčaḳ, as a result of which the enemy had to retire "as if defeated" (*shibha 'l-munhazimīn*; they had therefore not actually been defeated). The Sulṭān remained for some time in Shīrwān and returned in Djumādā II, 517 (July 27—Aug. 24, 1123) to Hamadān.

Neither the Muslim nor the Georgian sources (in Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i. 368) nor the coins give us definite information regarding the name of the Shīrwānshāh concerned. According to Farīburz, the name of his son Manūčahr still appears on the coins under the Caliph Mustaẓhir, i. e. before 512 (1118); the next ruler Afrīdūn, probably a brother of his predecessor (no coins of his are known), is said by Georgian sources to have fallen about 1120 in a war between Shīrwān and Derbend; he is referred to as a "martyr" (*shahīd*) by the poet Khāḳānī His son Manūčahr II was according to his coins a contemporary of the Caliph Muḳtafī (530—555 = 1136—1160) and is said by Khāḳānī (in Khanïkow, *Mél. Asiat*, iii. 122) to have reigned for thirty years, so that he cannot have been dethroned in 517 (1123).

The dynasty's greatest period was under Manūčahr II and his successors. Manūčahr took the title not only of Shīrwānshāh but also "Great Khāḳān" (*Khāḳān-i Kabīr*); from this title is taken the *takhallus* of his panegyrist Khāḳānī. But the Shīrwānshāh continues to appear on his coins simply as a vassal of the Seldjūḳ of the ʿIrāḳ; it is only after the death of the last of this dynasty Ṭoghrul b Arslān, d. 590 = 1194) that we find on coins and inscriptions only the name of the Caliph as suzerain mentioned in addition to the name of the Shīrwānshāh (usually with high-sounding titles). Shīrwān at that time was actually completely dependent on the Georgian kings, who took the title Shīrwānshāh themselves. Matrimonial alliances were several times concluded between the Kesrānids and the Georgian royal house. The son and successor of Manūčahr II, Akhsitān, no doubt owed to his powerful relative, ally and suzerain, king Georgius III, his victory over a Russian fleet at Bākū and the reconquest of Shīrwān and Derbend [q v] On the other hand the lands of Shakkī, Ḳabala and Mūḳān, were later taken from the Shīrwānshāh by the Georgians (Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed Houdas, p 146 and 174) Political conditions in the first half of the xiiith century are not quite clear; neither the Shīrwānshāh Rashīd mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 619 (xii 264 *sq*) nor the Shīrwānshāh Afrīdūn b Farīburz mentioned by Nasawī (p 175), under 622 A H, are known from coins; in place of these we find on coins as contemporary of the Caliph Nāṣir (575–622 = 1180–1225) Farīburz b Afrīdūn b. Manūčahr, and following him under the same Caliph Farrukhzād b. Manūčahr and Garshasp b. Farrukhzād In contradiction to the above accounts Nasawī says that the Shīrwānshāh paid Sulṭān Malikshāh a tribute of 100,000 dīnārs; the Khʷārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn therefore demanded the same sum from the Shīrwānshāh when he appeared in Ādharbāidjān According to Nasawī, the reply given him was that conditions were no longer the same as before, as a large part of the country was now in the possession of the Georgians It was agreed to pay 50,000 dīnārs, but even of this 20,000 were remitted Shortly before the Khʷārizmshāh had driven the officers of the Shīrwānshāh out of the land of Gushtāspī at the junction of the Kura and Aras and farmed out this territory for 200,000 dīnārs; on the other hand he restored to prince Sulṭān-Shāh, Mūkān, which had been ceded by his father to the Georgians (on the occassion of the marriage of the prince with a Georgian princess, daughter of Queen Rusudan, 1223—1247). After the subjection of Shīrwān by the Mongols, coins were struck in the name of the Mongol Great Khān; the name of the Shīrwānshāh also appears, but without a title Under the rule of the Īlkhāns [q v] no coins were struck in Shīrwān; the country belonged sometimes to their empire and sometimes to that of the Golden Horde; as a province in the empire of the Īlkhāns Shīrwān brought the state treasury 11 tūmāns (the tūmān was 10,000 dīnārs) and 3,000 dīnārs (the dīnār was not now a gold coin but a silver coin of 3, later 2 miṯḳāl's; cf. W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpiś na stenʼe Aniyskoi mečeti Manuče*, St. Petersburg 1911, p 18 *sq.*). Gushtāspī had remained separate and paid 118,500 dīnārs. The Kesrānid dynasty remained in existence; under the successors of the Īlkhāns, the Shīrwānshāh Kai Kubād and his son Kāwus were again able to play the part of independent rulers (their coins were anonymous like the coins of several dynasties of this period); but soon afterwards Kāwus had to submit to the Djalāirids [q v.] and strike coins in their name. Kāwus is said to have died according to Faṣīḥ (in Dorn, p. 560) in 774 (1372—1373); his son Hūshang was murdered by his subjects after reigning ten years and with his death the dynasty of the

Kesrānids came to an end The rule passed to a remote connection of the dynasty, Shaikh Ibrāhīm (1382—1417) of Derbend; in 1386 he had to submit to Tīmūr, after whose death he reigned as an independent ruler The long reign of his successor Khalīl Allāh (1417—1462) and Farrukh Yasār (1462—1501) was a period of peace and prosperity for Shīrwān. Great buildings arose in Shamākhī and Bākū. Farrukh Yasār was defeated and killed by Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the modern kingdom of Persia After this there reigned as vassals of the Persian Shāhs, Ibrāhīm II (1502—1524), Khalīl Allāh (1524—1536), and Shāhrukh (1536—1538), after whom Shīrwān was incorporated into Persia A son of Khalīl Allāh II, Burhān 'Alī Sultān and his son Abū Bakr afterwards made an attempt to regain this kingdom with Turkish help, but without any lasting success

Bibliography B Dorn, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der kaukasischen Lander und Volker aus morgenländischen Quellen I Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe* (*Mémoires de l'Académie etc, VI série Sciences polit etc, IV, 523—602*) — E A Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov, XI—XIV^v*, Baku 1923 The references to coins are taken from this work and information given me personally by the author British Museum Cat Oriental Coins, x, p clx (W Barthold)

SHĪTH (Hebr. *Shēth*), Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve (*Gen.*, iv 25, 26 and v 3—8) was born when his father was 130 years of age, five years after the murder of Abel. When Adam died, he made him his heir and executor of his will. He taught him the hours of the day and of the night, told him of the Flood to come and taught him to worship the divinity in retirement at each hour of the day.

It is to him that we trace the genealogy of mankind, since Abel did not leave any heirs and Cain's heirs were lost in the Flood It is said that he lived at Mecca performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death, that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct by them, that he built the Ka'ba of stone and clay On his death he left as his successor his son Anūsh (Enoch); he was buried beside his parents in the cavern of Mount Abū-Ḳubais, he had attained the age of 912 years. According to Ibn Isḥāḳ he married his sister Ḥazūra.

Later Traditions Adam having fallen ill, desired to have olives and oil from Paradise; he sent Shīth to Mount Sinai to ask God for them, and God told him to hold out his wooden bowl, it was filled in a moment, with what his father had asked for, and he rubbed his body with the oil, ate a few olives and was cured. Adam was beardless; Shīth was the first to have a beard. He is also called the first *ūrtyā* (a Syriac word signifying "teacher" [cf. Hebr *ōr* "light, teaching"]). He was exactly like his father physically as well as morally. He was the favourite child. He spent the greater part of his life in Syria, where one tradition says that he was born. From his time man was divided into two categories; those who obeyed him and the others who followed the children of Cain. As a result of his counsels, a few of the latter entered into the right path, but the others persisted in their rebellion Maxims which are said to have been left by him are quoted (Mīrkhond, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, Bombay 1271, i. 12 *sqq.*).

Tabarī, *Annales*, writes Shath and Shāth (i. 153) and says that Shīth is a Syriac form (*sūryānī*). The name signifies "in place of, gift (of God)" because he was given in place of Abel (*Gen.*, iv 26).

Al-Muḳanna' [q. v.] holds that the spirit of God was transferred from Adam to Seth (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de la Creation*, vi. 96). This idea comes from a Gnostic sect, the Sethites who were found in Egypt from the fourth century, and who possessed a "*Paraphrase of Seth*", to be more precise, seven books by this patriarch and seven others by his children, whom they called the "Strangers" (Epiphanes, *Haer.*, xxxix. 5). The Gnostics possessed the books of Jaldabaoth, the Demiurge, attributed to Seth (Epiphanes, *op. cit.*, xxvi 8) The Ṣābi'ūn of Ḥarrān had several writings attributed to Seth, and the latter was associated with Adam by the Manichaeans (Prosper Alfaric, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, p 6, 9, 10) Seth is always associated with Adam by the Druzes (Philipp Wolff, *Drusen*, Leipzig 1845, p 151, 193, 372 *sqq*).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 152—168, 1122, 1123, Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, i. 35, 39, Tha'ālibī, *'Arā'is al-Maḍjālis*, ed lith. 1277, p. 42. (Cl. Huart)

SHĪZ, the name of a very old Persian fire-temple, a place or district S E of Lake Urmiya in Adharbāidjān, said to be the native place of Zoroaster According to A. V. W. Jackson the name is said to be derived from the Avestan name of Lake Urmiya, Čaečasta, according to Yākūt it is an Arabic corruption of *Djazn* or *Gazn* i. e. *Kanzaka* or *Gazaca* of the classical writers or *Gandjak* of the Pehlevi texts. The older geographers consider the two names distinct. A comparison of the description given by Yāḳūt from Mis'ar b Muhalhil (about 940) with the ruins which are now called *Takht i Sulaimān* shows the two places to be identical. According to Mis'ar the town lay among hills in which gold, quicksilver, lead, silver, arsenic and amethyst were found Within the walled town was a pond of unfathomable depth, the water of which turned everything to stone There was also a large ancient fire-temple there, which was held in great honour from which all the sacred fires in Persia were lit. The fire had already burned 700 years without leaving ashes. The Persian kings used to bestow gifts on the temple, so that it collected vast treasures Mis'ar b. Muhalhil went there specially to find hidden treasure. H. Rawlinson's photographs of Takht-i Sulaimān show the pond in the centre of the walls and the ruins of the temple.

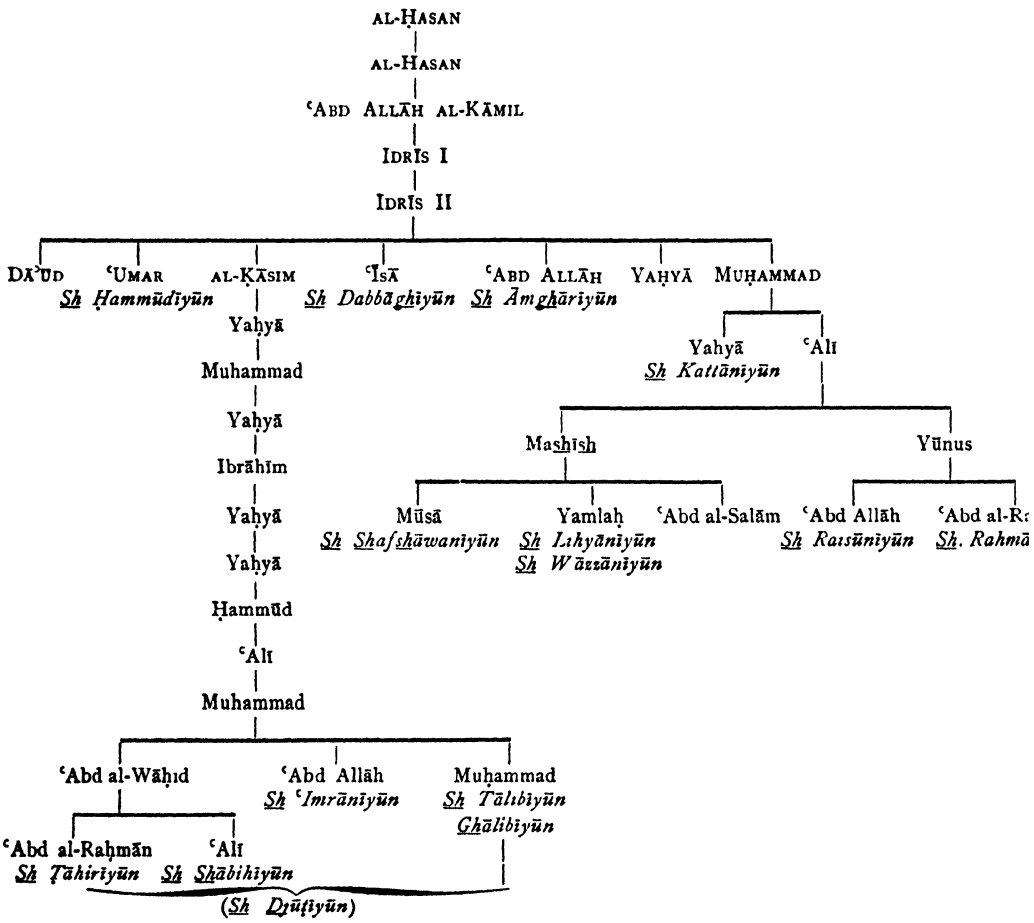
Bibliography: Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B. G. A.*, vi. 119: al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, *B. G. A.*, v. 286, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv 74 *sqq*, Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 353 *sqq.*, al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 267; H. Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey* etc, *J. R. G. S.*, x. 1—158; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict de la Perse*, p. 367, Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, p. 102; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 195 *sqq.*; do., *Persia past and present*, p. 126—143. (J. Ruska)

SHORFĀ'. This is the dialectic plural form used throughout the Maghrib in place of the classical *shurafā'*; the singular is *sharīf* (class.

sharīf, q.v). Morocco is the country of the Muslim world in which are found the largest number, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of authentic sharīfs or those regarding themselves as such. Their groups have played a considerable political and social role in the country since the end of the middle ages; two of them in succession succeeded to the old Berber dynasties, the Almoravids, Almohads, and Marīnids; and even before these mediaeval dynasties the consolidation and shorfāʾ, hitherto overshadowed by the mediaeval dynasts, began to play a foremost role The result was the fall of the Marīnid dynasty and their Waṭṭāsid successors and the rise of the Saʿdian princes.

Henceforth Morocco became the chosen land of the Shorfāʾ. The empire became the Sharīfī empire, *al-Iyālat al-Sharīfa*, the groups, originally constituted without any recognition from the central power, were given an imperial consecration

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IDRĪSID SHORFĀʾ



unity of the Maghribī empire had been brought about by a Sharīfī family, the Idrīsids.

At the end of the middle ages the Sharīfī movement in Morocco seems to be closely associated with the development of the cult of saints and the growth of the religious brotherhoods. At this period there was a revival of the Muslim faith in the country and the religious aristocracy acquired a predominating position. Maghribī Islām in the xvith century assumed the original form, although nominally orthodox, which it has retained to the present day. To resist the Christian peril and the designs of Spain and Portugal on Morocco, it appealed for leaders in a holy war and the of nobility, each Sulṭān on his succession renewed their grants of privileges and fiscal immunities and granted them rescripts (*ẓāhir*) which became in each family a kind of "grant of arms". It was for example by a Sharīfī rescript that the *naḳīb* (q v. and the article SHARĪF) of each group was appointed. In the hierarchy of the Makhzen they occupy the first place. The Shorfāʾ of Morocco are found especially in the towns but even in the country they are very numerous. It is not always easy to distinguish between the shorfāʾ of the genuine nobility and those who cannot prove their descent from the Prophet. There has gradually arisen a difficulty in distinguishing between the

sharīf descended from Muḥammad and the descendant of a celebrated *murābiṭ* who was not necessarily himself a *sharīf*. The *shorfā'* in spite of their numbers all enjoy the respect and the consideration of their compatriots. They do not all have sufficient means of livelihood; for the most part they engage in some manual labour in the towns, cultivate the soil in the country and there is nothing in their dress to distinguish them from the other inhabitants of the country.

All the Shorfā' of Morocco with the exception of two branches are of Hasanid nobility They actually claim to be descended from al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī, through the latter's grandson ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil. This group of Ḥasanid branches comprises three main groups. — the Idrīsids, the Ḳādirids and the descendants of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīya (Filālī and Saʿdian Shorfā')

I. Idrīsid branch — Its principal ramifications are indicated in the genealogical table given opposite It is the most important branch of the Ḥasanid group and therefore of all the Shorfā' of Morocco. The following are their main sub-divisions

a. Shorfā' Djūtīyūn. Under this name are included all the descendants of al-Ḳāsim, son of Idrīs II. This al-Ḳāsim being dispossessed by his brother ʿUmar had founded a monastery (*ribāṭ*) on the shores of the Atlantic near Arcila (Āzilā) and at his death left a son, Yaḥyā, who established himself in the town of Djūṭa in the Gharb on the Wādī Sabū His descendants adopted his ethnic name which is still used by them as a surname Among them are distinguished the Sh ʿImrānīyūn, the Sh. Tālibīyūn and Ghālibīyūn, the Sh. Ṭāhirīyūn, and the Sh. Shābihīyūn. After the decline of the little town of Djūṭa, al-Ḳāsim's descendants settled in various parts of Morocco, notably at Fās, in Miknās and in the Djabal al-ʿAlam. Of all the subdivisions of the Djūtīyūn the most important is that of the ʿImrānīyūn which played an important part in politics in the second half of the ninth century, A. H, (XVth A. D.) in attempting to overthrow the Marīnid dynasty, in Fās The Sulṭāns drove them out of Morocco and they took refuge in Tunis whence they returned to Morocco a few years later.

b. Shorfā' Hammūdīyūn. These are the descendants of Idrīs through ʿUmar They lived at first in the Djabal al-ʿAlam, then settled in the region of Tlemcen.

c. Shorfā' Dabbāṭhīyūn. They are descended from ʿIsā son of Idrīs This group emigrated in the IVth century A. H. to Spain with al-Ḥasan b Ḥannūn and settled in the region of Cordova At the time of the Christian "reconquista" they returned to Morocco and settled first at Salé and later at Fās.

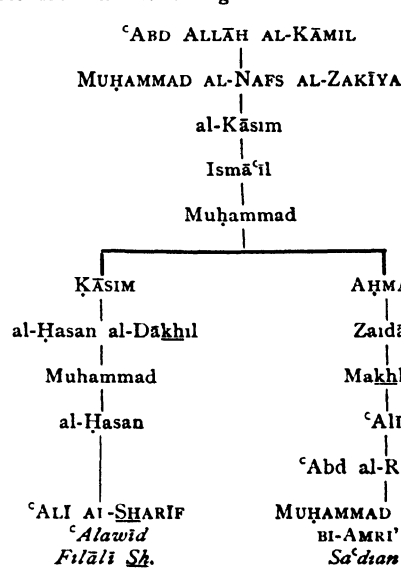
d. Shorfā' Amghāriyūn. They are descended from ʿAbd Allāh son of Idrīs Settled first in the north of Morocco, they later went to the Atlantic coast, to the south of Azammūr where they established themselves.

e. Shorfā' Kattānīyūn, the descendants of Idrīs II by his grandson Yaḥya b. Muḥammad. They lived in Miknās down to the middle of the 10th century A. H. (XVIth A. D.) and then settled in Fās where they were sometimes also called Shorfā' of the ʿAḳabat Ibn Sawwāl from the name of the street in which they lived on their arrival in the town.

f. Descendants of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b Idrīs. They are divided into branches which are found throughout the northern part of Morocco, among them we may mention the Sh. Shafshāwanīyūn whose ancestor ʿAlī b. Rashīd founded the town of Shafshāwan [q. v.], the Sh. Liyānīyūn and the Shorfā' Wāzzānīyūn (on the activities of this important branch of the article WĀZZĀN). the Sh. Raisūnīyūn and the Sh. Raḥmmānīyūn.

II. Ḳādirid branch The Ḳādirids of Morocco claim descent from Mūsā al-Djawn, son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil through the intermediary of the celebrated ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī. Their settlement in Morocco only dates from the end of the middle ages when they had to abandon Spain where they had hitherto lived. They finally settled in Fās at the end of the ninth century A H (XVth A D.) and since then have been one of the most important Sharīfī groups of the Moroccan capital

III. Saʿdian and Filālī branches. These two branches each succeeded to power in Morocco after the fall of the old Berber dynasties Both claim direct descent from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīya son of ʿAdb Allāh al-Kāmil They had a common ancestry down to the thirteenth descendant of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīya as may be seen from the following table:



For the circumstances of their accession to power see the article MOROCCO, History

Ḥusainid Groups Two Sharīfī groups of Morocco, of much diminished importance claim descent from al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī through Mūsā b. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ b. Muhammad b ʿAlī b. Zain al-ʿĀbidīn b al-Husain They are the Shorfā' Ṣaḳillīyūn (for Ṣiḳillīyūn = Sicilians), who are descended from ʿAlī al-Radī b. Mūsā al-Ḳāẓim, and the Shorfā' ʿIrāḳīyūn who are descended from his brother Ibrāhīm al-Murtadā. They are found principally in Fās and some of them in the last century went and settled in Cairo.

If one realises the special importance of the Sharīfī groups in the Maghrib, one will not be surprised to find that it has resulted in a special

literature dealing with genealogy and biography. The first notable works on these subjects were undertaken by a Kādirid Sharīf of Fās, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Kādirī, born in 1058/1648 and died in 1110/1698 (cf the writer's *Histoire des Chorfa*, p. 276—399) In addition to three monographs on hagiology he wrote several works dealing with the Sharīfī groups of Morocco, first a general study of Sharīfism in the Moroccan capital, *al-Durr al-sanī fī baʿd man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, which, in spite of its title, also includes the Husaynid branches, on account of the period in which he was writing, he deliberately left out the Saʿdians, who in any case were to disappear very quickly for lack of descendants This work was lithographed at Fās in 1303 and 1308 A.H. Al-Kādirī's other treatises deal with *a* the Ḳādirī Shorfā' (*al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnāʾ al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir*), and *b* the Shorfā' ʿIrākiyūn (*Maṭlaʿ al-ishrāk fī 'l-ashrāf al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāk*)

At the end of the XIth century and beginning of the XIIth A. H. two other treatises on Sharīfī genealogy were compiled in Morocco, one devoted to the ʿAlawid Shorfā of Sidjilmāsa was written by Abu 'l-ʿAbbas Ahmad b ʿAbd al-Malik al-Sharīf al-Sidjilmāsī, and entitled *al-Anwār al-saniy fī nisbat man bi-Sidjilmāsa min al-sharīf al-muḥammadīya*, the other, entitled *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī khaṭr nasab*, was the work of a sharīf of the Djabal al-ʿAlam, al-Tihāmī b Muḥammad b Ahmad Ibn Rahmūn, who composed it in 1105/1603—1604

In 1127/1715 a descendant of the marabout family of the zāwiya of Dilā', Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b Ahmad al-Dilā'ī (d 1136/1721), composed a new treatise on the sharīfism of the Ḳādirids, *Natidjat al-tahkīk fī baʿd ahl al-sharaf al-wathīḳ* (publ at Tunis in 1296 and Fās 1309, partially transl by Weir, *The first part of the Natijatu 'l-Tahqiq*, Edinburgh, 1903)

A monograph was a little later devoted to the Shorfā' Ṣiḳillīyūn of Fās by a Ḳādirid, grandson of the author of the *al-Durr al-sanī*, Muhammad b. al-Tayyib al-Kādirī, d. 1187/1773 this is the *Lamhat al-bahdjat al-ʿāliya fī baʿd furūʿ al-shaʿbat al-husayniya al-siḳilliya* The Shorfā' of Wāzzān had also several historians in the XVIIIth century: we may mention the *Tuhfat al-ikhwān bi-baʿd manāḳib shurafāʾ Wāzzān*, by Hamdūn al-Ṭāhirī al-Djūtī (d. 1191/1777), lithographed at Fās in 1324 A. H

The composition of the *Kitāb al-tahkīk fī 'l-nasab al-wathīḳ*, which the genealogists of Fās consider apocryphal and attribute to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ʿAshmāwī al-Makkī, also dates from the end of the XVIIIth century this work which deals only with the Sharīfī branches that settled in Algeria was translated in 1906 by Pere Giacobetti

A specialist in Sharīfī genealogy was Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaimān b. Muḥammad al-Shafshāwanī al-Hawwāt, borne 1160/1747, d. at Fās in 1231/1816. He left among other works a monograph on the Shorfā' Dabbāghīyūn, called also from their quarter in Fās Shorfā' al-ʿUyūn *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī 'l-shurafāʾ al-ḳūtinīn bi 'l-ʿUyūn*, and a monograph on the Ḳādirid Shorfā': *al-Sirr al ẓāhir*.

The Shorfā' ʿIrākiyūn had their historiographer, ʿAbd Allāh al-Walīd b al-ʿArabī al-Irāḳī, d. in 1263/1849; this work, published in Fās, is called *al-Durr al-nafīs fī man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b Nafīs*.

Finally we may mention of modern works, in addition to the information collected in the valuable *Salwat al-Anfās* of Muhammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī [see AL-KATTĀNĪ], two works relating to the Sharīfī branches of Morocco The first is the work of Muhammad b al-Hādjdj al-Madanī Gannūn, died in 1302/1885, entitled *al-Durar al-maknūna fī 'l-nisbat al-sharīfat al-maṣūna*; the other, more important, is entitled *al-Durar al-bahīya wa 'l-djawāhir al-nabawīya fī 'l-furūʿ al-ḥasanīya wa 'l-ḥusaynīya*, lithographed at Fās in 1314. This book which is the work of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Idrīs b Ahmad al-Fudaylī, died in 1316/1898–1899, is an excellent collection with much unpublished information, clearly presented

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic works mentioned in the article G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa Idrisites de Fès* in *Archives marocaines*, vol 1, 1904, p. 424—459; do, *Les Chorfa Filâla et Djilâla de Fès*, *ibid*, vol. III, 1905, p. 97—118, do, *Ibn Rahmoûn*, *ibid*, p 159—265, E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907, passim, A. Cour, *l'Etablissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, p 17 *sqq.*, R. P. Giacobetti, *Kitab en-Nasab, Généalogie des Chorfa*, *R A*, Algiers 1906, E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La maison d'Ouezzan*, *R. M M*, vol 1, 1908, p. 23—89, E Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1923, do, *Le Maroc en face de l'étranger à l'époque moderne*, Paris 1925.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SHOTṬ, Arabic SHAṬṬ [q v] The principal Shoṭṭ are, on the high plateaus, the Tigri Shoṭṭ in Moroccan territory, the Shott Gharibī formed by two basins, the Shott of the Hamyan to the East and the Shoṭṭ of Mahaia to the West, and the Shott Sherḳī situated to the South of Saida In the central district between the Tell Atlas and the mountains of the Ūled Naʾil, the Zahr al-Sherḳī and the Zahr al-Gharbī, more to the East the Shott of the Hodna occupies the centre of the depression of the same name, other small Shoṭṭs form the bottom of the basin of El-Beida and of el-Tarf Lastly to the South of the Ṣahara Atlas a string of Shotts runs from West to East from the meridian of Biskra as far as the Gulf of Gabes over a stretch of about 230 miles. Shoṭṭ Melghir, entirely in Algerian territory, Shoṭṭ Gharsa, on both sides of the Algerian-Tunis frontier; Shott el-Djerīd, the largest of all those which is a continuation towards the East of the Shott el-Fedjedj. The two Shoṭṭs further West lie 70—100 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. This peculiarity which was believed to be common to the most eastern Shoṭṭs, had suggested about the year 1880, the idea that it might be possible to create to the South of Algeria and Tunisia an inland sea by piercing the shore of Gabes with the object of diverting into the *Shoṭṭ* the waters of the Mediterranean. Further investigation showed that this project could not be realised and it was abandoned.

Bibliography: See the *Bibliography* to the article SEBKHA. (G. YVER)

SHUʿAIB, a prophet mentioned in the Ḳurʾān who, according to Sūra xi. 91, came later than Hūd, Ṣālih and Lot, according to Sūra xxvi. 176—189 which belongs to the middle Meccan period he was sent to the "people of the thicket" (*al-Aika*) who are again mentioned in l. 13; xv. 78; xxxvii. 12. In the later Meccan Sūras, xi. 85—98; xxix. 35 *sq.*; vii. 83—91, he appears

among the inhabitants of Madyan [q. v] as their brother. Only later commentators identify him with the unnamed father-in-law of Moses the Old Testament Jethro who lived in Madyan mentioned in xxviii 21 *sqq.* (cf. v. 45), but there is no foundation for this in the Ḳurʾān. From the passages mentioned, it is evident that Muḥammad had no very clear conception of Shuʿaib and it is not worth while enquiring whence he got the name, which does not occur elsewhere. What Muḥammad tells of him follows the stereotyped scheme in his stories of the prophets and reflects his own experiences and struggles Besides preaching monotheism he urges his countrymen mainly to honesty in weights and measures, and warns them against destroying the order restored in the land and against driving the believers who follow him from the path of Allāh. But the notables among the people reject him and threaten to expel him and his followers, he had no prestige among them and if they had not had consideration for his family they would have stoned him (xi 93) An earthquake overtakes them as a punishment, so that they are all found dead in their dwellings

That much later tradition moves Shuʿaib's grave to Karn Ḥaṭṭīn (see ḤAṬṬĪN) is perhaps to be explained by the confusion of the adjacent Khirbet Midyan, the ancient Madon with Madyan

Bibliography See the *Bibliography* to MADYAN SHUʿAIB, Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣāṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Dalman, *Palastina Jahrbuch*, x. 41 *sqq* , J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p 119 *sq* (Fr Buhl)

SHUBAṬ, the fifth month of the Syriac year Its name is taken from the eleventh Jewish month, Shebat, with which it roughly coincides It begins on Jan 31 of the Roman calendar and has 28 days with an intercalated day every four years In Shubāṭ the moon stations 10 and 11 set and 24 and 25 rise, the days on which one sets and the one a fortnight later rises are according to al-Bīrūnī the 6th and 16th or 4th and 17th according to al-Ḳazwīnī the 12th and 25th

Bibliography al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṯār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 1878, p 60, 70, 347–350, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, i 45 *sq* , 50, 76 *sq* (German translation by Ethé, 95 *sq.*, 103 *sq.*, 156 *sqq*), Ginzel, *Handbuch der math u techn Chronologie*, i, 1906, p 263 *sqq.* (M Plessner)

AL-SHUDJĀʿ, the (water-)snake, Arabic name of the long constellation of the *Hydra*, which lies in the southern heavens near the ecliptic, between the constellations of the Scales, Virgin, Lion and Crab on the one side and runs from the Centaur to Prokyon on the other. According to al Ḳazwīnī 25 stars belong to the figure and two lie outside it The head of the water-snake is on the southern pincers of the Crab between Prokyon (*al-Shiʿrā al-djumaisāʾ*, "Sirius the blear-eyed") and Regulus (*Ḳalb al-Asad*, "heart of the Lion") The snake twists a little southwards from these two stars and then turns to the southeast. On its neck is a prominent star which the Arabs call *al-Fard*, the isolated (Alphard in our star-maps). It is also called *ʿUnk al-Shudjāʿ*, neck of the snake, *Faḳār al-Shudjāʿ*, backbone of the snake etc

Bibliography. al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 40, transl. by Ethé, p. 84; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber die Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 267—281. (J. Ruska)

SHUGHNĀN (Shighnān), a district on the upper Oxus (Pandj); the part on the left bank now belongs to Afghān Badakhshān [q v] and that on the right to the Russian Pāmīr The districts of Ghārān and Rōshān, the one above and the other below Shughnān are also divided into two by the political frontier Afghān Shughnān has fifteen villages with four hundred houses and six thousand inhabitants, its administrative centre is at Yāwurda in the little valley of Udyar Russian Shughnān consists mainly of the valley of Ghund and Shakh-dara on the western face of the Pāmīr The Ghund rises in Lake Yeshil-kul but the territory of Shughnān only begins at the village of Sardīm (below the junction of the Ghund and its left bank tributary the Ṭoḳuz-bulaḳ) The Shughnān range (with a pass 14,000 feet high) separates the valley of Ghund from its more southern tributary, Shakh-dara, which in its turn is separated from the Wakhān [q v] by another chain

The cultivated lands of the Tādjiks begin near Sardīm, at a height of about 10,500 feet The lowest points in Shughnān (on the Pandj) are not below 6,000 feet The population is industrious but remains is poor and scattered About 1896 it was not over 512 houses with 3,400 inhabitants, but the Afghān statistics of 1923 give 359 houses to Ghund and 340 to Shakh-dara The administrative centre of Russian Shughnān is at Khārāgh (Khozog) near the confluence of the Ghund and Pandj

The Iranian hillmen (Tādjiks) of Shughnān speak the Shighnī dialect which belongs to the group of Iranian dialects of the Pāmīr and is more closely connected with the dialects of Rōshān, Yāzghulām and Sarī-kol (Sarikol) This last valley is in China and on the sources of the Yārḳandaryā to the east of the Pāmīr According to the traditions of the Sarī-ḳolīs collected in 1873 by the Forsyth mission (*Report on a Mission to Yarkand*, Calcutta 1875, p 53, 223), their ancestors in the seventh generation had come from Shughnān, the territory of which seems to have been larger in the past Like the majority of the Tādjiks of the Pāmīr, the people of Shughnān profess Shiʿī Ismāʿīlī doctrines Their *pīrs* under whom are *khalīfas* recognise H H. the Āghā-Khān [q v] of Bombay as their head (cf i, p 180 and ii, p 551) One of the striking features of the popular religion of the Ismāʿīlis of the Pāmīr is their belief in metempsychosis, including the passage of the soul into animals A large number of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts coming mainly from Shughnān are preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (including *Umm al-Kitāb*, *Wadjh-i Dīn*, *Kalām-i Pīr*, etc) It is curious to note that the *Dabistān* [q v] speaks of the ʿAlī-Ilāhīs (Ismāʿīlī?) living in the eastern mountains (*kūhistān-i mashriḳ*) in proximity to (*muḳārin*) the savage Umawīya or Yazīdīya Sunnīs whose town is Shkwna This name must correspond to Shughnān

The Chinese writers call Shughnān She-kʾi-ni or (E Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St Petersburg 1903, p 152) "the kingdom of the five She-ni (gorges)" which seems to refer to all the region of the Pandj ("the five rivers") According to Hiuen-Thsang (630—644) the kingdom of She-kʾi-ni was 2,000 *li* in circumference (about 20 days' journey) while the circumference of the capital (Kʾou-han?) was 5–6 *li* The inhabitants were rough looking. The writing

resembled that of the Tokhārīs but "their spoken language was different" In 646 envoys from the She-k'i-ni visited the court of China In 718 the brother of the king (*yabghū*) of Tokhāristān informed the Chinese that the suzerainty of the *yabghū* extended over, amongst others, the king of Shughnān who had 50,000 men at his command. In 747 the general Kao-sien-če crossed the land of She-ni, the inhabitants of which lived scattered among the gorges

The Arab geographers refer to Shughnān by the names Shiḳnān, Shikmān, Shiḳīna and Shikīna Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 37, and Ya'ḳūbī, p 292, make Shughnān dependent on Tokhāristān, for in enumerating the revenues of this last district they say that Shiḳnān paid 40,000 (?4,000) dirhams in taxes and Wakhān 20,000 (?10,000) This may explain an obscure passage in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 178, where he speaks of a ford on the Djaiḥūn by which the merchants of Khottalān (a district between the Pandj and the Wakhshāb) entered "the land of the Turks (sic) which is called Shiḳīna" As the writer places the mouth of the Akhshwa (the river of Kulāb, Kčī-Surkhāb?) below this ford, the Shikīna must have lived on the left bank of the Pandj above the Afghān Darwāz (cf above 1, p 842) On the other hand according to Yak'ūbī (p 292) Shiḳnān and Badakhshān (lying between Khuttal and upper Tokhāristān) were separated by a large valley (that of the Pandj) The Arabs (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 173, Ibn Rusta, p 89) further make the Indus (Mihrān) rise in the mountain of Shiḳnān Al-Bīrūnī (ed Sachau, p 101) puts to the west of Kashmīr, first the lands of the Bolor-shāh and then (those of) the Shiḳīnan-shāh (sic) and of the Wakhān-shāh which stretch to the frontier of Badakhshān This order of enumeration suggests a direct contact between Shughnān and the lands of the upper Indus

According to Yak'ūbī, p 304, in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd the Barmecide Fadl conquered Shiḳnān. Al-Istakhrī however (p 297) asserts that the people of this district as well as those of Karrān (Darwāz?) were non-Muslims

Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier, 1 151) mentions the mountain of Syghinan which produces "balas" rubies, but the ancient mines now abandoned are in the adjoining district of Ghārān.

The local historian of Shughnān begins with Chinese rule of which he quotes several memorials, for example a black stone in the valley Ghund bearing a Persian inscription *ba farmān-i Khaḳan-i Čīn* Such monuments must certainly relate to later expeditions (cf *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 94, Yule in his preface to Wood, *Travels*, p xxxix, mentions the Chinese expedition of 1759 to Badakhshān)

After the Chinese, the infidel "fire-worshippers" ruled over Shughnān. The inhabitants appear to identify these infidels with the "Siyāhpōsh" of of Kāfiristān [q. v.] to whom are attributed numerous buildings, especially at Wakhān (Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamir*, London 1904, p. 172—174). Sir Aurel Stein however (*Geogr. Journ*, Aug.—Sept., 1916) does not believe that the Siyāhpōsh were capable of building these monuments and attributes their origin to the Indo-Scythic or Sāsānian period It is probable that the "infidels" were simply local non-Muslims (cf. Grierson, *Ishkāshmī, Zebākī* and *Yāghulāmī*, London 1920, p. 7). The principal centre of these "infidels" was Wiyar on the left bank of the Pandj and their best known chief was Farhād Rēw.

He was overthrown by a certain Saiyid Shāh Malang sent from Khorāsān by the Grand-Master of the Ismā'īlīs. Shāh Malang was followed by another missionary Shāh Khāmūsh from Shīrāz. Forsyth puts his date at 665 = 1266. The descendants of these pīrs governed Shughnān as hereditary mīrs. Shāh Amīr Beg has left an inscription at Khārāgh dated 1193 (1779). His son Shāh Wāndjī Khān expelled all the non-Ismā'īlīs out of Shughnān and the "fire-worshippers" had to leave for Yarḳand According to Kushkakī, p. 181, this prince had extended his sway up to Badakhshān and Čitrāl. The son of Wandjī Khān, Kubād Khān, persecuted the Ismā'īlīs but was driven out by his brother, Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh grandson of Kubād, ruled both banks of the Pandj but the Amīr of Afghānistān, Shīr 'Alī Khān also tried to bring this area under his sway. In the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān the Afghāns, objecting to the hospitality given to the Russian traveller Regel by Yūsuf 'Alī, deported the latter to Kābūl (c 1300 = 1882) and established their rule over Shughnān (Kushkakī, p 182—186) The inhabitants sent envoys to Bukhārā and to the Russian authorities in Turkestān. After long pourparlers and an encounter between a Russian force under Colonel Ionow with the Afghāns near Yeshil-Kul (in 1892), an exchange of views between the Russian and British governments took place in London on March 11, 1895. The Afghāns had to evacuate the right bank of the Pandj and the Amīr of Bukhārā to give up his possessions on the left bank (Darwāz).

Eastern Shughnān was restored to Bukhārā but its administration gradually passed into the hands of the Russian authorities of the Pāmīr (the station of Khārāgh was created at Shughnān in 1895) In 1918—1920 the waves of Russian revolution reached even Shughnān In November 1920 the Soviet forces re-occupied the Pāmīr and re-established all the military posts [The following additions are due to the kindness of Mr A Semenow. The inhabitants of Shughnān call themselves Khughne?īn. — Shughnān belongs at present to the soviet Republic of Tādjīkistān, which possesses self-government The tomb of Shāh Khāmūsh is at Ḳal'a-i Barpandj (cf Trotter in *Geogr. Magazine*, 11, 1875. N°. 10) Shāh Wāndjī-Khān died in 1214/1799. Yūsuf 'Alī Shāh's government was tyrannical, which was the cause of the conspiration instigated by the Afghans The *Wadjh-i Dīn* has been published at Berlin (Kawiani-office, 1343), cf. Semenow, *K dogmatike pamirskago ismā'ilizma* (Tāshkent 1926) where the latest works of the author are mentioned].

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and illustrated with 34 maps); I Zarubin, *Materiali i zametki po etnografii Tadjikow, Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii*, Petrograd, v, 97—148; A. Schulz, *Die Pamirtadschik* (Giessen 1914) in *Veröff. d. oberhess. Mus.*, i. On the Shighnī language cf the bibliography by W. Geiger in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I/II, 288; Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta 1921, x, p 466—480; on the new materials collected by Zarubin cf *Bull. Acad Petrogad*, 1921, p 224, on G Morgenstierne's materials cf his *Report on a linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, Oslo 1926, p 14. On the Ismāʿīlī's of Shughnān cf Count Alexis Bobrinskoy, *Sekta Ismāʿiliya v russkikh i bukharskikh predělakh, Etnografič Obozrěniye*, Moscow 1902 (distribution and organisation of the sect); W Ivanow, *Ismāʿilitskiya rukopisi Asiat. Muzeya, Bull Acad Petrograd*, 1917, p 359—386 (description of the collection of manuscripts collected by Zarubin one of which, *Dar shinākhti-i Imām*, has been published by Ivanow in the *Memoirs Asiat Soc Bengal*, 1922, viii, N° 1, p 1—76; a resumé of Ivanow's article was given by E D Ross, in *J R A S*, 1919, p 429—435; A Semenow, *Opisaniye ismāʿil rukopisey* (description of the MSS given by the author to the Asiatic Museum), *Bull Acad Petrograd*, 1918, p 2171—2202; Semenow has also published the following articles: *Iz oblasti religioz vozzreniy Shughnān ismāʿil*, *Mir Islama*, 1912, p 550 (a resumé appeared in *R M M*, 1913, Sept, p 523—561), *Shaikh Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī po predstavleniyam Shughn ismāʿil, Zap*, xxii, *Razskaz Shughn ismāʿil o shaikhě Bahā al-Dīn, Zap*, xxii (V Minorsky)

SHŪL. 1. A country in China According to Kudāma (ed. de Goeje, p. 264) Alexander the Great conquered it and built there two towns, Shūl and Khumdān. This latter has been identified (de Goeje, Tomaschek, Yule) with Si-ngan fu In Shūl Marquart [*Osteuropaische Streifzuge* (Leipzig 1903) p 90, and *Ērānšahr* (Berlin 1901) p. 316] sees the Turkish word *Čol* which he translates by "sand" (desert), seeing in it a translation of the Chinese *Sha-čóu*, "sandy district' According to Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 18) Sha-čóu "sand-city" (Marco Polo Sachiu) was founded in 622 A. D As an alternative, Marquart admits a misreading *Shūl* instead of Sūk = Sūk-čū (Su-čóu)

It remains to be ascertained if this Shūl does not rather refer to some colony of the Soghdians (cf. the Soghdian *Sūlīk* from **Sughdīk*, Tibetan *Shulik*, R Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, 1923, p. vi)

2 A tribe in Persia, see SHŪLISTĀN.

SHŪLISTĀN, "Country of the Shūl", a district (*bulūk*) in the province of Fārs.

Three epochs must be distinguished in the history of the district: one before the arrival of the Shūl, the period of their rule (from the viiith/xiiith centuries), and the period of its occupation by the Mamassanī Lūrs about the beginning of the xiith/xviiith century

During the Sāsānid period the district was included in the *kūra* of Shāpūr-khūra. The founding of its capital Nawbandagan (Nawbandjān) is attributed to Shāpūr I. This important town situated on the road from Fārs to Khūzistān was taken by ʿUthmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ in *23/643 (Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 31); it is often mentioned by Arabic historians and geographers. The district is watered by the river system which finally forms the river Zohra, which flows through Zaidūn and Hindiyān. In the old *Fārs-nāma* (p. 151) the river of Nawbandjān bears the name Khʷābdān. The river system is described in detail in *Fārs-nāmayi Nāṣirī*, ii. 326. The principal water-course comes from the direction of Ardakān and is now called Āb-i Fahliyān or Āb-i shūr. The valley of Shiʿb-i Bawwān situated about ten miles to the north of Nawbandjān, is considered by the Muslims, on account of its climate and the richness of its vegetation, to be among the four earthly paradises (*Fārs-nāma*, p. 147, Bode, i. 233) Another notable feature of the district is the fortress Ḳalʿa-i Safīd, occupying (like Kilāt-i Nādirī [q. v.] in Khorāsān) the extensive terrace (four miles in circumference) on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain; the Persians identify the place with the Safīd-diz mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma* (Mohl, ii. 92, Vullers, i. 448); it was taken by Tīmūr in 795 (1393).

Sometimes the district of Nawbandjān bears the name of Anburān, but the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* makes the town of Anburān a dependency of Nawbandjān. Nawbandjān flourished until the interregnum which followed the fall of the Būyids [q. v.] when Abū Saʿd, the leader of a section of the Shabānkāra [q. v], destroyed the town. It revived under the Atābeg Čāʾūlī (died in 510) who governed Fārs on behalf of the Seldjūḳs, but finally fell into ruins

The description of Fārs (*Fārs-nāma*) composed in the life-time of Čāʾūlī does not yet know the expression, *Shūlistān*, that is to say "the country of the Shūl". This last tribe at first inhabited Lūristān, of which the half was under its rule about 300 (912) The great chief (*pīshwā*) of the Shūl was Saif al-Dīn Mākān Rūzbihānī, whose ancestors had governed the district from the time of the Sāsānids We may here mention that the Rūzbihānī figure among the Lūr tribes. At the same time as this *pīshwā*, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions a governor (*hākim*) of the *wilāyat* of the Shūl, who was called Nadjm al-Dīn. From the year 500 (1106) the Kurd tribes and others from Djabal al-Summāḳ (in Syria) began to move into Lūristān From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lūr is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hazārasp (600—650 = 1203—1252) the new comers drove the Shūl back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Marco Polo (Yule–Cordier, i 83—85) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suolestan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawbandjān occupied by the Shūl. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Mediaeval Researches*, ii 127) marks a *She-la-tsz'* between Shīrāz and Kāzrūn, which must correspond to Shūlistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūl dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfī had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nawādakān*) of Nadjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaces Nawbandjān: during the campaign of 795 Tīmūr halted at Mālamīr-i Shūl ("the estates" of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālamīr = Idhadj); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The Shūl must form an ethnically distinct unit The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Dīn only

mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery, ii. 88), who in 748 (1347) met Shūl at Shīrāz and on his first stage on the road from Shīrāz to Kāzrūn (Dasht-i Arǰan) calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-aʿāḏim*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *Shūlī* (Vullers, ii. 481 "a kind of *Rāmandī* and *Ṣaḥrī* which is spoken in Fārs") Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shūl have very considerable affinities with the Shabānkāra [q. v.] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Rashīd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tātārs, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the Shūl, and the Franks (Bérézine, vii 62) In 617 the Atābeg of Lūristān Hazārasp advised Muhammad Khwārizmshāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Talū (Balū "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lūrs, Shūl, the people of Fārs and Shabānkāra" (Ḏjuwainī, Gibb Memorial, xvi/2, 114) Rashīd al-Dīn (Quatremère, p 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawṣil in 659 (1260) "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the Shūl"

Established on the great road, the Shūl nomads were themselves exposed to invasions, the Atābeg of Lūristan Yūsuf Shāh (673—687) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Naǰm al-Dīn (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, p 543), in 755 the Muzaffarid Shuǰāʿ Shāh chastised them severely when they attacked Shīrāz (ibid, p 660); in 796 ʿUmar Shaikh marching in the rear-guard of his father Timūr pillaged on his way all the unsubdued "Lūrs, Kurds and Shūl" (*Ẓafar-nāma*, p 615)

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the Shūl, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the Shūl and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption At the present day, traces of them are only found in the toponymy of the Fārs *Shūl-i Gaṗ*, a mountain to the north of Būshīr; *Dareshūlī*, name of a section of the Turkish tribe Ḳashḳāʾī [q. v.]; *Shūl*, a village near Dālikī and another village to the N. N. W. of Shīrāz This last Shūl, situated to the east and outside the *bulūk* of Shūlistān might represent the last bulwark of the tribe, which has disappeared Herzfeld, who emphasizes the special character of the buildings of this village, says that its inhabitants are of Persian origin and seem to have kept the pure Persian type According to Bode, the river Āb-i Shūr ("bitter water") is called also Shakar-āb ("sugared water"): this contradiction can only be explained by the confusion between the words *Shūr* and *Shūl*, and besides, one of the most important tributaries of this river is called *Rūdkhkānayi Shūl-i Kāmfīrūz* in *Fārs-nāmayi Nāṣirī* (Wells: "the Sul stream").

At the time of the last Ṣafawids (*Fārs-nāmayi Nāṣirī*, ii. 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i 266) Shūlistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassanī Lūrs, after whom the district is now called *bulūk-i Mamassanī*. Its extent is now about 100 × 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmfīrūz and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the country of the Kūh-Gālūʾī (Kūh-Gilūya) Lūrs; to the south Kāzrūn and the mountain of Marra-Shigift (the northern slopes of the Marwak in Dasht-i Arǰan) Of the six cantons of the district four (*čar-buniča*) bear the names of Mamassanī clans Bakesh, Ḏjāwīdī, Dushmanzinyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there are fifty-eight villages and five thousand families. The clans are governed by their hereditary *kalāntar*'s. The Mamassanī claim to possess the annals of their tribe and say they came from Sistān (J. Morier, *J R G S*, 1837, p. 232—242), this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassanī is a Lūrī dialect.

Of the two other cantons. Kākān (to the north) was bought by the Kashkūlī Turks of the Ḳashḳāʾī [q v.] tribe and Fahliyān, with seven villages dependent on it, is still the administrative centre of the *bulūk* In the time of the Safawids this town is said to have numbered five thousand houses of which in the year 1840 no more than sixty—seventy remained (of Persian Sayyids)

Bibliography Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed Le Strange (*G M S*, 1921), p. 146, 151, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḏjāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed Bérézine in *Trudī vost otdēlenīya*, v., 1858, p. 49, xv., 1888, p 95, *Ibidem*, ed Quatremère, Paris 1836, i., 380—382, 440 with an ample commentary, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amsār*, transl Quatremère, *N E*, 1838, xiii, 352, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda* (*G M S*, xiv/1, p. 537, 539, 540, 543, 660—661), *Ibidem*, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange (*G M S*, xxiii/1, p 127, 129), Ibn-Battūta, *Voyages*, ed Defrémery, ii, 1854, p 88, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Bibl indica, Calcutta 1885, i. 599, 615; Hasan Husainī Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāmayi Nāṣirī*, Tihrān 1313, ii. 302, 322 (the author calls attention to the existence of another Nawbandǰān in the district of Fasā)

Macdonald Kinneir, *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, p. 73; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, London 1845, i., 210–251, 262–275 Kāzrūn-Bahrām-Nawbandǰān-Fahliyān-Bāsht, Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, S. Petersburg 1881, p xxi; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia*, in *Proceedings R G S*, v, 1883, p. 138–163· Bahbahān-Bāsht-Telespid-Pul-i Mūrt-Shūl-Shīrāz, Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii. 318—320, le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 264—267; E. Herzfeld, *Eine Reise durch Luristān, Peterm Mitt*, 1907, liii, 72—90· Bāsht-Pul-i Mūrt-ʿAlī-ābād-Shūl-Shīrāz; O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, part ii, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stamme*, Berlin 1910, p xv, xvi. 1—59 (Mamassanī texts); G. Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *R M M*, 1913, xxii, 85—150 Cartography: the works of de Bode, Wells and Herzfeld, the map by Hausknecht-Kiepert, Berlin 1882. (V. MINORSKY)

SHURĀT (A, sg. SHĀRĪ), the name which the extreme Khāriǰīs [q. v.] give themselves. This name of a religious denomination is taken from the Ḳurʾān (iv. 76) and means, "those who sell their life to God" by vowing to fight to the death against his enemies.

The first Shurāt were exterminated by ʿAlī at

the battle of Nukhaila. The most celebrated of their martyrs was Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Djawdar, of the Rabī'a tribe. They swore to fight, even when hope had gone, for the cause of justice "until only three amongst them should remain".

This state of extreme political feeling or *shirā* is contrasted in Khāridjī terminology to the state of "triumph" (*ẓuhūr*), of "defence" (*daf'*) and of "secret" (*kitmān*)

The name of Shurāt has been applied by extension to a group of Khāridjī jurists, natives of 'Omān, Sidjistān, Ādharbāidjān, Shahrizōr, and 'Okbarā, like Djubair b. Ghālib and Ḳaṭalūsī, who have written in justification of the attitude of *shirā*.

The Malay custom of *amok* sometimes takes the form of *shirā* among Muslim Filipinos

Bibliography. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 577, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p. 236—237, Abū Zakarīyā Shammākhī, *Chronique*, transl. Masqueray, Algiers 1878, p. 272—355; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, Cairo 1316, ii. 138 (L. MASSIGNON)

SHURṬA, police, police-officer The word *shurṭa* (more rarely *shuraṭa*), in the plural *shuraṭ*, originally means "picked men who open the battle", "bodyguard" and then comes to be used in the sense of "police, gendarmerie", an individual police officer is likewise called shurṭa or *shurṭī* (*shuraṭī*). The title *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, "commander of the bodyguard" was at first given to the governor of a province or a town who settled all questions, religious as well as secular, but in the 'Abbāsid period was reserved for a special official who was responsible for order and public security and whose duties therefore corresponded with those of our chief constables Under the 'Abbāsids, the Spanish Umayyads, and the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib and Egypt the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* had greater power than the ḳāḍī, inasmuch as he was empowered to take action on mere suspicion and to threaten any one with punishment even before proof was brought. Not all citizens however were under his power, but only the lower classes, particularly all suspicious individuals and those of evil repute. In Spain however a distinction was made between *al-shurṭa al-kubrā* ("great shurṭa") and *al-shurṭa al-ṣughrā* ("little shurṭa"), the representative of the former could take legal proceedings even against high officials, if they had been guilty of anything, while the latter dealt exclusively with the lower classes. In the time of Ibn Khaldūn, the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* in Spain was called *ṣāḥib al-madīna*, in Tunis *ḥākim*, and among the Mamlūks of Egypt *wālī*.

From the meaning of "policeman", "constable", developed in Spanish Arabic that of "hangman" and in the *1001 Nights* we find *shurṭī* used along with *ḥarāmī* in the meaning of "rogue, rascal" etc In modern Egyptian *shuraṭī* means "pickpocket"

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, Dozy, *Supplément*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed Quatremère, i. 400; ii. 30 (transl. by de Slane, i. 452, ii. 35); v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 182, 190; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 363. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SHŪSHTAR. [See SHUSTER]

SHUSHTARĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALI B 'ABDALLĀH, a mystic poet of Andalusia, a disciple of Ibn Sab'īn [q v.], author of *muwashshaḥāt* in vulgar Arabic.

Born at Yodar near Guadix (Wādī Āsh) about 600 (1203), he died at Ṭīna near Damietta on 17th Ṣafar 668 (October 16, 1269) Shushtarī first studied under Ibn Surāḳa of Jativa who expounded to him the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* of Suhrawardī al-Baghdādī; he seems at this period to have joined the Madanīya order He then lived at Rabāṭ and at Meknes (which he mentions in his poem: "A shaikh of the land of Meknes — Goes singing through the suk — What do men want with me? — What do I want with them?") and Fās He then set out for the east In 650 (1252) he was at Damascus with a remarkable poet, Nadjm b. Isrā'īl (d 676 = 1277) of the order of Rifā'īya Harīrīya (*Dīwān* at Constantinople, Aya Sofia MS, No. 1644) Finally in 651 (1253) he settled in Mecca; there he met Ibn Sab'īn, already famous at the age of thirty-eight, although his senior, he became his pupil and received his *khirḳa sab'īnīya* (of which we know from Ibn Taimīya that its *dhikr* was *laisa illa'llāh* and that its *isnād* relied "on the authority of Hallādj among other impious men, e. g. Socrates") When Ibn Sab'īn was persecuted and put under police surveillance, Shushtarī, taking his place at the head of the *mustadjarridīn*, brought to Egypt, before he died, about 400 adepts including Abū Ya'ḳūb b Mubashshir, the hermit of the Bāb Zuwaila (Cairo)

Maḳḳarī enumerated five prose works by him; but there survives only a *Risāla baghdādīya* on the poverty (Escurial, MS. 168, ff. 75a—78b). If his name is still known, it is owing to his *Dīwān* or collection of *muwashshaḥāt* in vulgar Arabic; — short, poignant poems quite modern in tone, for which music was at once provided, according to Ibn 'Abbād Rundī To this day to end the "ecstasy" in the seances of the Shādhilīya in Syria they sing his "*Alifun ḳabla lamaini*, — *wa-Hā'un ḳurrat al-'aini* . " (which Ibn 'Adjība annotated) — Shushtarī also wrote some ḳaṣīdas in the classical style, the best known is the *lāmīya 'īsawīya*, on which Nābulusī wrote a commentary

Bibliography: Ghubrīnī, *'Unwān al-Dirāya*, MS Paris 2155, f 72b—74a, Ibn al-Khatīb, *Ihāṭa*, MS Paris 3347, ff 208a—212a; Ibn 'Abbād Rundī, *Rasā'il kubrā*, lith. Fās, 1320, p 198, Maḳḳarī, *Analecta*, ed Dozy, 1855—1860, vol 1, p. 583—584; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 274 (L MASSIGNON)

SHŪSHTARĪ, SAIYID NŪR ALLĀH B SHARĪF MAR'ASHĪ, an original Shī'a writer who defended imāmism against Sunnī polemicists and at the same time mysticism against the anti-mysticism of the majority of the Imāmī doctors Ḳādī of Lahore, he was condemned as a heretic by orders of Djahāngīr and whipped to death in 1019 (1610) He is the third martyr (*shahīd thālith*) of the Imāmīs He left two important works, in Persian the *Madjālis al-Mu'minīn* (finished at Lahore in 1073 = 1604), a very fully documented biographical collection on the principal martyrs of Imāmī and mystic Islām; and in Arabic the *Iḥḳāḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ*, a treatise on Imāmī apologetics

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catal. Persian MSS. British Museum*, London 1879, i., p. 337; Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Shī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik*, Vienna 1874 (L. MASSIGNON)

SHUSTER or SHŪSHTER, among the Arabs TUSTAR, a town in the Persian province of 'Arabistān, the ancient Khūzistān, situated in

about 49° East Long and 32° N. Lat It stands on a clif to the west of which runs the river Kārūn [q. v.], the middle course of which begins a few miles north of the town This position gives the town considerable commercial and strategic importance and has made possible the construction of various waterworks for which the town has long been famous The main features of these constructions are. (1) the canal called Āb-i Gerger (in the middle ages Masrūḳān) which is led from the left bank of the river about 600 yards north of the town; it runs southwards along the east side of the cliffs of Shuster and rejoins the Kārūn at Band-i Ḳīr, the site of the ancient ʿAskar Mukram; (2) the great barrage called Band-i Kaisar, which is thrown across the principal arm of the river (here called Shuṭaiṭ or Nahr-i Shusteı) east of the town and is about 440 yards long; this barrage supports a bridge intended to connect the town with the west bank but now a considerable gap is broken in it, (3) the canal called Mīnāw (from Miyān-āb) which begins above the barrage in the form of a tunnel cut out of the rock on the western side of the town, the citadel is above this part, the Mīnāw turns southwards and is intended to irrigate the land south of the town

Shuster along with these canals was already in existence in pre-Muḥammadan times Pliny knows a town called Sostra (xii 78) and it appears as *Shōshtar* in the *Liste géographique des villes d'Iran*, publ by Blochet (*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, 1895, xvii, N° 46), it is found in Syriac literature as a Nestorian bishopric (cf Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p 27) Persian tradition also regards Shuster as a very old town (e g Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud, p 315) This tradition is found in the Arab historians and geographers and most fully in the *Ta'rīkh-i Shūshtar* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Shūshtarī (cf *Bibliography*) The story goes that the town was founded by the mythical king Hūshang after the foundation of Shūsh (Susa) Shushter is said to be comparative from Shūsh meaning "more beautiful" in reference to the site of the town (Marquart, *loc cit* also regards it as a derivative from Shūsh with the suffix-*tar* indicating direction) The Arabic form Tustar is generally explained as an arabicisation of Shūshtar (e g by Hamza al-Isfahānī and Yākūt, i 848) Several sources record that the town was built in the form of a horse Tradition also says that the Mīnāw canal, formerly called Nahr-i Dāriyān, was built by Dārā the Great and that it was the Sāsānid Ardashīr I who began to construct the barrage in the river below the mouth of the canal, after the latter had dried up because the bed of the river had sunk through erosion by the force of the current The work was only completed however under Shāpūr II by his Roman prisoners under Valerian II (cf also Ṭabarī, i 827 and Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii 184) The Āb-i Gerger was first dug simply to divert the volume of water The Band-i Ḳaiṣar was next constructed and called after the emperor and the bed of the river above the barrage was paved with huge slabs of stone bound with iron so as to prevent any further erosion. This paving was called Shādirwān, a term which was also applied to the barrage itself Ultimately a new barrage is said to have been built across the Gerger. From the xivth century the Āb-i Gerger was called Dū-Dānig and the Nahr-i Shuster Čahār-Dānig, because they contained respectively two- and four-sixths of the quantity of water in the Kārūn Muslim authors number these great waterworks among the wonders of the world (e g Ḥamza al-Isfahānī and Ibn Battūta) Although the authenticity of the tradition quoted could be for the most part disputed, it is not improbable that Roman prisoners of war took part in the construction of the barrage (cf Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p 37); local tradition further attributes to Roman colonists the introduction of a number of industries e g the manufacture of brocade (*dībādj*) and certain popular customs

In the caliphate of ʿUmar the town was conquered by al-Barāʾ b. Mālik, whose tomb used to be pointed out in the centuries following. Tradition also says that the coffin of the prophet Dāniyāl was found there, which later on was brought to Shūsh. In the Umaiyad period the town became one of the strongholds of the Khāridjīs, the Khāridjī Shabīb made it his capital but after his death al-Ḥadjdjādj seized it, it was then that the great bridge over the barrage was destroyed. Under the Caliphs, Shuster was the capital of one of the seven provinces (sometimes a larger number is given, cf. Maḳdisī, p. 404), into which Khūzistān was divided When Baghdād became the centre of the empire, Shuster gradually became influenced by its proximity to the capital One quarter of Baghdād for example in the tenth century was called Maḥallat al-Tustarīyīn, it was the residence of the merchants and notables from Khūzistān The oldest mosque was built under the ʿAbbāsids, begun in the reign of al-Muʿtazz (866–869), it was only finished under the Caliph al-Mustarshid (1118—1135). There was however a fire-altar at Shuster in the time of al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, i 92)

Shuster along with Ahwāz has always been the chief town in Khūzistān, Hamd ʿAllāh Mustawfī calls it the capital of this province It was conquered by Tīmūr and remained in the hands of the Tīmūrids till the year 820/1514, when it fell to a Shīʿa dynasty of Saiyids under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawids and became a centre of Shīʿa propaganda Several governors have founded little dynasties there The town enjoyed most prosperity in the reign of Wākhishtū Khān (1632—1667) whose descendants kept the governorship till the end of the Safawids In the beginning of the xixth century it was among the provinces governed by Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who restored, for example, the barrage and the bridge. At this period it is said to have had a population of 45,000, but the number has certainly diminished a great deal since. for Rawlinson in 1836 puts it at 15,000 and Curzon in 1890 at 8,000. The area covered by the town is out of all proportion to the population Sykes also calls Shuster the most ruined town in Persia; this description applies also to the water works. The houses are built of stone and brick; they contain cellars, here called *shewādān*, in which the inhabitants shelter in the excessive heat of summer.

As to the inhabitants themselves, they are a mixture of Arab and Iranian or proto-Iranian elements. In the middle of the xixth century there were still a considerable number of Mandaeans here; Layard counted 300—400 families of them

in 1840 (cf. also the description of them given by ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shushtarī on p. 24 of his local history). They have probably now disappeared. Modern travellers (Curzon and Sykes) describe the character of the present inhabitants as disagreeable and fanatical Among the Persians the devoutness of the inhabitants has earned the town the honorific title of *Dār al-Muʾminīn*. On the other hand we find Shuster included among the Persian towns celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants (Christensen in *Acta Orientalia*, iii 31) They live for the most part by commerce, the present state of the population seems however to justify the ancient tradition that Shuster is fated always to remain a poor town. Since the end of last century Shuster has succeeded Dizful as the capital of ᶜArabistān.

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For the extensive bibliography relating to the barrage and irrigation works cf the article KĀRŪN and the bibliography given there.

(J H KRAMERS)

SHUᶜŪBĪYA. Sūra xlix. of the Ḳurʾān teaches the brotherhood and equality of all Muslims and verse 13 reads, "and We made you *shuᶜūb* and *kabāʾil* in order that ye may know" — "each know the other" explains Baiḍāwī in loco (ed Fleischer, ii. 276, 17), "not for prideful vying with one another in ancestors and tribes". Apparently *shuᶜūb* had been used in Arabic for non-Arab tribes (*al-ᶜaǧam*) as distinguished from *ḳabāʾil* for Arab tribes (*Lisān*, i 482, 15) and therefore this passage was used by those non-Arabs who objected to the pride of the Arabs towards them The Shuᶜūbīya, then, was the sect which either so objected or which exalted the non-Arabs over the Arabs or which, in general, despised and depreciated the Arabs (*Lisān*, i. 482, 12 *sqq*.; Lane, p. 1557*c*). A member of this sect was a *shuᶜūbī*. This attitude showed itself in different forms. In the East on the part of the Persians and the Khāridjites it was dynastic and political, and for the Persians also religious, involving heresy and Zindīḳism. It connected with the Shiᶜa and other schisms. On the part of the Nabateans it was the old conflict of the cultivated soil and its peasantry against the desert. It was thus a more or less successful attempt on the part of the different subjected races to hold their own and to distinguish, at least, between Arabism and Islām. In Persia this meant even the restoration of Persian as the language of literature and the limitation of the use of Arabic to the theological sciences. In Spain, on the other hand, the Shuᶜūbīya accepted the whole Arabic civilization, prided itself on its command of Arabic (*al-ᶜarabīya*) and on its Islāmic orthodoxy, but rejected the claims to superiority of the Arab race The movement had therefore a certain kinship with the nationalism within Islām of the present day.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i 147—216; *Die Šuᶜûbîyya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, liii 601—620. (D. B. MACDONALD)

SIAK SRI INDRAPURA, a self-governing district (Sultanate) belonging to the administrative area of Bĕngkalis in the gouvernement "Oostkust van Sumatra", on the east coast of Central Sumatra and practically equivalent to the valley of the river Siak; a few islands off the coast also belong to it (the boundaries of the Sulṭān's territory are accurately defined in the agreement concluded in 1916 between the government of the Dutch East Indies and the native Government of Siak Sri Indrapura, published in the "Kroniek 1917 von het Oostkust van Sumatra-Instituut"). It consists of a very wide fertile alluvial strip of coast, swampy in places, intersected by many streams large and small; the ground rises only very gradually to the west and is for the most part still covered with forest. The most important river, the Siak (on which stands the capital Siak Sri Indrapura, with a large modern palace of the Sultān) is very deep for far into the interior and navigable at all seasons, and is therefore of great importance for the transit traffic (mainly in the hands of Chinese) from Singapore to the west coast of Sumatra The country is only thinly populated and the inhabitants are neither industrious nor prosperous They live mainly by fishing (from which they are however being ousted by the Chinese) and collecting forest products (the most important of these are the leaves of the *nipah* palm which are used as roofing material), they grow rice, almost exclusively on dry fields, but the harvest is far from sufficient even for their own needs, considerable quantities of rice are imported from Singapore and cocoa-nuts from Malacca, the Chinese alone grow vegetables

Two main elements may be clearly distinguished in the population. (*a*) A few tribes who may be regarded as descendants of the original inhabitants of the east coast of Sumatra; (*b*) Another section usually given the name "Malays". To the first group belong. (1) The Orang Talang on the Mandau river and in the forest country between Siak and Kampar, they are divided into four groups and are said to be descendants of subjects of the once powerful kingdom of Gasip, which lay on the river of the same name and according to tradition was destroyed by the Atchinese; (2) The Orang Sakei on the upper Mandau and in the adjoining Rokan territory; (3) The Orang Akit, who are gradually dying out, also on the Mandau, (4) The Orang Utan and Orang Rawa, on the islands at the mouth of the Siak and Kampar rivers. These tribes are still very primitive. Physically they are different from the Malays and it is reported of the Orang Akit in particular that they have a negrito type and show a striking similarity to the Sĕmang of the Malay Peninsula. Some still lead a more or less wandering life, agriculture is little or not at all pursued; they live by fishing and on all that the forest yields them. The Orang Talang and the Sakei are said to have adopted Islām; but

their knowledge of this religion is only very slight and like the other tribes already mentioned they are still strongly attached to heathen customs. In family law and law of inheritance they follow the Minangkabau matriarchal *adat*. The other portion of the population, the Malays, is now very mixed in composition. They are descended from immigrants from the west coast (in the greater part of the country Minangkabau is the vernacular) and from Djohor on the other side of the straits of Malacca. It was no doubt with them that Islām came to this region

There are said to be very old relations between Siak and Minangkabau, at the beginning of the xviiith century Siak was under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Minangkabau who had however granted it as a fief to the Sultān of Djohor. Thus it came about that when in 1689 the Dutch East India Company opened a factory for the first time in this region, they did it on authority of a treaty with the latter Sulṭān. Siak may be said to have become independent in 1721 when Radja Kĕtjil (according to a chronicle a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Djohor, according to another a Minangkabau adventurer) who, coming from Siak had at first succeeded in dethroning the reigning Sultān of Djohor, but was later forced to flee back to Siak where he was able to resist there against Djohor. Jangdipĕrtuan Bĕsar Sharīf Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Djalīl Saif al-Dīn who now (since 1915) rules the country under the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Company is an indirect descendant of this Radja Kĕtjil.

Bibliography. E. Netscher, *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak (1602—1865)*, in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxv, 1870; E Netscher, *Aanteekeningen omtrent Midden-Sumatra*, in *Verh Bat. Gen.* xxxix, 1880; J. S. G. Gramberg, *Geographische aanteekeningen betreffende de residentie Sumatra's Oostkust*, in *Tydschr Aardrijksk Genootsch*, vi, 1882, 100, 183; I. A. van Rijn van Alkemade, *Verslag eener reis van Siak naar Paja Kombo*, in *Tydschrift Aardrijksk. Genootsch*, 2nd series, ii, 1885, 202; H. A. Hijmans van Anrooij, *Nota omtrent het Ryk van Siak*, in *T B G K W*, xxx., 1885, 259, I. A. van Rijn van Alkemade, *Reis van Siak naar Poelau Lawan*, in *Tydschr Aardrijksk. Genootsch*, 2nd series, iii., 1887, 100; Max Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, 1909; *Kroniek van het Oostkust van Sumatra-Instituut*, 1916 and 1917.

(W. H. Rassers)

SIAM. Islām has made no converts in Siam The Siamese of Thai (i e the mass of the population), Laotian, Birman and Mōn origin who were long ago converted to Buddhism have remained impervious to it. Unlike what has happened in Western Indonesia, it seems that in the valley of the Menam there is an incompatibility between the Buddhist faith and the doctrine preached by the prophet Muḥammad.

The Muslims in Siam consist of Malays, immigrants from Java, Afghāns and in larger numbers, Muslims from India. The majority live in Bangkok. The Malays are the descendants of prisoners of war taken in the north in course of numerous campaigns of the Thai in the Malay Peninsula We know that the first expedition dates from the end of the xiiith century and is recorded in the famous inscription of Rāma Kāṃheng (cf. G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, part i.: *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, Bangkok 1924, p. 48). Many expeditions followed and secured a considerable number of prisoners to the victors who had conquered the whole Malay Peninsula A nautical Arabic text of the first half of the xvith century indeed tells us that "Singapore is the last land of Siam in the South" (cf Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions Nautiques et Routiers Arabes et Portugais des XVe et XVIe Siècles*, vol. ii, Paris 1925, folio 71 recto, l 6)

The Javanese, the Afghāns and other Muslims from India came to Siam to trade In 1870 the *Siam Directory* mentions an appreciable number of "Musulman merchants", which had considerably increased thirty years later (cf *The Directory for Bangkok and Siam for 1898*) In addition to these foreign Muslims there are a few Arabs from Ḥaḍramūt (on the latter see the standard work by L W C van den Berg, *La Ḥaḍramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien*, Batavia 1886)

The Sunnīs are in a minority The majority of the Muslims in Siam follow the Shīʿa The procession of the ʿAshūrā' on the 10th Muharram, in commemoration of the death of Hasan and Husain is annually celebrated. The procession of the ʿAshūrā' is preceded, as in Persia, by representations during the first nine days of Muharram, recalling the events that preceded the death of Husain (cf the articles ʿAshūrā' and Muharram) The place where these spectacles are presented is called as in India *imām-bārā* [q v], "the enclosure of the Imām"

The Muslims settled in Siam fast or rather claim to fast during the month of Ramadān, but this fast is far from being as strict as in the lands of Islām At Bangkok the main features are the rejoicings which take place each night starting at sunset On these occasions dates are specially eaten in memory of the Prophet, whose favourite dish they are said to have been

The festival of *ʿīd al-fiṭr* or *ʿīd al-ṣaghīr* [q v] which closes the fast of Ramadān gives occasion for great feasts and rejoicings, the elements of which are borrowed from local customs The *ʿīd al-ḳurbān* or feast of sacrifices which takes place on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (cf ʿId al-aḍha) is also celebrated with great solemnity and numerous sacrifices of animals

The mosque of Bangkok is of comparatively recent construction It is small, badly equipped and situated in the low quarter of the town.

The Muslims who live in Siam — one cannot not talk of Muslim Siamese, since except for Malays from the Peninsula who are Siamese subjects, no one, as far as I know, has ever heard of the conversion of a Siamese Buddhist to Islām — the Siamese Muslims have become Siamesed so to speak, instead of having converted the Thai, Laotian, Birmans and Mōns among whom they live In 1898, I happened to meet in Bangkok an envoy of the Shaikh al-Islām in Constantinople whose mission it was to visit all the Muslim communities of the Far East It was the period of Sultān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's pan-Islāmic policy and the Turkish Caliph wished to be exactly informed of the reception his plans for propaganda in Siam, Indo-China and China had received The emissary arrived from China completely disillusioned and he did not conceal from me that his pretended

co-religionists in Bangkok were only Muslims in name "Even those who profess to be Sunnīs", he added, "are regular infidels". Indeed Islām has neither past nor present in Siam and probably no future

The above notes are based on personal recollection and information kindly supplied me by two confreres, Messrs C Otto Blagden and B O Cartwright, teachers of Malay and Siamese respectively at the School of Oriental Studies So far as I know, neither old narratives nor modern works make any reference to Muslims strictly Siamese In a letter from Fernão Mendez Pinto addressed to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in Portugal, written at Malacca and dated December 5, 1554, he says "But, my dear brothers, there are in this city of Sião (= Siam, the reference is to Ayuthia, the old capital) seven mosques of which the ministrants (*cacizes*) are Turks and Arabs and thirty thousand families (*trinta mil fogos*) of Muslims in the town which is a great shame on the soldiers of Christ" (cf *Peregrinaçam* of Fernão Mendez Pinto, ed J J de Brito Rebello, vol iv, Lisbon 1910, p 161) In vol iii of the same edition (1909, p 37) there is also a reference to a certain Heredim Mafamede, i e Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad, a Turkish captain, who left Suez in 1538 on the Egyptian fleet sent against the Portuguese in the Indies, whose ship lost the way and landed in Tenasserim Khair al-Dīn entered the Siamese service and was employed on the Lauhós (probably = Laos) frontier with an annual salary of 12,000 cruzadoes Both these are cases of foreign Muslims who had come to Siam It is obvious that the figure of 30,000 Muslim families living in Ayuthia in the xvith century cannot be taken literally We shall not deal here with the Muslims from the Malay Peninsula who belong from the ethnographic, linguistic and religious point of view, if not the political, to the Malay Federated States They should therefore be dealt with along with the latter

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

SĪBAWAIHI was the pen-name of the prominent grammarian of the Basrian school whose proper name was Abū Bishr ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b Kanbar, he was a client (*mawla*) of the Arab tribe of al-Hārith b Kaʿb This name is explained by Arabic philologists as meaning "scent of an apple", but we cannot accept this explanation as the name is never stated to have been pronounced with a duplicated *b*, and from the analogy of many earlier names of Persians containing the end-syllable "oe" we may assert with much probability that the word was pronounced *Sībōē* and was a term of endearment meaning "little apple, Apfelchen". There is a great amount of uncertainty in the chronology of his birth and death, as well as regarding the place where he was born and died. From the most trustworthy authorities it appears that he was born in al-Baiḍāʾ, a place in the district of Shīrāz in the province of Fārs. He came as a youth to al-Baṣra and studied under the chief scholars in that city among whom al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad was one of the most remarkable, a man whose value to Arabic science has hardly been realised to the present day. Al-Khalīl died in the year 175/791 and the earliest date given for the death of Sībawaihi is the year 177 A.H, when he is said to have been only 33 years of age, so that it may be possible that he enjoyed the teaching of al-Khalīl during the last ten years of the latter's life Ibn Khallikān and others however have a large array of other dates. Ibn Ḳānīʿ gives a date as early as 166 which is impossible, while other dates are 188 and 180, and Ibn al-Djawzī gives the year 194 and fixes his age at 32 years, a date which is also impossible on account of the known date of the death of al-Khalīl As regards the place where he died also a certain amount of confusion prevails, but the best authorities name the town of Sāwah. According to the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb it is stated that Ibn Duraid asserted that he died at Shīrāz and that his grave is there. As Ibn Duraid resided many years in Fārs and is by far the greatest transmitter of the sciences of the Baṣrians we may be safe to assume that his statement is the correct one Sībawaihi is a most remarkable figure in Arabic learning if only for the simple reason that the work of a man who attained no great age should have been found such general acceptance, because Arabic scholars have always attached undue value to the works of men who have attained a great age. It must have been after the death of al-Khalīl when Sībawaihi had his learned conference with al-Kisāʾī [q. v.] in the presence of the wazīr Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (d 182) on the Zunburiya question in which al-Kisāʾī got the better of Sībawaihi through the judgment of a Beduin, who probably was suborned for the purpose by the unscrupulous opponent Sībawaihi received a handsome present from Yaḥyā, but the mortification at his defeat in the dispute was so great that he returned to his native country and never came back to ʿIrāḳ. He is said to have died of grief.

The result of his studies Sībawaihi laid down in a large work on Arabic grammar (estimated at a thousand leaves by early biographers) which is not only the largest work of its kind which has come down to us of the activity of the Basrian school, but has ever since been the basis of all native studies on the subject and is known by the honorific title of *al-Kitāb* "the Book". As stated Sībawaihi had studied under al-Khalīl, but he also profited by the lectures of Yūnus b. Habīb, ʿĪsā b ʿUmar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Akhfash. Further the grammarian Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī is said to have claimed that it is he whom Sībawaihi refers to when in his book he states that he learned a certain explanation from "a man on whom I can rely". General opinion however associates with this person generally al-Khalīl, and we cannot but give this general opinion more credence than isolated statements to the contrary by biographers. It proves however that the most prominent scholars were only too anxious to have their name associated with the Book. It is also fairly certain that Sībawaihi had no opportunity of teaching from his own work nor of reading it to pupils This task was left to his teacher al-Akhfash who after Sībawaihi's death undertook a thorough revision of the work. It was not alone among the Baṣrians that the Book was eagerly studied but we learn from a curious story that al Djāḥiẓ presented to the Wazīr Ibn al-Khaiyāt a copy, which was in the hand-writing of the Kūfī grammarian al-Farrāʾ, compared by al-Kisāʾī and finally revised by the donor himself and was considered a priceless treasure. If Sībawaihi himself in speaking Arabic did so with a decided foreign accent his Book has

always been considered as a standard of good Arabic. As one of the earliest books in Arabic literature it is in its style frequently very redundant and tiring by its prolix arguments, but it is filled with innumerable examples taken from the Ḳur'ān and contains over a thousand verses taken from ancient poetry, fifty of which are by unknown poets, but they figure in later grammatical works as valid proofs on the great authority of the Book. These verses found a capable commentator in the person of Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sīrāfī (died 368 A. H.), who commented in a similar way on a number of the most celebrated works of the Baṣrian school After this time the commentaries on the books become very numerous and there is hardly one among the scholars who followed the Baṣrian school who has not either commented or added to the contents of the work It will suffice to mention here some of the names of prominent scholars who devoted their energies upon elucidating the work al-Mubarrad (d 284), ʿAlī b. Sulaimān al-Akhfash (d. 315); al-Rummānī (d 384); Ibn al-Sarrādj (d 316), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538), Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646), Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (449), and many more The Book was studied in Spain with much eagerness and the Spaniard Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī (d 379) composed a short work *al-Istidrāk* on additions of grammatical forms omitted by Sībawaihi (edited by Guidi, Rome 1890), the commentary by al-Aʿlam has also been preserved While in the East the Book was superseded by later and more compendious grammars, the study of Sībawaihi appears to have continued in the Maghrib and though some biographers of Maghribīs tell us that al-Makkūdī (d. 801) was the last who taught the Book of Sībawaihi in Fās, there is evidence from the lithographed editions of grammatical works of later authors in Fās that the work was still eagerly studied there at a much later date and copies have been preserved in the libraries of the intellectual capital of the West.

We possess three printed editions of the work, besides fragments elucidated by European scholars, and a translation into German, of which the Cairo edition with the Commentaries of Sīrāfī and al-Aʿlam is perhaps the best, as the edition of Derenbourg (*Le livre de Sibawaihi*, Paris 1883 *sqq*), the Calcutta edition of 1887 and the German translation by Jahn, Berlin 1894 *sqq*., are far from being free of errors.

Bibliography *Fihrist*, p 51; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 385; Zubaidī, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, p. 71—81; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, Cairo 1326, p. 366 and many other works of biography; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople, ii. 281—283 where many commentaries are enumerated as also in Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, i. 100—102; Flugel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 42—45. (F. KRENKOW)

SIBIR WA-IBIR, a name for Siberia in the Mongol period; in this form in Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿOmarī (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A L*, ii. 141), text in W. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordi*, p. 217 at top; the same source has also *Bilād Sibir* or *al-Sibir* (ibid, l. 6 and 221 below). More frequently Ibir-Sibir; e. g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin, in *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 168 (Ibir Sibir, mentioned in connection with the Ḳirḳiz people and the river Angara) and the Chinese Yüan-shi (I-bi-rh Si-bi-rh, quoted in Bretschneider, *Med. Researches* etc., ii. 88; cf. also ibid, p. 37). The same expression was heard in the beginning of the xvth century by Johann Schiltberger, who reproduces it in the form Bissibur or Ibissibur (*Bondage and Travels*; Hakluyt Society, London 1879, p. 49, 174) The texts in which this expression occurs, are collected by Quatremère (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse par Raschid-eldin*, p 413 *sqq*.) who sees in it (probably wrongly) an echo of the old names of two peoples, the Abar (Avars) and Sabir (in Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, ed de Goeje, p. 83, 16 Sabir, this is said to be the name the Khazars gave themselves). (W. BARTHOLD)

SIBṬ. [See IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ, AL-TAʿĀWĪDHĪ]

SICILY. In the history of Sicily is to be found in miniature the story of Western civilisation. It lies at the heart of the Mediterranean, and it lies likewise at the heart of medieval wars, commerce and culture. The great movements of Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Muslim met and fought their battles there, and there all of them have perished. The earliest days are clouded in the fusion of Sicels and Sicans, in the settlements of the merchants of Phoenicia on the promontories and along the sea-coast A new era dawns when the Greek City States stretch forth their hands for new territory and settle at Naxos (735 B. C.), Corcyra and Syracuse (734) The process of colonisation went steadily forward for centuries, and the Greek element in the island became strong At the opening of the Peloponnesian War (427) it seemed that Athens' dream of Sicilian conquest was to be. The result, however, was neither the victory of Athens, nor the tyranny of Corinth, but the spread of classic culture Meanwhile Hannibal was displaying his Phoenician prowess In 409 he reduced Selinus and Himera and returned to his base at Carthage. Thus that rivalry began between Greece and Carthage, which alone was to signalise the story of the island for several centuries Dionysius I and II, Dion, Timoleon and Agathocles, Pyrrhus and Hiero II, were all to rule under the constant terror of Semitic onslaughts, and not until Rome dealt the death-blow to African rivalry did Sicily enjoy peace And yet through all this long period the genius of civilisation was displayed in the harbours of Syracuse, the armaments of Tauromenium, the temples of Selinus, and the bucolics of Theocritus. And even when Greece and Carthage had gone down before Rome, there still fed Sicily the Hellenic spirit. Although the yoke of Rome was not oppressive, yet the slave element in the island was so large, partly through her unique history and partly through the Roman demand for corn from her fields, that revolts broke out in 132 and 102. Rome, however, fell before Vandal and Goth, and Sicily was doomed to taste alike the barbarism of the one and the unexpected toleration of the other. Yet Belisarius was still to appear and restore Roman power and and the lethargy of Roman decadence.

Meantime a great movement had been afoot in Arabia, which, if heralded by religious cries, was no less the overflow of a racial basin, and the bursting of the banks of an ethnic river. Muḥammad died in 632 A.D., but his politico-religious crusade went on In Syria under the sway of Muʿāwiya the Muslim arms penetrated to Alexandria, where the Byzantine navy was crushed (652), and maritime power was placed in Arab hands. In the same year

was launched the first attack on Sicily, and although no Arabic historian has recorded it, the testimony of Theophanes is enough. The Exarch Olympius defended the island, but the plunderers secured their booty, and sailed off for Damascus, with ships laden with treasures of flesh and blood, silver and gold. They returned to taste the sweets of Syracuse, which they ravaged and sacked. These, however, were merely sporadic efforts out of the plenitude of martial strength. There was nothing determined or political in them. The days of Umaiyad strength passed and it was from another quarter than Syria that the power of Islām spoke; and yet the instincts of Arab and Berber found a new outlet in the islands of the Mediterranean. From the days of Mūsā onwards the Corsairs harassed all these parts, and cast a paralysing fear over the islanders of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily In 705 Syracuse was again plundered, this time by Africans, who time and again throughout the century returned to their quarry and made definite efforts on the island. So troublesome did these become that the patrician Gregory thought he did well in securing a treaty with the Saracens in 813 for ten years, which pact they honourably observed. But the prize was far too glittering The request for help which came from Euphemius of Syracuse against Michael the Stammerer in 827 was a timely pretext for a thorough invasion. Ziyādat Allāh, the Aghlabid of Ḳairawān, sent off his hundred vessels from Susa on the thirteenth of June, and the real conquest of Sicily began. Euphemius disappears from the scene, and the Saracen alone leads the pageant of the next few centuries.

Asʿad b. Torah commanded a motley expedition. The untameable spirits of the Ḳairawān court were drafted into squadrons drawn from Yemen and Khorāsān, from Syria and Maghrib, soldiers of fortune all. They attacked and reduced the first town on the island, Mazara Then they tested their strength against Syracuse, but pestilence wrought its havoc and robbed them even of their commander. Affairs at home were in real peril No Khālid appeared among them to inspire victory. The siege had to be abandoned Their gloom turned to despair, however, when they saw their escape cut off by the Greek fleet, and they had to make off for the mountains and fortify themselves in the town of Mineo. There they remained until a fleet of Spanish adventurers appeared and supplied them with provisions and the needs of war. But the court at Kairawān was now secure, and, still unsatisfied with conquest, sent off a great fleet of three hundred ships, with 20,000 men. Led by Āsbagh, they besieged and captured Ghalulīya, where plague again achieved what Sicilian arms found impossible. Other enterprises, however, succeeded on the island. A division concentrated on Palermo and brought it to surrender This with many smaller towns marked a real advance in Muslim conquest. It gave a very important vantage point for further subjugation. It provided a seat for the Amīr. It definitely established the hold of the Saracens over Sicily. Indeed it made the attackers feel so sure of their new possession that they turned to challenging themselves, and that story of Sicilian schism begins which haunts the Muslim administration to the very end. The Spanish and African elements in the adventure maintained a constant friction, and even this was vitiated by the distinction of Yemenite and Umaiyad Persian and Berber. By 840 a third of the island was under Muslim rule. Soon Naples asked aid, and the Arabian war-cry echoed on the slopes of Vesuvius, the plains of Calabria and the waters of the Adriatic. In 846 even Rome was threatened by the squadrons of the Muslim, and its gates were menaced by plunderers, who, unable to penetrate, gave what remained without to the sword and violence and sacrilege. The churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were not only destroyed but desecrated. But another expedition was still to come from Ḳairawān In 875 Djaʿfar led a well equipped force against Syracuse, and after a three years' siege the great city, rich in human story and civilisation's past, fell to the invader. The same tale of pillage follows, and follows also the passion and the jealousy, the faction and the dissension. Yet this victory gave a new charter to the plunderer, nor were the dukes of Spoleto and Tuscany innocent of sharing in the spoil So complete in fact was the mastery of the Aghlabid that Pope John VIII deemed it wisest to pay tribute for two years. The Crescent had indeed eclipsed the Cross.

There still remained a few towns that had not bowed the knee. Along the coast the power of the Saracens was unable to subdue every place, and even within the large centres such as Palermo rebellion raised its head. In 900 serious insurrections troubled the peace of the capital But darker still were the signs within the Muslim camp. What before had only been loud murmurings or covert moves, became now civil wars. Ibrāhīm appeared himself in Sicily to vindicate his name, and under the spell of his presence Tauromenium and Rametta fell (908), but his death only heralded another internecine strife and prevented the settlement of Eastern Sicily. It was with a sigh of relief that the Muslims completed their treaty with the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in 956, and when they had retaken Tauromenium in 963 and Rametta in 965, the race of the Muḥammadan in Sicily had been run. For 138 years he had been struggling for the mastery of the island, and for 73 more he was to enjoy it Throughout all this period there streamed into Sicilian minds and hearts the culture of the East, and blended there with the precious heritage of Greece and Rome. The clash of mind with mind produced a type of life unparalleled in history. There was here all the mysticism of the East, all the beauty of the Greek and all the urge and activity of the Latin. Toleration was the only path to peace, and the Sicilian march if along no other road was certainly along the path of toleration.

After seventeen years of quiet the enemy knocked again at Sicilian gates, but Otto II, with a Western Empire behind him, had to retire discomfited from the fight Only when the Eastern Emperor Basil II called his scattered forces together in 1027, for a final sally on the harassing marauders of his domains, did success come within sight. Although he saw not the end of his work, his subordinate Maniaces carried forward the scheme of conquest. Profiting by the disaffection of Abu 'l-Aʿfar, he carried victory at every step for four years, and by 1042 Messana, Syracuse and many other cities were under Christian overlordship Recalled however to satisfy domestic fears, Maniaces had to leave his work uncompleted, and soon the Muslim had recovered ground. It seemed that the Empire could not rise

to the challenge of the invader But in 1060 the hour struck and the man appeared. Messana still struggling against the doom of Saracenic capture, appealed to the Norman Count Roger of Hauteville. Strong in the possession of Italy, the Norman had been but waiting his time for seizing the island beyond. He responded to the call of the citizens, captured the city, and constituted it the capital of his kingdom. By 1071 Palermo had fallen, and in 1078 Tauromenium was wrenched from Muslim hands. In 1085 Syracuse was won. Malta which had been taken by the Saracens in 870 was retaken by Roger in 1090, and thus was completed in a few years the whole conquest of Sicily. Norman rule prevailed over the whole island. Norman lords occupied the palaces, Norman troops commanded the forts. It seemed that all the glory that had been was gone.

And yet right at the heart of the Norman conquest the Arab culture found its life-blood Hitherto in the welter of bloodshed and unchecked rapine, they had forgotten the finer arts of peace, but now when events drove them in upon themselves they discovered the treasures of their literature and poetry, their law and their science Not only were they now freed from fighting, they were definitely protected by Roger, who, unprejudiced even in his Christianity, encouraged the men of Islām to cultivate their gifts if not to advance their faith. He was even accused of being a Muslim himself Being himself uncultured he saw the greatness of Arabian genius and learning with unscaled eyes, and he refused to crush its spirit. He gave full liberty to the Muhammadans to follow their religion, and even prohibited Christians proselytising among them Under the Norman feudal system he made the yoke rest lightly on their necks. He maintained the Muslim system of administration, and even the same Muslim officials continued to act under him. The merchants of Palermo are said to have been mainly Muḥammadan under Norman domination, and his best financiers were certainly of that faith. The land was entirely under the cultivation of the Moors, who in Spain had shewn how skilfully they could make the land yield its best fruits. Papyrus, sugar-cane, flax, olives were all grown in abundance on the island. Where water was scarce great irrigating systems were laid down, and every part of the island utilised. It is said that in the Valley of Mazara no fewer than two million people lived at this period. The science of Medicine was cultivated also and the court of Roger was notable no less for the skill than for the number of its physicians. The Arabic language flourished there as the principal means of communication, and it was also the official tongue. There the Golden Odes and Romances, redolent of Arabian deserts, resounded with delight and charm in the ears of Greek and Norman. There the masterpieces of Plato and Aristotle were translated. There the Arab ideals of chivalry, permeating as they do every one of their romances, set Roger and his court along a new line of European adventure, destined to add lustre to his name and dynasty.

None saw more clearly than Roger the greatness of his Sicilian prize, and well did he guard it both from political intrigue and religious rivalry, but the day soon dawned when his sons despised their birthright, and gradually Muslim thought, language, science and culture sank into disrepute and finally into oblivion. Yet "so long as Greek and Saracen were protected and favoured, so long was Sicily the most brilliant of European kingdoms".

Bibliography: The best modern authority is Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1854, 3 vols and *Biblioteca arabo-sicula ossia raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, storia, biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia*, 1857. — Consult also Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi, Bury's Edition, S P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, 1904, 3 vols ; Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed and transl. by Dozy and de Goeje, 1866; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg and also Fagnan's selection of the occidental passages, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris ed.

(T. CROUTHER GORDON)

AL-SĪD, Spanish el-Cid, the Cid, the name by which the most celebrated and the most popular of the heroes of Castillan chivalry is known; he played a preponderating political part in Muslim Spain of the second half of the eleventh century, and we can now gain an idea of his real personality by removing all the legendary matter that has grown up around his life and his exploits It is to the Dutch scholar R Dozy, that the honour is due of having established, as a result of his examination in 1844 of the manuscript of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām preserved in Gotha, that the story of the *Cronica General* of Alphonso the Wise relating to the Cid, which up till then had been considered a pure invention, is really translated from the Arabic, and probably from a work of the Valencian Muḥammad b Khalaf Ibn ʿAlḳama (428—509 = 1036/1037—1116) called *al-Bayān al-wāḍiḥ fi 'l-mulamm al-fāḍiḥ* (cf also F Pons Boigues, *Ensaya bio-bibliográfico* . , p 176, N° 140) and that it is contemporary with the Cid This historian was thus able to base his reconstruction of the biography of the Cid on solid and authentic foundations and to show, by a series of careful deductions, how all the romantic alterations in his story had arisen which had long been considered worthy of belief and had given birth to the legendary Cid of poetry and of the theatre.

This knight who was called Rodrigo Diaz da Vivar, was descended from a noble Castillan family and was born at Burgos during the first half of the xi[th] century It has not been possible to fix the exact year in which he was born; 1026 according to some, 1040 according to others. It is known that in 1064 he distinguished himself, on the side of Sancho II of Castille in a war which this sovereign waged against Sancho of Navarre He defeated at this time a knight of Navarre in single combat and the success stood him in good stead in the Castillan army, whose commander-in-chief he became (or the "Standard-bearer of the King") with the title of Campeador (Latin *campeator* written by the Arabs الكنبيطور *al-kambeyaṭōr*, the equivalent of the Spanish Arabic *mubāriz* or *barrāz*, "the champion who comes out of the ranks, when two armies are ranged against one another, to challenge an enemy to single combat") A short time afterwards thanks to the counsels of Rodrigo Diaz, Sancho II made himself master of the Kingdom of Léon by taking his own brother Alphonso prisoner at Burgos. The latter was able to flee to the Muslim king

of Toledo al-Maʾmūn, of the dynasty of the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn On October 7, 1072, Sancho of Castille was killed before Zamora which he was besieging. The principal Castillan knights then assembled at Burgos in order to elect a new sovereign Reluctantly their choice fell upon Alfonso, King of Leon, the refugee at Toledo, but they determined to make him take an oath that he had had no share in the murder of Sancho It was Rodrigo Diaz who took this oath from Alfonso VI in the Church of Santa Agueda or Gadea of Burgos The new king of Castille always secretly felt a grudge against him for the humiliation of this oath, but in order to conciliate the knight, then very influential, and to attach him to him he gave him his cousin Jimena (Chimene) Diaz, the daughter of the Count of Oviedo, in marriage (1074) Some years later Alfonso VI sent him to the ʿAbbāsid dynast of Seville, al-Muʿtamid (see the article SEVILLE), in order to collect the tribute, which this Muslim prince paid in return for a nominal alliance with Castille He was not able to prevent an encounter between the ʿAbbāsid troops and those of the Zīrid king of Granada ʿAbd Allāh b Bādīs; the battle took place at Cabra Rodrigo took an effective part and made several Christian knights prisoners, allies of the Zīrid prince, amongst them a prince of the blood, Count Garcia Ordoñez, to whom soon after he restored his liberty He himself returned to Castille, after successfully attaining the real aim of his mission Alfonso VI, probably at the instigation of Garcia Ordoñez, then accused Rodrigo Diaz of having appropriated a part of the presents which had been given to him at Seville to bring to the king, and he took advantage of the first opportunity — the expedition against the Muslims of Toledo undertaken without his consent — to disgrace him and to banish him from his dominions (1081)

It is from this time that the life of a "condottiere" led by the Castillan knight dates, that he began to fight, as occasion arose, the Muslims or his own co-religionists, on behalf of a third person or on his own behalf

After an unsuccessful attempt to be taken into the service of the Count of Barcelona, Rodrigo Diaz offered his services to the Hūdid dynast of Saragossa [q v], Ahmad b Sulaimān al-Muktadir The latter agreed to take him into his army with his mercenaries He died in the same year and his son Yūsuf al-Muʾtamin succeeded him at Saragossa, while his other son al-Mundhir received Denia, Tortosa and Lerida. The two brothers lost no time in going to war with one another. Rodrigo Diaz continued in the service of al-Muʾtamin while al-Mundhir made an alliance with the King of Aragon, Sancho Ramirez, and with the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II. Rodrigo Diaz soon won a great victory over the enemies of his master in spite of their numerical superiority, near the stronghold of Almenar, somewhat to the north-west of Lerida, took rich plunder and made prisoner the Count of Barcelona, whose liberty he generously restored soon after. He made a triumphal entry into Saragossa where the Hūdid ruler overwhelmed him with presents and with honours. He had acquired at one stroke prestige and an ascendancy without parallel among his Muslim soldiers who from this time began to call him "my master", *saiyidī*, vulg. Sp. *sīdi*, which was translated into Spanish in the form of "*mio Cid*" (the famous *Poem of the Cid* was originally called "*El Cantar de mio Cid*"); and soon this name prevailed (with or without the employment of the possessive). Rodrigo Diaz, thanks to his military talents, had become in the eyes of the Muslims of Spain a champion and an irresistible leader in war, el Cid Campeador.

In 1084, after an ephemeral reconciliation with Alfonso VI, the Cid covered himself with glory once more in Aragon in the service of al-Muʾtamin When this prince died in the following year, he passed into the services of his son and successor Ahmad al-Mustaʿīn II and from that date he decided to conquer the Muslim kingdom of Valencia

This independent principality which the grandson of the celebrated ḥādjib, al-Manṣūr, the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, had founded on the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova, had been united in 1065 to the kingdom of Toledo When the Dhu 'l-Nūnid prince Yaḥyā b Ismaʿīl al-Ḳādir in the year 1074 ascended the throne in succession to his grandfather al-Maʾmūn, he appointed Abū Bakr b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz governor of Valencia, who almost immediately declared his independence and allied himself with Alphonso II of Castille. But in the year 1085 the latter without scruple sold Valencia to al-Ḳādir who had been deprived of it ten years before and now gave his capital Toledo to the Christian king in exchange The Muslim prince aided by a body of Castillan troops under the command of the General Alvar Fañez was able to make his entry into Valencia without striking a blow, but he very soon alienated the whole population of the town When the Almoravid Sultān Yūsuf b Tāshfīn landed in Spain to fight against the Christians and put them to rout at Zallāḳa (October 23, 1086) Alfonso VI recalled Alvar Fañez from Valencia, and al-Ḳādir before the repeated attacks of al-Mundhir, prince of Tortosa, had to appeal for help to the King of Castille, and to al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa The latter saw in this a good opportunity to deprive al-Ḳādir of his kingdom, and secretly entered into an agreement with the Cid to seize the town, all the booty to go to the condottiere But the latter, mindful of the gifts which al-Kādir had bestowed upon him, refused to touch the town and sent a new token of his vassalage to Alfonso Thereafter with his army he made incursions into the whole district of Valencia, and in the year 1089, returned to Castille where he was received with honour by his sovereign. Then he regained the east of Andalusia with his army, numbering 7,000 men.

Profiting by the absence of the Cid, al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa had made an alliance with Berenguer of Barcelona, who was besieging Valencia. The Count of Barcelona retreated before the Cid, who promised al-Ḳādir, in return for a payment of ten thousand dīnārs a month, to defend his capital against all enemy attempts. A short time afterwards Alfonso asked the Cid to come to his assistance against Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, and finding that his vassal did not hasten to join him, he quarrelled with him once more. Then the Cid, like a regular independent bandit chief, ravaged with fire and sword the whole eastern country from Orihuela to Játiva, marched against Tortosa, defeated the Count of Barcelona, and concluded a treaty with

him. Soon afterwards the Muslim princes of Tortosa once more sought his protection He granted it in return for the payment of regular tribute At this time, besides the sums which he received from the Count of Barcelona and the Muslim princes of Tortosa and Valencia, the Cid had also amongst his tributaries the Arab lords of Albarracin (al-Sahla), of Alpuente (al-Būnt), of Murviedro (Murbaitar today called Sagunto), of Segorba (Shubrub), of Jerica (Shārika) and of Almenara.

However the quarrel between the Cid and Alfonso VI became more bitter and the King of Castille to put an end to the growing influence of his too powerful vassal, decided to deprive him of Valencia Strong in the alliance of the Pisans and the Genoese, he came to besiege the town by land and by sea, while the Cid was engaged in helping the Muslim king of Saragossa against the Christian King of Aragon Informed of what was taking place the Cid left Saragossa with his army and laid waste the county of Najera and of Calahorra, the particular fief of his sworn enemy Garcia Ordoñez The town of Logroño in the Rioja was completely destroyed by him and Alfonso VI had to raise the siege of Valencia without attaining any success.

During his absence, the Cid left at Valencia a Muslim lieutenant, Ibn al-Faradj, at the court of al-Kādir. The latter, in November 1092, was killed after a rising of the population incited by the ḳāḍī Ibn Djahhāf, who placed himself at the head of the city as president of the Valencian republic (*djamāʿa*), with a purely nominal representative of the Almoravid government at his side Some months later, in July 1093, the Cid marched on the capital with the whole of his army, seized without difficulty the suburbs of Villanueva and of al-Kudya and agreed to make terms with Ibn Djahhāf, while maintaining a strict blockade of the town. Valencia now endured the most terrible privations and famine soon decimated the inhabitants. Compelled by these circumstances, the chief of the Valencian republic was forced to surrender the town to the Cid on the 15th June 1094 The Campeador did no harm to the population, which gave him proof of the regard which it had for him, and showed a real respect for its new master. But the latter did not hesitate to burn alive a short time after the former president, Ibn Djahhāf, as a punishment.

From this time the Cid was absolute master of Valencia After having, by a decisive sortie, put an end to an attempted siege by an Almoravid army, he henceforth thought only of extending his domains. In the year 1098 he had conquered Almenara and Murviedro. But he was growing old and felt that his career was coming to an end. He could hardly desire anything more. He had turned into a church the great mosque of Valencia and restored the bishopric of the town, which he gave to Jerome of Perigord. At last he was quite reconciled to his suzerain Alfonso of Castille, and he was allied to two royal houses of the Peninsula, through the marriages of his daughters, Maria with Ramon Berenguer III, and Christina with the son of Navarre Ramiro He then tried to take Játiva (Shāṭiba, q v) from the Almoravids but his army was routed. The Cid full of wrath and broken-hearted by this disaster succumbed not long after in the middle of 1099.

After the death of the Cid, his widow Jimena resisted, for about two years, the incessant attacks of the Almoravids Valencia was besieged at the end of the year 1101 by the Lamtūnī general al-Mazdalī. It sustained the siege for seven months but on the advice of Alfonso VI, who had come to relieve it, Jimena decided to evacuate Valencia, which she ordered to be burned on her departure. When the Almoravid troops entered it, on the 5th May 1102, they found nothing but ruins. Jimena transported the body of the Cid to Castille; it was buried near Burgos, in the convent of San Pedro of Cardeña. Jimena was herself buried there when she died five years later in the year 1104.

Bibliography As has been already noted, the essential work on the life and historical career of the Cid is that of R. Dozy, *Le Cid d'après de nouveaux documents*, Leiden 1860, reprinted in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*, Paris—Leiden 1881 (3nd ed), ii., p. 1—233 The following Arab authors deal at more or less length with the Cid Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iii (Gotha MS 266), Arabic text and transl. in Dozy, *op cit*, p. 8—28 and iii.—xviii ; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *K. al-Iktifāʾ*, *ibid*, p xviii—xxvii., Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hullat al-Siyarāʾ*, *ibid*, p. xxvii—xxxi., al-Makkarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, *Analectes* . ., ii, p 754 and *ibid*, p xxxi—xxxiii, *Fragment anonyme inédit*, dans Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. iii, ed and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal (in press), Appendix i. (chapter on Ibn Djahhāf). Cf. also Dozy's work *Revue Hispanique*, 1909, xx., 316—428, 1910, xxiii, 424-476, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1914, xvi, 80–86. A complete European bibliography of the Cid is found in B. Sanchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la Historia española*, Madrid 1919, Nos 648 to 683 Cf. also the recent work of A. Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 75—77

(E Lévi-Provençal)

AL-ṢIDDĪḲ (probably the Aramaic *ṣaddīḳ*), surname of the first caliph Abū Bakr, means "the eminently veracious" and "he who always accepts, or confirms, the truth".

According to Ibn Isḥāḳ, Abū Bakr received this surname because when the Muslims' faith in Muhammad had been shaken by his account of the *miʿrādj*, Abū Bakr testified that the Prophet's description of Jerusalem was strictly truthful, thereby restoring their belief in him Another tradition relates that Muhammad had complained to Gabriel of his people's lack of faith, the Archangel replied: „Abū Bakr believes in thee (*yuṣaddiḳuka*), for he is *al-ṣiddīḳ*".

The saying *wa-'lladhī djāʾa bi 'l-ṣidḳ wa-ṣaddaka bihi*, in Sūra xxxix. 35, which has been rendered "But he who brought the truth and he who accepted it as the truth", is referred, in a tradition attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, to Muhammad and Abū Bakr respectively; this explanation seems to owe something to the latter's surname.

In the Ḳur'ān the epithet *al-ṣiddīḳ* is given only to Joseph (xii. 46), in the sense of veracious. *Ṣiddīḳ*, in conjunction with *nabī*, is applied to Idrīs (xix. 57) and Abraham (xix. 42); the virgin Mary is called *ṣiddīḳa* (v 79), and true believers in general are called *ul-ṣiddīḳūn* (lviii. 18 and iv. 18).

Those who claim descent from Abū Bakr are usually styled *al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī*; when only one

of these *ansāb* is used for brevity's sake, al-Ṣiddīḳī is preferred.

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(V. Vacca)

ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN, al-Kannawdjī, Sayyid, Abu 'l-Tayyib, *Nawwāb Amīr al-Mulk wālā Djāh Bahādur*, an Indian scholar, born at Barēlī (Baieilly) U.P. on Sunday, 19th Djumādā I, 1248 (14th October 1832), the youngest son of Sayyid Awlād Ḥasan Khān of Kannawdj U.P. and his wife Nadjb al-Nisā' of Barēlī. He was a descendant of Djalāl al-Dīn Djahāniyān Djahāngasht (d 785 = 1384) whose grandfather Sayyid Djalāl Gulsurkh came to India from Bukhārā in 653 (1255). Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan studied mainly in Dehlī. When a young man he entered the Civil Service of Bhōpāl and married the daughter of the then Minister of Bhōpāl, Djamāl al-Dīn Khān (1861), he became the second husband of the Bēgum of Bhōpāl (1870) and took part in the government of the State. He was active in furthering Arabic and Muslim studies and published a large number of works. His son Nawwāb Sayyid 'Alī Ḥasan Khān published a full biography of the scholar entitled *Ma'āthir-i Ṣiddīḳī* in which (Part iv, appendix) he gives a list of 222 works (74 in Arabic, 45 in Persian, 103 in Urdu); they include 25 not yet published. Van Dyke's attack on him is not justified. Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan died in Bhōpāl on the 20th February 1890.

Bibliography: Ed. van Dyke and Muḥammed 'Alī al-Biblāwī, *Iktifā' al-Ḳunūʿ bi-mā huwa maṭbūʿ*, Cairo 1896, p. 106, 118, 313, 496, 497, Brockelmann, *G A L*, p. 503 and p. 418, Clément Huart, *History of Arabic Literature*, London 1903, p. 432—433, 434, 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Ma'āthir-i Ṣiddīḳī*, Lakhna'ū 1924—1925, Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind*², Lakhna'ū 1914. (A. Siddiqi)

SIDJDJĪL, a mysterious word in the Ḳur'ān, Sūra xi. 84, xv. 74, cv. 4, derived from the Persian سنگ and گل, *stone* and *clay*, and meaning *stones like lumps of dry or baked clay*, this is corroborated by Sūra li. 33—34 „To throw on them stones of clay, marked by thy Lord." Commentators add that these stones had been baked in hell-fire, and interpret "marked by thy Lord" (xi. 84 and li. 34) to mean that on the stones were inscribed the names of the persons for whom they were destined.

Other interpretations, not generally admitted, of *siḏjḏjīl* are: what has been written or decreed (clearly derived from its likeness to *siḏjill*, q. v.), Hell or the lowest Heaven (the word being considered in this case another form of *siḏjḏjīn*, q.v.). It has also been associated with adjectives derived from the root *s-ḏj-l*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1328, xii, p. 57; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḳān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klass. Arabisch*, Gottingen 1919, p. 73; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 11. — On the hypothesis that in Sūra cv. these stones represent an epidemic of smallpox, see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., Introduzione, p. 147, and Fernandez y Gonsalez, *La aparicion de la viruela en Arabia* (Revista de ciencias históricas, v. 1887, 201—216). (V. Vacca)

SIDJDJĪN, one of the mysterious words of the Ḳur'ān, lxxxiii. 7 and 8. "Verily the register of the wicked is surely in *siḏjḏjīn*. And what shall make thee understand what is *siḏjḏjīn*? A book written". Explained by commentators as a place where a record of the deeds of the wicked is kept, and also as that record itself. It is said to be a valley in Hell, the seventh and lowest earth, where Iblīs is chained, a rock beneath the earth of the seventh earth, a place beneath Iblīs, where the spirits of the wicked are, a register comprising the deeds of the wicked, of the *ḏjinn* and of mankind, or of the devils and the unbelievers. Without the article it is a proper name of hell-fire. Also said to mean anything hard, vehement, severe, lasting, everlasting (interpretations influenced by the word's likeness to *siḏjḏjīl*, q. v., erroneously connected with the root *s-ḏj-l*).

Though the *Itḳān* classes it among non-Arabic words, no acceptable etymology is supplied, and Dvořák does not admit it among his *Fremdworter*, on the other hand lexicographers give it as a synonym of *siḏjn*, prison, and this last word has evidently influenced the prevailing interpretation of *siḏjḏjīn* by Muslim commentators as a place where the record of the wicked is kept, rather than as that record itself. The text of the Ḳur'ān admits of both interpretations, and most European translators, following Marracci, have preferred the latter.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1328, xxx., p. 60, al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḳān*, Cairo 1318, i. 139, Marracci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, 1698, p. 787. (V. Vacca)

SIDJILL, one of the mysterious words of the Ḳur'ān, Sūra xx. 104 "The day in which we shall fold the sky as *al-siḏjill* to the books". Derived from *sigillum* through σιγίλλιον, the word is used in Arabic for written statements of contracts, records of a *ḳādī* in which his sentences are written, and, in general, writing, scroll or roll for writing upon or written upon. Lexicographers and commentators of the Ḳur'ān, while recognizing the word as foreign, have ascribed it either to Abyssinian or to Persian, one or both of these languages being usually made responsible for such like strange words, they have also tried to deduct its meaning from the Ḳur'ānic context, thus interpreting it as the name of an angel, who folds the written statements of men's works, or of a scribe of Muhammad's, or meaning *man* in general in the Abyssinian language. Such scribes or angels, al-Ṭabarī observes, are not mentioned anywhere, while *siḏjill* in the sense of written document is well known in Arabic. The words that follow: *li 'l-kutub*, stand, according to al-Ṭabarī, for *'ala 'l-kutub*.

Bibliography: Lane, *Lexicon*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1328, ed. i., xvii., p. 78; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Itḳān*, Cairo 1318, ed. i., i., p. 139; Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s. v. *sigillum*; Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in ant. carm. arab. et in Corano peregrinis*, Leyden 1880, p. 17. (V. Vacca)

SIDJILMĀSA (the forms Sadjal- and -māssa are also found), an ancient town of Morocco now in ruins, which was the capital of Tāfilālat It was built about 200 miles S S E of Fās, on the outskirts of the Saḥarā', on the left bank of the Wādī Zīz, 34° 80′ N Latitude N and 7° 31′ West Long

Sidjilmāsa was probably founded in ancient times. It is not however necessary to heed the local tradition recorded by Leo Africanus, according to which the town was founded by Alexander (= Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain) as a home for the sick and crippled in his army But the same author has preserved another tradition attributing its foundation to a Roman general who, starting from Mauritania, conquered the whole of Numidia and pushed on as far as Māssa, a town of Sūs on the Atlantic; it was at this time that he founded the town of *Sigillum mese* (= Massae), thus called because it was the seal of his victory In this legend we have a distant memory of the Roman expeditions of Suetonius Paulinus and of Hasidius Geta (in the year 41 A D. to the South of the Moroccan Atlas)

Be that as it may, even if the town had actually an earlier existence it was completely in ruins at the time of the arrival of the Muslims, since al-Bakrī tells us that Sidjilmāsa was founded in the year 140 (757—758) and that its development brought about the decline of the neighbouring towns of Tudgha and of Zīz Its foundation was the work of the rebel Miknāsa Berbers who had adopted the heterodox customs of the Sufrīya [q v] and had made themselves independent of the Arab governors of al-Kairawān

Beginning with 155 (771—772), the town and its territory were governed by the Miknās dynasty of the Banū Midrār; the latter attained its apogee with Muhammad b al-Fatḥ b Maimūn b Midrār, surnamed al-Shākir li 'llāh who returned to orthodoxy, took the title of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and had coins struck in his own name (H Lavoix, *Cat. des Monn Musulm de la Bibl Nat*, 1891, p 401—402) He was made prisoner by the ʿUbaidī general Djawhar, when in the year 347 (958—959) the latter besieged and captured Sidjilmāsa In the course of time other Banū Midrār regained the government of the town, but in the year 366 (976—977) they were finally dispossessed by Khazrūn b Falfal al-Maghrāwī who, at the head of the Zanāta Berbers, was fighting on behalf of the Umaiyad sovereign of Cordova.

Khazrūn and after him his descendants were at first simply the governors of Sidjilmāsa on behalf of the Umaiyads of Cordova; then after the downfall of the latter they declared themselves independent and founded the dynasty of the Banū Khazrūn. But their tyranny and their impiety forced the inhabitants of the town to call to their aid ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn, the promoter of the Almoravid movement, who in the year 447 (1055—1056) seized Sidjilmāsa; where he massacred all the Maghrāwa whom he found there.

This was the end of the independence of Sidjilmāsa and henceforth the town and its territory were always, theoretically at least, a dependency of the empire of Morocco; but on account of its eccentric situation on the edge of the desert, it was at all times a hotbed of sedition and of revolts provoked, sometimes by the local governments desirous of making themselves independent, sometimes by the turbulent Arab tribes of the neighbourhood, sometimes even by the inhabitants wearied by the exactions of the central power and always ready to support its enemies, the kings of Tlemcen or pretenders belonging to the reigning family

In 541 (1146—1147) on the fall of the Almoravid dynasty, the inhabitants of Sidjilmāsa took the side of the agitator Muḥammad b Hūd al-Hādī who had already stirred up the Sūs and the Darʿa; but he was crushed by the Almohad chief Abū Ḥafṣ who then took possession of the town

In the year 640 (1242—1243) the Almohad governor of Sidjilmāsa, ʿAbd Allāh b Zakarīyā al-Khazradjī delivered over the town to the Hafsid prince Abū Zakarīyā, who had just seized Tlemcen, but the Almohad Sulṭān ʿAlī al-Saʿīd recaptured the place

In the year 653 (1255—1256) the Marīnid prince Abū Yahyā b ʿAbd al-Hakk took possession of Sidjilmāsa But as early as 655 (1257—1258) a section of the inhabitants asked the ʿAbd al-Wādī of Tlemcen, Yaghmurāsan to come and occupy it Abū Yahyā, warned in time, came and took possession of the place which Yaghmurāsan could only besiege without result

In the year 657 (1258—1259) the Marīnid governor al-Kitrānī made himself independent; but the people rebelled against him and appealed to the Almohads

In the year 660 (1261—1262) the Marīnid troops came to besiege Sidjilmāsa without success Later under the pressure of the Arab tribe of the Munabbāt, the inhabitants recognised the authority of Yaghmurāsan But when the Sultān Yaʿḳūb b ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had won the whole of the Maghrib for the Marīnids he went to attack Sidjilmāsa, at the siege of which artillery was employed for the first time in Morocco; the town was taken in Safar 673 (August-September 1274). The ʿAbd al-Wādī governors, the garrison as well as the chiefs of the Munabbāt, were massacred and the inhabitants reduced to slavery

From this event dates the decline of Sidjilmāsa. Its name is often found mentioned in the history of the civil wars of Morocco and it seems to have had to suffer greatly from the oppression of the neighbouring Arab tribes, especially those of the Aḥlāf Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited Sidjilmāsa in 752 (1351—1352) says that it is amongst the most beautiful of towns But Leo Africanus, who spent six months in this district in the first part of the xvith century says that after a rising of the people, who had killed their governor, the town was entirely destroyed and the inhabitants retreated into the country or into castles (*ḳṣūr*) where they lived, some of them independent, others tributaries of the Arabs Thus we must not be led astray by modern Moroccan historians who frequently use Sidjilmāsa for the "district of Sidjilmāsa" or of "Tāfilālat"

For the last time Sidjilmāsa appeared in history when in the first half of the xviith century on account of the fall of the Sharīfī dynasty of the Sadians, the Shurafāʿ made themselves independent and founded the present dynasty of the ʿAlawīs or Filāla (cf FILĀLA, SHORFĀ')

The Arab geographers have given us a glowing picture of the Sidjilmāsa of the Middle-Ages. Situated in the middle of a plain, fertile because

well watered, it was surrounded by gardens and orchards which stretched along the Wādī Zīz for more than four parasangs from the town There there grew in abundance the most delicious varieties of grapes and dates which alone furnished the bulk of the food of the inhabitants; cereals grew very well there and gave harvests for three consecutive years without the necessity of resowing The crops of the neighbourhood included in addition cotton, cumin, carraway, and ḥennā' which were exported into the whole of the Maghrib As peculiar to the town, the Arab authors point out that flies are not found there, but dogs are eaten as well as a kind of fat lizard (*ḥirdḥaun*) and that the inhabitants for the most part suffered from ophthalmia The only notable industry was the preparation of a magnificent material made from a very fine wool which the women excel in knitting The town, well peopled and very extensive, was composed of strong castles, buildings and of houses each built in the middle of a garden

Its situation at the gate of the Sahara made Sidjilmāsa a very suitable starting point for caravans going to the land of the negroes, especially to Ghāna or returning from there Dates were the principal article of export; slaves were brought from the Sūdān, gold dust, ivory and hides

The people of the town did not content themselves with doing a thriving trade at home, they went themselves to the Sūdān and showed great hardihood in their journeys From Sidjilmāsa several routes led to the chief centres of North Africa, Dar'a, Aghmāt Warika, Fās, Tābaḥrit (part of the Nadrūma district), Udjda, Tlemcen and even to Cairo, by the desert and Bahnāsa

Sidjilmāsa with Fās was one of the two great centres for Moroccan pilgrims to assemble, going to the Ḥidjāz and their inhabitants often supplied the *amīr rikāb al-ḥadjdj* This is how it came about that one of them, at the beginning of the Marīnid dynasty, having had occasion to go in this capacity several times to the Ḥidjāz became acquainted with the Sayid al-Ḥasan b Kāsim at Yanbū' al-Nakhl, a Hasanid sharīf, whom he asked to return with him to Sidjilmāsa so that by the help of his *baraka* the fruit of the palm-trees of the town could attain maturity The sharīf accepted, arrived at Sidjilmāsa in 664 (1265—1266) and became the ancestor of the *Shorfā'* [q v] *sidjilmāsīyūn*, who gave Morocco the dynasty which reigned from 1075 (1664)

At the present day the ruins of Sidjilmāsa, visited by René Callié in 1828, then by Rohlfs in 1864 and by W Harris in 1893—1894, are euphemistically called by the natives *al-madīna 'l-ḥamra*, "the inhabited town", and lie along the east bank of the Wādī Zīz for about 5 miles, there is nothing left but one minaret still standing, in a bridge across the Zīz, and enormous masses of clay walls everywhere somewhat ruined

Bibliography: — Arab authors see the indices to the editions of al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidā', al-Dimashkī, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, of *Rawdat al-Nisrīn*, *al-Dakhīrat al-sanīya*, ed Ben Cheneb; of al-Zayānī, ed Houdas, of al-Ifrānī, ed Houdas; of Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiḳṣā'*, partly transl in *A M.*, t x, xxx, xxxi, the *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, transl E Fagnan, 1924, Wāṣif Shāh, *Abrégé*, p 104; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, s v; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, index to the French transl. by de Slane; Leo Africanus, ed Schefer, vol. iii, p. 221, 223, 227—230.

European authors. Gerhard Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko*, Bremen 1868, p 61; W. B. Harris, *Tafilet*, 1895, pp 229, 261—267, 273—275, 283—285; E. Mercier, *Sidjilmasa selon les auteurs arabes*, *R A*, 1867, p. 233, 274

(Georges S Colin)

SIDON, the celebrated town of ancient Phoenicia, the name of which is found as early as the Tell Amarna tablets in the form Ṣidūnu, played only a modest part in the Muslim world The Arabs call it Ṣaidā' According to Balādhurī, it was taken without difficulty by Yazīd b Abī Sufyān; the future Caliph Mu'āwiya commanding the advance-guard on this occasion This must have been about 637 A D The Arab geographers tell us very little about Saidā' They mention that it belonged to the administrative district of Damascus, Ḳudāma observes that it was the military harbour of this region and Muḳaddasī also mentions that it was fortified Ibn Khordādhbih says that the road from Antioch to Gaza touched the town According to Ibn al-Fakih, Ṣaidā' was one of the most marvellous towns and noble provinces, this verdict is probably based entirely on literary tradition Muḳaddasī condemns the language of the inhabitants as particularly "barbarous"

The town only became a little more prominent in the Crusading period Among the Crusaders the name appears as Sagitta (Sagette, Sayette), a translation of the Arabic Saidā' According to Yāḳūt, the town was also called Irbil The histories of the Crusaders record that the siege of the town was raised in 1107 on payment of a sum of money According to the Arab version Baldwin retreated in 501 (1107/1108) when his fleet was defeated by the Egyptians and a Muslim army was approaching from Damascus to relieve it According to the French accounts, the town was taken on December 19, 1111 (Ibn al-Athīr gives 20th Djumādā I, 504, which corresponds to December 4, 1110) The siege lasted forty-seven days, sixty Frank ships (Norman and Venetian) surrounded the town on the sea side, and Baldwin advanced by land from Jerusalem The town surrendered under favourable conditions, which were observed at first, but Baldwin later levied an indemnity of 20,000 dīnārs on the inhabitants, who remained in the town, which destroyed its prosperity In 1187, Saladin occupied Sidon (according to Ibn al-Athīr on 21st Djumādā 583, i e July 30, 1187), the Crusaders had left it without striking a blow and Saladin had most of the fortifications destroyed In October 1197 (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 593, A H), there was a fierce encounter at Saidā' between Crusaders and Muslims, which lasted into the night and remained undecided Al-Malik al-'Ādil then had the remains of the defences destroyed In 625 (1228) Ṣaidā' was taken by the Crusaders and again fortified In 1249, it was taken by Ayyūb, in 1253 occupied and fortified by Louis IX of France, in 1260 sacked by the Mongols, in the same year taken by the Templars, who remained here till 1291 in which year it was taken by the Muslims for the last time and its defences razed by al-Ashraf. At a later period a great deal was done for the town by the Druse ruler Fakhr al-Dīn (1595—1634). His castle is now in ruins but the market erected by him for the European traders still exists as

the Khān Fransāwī Unfortunately his fear lest the Turkish fleet might choose Ṣaidā[2] as a base induced him to make the Southern (the so-called Egyptian) harbour useless In 1791 Djazzār Pasha banished the French merchants from the town In 1840 it was bombarded by English and Austrian warships

The modern town occupies the site of the ancient Sidon, but it stretches a little farther inland A peninsula runs out from the shore under the shelter of which is the large south harbour, now useless, and the smaller north harbour still used by small ships The latter is also protected by a ledge of rocks against the waves Near the entrance is a little island, the Kal'at al-Bahr, which is connected with the mainland by a stone bridge Farther north-west is a larger island opposite the mainland, called el-Djezīre South of the town, on an artificial mound is the citadel Kal'at al-Mu'ezze The chief mosque was once the Church of the Knights of St John and the mosque of Abū Nakhlar, a church of St Michael On the little island are the ruins of the Château de St Louis which was partially destroyed in the bombardment of 1840 The town has about 12,000 inhabitants including 7,000 Muslims and Metāwile, 2,000 Greek Catholics and Maronites and 600 Jews

The Roman Catholic Church, the American Mission and the Alliance Israélite maintain schools here Large gardens surround the town on the land side Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, almonds and pears flourish here The commercial importance of the town is small Grapes, corn, cotton and gall-apples are however exported

It is evidence of the intellectual life of the town that in 1921 the epistemology of the Arab philosopher al-Fārābī, the *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm*, was first published in the columns of a newspaper, the *'Irfān*

The Saidā' mentioned in Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (ed Ahlwardt, i 6) has been sought in the Hawrān

Bibliography al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed de Goeje, p 126; de Goeje, *B G A*, Index, s v, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, Register, Yāḳūt, ed Wustenfeld, iii 439 *sqq*, Gildemeister in *Z D P V*, viii 23 *sq*; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*; Loitet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, 1884, p 94 *sqq*, G Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, Index

(P SCHWARZ)

ṢIFA does not occur in the Kur'ān but the infin. *waṣf* is used once and the impf. of the I. stem 13 times in the meanings "to ascribe or assert as a description, to attribute" and always with an implication of falsehood Thus of Allāh in Ḳur'ān vi. 100, xxiii 93, xxxvii. 159, 180, xliii 82 — all similar, fixed phrases; this standing implication is used in the *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al Isbahānī (p. 546, *s.v.*) to suggest that all descriptions of Allāh are unsound. (*a*) In grammar *ṣifa* means an epithet noun (on the epithet noun as opposed to the adjective noun see Lumsden's *Arabic Grammar*, pp. 266 *sqq*) and is defined in the *Alfiya* (ed. Dieterici, p. 225, 3) as "a thing which indicates an idea (*ma'nan*) along with an essence or substance (*dhāt*)" and in the *Mufaṣṣal*[2] (ed. Broch, p. 46, 9) as "a noun which indicates one of the "states" (*aḥwāl*) of a *dhāt*". At the widest it covers the active and passive participles, the epithets assimilated to these (*al-ṣifāt al-mushabbaha*, Wright[3], i. 133 *sqq.*; *Mufaṣṣal*[2], 101, 5 *sqq.*), the *af'alu* of comparison and, dubiously, the *nisba*; on the last see *Mufaṣṣal*[2], p. 46, 17. When the active participle loses its temporary character and hardens into a substantive it becomes a *ṣifa ghāliba* (Baidāwī on Ḳur. xxvii. 77; ed. Fleischer, ii. 74, 9). In syntax the qualifying clause to which the antecedent is undetermined and with which no relative is used, is not regarded by the native grammarians as a *ṣila* but only as a descriptive, a *ṣifa*. (*b*) On the doctrine of the logical analysis of qualities and descriptives in philosophy and scholastic theology there is an elaborate discussion in the *Dict. of techn terms*, pp. 1489—96 (under *waṣf*), giving classifications according to different orthodox and heretical schools. (*c*) The *ṣifāt* of Allāh are to be distinguished from his Names (*asmā'*) The Names are the epithets, like the *ṣifāt* above, applied to him as descriptives in the Ḳur'ān, following the wide use of such epithets in the old poetry On these Names see especially al-Ghazālī, *Al-maḳṣad al-asnā* But his *ṣifāt* are strictly the abstract qualities which lie behind these epithets, as *kudra* behind *ḳadīr* and *'ilm* behind *'alim* A very important problem in theology is the relation of these *ṣifāt* to his *dhāt* The resultant orthodox statement, after long controversy, is that they are eternal, subsisting in his essence, and that they are not He, nor are they other than He (*lā huwa wa-lā ghairuhu*), see Taftāzānī on Nasafī's *'Aḳā'id* with super-commentaries, Cairo 1321, pp. 67 *sqq* and the commentary of Djurdjānī on the *Mawāḳif* of al-Idjī, Būlāk 1266, pp. 479 *sqq* The struggle was, in part, to maintain the internal unity of the personality of Allāh, in part, to do justice to the Kur'ānic descriptives of him, in part, to determine what were primary and necessary of these and what could be regarded as merely relations and connectives of these with the material world. It was a struggle with unbelieving philosophers, with Mu'tazilite heretics and, within orthodox Islām, between Ash'arites and Māturidites, see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, pp. 568, 571 and especially 645 *sqq* and the translations from Nasafī and Faḍālī in Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp 309, 319 *sqq* Also Sanūsī's *Prolégomènes Théologiques*, ed. and transl. by Luciani, pp. 162—216. Though it all ran the position of the *Mufradāt* [see above] that descriptions of Allāh must be, at the best, inadequate and misleading, and, at the worst, impossible On Allāh's mystical manifestation of himself by means of his *ṣifāt* see Massignon, p 514 and R A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp 90, 98

Bibliography has been given above.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ṢIFFĪN, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 347 *Sapphin*, in a Syriac inscription of the beginning of the ninth century *ṣf'* (Chabot in *J A*, 1900, p 285), a place not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, west of Raḳḳa, between it and Balis, separated from the river by a strip of marshland an arrowshot broad (according to *B G A*, vii 22, 15. 500 ells) and two parasangs long, overgrown with dense willows and Euphrates palms, full of waterholes, through which a single paved road led to the Euphrates The place was made famous by the great battle fought there in 37 (657) between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya When 'Alī arrived here on his march from Kūfa, the Syrians

were already encamped in the ruins of the city, which dated from the Roman period, and a detachment of troops under Abu 'l-Aʿwar held the road to the Euphrates In spite of his representations and his insistence that he had not come to fight but to come to an arrangement with Muʿāwiya, the latter did not give way, although his wise councillor ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī advised him to do so ʿAlī then ordered his troops to attack and they succeeded in driving back the Syrians in spite of the reinforcements sent them, and gained the approach to the river, ʿAlī then gave a new proof of his chivalry by allowing the Syrian water-carriers to get water alongside of his own men, which resulted in the latter fraternising in harmless fashion with the Syrians Some time was spent in negotiations, which came to nothing, as Muʿāwiya stubbornly insisted that the Caliph should hand over the assassins of ʿUthmān, which he neither would nor could do The negotiations were however continued and when a quarrel threatened to break out, the peace-lovers on either side managed to prevent it According to Dinawarī, p 180 *sq*, this state of things lasted throughout the two months Rabīʿ II and Djumādā I of the year 36 This would however give much too long a time for the preliminaries of the battle which, according to Yaʿḳūbī (*Tanbīh*, p 295, *Taʾrīkh*, ii 219), began at the beginning of Safar and is corrected by Yaʿḳūbī's statement that the battle for the approach to the water took place in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja It is probably also wrong when Tabarī, i 3272 says that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in this month repeatedly — sometimes twice a day — sent out prominent men with foot-soldiers and horsemen to fight each other, which however did not result in a general battle, as both parties were afraid of the fatal consequences of it As Wellhausen suggests, we must here have a duplication of the fighting that took place later To keep open every possibility of coming to terms, it was agreed to observe a truce in the traditional sacred month of peace, Muharram of the year 37 (June 19—July 18, 657) But even this did not succeed, and war was finally declared at the beginning of Safar and the battle of Siffin began To obtain a clear idea of its course is not easy, as the narrators record a mass of single combats which do not give a general survey and serve only to glorify the individual tribes They also give very divergent figures for the size of the armies and the positions of the divisions and their leaders The fighting was conducted in accordance with ancient custom and each tribe operated for itself, so that it was a clever move on ʿAlī's part to place the parts of the various tribes in his army so that they were opposite their fellow-tribesmen The fighting, which was continually renewed and increased in extent, was by all accounts bloody and various notable men met their death in it, such as on ʿAlī's side ʿAmmār b Yāsir and Hāshim b ʿUtba, on Muʿāwiya's side Umai's son ʿUbaidallāh (cf the lament on him in Yāḳūt, iii. 403) ʿAlī had great assistance from the brave and experienced al-Ashtar [q v] who had procured the ʿIrāḳ troops free access to the water and now distinguished himself in several hand-to-hand fights

The following is the account given of the issue of the battle After fighting had gone on for a time without a decision being reached, al-Ashtar succeeded in the night known as *lailat al-harīr* (from *harra*, "to whine", cf Yāḳūt, iv 970) i e. the night before Friday 10th Ṣafar = July 28 (see Ahlwardt's *Anonyme Chronik*, p 349, 3; according to Tabarī, ii 727, 11 the night before the Thursday) and on the following morning in driving the Syrians into such straits that Muʿāwiya lost heart and thought of flight, from which he was restrained by the memory of certain lines by Ibn al-Itnāba (*Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 53, 573, Tabarī, i 3300, 12) In this dangerous position, the wily ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī advised him to fasten a few manuscripts of the Kurʾān to lance-heads to express symbolically that the fighting should cease and the decision be left to the book of Allāh, in contrast to ʿAlī who sought Allāh's verdict in the outcome of the battle (Tabarī, i 3322 *sq*) ʿAmr's calculation that this proposal would produce a split among ʿAlī's followers proved correct A considerable number of them declared that such an appeal to the decision of Allāh could not be rejected, and thus ʿAlī, who thought he had already won, was forced to call back al-Ashtar vigorously protesting, whereupon the battle ceased The majority in his army also agreed to Muʿāwiya's proposal that each of the contending parties should choose one of two arbitrators, who were to meet a later date and come to a verdict according to the words of the Ḳurʾān The Syrians chose ʿAmr, as was to be expected, while the Caliph had forced upon him Abū Mūsā [q v] who was not favourably disposed to him The agreement was signed, according to Tabarī, i 3340 on the 13th Safar 37 (July 31, 657), according to Dīnawarī, p 210, 5, not till the 17th Safar and ʿAlī remembering Muhammad's example of self-restraint at Hudaibiya refrained from signing as Caliph The armies then separated and went home, ʿAlī's troops in deep dejection so that although undefeated they gave the impression of having suffered a reverse

However attractive this story, with its good points and its sharp characterisation of the persons appearing in it, may be, it is doubtful whether it can be considered historical without further examination All the accounts at our disposal betray a preference for ʿAlī and an antipathy to Muʿāwiya and particularly to ʿAmr, who is readily credited with everything wicked, and we therefore very much feel the want of an account of the battle from the other side, which could be used as a check But even without this we can indicate several points, which make it probable that there is a certain amount of bias present, as is certainly the case with the story of the arbitration in Adhruḥ [q v] and particularly that much too important a part is credited to Muʿāwiya's evil genius, ʿAmr Even if we assume that it was he who proposed the demonstration with the Kurʾān, and that the necessary number of manuscripts was available in the Syrian army — according to Dīnawarī, p 201, even the standard text of the Kurʾān (cf KUR'ĀN) kept in Damascus was one of them which was carried by five men on five lance-heads — it is evident that this means could only be effective if there was a receptive spirit present, so that it only gave expression to what many felt in their hearts. That this was actually the case is evident from several hints Not only had ʿAlī endeavoured to avoid the fatal war, in which believers fought one another and

members of the same tribe, even near relatives like father and son (Dīnawarī, p. 184), but the majority of the troops felt that it was unnatural and disastrous. This was why it was so long before the fighting actually began and why as a last resource they concluded a truce in Muharram. In this connection Dīnawarī records several features which supplement Mi<u>kh</u>naf's story in Ṭabarī on essential points While in the latter the *Ḳurrā'*, Ḳur'ān-reciters form a separate body with their own leaders fighting ardently (Tabarī, i 3273, 2, 3283, 11, 3289, 5, 3292, 16, 3298, 5, 3304, 10 and 3323, 3) and there is very little reference to Ḳur'ān-reciters in the Syrian army (3312, 12), in Dīnawarī these devout men (cf Goldziher, *Vorlesungen, über den Islam*, p 189) are eager advocates of peace who on one occasion succeed in stopping a battle which is about to begin (Dīnawarī, p 181, 1 *sqq*) They were at once prepared to proceed to the appeal to the Ḳur'ān, and it was mainly owing to their influence that the fighting was stopped so quickly (ibid, p 204) and when they were agreed on the appeal to the Kur'ān, they negotiated with the Syrian Kur'ān-reciters before the two armies and recommended the choice of two referees (ibid, p 205) If ʿAmr really proposed the demonstration of the Kur'āns (a similar use of the Kur'ān is recorded in the battle of the Camel, Ṭabarī, i 3186, 3188 *sq*) he was only expressing an idea that was shared by many and therefore found ready support It is also very possible that the striking point in the tradition, that ʿAlī had already the victory in his hands, when ʿAmr deprived him of it by his diabolic plan, is one of the embellishments with which admirers of ʿAlī later explained the unsuccessful issue of the battle But on the other hand it is quite evident that Muʿāwiya had everything to gain by the appeal to the Kur'ān, while it meant a severe blow for ʿAlī, so that it was no wonder that far-seeing men like him and ʿAmr were eager for it, especially if they were afraid that the battle might result unfavourably for them. We must in particular remember that the battle had nothing to do with the question which of the two opponents should become Caliph That Muʿāwiya cherished far-reaching ambitions is very possible, but he was much too wise to let them be revealed at so early a stage He kept strictly to his role as the avenger of ʿU<u>th</u>mān and declared himself ready to pay homage to ʿAlī if he would hand over the murderers of the Caliph This made him seem to be on the side of right and morality and, at the same time, as ʿAlī could not satisfy his demands, it was a good means of preventing the conclusion of a peace For ʿAlī the appeal to the Ḳur'ān was absolutely annihilating, for the sacred book was to be consulted to ascertain whether his action in regard to the assassination of ʿU<u>th</u>mān made him unworthy of being Caliph so that he was de facto deposed at least for the time, while Muʿāwiya's position was left unaffected by the result of the verdict. Finally we have to remember that from several indications, ʿAlī's position among his own followers in spite of all personal sympathy for him had become rather weak, as the serious charges brought against him had made an impression, even on people favourably disposed to him, so that they must have come to wish that some higher authority should clear up the question. If right and wrong had been so simply and clearly apportioned between the two opponents, as the narratives make it appear, the sons of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would hardly have kept on good terms with Muʿāwiya.

The view we put forward is confirmed in a welcome fashion by a very temperate tradition which goes back to al-Zuhrī in Ibn Saʿd (IV./ii. 3), in which we are told that the two armies were tired of war and reluctant to shed more blood, which induced ʿAmr to propose to Muʿāwiya to have the Ḳur'āns displayed, and to summon the ʿIrākīs to the book of Allāh, and thus effect a split among them. When ʿAlī saw the apathy of his followers, he acceded to the demand of Muʿāwiya and it was in reply to his question who was to decide by the Ḳur'ān, that Muʿāwiya proposed the choice of two referees. The dramatic section in the usual story is completely lacking here.

It was quite to be expected that apart from the role credited to ʿAmr, an explanation of the unsuccessful turn the battle took for ʿAlī should also be found in the assertion that treachery was committed The charge was made against al-Ash<u>ʿ</u>ath [q. v.] whose past might certainly lend some support to the suggestion. All sources agree that he interceded vigorously for the appeal According to Dīnawarī (p 201) he feared that a continuation of the fighting might result in the enemies of the Arab empire invading it on all sides, a view supported by Muʿāwiya when he heard of it According to Tabarī, i 3332 *sq*., he offered to go to Muʿāwiya to ascertain his further proposals and ʿAlī approved On the other hand Yaʿḳūbī says (ii. 220) that Muʿāwiya corresponded with him to bring him over to his side and that he threatened to abandon ʿAlī if the latter rejected the appeal, whereby the Caliph was forced to accede, as all al-Ash<u>ʿ</u>ath's Yamanī fellow-tribesmen declared their readiness to follow him. After all that has been recorded above, such an explanation of what happened is superfluous and the fact that al-Ash<u>ʿ</u>ath remained continually in ʿAlī's service is decisive against it.

How far some could go in their efforts to explain the unfortunate result of the battle for ʿAlī is seen from Tabarī, i. 3346 *sq*, where ʿAlī is made to stop the fighting because he did not dare to risk the lives of the two grandsons of the Prophet.

Bibliography BGA, i 23, 76; Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii 402 *sq*; *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, ed Ahlwardt, p 349, 3; Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, i 3265—3333, al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, ed Houtsma, ii. 218 *sqq*; Dinawarī, ed Guirgas, p 178—205, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed de Goeje, p 295; *Murūdj*, ed Barbier de Meynard, iv 333 *sqq*, 345 *sqq*; Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, iv/ii 3 *sq*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1317, ii 202, A Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, i 319—324, Muir, *Annals of the early Caliphate*, 1883, p 376 *sqq*; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 48—52; do, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh Ges Wiss Gott*, New Ser, v, N°. 2), p 5 *sqq*. (FR. BUHL)

AL-ṢIFR (A), the empty, translation of the Sanskrit *śūnya* in Hindu-Arabic arithmetic, the name for zero, and the origin of the western words *cipher*, *cifra*, *Ziffer*, *chiffre* and *zero* with their derivatives (*decipher*, etc). The question of the introduction or invention of the figures and of the zero has in spite of all palaeographical

research and study of the history of mathematics not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the oldest documents known to us, the Arabs, when they do not write out the numbers in full, use Greek numerals. Only at a later date do we find the "Arabic" numerals coming into use. The Arab mathematicians were made acquainted with the Hindu numerals and method of counting in the time of al-Ma'mūn by the Eastern Persian Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī [q. v], the earliest Arabic zero is found in the date 260 of a papyrus document (= 873/874 A. D.) The oldest absolutely certain reference to Hindu arithmetic with the 9 numerals was found by F. Nau in the Syrian Severus Sabokht (c. 662). It should not be concluded therefrom that the zero, that fundamental advance in numerical notation, was not then in use, for even later the nine numerals which we now call ciphers are distinguished from the special signs for showing that a space is left blank, we further know that Brahmagupta, the Indian astronomer (born 598), expressly prepared rules for calculating with the zero On the connections with the abacus and the feud between the abacists and algorithmists cf the literature mentioned below. The form of the zero is a circle among Hindus and Western Arabs, among eastern Arabs a point, presumably also in the Perso-Hindu tradition. The subscript zeroes like diacritical points in the *Fihrist*, 1 18 *sq* are remarkable

Bibliography M Cantor, *Vorlesungen uber Gesch d Mathematik*, 1³ 511, 603, 609, 711 etc , J. Ruska, *Zur altesten arab Algebra und Rechenkunst* (*S B. Heid Ak.*, 1917, Abh 2), p 36 *sqq* , G. Jacob, *Der Einfluss d Morgenl. auf das Abendland*, Hanover 1924, p 16—24; G R Kaye, *Indian Mathematics*, H Wieleitner, in the *Unterrichtsbl f Math u Natw.* 1919, p. 56—61, J. Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, 1 15 *sqq* and the literature there quoted. (J. RUSKA)

SIḤR, glamour, magic In the vexed folk-lore question of the relation between magic and religion the verdict of Islām is undoubtedly with the position of R. R Marett that "religion and magic are two forms of a social phenomenon originally one and indivisable, primitive man had an institution which dealt with the supernatural, and in this institution were the germs of both magic and religion, which were gradually differentiated; magic and religion differ in respectability, religion is always the higher, the accepted cult, but between what is definitely religious and what is definitely magical lies a mass of indeterminate elements, such as "white-magic", which do not attain to the public recognition of religion, nor suffer the condemnation meted out to the indisputably magical" (*Enc. Britannica*, ed xi., xvii. 305*b*) This holds exactly of the masses in Islām and of what may be broadly called orthodox Islām. Islām is a system of frank supernaturalism, for it there is our material world of the senses and behind that a world of spirits, into relation with which we can enter by means of either magic or religion. When we attempt to define the exact nature of that world of spirits, theories appear and bring the split between magic and religion. What is the origin and nature of these spirits? How do they differ among themselves? What is their independence of action? In what way can they be reached and controlled? Does such intercourse with them affect our relation to Allāh and imperil our eternal salvation? For in Islām, orthodox and heretical, everything centres round Allāh and our relation to him.

So in the Arabia of Muḥammad's time, the original habitat of Islām, if we leave out the elements affected by Christianity and Judaism, the spirit-world consisted of Allāh, the tribal gods and the *djinn*, and the links between men and it were *kāhin*'s (cf above, ii. 624 *sqq.*), magicians and soothsayers, poets and madmen; the theory as to all these being one of unlimited "possession" by different kinds of spirits, in the sense of that term in modern spiritism. "Magic", therefore, as a term of modern folk-lore is distinctly broader than the Arabic *siḥr*, literally "glamour", when *siḥr* is exactly limited, but clarity as to the facts of the case requires us to take *siḥr* in the broad sense, and Islām itself has very often, indeed generally, done the same Murtadā al-Zabīdī in his commentary on the *Ihyā'* (i. 217 foot) quotes Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī as saying, "*Siḥr* and *kahāna* and astrology and *sīmiyā'* are all of the same *wādi*". Further, when Islām spread out of Arabia it entered into contacts with all the supernatural beliefs and magical arts and rituals of the different races and countries which it conquered; these were blended with the Kur'ānic and Arabian conceptions and usages and formed an amalgam of the most heterogeneous character as to vocabulary, ritual, attitudes and even fundamental conceptions. This was thoroughly recognized by the Muslims themselves who, as we shall see, traced different kinds of magic to different races And the confusion worked in two directions (i.) the superstitions and nomenclature of Arabia were imposed on non-Arab and even non-Semitic peoples and (ii.) even fundamental Islām was deeply affected by completely alien beliefs. On all this see above the articles BUDŪH, DJAFR, DJADWAL, DJINN, FA'L, FIRĀSA, GHŪL, HĀRŪT and MĀRŪT, 'IFRĪṬ, KĀHIN and bibliographies to these.

But *siḥr* in its exact etymology suggests the limited form of magic called "glamour". The lexicons assert that it is the turning (*ṣarf*) of a thing from its true nature (*ḥaḳīḳa*) or form (*ṣūra*) to something else which is unreal or a mere appearance (*khayāl*), *takhyīl* is often applied to this, based on Ḳur xx 69, and it might be what we now call "hypnotism", but the more rationalistic tried to reduce it to simple jugglery (*khidā'*, *ṣhaʿwadha*), cheating the eye (*al-takhayulāt wa 'l-akhdh bi 'l-ʿuyūn*) by lightness of hand and flowery speech. So it comes to suggest the subtility of working in nature, as of food in the body (this is traced even to Imr al-Kais in *Lisān*, vi 12 foot, but the meaning there seems more the fundamental *ṣarf*), and beauty of utterance, as we speak of the magic of words (*Ṣaḥāh*, s. v , *Mufradāt* of Rāghib al-Iṣbāhānī, p 224 *sq.*; *Lisān*, vi. 11—13' *Lane*, 1316 *sqq.*). In the Ḳur'ān, however, the references are much too definite to yield to such treatment. For the mind of Muhammad and for his environment *siḥr* was a real thing, although the message given in and through it might, in great part, be false. On the psychological side, the first-hand phenomena strongly suggest hypnotism and, on the religious, the attitude of Muḥammad was almost exactly that of the modern Roman Church towards spiritism. In the Ḳur'ānic situation the background was the spirit-world of the *djinn* and the *shaiṭān*'s — evidently unbelieving and evil

ǧinn. By far the most important Ḳurʾānic verse for the whole subject is ii. 96, which may be rendered — "And they [unbelievers in general and Jews in particular] followed what the *shaiṭān*'s used to recite in the reign of Sulaimān [or against the reign of Sulaimān] — and Sulaimān never was an unbeliever but the *shaiṭān*'s were unbelievers — teaching mankind magic (*siḥr*), and [they followed] what was revealed to [*or* by means of] the two angels in Bābil, Hārūt and Mārūt, and they do not teach any one until they say to him We are only a temptation (*fitna*), so do not disbelieve. So they [the learners] learn from the two that by which they may divide a man from his wife, but they do not harm by it any one except by the permission of Allāh They learn that which harms them and does not aid them, having knowledge, indeed, that he who purchases it has no portion in the world to come. Evil, indeed, is that for which they sell themselves, if they had known it". The construction of this passage is very loose and there are several points in the translation which are uncertain, more than indicated here In spite of Baiḍāwī's compact style his exposition occupies more than a page (Fleischer's ed, i 76, 2—77, 7) and there is a page and a half in the *Ḳashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī (Lees' ed, i. 93—95). In the greater commentaries it is treated at length as the *locus classicus* on magic, thus Tabarī's *Tafsīr*, i. 334—353 and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ*, i. 427—440, in ed Cairo 1307 But the general drift is unmistakable. The *shaiṭān*'s, say these commentators, are the source of magic, they listened at the walls of heaven (see below) and added lies to what they heard there, they brought this to the *kāhin*'s and made books of it, they taught these books to mankind, reciting them This was widespread in the time of Sulaimān, to such an extent that it was said to have been the source of his knowledge and of his control over nature and the *ǧinn* The Jews even said that Sulaimān was not a prophet but a magician (Rāzī, p 428) This verse is an answer to them. For Hārūt and Mārūt see article above and also more below Elsewhere in the Kurʾān (xxxvii. 6, xli. 11, lxvii. 5, lxxii. 8, 9) we are told that the *ǧinn* used to sit beside (*kunnā nakʿudu*) the nearer sky (*al-samāʾ al-dunyā*) and listen (*istamaʿa*, *istaraḳa al-samʿ*) there to the Heavenly Host (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlā*) and that they are chased away from it by lamps (*maṣābīḥ*, *shihāb*) set in it for adornment but thrown at them as missiles (*rudjūm*) by the angels on guard (*ḥaras*, *raṣad*, *ḥifẓ*). They used to listen thus regularly but now (*al-āna*, lxxii 9) — apparently since Muhammad was sent — they have found the angels especially vigilant against them See a full discussion in the *Ḳashshāf* (p. 1535) on lxxii 9, where old verses are quoted and traditions cited on the ideas of the Arabs on this in the Djāhilīya. These Arabs had known such shooting-stars and had their own views about them But with the birth of Muhammad the vigilance of the angels was greatly increased Yet this could have been only for a time; for the whole after history of magic represents the djinn as continuing to listen and to bring information to the *kāhin*'s and magicians. Further, the *ǧinn* (xxxiv. 13) do not know the Unseen (*al-ghaib*), at least accurately, although evil *ǧinn* inspire and lead astray the enemies of the prophets (vi. 112). In Ḳurʾān xxvi. 221—225 is a significant passage telling how the shaiṭān's come down (*tanazzala*) to every great liar (*affāk*) and that these receive what the *shaiṭān*'s have heard and that the most of them (the great liars of mankind or of the *shaiṭān*'s) are liars, or that the most of the information is lies The straying poets, too, follow them (apparently the *shaiṭān*'s), wandering in every *wādī* and never doing what they say This is connected by the commentators (Baiḍāwī, ii. 61, 15—62, 7, even fuller and better in the *Ḳashshāf*, ii 1012—1014), and evidently rightly, with the *ǧinn* listening to the talk of the angels, perverting it and mixing it with lies and bringing it down to the *kāhin*'s and false prophets and poets. On poetry as thus inspired by the *ǧinn* see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i., pp 1—121 and on this passage especially, p. 27, note 2

It is only in Kurʾān ii. 96 that the word *siḥr* occurs in connection with Sulaimān, but there are several passages (xxi 81, 82, xxvii 15—45, xxxiv. 11—13, xxxviii. 29—39) which deal at length with his wisdom, knowledge and control of the world and later Islām traced all licit, or "white", magic back to him. The other occurrences of *siḥr* and its cognates are connected with the stories of Mūsā, ʿĪsā and Muhammad himself. To the story of Mūsā and his contests with the magicians of Pharaoh belong almost all references in certain Sūras Thus vii 110, 113, 117, 129; x 77, 78, 80, 81 (but verse 2 of Muhammad), xvii 103 (but v 50 of Muhammad), xx 59, 60, 66, 69, 72—74, xxvi. 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 48 (but verses 153, 185 of Muhammad), xxvii 13, xxviii. 36, 48, xl 25, xliii 48 (but v. 29 of Muḥammad), li 39 Only in v 110 is magic connected with ʿĪsā With Muhammad it is connected in vi 7, x 2, xi 10; xv 15; xvii 50, xxi. 3 *sq*., xxiii 91, xxv. 9, xxvi. 153, 185, xxxiv. 42; xxxvii. 15, xxxviii. 3, xliii 29, xlvi. 6, li 15, liv 2, lxi 6, lxxiv 24 There are certain significant phrases and usages *siḥr* is opposed to *al-ḥakk*, "reality", in xx. 77, 78; xliii 29, xlvi 6 and to the reality of Hell (*al-nār*) in li 15. — "In the Fire they will be asked "Is this glamour"?", eyes are enchanted in vii 113 (Mūsā) and similarly in xv 15, "our looks (*abṣārunā*) are made drunken (*sukkirat*) and we are an enchanted (*masḥūr*) people", i e we are glamoured, hypnotized (of Meccans), Muhammad is "a man enchanted" (xvii 50, xxv 9) and Mūsā (xvii. 103), Muḥammad is "deeply enchanted" (*musaḥḥar*) in xxvi. 153, 185, in the story of Mūsā an appearance is produced (*khaiyala*) by *siḥr* (xx. 69); in xxi. 3 *sqq* various accusations are brought against Muhammad — that his message is *siḥr*, that it is "bundles of dreams" (*adghāth aḥlām*), i e. confused and untrue dreams, that he invented it (*iftarāhu*), that he is a poet (*shāʿir*), he is required to produce a sign (*āya*) like the former prophets, in xxxviii. 3 Muḥammad is a "lying magician" (*sāḥir kaddhāb*) and Mūsā is the same in xl. 25, in li. 39 Mūsā is a *sāḥir* and a *madjnūn*, possessed of a *ǧinnī*, *siḥr* is called "plain" (*mubīn*) very often, *muftarā*, „invented", in xxviii. 36 and *mustamirr*, "enduring, firm" or "continuous, consecutive" or "fleeting" in liv. 2; in lxxiv. 24 (quite the oldest occurrence in the Ḳurʾān) the message of Muḥammad is called *siḥr yuʾthar*, "a magic derived *or* learned" from some one else, in xxvi 36 *saḥḥār* seems to mean an "expert, professional magician" (story of Mūsā).

The passages connecting magic with Muḥammad will bear closer examination and throw much light upon the ideas of his time and upon his own situation in it. The traditional interpretation of lxxiv. 24 in the *Sīra* (see Wustenfeld's Ibn Hisham, p. 171 *sq*, Baiḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, ii. 368, 15 *sqq.*; *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, ii. 1548 *sq*) labours to distinguish between the *kāhin*, the *maǰnūn*, the *shāʿir* and the *sāhir*, evidently using for the definition of *siḥr*, Kur. ii. 96, but it is plain from the actual Kurʾānic usages that such distinctions are impossible and that these four classes were closely connected *qua* links between the spirit-world and our world. *Kāhin* occurs only twice in the Ḳurʾān, in both places applied by the Meccans to Muḥammad, once (lii 29) joined with *maǰnūn* and once (lxix 42) joined with *shāʿir*. Muḥammad is called a *sāḥir* in x 2, xxi 3 *sqq.* and xxxviii. 3, he is "enchanted" (*mashūr*) in xvii. 50 and xxv 9 and "deeply enchanted" (*musaḥḥar*) in xxvi. 153, 185. The two last expressions as used of Muhammad were evidently disliked, for the commentators give alternate meanings, "one possessing lungs", i e an ordinary human being. Several times the Kurʾān, its message and proofs are called magic — xi. 10, xxxiv. 42, xliii. 29, xlvi 6, liv 2, lxi 6, lxxiv 4 And Muhammad did not show any other signs of being a magician. He was not a wonder-worker like Mūsā, Sulaimān and ʿĪsā In xxv. 9 he is only "a man enchanted", no angel is sent to go with him, nor is a treasury (*kanz*) thrown to him, nor has he a magic garden of which he can eat, i e objectively existing In xxi. 3 *sqq.* he does not work an *āya* in this sense In vi 7 if an actual book on *ḳirṭās* which could be handled had been sent to him they would have called even it *siḥr*, i. e. there was no such sign. In the case of two passages in this context of magic (x 2, xxxvii. 15) the commentators, e g Zamakhshaī and Baidawī, are quite sure that the reference is to miracles (*umūr khārika li 'l-ʿāda*), but the whole drift of the Kurʾān and even the passages themselves show that the reference is to the revelations which the Meccans thought proceeded from magic The *siḥr* in the case, then, must have been connected with the way in which the revelations came In xxi 3 the Meccans assert that they are confused and untrue dreams, and there are passages in the Ḳurʾān which show that they, at least sometimes, came in what we now call "automatic speech" In xx. 113 and lxxv. 16 the Prophet is warned that he must not try to hasten the utterance of the Kurʾān when it is being revealed by consciously moving his tongue, i. e he must completely yield his speech-organ to it and let it come at its own speed (cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, part ix, p 152 *sq.* of ed. Būlāk 1315 — *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*). In v 101 the bystanders and listeners when revelation is coming through are warned not to throw in sudden questions to the Prophet, as though he were an ordinary soothsayer. Being in the state of automatic speech he will certainly answer them, and truly, and they may not like the answers. See a mass of traditions bearing on this in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, vii. 48—52 and a very clear statement in Baiḍāwī, i. 275 ult to p. 276, 11; the more rationalistic commentators, such as Zamakhshaī and Rāzī, evidently did not like the subject. For automatic speech in later Islām see article FIRĀSA above and references there, Islām has fully accepted and described the phenomenon.

From all this it is plain that to understand these passages in the Ḳurʾān we must combine the evident meaning of the text with what we know now of abnormal psychology. The phenomena above can be abundantly verified by any one in contact with a case of the very common automatism, "automatic writing", and they hold exactly of the much rarer automatic speech But it was necessary for the early Muslim interpreters to make as firm a distinction as possible between the phenomena of Muḥammad and those of the other links with the spirit-world This they did by emphasizing revelation through Djibrīl as opposed to automatic speech through a possessing spirit. Probably many other references exist in the Ḳurʾān, as undoubtedly in the Old Testament, to such phenomena, which have been similarly obscured. *Siḥr*, then, on one side, was glamour and unreal, but, on another, it was very real. For Muhammad it was *heathen revelation*, coming from the spirit-world and in so far real, but perverted and amplified by its intermediaries, spirit and human, and in so far false In the *Sahīh* of Muslim, part viii. pp 229—231 of ed of Constantinople 1333 (*Kitāb al-Zuhd*, trad. 73), there is a long story of a heathen king, his magician (*sāhir*), an ascetic (*rāhib*) and a *ghulām* The point is that heathenism is *siḥr* and *kufr*, just as Baiḍāwī on Kurʾān ii 96 (i. 76, 7) equates *siḥr* and *kufr* and lumps them in with *kahāna*

In the traditions on the subject it is impossible to say what goes back to Muhammad and what arose in later controversy, much seems incompatible with his usual strong common sense. Reference may be made to a most miscellaneous farrago in the *Sahīh* of Muslim (*Kitāb al-salām*), part vii., pp. 13—41, on medicine (*tibb*) and spells (*rukwa*) lawful and unlawful, magic, poison, shaitān's, *ghūl*'s, *kahāna*, *taira*, *faʾl*, all jumbled together In part i, p 59, if any one says, *muṭirnā bi-nawʾi kadhā*, "we receive rain by such a star", he is an unbeliever, and on pp. 136—138 the 70,000 Muslims who will enter Paradise without reckoning or punishment are those who have put their trust in Allāh and have not used cautery or spells or observed the flight of birds Medicine, etc, is dealt with in Bukhārī, chapter *Ṭibb*, part vii 122—140, and the interpretation of dreams, *Taʿbīr al-Ruʾyā*, etc, in part ix 29 *sqq* On seeing the Prophet in dreams and on dreaming generally see Muslim, part vii 50 *sqq* All these subjects were, and are, in close association in the Muslim mind

But though Muhammad was perfectly assured as to the reality of these phenomena, whether as glamour or as perverted revelation from unbelieving spirits, the early rationalistic theologians (*al-Muʿtazila*, *ahl-kalām*, see article above, ii 670 *sqq*) had many doubts. This comes out very clearly in the book of Ibn Kutaiba (d 276 = 889) *Mukhtalif al-hadīth* (Cairo 1326, p 220—235), see on it Goldziher, *Moh. Stud*, ii. 136 *sqq*. The Muʿtazilites attacked, on grounds of reason and reflection (*ʿakl*, *nazar*), the traditions which tell that Muḥammad was bewitched; that was impossible in a prophet who was under the protection of Allāh (*maʿṣūm*). Also, the magic spoken of in the Kurʾān e g. in the story of Mūsā, was nothing but juggling (*takhyīl*), the two angels in Kurʾān ii 96 were two men called Malik and the verse was to be understood differently. Against

that, Ibn Ḳutaiba brings the universal testimony of all Scriptures and prophets and the unanimous belief in magic of the most diverse peoples, also the explicit testimony of Ḳur'ān cxiii., cxiv. — the two *Mu'awwidhāt*; also certain further traditions, especially a curious story about a woman who went to Bābil to learn magic from Hārūt and Mārūt, thereafter sought the Prophet at al-Madīna in repentance, found him dead and made confession to 'Ā'isha, telling her the whole story. It is a very strange story with folk-lore elements about the preparation of magic *sawīḳ* reminding of the Arabian Nights "Story of Badr Bāsim" and the *khurāfāt* of Muhammad b Salama (*The Earliest History of the Arabian Nights*, in *J. R. A. S*, July 1924, p. 374—379). A fuller form of the same tradition is in the *Tafsīr* of Tabarī (d 310 = 923), i. 347, 23 to 348, 10, also in the *Ḳiṣas al-anbiyā'* of Tha'labī (d. 427 = 1036), p. 30, 16 *sqq.* of ed Cairo 1314, in the *Mafātīḥ* of Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209), vol. p. 434, 19—28 there is a much sophisticated and philosophized form of the same story. And, otherwise, all the narratives vary greatly, the different forms were evidently adjusted to the magic known to each writer and current in his time Sharīshī [q. v] tells it, too, in his commentary on the *Makāmāt* of Ḥarīrī, i. 211 of ed. Cairo 1314 Yet it does not seem to have been accepted in tradition. Of the great, old, collections only the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Hanbal (d 241), ii. 134, has anything on Hārūt and Mārūt and this story is not there (letter from A J. Wensinck).

In the *Fihrist* (written between 377 and 400 = 987—1010) we find the magical system fully developed and with a rich literature behind it The principal passage is in the Second *Fann* of the Eighth *Makāla* (ed. Flugel, p 308 *sqq*) The position of Muhammad b. Ishāk, the author, who was apparently a Shī'ite and, therefore, at least tinged with Mu'tazilism (cf. KALĀM, vol. ii., p. 673*a* above), appears in his statement Magicians, he says, licit and illicit, all assert that magic is worked by the obedience of spirits to the magician Licit magicians, whom he calls *mu'azzimūn* (from *'azīma*, "spell"; the word is not in the Ḳur'ān, nor the root in this connection), assert that they constrain the spirits by obeying and supplicating Allāh, by abandoning fleshly lusts and practising devotion and by bringing adjurations by Allāh to bear upon the spirits, the spirits then obey, either out of obedience to Allāh, because of the adjurations, or out of fear, because in the peculiar property (*khāṣṣīya*) of the divine Names there is something which subdues them. Illicit magicians, whom he calls *saḥara* (pl of *sāḥir*), assert that they enslave the spirits by offerings (*ḳarābīn*) and by evil deeds, displeasing to Allāh, either omission of the ritual law or actual forbidden actions, such as shedding of blood, marriage with near kin, etc. This is openly practised (*zāhir*) in Egypt and the adjoining countries, and there are many books existing upon it. The Bābil of the magicians is in Egypt, Ibn Ishāk had been told of it by one who had been there and had seen actual survivors (*baḳāyā*), magicians male and female, there. It is to be remembered that he was probably writing in Baghdād; this is still the attitude of the rest of the Muslim East towards Egypt. All these, licit and illicit, assert that they use seals (*khawātim*), various kinds of spells (*'azā'im*, *ruḳā*, *ḥizāb*), magic circles (*manādil*), fumigation (*dakhan*), etc. A party of the philosophers and star-worshippers assert, he goes on, that they make talismans for all manner of purposes by watching the stars, these are engraved on stones, gems, stones in rings (*fuṣūṣ*). This is a widely spread science among philosophers; Indians believe in it and do wonderful things by it, the Chinese have artifices (*ḥiyal*) and a magic of their own, the Indians have especially "hypnotism" (*'ilm al-tawahhum*; cf *J. R. A S*, for Oct 1922, *Wahm in Arabic and its Cognates*, p. 516), Indian books on which have been translated into Arabic, the Turks have a science of magic and Ibn Isḥāḳ had been assured by a trustworthy person that they did wonderful things of a physical kind, defeating armies, slaying enemies, passing over rivers, going great distances in a short time, etc The talismans in Egypt and Syria are numerous and plain for all to see, but the working has been annulled by the passage of time.

Licit magic, which the *Fihrist* calls "the praiseworthy method" (*al-ṭarīḳa al-mahmūda*), is traced back to Sulaimān b. Dāwūd who was the first to enslave the spirits (*al-ǧinn wa 'l-shayāṭīn*) and make them serve him, the same is said for Persian magic of Djamshīd. On Djamshid as a founder of knowledge and a controller of the *ǧinn* see *Fihrist*, p. 12, 21 *sqq.*, p. 238, 20 and for a fuller account of his place in Persian myth and of his confusion with Solomon see especially E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, i. 112—14. There was evidently an extensive magical literature ascribed to Sulaimān in Hebrew and Persian and due to that confusion, the names of three of his secretaries who compiled the books are given and there are further details on the names of these books in the long quotation from Djawbarī's *Kitāb fī kashf al-asrār* (first half of viiith cent A.H.), *Z D.M.G.*, xx. 486 *sqq*, in de Goeje's article on the same, *Gaubarî's „entdeckte Geheimnisse"*, cf also Fleischer in *Z D M G*, xxi. 274. A small part of this text was printed at Cairo (32 pp., no year, *Maṭba'at al-naḏjāh*), omitting the introduction and extending only to *Bāb* iv. in *Faṣl* iv., evidently with other omissions [There is also a complete edition, no printer or place but dated Djumādā II, 1302 Cf, further, the technical, non-philological study of the book, based on a printed text and several MSS by E Wiedemann in *Beitr zur Gesch der Naturwissenschaften*, xxv, p 206—232] The *Fihrist* then gives a list of 70 names of spirits (*'afārīt*) who entered the presence of Sulaimān and upon whom he imposed covenants (*'uhūd*, *mīthāḳ*) using the Names of Allāh These *'uhūd* continue to play a great part. A tiny, undated, Cairene lithograph of 16 pp. has them as an amulet, *Hiḏjāb al-sab' 'uhūd al-sulaimānīya li-saiyidnā Sulaimān b. Dāwūd* Another list of seven is also given, especially connected with the days of the week. This can be expanded from the account given in Kazwīnī's *'Aḏjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed Wustenfeld, pp. 371 *sqq*, which also puts the djinn under Sulaimān's control. Further lists and descriptions are in Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ed. Cairo 1313, i. 177—187, Jayakar's translation, i. 448—480. The *Fihrist* then gives the names of some individual magicians and titles of their works, from the Greeks down to his own time. This can be controlled and expanded in some points from Djawbarī's list. All of these, even the

Greek Arios son of Stephanos, assertedly connected themselves with the Sulaimānic system and controlled spirits by means of his treaties with these. The last is an Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Abī Raṣāṣa, a man of high reputation among his fellows, the author of many books and the doer of wonderful works, whom Ibn Isḥāḳ had personally known and to whom he said once· "I wish you were clear of having anything to do with this affair" (*ana unazzihuka ʿan al-taʿarruḍ li-hādha 'l-shaʾn*), to which the magician· "For 80 odd years if I had not known that this was real I would have abandoned it, but I have no doubts", and Ibn Isḥāḳ could only reply "By Allāh, mayest thou not prosper!" — apparently in his magic

Illicit magic, "the blameworthy method" (*al-ṭarīka al-madhmūma*), or the method of the *sahara*, is traced similarly to Iblīs through his daughter or his son's daughter, Baidhakh [see BUDŪH, above] She has a throne (*ʿarsh*) upon the water (*ʿala 'l-mā'*), cf the *ʿarsh* of Iblīs upon *al-bahr* in the *Saḥīḥ* of Muslim, ed. Constantinople, part VIII, p 190, and the *ʿarsh* of Allāh, *ʿala 'l-mā'* in Kur'ān XI 9, with the tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, ed Būlāk 1315, part IX, p 124 When the postulant in magic (*murīd*, as though he were a Sūfī neophyte) has done for her whatever she wills, he reaches her and she makes to serve him whomsoever he wills and accomplishes his needs, and he is not separated from her by any barrier (*ḥidjāb*), whoever makes sacrifices to her, animal and human, although he abandons the absolute requirements of the canon law and practises what is rationally abominable [The disjointed character of this statement is probably due to Ibn Isḥāḳ's having thrown together several statements made to him]. Others say that Baidhakh is Iblīs himself Others that she sits upon her throne and that the *murīd* is brought to her to obey her and that he worships her. One of these *sahara* had said to Ibn Isḥāḳ that he, when asleep had seen her sitting as he had seen her when awake and that he saw round her people like the Nabateans of the Sawād, bare-footed and with cloven heels (*mushaḳḳaḳī 'l-aʿḳāb*), he even recognized a certain individual among them. He (Ibn Isḥāḳ's informant apparently) was one of the greatest of the *sahara*, of recent date, and used to speak from underneath a basin (*kāna yunāṭiḳu min taḥti 'l-ṭast*, cf. *kāna munāṭiḳan*, p. 310, 18). Names of individuals follow and of some books by them, one is a Yamanite who professed to derive from a certain witch al-Zarḳāʾ (the Yamanite princess Turaifa? cf. above, II 625b, foot), another is Ibn Wahshīya (see article above, II. 427) who professed to connect with ancient Chaldean magic and certainly did so with Nabatean. The *Fihrist* calls him a Ṣūfī and says he claimed to be a *sāḥir*, working with *ṭilasmāt*. A section follows (p 312, 11—16) on simple jugglery (*al-shaʿbadha*) Then there is a return to magic, taking in Callisthenes, Apollonius of Tyana, Horus, Hermes, and representatives of the magic of India. For the meaning of "artifices" (*ḥiyal*) above, the section on mathematicians and engineers may be consulted (p. 265, 16; p. 271, 8). Further books on magic, mostly anonymous, are given in the *Fann* of miscellanies; p. 314, 7—18; p. 317, 18, p. 318, 4. As Islām has always ascribed a great part of illicit magic and astrology to Chaldean tradition the first *Fann* of the ninth *Maḳāla* (p. 318 *sqq.*) on the Ḥarrānian Chaldeans who called themselves al-Sābiʾūn is of importance in the history of magic, and especially the story of the head which answered questions as to the future (p. 321, 12 *sqq*). The same holds of the tenth *Maḳāla* on alchemy where we again find a long notice of Ibn Waḥshīya (p. 358) and his fellows As Ibn Khaldūn pointed out long after, Shīʿism, Ṣūfīism, philosophy, astrology, alchemy, magic, all touch one another; cf. in the *Fihrist* (p. 354 *sq.*) the different assertions as to Djābir b. Ḥayyān, the names given to him and the affiliations ascribed to him (article upon him above, I 987)

If the author of the *Fihrist* was in evident doubt as to there being any real magic and simply recorded biographical and bibliographical facts as he found them, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) had no such doubts The spirit-world was very real to him, throughout the *Iḥyāʾ* he enters on full details as to the *djinn* and the *shaiṭān*'s and their activities (Macdonald, *Religious Attitude ... in Islam*, p 274 *sqq*), in his *Munḳidh* (ed Cairo 1303, p. 46) he gives the magic square *Budūḥ* as of tested efficacy and it has since been called by his name, he wrote on the interpretation of dreams (*al-taḥbīr fī ʿilm al-taʿbīr*, Aleppo, *Matbaʿat al-Bahāʾ*, 1328, 30 pages). Kazwīnī in his *Āthār al-bilād* (ed Wustenfeld, p. 272) records that he prevailed on a celebrated occultist, al-Tabasī (d. 482 = 1089, *G. A L.*, I. 496), to raise the *djinn* for him. He saw them like shadows on a wall and when he desired to speak with them al-Tabasī replied that that was the limit of possibility for him — al-Ghazālī. See, further, for this side of al-Ghazālī and for its development in legend Goldziher's introduction to his *Livre d'Ibn Toumert*, Algeı 1903, p 15 *sqq* This means that his philosophical pragmatism led him to accept all those workings in nature and in man for which he found good evidence. The *Budūḥ* square had "worked", therefore he accepted it and all that it implied. The world was full of mystery and this was only a bit of it. But as a moral philosopher he had to consider and classify the practiser of magic. This he does early in the *Iḥyāʾ* (ed Cairo 1334, I 15, 26, ed with commentary of Murtadā al-Zabīdī, who d. 1205 = 1791, I. 146, 216 *sqq.*). On p. 15 he is considering the moral classification of the sciences (*al-ʿulūm*), they either go back to the prophets or they do not. Those that do not (derived from reason, experiment, or picked up from hearing, as language) are either praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) or blameworthy (*madhmūm*) or allowable (*mubāḥ*); and the example of the blameworthy is the twin sciences of magic, including talismans, and juggling. On p 26 he enters upon further details to explain how a "science" can be blameworthy, seeing that it (*ʿilm*) is knowledge of a thing as it is and is one of the qualities (*ṣifāt*) of Allāh. It is blameworthy, he explains, not for itself (*li ʿainihī*) but with respect to men for one or other of three causes· (i) it leads to hurt either in the practiser of it or in some one else — example, magic, (ii.) it is mostly (*fī ghālib al-amr*) hurtful for the practiser of it — example, astronomy; (iii.) if he who busies himself with it can not draw any real scientific advantage from it — example, scholastic theology or medicine to one who is a layman in these sciences. This is evidently the basis of that Muslim utilitarianism to which even so widely interested an investigator as Ibn Khaldūn

fell a victim (*Religious Attitude*, p. 119 *sqq*). It is based on the tradition. "It is part of the beauty of a man's Islām to let alone what does not concern him" (*Min ḥusn islām al-mar'i tarkuhu mā lā ya'nīhi*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii. 157). Magic, then, though it is real (*ḥaḳḳ*), as both Kur'ān and traditions show, should be let alone. Further, al-Ghazālī describes magic as a science which makes use of the properties of substances (*ḏjawāhir*) and numbers under certain astrological conditions, it makes of the substances a magical figure (*haikal*, cf. Dozy, *Suppl*, ii. 775b, the word seems to indicate Jewish origin for this form of magic) in the form of the person to be enchanted, an astiological situation is awaited and words, evil and involving unbelief (*kufr*), are pronounced over it, by which the assistance of *shaiṭān*'s is secured, from all this there result strange effects (*aḥwāl ghaṛība*) on the person to be enchanted "by Allāh's influencing the custom of things" (*bi-ḥukm idjrā'i-llāhi 'l-'āda*) The commentary of Murtadā al-Zabīdī on this is worth consulting His great authority is evidently Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī whom he scholasticizes still further. He quotes from his *Mulakhkhaṣ* and his *Sirr al-maktūm* which are still in MS (*G. A. L.*, i. 507), also from Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d 398 = 1007, *G A L*, i 243), *Ghāyat* (or *Nihāyat*) *al-ḥakīm* which also is still in MS. But however even al-Ghazālī, with all the weight of his influence, might draw up a strict scheme of life to purify and safeguard the soul — his *Ihyā'* is constructed entirely from that point of view, the masses of Islām would have none of it The position, which is quite clear in the *Fihrist*, of licit and illicit magic, was left unchanged and licit magicians could protest that their art, derived from Sulaimān, the Prophet of Allāh, was orthodox and even pious The boundary lines, too, between the licit and the illicit were, and are, very vague; as vague as the status of spirits in Islām (article DJINN above, i 1045), in which a mass of the *ḏjinn* are "believers", the relation of the *shaiṭān*'s to the *ḏjinn* is uncertain, and there is even record of a believing descendent of Iblīs. Further, even the scholastics found difficulty in the Ghazālian position. It was pointed out that, on the one hand, it was only the practice of magic for evil purposes which could be called blameworthy, and, on another, that a knowledge of magic was essential to any one who had to distinguish between the results of magic and the evidentiary miracles (*mu'ḏjizāt*) of prophets and, still more, the χαρίσματα, *karāmāt* [see article above] of the saints (Baiḍāwī, ed Fleischer, i. 76; Rāzi, *Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1307, i. 434, 7 from below, *sqq*)

The only printed materials we have for the position of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d 606 = 1209), apart from such stray references as by Murtadā al-Zabīdī above, are in his Ḳur'ān commentary, *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, where he treats the subject at length in dealing with the Ḳur'ānic *locus classicus*, ii. 96. He had been strongly affected by Mu'tazilite positions and had come to accept some of them, retaining in the end Sunnite orthodoxy, coloured with scholastic intellectualism and a fondness for analyzed, systematic statements (Goldziher in *Der Islam*, iii, pp. 238 *sqq.*; *Koranauslegung*, pp. 123, 203 and by index under *Mafātīḥ*) His essential position upon magic is shown by his treatment of the story of the woman who went to Hārūt and Mārūt in Bābil to learn magic from them. After her "faith" (*īmān*) has gone visibly forth from her and ascended to the heavens, they say to her: "You will never will a thing so as to picture it in your imagination but it will happen" (*Mā tuṣawwirīna shai'an fa-tuṣawwirīhi fī wahmika illā kān*, *Mafātīḥ*, i. 434, 26). Magic, therefore, is essentially a psychical working with physical effects, whatever the magician images to himself in his *wahm* comes about On pp. 429—434 Rāzī enumerates eight categories (*naw'*) to which the term *siḥr* has been applied. (i.) Ancient Chaldean magic, based on the worship and influence of the stars. To this is added a statement and a refutation of the Mu'tazilite position on magic (ii) Psychical magic (*siḥr aṣḥāb al-awhām wa 'l-nufūs al-kawīya* or *aṣḥāb al-ruḳā*) This is defended by the influence of the human *nafs* on its own body and on other bodies, seven illustrations of this are given and the possibility of contact with the celestial spirits (*al-arwāḥ al-samāwīya wa 'l-nufūs al-falakīya*) and the magical use of these are discussed. (iii) The same by means of the earth-spirits (*al-arwāḥ al-ardīya*), i e the *ḏjinn*. This kind, see the licit magic of the *Fihrist* above, is called *al-'azā'im wa-'amal taskhīr al-ḏjinn* (iv.) Juggling by holding and directing the eyes of the onlookers (*al-takhaiyulāt wa 'l-akhdh bi 'l-'uyūn*) (v) Wonderful operations by means of machines, automata and various scientific devices. (vi) Using properties of drugs and perfumes to stupify. (vii.) Gaining the foolish by large claims of possessing the Most Great Name and commanding the *ḏjinn*. (viii) By slander (*namīma*) and secret exciting of discord In the statement in the *Dictionary of technical terms* — a modern compilation — pp 648—653, which is based almost entirely on Rāzī, only the first four of these are given, and it is said that the Mu'tazilites rejected all but the fourth. In the Cairo text of Rāzī (p 434, 4 *sqq*) the Mu'tazilites are said to have rejected all but iv., vi, viii Did they deny v and vii ?

In Ibn Khaldūn (d 808 = 1406) the psychical position of Rāzī is still further developed and clarified until it practically coincides with the modern psychological doctrine of automatisms; thus he is the first to give a full description of the rationale of crystal-gazing, or "scrying", essentially in modern terms (*Mukaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i 191—195) With Ibn Khaldūn's descriptions and explanations should be taken Theodore Besterman's *Crystal-Gazing a study in the history, distribution, theory and practice of scrying*, London 1924, also W. H. Worrel, *Ink, oil and mirror gazing ceremonies in modern Egypt*, in *J A O S.*, xxxvi 37—53 So Ibn Khaldūn had moved far beyond Rāzī as to Rāzī's second and third classes of magic. But although a devout Muslim, holding by Kur'ān and *Sunna*, he went strictly by what he had himself experienced and tested. Soothsayers and magicians of various kinds he had known, tried and accepted, he had dreams and found them valid; of the miracles of the saints he was firmly convinced. But he had never known either *ḏjinn* or individual angels, although he felt compelled to admit the existence of a vague Heavenly Host (*al-mala al-a'lā*) with celestial — and satanic — influences upon the souls of men. So he entered all the Ḳur'ānic references which gave him trouble, either intellectually or because he had no experience of the facts to which they referred, among the *mutashābihāt* verses, those of obscure interpretation, opposed to the *muḥkamāt*

verses, those of firmly fixed meaning, following one interpretation of Ḳur'ān iii. 5 which asserts that no one but Allāh knows the meaning of these (ed. Quatremère, iii. 47; article KALĀM above, ii. 673b). Thus the essential force of magic lay in the *nafs* of the magician, a magician was born not made. He might aid his own power by drawing on mysterious powers outside, whether powers in the properties of things or of numbers or in other spiritual, non-material existences. For philosophers, says Ibn Ḵhaldūn, the difference between pure magic and the art of talismans is that pure magic is worked by the soul of the magician without any helper (*muʿīn*) but in talismans he draws upon the help of the spiritualities of the stars and the secrets of numbers and the properties of substances and the situations of the celestial sphere which affect the world of the elements — our world (ed. Quatremère, iii. 133). Apparently Ibn Ḵhaldūn himself was in broad accord with this distinction, so far as he could control it by the facts he had himself known (Quatremère, iii. 129 *sqq.*). But he also considered that the apparatus of magic, as in geomancy in which the operator makes dots and lines in sand and constructs figures out of these, to divine the future, are simply a means of producing an hypnoidal state in the magician in which the physical senses are blurred and the spiritual world is directly reached If the magician does not show signs of such an hypnoidal state he is an impostor (Quatremère, i 209) Further an attempt had been made by al-Būnī (d 622 = 1225, see article above), following the methods of some extreme Ṣūfī's (*al-ghulāt, ahl al-tasarruf*), to draw up a system of licit magic, based on the powers of the letters in divine names and constructing from these magic squares and talismans. This was called *Sīmiyā'*, σημεῖα (Dozy, *Suppl.* i 708b), like the Jewish Kabbala of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the Divine Names (cf C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, ii. ed., London 1920, p. 127 *sqq.*) but in Ibn Ḵhaldūn's opinion it was simply magic, because it professed to derive its forces from natural powers and not from Allāh, although using his names, and so came under the condemnation of magic (ed Quatremère, iii 137 *sqq.*, especially p. 143 *sqq.*). The great book of this al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif* (*G.A.L.*, i. 497), is the *grimoire* of all the numberless Muslims at the present day who study magic The two other authorities on magic to whom Ibn Ḵhaldūn refers are Djābir b Ḥayyān and Maslama al-Madjrīṭī; on both see above.

It is plain from Ibn Ḵhaldūn's theory that he was faced by the necessity of distinguishing, not only legally but also psychologically, between the working of magic and that of the powers inhering in saints and prophets What was the difference between the prophetic, the saintly and the magical *nafs*? It was easy to rule, as he did (ed. Quatremère, iii. 134, 140), that the one is worked by a good man for good purposes and the other by an evil man for evil purposes, with an essential kinship between the *nafs* and this external power which aided it — that was the old legal distinction, see Baiḍāwī on Ḳur'ān ii. 96, vol. i., p. 76, 9. Also that the saint in his wonders and the prophet in his evidentiary miracles did everything in and by the assistance of Allāh alone, without recourse to any other helper — whether spirit or natural force. But there were the extreme Ṣūfīs who claimed control of the natural world, descendants, apparently, of the thaumaturgic wing of the neo-Platonists. And there was the great multitude of folk-lore saints, really animists, who, under a Muslim disguise, continued the divining and miracle-working of the old faiths and usages. This held, and holds, especially of Morocco with its hereditary sainthood. His own theory, too, of the magical *nafs* brought back the confusion of old Arabia between the *kāhin* and the *nabī* Thus the way was open for the continuance among orthodox Muslims of the study and even the practice of magic and for the very complete confusion which exists at the present day between licit and illicit magic.

For further details on Ibn Ḵhaldūn's attitude to religion and magic, reference may be made to the present writer's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, lectures ii.—vi For saints and magic in Islām see E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, *Les Aïssâoua*, Châlons 1900, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909 (the basal treatise on magic in modern Islām), E Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness*, Helsingfors 1916, T H Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh 1904, Emily, Ṣhareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story*, London 1911 Another of the means by which magic has survived among the Muslim masses has lain in the numerous popular stories in which unbelieving *djinn* and the magic and talismans of unbelieving magicians are overcome by the stronger talismans handed down from the early prophets Two good examples of this type of story have been translated by Weil, from a Gotha MS, in his later recasting of his *Tausend und Eine Nacht — Adventures of Ali and Zaher of Damascus* and *Adventures of the Fisherman Djauder*, vol. iv of ed. Bonn 1897, p 194—312. The *Sirat Saif b. Dhī Yazan* is also of this type. By these stories, perhaps above all else, the equation, *sihr* = *kufr*, has been stamped on the Muslim mind, with a loop-hole left by the fact that the orthodox talismans are, in essence, as much *sihr* as those of the unbelievers. Again, another of these means lies in the popular classification of philosophers as magicians. This universal tendency has been very strong in Islām and especially so in the case of Ibn Sīnā [q. v]. There is in wide circulation an apocryphal *Life* of him as a magician (*Ḥikāyat Abū ʿAlī ibn Sīnā*, Ottoman Turkish litograph, A.H. 1215 [?], Azarbāidjānī, Ḳazān 1881; Arabic from the Turkish by Murād Efendi Mukhtār, Cairo 1305 and other dates; cf. Pertsch in *Katalog der turk. Hss. in Berlin*, p. 466, Chauvin, *Bibl ar.*, v. 143). In consequence there exists under his name (Cairo *Matbaʿat al-nadjāḥ*, no date, p. 32) a little magical treatise on the *simiyā'* side, *Al-kanz al-madfūn wa 'l-sirr al-maṣūn*, professing to be the result of his studies in the enchanted cave in the Maghrib which the apocryphal *Life* describes.

Thus in Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*, in orthodox theology, in mystical theology of all phases stretching to pantheistic theosophy, in philosophy and natural science of all kinds from almost experimental psychology to the speculations of the pseudo-Ibn Sīnā, in primitive animistic devotion, the existence of magic as a reality, though it may be a dangerous one, has been perpetuated.

The present status of magic in the Muslim world

can be illustrated by a little magical library formed by the present writer in Egypt in 1908 and supplemented since. — (1) The foundation is still the *Shams al-Maʿārif* of al-Būnī (large lithograph in 4 parts and 442 pp., written by Mīrzā Ḥusain al-Shīrāzī, various dates from 1322 to 1324), recommended to me as such a foundation by a native scholar, professor in a government training college for teachers, who had been a pupil of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q. v.] (2) Another universal treatise is the *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, in 7 *Rasāʾil* (Cairo 1327 = 1909, pp. 232), by Aḥmad Mūsā al-Zarḳāwī This book by a contemporary magician was published by subscription with an imposing list of subscribers; it covers the whole field from astronomy and astrology to geomancy, magic squares and scrying The author has embraced the position that the earth moves, which he knows as the Pythagorean, and has proved it from the Kurʾān. In this and in other ways he is far beyond the childish *sīmiyāʾ* of al-Būnī I have also a small calendar (*natīdja*) by him in its tenth year, for 1326 = 1908, with astrological and magical supplements. (3) Two treatises on *sīmiyāʾ* of the *mudjarrabāt*, "tested", type were published together, Cairo 1324 = 1906, *Fath al-malik al-madjīd* by Aḥmad al-Dairabī (d 1151 = 1738; *G. A. L.*, ii. 323) and *Al-mudjarrabāt* by Muhammad b Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 = 1486, *G A. L.*, ii 252). The first of these must be very popular for I have also two editions of it separately, Cairo 1323, 1325. (4) Also of the *sīmiyāʾ* type is *Kitāb al-fawāʾid*, Cairo 1321, by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shardjī al-Yamanī (d. 812 = 1410, *G.A L.*, ii. 190) — a very popular book in a third edition (5) A more practical and picturesque and less verbosely pious book is *Shumūs al-anwār wa 'l-kunūz al-asrār* (at least two editions, Cairo 1322, 1325) by Ibn al-Ḥādjdj al-Tilimsānī (d. 737 = 1336; *G. A. L.*, ii. 83; cf. Goldziher in *Z. D P. V*, xvii 115—122) (6) Two books by a certain Muhammad al-Rahawī (?), *Al-luʾluʾ al-manẓūm fī ʿulūm al-talāsim wa 'l-mudjūm* and *Ghāyat al-amānī fī ʿulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date, are of the same cabalistic type and the author names as his predecessors al-Ghazālī, al-Būnī, Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638 = 1240, *G. A. L.*, i. 441 *sqq.*, cf. for this side of Ibn al-ʿArabī the study of his *Kleinere Schriften* by H. S. Nyberg, Leiden 1919). Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳalyūbī (? *G. A. L*, i. 103 ?) and al-Shaʿrānī [q v]. (7) Another contemporary Egyptian magician has three little treatises. He is Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Awghānistānī (? al-Afghānī ?), known as al-Hindī, of the island of Shandawīl in the Ṣaʿīd, but giving as a Cairo address the abode (*manzil*) of ʿAlī Effendi al-Naḳlī, N°. 8 Darb al-Duhdēra, in the Atfat al-Shaikh Murshid, over against the Mosque of al-Shaʿrānī. There he is, or was, prepared to instruct in his art and to give permission to exercise it to those who, after being tested, prove worthy. His books are: *Al-djawhar al-ghālī fī khawāṣṣ al-muthallath li'l-Ghazālī* (see above on the Ghazālian magic square); *Al-asrār al-rabbānīya fī taskhīr al-arwāḥ al-rūḥānīya* (on the subjugating of the djinn); *Al-ʿināyat al-rabbānīya fī mushāhadat al-arwāḥ al-rūḥānīya* (on the same subject). Only the last book has a date, 1325 = 1907. (8) *Kitāb al-faiḍ al-mutawālī*, Cairo, no date, is another treatise on the Ghazālian square by Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (d. 1192 = 1778; *G. A. L.*, ii. 371, under the title *ʿIḳd al-farāʾid*). (9) Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannānī al-Zaḳāziḳī, *Al-asrār al-ilāhīya fī 'l-farāʾid wa 'l-abwāb al-rūḥānīya*, Menūf 1323. (10) Al-Ḥādjdj Saʿdān al-Zandjī, *Al-sirr al-rabbānī fī ʿulūm al-rūḥānī*, Menūf, no date. (11) Al-Ḥādjdj Saʿdūn b. al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḥanāwī, *Al-fatḥ al-raḥmānī fī ʿulūm al-rūḥānī*, Cairo, no date. (12) Al-sāhir al-shahīr bi 'l-Hadhād, *Bahdjat al-sāmiʿīn fī taskhīr mulūk al-djinn adjmaʿīn*, Cairo, no date, professes to be a very ancient book by a very famous magician about whom I know nothing. (13) Al-failusūf al-Yunānī al-ḥakīm Hermes, *Kitāb al-sabʿ kawākib al-sayyāra*, Cairo, no date. astrology, cf. *Fihrist*, p 239, 3 *sqq* ; 267, 12 *sqq.*, 353, 9 *sqq.* and notes (14) Abū Maʿshar [Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad] al-Balkhī, *Kitāb ṭūlṭ al-mawlūd li 'l-riḍjāl wa 'l-nisāʾ ʿala 'l-burūdj wa-ṭawālīʿihā ʿalā thalāthat wudjūh*, Cairo, no date, d. 272 = 885, *G A. L.*, i 221, article above, vol. i., p. 99, on Albumaser cf *Fihrist*, p. 277 and by index and notes, this title is not there, has curious conventionalized pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac. Another book of similar subject — the influence on the nature, dispositions and fortunes of men and women exerted by their birth-Signs of the Zodiac, combined with arithmetical calculations and suitable amulets — assertedly by the same author, *Hūdhā kitāb . . . al-Yunānī al-failusūf al-shahīr bi-Abī Maʿshar al-falakī al-kabīr* (Cairo, *Matbaʿa al-husainīya*, no date, in Brill's Cat., N°. 80 there is a copy of this work [N° 33], dated Cairo 1288), another printer and publisher but has the same pictures of the Signs of the Zodiac; on p. 2 professes to give *ashkāl ramlīya* but, if so, they are quite different from the usual geomantic figures as in the next book (15) Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-fasl fī usūl ʿilm al-raml*, Cairo, no date, on this author and on his art see Ibn Khaldūn, ed Quatremère, i, p. 204—209, transl. de Slane, i 233—241 and note; also J. Payne, *Alaeddin and the enchanted lamp*, p. 199—201, cf. also *J. R A S*, for Jan. 1906, p. 121 *sqq* , *Z D M G*, xviii 177, xxv. 410; xxxi. 762, the geomancy of this book is essentially the same as that of modern western occultists, e g Franz Hartmann, *Principles of astrological geomancy*, London 1889 (16) An undated and anonymous *faʾl*-book described under FAʾL [q.v.]. Another very simple little luck-book is *Bakhtak yā-bū bakhīt* by Marḳus Djirdjis. A calendar, *Takwīm al-asrār al-khafīya*, for 1326, has more elaborate fortune-telling additions with political outlook. (17) Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 = 1505), *Kitāb al-raḥma fī 'l-ṭibb wa 'l-ḥikma*, Cairo 1324, *G.A.L.*, ii. 155, N°. 238; a compound of *sīmiyāʾ* and folk-medicine in 195 sections. (18) ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ismāʿīl, *Ṭibb al-rikka* (2 parts; Cairo 1310, 1312); a counter-blast to all the above with much curious information on popular superstitions, especially medical, the author is a graduate of the Kasr al-ʿAinī medical school and writes with the indignation of the qualified medical practitioner.

Bibliography: In the nature of the case it must be enormous; the following is a mere suggestive selection. In Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* there are six cognate articles: Carra de Vaux, *Alchemy* (*Muhammadan*) in vol. i., p. 289—292, Theodor Nöldeke, *Arabs* (*ancient*), vol. i, p. 659—673; Carra de Vaux, *Charms and Amulets* (*Muhammadan*), vol. iii., p. 457—461; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Demons and Spirits* (*Muslim*), vol. iv., pp. 615—619

D. S. Margoliouth, *Divination* (*Muslim*), vol. IV, p. 816—818; D S. Margoliouth, *Magic* (*Arabian and Muslim*), vol. VIII., p. 252—253; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, the sections on *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*; A. H Frost, *Magic Squares*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ed XI, XVII. 310—313; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first thirteen centuries of our Era*, 2 vols., New York 1923, J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten*; G. v. Vloten, *Über Geister und Dämonen* in *W.Z.K.M.*, VII. 169 *sqq*; Reinaud, *Description des monuments musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, 2 vols. and many plates of amulets, etc., Paris 1828 Also on amulets are the following. C. G. von Murr, *Beytrage zur arabischen Literatur*, Erlangen 1803, p. 32—37, von Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Geisterlehre der Moslimen*, Vienna 1852, Rudolf Krehl, *Der Talisman James Richardson's erklart*, Leipzig 1865; D. B. Macdonald, *Description of a silver amulet*, *Z A.*, XXVI. 267—269; W. B Stevenson, *Some specimens of Moslem charms*, Glasgow University Oriental Society *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, p. 84—114; cf further bibliography in *Isl.*, XIII 360 *sq.* and article by Bergsträsser, p. 227 *sqq*, Emile Mauchamp, *La Sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris, Dorban-Aîné, no date. On haunting spirits in modern Islām and how to exorcise them Sophia Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, London 1844, Letters IV., XIV., XVII., Bayle St. John, *Two Years Residence in a Levantine Family*, London 1856, chap. XX; J. S. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, II ed., London 1905, p. 369—374 (with use of *khabaṭ* here in connection with the *ǧinn*, cf. Kur'ān II. 276 and the commentators thereon, also Ibn Khaldūn, ed Quatremère, I 195; *khabaṭ* is thus the Arabic equivalent for "raps" in western spiritism) The only occurrence of the spiritist "cabinet" for materialisations which I have so far found is in Doutté's *Magie et Religion*, p. 384 *sqq*. In Cairo 1908, a case of automatic writing was reported to me from Upper Egypt; otherwise it does not seem to occur Reschei, *Studien uber den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, in *Islam*, IX 1—24 Richard Hartmann, *Eine islamische Apokalypse*, in *Schriften der Konigsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft*, I 3 A. Goodrich-Freer (Mrs Hans Spoer), *The Occult in the Nearer East*, a series of articles by a practised folk-lorist in *Occult Review*, 1905—1906; also in *Folk Lore*, vols. XV., XVIII, XXII. The classical authority in Arabic on the *Ǧinn* is: Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shiblī (d. 769 = 1367, *G. A. L.*, II. 75), *Aḥkām al-marǧān fī aḥkām al-ǧānn*, Cairo 1326, reviews by Noldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 439 *sqq* and O. Rescher in *W. Z. K. M*, XXVIII 241—252. On the interpretation of dreams Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110 = 728; *G. A L.*, I. 66; Ibn Khallikān, de Slane's transl. II. 586; ed. Cairo 1310, I. 453) is the oldest stated authority. Assertedly by him, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, Cairo 1320, 56 pages, and *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, a much more extensive treatise — neither of these in Brockelmann — on the margin of the first vol. of the following; ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143 = 1731, *G. A. L*, II 345, n⁰. 28), *Taʿṭīr al-anām fī taʿbīr al-manām*, Cairo 1320, 2 vols., but another publisher. On the margin of the second vol. is *Al-ishārāt fī ʿilm al-ʿibārāt* by Khalīl b Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872 = 1468; *G. A. L*, II 135) On the whole subject cf. N. Bland, *On the Moslem Interpretation of Dreams* in *J. R. A. S.*, XVI. 153 *sqq.*

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ṢIHYAWN. 1. The Arabic name for Zion, Hebrew Sīyōn, the Arabic form coming from the Aramaic Ṣehyōn. Yāḳūt tells us that it is a famous place in Jerusalem, a quarter in which stands the Ṣihyawn church. In Muslim legend the mosque on the hill of Ṣihyawn is regarded as the place in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Joseph served in their youth in the sanctuary. Sihyawn is mentioned as early as the poet al-Aʿshā (Maimūn b Ḳais) as a power which perhaps raises an army against the Arabs; the commentators explain this to refer to Byzantium. — Ṣahyūn is, according to Bakrī, the name of a tribe but Ibn Duraid does not mention it.

2. The name of a fortress in Northern Syria According to Yāḳūt, it is a stronghold near the Mediterranean Sea but not immediately on the coast in the administrative district of H-Ṣ-N. (without article, perhaps Ḥimṣ is meant). According to Ibn al-Athīr and Yāḳūt the fortress was surrounded on all sides by deep ravines except for a narrow approach from the north, which was about sixty ells broad, but had been strengthened by a deep ditch made by the hand of man. Three walls surrounded the buildings, two protected the outer town and one the fortress. Ibn al-Athīr speaks of five walls During the Crusades the fortress was for a considerable time in the possession of the French. In 584 (1188) Saladin began to bombard it soon after the 27th Djumādā I and took the fortress soon after the 2nd Djumādā II (24th and 29th July) It corresponds to the Sahiun of the Crusaders and to the modern Ṣahyūn, about sixteen miles as the crow flies east of the seaport of Lādhiḳīya

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2 Yāḳūt, v. 402, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, XII 5

(P. SCHWARZ)

SIKANDAR. [See ISKANDAR].

SIKHS. The term "Sikh" literally means a "learner", a "disciple" The name was for the time given to the followers of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh faith in the Pundjāb in the XVth century.

History

Sikhism was founded, like Buddhism, as a protest against the spiritual despotism of the Brahmans and as a revolt against the restrictions of the caste system and the exaggeration of Hindu ritual It aimed at teaching social equality and universal brotherhood, abolishing sectarianism and denouncing superstition. Nānak, the founder of the creed, was born of Khatrī parentage in 1469 at Talwandī (now called after him Nankāna), a small town not far from Lahore He did not receive much school education, yet he was from his early youth given to meditation and original thinking, and was, like the Arabian prophet, gifted by nature with strong common sense. He showed an aversion to all sorts of worldly pursuits and it was with some difficulty that he was persuaded by his father to go to Sultānpur (at present in the Kapūrthala state) to enter the private service of Nawāb Dawlat

Khān Lodī, the governor of the province. The Nawāb appointed him storekeeper to his household, and he performed his official duties for several years to the satisfaction of his employer. In his leisure hours he retired to the jungles for meditation, and tradition says that in one of these devotional excursions he was taken in a vision to the Divine Presence and there received his mission to preach to the world that "there is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful". Nānak now left the service of the Nawāb and became (at the age of 30) a public preacher. He began a series of tours in the course of which he visited all parts of India, particularly the sacred places of the Hindus and shrines of Muslim saints. Wherever he went he held controversies with priests and shaikhs, demonstrated the futility of their belief in dogmas and rituals, and taught the necessity of self-denial, morality and truth. He is also said to have travelled through Persia and to have visited Mecca and Baghdād. In Persia and Afghānistān he gained converts and even established dioceses (*manjīs*), notably at Būshahr and Kābul (Sewaram Singh, *Life of Guru Nanak*, p. 73). It is not stated, however, whether he knew enough Persian or Arabic to be able to preach to the people of these Islāmic countries. The statement of the *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirīn* that Nānak studied Persian and Muslim theology with one Saiyid Ḥasan has been rejected by the modern Hindu and Sikh critics. "This", says one of them, „seems to be an effort on the part of a Muslim writer to give the credit of Nānak's subsequent greatness to the teachings of Islām" (G C Narang, *The Transformation of Sikhism*, p 9) Macauliffe, however, is inclined to accept that Nānak was "a fair Persian scholar" (*The Sikh Religion*, i 15), but does not mention the source whence he received his instruction in that language.

For the last ten years of his life Nānak settled at Kartārpur, a village founded in his honour by a millionaire on the bank of the Rāwi, where he continued to preach his new religion to the numerous visitors whom his piety attracted from far and wide. He died at the age of 70 in 1539, leaving behind him a fairly large number of disciples (*sikhs*) and two sons, one of whom named Sri Čand founded the Udāsi sect (*see infra*)

Shortly before his death, Nānak nominated one of his devoted followers named Angad (a *Khatri* like himself) to succeed him as *guru* (apostle) of the Sikhs. After performing the ceremony of nomination he declared that Angad was as himself and that his own spirit would dwell in him Nānak had already preached the doctrine of metempsychosis, but this particular declaration gave rise to the belief among the Sikhs that the spirit of Nānak was transmitted to each succeeding *guru* in turn, and this is why all of them adopted *Nānak* as their *nom de plume* in their compositions. Guru Angad occupied the office of apostle for 13 years until his death in 1552. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurmukhi characters in which the sacred writings of the Sikhs have been preserved, but it has been pointed out, notably by Grierson and Rose, that the Gurmukhi script is of a different and earlier origin (*J.R.A.S*, 1916, p. 677; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, i. 677). The tradition may have arisen from the fact that Guru Angad *adopted* the script in recording the life and compositions of Nānak.

Amar Dās, the third *guru* of the Sikhs, was nominated by Angad himself. His ministry lasted 22 years (1552—1574), and is marked by his taking the first steps towards a religious and social organization of the Sikhs. Missionary work was undertaken by him in a systematic manner, over twenty dioceses (*manjīs*) were established in various parts of the country, where some of his zealous disciples preached the gospel of Sikhism. In order to promote feelings of equality and brotherhood among the increasing number of Sikhs, he maintained a public refectory (*langar*) where all ate together without distinction of caste or creed. Amar Dās cultivated friendly relations with the Emperor Akbar who visited him at his own residence in Goindwāl (on the Beās) and granted him a large estate This very much enhanced his prestige and helped to increase the number of fresh converts. He kept up the spirit of Nānak in his own ethical teachings, denounced the superstitious customs of the Hindus, particularly the practice of widow-burning (*satī*), and enjoined re-marriage of widows.

Amar Dās was succeeded by his favourite disciple and son-in-law Rām Dās, who propagated the tenets of Sikhism with a still larger measure of success. He had the good fortune to find in the Emperor Akbar a warm admirer who was ever keen to do him favour. The Emperor granted him (in 1577) a large plot of land in which he began the excavation of the sacred tank (meant for the devotional ablutions of the Sikhs) which was afterwards named *amrit sar* "the pool of nectar". Around the tank the Guru founded a small town which he called after himself Rāmdāspur and which subsequently grew into the now flourishing city of Amritsar The construction of the tank was completed by his son Arjan the 5th *guru*, who, in the midst of it, founded the *Har Mandar* — the temple dedicated to God — as a common place of worship for the Sikhs To Europeans it is now known as "the Golden Temple of Amritsar". The Guru declared that "by bathing in the tank of Rām Dās, all the sins that man committeth shall be done away, and he shall become pure by his ablutions" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 13). Thus was created a Mecca for the Sikhs — a centre for their national life.

Arjan succeeded his father in 1581, and henceforward the office of Guru became hereditary. Arjan took further steps to organise the Sikhs as a community. The greatest service that he rendered to the cause of Sikhism was the compilation of the Granth, the bible of the Sikhs. Guru Angad had already committed to writing the life and compositions of Nānak; Arjan carried the work further and added thereto the hymns of the next three Gurus, which he carefully collected. To these he added his own numerous compositions along with considerable extracts from the writings of several Hindu and Muḥammedan saints anterior to Nānak. "It was one of the Guru's objects to show the world that there was no superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence" (Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, iii. 61). The volume thus compiled by Guru Arjan (completed in 1604 after some years of labour) is called the *Adi Granth* ("the ancient scripture"), as

distinguished from the *Dasam Granth* or the Granth of the tenth Guru (see below).

Arjan was an ambitious and enterprising leader. He combined business with spiritual guidance and deputed *Masands* (collectors or agents) to various districts of the country to realize the Guru's dues, which so far were only voluntarily offered by the disciples. This brought him wealth and with it pomp and show. He styled himself *sachā pādshāh* "the true King", which clearly marks his ambition for political power He encouraged commercial enterprise among his disciples and sent them not only to various parts of India but also to Afghānistān and Central Asia for purposes of trade and propagation of the Sikh faith. In 1606, Arjan financially helped Prince Khusraw who had rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahāngīr. After the defeat of the Prince, the Guru was imprisoned, by the Emperor's command, at Lahore where he shortly afterwards died

During the Guruship of Arjan's son and successor Hargovind (1606—1645), Sikhism made a great advance. The first four Gurus were peaceful teachers of quietism and self-denial, but Arjan initiated the policy of secular aggrandizement, while Hargovind openly adopted active resistance, which marks the beginning of the military career of the Sikhs He was by nature a soldier, passionately devoted to the chase and manly games Systematic collection of tithes and offerings had made him extremely rich and he was not slow to assume kingly authority He cherished a hatred of Jahāngīr to whom he ascribed the death of his father, a desire for revenge was certainly one of the causes of his resorting to arms He enlisted in his service a number of outlaws, malcontents and freebooters, "built the stronghold of Hargovindpur on the Beās and thence harried the plains. He had a stable of 800 horses, three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person" (Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 56) The alarming reports of the Guru's military organisation reached the Emperor, who summoned him to his court and ordered his internment in the fort of Gwāliār. He was released after some time, but the imprisonment gave him a further cause of resentment Soon after the death of Jahāngīr and the accession to the throne of the Emperor Shāhdjahān, Hargovind assumed a defiant attitude and took up arms against the government. In the course of six years he thrice defeated the troops sent against him by the governor of Lahore. But he feared vengeance on the part of Shāhdjahān and retired to the hills where he lived unmolested until his death in 1645.

Under Hargovind the Sikh faith was greatly transformed. They ceased to be mere recluses, and their Guru was no longer a mere spiritual guide, but a military leader as well. They felt their strength and saw the possibility of future political power.

Hargovind was succeeded by his grandson Har Rai, who was, unlike his grandfather, of a retiring nature. He had intimate friendly relations with Dārā Shikōh, the eldest son of Shāhdjahān, and in 1658 when Dārā wandered in exile pursued by the hostile troops of his younger brother Awrangzēb, Har Rai assisted him in crossing the Beās and reaching a comparatively safe locality. Of course he incurred the displeasure of Awrangzēb who summoned him to Delhi to answer for this affront. He sent on his own behalf his son Rām Rai who was detained at the imperial court as a hostage to insure the peaceful conduct of his father. Hai Rai died in 1661 and his younger son Har Kishan (a child of six) succeeded him. His right to the Gurushīp was disputed by Rām Rai who laid his own case before Awrangzēb The infant apostle was invited to Delhi to settle the dispute with his brother. There he was attacked with small-pox and died (1664).

There followed a struggle for succession after the death of Har Kishan, and it was after much opposition that Tegh Bahādur, son of Hargovind, was acknowledged as Guru from among a score of candidates for the pontifical throne His opponents continued to assert their claims, and some of them were even set up as rival Gurus Tegh Bahādur retired, in some bitterness to the Siwāliks and there founded Anandpur, a town which played a part of some importance in the subsequent annals of the Sikhs Further, he set out on an extensive tour in India, visiting the Deccan and the Eastern Bengal where bishoprics of the Sikh Church already existed In the course of his travels he resided for some time at Patna, the seat of one of the archbishoprics (*takhts*), where his son Govind Rai, the future Guru and the real founder of the political power of the Sikhs, was born (1666) Tegh Bahādur's influence as Guru extended as far as Ceylon in the south and Assam in the east. After a time he returned to the Pundjāb where he "maintained himself and his disciples by plunder". He "gave a ready asylum to all fugitives and his power interfered with the prosperity of the country" (Cunningham, *op. cit*, p 64) The imperial troops marched against him and he was made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was put to death by the order of Awrangzēb (1675). The popular story is related in the Gurmukhi chronicles that while in the presence of the Emperor, the Guru prophesied the coming of the English and destruction of the Mughal power at their hands The words uttered by him on this occasion "became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Dihli in 1857 under General John Nicholson and thus the prophecy of the 9th Guru was gloriously fulfilled" (Macauliffe, iv. 381)

The figure of Tegh Bahādur's son Govind Rai, who was saluted as Guru after the execution of his father in 1675, is perhaps the most prominent in the history of the Sikhs. He succeeded to the apostleship as a mere boy, but ended his career by completely transforming a community of mere devotees into a nation of warriors who were destined to rule the Pundjāb for nearly a century. The violent death of his father seems to have left a lasting impression on his young mind, and he cherished a bitter hatred towards Awrangzēb. But the power of the latter was too great to allow the possibility of revenge He was therefore compelled to retire to the hills in order to be left in peace and receive the training necessary to befit him for the task of leadership. For twenty years he lived there, occupying himself in hunting and acquiring a knowledge of the sacred languages of the Muḥammadans and Ḥindus and their religions. He nurtured his feeling of vengeance and formed his plans for the future with a view to destroying the power of the Mughals. He set about the task of uniting the Sikhs into a

nation by promoting amongst them feelings of democratic equality. He admitted both high and low into his fold and conducted a vigorous war against the caste system. In order to create uniformity in spirit as well as in form, he instituted the ceremony of initiation or baptism called *pahul* to be performed in the following manner

"The initiate, after bathing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose, some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn stir it with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the Granth After this, some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The *raht* or rules of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called *amrit* (nectar) which is supposed to confer immortality on the initiate, to make him a "Singh" (lion) and a true Kshatriya" (Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, . 696). After receiving the *pahul*, every Sikh was to leave his locks unshorn, to wear by way of uniform the 5 K's, i e 5 things whose name begin with a K, viz : (1) *Kach* or short drawers, 2) *Kirpān*, a dagger, (3) *Karā*, an iron bracelet, 4) *Kesh*, long hair, and (5) *Kanghā*, a comb. The suffix "Singh" was to be added to the name of every baptised Sikh, the Guru himself to be called in future Govind Singh. He denominated his initiated disciples the *Khālṣa* (the pure, elect, liberated) or *Khālisa* (from the Arabic root *khaāṣa* or *khaluṣa*) Govind Singh struck the key-note of his policy by thus addressing the Sikhs.

"Since the time of Baba Nānak *charanpahul* hath been customary Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility, but the Khālsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. They who accept the nectar of the *pahul* shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter" (Macauliffe, v 93) "Abolition of caste, equality of privileges with one another and with the Guru, common worship, common baptism for all classes, and lastly, common external appearance — these were the means, besides common leadership and community of aspirations, which Govind employed to bring about unity among his followers, and by which he bound them together into a compact mass before they were hurled against the legions of the great Moghuls" (Narang, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

By his prolonged residence in the hills, Govind Singh wanted, besides carrying on his proselytizing activities uninterrupted, to secure the assistance of the numerous hill chiefs against what he called the tyranny of the Muḥammadan rule But in these objects he entirely failed, for the hill rājās whose dynasties had ruled independently since time immemorial, generally resented the principles of democracy being taught to their subjects and they unanimously resisted the religious propaganda of Govind. Failing to secure their alliance by friendly means, he tried the experiment of force. From his retreat at Anandpur he led marauding expeditions into their territories carrying away all that he could lay his hands on. The Rajpūt chiefs of Bilāspur, Katōč, Handūr, Djasrota and Nālagarh united to attack the Guru with an army of 10,000. He opposed them at the head of 2,000 of his followers, including 500 Pathāns whom he kept in his service, and won his victory at Bhangāni chiefly through the help of Saiyid Budhū Shāh, chief of Sādhora. Govind's power now increased; he had a number of retreats in the hills and his depredations in the adjoining territories grew more frequent and violent. The Rājās jointly appealed for help to Awrangzēb, who despatched orders to the governor of Sarhind to effect an alliance with them and attack the Guru In the battle that ensued he was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Anandpur (1701). Here he was besieged by the imperial forces and the siege was prolonged. Provisions ran short and his followers deserted him. His family, including his mother, wives and young boys effected their escape to Sarhind where they were betrayed and the two children were put to death. Govind himself escaped in disguise, and with a few faithful followers fled to the fortress of Čamkaur (in the present district of Amballa) hotly pursued by the enemy. He was forced to leave Čamkaur and again fly for his life. He wandered in disguise from place to place until he reached the wastes of Bhatinda, halfway between Ferozepur and Delhi "His disciples again rallied round him and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called "Muktsar" or the Pool of Salvation", constructed in commemoration of the Sikhs who fell in the action. For some time he settled at a place called Damdama "halfway between Hansi and Ferozepur", where he occupied himself in preaching and composing the *Dasam Granth* (see below), which is regarded by the Sikhs as supplement to the Adi Granth compiled by Guru Arjan. Meanwhile Awrangzēb died and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Shāh, who, contrary to the policy of his father, sought to conciliate the Guru He conferred upon him the military command of the Deccan whither he proceeded to assume his charge. But shortly after his arrival there, he was stabbed by one of his Afghān servants for some private grievance, and he died at Nānder on the banks of the Godāwari (Oct. 1708). On his deathbed he refused to nominate anyone to succeed him, but enjoined upon his disciples to look upon the Granth as their future Guru, and upon God as their sole protector, thus putting an end to the apostolic succession Govind's end came before his object had been achieved, "but his spirit survived to animate the Sikhs with courage."

Govind Singh was succeeded, not as a Guru but as a military leader of the Sikhs, by Banda, a Rājpūt of Kashmīr belonging to the Bairāgi order. Meeting Govind in the Deccan, he was converted to Sikhism and styled himself "Banda" or "slave" (of the Guru). Banda was charged by Govind to return to the Punjāb and urge the Sikhs to avenge the murder of his children and unite to destroy the Muḥammadan despotism. The Sikhs "flocked to him, ready to fight and die under his banner". At heart Banda was ambitious, and under the pretext of carrying out the orders of the Guru he sought to attain to political power. He began his operations in the Punjāb by committing highway robberies, freely distributing the spoils among his adherents. This attracted many criminals — 'scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were very numerous among the Sikhs' — to his person. The Moghul power, after

the death of Awrangzēb, was fast declining; constant struggle among his sons and grandsons for the throne left the Sikhs free to increase their power, and the criminal activities of Banda went unchecked He proceeded, with an army of lawless freebooters, from town to town in the very neighbourhood of Delhi, plundering and mercilessly slaughtering the Muhammadans in thousands. Prospects of plunder and the sacred duty of avenging the death of the Guru's children swelled the number of Banda's followers The accursed town of Sarhind, where the children were done to death, was stormed by them in May 1710 and freely given to plunder. The Sikhs perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants of the town, whom they butchered without distinction of age or sex They extended their destructive activities to the very walls of Delhi The Emperor Bahādur Shāh, who was away in the Deccan, was alarmed on hearing the reports of these outrages and forthwith hastened to the Pundjāb to make redress. The imperial troops defeated Banda, but he escaped to the adjoining hills The death of Bahādur Shāh in 1712 was followed by a war of succession between his sons, from which Djahāndār Shāh came out successful He was however murdered, after a short reign of eleven months, by his nephew Farrukhsiyar who now ascended the degraded throne of Delhi 'These commotions were favourable to the Sikhs', who once more began to ravage the country under the notorious Banda. Farrukhsiyar charged ʿAbd al-Samad Khān, governor of the Pundjāb, to put a stop to the atrocities of the Sikhs With a large army he pursued Banda who was at last besieged in the fortress of Gurdāspur on the Rāwi. Finally he was seized, made prisoner and brought to Delhi where he was tortured to death (1716)

Banda's character is by no means amiable Even from the Sikh standpoint, he does not deserve reverence, for his motives were selfish and his means unscrupulous Besides assuming sovereign authority, he aimed at creating a distinct sect of his own, and contrary to the dying injunctions of Govind Singh, he claimed to be acknowledged as the eleventh Guru. Moreover, he made certain other alterations in the Sikh beliefs and rituals — facts which led the more ardent followers of Govind Singh to revolt against his authority However, there is no doubt that the stormy career through which the Sikhs passed under his leadership gave them a good deal of martial training

The defeat and death of Banda was followed by a period of reaction and a severe persecution of the Sikhs in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. They were declared outlaws; many of them abandoned their faith, but the more loyal among them were forced to take shelter in the hills and forests. Sucessive governors of the Pundjāb, notably the Muʿīn al-Mulk, better known as Mīr Mannū, carried out the repressive policy of Farrukhsiyar, and for a time it seemed that the Sikh nation would become extinct. But the Moghul power was rapidly decaying, and in the Pundjāb it was more notably weakened by the frequent invasions of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. The distracted state of the province was favourable to the Sikhs who began gradually to reappear and reorganise themselves. They built several fortresses and acquired wealth by freely plundering the defenceless towns. The centre of their national activities was Amritsar, which they greatly enriched and fortified. Prince Tīmūr, who governed the Pundjāb in the name of his father Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī was hostile to the Sikhs. In 1756, he attacked Amritsar, demolished the Har Mandar and filled the sacred tank with the debris. The Sikhs mobilised in large numbers to avenge this outrage and succeeded in driving the Prince out of Lahore, which they temporarily occupied. Their military leader Djassā Singh Kalāl (the „brewer") struck coin in his own name with a Persian inscription. But the advent of the Mahrattas under Raghoba (in 1758) made them retire from Lahore, and brought the ferocious Ahmad Shāh for the fifth time to the Pundjāb. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas in the memorable battle of Pānīpat (1761). The Sikhs became active as soon as he left the Pundjāb and regained their lost power. He therefore came back with the definite object of breaking their power and recover his territories. In a desperate battle fought near Ludhiāna (1762) he totally defeated them with heavy carnage, but he had soon to leave the Pundjāb in order to suppress a rebellion at Ḳandahār. The Sikhs recovered soon and in 1763 they defeated Zain Khān, the Afghān governor of Sarhind, which they sacked and destroyed. Once more they took possession of Lahore, and this time their hold was more permanent. They assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed the regime of the Khālsa as supreme in the Pundjāb (1764). The sovereign authority was vested in a national council called the *Gurumatta* The coin of the Sikh commonwealth bore the Persian inscription

Dīg u tīgh u fath u nuṣrat bī dirang
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Govind Singh

"Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing"
(Khazān Singh, *History of the Sikh Religion*, p. 264).

Now that the common danger which confronted the Sikhs was removed, they became disunited and divided into a number of states or confederacies called *Misals*. These *Misals* were 12 in number, governed independently of each other by their respective chiefs (*Sardār*, q. v.), who were under no supreme authority and had nothing in common with one another except their religion. "They were almost constantly engaged in civil war, grouping and regrouping in the struggle for pre-eminence". They were "loosely organised and varied from time to time in power and even in designation". After thirty years of this variable rule in the Pundjāb, there appeared on the scene a strong man who united these jarring confederacies into a compact sovereignty. This was Randjīt Singh.

Randjīt Singh's father Mahā Singh was the chief of the Sukerchakia *Misal* with its headquarters at Gudjrānwala, 40 miles to the north of Lahore. At the age of 12 (in 1792) he succeeded to the barony of his father. He gradually rose to power through his personal character and genius with which he was gifted by nature. In 1799 he acquired possession of Lahore through a royal investiture granted to him by Zamān Shāh (grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī), who was still looked upon as virtual owner of the Pundjāb. Amritsar was reduced by Randjīt Singh in 1802. The possession of Lahore and Amritsar, the two most important towns of the Pundjāb, made his personality conspicuous and enlarged his prestige. He assumed the title of Mahārādja and continued to

extend his possessions until gradually he annexed all the *Misals* to his dominions With the English, whose territories now extended to the Sutlej, Randjīt Singh had friendly relations A treaty of alliance was concluded between the two powers in 1809 which Randjīt Singh very faithfully observed He organised a powerful military force trained by some of the European generals, notably French, who had previously served under Napoleon, and after Waterloo came to the Pundjāb to enter the service of the Mahārādja. With this force he was able to reduce the whole of the Pundjāb, annex Kashmīr (in 1819) and Peshāwar (in 1834). He died in 1839, leaving behind him a consolidated kingdom extending from the Sutlej to the Hindu Kush, but no one among his heirs was capable enough to manage it Three of his sons ascended the throne in rapid succession, conspiracies were rife and led to assassinations, civil war and enormous bloodshed The army had become uncontrolable and spread terror throughout the country. The court at last found an outlet for its activities by inciting the army leaders to cross the Sutlej and invade the British territory. This led to the first Sikh war (Dec 1845), in the course of which the Sikhs were defeated by the English general Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough in four successive battles fought at Ferozshāh and Mudkī (in the present district of Ferozepur) and ʿAliwāl and Sobrāon near Ludhiāna (Jan–Febr 1846) "The victory opened the way to Lahore which was promptly occupied by the Governor-General" (Sir Henry Hardinge). The Sikh Durbār accepted the British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) to act as President of the Council of Regency to the minor Mahārādja Dalīp Singh, son of Randjit Singh The revolt of Diwān Mūbrādj, governor of Multān, against the government at Lahore (in 1848) tempted the Sikhs again to take up arms against the English War was consequently declared and Lord Gough inflicted two heavy defeats on the Sikh army, first at Chilianwāla and then at Gujrāt (early 1849). The Pundjāb was declared annexed to the British dominions and the Sikh rule came to an end.

Religion

Sikhism aimed at purifying the religious beliefs of the Hindus The teachings of its founder were therefore mainly negative. He strongly protested against caste restrictions and superstitious beliefs He preached absolute equality of mankind, he taught that mechanical worship and pilgrimages do not elevate the human soul, that spirit and not the form of devotion was the real thing No salvation is possible without a true love of God and good deeds in this world Sikhism, like Islām, condemns idolatory and teaches strict monotheism Its God is the God of all mankind and of all religions, "whose name is true, the Creator, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent" (*Djāpdjī of Guru Nānak*).

Reverence for the Guru is much emphasized, for although "God is with man, but can only be seen by means of the Guru" (Macauliffe, II 347) Sikhism also believes in the doctrine of Karma and Metempsychosis.

The theology of Nānak was not formal; his sole object was to bring about a social and moral reform. Sikhism remained a pacific and tolerant cult until the social tyranny of the Hindus and political friction with Muḥammadans transformed it into a militant creed. Govind Singh made Sikh theology more formal and prescribed rules for guidance in private and social affairs He forbade the use of tobacco and wine, though the latter is now more freely indulged in by the Sikhs

The sacred book of the Sikhs is the *Granth*, which is held by them in great reverence. The first portion of it, called the *Ādi Granth* was compiled, as mentioned above, by the fifth Guru Ardjan. It includes the hymns of the first five Gurus together with selections from the compositions of saints and reformers anterior to Nānak, notably Kabīr, Nāmdev, Djai Dev, Rāmānand and Sheikh Farīd The *Granth* is composed wholly in verse with different metres The bulk of it is in archaic Hindi written in Gurmukhi characters, other portions are in various other Indian dialects and languages including Sanskrit, together with a few verses and tales in Persian (written in Gurmukhi script). The second portion, called the *Dasam Granth* (or Granth of the 10th Guru) was compiled by Govind Singh and includes, in the main, his own writings. The major part of it consists, like the *Ādi Granth*, of hymns in praise of God, but it also comprises the autobiography of Govind Singh, called the *Vachitra Nātak* ("the wonderful drama") along with other miscellaneous compositions by the Hindi poets whom he kept in his service. The entire *Granth* usually forms a quarto volume of about 1,200 pages. Some of its chapters are used by the Sikhs as Divine Services and are repeated by them privately in the morning, evening, and at bed-time. Such are (1) the *Djāpdjī* by Guru Nānak (see Macauliffe, I 195—217), (2) *Āsa Kī Vār* by the same (*ibid*, pp. 218—249); (3) the *Djāpdjī* by Guru Govind (*op cit*, v 261); (4) the *Rahirās* (*op. cit*, I. 250—257), (5) *Sohila* (*ibid.*, 258—260) and (6) the *Sukhmanī* by Guru Ardjan (*op cit*, III 197 *sqq*) They are also recited at the administration of the *pahul* or baptism.

The cosmopolitan views of Nānak were acceptable to both Hindus and Muhammadans, moreover, he did not prescribe any particular forms of worship, hence it is not surprising that he gained converts from both religions. But it was undoubtedly Hinduism — the faith of his own parents — whose social system he wanted to reform, therefore naturally his teachings were addressed to the Hindus rather than the Muḥammadans. The majority of his disciples was derived from the Djāt, Arora and Khatrī castes; to the last of them belonged all the Gurus including Nānak himself. To the Brahmans and Rādjputs, whose social status was very high, the democratic tenets of Sikhism were less acceptable.

The sects and sub-sects of the Sikhs are numerous, but the main divisions are two (1) the *Keshdhārīs*, otherwise called "Singhs", and (2) the *Sahjdhārīs* The former represent the baptized and therefore more orthodox followers of Guru Govind Singh, while the latter were originally those who refused to accept his baptism and join the militant *Khālṣa*. Other important sects are: (1) *Nānakpanthīs*, "known roughly as Sikhs who are not Singhs, followers of the earlier Gurus, who do not think it necessary to follow the ceremonial and social observances inculcated by Guru Govind Singh. Their characteristics are, therefore, mainly negative; they do *not* forbid smoking; they do *not* insist on long hair; they are *not*

baptized with the *pahul* and so forth". In other words, they belong to the *Sahjdhārī* division. (2) *Udāsīs* (the renouncers) are also, like the *Nānakpanthīs*, included in the *Sahjdhārī* division. They represent the ascetic order founded by Srī Čand, son of Nānak. They remain celibate and their tenets are very much tinctured with the Hindu ascetic beliefs. (3) the *Akālīs* (worshippers of *Akāl*, the Immortal, Timeless God) differ essentially from all other Sikh orders in being a militant organization founded by Govind Singh They are more orthodox than most of the Sikhs and still retain their characteristic militant spirit (4) the *Bandāīs* or *Bandāpanthīs* i. e. those who accepted Banda as the eleventh Guru, while the *Djat Khālṣa* are strict adherers to the doctrines of Govind in opposition to the innovations of Banda (5) the *Mazhabīs* (pron *Mazbīs*) represent members of the scavenger class converted to Sikhism by taking the *pahul*, while the name *Rāmdāsī* (followers of Guru Rām Dās, by whom they were first converted) is applied to *Čamārs* (leather-dressers) who have taken the *pahul*. The Sikh shrines are scattered over the greater part of the Pundjāb, but the better known among them are to be found in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdāspur and Ferozepur — the holiest of them being the Golden Temple of Amritsar and Nankāna Ṣāhib (near Lahore) the birthplace of Nānak, where annual fairs, attended by a very large number of Sikhs, are held

According to the census returns of 1921, the total Sikh population is 3,238,803, of which 3,110,000 (all but 4 %) are in the Pundjāb, the chief centres being the districts of Amritsar, Ludhiānā and Ferozepur, and the native states Patiāla, Nābha, Djind and Faridkot The strength of the chief sects is as follows·

Keshdhārīs	2,876,320
Saljdhāīīs . . .	228,600
Djat Khālsa . . .	531,300
Nānakpanthīs	22,500

Ever since the English conquest of the Pundjāb (in 1849) the Sikhs have remained loyal subjects of the British Crown As a community they are prosperous, physically they are superior to the rest of the Pundjābīs. Military service is one of their favourite occupations and they are justly looked upon as among the finest soldiers of the East. Sikh regiments rendered excellent service to the cause of the Allies in the great European war

The Sikhs have made considerable progress during the last 40 years. There now exist several organized bodies working systematically for their social and educational advancement. The "Singh Sabha" was founded 30 years ago with the object of propagating the religious doctrines of the Khālsa with its headquarters at Amritsar. Another body, called "the Chief Khālṣa Dīwān" has undertaken the work of social reformation and spread of education. It has its branches in all districts and Sikh states. The "Sharomanī Gurudwārā Parbandhak Committee" is another institution very recently established with the purpose of taking into their hands the management of the Sikh shrines which were formely controlled by hereditary Hindu *mahants*. "The Committee chiefly represents the Akālī sects but has received support from Sikhs in its campaign for the control of shrines in which it has attained a considerable measure of success".

The Sikhs now form a distinct community entirely separate from the Hindus. Their ceremonies of birth, marriage and death are no longer presided over by the Brahmans, but by the Gyānīs, the professional interpreters of the Granth. Like Hindus they burn their dead, but unlike them they marry late and their widows freely re-marry. The Sikhs are also progressing numerically owing partially to the influx of converts from the Hindu depressed classes. The centre of all religious and social activities of the Sikhs is Amritsar where they maintain a large educational institution called the Khālsa College affiliated to the University of Lahore. Another similar institution exists at Gudjrānwālā, while their communal schools are scattered over the whole province.

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(MUHAMMAD IQBAL)

SIKKA (A, from *sakk*), die, coinage, currency, coin in general; *dār al-sikka* = mint. In the coin-legends of the Sultāns of Dehlī of the

thirteenth (sixth) century, *al-sikka* is used only of the gold coins, the corresponding word on the silver coins being *al-fiḍḍa*. From 1320 to 1388, after which the formula was no longer used, *sikka* is applied to both gold and silver. Except for a sporadic occurrence of the denomination *sikka murādī* on a rare coin of Humāyūn, the noun is not found again till the reign of the Mughal Shāh ʿĀlam Bahādur (1707—1712 = 1119—1124), who introduced on his coins the formula, *sikka* or *sikka mubārak* followed by his titles, which remained usual till the end of the dynasty. The Persian verb *sikka zad* however regularly occurs in the couplets of the Emperors from Djahāngīr onwards. The word *sikka* (*sicca*) came for some reason not quite certain quite early in the xviiith century A. D. to be particularly associated with the rupee by the English in India and was applied to a recently struck rupee, not yet liable to discount for depreciation The new rupee, issued by the East India Co in 1793 to abolish the monetary confusion then existing, was known as the "19 san sikka" because it was dated in the 19th year of Shāh ʿĀlam II and remained the unit of British Indian currency for 40 years

Through Egypt and Italy (*zecchino*) the Arabic *sikka* has given us the word "seqnin", which found its way also into the Anglo-Indian vocabulary in the forms "chicken" and "chick". (J. ALLAN)

SILĀḤ-DĀR (A P, "bearer of arms"), an officer of the Mamlūk court, each of whom carried one of the pieces of the Sultān's equipment and presented it to him when he required it. There were several of them; their chief, called the *amīr silāḥ* was in charge of the arsenal (*silāḥ-khānā*) and of all that was used in it, or went in or out of it He ranked among the amīrs of a hundred (*amīr miʾa*) and had the title *djanāb karīm ʿālī*

The Ottoman Turks retained the same title under its Persian form *silih-dār* The *silih-dār-agha* and the *čoḳa-dār-agha* were the two chief officials in the Sultān's chamber; at the mosque they thrice presented him with rose-water and perfume of wood of aloes At the ceremony of *khirḳā-i sharīf* [q v] the *silih-dār-agha* stood beside the relic; each time that it was kissed, he wiped it with a muslin handkerchief which he then presented to the individual who had just kissed it. Beside him stood an official in charge of all these handkerchiefs On the last day of Ramaḍān, after the midday prayer, the Sultān went to the apartments of this official and from a raised kiosk witnessed the sport of *tomak* (tilting)

The *silihdārs* were a cavalry corps as old as the Janissaries; they numbered 8,000 men under Muḥammad II and 12,000 under Ahmad III Its chief was called the *silih-dār-agha* like the Sultān's sword-bearer, but did not enjoy the same privileges

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SILIWAN. [See MAIYAFĀRIḲĪN].

SILVES, in Arabic SHILB (ethnic: *Shilbī*), a small town in southern Portugal, the former capital of the province of Algarve (Ar. *al-gharb*) and important metropolis of the Gharb al-Andalus under Arab rule It was part of the district of al-Shinshīn, in the time of al-Idrīsī. It was surrounded by gardens and orchards, and there were many water-mills. It had a harbour on the river, with timber-yards, where the wood of the forests of the region was prepared for exportation Its figs were renowned Its population, which claimed to be of Yaman origin, talked a very pure Arabic and had a reputation for its taste in literature and in poetry The town was celebrated by a poem of the ʿAbbādid dynast, al-Muʿtamid (cf. R Dozy, *Script Ar loci de Abbad*, 1, p 391)

After the downfall of the ʿUmaiyad caliphate of Spain, Silves, like many of the small capitals of the Peninsula, became the capital of a very small independent state, under the ephemeral dynasty of the Banū Muzain, on which the recent discovery of a fragment of history has enabled definite facts to be produced for the first time In 440 (1048—1049) the ḳāḍī of the town declared himself an independent sovereign, he named himself Abu 'l-Asbagh ʿĪsā b Abī Bakr Muḥammad b Saʿīd b Djamīl b Saʿīd (author of a commentary on the *Muwattā* of Mālik b Anas) b Ibrāhīm b Abī Nasr Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b Abi 'l-Djūd Muzain He took the honorary title of al-Muẓaffar and organised his state with a watchful eye on his powerful neighbour, the prince of Seville al-Muʿtadid [q v] of the dynasty of the ʿAbbadids But this sovereign did not hesitate to attack him and ended by killing him in the course of a battle, at the end of 445 (April 1053) The son of Abu 'l-Aṣbagh, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad, succeeded him, with the honorific title of al-Nāṣir; he made himself loved by his subjects and died in Rabīʿ II 450 (June 1058) leaving the throne to his son ʿĪsā al-Muzaffar II He, like his grandfather, was without delay attacked by al-Muʿtadid, who blockaded him in Silves and cut off every means of communication The town was besieged and its ramparts destroyed by means of siege-artillery and saps The prince of Silves was beheaded by the victor in his own palace in Shawwāl 455 (October 1063) The little dynasty of the Banū Muzain was extinguished with him, after maintaining itself for only fifteen years.

At the end of the Almoravid dynasty, Silves was the starting point of two revolts. that of Abu 'l-Kāsim Ahmad b al-Husain Ibn Kisiy (Kasī) and that of Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Ibn al-Mundhir At last in 586 (1190) the king of Portugal, Sancho I, seized Silves, which was retaken a little later by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Yaʿkūb Some years afterwards, it passed definitely under Portuguese rule

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text, p 179—180, transl, p 217; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s v; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, p 167; E Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, p 87; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, xii, p 37 = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, p 608—609; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, ed and transl E. Lévi-Provençal, (in the press), index; E Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1926, index; R Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iv., p. 301; F. Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899, passim; David Lopés, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, Lisbon 1911, p. 76—77, 100 *sqq*.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-SIMĀK, "the prominent", the name of the brightest star in the constellation of the Virgin (magnitude I 2). Virgo (*al-ʿadhrāʾ*) has from early times been represented as a woman holding an ear of corn (*sumbula*) in the left hand The constellation is also often called Sumbula Al-Simāk (Greek στάχυς, Latin *spica*) is close to her right hand. The Arabic word al-Simāk was corrupted in the west to *Azmech*, or *Eltsamach* As it was thought that al-Simāk was connected with Arcturus in Bootes by being placed opposite it, a distinction was made between *al-Simāk al-aʿzāl* (the unarmed Simāk = Spica) and *al-Simāk al-rāmiḥ* (the Simāk with the lance = Arcturus [magnitude I 2]). From the adjective part of the Arabic name for Arcturus, *al-rāmiḥ*, came the *Aramech* of the west The dual forms *al-Simākān* and *al-Anharān* (the day-light and the rain-bringing) occur as general name of both stars. Al-Simāk is the fourteenth moon-station

Our constellation of Virgo was represented in Babylonian by the ideogram AB SIM (= *Shiʾrū*, corn standing in the stalk) Spica alone had the same ideogram The stars ξ, ν, β Virginis were allotted by the Babylonians to Leo The constellation of the Virgin belonged to the Goddess Shala (wife of the weather-god Adad) along with Shubultu (ear of corn)

Bibliography F W V Lach, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Sternnahmen*, Leipzig 1796, p 86 *sqq*, L Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p 51 *sqq*, 168 *sqq*, F. X Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, suppl, Munster 1913, p 9, 25, 32, 63, 158 *sqq*, *Description of the fixed Stars*, etc by ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī, transl H C F C Schjellerup, St Petersburg 1874, p 158 (C Schoy)

SIMANCAS, a small town in Northern Spain, situated eight miles south-east of Valladolid and now famous for its castle where are preserved the archives of the kingdom of Spain The name is transcribed in Arabic *Shant Mānkas* in the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* of Ibn Khaldūn It was near Simancas, that in 327 (939) the armies of the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III were severely defeated by the Christian King Ramiro II This battle itself was only the prelude to a still more bloody encounter, the "battle of the ditch" (*waḳʿat al-khandaḳ*), or battle of Alhandega, which took place soon after to the south of Salamanca, on the banks of the river Tormes

Bibliography *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, ed Lafuente y Alcantara, Madrid 1867, p 155–156, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, i, p 363, iii, p 72; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, viii., p 268 = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, part transl E Fagnan, p 324; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Cairo, iv, p 129; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (*Analectes..*), i, p. 228; R Dozy, *Hist des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii, p. 62; *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*³, i, p 156—170.

(E Lévi-Provençal)

SIMAW, a town in Asia Minor, 85 miles S. E. of Kutahya, 110 miles south of Brussa, the residence of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*, capital of the ḳaḍā of the same name. Simaw has now about 6,000 inhabitants mainly Muslims, and has a neglected appearance. It played a considerable part at an earlier period. It is the Σίναος of the ancients, of which many traces still exist (ruins, inscriptions etc.) In the Byzantine period, Simaw was the see of a bishop In 783 (1381/1382) Simaw was conquered by Murād I and incorporated in the Ottoman Empire; cf ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Stambul 1332, p 57, 3 Simaw, which possesses nine large and three small mosques, four medreses and a dervish monastery was the birthplace of several men of importance in the history of the Muslim religion, e g Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī (d 896 A H), Kara Shams al-Dīn (cf Ewliyā, *Siyāhetnāme*, iii 377) and notably Shaikh Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd famous for his rebellion, the "Son of the ḳāḍī of Simaw" (cf Ibn Ḳāḍī Simawna, p 416, F Babinger in *Isl*, xi, 1921, p 1 *sq.*; xii, 1921, p 103 *sqq*) Simaw has been visited and described in modern times by various European travellers, such as W. J Hamilton, A D Mordtmann Sen, K Buresch, Th Wiegand, A Philippson etc. The remains of the old defences of which, in addition to the citadel commanding the town which was afterwards transformed, there are still ruins on a low mound not far from the town, would be worthy of fuller investigation, as well as the ancient inscriptions built into the mosques Simaw which now lies off the line of traffic, will soon be opened up by the Balikesri-Ushak (wrongly ʿUshshāḳ) railway. Near it is the Simaw-Golu, or Lake of Simaw.

Bibliography. V Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iv 222 *sq*; W J Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, ii 124; K Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, p 142 *sqq.*; Th Wiegand in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, Athens 1904, xxix, p 324 (with view); A D Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed by F Babinger, Hanover 1925, p 40, 41 (cf. *Das Ausland*, 1855, p. 614)

(Franz Babinger)

SĪMIYĀ', in form like *kibriyāʾ*, belongs to old Arabic beside *sīmā*, *īmāʾ* (Kurʾān, xlviii 29 etc; Baidāwī, ed Fleischer, i. 326, 14, 15), in the sense "mark, sign, badge" (Lane, p. 1476a, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v, ii 200 of ed. Būlāḳ 1282; *Ḥamāsa*, ed Freytag, p 696, *Lisān*, xv 205). But the word, as a name for certain departments of magic, had a quite different derivation, in that sense it is from σημεῖα, through the Syriac ܣܝܡܝܐ, and means "signs, letters of the alphabet" (Dozy, *Suppl.*, i. 708b and references there, Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii, col. 2614). In the Syriac-Arabic lexicons the Syriac word is regularly rendered by the Arabic *ʿalāma*, *sīmiyā'* was taken over, apparently, in a technical sense. Payne Smith, following apparently Bruns, gives as the predominant technical meaning "chiromancy", in Bocthor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe* (i 154b), under *Chiromancie*, *sīmiyā'* is given as one of three Arabic renderings. By Barhebraeus (d 685/1286) the Syriac and Arabic forms are used together (*Chron. Syr*, ed Paris, p. 14, 7; *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Pococke, p. 33); according to these passages the science (*ʿilm*) was "invented" in the time of Moses by a certain ܐܘܢܘܢܝܘܣ, اونونيوس, which Bruns and Kirsch rendered "Eunumius", but he seems to be quite unknown. The *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (ii. 1032b) suggests a derivation from יָהּ שֵׁם, "name of Allāh", and the Names of Allāh certainly play a large part in *sīmiyā'* (Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, p. 344, who also suggests, p.

102 that the form of the word has been affected by *kīmiyā'*; but see above).

The term, apart from the dubious "chiromancy", has been and is applied to two quite different branches of magic; there is no evidence which of these, if either, Barhebraeus had in mind. (1) It is very widely applied at the present day to what is often called "natural magic", but is evidently hypnotism Ibn Khaldūn (*Mukaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii 126) gives this as the third division of magic (*siḥr*) in his arrangement and says that the philosophers (*al-falāsifa*) call it *shaʿwadha* and *shaʿbadha*, cf Lane on these words p. 1559[a], where it is instructive to notice his struggles, in a pre-hypnotic age, to render the idea of hypnotism. Ibn Khaldūn expresses it very clearly as a working of the *nafs* of the magician on the imagination of his subject, conveying certain ideas and forms which are then transferred to the senses of the subject and objectify themselves externally in appearances which have no external reality Well described cases of this will be found in Lane's *Arabian Nights*, chap i, note 15, ii, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xii, Ibn Baṭṭūta, Paris ed., iii. 452 *sq*, iv. 277 *sq*; Noldeke, *Doctor und Garkoch*, p 5 and passim Cf. also Doutté, pp 102 and 345 *sq*, he calls it also *nīrandj*, *Muḥīṭ*, ii 1032[b], Chauvin, *Bibl ar*, part vii, p. 102 and references there.

(2) The second is dealt with at length by Ibn Khaldūn in a special section (ed. Quatremère, iii. 137 *sqq.*, de Slane's transl, iii. 188 *sqq.*; Būlāḳ, folio ed of 1274, p 242 *sqq.*, Būlāḳ, quarto, p 420 *sqq* ; not in Beyrout editions) In Ibn Khaldūn's time (d 808/1405) it was called distinctively *sīmiyā'* and at the present day many treatises on it are in print and are widely studied. For some of these see Nos 1, 3, 4 in the list of magical books, article SIḤR above, but all books on licit magic are affected by it and the *Zā'irdja* [q. v] is a specially complicated form of it Ibn Khaldūn prefers to call it the Science of the secret powers of Letters (*ḥurūf*) because *sīmiyā'* was originally a broader term applied to the whole science of talismans and this limited use only originated in the extremist school of Ṣūfīs who professed to be able to control (*taṣarrafa*) the material world by means of these letters and the names and figures compounded from them. It was thus considered a possible study and practice for pious Muslims. But the Ṣūfīs who took it up were of the speculative and pantheistic school and claimed control of the elemental world and power to invade its order (*khawāriḳ al-ʿāda*) and asserted that all existence descended in a certain sequence from a Unity (the Neoplatonic Chain); for this they constructed a system of technical terms and on it compiled treatises In their system the entelechy (*kamāl*) of the Divine Names proceeds from the help of the spirits of the spheres and of the stars, and the natures and secret powers of the letters circulate in the Names built out of them. Then they circulate similarly in the changes of transient becoming (*al-'akwān*) in this world and these *'akwān* pass from the first initial creation (*al-'ibdāʿ*) into the different phases of that creation and express clearly its secrets. This seems to mean that letters contain the primal secrets of creation and the secret powers which still circulate in the *'akwān* and that the Divine Names and Allocutions (*kalimāt*; q.v.) are produced from letters; therefore the elemental world and the *'akwān* in it can be controlled by these names and allocutions when used by spiritual souls (*nufūs rabbāniya*). That is the doctrine of al-Būnī [q.v.]. Ibn ʿArabī [q v.] and their followers. As to the nature and origin of this secret power in letters there is dispute. Some assign it to an elemental nature or constitution (*mizādj*) and divide letters into four classes according to the four elements. Others ascribe it to a numerical relationship (*nisba ʿadadīya*) based on the value of the letters as numbers (*abdjad*) Ibn Khaldūn admits that there does exist such control of the material world but it is by divine grace in the *karamāt* [q. v.] of the *walīs* [q. v.] and when those who lack that divine grace and insight endeavour to exert the same control by means of these names and allocutions they are in the same class as the workers of magic by means of talismans, except that they have not the scientific training and system of these magicians. They may produce effects through the influence of the human *nafs* and purpose (*himma*) — which for Ibn Khaldūn is the basis of all such working, licit and illicit — but these effects are contemptible beside those of the professional magicians Ibn Khaldūn, therefore, disapproves of this attempt by al-Būnī and others to produce a pious and licit magic, but there is no question that al-Būnī has imposed his system upon Islām. There are many examples of this form of magic in Muslim literature, e g several references in the longer recension of "The Forty Vezirs", transl. by Petis de la Croix (*Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Visirs*), see especially an extended exposition, p 186 *sqq* of ed Amsterdam, 1707. The best description and a sympathetic exposition of this state of mind which sees in letters relations to the universe and a science of the universe is in Louis Massignon's *Al-Hallaj*, p. 588 *sqq.*, cf, too, Doutté, p. 172 *sqq* It is evident that this is a sister phase of thought to the Jewish Ḳabbāla of the alphabetic and thaumaturgic type connected with the divine names, teaching that the science of letters is the science of the essences of things and that by letters God created and controls the world and that men by suitable knowledge of these can control material things (cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, p 127 *sqq.*; article KABBALA by H. Loewe in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Rel. and Ethics*, vii. 622—628)

Bibliography has been given in the article. (D. B MACDONALD)

SĪMURGH (P.), a mythical bird. The word is a composition of *murgh* (bird) with (the modern-Persian equivalent of) Pahlawī *sēn* (Avestan *saēna*, the name of a great bird of prey, probably the eagle). Cognate with the Irānian word is Skrt. *çyena* (a falcon), whether Armenian *cin* (a kite) and Greek *ἱκτῖνος* may be compared, is doubtful. The Awestan word occurs once in company of the word *mĕrĕgha* (bird), and once without it (cf Bartholomae, *Air. Wb*, col. 1548); in Pahlawī *sēn* as well as *sēnmurgh* are found. The Avestan information about *saēna* is scanty: once, the Ized Wĕrĕthraghna is compared with it (*Yasht*, xiv. 41), and in the 17th paragraph of the late and not very original *Yasht*, xii., in an invocation of the Ized Rashnu, there is made mention of the tree of the *saēna*, which stands in the midst of the sea Wourukasha. This tree is called Wispōbish (= "having all healing powers"), and it contains

the seed of all plants. It cannot be established from the Avestan text, what precisely is the relation of the *saēna* to the tree, it may be, that, as in the Pahlavī *Mēnōk-i Khrat*, there is implied, that the dwelling-place of the bird is on that tree (comp. *Sacred Books of the East*, v., p. 89, note 1). In any case, in this XIIth *Yasht*, the *saēna* must be a mythical figure. The *Bundahishn* states, that the *sēn* of two kinds (l.. aspects, *āwēnāk*) was the first of birds, but she is not chief (*raṭ*) of birds, for that dignity belongs to the *karshift*-bird (*Pahlavi Text Series*, III. 121). The Persian epic gives a more vivid notion of the Sīmurgh, less affected by Zoroastrian theology and cosmology. In the heroic tradition of Īrān there are found two Sīmurghs, viz the bird-shaped guardian genius of Zāl and Rustam, and, secondly, a monstrous bird, killed by Isfandiyār. The first Sīmurgh, according to the *Shāhnāma*, lives on the mountain Alburz, far from the dwelling-places of men, its nest has columns of ebony and sandalwood, aloe-wood also belongs to the materials of this building. The nest is once even called *kākh*, to the impressive bird (*haibat-i murgh*) the awful nest (*hawl-i kunām*) is suited. When the Sīmurgh comes near, the air is darkened, the bird is like a cloud "whose rain are corals". Zāl, the son of Sām, who was after his birth exposed by order of his father, was found by the Sīmurgh, who bore him to her nest, where she educated the child. A heavenly voice announced to the bird the future glory of the race of Zāl The Sīmurgh has the gift of speech, like men, so she could teach the young Zāl to speak Later on, the bird delivered the youth to his father Sām She had given to Zāl the name Dastān-i Zand When parting, the Sīmurgh gave the young man one of her feathers; if he should happen to want the bird's help in times of distress and peril, he had only to burn (part of) it, to see the glorious being approach (*bibīnī ham andar zamān farr-i man*). Afterwards, the Sīmurgh, being called by that feather-magic, gave counsel at the occasion of the birth of Zāl's son, the famous Rustam, to the effect that the mother should be intoxicated and her side opened, she mentioned also the herb, which, mixed up with milk and musk, would cure the wound, after that, the scar had to be rubbed with a feather of the bird. The second and last time the Sīmurgh was called upon, was on the occasion of the fight of Rustam with Isfandiyār; the bird extracted the arrows from the bodies of Rustam and his horse, Rakhsh, and cured his wounds, this time also by means of her feathers Then she warned the hero, that whosoever should kill Isfandiyār, must be miserable in this world and the next. Rustam, however, insisted upon obtaining the means to conquer his antagonist. So the Sīmurgh conveyed him within the space of a single night to the place, where the fatal tree grew, from a branch of which the arrow was to be made, with which Isfandiyār could be slain (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers–Landauer, pp. 133, etc.; 222 *sq.*; 1703 etc). In contradistinction to this good Sīmurgh, which is called *shāh-i murghān* (*op. cit.*, 139, 191) and *farmānrawā* (222, 1666; 1706, 3701), and which knows the mystery of fate (*rāz-i sipihr*, viz. the fact, that he, who slays Isfandiyār, will be damned. 1705, 3691 etc.), the other Sīmurgh, killed by Isfandiyār in the course of his seven adventures, is a noxious monster. It lives on a mountain, and resembles a flying mountain or a black cloud; with its claw it can lift crocodiles, panthers, even an elephant. It has two young ones, as large as itself; if they fly, they cast an enormous shadow. Isfandiyār slew this being by a stratagem, using a kind of chariot (*gardūn*), which was all set over with sharp weapons. The corpse of the monster covered a whole plain (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers–Landauer, p. 1597, etc.). Once, also this bird is called *farmānrawā* (1598, 1763).

Except the name, there is no great resemblance between the Avestan *saēna* and the Sīmurgh of the epic, although they have some features in common. Both dwell far from the inhabited world [on the relation of the Wourukasha to the Alburz see s. v. ḲĀF (II. 659, col *b*)], with the healing power of the epic bird, the relation of the *saēna* to the medicinal tree may be compared; in turn, the Sīmurgh itself has a connection with the fatal, far-off tree at the sea of Čīn, where the baneful twig grows, which can slay Isfandiyār. Feather-magic is known to the Avesta, but not in connection with the *saēna* *Yasht*, XIV. 34 etc. a feather-magic is taught against enemies. it consists of rubbing the body with a feather of the bird of prey *wārĕ(n)gan*, the wearing of such a feather as an amulet is also mentioned. In the same *Yasht* (45 and 46), to ensure victory in battle, it is recommended to let fly four feathers, while uttering an appropriate spell, which helps also in mortal dangers. The difference here is great: the feathers are not those of the *saēna*, they are not burned, and the procedure does not aim at summoning some one The Awestan bird belongs to the good (non-Ahrimanic) creation, although it is no chief (*raṭ*) of birds That the epic Sīmurgh is called *shāh-i murghān* is nothing but a poetical conception The Sīmurgh, which appears in the story of Zāl and his son may be considered as a kind of good genius (comp. also Noldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, p 10, 59). If the malignant Sīmurgh in the adventure of Isfandiyār is not merely an addition to the older epic tradition (for it is supposed, with much reason, that the series of Isfandiyār's adventures is an imitation of Rustam's seven exploits), perhaps the statement of the *Bundahishn* that this bird is of two aspects (kinds) could be compared, so that also in Zoroastrian lore there would have been a difference between two kinds of *saēna* (*sēn*). The Pahlavī statement, however is too indistinct, to be made use of in this respect

The rôle of the Sīmurgh as a guardian genius of heroes (on a possible parallel in Achaemenian dynastic tradition comp. Noldeke, *op cit.*, p. 4, is not reflected in the Avesta. As it is very probable, that the cycle of Rustam and his family originally did not belong to Zoroastrian tradition (Noldeke, *op. cit*, p 9 etc.), this principal feature of the epic Sīmurgh must also be due to a non Zoroastrian origin. It may be then, that two different mythical conceptions have been subsumed under one name. The Avestan *saēna* may, originally correspond to one of the bird-shaped beings o Āryan mythology. We may, however, suppose, tha it has lost most of its characteristics in being ac commodated to Zoroastrian cosmology. There ar a few resemblances between the Irānian con ceptions and some features of Indian bird-mythology the *saēna* lives far off on the tree in the se Wourukasha, and a king of birds (*pakṣirāṭ*, i

Garuḍa meant?) lives also far off in the *varṣa* Hiraṇmaya (*Mahābhārata*, VI/VIII. 5 *sq.*). The *sēn*, according to the *Mēnōk-i Khrat*, when alighting at his nest, breaks off thousand twigs of the medicinal tree, and the story of Garuḍa, tearing off and bearing away a branch of the Rauhiṇa-tree is well known (*Mahābh.*, I/XXIX. 39, etc., cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 21). One might also consider the fact, that, as the *saēna* stands in a certain relation to the healing herbs, so Garuḍa to the *amṛta*, the drink of immortality, and the *çyena*, mentioned in *Ṛgveda*, IV 26 and 27, to the Soma But these faint resemblances may be due to accident at any rate, they are insufficient to justify a comparison between Irānian and Indian myth in this case On a possible explanation of the *sēn* as a sun-bird comp A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, 1921, p. 42.

On the other hand, the principal characteristic of the epic Sīmurgh is its protection of the exposed child Zāl, and, later on, its function as tutelary genius of Zāl and Rustam. It must therefore be classed with the various guardian-animals we meet in the stories of the youth of some historical or mythical heroes, as Cyrus, Romulus, etc It is however true, that this Simurgh shows also features of a more fierce kind.

Tha'ālibī, in his history of the Persian kings, renders the word Sīmurgh by *'Ankā* [q. v.]. In non-epic Persian literature, the dwelling-place of the Sīmurgh is the fabulous mountain Kāf (which originally may be the same as the Alburz; on this question comp s v. KĀF, II. p 659, Wensinck, *l c*) A more rationalistic view is e g. that of Hamdallāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat*, ed. Le Strange, I. 232, II. 225) who says that on the isle of Rāmnī (Sumatra?) the nest of the Sīmurgh is found.

In mystical literature, the Sīmurgh as a symbol of the deity, is well-known from 'Attār's *Manṭik al-Ṭair*. The name of the bird, moreover, appears, in Persian literature, very often in poetical similes. A few instances out of many are Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, I., vs 1441, 2755. 2962, Ruckert, *Grammatik, Rhetorik und Poetik der Perser*, p. 20; Azraḳī as quoted in 'Awfī, *Lubāb*, II. 89, where the synonym *'ankā* is used.

(V. F. BUCHNER)

SĪN, twelfth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 60 For palaeographical details see above I 390 and ARABIA, plate I Sīn corresponds to· *a*) aethiopic *sāt*, Assyrian *sh*, Hebrew and Aramaic ש, whereas shīn corresponds to Aeth *sawt*, to Hebrew ש and Aramaic ש *b*) to Hebrew ס and Aramaic ס.

Bibliography: W Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 57 *sqq.*, C Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1908, I 128 *sqq.*

SINAI. [See AL-ṬŪR]

SINĀN, usually called Ḳodja Mi'mār Sinān, the greatest architect of the Ottomans Sinān came from Ḳaiṣarīya [q v]. in Anatolia where he was born on the 9th Radjab 895 (April 15, 1589) the son of Christian Greeks. His father was later called 'Abd al-Mennān but his real name is not known His non-Turkish origin (*muhtedī*) is beyond question and is never in dispute, either among his contemporaries or among all serious Turkish scholars. The young Sinān came into the Serai in Stambul with the levy of youths (*dewshirme*, q v), became a Janissary, distinguished himself in the campaigns against Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522) by his bravery and was promoted to be *senberekdji bashi*, i. e chief firework-operator. In the Persian war (1534) he showed special ingenuity, when he devised ferries for crossing Lake Van, which proved particularly effective. He continued to rise in rank and was ultimately appointed *Ṣubashi* (police magistrate) When Selīm I advanced on Wallachia, Sinān was in his train He built a bridge across the Danube, which aroused further admiration and laid the foundations of his fame Henceforth he was exclusively engaged in building mosques and palaces, commissions from the Sulṭān and grandees of the Empire That, as is often stated, he began the building of the Selīmiye immediately after Selīm I's death, — the mosque which stands on the top of the fifth hill in Stambul and which was finished in 1522, — is impossible even on chronological grounds; in dazzlingly rapid succession from the end of the thirties arose the further creations of this master, which were built in parts all of the empire, mainly by command of Sulaimān the Great Only the largest mosques can be mentioned here· in 1539 the Mosque of Roxelane (Khaṣseki Khurram), in 1548 the Princes' Mosque, in 1550/1556 the Suleimānīya, in 1551/1574 the Selimīye at Adrianople, built by order of Selīm II These are his finest efforts. In addition he built a countless number of small mosques, palaces, schools, bridges, baths, etc The poet, Mustafā Sā'ī, his biographer, gives 81 mosques, 50 chapels, 55 schools, 7 Ḳur'ān schools, 16 poor-kitchens ('*imāret*), 3 infirmaries, 7 aqueducts, 8 bridges, 34 palaces, 13 rest-houses, 3 storehouses, 33 baths, 19 domed tombs (*turbe*), in all 343 buildings Sinān was working for three-quarters of a century everywhere from Bosnia to Mecca As Corn Gurlitt points out, Sinān displayed an incomparable lightness of touch in his use of the dome On a square, hexagonal or octagonal base he developed his interiors, always striving at the effect of a great ceremonial hall, a uniform architecture enclosing the worshipping rulers and their hosts He is predominantly concerned with the interior and readily neglects the exterior for it But everywhere, Gurlitt says, appears the peculiarity of the Turkish character, everywhere he creates models which are as little Byzantine as they are Persian, as little Syrian as they are Seldjūḳ, but are all the more Turkish (cf. C. Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1909, p 94) Sinān had numerous pupils to assist him, including Aḥmad Agha, Kamāl al-Dīn, Dā'ūd Agha, who was executed for freethinking (cf *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmi'*, I 198), Yatīm Baba 'Alī, Yūsuf and the younger Sinān, who is frequently confused with him, and to distinguish him from the latter he was later called *kodja* the "old" Yūsuf, his favourite pupil, is said to have been the architect of the palaces in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, which were built by the Emperor Akbar. This Michael Angelo of the Turks died when nearly 90 (herein also resembling him) on the 12th Djumādā I, 986 (July 17, 1578). He was buried behind his masterpiece, the Sulaimān Mosque, close to the offices of the Shaikh al-Islām, beside a chapel, school, and well, built and endowed by him The chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) gives the year of his death without any possibility of doubt as 986 (cf.

Islām, IX 247 *sq* where the sources are collected) but it is supposed by Aḥmad Rafīḳ Bey, *ʿĀlımler wa-Ṣanʿatkʿārlar*, Stambul 1924, p 33 note, that in the *taʾrīḵḫ* the vowel *ī* was allotted the value 10 so that the year of death would be 996 (1588), which seems also to be added in figures. As the *taʾrīḵḫ* was composed by Muṣṭafā Sāʿī (d 1004 = 1595; cf Ridā, *Taḏḵira*, 51), a famous *naḳḳāsh* of his time, this error in the most important line seems odd, to say the least

The following is an exact list of all Sinān's buildings based on the statements of Muṣṭafā Sāʿī (d 1595)

I Mosques (*Ǧāmiʿ*):

1) Suleimānīya, Stambul, 2) Shāhzāde-Mosque, Stambul, 3) M of Khasseki Khurıam, Stambul, 4) M of princess Mihr-u Māh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 5) M of the mother of ʿOthmān Shāh, Aḳ Serai, Stambul; 6) M of the daughter of Bāyazīd II, Yeñī Baghče, Stambul, 7) M of Ahmad Pasha, Ṭop kapu, Stambul; 8) M of Rustam Pasha, Taht al-ḳalʿa, Stambul, 9) M of Mehmed Pasha, Ḳadırgha limanı, Stambul, 10) M of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the Silıwrı-gate, Stambul, 11) M of Pıāle Pasha, Stambul, 12) M of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Čelebı, at Mollā Kurānī, Stambul; 13) M of Maḥmūd Agha, Stambul, 14) M of Oda bashi, at Yeñı kapu, Stambul, 15) M of Khodja Khosraw, at Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, Stambul, 16) M of Ḥammāmī Khaṭun, Sulu Monastır, Stambul, 17) M of *Defterdār* Sulaimān Čelebı, Üsküblü česhmesı, Stambul, 18) M of Farrakh Kıaya, Balat, Stambul; 19) M of Dragoman Yūnus Bey, Balaṭ; 20) M of Khurıam Čaush, at Yeñı Baghče, Stambul, 21) M of Sınān Agha, at Ḳādī česhmesı, Stambul, 22) M of Akhı Čelebı, Izmīr ıskelesı, Stambul; 23) M of Sulaımān subashı, at Un ḳapu, Stambul; 24) M of Zāl Pasha, Aıyūb; 25) M of Shāh Sultān, Aıyūb, 26) M of Nıshāndji bashı, Aıyūb, 27) M of Amīr-ı Bukhārī, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul, 28) M of Merkez ʿEfendı, at Yeñı ḳapu, Stambul, 29) M of Čaush bashi, Südlüdje, Stambul, 30) M of Nūr Shaıkh-zāde Ḥusaın Čelebi, at Kıremıdlık, 31) M of Ḳāsım Pasha, at the Arsenal, Stambul; 32) M of Mehmed Pasha, at the ʿAzablar ḳapusu, Stambul; 33) M. of Ḳılıdj ʿAlī Pasha, at Ṭop-khāna, Stambul, 34) M of Muḥyī ed-Dīn Čelebı, at Ṭop-khāna; 35) M of Mollā Čelebı, between Ṭop-khana and Bashık Ṭash; 36) M of Abu 'l-Faḍl, at Ṭop-khāna; 37) M of Prince Djihāngīr, Ṭop-khāna; 38) M of Sınān Pasha, Bashık Tash; 39) M. of the Sulṭana, Skutarı; 40) M of Shamsī Ahmad Pasha, Skutarı; 41) M of Iskandar Pasha; 42) M. of Muṣṭafā Pasha, in Gebize; 43) M of Pertew Pasha, in Izmīd; 44) M of Rustam Pasha, in Ṣabandja; 45) M of Rustam Pasha, Ṣamanlu; 46) M of Muṣṭafā Pasha, Bolı; 47) M. of Farhād Pasha, in Bolı; 48) M of Mehmed Beg, in Izmīd; 49) M. of ʿOthmān Pasha, in Ḳaiṣarīya; 50) M. of Ḥādjdjī Pasha, in Ḳaiṣarīya; 51) M of Djanābī Aḥmad Pasha, in Angora; 52) M. of Muṣṭafā Pasha, in Erzerum; 53) M. of Sulṭān ʿAlā ed-Dīn, in Čorum; 54) M. of ʿAbd es-Salām, Izmīd; 55) M. of Sulṭān Sulaimān, in Iznīk (built out of a Byzantine church which had been destroyed by fire); 56) M. of Khosraw Pasha, in Ḥalab; 57) the domes of the sanctuary in Mekka; 58) M. of Sulṭān Murād Khān (III), in Maghnısa; 59) restoration of the M. of Orkhan Ghāzī, Kutahıya; 60) M of Rustam Pasha, Bulawadın; 61) M of Ḥusaın Pasha, Kutahja; 62) M of Sulṭān Selīm (II), Ḳara Buñar; 63) M. of Sulṭān Sulaımān on the Gok maidān in Damascus; 64) M of Sulṭān Selīm (II), in Adrianople; 65) M Ṭashlīḳ for Maḥmūd Pasha, in Adrianople; 66) M of the *Defterdār* Mustafā Pasha, in Adrianople; 67) M of ʿAlī Pasha, in Baba eskisı; 68) M of Meḥmed Pasha, in Hafṣa; 69) M of Meḥmed Pasha, in Lüle Burghās; 70) M of ʿAlī Pasha, in Eregli, 71) M of the Bosnian Meḥmed Pasha, in Sofia; 72) M of Ṣūfī Mehmed Pasha, in Herzegovına; 73) M. of Farhād Pasha, in Čataldja; 74) M of the executed Muṣtafā Pasha, in Ofen (Budapest); 75) M. of Fırdūs Bey, in Isbarta, Asia Minor; 76) M of Memī kıaya, in Ulashlu, 77) M. of Tatar Khān, in Gozleve; 78) M of Rustam Pasha, in Rusčuk; 79) M of the Wazīr ʿOthmān Pasha, in Trıkala, Thessaly; 80) M. of Khasseki Khurram, in Adrianople, 81) M of the Sulṭān wālide, in Scutarı

II Small Mosques (*Masǧid*):

1) Chapel of Rustam Pasha, Yeñı Baghče, Stambul, 2) Ch of Ibrāhīm Pasha, on the ʿIsā kapu, Stambul, 3) Ch of *Muftī* Čiwizāde, at the Top-ḳapu, Stambul, 4) Ch of Amīr ʿAlī, beside the custom-house (*gomruk-khāna*), Stambul; 5) Ch of the architect Sınān, beside the offices of the Shaıkh al-Islām, 6) Ch of the chief huntsman (*awdjı bashı*), beside the custom-house, Stambul, 7) Ch of *Defterdār* Sharīfzāde Efendı, in Stambul; 8) Ch of *Defterdār* Mehmed Čelebı, in Stambul; 9) Ch of Ḥāfız Mustafā Efendı, at Yeñı Baghče, Stambul, 10) Ch of Sīmkash bashı, at the bazar of Luṭfī Pasha, Stambul; 11) Ch of Khodjagızāde, at the *tetımme* of the mosque of Meḥmed II, Stambul, 12) Ch of the Čawsh, at the Silıwrı-gate, Stambul; 13) Ch of the daughter of Čiwizāde, Dāʾūd Pasha, Stambul; 14) Ch of Ṭaḳıyadjı Aḥmad, ibid; 15) Ch of Sary Hādjdjī Nasūh, in Stambul; 16) Ch of the slaughterer (*kaṣṣāb*) Hādjdjī ʿIwad (properly ʿAwḍ), in Stambul; 17) Ch of the cook (*tabbāḵḫ*) Hādjdjī Ḥamza, at Agha čaırı, Stambul; 18) Ch. of Hādjdjī Hasan, 19) Ch of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the Ḳum ḳapu, Stambul; 20) Ch of Bairām Čelebı, Wlanga, Stambul; 21) Ch of Shaıkh Farhād, ibid; 22) Ch of *kurakdjı bashı* (commander of the rowers), before the Ḳum ḳapu, Stambul; 23) Ch. of the workshop (*kār-khāna*) of the damask-makers (*kamḵhadjılar*), in Stambul; 24) Ch of the workshop of the goldsmiths (*ḳuyumdjılar*), in Stambul; 25) Ch. on the Hersek-Hippodrome (*Hersek bodromu*), near the Aya Ṣofia, Stambul; 26) Ch. of *yaya bashi*, on the Fenār ḳapu, Stambul, 27) Ch. of ʿAbdī subashi, in the Sulṭān-Selīm-quarter, Stambul; 28) Ch. of Ḥādjdjī Ilyās, at the bath of ʿAlī Pasha; 29) Ch. of Husaın Čelebi, at the Selīmīye, Stambul; 30) Ch of Dukhānīzāde, at Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, Stambul; 31) Ch. of Ḳāḍīzāde, at the Čukur ḥammāmi, Stambul; 32) Ch.

of *Muftī* Ḥāmid Efendi, at ʿAzablar ḥammāmi, Stambul; 33) Ch. at the tüfenk-khāna, outside the walls (*ḫiṣār*); 34) Ch of Serai aghasi, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 35) Ch of the superintendent of the metalcasters (*dökmedjilar bashi*), in Aiyūb, Stambul, 36) Ch of the arpadji bashi, Aiyūb; 37) Ch of the physician Ḳaisūnīzāde, in Südludje, Stambul, 38) Ch. of the snow seller (*ḳardji*) Sulaimān, in Aiyūb, 39) Ch of the snow seller (*ḳardji*) Sulaimān, in Stambul, 40) Ch of Aḥmad Čelebi, in Kiremidlik, 41) Ch of Yaḥyā kiaya, in the Kāsim Pasha quarter, Stambul, 42) Ch of *shahr emīni* (supervisor of the city) Hasan Čelebi, ibid; 43) Ch. of Sahīl Bey, Top-khāna, Stambul; 44) Ch of Ilyāszāde, ibid, 45) Ch of *bazar bashi* Memī kiaya, in Scutari; 46) Ch of Meḥmed Pasha, ibid, 47) Ch of Ḥādjdjī Pasha, in Scutari, 48) Ch of sairādj khāna, in Khāṣkoi, Stambul, 49) Ch of the ṣarrāf, outside the Top ḳapu, Stambul; 50) Ch of the *rūznāmadji* ʿAbdī Čelebi in Sulu monastir

III. Schools (*Madrasa*).

1) Sch of Sulṭān Sulaimān, in Mekka, 2) Six schools, built by command of Sultān Sulaimān, in Stambul, 3) Sch of Sultān Selīm I (1) beside the Koshk of the *khālidjilar* (carpet-makers); 4) Sch of Sultān Selīm II, Adrianople; 5) Sch of Sultān Selīm II, in Čorlu; 6) Sch of Prince Mehmed, in Stambul, 7) Sch of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, on the women's market (*ʿawrat bazari*), Stambul; 8) the school called *Ḳahrīya* of the Khasseki Khurram, in Sulṭān Selīm, Stambul; 9) Sch of the Sulṭān-mother, in Scutari, 10) Sch of Princess Mihr-u Māh, in Scutari; 11) Sch of Princess Mihr-u Māh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul, 12) Sch. of Meḥmed Pasha, Ḳadyrgha limani, 13) Sch of Meḥmed Pasha, in Aiyūb; 14) Sch of the mother of ʿOthmān Shāh, Aḳ serai, Stambul; 15) Sch. of Rustam Pasha, Stambul, 16) Sch of ʿAlī Pasha, Stambul, 17) Sch of the executed Mehmed Pasha, Top kapu, Stambul; 18) Sch. of Ṣūfī Meḥmed Pasha, Stambul; 19) Sch of Ibrāhīm Pasha, Stambul; 20) Sch of Sinān Pasha, in Stambul; 21) Sch of Iskandar Pasha, in Stambul(?); 22) Sch of ʿAlī Pasha, in Baba eskisi; 23) Sch of the Egyptian Muṣṭafā Pasha, in Gebize; 24) Sch of Ahmad Pasha, in Izmid; 25) Sch of Ḳāsim Pasha, in Stambul(?); 26) Sch of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the ʿIsā-Gate, Stambul; 27) Sch of Shamsī Aḥmad Pasha, in Scutari; 28) Sch. of *ḳapu aghasi* Djaʿfar Agha, in Stambul(?); 29) Sch. of the Agha of the Gate Maḥmūd Agha, in Stambul(?); 30) Sch. of the *Maʿlūlzāde* Amīr Efendi, in Stambul(?); 31) the School called Umm walad, in Stambul(?); 32) Sch of the chief huntsman (*awdji bashi*), in Stambul(?); 33) Sch. of the *Muftī* Ḥāmid Efendi, in Stambul(?); 34) Sch. of the military judge Firūz Agha(1), in Stambul; 35) Sch of Khodjagizāde, at Sulṭān Meḥmed, Stambul; 36) Sch. of Aghazāde, in Stambul(?); 37) Sch. of Yaḥyā Efendi, in Stambul; 38) Sch. of the *Defterdār* ʿAbd es-Salām Bey, in Stambul; 39) Sch of Ṭūṭī ḳāḍī, in Stambul; 40) Sch of the physician Meḥmed Čelebi, in Stambul; 41) Sch. of Ḥusain Čelebi, in Stambul; 42) Sch. of *Amīn* Sinān Efendi, in Stambul; 43) Sch of Shāh-ḳuli, in Stambul; 44) Sch of the Dragoman Yūnus Bey, in Stambul; 45) Sch. of the snow seller (*ḳardji*) Sulaimān Bey, in Stambul; 46) Sch of Ḥādjdjī Khaṭun, in Stambul; 47) Sch of the *Defterdār* Sharīfzāde, in Stambul; 48) Sch of the judge Hakīm Čelebi; 49) Sch of Baba Čelebi, in Stambul, 50) Sch of Kirmasī(1) Čelebi, renovated; 51) Sch of *segban* ʿAlī Bey at the custom-house, in Stambul; 52) Sch. of the *nishāndji* Mehmed Bey, at Altī meimer; 53) Sch of *bezestān ketkhudasi* Husain Čelebi, in Stambul, 54) Sch of Gulfum Khaṭun, in Scutari; 55) Sch of Khosraw kiaya, in Angora

IV Ḳur'ān-Reading Schools (*Dār al-Ḳurrāʾ*).

1) K of Sultān Sulaimān, Stambul; 2) Ḳ of the Wālide Sulṭān, Scutari, 3) Ḳ. of Khosraw kiaya, Stambul, 4) K of Mehmed Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul, 5) Ḳ of the *Muftī* Saʿīd Čelebi, Küčuk Qaraman, Stambul, 6) K of the Bosnian Meḥmed Pasha, Stambul, 7) Ḳ of the *Muftī* Ḳāḍīzāde Efendi, Stambul

V Tomb Chapels (*Türbe*)

1) T C of Sultān Sulaimān Khān, Stambul, 2) T C of Sultān Selīm (II) Khān, Stambul, 3) T C of Prince Meḥmed, Stambul, 4) T C of the Princes, Stambul; 5) T C of Rustam Pasha, Shahzāde bashi, Stambul, 6) T C of Khosraw Pasha, Stambul, 7) T C of Ahmad Pasha, Top ḳapu, Stambul; 8) T C Mehmed Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul; 9) of the sons of Siyāwush Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul, 10) T. C of Zāl Mahmūd Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul; 11) T C of Khair ed-Dīn Barbarossa, Bashik Tash, Stambul; 12) T C of Yahyā Efendi, Bashik Ṭash, Stambul, 13) T C of Shamsī Ahmad Pasha, Scutari; 14) T C of the Beylerbeyi's of Cyprus ʿArab Ahmad Bey, Stambul, 15) T C of Ḳylydj ʿAlī Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul, 16) T C of Pertew Pasha, Aiyūb, Stambul, 17) T C of Princess Shāh Khobān, wife of Lutfī Pasha, Yeñi Baghče, Stambul; 18) T C of Hādjdjī Pasha, Scutari, 19) T C of Aḥmad Pasha, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul

VI Hospitals (*Timār-khāna*, *Tab-khāna*).

1) H of Sulṭān Sulaimān, Stambul, 2) H of Khaṣṣeki Khurram, Stambul; 3) H of Sulṭān Wālide, in Scutari.

VII Aqueducts (*Kemer*):

1) Derbend kemeri; 2) Uzun kemer; 3) Muʿallaḳ kemer; 4) Goründje kemer; 5) Aqueducts at Müderris koyi; 6) Reservoirs (*ḥawuz*); 7) Rebuilding of Uzun kemer

VIII. Bridges:

1) Br at Büyuk Čekmedje; 2) Br at Siliwri; 3) Br. of Muṣṭafā Pasha across the Maritza; 4) Br of Meḥmed Pasha, in Mermere; 5) Br of Oda bashi, Ḥalḳalı; 6) Br. of the Agha of the Gate (*ḳapu aghasi*), Ḥarāmī deresi; 7) Br. of Meḥmed Pasha, in Sinānlī; 8) Br of the grandvizier Meḥmed Pasha at Višegrad, Bosnia (cf M Hoernes, *Diranische Wanderungen*, Vienna 1888, p. 245).

IX Poor-Kitchens (*ʿImārat*).

1) K. of Sulṭān Sulaimān, Stambul, built 962 (beg. Nov 26, 1554); 2) K. of Khaṣṣekı Khurram, in Mekka, near the Kaʿba; 3) K. of Sulṭān Selīm, Ḳara Buñar; 4) K. of Prince Sulaimān, Stambul; 5) K. of Sulṭān Sulaımān, Čorlu; 6) K of Princess Mihr-u Māh, in Scutarı; 7) K. of Sulṭān Wālide, in Scutarı, 8) K. of Sulṭān Murād III, Maghnısa, 9) K. of Rustam Pasha, in Rusčuk; 10) K of Rustam Pasha, ın Ṣabandja, 11) K of Meḥmed Pasha, in Burghas; 12) K of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Hafṣa; 13) K of Muṣṭafā Pasha, ın Gebıze, 14) K of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Serajevo (Bosna Serai), 15) K of Muṣṭafā Pasha, ın Kıwetın (?); 16) K of Sultān Sulaımān, ın Damascus; 17) K. of the bridgehead of Muṣṭafā Pasha köprüsü

X Warehouses (*Makhzan*):

1) W ın Galaṭa; 2) W at the Imperıal Arsenal, Stambul; 3) W ın the Serai, Stambul

XI Rest-houses (*Karawānserai*);

1) Caravanserai of Sultān Sulaimān, Stambul; 2) C of Sulṭān Sulaımān, ın Buyük Čekmedje, 3) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Tekfur daghı (Rodosto), 4) C of Rustam Pasha, on the market (*bit bazarı*) ın Scutarı, 5) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Galaṭa, 6) C of ʿAlī Pasha, on the market ın Scutarı; 7) C of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu 'l-Wafā, Stambul; 8) C of Muṣṭafā Pasha, ın Ilgun, Anatolıa; 9) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Aḳ bıyık, Anatolıa, 10) C. of Rustam Pasha, ın Ṣamanlī, 11) C. of Rustam Pasha, ın Ṣabandja, 12) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Ereglı (Qaraman); 13) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Ḳarıṣḥdıran, Bulgarıa; 14) C of Khosraw kıaya, Ipsala, 15) C of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Burghas, 16) C of Rustam Pasha, ın Adrianople, 17) C of ʿAlī Pasha, ın Adrianople; 18) C. of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Ḥafṣa

XII Palaces (*Serai*).

1) Rebuilding of the old Serai, Stambul; 2) New Serai, Stambul; 3) S ın Scutarı; 4) S. ın Galaṭa; 5) Rebuilding of the S. on the At mejdān, Stambul, 6) S on the Yeñi ḳapu, Stambul; 7) S ın Ḳandillī, 8) S at Fener baghče, Stambul; 9) S ın the garden of Iskandar Čelebi, ın Scutarı; 10) S. ın Ḥalḳalī at Stambul; 11) S. of Rustam Pasha, Ḳadyrgha lımān, Stambul; 12) S of Meḥmed Pasha, at Aya Ṣofia, Stambul; 13) S of Meḥmed Pasha, Scutarı, 14) S of Rustam Pasha, ın Scutarı; 15) First S of Siyāwush Pasha, ın Scutarı, 16) Second S of Siyāwush Pasha, ın Scutarı; 17) S. of Siyāwush Pasha, ın Stambul; 18) S of ʿAlī Pasha, ın Stambul; 19) S. of Aḥmad Pasha, on the At mejdān, Stambul; 20) S. of Farhād Pasha, Sultān Bāyazid quater, Stambul; 21) S of Pertew Pasha, on the place Abu 'l-Wafā, Stambul; 22) S of Sinān Pasha, on the At mejdān, Stambul; 23) S. of Ṣūfī Meḥmed Pasha, Ḳodja [Muṣṭafā] Pasha quarter, Stambul; 24) S of Maḥmūd Agha, Yeñi Baghče, Stambul; 25) S. of Meḥmed Pasha, in Ḥalḳalī at Stambul; 26) S. of Princess Shāh Khobān, wife of Luṭfī Pasha, in the Ḳāsim Pasha quarter, near Ḳāsim česhmesī, Stambul; 27) S. of Pertew Pasha, before Shāhzāde, Stambul; 28) S of Aḥmad Pasha, on the domain (*čiftlik*), 29) First S. of ʿAlī Pasha, Aiyūb; 30) Second S. of ʿAlī Pasha, Aiyūb; 31) S of Meḥmed Pasha, on the estate (*čiftlik*) of Rustam Pasha; 32) S. of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Serajevo (Bosna Serai); 33) S. of Rustam Pasha, on the estate of Iskandar Čelebi.

XIII. Baths (*Ḥammām*):

1) B. of Sulṭān Sulaımān, Stambul, 2) Three baths ın the Imperıal Palace; 3) B. of Sulṭān Sulaımān, Kaffa, Ḳrīm, 4) Three b. ın the palace at Scutarı; 5) B of Khaṣṣekı Khurram, at the Aya Ṣofia, Stambul; 6) B of Khaṣṣekı Khurram, ın the Jewish quarter (*Yehūdiler*), Stambul, 7) B of Wālide Sulṭān, ın Scutarı; 8) Sultan's-Bath (*sulṭān-ḥammāmi*), Kara Buñar, 9) B of Wālide Sulṭān, at Djubba ʿAlī (usually: *Djubbalī*), Stambul, 10) B of Princess Mihr-u Māh, at the Adrianople gate, Stambul; 11) B of Luṭfī Pasha, ibid , 12) B of Meḥmed Pasha, Galata, Stambul, 13) B of Meḥmed Pasha, ın Adrianople, 14) B of Ibrāhīm Pasha, at the Silıwrı-Gate, Stambul; 15) B of the Agha of the Gate (*ḳapu aghasi*), Ṣulu Monastır, 16) B of Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, Yeñi Baghče, Stambul, 17) B of Sinān Pasha, ın Bashık Ṭash, Stambul; 18) B of Mollā Čelebi, ın Funduḳ'u, Stambul; 19) B of Admiral ʿAlī Pasha, Ṭop-khāna, Stambul; 20) B of the same, Fener ḳapu, Stambul; 21) Bath of the Muftī, in the druggists' market (*maʿdjūndjı čarshusu*), Stambūl; 22) B Meḥmed Pasha, ın Hafsa; 23) B. of Markaz Efendı, Yeñi ḳapu, Stambul, 24) B of Nishāndjı Bashı, Aıyūb, Stambul, 25) B of Khosraw Pasha, Orta koj, 26) a bath ın Izmīd, 27) B ın Čataldja; 28) B of Rustam Pasha, ın Sabandja; 29) B of Husaın Bey, ın Ḳaiṣarīya, 30) B of Ṣary kurz (Ṣarī guzel, cf above p 171b), Stambul, 31) B of Khair al-Dīn Pasha, at the custom-house (*gomruk-khāna*), Stambul, 32) B of Khaır al-Dīn, ın Zairak; 33) B of Yaʿḳūb Agha, Ṭop-khāna, Stambul.

Bibliography. No monograph dealing exhaustively with the life and artistic activities of Sinān has yet appeared nor is there any architectural survey of his buildings yet in existence. The main source so far is Muṣṭafā Sāʿī's work, *Tadhkırat al-Bunyān-ı ḳodja miʿmār Sinān*, of which there are two editions: one without date and place of publication (Stambul, middle of the xixth century), 16 p., small 8°, entitled *Tadhkırat al-Abnīya*; the second, Stambul 1315, Ikdām press, 72 p, 8°. The two editions give lists of Sinān's buildings which differ from one another in many points Ewlıyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥetnāma*, seems to have known Sāʿī's work. The following are references to Sinān ın Ewlıyā Čelebi: i. 140 (*Travels*, i., 1, p 69); i 147, 148 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 73); i. 150 (*Tr*, i. 1, p 75); i 155 (*Tr*, i. 1, p. 79, 80); i. 159 (*Tr*, i 1, p. 81); i. 163 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 82 *sq.*); i. 307 (lacking in *Tr.*); i. 308 (*Tr*, i 1, p 167), i 309 (*Tr*, i. 1, p. 168); i 310 (*Tr.*, i 1, p 169); i. 311 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); i. 312 (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 169); a list of all his mosques in Constantinople is given on i., p. 313 *sq.* (*Tr.*, i. 1, p. 170 *sq.*); building

in Brussa (Caravanserai of ʿAlī Pasha; not in Muṣṭafā): ii. 19; buildings in Izmīd: ii. 64 = *Travels*, ii 1, p 31 — Almost all the Constantinople mosques built by Sinān are fully described in Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusain Efendi of Aiwānserai (flourished in the second half of the xviiith century), *Gardens of the Mosques* (*Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*), with additions by ʿAlī Sātiʿ, printed at Stambul 1281, Extracts from it were given by J v Hammer, *G O R*, Pesth 1833, ix, p 47—144 (Mosques), p 148 *sqq* (Schools, Medreses), *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Orients*, ed by H Grothe, Halle 1914, vol xi, p. 67 *sqq* (F Babinger), *Isl*, Strassburg 1919, vol ix, p 247 *sq* (F Babinger), *Yeñi maǧmūʿa*, Stambul 1917, vol. 13, p 249—252 and vol 14, p 269—279 (Aḥmad Rafik Bey; with pictures) On Sinān's pupils, cf *Quellen zur osmanischen Kunstlergeschichte* in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, i, p 35 *sqq* — The two above-mentioned *Taḏhkira*'s are as MSS in Cairo, National Library (cf ʿAlī Efendi Ḥilmī al-Dāghestānī, *Fihrist* [Cairo 1306], 231 [united in an old *maǧmūʿa*])

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SINĀN PASHA, name of several viziers of the Ottoman empire, mostly of Christian origin (as the name Sinān [al-Dīn Yūsuf] suggests, cf *Isl*, xi 20, note 1 and J v. Hammer, *G O R*, ii 536, note *a*) The most important are·

1 Khodja Sinān Pasha, vizier under Mehmed II the Conqueror Mollā Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha was a son of the famous Mollā Khiḍr Beg, who, a son of the ḳādī of Siwrī Hisār Djalāl al-Dīn, traced his descent to the celebrated Khodja Naṣr al-Dīn His father who died in 863 (1458/1459) was the first ḳādī of Stambul (cf the art KHIḌR BEG) Sinān Pasha was born in Brussa probably about 1438, was taught in his youth by his father, afterwards entered the train of Meḥmed II whose teacher and councillor he became According to one story, probably erroneous, after the second deposition of the famous grand-vizier Maḥmūd Pasha [q v] he succeeded him but fell into disfavour about 881 (1476/1477) and was only later appointed *muderris* in Siwrī Hisār and in Adrianople after a remarkable cure which the Sulṭān made him take (cf J v Hammer, *G. O. R*, ii. 241) Sultān Bāyazīd who had taken a fancy to him granted him an ample allowance In 887 (1482/1483) he retired, but a year later we find him acting as *mutaṣarrif* of Gallipoli He died on Ṣafar 24, 891 (March 1, 1486) at Gallipoli where he was buried in a *turbe* restored by Maḥmūd II in 1247/1248 (1831) His two brothers also earned the title of Pasha, namely Aḥmad Pasha and Yaʿḳūb Pasha (cf Tashkopruzāde-Maǧdjdī, i. 196, 197) Mollā Sinān Pasha, called simply Khodja Pasha by his contemporaries, was an important scholar and the author of several works on mathematics, metaphysics, astronomy, ethics and legends of the saints He wrote a commentary on the astronomical works of Čaghmīnī (*Sharḥ-i Čaghmīnī*), and a commentary on al-Idjī's *Mawāḳif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām*. His *Maʿārif-i Sinān* deals with ethics and under the title *Taḏhkirat al-Awliyā* he wrote a "legends of the saints" (original manuscript in the Nūr-i ʿOthmāniya library at Stambul). A discourse on prayer from his pen entitled *Munāǧāt* was printed at Stambul (Abu 'l-Ḍiyā Press).

Bibliography: Ṭashkopruzāde-Maǧdjdī, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniya*, i 193—195, Stambul 1269; following him ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār* (part not yet printed) and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tāǧ al-Tawārīkh*, ii 498—500; Brusalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, ii. 223 *sqq* (thorough); *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii 103 *sq*; *Sālnāme* of Edirne of 1310, regarding the tomb of Sinān Pasha there are two different statements. The tomb (*turbe*) is however still in existence in Gallipoli, according J. H Mordtmann; cf. also Ewliyā, *Siyāḥetnāme*, v 418 (monastery, *tekke*), 419 (poor-kitchen, *imāret*), 420 (tomb), but see Brusalı Mehmed Ṭāhir, *op. cit*, ii 224, note 1.

II Khādim Sinān Pasha, grand vizier under Selīm I Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha was probably of Christian descent, he was first of all governor of Rumelia and then of Anatolia In the battle of Čaldıran (Aug 23, 1574), he commanded with success the right wing of the victorious Ottoman army and when Hersekoghlu Ahmad Pasha, four times grand vizier, was suddenly dismissed on Ramadan 9, 920 (October 28, 1514) he became his successor *Poi fa Bassa Sinan un suo schiavo qual era imbrahor* (e g *emirachor*, master of the horse) *e avea 7 aspri addì, e il beglerbeg di Natolia nuovo*, reports the Venetian Bailo Antonio Giustinian, under date March 1, 1516 In the campaign against Syria and Egypt, Sinān Pasha was made commander-in-chief On 29th Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍdja 923 (January 23, 1517) he commanded the Anatolian troops in the battle of Ridānīya, but was killed in personal combat with Sultān Tūmān Bāy His successor in the grand-vizierate was Yūnus Pasha [q v]

Bibliography. J v Hammer, *G O R*, ii 421, 462, 492, 496, 662, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i 105; the Italian sources mentioned in Jorga, *G O R*, ii 330, note 1, *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarāʾ*, 21 *sq*

III. Kodja Sinān Pasha, five times grand vizier of the Ottoman empire Sinān Pasha was of Albanian descent, he was the son of a peasant in Dibra (Debr) or according to others in Delvino (cf Jorga, *G O R*, iii, 170, no authority given, *nato vicino a Delvion all' incontro di Corfù*, according to Bailo Matteo Zane in 1594, cf E Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii. 3, p. 420, Florence 1855) He entered the Serai through the levy of youths (*dewshirme*, q v), under Sulaimān became *čāshnegīr bashi*, chief cup-bearer, was later promoted to be *mīr-i liwā* of Malatia, Ḳastamūni, Ghazza, Ṭarabulūs (Tripolis in Syria), Erzerum and Halab, and in the spring of 1568 became governor of Egypt (cf J v Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii 551) From here he undertook campaigns against the Yemen, which he conquered for the Ottoman empire The Ottoman poet Nihālī celebrated this event in a poem entitled-*i Feṯḥnāme Yemen* (MS, perhaps autograph in the Vienna National Library, cf G Flugel, *Catalogue*, i 640 *sq*) and the Arab historian Maḥmūd Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī describes fully in prose this and the following campaigns in a work dedicated to Sinān and entitled *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi 'l-Fatḥ al-ʿOthmānī* (cf. S. de Sacy, *N E*, iv. 473, part ed with Portuguese translation by D Lopez, Lisbon 1892). For further panegyrists of Sinān Pasha, cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii, 560, 779 from ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār* In 979 (1571/1572) Sinān Pasha was again appointed governor of Egypt, and in the spring of 1574 in the campaign against Tunis he was given supreme command

of the Ottoman land forces. Goletta (Ḥalḳ al-Wādī) was stormed after a month's siege and Tunis incorporated in the Ottoman empire. Sinān Pasha who had become sixth vizier in 980 (1572/1573) was promoted two years later to be vizier of the cupola (*ḳubbe wezīri*). In the spring of 1580 he led the Ottoman army against Georgia and on the 14th Radjab 988 (August 25, 1580) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Aḥmad Pasha who had died. Georgia was conquered but not subdued so that almost immediately after the conclusion of the campaign, difficulties arose which resulted on the 20th Dhu'l Ḳa'da 990 (December 5, 1582) in Sinān Pasha's dismissal and banishment to Dimetoka, later to Malghara (i. e. Μεγάλη Καρυά) (cf. Selānīki, *Ta'rīkh*, p 170, Gio. Tom. Minadoi da Rovigo, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani*, Turin 1588 and Venice 1594, in which the writer describes fully the Persian campaign from his own experience). Through harem influence and a present of 100,000 ducats, however, he soon succeeded in exchanging his exile in Malghara for the governorship of Damascus (cf Selāniki, p 215, *G O R*, iv 185), from which he returned to Constantinople in Djumādā II, 997 (April 1589) as grand vizier The vast wealth which he already possessed and which later assumed fabulous proportions, enabled him to make remarkable gifts (e g. a grand-admiral's flagship and seven galleys) and to erect splendid buildings. The handsomely fitted koshk of the Serai on the shore of the Golden Horn which bore his name and was not destroyed till 1827 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R*, iv. 187 note *d*), owed its origin to him He also took up the old plan of connecting the Black Sea with the Gulf of Nicomedia by digging a canal from the Sea of Sabandja [q v] to the Gulf of Nicomedia for which he hoped to utilise the skill of Sinān the architect [q v] This great undertaking seems to have fallen through as a result of the wars (cf. also Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-Numā*, p 666 and the literature quoted under ṢABANDJA) On the 11th Shawwāl 999 (August 2, 1591) Sinān Pasha again fell from favour and was dismissed, but by the 25th Rabī' II, 1001 (January 29, 1593) a rising of the Janissaries caused him to be sent for to fill the grandvizerate for a third time Henceforth all his energies were concentrated on winning military laurels in the west, especially in Hungary In the spring of 1593, he therefore assumed in person supreme command of the army in the Hungarian campaign, which he concluded with the capture of numerous castles and strongholds A month after the death of Murād III on the 6th Djumādā II, 1003 (February 16, 1595), he had again to surrender the imperial seal and go into exile at Malghara, only for a few months however. On the 29th Shawwāl 1003 (July 7, 1595) he replaced his rival and relative Ferhād Pasha and a few weeks later began a campaign against Wallachia, which had rebelled. The rather inglorious course of this campaign and the loss of Gran, which was ascribed to the inactivity of his son Meḥmed Pasha, Beglerbeg of Rumelia (cf the documents mentioned in J. von Hammer, *G O.R*, iv. 645 *sq.*), brought about his dismissal and banishment to Malghara on the 16th Rabī' I, 1004 (November 19, 1595). But when his successor Lala Meḥmed Pasha died on the third day after his appointment, the imperial seal was again for a fifth time entrusted to Sinān Pasha. He was just engaged on plans for conquering Erlau in Hungary when he died on the 4th Sha'bān 1004 (April 3, 1596). He was buried in his own türbe in the Ṣofiler quarter of Stambul. — Sinān Pasha was an unusually cruel, stubborn, selfish, and at the same time ignorant, man as to whose character Ottoman (notably 'Ālī) and western chroniclers are entirely in agreement. He was feared among the European envoys at the Porte. Not all of them dared reply so sharply and to the point as the Austrian envoy Dr Barthold Pezzen (cf *Des Freyherrn von Wratislaw merkwurdige Gesandtschaftsreise nach Constantinopel*, Leipzig 1787, p 138; Engl ed, London 1862, ed. by A H. Wratislaw) The Venetian *bailo* all agree in their descriptions of this powerful man, for example: Constant Garzoni (1573, in Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii 1, p 411), Antiono Tiepolo (1576, in Albèri, *op. cit*, iii 2, p 153 *sq.*), Lor. Bernardo (1592, in Albèri, *op cit*, iii 2, p. 358· *fu fatto massar* [e g *ma'zūl*, deposed] *per causa della caicadin* [e g *Kaya Khatun*]), Paolo Contarini (1583, in Albèri, *op cit*, iii. 3, p. 240), Giov Moro (1590, in Albèri, *op cit*, iii 3, p 329, 372 *sq*), Matteo Zane (1594, in Albèri, *op cit*, iii 3, p. 420 *sqq.*). He is described (1573) as "a strong young man with a thick black beard" (in St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt on/M 1674, p 31, 109; cf also C Garzoni, *op cit*, iii. 1, p 411: *non molto grande di persona, con barba lunga, castagna, di bella e grata presenza*) Sinān Pasha was immensely rich; his estate is fully described in H F v Diez, *Denkwurdigkeiten von Asien*, Berlin 1811, part 1, p 101 *sqq* ; cf Pertsch, *Turk Hss Berlin*, p 79: MS 39, fol 105a, also J v Hammer, *G O.R*, iv 258 *sq* A brother of Sinān Pasha was the Beglerbeg Ayās Pasha (d 975 = 1568) executed by order of Sulaimān the Great, who left two sons Mahmūd Pasha (cf *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 314) and Mustafā Pasha (*ibid*, iv 380) On Ayās Pasha, not to be confused with the grand vizier of the same name, who also was an Albanian (from Valona) cf *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, i 447

Bibliography (in addition to works already mentioned)· the Ottoman historians most of whom have been used by J von Hammer, also *Ḥadīḳat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 35 *sqq.*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i 76 *sq*, followed word for word in *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii 103 *sq* — An Arabic biography of Sinān Pasha is in the *MS. Wetzstein 409* (Ahlwardt, vii, N° 8471) on fol 135b — On Sinān's son, the Beglerbeg Mehmed Pasha, cf J v Hammer, *G O R*, x. 527 below (Index s.v) and *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 139, he died in Djumādā I, 1014 (September-October 1605) Among Sinān Pasha's relatives was the grand vizier Ferhād Pasha, who again was related to Pertew Pasha (cf. Marcantonio Domini [1562] in Albèri, *Relazioni*, iii 3, p. 188 at the top: *questo Pertaff passa gli anni 55; è albanese e parente del magnifico Ferrat bassa, essendo maritato nella madre di sua moglie*).

(FRANZ BABINGER)

SIND, consists of the lower valley and delta of the river Indus (Sindhu) from which the province takes its name, and lies between 20° 35′ and 28° 39′ N and 66° 40′ and 71° 10′ E.

The Aryans were settled on the Indus before 1000 B. C. and about 500 B. C. Darius Hystaspes conquered the valley, but Persian rule in Sind had passed away when Alexander the Great traversed

the country in 325 B. C. After his departure it was included first in the Mauryan empire and then in that of the Bactrian Greeks. From the first century before, until the seventh century after, Christ India was invaded by various hordes from Central Asia, of whom the Ephthalites, or White Huns, settled in Sind and established the Rāi dynasty, which was terminated by the usurpation of the Brāhman minister Čač, whose son Dāhir was reigning when Sind was invaded by the Arabs. In A. D. 711 Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim Sākifi, invaded the country, by the order of the Khalīfa al-Walīd, in order to avenge the maltreatment of some Muslim merchants who had failed to obtain redress, captured the seaport of Daibul, the town of Nerankot (the modern Ḥaidarābād), and Rāwar, where he defeated and slew Dāhir, and finally took the capital, Aror or Alor, and, in 713, Multān, where much treasure fell into his hands. He had barely had time to organize his conquest when he was superseded by Sulaimān, who succeeded al-Walīd in 715, and, as a protégé of al-Ḥadjdjādj, whose cruelty had made many enemies, was put to death with torture at Wāsiṭ, on the Tigris

A succession of Muslim governors ruled Sind, leaving the administration chiefly in the hands of the natives, who enjoyed the free exercise of their religion; but the hold of the khalīfas on the province gradually weakened, and in 871 was entirely relaxed. Two Arab chiefs founded independent states at Multān and Manṣūra, but when Mahmūd of Ghaznī led his raids into India, Abu 'l-Fath Dā'ūd, governor of Multān and Sind, still maintained the fiction of allegiance to the khalīfa. His adherence to the Ḳarmaṭian heresy cost him his throne, and Maḥmūd placed a governor of his own in Multān. In 1053 the Sumras, a Rādjpūt tribe, cast off the yoke of Farrukhzād and established their authority in Lower Sind, but the upper province remained subject to the Ghaznawids and was conquered, with the rest of their dominions, by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b Sām His lieutenant, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, submitted to Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aibak of Dihlī, but was defeated by Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, whose authority he refused to recognize At the beginning of the fourteenth century the troops of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī overthrew the Sumras and destroyed their capital, but in 1333 the Sammās, a Rādjpūt tribe converted to Islām, seized the reins of government, and set up a ruler of their own with the title of Djām. Muḥammad b. Tughlaḳ of Dihlī died in March, 1351, on the banks of the Indus, while in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammās had harboured, and Sind contended successfully with the imperial arms until the Sammās were reduced to obedience and and vassalage by Fīrūz, Muḥammad's successor. With the decline of the power of Dihlī that of the Sammās revived, the greatest of their line being Djām Nanda, or Niẓām al-Dīn, who reigned for forty-six years and died in 1509. In 1520 Sind was invaded by Shāh Beg Arghūn who, having been driven from Ḳandahār by Bābur, succeeded in establishing himself in Sind. Djām Fīrūz, the last of the Sammās, was driven into Gudjarāt, where he died. Humāyūn, expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Shāh, made two abortive attempts to conquer Sind, during the second of which his son Akbar was born at Umarkot in 1542, but was compelled to flee into Persia. On the death of Shāh Ḥasan, the last of the Arghūns, in 1554, the Tarkhāns, another short lived dynasty, became rulers of Sind, and witnessed the sack of Thatha by the Portuguese in 1555, but in 1592 Akbar defeated Mīrzā Djānī Beg Tarkhān, and annexed Sind, which was incorporated in the *ṣuba* of Multān The province was a part of the empire, but owing to its remoteness local affairs remained much in native hands. The Dāūdputras were powerful in Lower Sind in the seventeenth century, and were succeeded by the Kalhoras, who in 1701 ousted them from Shikārpūr and obtained from Awrangzīb a large grant of land. For the next forty years the Kalhoras increased their power, but in 1740 Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora incurred the displeasure of Nādir Shāh, to whom that part of Sind lying to the west of the Indus had been ceded, and was compelled to surrender Shikārpūr and Sībī and to pay a heavy tribute In 1754 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (Abdālī), to whom Sind had passed on the death of Nādir Shāh, drove Nūr Muḥammad to Djaisalmer, where he died, but his son, Muhammad Murād Yār Khān, appeased the Afghān and retained the kingdom. In 1768 his brother and successor, Ghulām Shāh, founded Ḥaidarābād on the site of Nerankot. The relations of the Kalhoras with the English East India Company, which in 1772 opened a factory at Thatha, were the reverse of friendly, and the factory was closed in 1775. Some years later Mīr Bidjar, a chief of the Tālpūr tribe of the Balūč, rose in rebellion, and the Kalhora compromised the matter by appointing him minister, but he was assassinated in 1781 after defeating an Afghān army near Shikārpūr, and his son 'Abd-Allāh Khān Tālpūr drove 'Abd al-Nabī, the last of the Kalhoras, to Kalāt. 'Abd al-Nabī regained his throne and put 'Abd Allāh to death, but the latter's kinsman, Mīr Fatḥ 'Alī, defeated him and finally compelled him to take refuge in Djodhpūr, where his descendants still hold distinguished rank. In 1783 Fatḥ 'Alī, the first of the Tālpūr Mīrs, established himself as Ra'īs of Sind The history of the country under its new rulers is bewildering, owing to its partition among different members of the family — (1) the Haidarābād or Shāhdādpūr branch, ruling in Central Sind, (2) the Mīrpūr or Manikānī branch, seated at Mīrpūr, and (3) the Suhrābānī branch, ruling at Khairpūr.

The early relations of the English East India Company with the Mīrs of Sind were unsatisfactory, and difficulties in connection with the passage of British troops through the province on the outbreak of the first Afghān war in 1838 led to the introduction of some degree of British control. The Mīrs were now amenable, but their army rose against the British, and in 1843 was defeated by Sir Charles Napier at Miānī. Mīr 'Alī Murād, of the Suhrābānī branch, remained faithful to the British, and was permitted to retain his principality of Khairpūr, but the rest of Sind was annexed, and has since been a British province. Under the administration of Sir Bartle Frere it remained tranquil during the Mutiny of 1857, and the only British regiment in the province was set free for the suppression of the revolt elsewhere.

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Bengal; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lithographed edition of 1832; R. F. Burton, *Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley*, London 1851; do., *Scinde Revisited*, London 1877; M. R. Haig, *The Indus Valley Delta Country*, London 1894; H. G. Raverty, *The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxi, 1893, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxii. 389, Oxford 1908. (T. W. HAIG)

SINDIBĀD-NĀME (Syntipas), a widely known collection of stories, which since the time of Pétis de la Croix has been much studied by folklorists. The general theme is as follows: A king entrusts the education of his son to the sage Sindibād. The prince is ordered by his tutor to keep silence for seven days; during this time he is calumniated by the favourite queen and the king is on the point of putting him to death Seven viziers, by each telling one or two stories succeed in postponing his execution and on the eighth day the prince, who has recovered the use of his speech, is proved innocent. This cycle is also known as the history of the seven viziers. In another cycle (the history of the ten viziers, *Bakhtiyār-nāma*), ten viziers accuse a prince whom they wish to ruin in the eyes of the king and the prince defends himself by relating these stories. The *Tūti-Nāme* studied by Pertsch is another similar collection

The book of Sindibād is referred to by Masʿūdī (tenth cent.) alongside of *The Thousand and One Nights*; at a later date it became incorporated in the *1001 Nights*, but also retained an independent existence It is found in the Oriental literatures, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, Pehlevi, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and it entered the mediaeval literatures of the West; French, Latin, Italian, Catalan, Slavonic, Armenian and German versions are known. India has stories of the same genre and Benfey has attempted to derive the Syntipas from an Indian prototype *Siddhapati*, which we do not however possess; its Indian descent has however not been rigorously established. It may be noted on the other hand that the moral of these stories and characteristic feature of the trial by silence would rather recall Pythagorean tradition

Bibliography: The editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* and the *Cent et Une Nuits*, transl. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1911, a collection which contains an Arabic version of the story of the Seven Viziers older than the Persian versions that we possess; the *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes* de Chauvin, viii, Liège 1904; Clouston, *The Book of Sindibād*, Glasgow 1884; René Basset, *Deux manuscrits d'une version arabe inédite du recueil des Sept Vizirs*, *J. A*, Ser. x, t. ii., 1903; do., *Contes arabes, histoire des dix visirs*, transl., Paris 1883; Comparetti, *Researches respecting the Book of Sindibād*, London 1882; H. A Keller, *Le Roman des Sept Sages*, Tübingen 1836. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

SINDJĀBĪ (SENDJĀBĪ), a Kurd tribe in the Persian province of Kirmānshāh. In summer the Sindjābī pitch their tents in the plain of Māhīdasht and in the district of Djwānrū; in winter they move to the lands south of the Alwand (in Kurdish: Halawān from the ǫlder Ḥulwān, cf. SARPUL), a left bank tributary of the Diyāla which it joins near Khāniḳīn. Here the pasturages of the Sindjābī stretch from Sarpul to the mountains of Agh-dāgh, Bāghče and Ḳaṭār (south of Khāniḳīn) and in the south stretch as far as Ḳala-naft. The delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier in 1913 left a part of those winter-quarters of the tribe on the Turkish side but the inconvenience of this division was officially recognised. On the left bank of the Alwand the Sindjābī occupy a narrow strip to the north and west of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [q v] up to the present frontier between Persia and the ʿIrāḳ; they have some ten villages there.

The tribe consists of twelve clans (Čalabī, Dalıyān, Seimenewend, Surkhewend, Ḥakḳ-Naẓar-khānī, etc.). The number of families cannot be over 2,500, of which not more than 500 are pure Sindjābī; the remainder consists of incorporated clans: Lūrs (Arkawāzī) Watkawend, Djāf Kurds (Barāz) and Gūrān (Tufangčī). About 1,500 families of the Sindjābī agglomeration winter on the Alwand. According to Soane they speak *Kurdī*, i. e. the dialect which does not belong to the Kurmāndjī group.

The chiefs of the Sindjābī have often acted as governors of the frontier district of Kaṣr-i Shīrīn. The tribe provided the government with a contingent of 200 irregular horsemen.

The *Sheref-nāme* does not mention the Sindjābī. According to themselves they once lived in Bayāt near Shīrāz whence their chief Bakhtiyār Khān brought them into the province of Kirmānshāh where they lived with the Gūrān for some time. This may explain their conversion to the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥakḳ (cf. ʿALĪ-ILĀHĪ) although they often profess themselves outwardly "Twelver Shīʿīs" (*ithnā-ʿasharī*) Under Hasan Khān Čalabī, son of Bakhtiyār Khān, the Sindjābī formed themselves into a separate tribe The son of Ḥasan Khān, Shīr Khān Ṣamṣām al-Mamālik, became chief in 1905 and died an octogenarian in 1915. His sons Ḳāsim Ḳhān, ʿAlī Abkar Khān etc played a certain part in the military operations of 1916—1918; being on the side of the Turks, they adopted a hostile attitude to the English and Russians

Bibliography: Čirikov, *Putevoi journal*, St. Petersburg 1875, *passim*; E. Soane, *In Disguise to Mesopotamia and Kurdistān*², 1926; A. Orlov, *Putevyie dnevniki de 1913* in *Materialy po Vostoku*, ii, Petrograd 1915; H. Rabino, Kermanchāh, *R M M.*, March 1920 (an article with very full authorities). (V. MINORSKY)

SINDJĀR, the name of the capital of a district in Diyār Rabīʿa [q v.] (Balad Sindjār) and of the ranges running north of it (Djabal Sindjār). The town, which is identical with the ancient Singara is situated a very little east of 42° East Long. (Greenwich) and in 36° 22′ N. Lat in a valley of the Ṭawḳ (now pronounced Ṭōg) range which is south of and parallel to the Djabal Sindjār, through which the Nahr Tharthār enters the steppes on the south. On the alleged navigability of the river in the middle ages cf. Sarre-Herzfeld (*Bibl.*), i. 193 *sq.* As the walls show, the town was at one time much larger than now. It was bound to be prosperous from its favourable geographical situation and the fact that it lay on a fertile slope surrounded by desert. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal it was partly irrigated artificially so that all kinds of fruits grew there. As a stage on one of the two great roads from Mōṣul to Beled (Balaṭ, Eski Mōṣul, see ESKI), to Khābūr [q. v.]

and on to Ra's al-ʿAin, Sindjār was able to carry on an extensive trade in its own products. Now the conditions are entirely changed Sarre and Herzfeld point out especially that in contrast to what the geographers say, namely that date-palms were extensively cultivated in Sindjār, there is not a single palm-tree there now and the limit of fruit bearing by the date-palm lies much farther south Sachau (*Bibl.*) however talks of fertile fields in the neighbourhood of the town — The people of the Djabal Sindjār and of the town are Kurds, who belong to the sect of the Yazīdīs. The district was already Yazīdī in the middle ages.

Bibliography: The ancient history of Singara is outlined in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, 1911 *sqq*, i 203 The statements of the mediaeval geographers are collected in Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 98 *sq* ; all the necessary references to the sources are given there and in Sarre-Herzfeld, i 204 For the history of the town under Islām what is said under SARŪDJ holds good Al-Samʿānī, (*G M S*, xx, 1912), f 312*a*—*b*, gives a few bearers of the *nisba* Sindjārī Modern conditions in Djabal and B. Sandjār are fully described by E Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 1883, p 322 *ssq* and there are a number of notes in M v Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, 1899 (Index s v Beled [does not distinguish the different places of this name] and Ǧebel Sinǧār). The above account is mainly based on the full description of the mountains, town and monuments (with sources and bibliography) in Sarre-Herzfeld, index s v Djabal Sindjār, Nahr Tharthār and Sindjār (in the quotations from vol II/i 355, 7) where further references are given — Maps in the works just mentioned General view of the town in Sarre-Herzfeld, iii, plate lxxxiv — On the Yazīdīs of Sindjār cf Pognon, *Sur les Yézides du Sindgar*, *R. O. C.*, x., 1915/1917, part 3 (reference by Strothmann in *Isl*, xiii, 1923, p 371); Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz*, s v Singara and Σινδρας. (M PLESSNER)

ṢINF (A), pl. *aṣnāf*; — synonyms *ḥirfa*, *kār*, pl *kārāt*; *ḥanṭa* in Morocco

Historical. The organisation of labour and the grouping of workers into corporations in Muslim cities dates from the ninth century of our era and is closely connected with a movement half religious and half social, socialistic in origin, that of the Ḳarmaṭians [q v]. At this period, industrial development and the growth of urban populations produced serious crises under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. The servile war of the Zindj [q. v] at Baṣra, riots in Baghdād in the first thirty years of the tenth century and lastly the anti-Arab nationalist (Shuʿūbīya, q. v.) reaction in the provinces.

The custom, Ḳarmaṭian in origin, of organising into gilds attained its zenith in the Muslim countries subjected to the new state which arose as a result of the propaganda of the Ḳarmaṭians, namely the Fāṭimid caliphate of Cairo (tenth-eleventh century). Then, in 1171, the reconquest of Egypt for Sunnī orthodoxy affected it seriously. The gilds were subjected to strict police control and gradually lost all their privileges. Their organisation survived in very humble forms especially in the Ottoman empire, in the Pandjāb, in Persia and in Turkestān, down to the last years of the xixth century (Ḳudsī described those of Damascus in 1883).

Since 1917 the ancient Muslim gilds have tended to become *naḳābāt* or syndicates for the new professions, dependent on the Third International (Moscow). This change was noticed in Java in 1920, then in Bukhārā, at Ṭeherān, in Egypt and finally in Tunis since 1924.

Organisation. The earliest sketch of the organisation of the Muslim gild is found — unfortunately in too concise form — in the eighth of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (eleventh century) mixed with Hellenistic conceptions which suggest that they are Byzantine survivals

From the xvth century we have (in manuscripts) a series of catechisms of initiation into the gild, called *kutub al-futuwwa* (q. v.; in Turkish *futuwwet-nāme*; in Persian *kasbnāme*) They enable us to construct the hierarchy of the grades — *naḳīb* (syn *pīr*, *ʿarīf*, *amīn*) They describe the ceremony of initiation (*shadd*; q v); but they do not give any details regarding the regular working of the gild tribunal and the degree of its competence. We can only gather these details from historical and legal texts and from the narratives of travellers like Ibn Djubair and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

The master-craftsman is called *muʿallim*, his journeyman *khalīfa*, the apprentice *mutaʿallim*, the labourer *ṣāniʿ*. The members of each gild are pledged to guard the secrets of manufacture and to supply good work at a fair price; the whole body of traditional customs of the gild, orally transmitted, is called *dustūr*, a word which has become well-known since 1908 with the meaning "political constitution" and has been in use among the artisans from a remote period

Since the ninth century the following have been organised into gilds, the islamised clients (*mawālī*), enfranchised and converted, but not the Arab conquerors nor their mercenaries, nor their slaves. Alongside of the clients there have been constituted under their aegis, certain Jewish and Christian corporations, since it is to them alone that Muslim states permit trading in and working in precious metals and drugs

Since, for ten centuries, there has been no revolution in the technical processes employed by the Muslim artisans, the study of the distribution of the different gilds in the Muslim cities, Fez or Baghdād, Damascus or Cairo, shows that as a general principle there was a fixed topographical distribution of the trade gilds in any particular Muslim city. The principal fixed points were the offices of the money-changers beside the mint, the public market and the tribunal of the *muḥtasib*. the ḳaisārīya [q v] at once general shops and the piece-goods exchange; the thread market; lastly the university, organised into a corporation from its origin (Ḳarmaṭian propaganda). We know of other centres, economic in origin, the specialised markets for the sale of goods brought to the town from the country or from abroad — the great caravanserāis (*khān*, *okāla*, etc).

A certain number of conditions, specifically Muslim in origin, affect labour in practice, the distribution of tools and the recruiting of labourers. Firstly there is the institution of *ḥubūs* or *awḳāf*, inalienable public property such as irrigation, canals, mills, baths, gardens, bridges, drains; the administration of the *ḥubūs* also affects the gilds,

through the shops, nearly all the fixtures of which are *ḥubūs*. Then there is the institution of the *ḥisba* or control of the markets entrusted to a *muḥtasib* This institution, purely canonical in the early centuries, and fallen into disuse in the tenth to twelfth centuries in the great period of liberty for the gilds, was revived by the state from the twelfth century as a police office with the object of keeping a close watch on the gilds, which were suspected, especially in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, of Ḳarmaṭian and revolutionary sympathies The manuals for the *ḥisba* by Nibrāwī and others show this; in Morocco, for example, the *muḥtasib* ultimately established a compulsory weekly court, when, according to Muslim law, he ought on the contrary to have prohibited the gilds from fixing compulsory rates (*tasʿīr*) for provisions.

There arose a whole collection of moral problems in connection with the gilds Muslim literature is rich in documents referring to the gilds of charlatans, forgers, immoral and criminal associations, and the theologians and jurists have handed down to us collections of cases of conscience and mental reservations (*ḥiyal*), the importance of which has recently been shown by Schacht

Bibliography: There is a general bibliography of the history of labour in the Muslim world in ch 3 of vol. lviii of the *R M M* and a summary chronology in vol liii, p. 19–21

The connections with the Third International have been exposed in the same *Revue*, vol li, lii and lviii

Additional reference will be found in the Bibliography to the article SHADD

(Louis Massignon)

SINGAPORE (from the Sanskrit *Simhapura*, "the lion city") is the name of an island and a city thereon, situated in 1° 17′ N, 103° 50′ E (Gr), at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, from which it is separated by a narrow strait recently bridged by a causeway which carries the line of railway running to Bangkok In the Middle Ages Singapore was a port of call for the trade between India and China, and its native name Tĕmasek is recorded in Chinese, Javanese and Malay sources Originally part of the South Sumatran empire of Śrī Vidjaya (Palembang), it enjoyed a brief period of practical independence (from *circa* 1250[1]) In the early part of the 14th century it was unsuccessfully besieged by the Siamese It is claimed in the Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365) under the name of Tumasik as a vassal of the Javanese empire of Madjapahit, and was destroyed by the Javanese *circa* 1377. After that event it was superseded by Malacca, and dwindled into a comparatively unimportant place, though still occasionally visited by passing ships for wood, water and other provisions, and having a *shāhbandar* (port officer) under the Muslim Sultans of Malacca (down to 1511) and subsequently under their successors, the Sultans of Johor. On February 6, 1819 a British settlement was founded at Singapore by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles on behalf of the East India Company. It was on the site of the old medieval port town and included only a small part of the island; but by a treaty made in 1824 the whole island with its adjacent islets was ceded to Great Britain in full sovereignty.

At the time of the British occupation the inhabitants numbered only a few hundred, partly Muslims (Malays) and partly wandering sea gypsies (Orang Laut) living mainly in their boats. The growth of the town was rapid The trade is mainly in the hands of European and Chinese merchants, though other races, such as Indians and Arabs, also share in it. Three-fourths of the inhabitants are Chinese. In 1921 the population within municipal limits was 350,355, that of the island generally 418,358. Of this last number about 64,000 to 65,000 were Muslims, the bulk, viz 53,595, being classed as Malays (though this latter figure included only 33,184 real Malays, 13,328 Javanese, 6,582 Boyanese, 1,142 Bugis and 349 Banjarese, and a few others) The remaining Muslims comprised some 9,000 Indians and about 1,200 Arabs The great majority are Sunnīs of the school of Shāfiʿī Being in touch with the Muslims of Arabia and India on the one hand and with those of the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies on the other, Singapore, though mainly non-Muslim in population, is an important link in the chain of Muslim propaganda and in the pilgrim traffic to Mecca

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ṢĪN-I KALĀN (literally Great China), Arabic and Persian name (the Arabic *ṣīn* is of course for the Persian *čīn*) for the seaport of Canton in the Mongol period, it is known especially from the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q. v.] (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 271 *sq*.) but is used by other Muslim (Rashīd al-Dīn, Waṣṣāf) and also by Western writers (Odoric de Pordenone, Marignolli, also in the Cartu Catalana; cf. the quotations in Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London 1866, p. 105, and Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Blochet, 1911, p. 493) For Ṣīn-i Kalān Ibn Battūṭa also has Ṣīn al-Ṣīn; this latter name is according to Yule, taken from Idrīsī [q.v.] who describes in the extreme east of the Chinese empire a large trading town under the name Ṣīnīya al-Ṣīn (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl A. Jaubert, Paris 1836—1840, i 193 *sq*). (W. Barthold)

SĪNŪB, a town and seaport on the north coast of Asia Minor between the mouths of the Saḳariya [q. v] and the Ḳïzïl Irmaḳ [q. v] and about equidistant from the ports of Ṣamsūn and Ineboli, 75 miles N. E. of Ḳasṭamūnī [q. v.]. It is the celebrated Σινώπη of the ancients and has retained this name. Muḥammadan authors know it by the name of Sanūb (Abu 'l-Fidā', p. 392 and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, *N.E.*, xiii. 361), Ṣanūb (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii 348), Sināb (Anon. Giese, p. 34; Urudj Beg, ed Babinger, p. 73), Sīnūb (ʿĀshïḳ Pasha Zāde, and, following him, all the Turkish historians and other writers). The town lies on an isthmus running N.E. from the mainland to

which it joins the peninsula of Boz Tepe Adasī. This position gives the town two harbours but only that on the south, the safer of the two, has remained in use since ancient times The strip of coast behind Sīnūb is bounded by the great range, which borders the Central Anatolian plateau, and is particularly difficult to cross directly south of the town.

The history of Sinope goes back to a remote period. It was already an important port for trade with caravans from Mesopotamia and Cilicia, before it became a Greek colony of Milesians, in the eighth century B. C. Herodotus, Xenophon and Strabo describe it, but in the time of the latter it was no longer the great terminal port for continental trade (cf. Ramsay, *Historical Topography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p 27) The town however retained its importance; in the second century B. C, it was the capital of Mithridates of Pontus and after its capture by Lucullus in 70 B. C, it knew several centuries of prosperity as a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Julia Felix When, under the Byzantine empire, the interior of Asia Minor gradually lost its Hellenism, Sinope remained a commercial city of the first rank. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Saracens in 832 had as one result that Theophobos, commander of the "Persian" auxiliary troops of the emperor, was proclaimed king of Sinope for a brief period; this episode is related by the Byzantine sources, Symeon Magister and Theophanes Continuatus.

As the conquest of Asia Minor by the Saldjūks was confined for the first century to the interior of the peninsula, Sinope remained Byzantine, but also served as a port for the merchants of the Saldjūk empire, who embarked there for the Crimea (Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i. 298) At the beginning of the xiiith century the town passed into the hands of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond The Saldjūk Sultān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaikubādh took the town from them Ibn Bībī, who gives a detailed account of its capture (*Recueil des historiens des Seldjoucides*, ed Houtsma, iv. 54 *sqq*) gives as the date of the capture the 26th Djumādā II, 611, corresponding to the Nov 2, 1214 (this day was a Sunday while Ibn Bībī talks of a Saturday) The Saldjūk Sultān had taken advantage of the discord between the two Greek empires, but the immediate pretext for attacking the town was the raids which the lord of Sinope (in Ibn Bībī and Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed Bedjan, p 429, called Kīr Aleks, i. e. Kyr Alexis Comnenos, cf Fallmerayer, *Gesch des Kaisertums Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, p. 94) had made into Turkish territory Abu 'l-Fidā' seems also to allude to this conquest (*Taʾrīkh*, Constantinople 1286, iii. 122 under 611 A. H, cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit*, p 96); in any case Barhebraeus is wrong in saying that Alexis was killed by the Saldjūks. The Byzantine historians do not mention the taking of Sinope.

The town was given a Saldjūk garrison and the church turned into a mosque Some time afterwards, the town was given as a hereditary fief to the celebrated vizier Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaimān Perwāne, who built a fine mosque there which is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It was about the same time that William of Rubruck passed through the town, which he calls Sinopolis, on his way to Russia. According to Münedjdjim Bashī (iii. 31) Perwāne was succeeded at Sīnūb by his son Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad (676—696) then by his other son Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Masʿūd, on whose death in 700 A. H his lands passed to the lords of Ḳastamūnī. But another authority (ʿAlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v. 22, quoting Rūḥī) says that after the deposition of the Sultān ʿAlā al-Dīn (in 1307) Ghāzān Khān granted all the lands in the north and northwest of Asia Minor to Ghāzī Čelebi, son of the Saldjūk Sultān Masʿūd This Ghāzī Čelebi is well known in history especially for his bravery in his acts of piracy (for example he dived under the water to destroy the keels of enemy vessels) which he committed against the Genoese and the Greeks of Trebizond, whose ally he had sometimes been Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) and probably Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Takwim al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, p 393) however make Ghāzī Čelebi a descendant of Perwāne. After his death, Sīnūb was taken by Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaimān Pasha, lord of Ḳastamūnī (cf. Isfendiyār Oghlū); it was shortly after this event that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town (c 1340) During the xiiith century, the town retained its importance as a commercial port, connected with the interior by a road to Iznīḳ and Brūsa (Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, i. 196) Trade was mainly in the hands of the Genoese, who probably had a consulate there since 1351; there was also a Genoese colony (Heyd, *op cit*, i. 550) Sīnūb was the last refuge of the Isfendiyār Oghlū, when the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd I had attacked them and in the end they abandoned the town to him in 797 (1394—1395), according to the old Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshīḳ Pasha Zāde, p 72; Anon Giese, p 34) After the restoration of this dynasty by Timūr in 805 A H Sīnūb again passed under their rule, it was the seaport by which the rebels against the Ottomans, like Shaikh Badr al-Dīn (cf. Babinger, in *Isl*, xi 60) were able to escape under the protection of the Isfendiyār Oghlū It was however only in the year 1458 that Muhammad II definitely incorporated the town in his territory by a treaty with the Isfendiyār Oghlū Ismāʿīl Beg, who received in exchange fiefs in Rūm Ili. This event is recorded by all the Turkish historians and by the Byzantine Ducas and Chalcondylas; the latter mention the formidable defences, that had been erected in the town

Under Ottoman rule the town never again became a seaport of importance. In 1614, it suffered from an invasion of the Don Cossacks (Naʿīmā, i 298), which resulted in energetic measures of defence being taken. Ewliyā Celebi (ii. 73) says that it was forbidden to the commandant to go more than a cannon-shot from the citadel and that the attacks of the Cossacks stopped in the reign of Murād IV. The only serious event since that date was the naval battle fought on Nov. 30, 1853 between the Russians and a Turkish fleet in the roadstead of Sīnūb; the Turks were completely defeated and the town was partly destroyed by the bombardment This event was one of the immediate causes of the Crimean war (von Rosen, *Geschichte der Turkei*, Leipzig 1867, ii 194).

Under the administrative reforms in the Turkish Empire, Sīnūb became the capital of a *sandjak* and of a *merkez ḳaḍā* in the *sandjak*, in the wilāyet of Ḳastamūnī; the other *ḳaḍā* of the *sandjak* are Boyābād and Istefān. Cuinet gives the population of the town as 9,749 of whom

5,041 are Muslims. From the description the town has barely changed in the last few centuries. The citadel is in the west part of the town and is surrounded by enormous walls of the Byzantine period; seen from the peninsula of Boz Tepe, the citadel looks like the bridge of a ship, according to Ewliyā. Cuinet mentions other remains of older edifices. The quarters inhabited by the Greek Christians were outside the walls of the town, on the Boz Tepe side. It was this part that suffered most in the bombardment of 1853 Among the mosques Ewliyā gives pride of place to the Sulṭān ʿAlā al-Dīn Djāmiʿi; he gives a detailed description of the *mimbar* which was a marvel of art built of marble. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Sulaimān I wanted to transport the *mimbar* to Constantinople for the Sulaimāniya Mosque but when they attempted to move it, it cracked so that the Sulṭān abandoned his plan. The town has many other old mosques and turbes (including that of Saiyid Ibrāhīm Ballāl and that of Sulṭān Khātūn), the study of which will throw much light on the history of the town. The industry for which Sīnūb is more particularly noted is that of goldsmiths' work (especially filigree work). The yards of Sīnūb used to build the large Turkish warships of wood from the mountains to the south. Towards the end of the XIXth century, the traffic at the port of Sīnūb was less important than that of Ṣamsūn and Ineboli An attempt to revive the trade of the town has been made by building a road for vehicular traffic from Sinūb to Amasia, but it is only finished as far as Boyābād

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SIPĀH, SIPĀHĪ, SIPĀH SĀLĀR. [See SEPOY].

SIPIHR, "celestial sphere", nom de plume (*takhalluṣ*) of the Persian historian and man of letters, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī of Kāshān. After a studious youth spent in his native town he settled definitely in Ṭihrān, where he found a patron in the poet-laureate (*malik al-shuʿarāʾ*) of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān On his accession (1250 = 1834) Muhammad Shāh appointed him his private panegyrist (*maddāḥ-i khāṣṣa*) and secretary and accountant in the treasury (*munshī wa-mustawfī-i dīwān*). The same Shāh entrusted him with the composition of a universal history. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh also encouraged him in this enterprise and in 1272 (1853) conferred on him the title of *Lisān al-Mulk* ("Tongue of the State"). Sipihr died about 1296 (1878). Gobineau who had known him, speaks of his "gravité docte et administrative" in contrast to the "façons légères et riantes" of his colleague Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat.

The book entitled *Barāhīn al-ʿAdjam* finished by Sipihr in 1251 deals with Persian prosody; it is illustrated by examples from the Persian classical poets. The *Dīwān* of Sipihr does not seem to logies (*Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*) while showing technical skill lack originality and taste. Sipihr's history, with the pretentious title of *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh* ("Effacement of the Chronicles") according to the Indian catalogues, consists of fourteen volumes of which the last stops at the period of the fifth Shiʿī Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir (d. 113 = 731). Its style is evidently appreciated in India where extracts from it have been published, as texts for examinations in Persian, but the present-day Persians criticise it severely and say it is full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Of more importance is volume V (?) which, anticipating the full scope of the work contains the official history of the Ḳadjār [q. v.] dynasty It consists of three parts coming down to 1267 (1851) with a later supplement dealing with events down to 1273 (1857). This chronicle has been much used by the historians of the Bābī movement [q v], Gobineau, Kazembek and Browne. The latter pays a tribute to Sipihr's candour and accuracy ("scarcely surpassed by the witty and sarcastic de Gobineau") with which he depicts on the one hand the faults of certain representative Persian officials and on the other the courage and heroism of the adepts of the sect

Bibliography: *Barāhīn al-ʿAdjam fī Ḳawānīn al-Muʿdjam*, 8°, 165 p, Ṭihrān 1272; *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, vol. I, parts I and 2, folio, Tihrān 1285; the *Mirʾāt al-Buldān* of Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, III 98, among the events of the year 1287 announced the printing of volume V of *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*; all 14 volumes were to be published in Ṭihrān. Vol II., part 6 (martyrdom of Husain), appeared at Bombay 1309, folio 24—552; *Intikhābat-i Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, Lahore 1904, 200 p ; Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859. p 454, 461—462; do., *Les religions et les philosophies*, Paris 1866, p. 157; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, Ṭihrān 1295, II 156—181, E G Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, Cambridge 1891, II 173—184; do, *A History of Pers Liter in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 326, 344, 413; Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Pers MSS*, London 1895, p. 89, E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, Paris 1905, II 255—256; E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books*, in the *B. M.*, London 1922, p. 527.

(V MINORSKY)

SĪRA (A), the traditional biography of Muḥammad The word seems to be used for the first time as the name of a separate branch of study in the title of Ibn Hishām's work (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 3, 4: *hādhā kitāb sīrat rasūl 'llāhi*) but there is other testimony to its use to mean biography of Muḥammad; it is already found in this sense in al-Wāḳidī (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, II/I. 18, *man rawā 'l-sīra*) and in his pupil Ibn Saʿd (*ibid.*, III/II. 152; *hāʾulāʾi aʿlamu bi 'l-sīrati wa 'l-maghāzī min ghairihim*). Besides, the word *sīra* at this time had already the sense of biography in general; it is known that a *Sīrat Muʿāwiya wa-Banī Umaiya* by ʿAwāna al-Kalbī (d. 147 or 158 A. H.) or by Minḍjāb b. al-Ḥārith (al-Tamīmī, d. 231) existed (*Fihrist*, p. 91, 18).

The meaning of "biography" comes in its turn from that of "conduct", "manner of living", which the word *sīra* has and which is a natural development from the root *s-y-r* to "betake oneself", to "travel" (*sīra* is found in the Ḳurʾān, XX. 22) in

seems that at first the plural form, *siyar*, was used by preference in connection with the biography of the Prophet, having been probably applied to the narratives of the life of Muḥammad in the style of the *siyar al-mulūk* of Pehlevi origin, with which the Arabs were acquainted at the rise of Islām (cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u Araber*, p xiv – xviii.). This term *siyar*, in the majority of references which we possess to the early productions of Arab literature relating to the biography of Muḥammad, is constantly found associated with the term *maghāzī* "military expeditions" (cf A Fischer, in Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch d Qorāns*, ii. 221) and the association of these two words helps to enlighten us as to the composite origin of the *Sīra*

I.

The Origin and Character of the Sīra

The idea of piecing together into a consecutive and organic narrative the story of the life of the Prophet from his birth to his death was neither an early nor a spontaneous one in the community of Islām. If it is natural that the deeds and sayings of the founder of the new faith should have at once attracted the interest of and have recommended themselves to the memory of his contemporaries and still more to the believers of the second generation, it is none the less true that the character of this interest was anything but historical, in the sense in which we understand the word. It was rather concerned, on the one hand with fixing the regular practice of worship and religious law according to the teaching and example of the Prophet and on the other with celebrating, after the fashion of pre-Islāmic Arabia, the warlike exploits of the Muslims under the conduct of their chief, who was regarded by the majority of his followers as an amīr, whose wisdom and bravery, favoured by divine assistance, had gained him the most dazzling successes but who did not differ markedly in character from the amīrs of the Djāhilīya. It was the former of these two motives which, as we know, gave the stimulus to the process of formation of the sunna, under the typical form of the narrative *ḥadīth* (ii 200—206), which, although presented as a collection of biographical data, in reality is quite different in aim and character The second motif, in its turn, has given rise to an abundant crop of stories relating to the Medinese period in the career of Muḥammad, completely filled with military exploits. These narratives are simply the continuation or development of the literature of the *ayyām al-ʿArab* (i. 230—231), the characteristic features of which had already become fixed at a period antecedent to Islām; they have in common with the latter the naive freshness of style, the tendency to break up the narrative into a number of episodes only very slightly connected with one another, and the abundance of poetical quotations (cf J. Horovitz in *Islamica*, ii, 1926, p. 308—312), which often must have actually formed the kernel around which the prose story later established itself. One cannot deny to this kind of production a historiographical character, but one must remember that we are not here dealing with history placed in a chronological framework nor arranged on any definite plan. We have rather to deal with a series of "war memoirs" in which the faithful reproduction (although often subjective) and the realistic description of one episode are found alongside of an inaccurate and distorted description of another, and in which, in particular, the linking up of incidents and a synthetic survey of the course of events are completely lacking.

Of quite another kind are the origins of the biography of the Prophet properly so called. The latter owes its origin to the transformation undergone by the personality of Muḥammad in the religious consciousness of Islām and to the decisive influence which certain heterogeneous elements have exercised on this transformation. It was above all contact with Judaism and Christianity and the desire to set up in successful contrast to the figures of the founders of these two religions, that of the founder of Islām which encouraged the development of the legend with which the person of Muḥammad has been surrounded and which has completely transformed and altered the nature of his character from his childhood (or even before his birth) to his death. The Prophet, who had so definitely declared during his mortal career, that he only considered himself a man like others ultimately came to represent the visible manifestation of divine perfections. his life, becoming a kind of copy of those of Moses and of Christ, was given the stamp of the supernatural in its smallest details (cf. the fundamental work of T. Andræ, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918 [*Archives d'Études Orientales*, xvi], especially ch. i.).

How are we to conceive the elaboration of this process, which appears completed in its main lines barely a century after the death of Muhammad? Does the actual narrative, which is its result, contain alongside of elements the fictitious and fabulous character of which cannot be doubted, statements which are based on a tradition more worthy of credence, in which the tendencies, corruptions and the panegyristic amplifications may perhaps contain a kernel of historical fact? Here we have a problem of historical criticism which, first raised by the great European students of Islām in the second half of the last century, is still far from a definite solution, and one which, besides, belongs rather to the study of the personality of Muhammad and of the origins of Islām, than to that of the origins and editing in literary form of the Sīra which forms the subject of this article It will be sufficient to recall here that the influence of Jewish and Christian tradition (either in the form of imitations of stories from the Old and New Testament or in that of borrowings from the *midrash* and *haggada* on the one hand, and the apocryphal gospels and Christian hagiography on the other) was long ago suspected by Sprenger, and that Noldeke (*Z D.M.G.*, 1898, lii. 16—33) was the first to point out, by analysing the stories of the conversion of the first believers, that very often the Sīra, far from reflecting an authentic tradition only represents an anticipation, presented with a show of a historical documentation, of a state of affairs much later than the events related. The history of the beginnings of Islām was adapted and idealised for the greater glory of the families and individuals who played the leading parts in the history of the Arab empire It was however Goldziher's brilliant essay on the character of the narrative *ḥadīth* (*Muh. Stud.*, ii.) that marked a decisive turning-point in the critical study of the Sīra. It was recognised that the *Sīra* in the literary form, in which it

has come down to us is simply a collection of narrative ḥadīths which do not differ substantially in their mode of formation from the more strictly doctrinal ḥadīths. In the one case as in the other, the *isnād* gives no guarantee of authenticity in its remoter links. In the one as in the other, the text contains a formulation of doctrine or a polemical point rather than a historical statement (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 28—58). The analysis of the literary processes that formed the *Sīra* has been carried to its extreme by Père H Lammens in a series of articles in which the learned Jesuit has set out to prove that the whole structure of Muslim tradition regarding the life of the Prophet, at least for the phase preceding the Hidjra, is quite without foundation Every incident related by the Sīra, each alleged historical detail is only the result of a subjective exegesis of a verse of the Kur'ān, out of which the Medīna school (where religious zeal for the memory of the Prophet was maintained with the greatest vigour) deduced by a process of "pious fraud" with the use of all sorts of learned combinations and foreign elements, the course which the life of Muḥammad "must have taken" without the existence of any support in historical tradition for the reality of the incidents related. The Sīra would thus be in substance only a great "Kur'ānic midrash", completely fabricated with the object of glorifying the Prophet and sustaining this or that other religious or political thesis The radicalism of Caetani and of Lammens, which extends even to the apparently most insignificant details of the life of Muhammad, including his name and parentage, has seemed extreme to many scholars (cf de Goeje, in *Centenario Amari*, Palermo 1910, i. 151—158, Noldeke, in *W Z.K.M.*, 1906, xxi. 297—312; *Isl*, 1913, iv. 205—212; 1914, v. 160—170; Becker, in *Isl.*, 1913, iv. 263—269 = *Islamstudien*, I eipzig 1924, i 520—527; a popular account of the question in my *Storia e religione nell' Oriente semitico*, Rome 1924, p. 111—137), nevertheless, if they have not succeeded in definitely triumphing over the views of those who think that even in that part of the Sīra which relates to the life of Muḥammad before the Hidjra a certain number of statements retain a historical value, the cardinal principle which has guided them has proved extremely fertile Detailed investigation has revealed from particular passages of the Sīra, the midrash-like method which governed its formation (cf. especially Schrieke, in *Isl.*, 1915, vi. 1—30; Bevan, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. alttest Wiss*, 1914, xxvii. 51—61; Horovitz, in *Isl.*, 1914, v. 41—53; 1919, ix 159—183; 1922, xii. 184—189); it may even be said that the character of learned combination seems to extend if not to the whole story of the Medīna period at least to some of its episodes (cf. Horovitz in *Isl.*, 1922, xii. 178—183; Vacca, in *R.S.O.*, 1923, x., p. 87—109).

The formation of the Sīra down to the period of its reduction to its "canonical" form seems to have taken place along the following lines: — the continually increasing veneration for the person of Muḥammad provoked the growth around his figure of a legend of hagiographical character in which alongside of more or less corrupt historical memories there gathered episodes modelled on Jewish or Christian religious tradition (perhaps This material became organised and systematised in the schools of the Medīna *muḥaddithūn*, through a midrash, subtle and full of combinations, of passages from the Ḳur'ān in which exegesis had delighted to discover allusions to very definite events in the life of the Prophet. It was in this way that the history of the Medīna period was formed. Religious pragmatism also seized upon stories relating to the Medīna period and modified their character, often quite profoundly, but in this field it encountered more precise historical statements, which had already been elaborated after the custom and style of dealing with stories relating to pre-Islāmic military expeditions. From the combination of these varied elements resulted the Sīra in its vulgate form, which we find already fixed in its essential features by the beginning of the second century of the Hidjra.

II.

The Reduction of the Sīra to its Literary Form.

It was the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, the professional story-tellers found throughout the Muslim world immmediately after the first Arab conquests (cf. Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, ii 161—166) who were the first to compose and disseminate stories of the life of Muhammad, which they compiled probably on the model of the Biblical legends and stories of Iranian origin, which formed the bulk of their repertoire. From this there grew up a kind of literature, which belonged to the historical novel rather than to history A specimen of this sort of literature was the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Wahb b. Munabbih (34—110 A H), the fame of which is due particularly to works relating to Biblical and South Arabian history. But it was especially at Medīna, as we have already seen, that the study of the Sīra was cultivated in deliberate fashion alongside of religious tradition. The oldest author of a book on the biography of Muḥammad, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubair (23—94), is as well known as a jurist as a historian. The son of the famous companion of the Prophet took only a very slight part in the political activity of his brothers ʿAbdallāh and Muṣʿab; early reconciled to the victorious Umayyads, he sent to the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, at the latter's request, numerous explanatory notes on points relative to the beginnings of Islām (quotations in Ṭabarī, cf. Caetani, *Annali*, i., index to vols. i. and ii ; Fuck [see *Bibliography*], p. 8, note 22). His biographical activity was however not confined to this correspondence for he also communicated to his pupils some information collected by him, according to the practice of oral transmission guaranteed by the *isnād*, which henceforth constituted the method of the Sīra as well as of Hadīth.

We see that the same rule was adopted by a contemporary of ʿUrwa, Abān b. ʿUthmān (22—105), the son of the Caliph, who also was settled at Mecca; his teaching regarding the life of the Prophet was collected into a book by his pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra (d. before 125). These earliest literary productions (to the two names just mentioned may be added that of Shuraḥbīl b. Saʿd [d. 122] whose influence seems to have been slight) are given the name *maghāzī*, which, as we have seen, re-

can also be deduced from the fragments that survive) that their contents referred mainly to the public life of the Prophet. This name *maghāzī* is also regularly borne by the works of the second and third generation of historians: we may mention besides ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Katāda (d. between 119 and 129), the more illustrious names of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (51—124) and of Mūsā b. ʿUḳba (d 141) who had a very marked influence on all later tradition. A fragment of the *maghāzī* of Mūsā published as a separate work has come down to us and was edited by Sachau (*S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1904) but it is not extensive enough to enable us to judge of the character and arrangement of this work any better than we can from passages preserved in the works of later writers.

At the same period the *ʿilm al-maghāzī* was also cultivated outside of Medīna (Sulaimān b Ṭarkhān [44—143] at Busrā, Maʿmar b Rāshid [d. 152] at Ṣanʿā'); but such success as these works attained was eclipsed by that of Muḥammad b. Ishāḳ's (d. 150 or 151, cf. II, p. 389 *sq*) book which also marks the end of the development of the Medīna tradition and the starting-point of a new conception of the Sīra While his predecessors seemed to have considered the history of the Prophet as an isolated, although grandiose, phenomenon, Ibn Isḥāḳ was the first to place Islām and its founder in the scheme of universal history The rise of Islām, according to him, is the continuation and conclusion of Jewish and Christian "sacred history" as it arises out of the divine work of creation and of the preaching of the prophets before Muḥammad, but the latter appears at the same time as the most glorious representative of Arabism through whom the age of Arab domination in the world is to be opened. This characterisation of the work of Ibn Ishāḳ is not of course taken from any explicit formulation of principles. his work is limited, like that of his predecessors, to the collection and arrangement of other documentary material but the very different titles by which his work is referred to (*mubtada' al-khalḳ, al-mabda' wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *al-maghāzī wa 'l-mabʿath wa-mabda' al-khalḳ*, *al-maghāzī wa 'l-siyar*, *al-sīra wa 'l-mubtada' wa 'l-maghāzī*, *kitāb al-khulafā'*) clearly show his plan, whether these titles refer to different parts of a single work, a regular exposé of universal history or whether, as is more probable, they do not represent the titles of one or several works published *in extenso* by the author himself but, in keeping with the character of Arabic literary production at the time of Ibn Isḥāḳ, that is essentially the putting in writing of oral teaching, they indicate in summary fashion the entire historiographical activity of Ibn Isḥāḳ, whose different pupils edited and separately transmitted one or other part. This explains the present existence of a "Sīra of Ibn Isḥāḳ" separate from the rest of his work in the well-known recension of Ibn Hishām (ii. 387) which, as is now generally recognised, has preserved for us almost intact the primitive text of Ibn Isḥāḳ. The same good fortune has not fallen to the other sections of his works, the *K. al-Mubtada'* and the *K. al-Khulafā'*, which we only possess in fragments preserved by later writers, notably al-Ṭabarī.

Ibn Isḥāḳ thus wished to compile a work of greater scope than the *maghāzī* of his predecessors. This explains why in his work the use of the *isnād* was corrupted in such a way that the scholastic tradition of the *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* was deeply shocked by it and unanimously refused him the title of a *muḥaddith*, worthy of credence (cf. the texts collected by Wustenfeld, Ibn Hishām II, introduction). This verdict (which was pronounced even in the lifetime of Ibn Isḥāḳ by no other than the great jurist Mālik b. Anas and as a result of which Ibn Isḥāḳ found himself forced to give up teaching in Medīna and to settle in the ʿIrāḳ) is all the more important as it marks the clear separation between historical, and purely doctrinal ḥadīth. It goes without saying that, in the collection of ḥadīth in the strict sense like those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, etc., we find biographical information of the first order (especially in the books devoted to the *maghāzī* and to the *manāḳib*) but the fact of containing material in common only serves to accentuate still more the difference between the two literary genres.

The abundance and the variety of material collected by Ibn Isḥāḳ forced him to enlarge the circle of his authorities and to accept a number of insufficiently supported traditions. He even takes care to give the source, not always particularly clear, of some of his information, especially when, as is often the case, it goes back to Jewish or Christian sources. He does not neglect, contrary to what seems to have been the case with his predecessors, to use poetry to supplement his sources (he has even been accused of having collected a number of apocryphal verses) and he precedes the narrative of the life of the Prophet with abundant genealogical and antiquarian notes. To sum up, the character of Ibn Isḥāḳ in comparison with the authors who preceded him is that of a real historian and in him we have the final fusion of biography of the religious type of the *muḥaddithūn* with that of the epic-legendary type of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* It is this original and personal character of the work of Ibn Isḥāḳ, which, while it explains the hostility of the schools of tradition, justifies the immense success which it has enjoyed through the centuries, a success which has not only overshadowed similar previous works and some which closely followed him (like the *maghāzī* of Abū Maʿshar [d. 170] [II. 106] and of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Abān, d. 194) but made him a decisive influence on the future development of the *Sīra* In addition to Ibn Hishām's recension, Ibn Isḥāḳ's biography was reproduced for the most part by al-Ṭabarī in his two great compilations, the *Taʾrīkh* and the *Tafsīr* and through the intermediary of these two writers it has become the principle source of later historiography.

Only one other writer has a position alongside of Ibn Isḥāḳ of hardly less importance, namely Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāḳidī (130–207) whose work as a biographer of the Prophet has come down to us by three different channels, the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (abridged translation by Wellhausen, Berlin 1882: unfortunately we do not yet possess a complete edition of the text) which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Shudjāʿ al-Thaldjī (181—261): the *sīra* which precedes the *Ṭabaḳāt* of his pupil and secretary Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230) (Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, vol. i. and ii.) in which, along with traditions going back to al-Wāḳidī, we have others of different origin; lastly the *Ṭabaḳāt* themselves, especially in vols. iii. and

iv. for all that deals with the relations of Muḥammad with his companions and with the part the latter played in the history of Islām before the death of the Prophet. With al-Wāḳidī the *Sīra* loses this unity and this combination with universal history which Ibn Isḥāḳ had given it, although he also, after the model of the latter no doubt, composed a *Kitāb al-Taʾrīḫ wa ʾl-Mabdaʾ wa ʾl-Maghāzī* (*Fihrist*, 98 end): it rather assumes the form of a collection of detached monographs, of which the most elaborate are those devoted to the public life of Muḥammad, his expeditions, his correspondence, the embassies which he received or sent. In comparison with Ibn Isḥāḳ, al-Wāḳidī shows little taste for poetry. On the contrary he had a great talent for chronology, the systematic treatment of which, as we know, goes back to him. On the other hand, in collecting the statements of tradition regarding the companions of the Prophet, al-Wāḳidī founded through Ibn Saʿd, who arranged and added to the material supplied by his master, a new branch of the study subsidiary to the *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, the development of which has been quite extraordinary viz. the *ʿilm al-riḏjāl*, the biography and criticism of the traditionists.

After al-Wāḳidī (the regular source with Ibn Isḥāḳ of successive historians beginning with al-Balādhurī [q. v.]) whose *Sīra* incorporated in his *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* goes back almost in its entirety to him (cf de Goeje in *Z. D. G M*, xxxviii., 1884, p. 387—390), the *sīra* is no longer dealt with for some centuries in works of great importance (we know relatively little about those which al-Madāʾinī, the famous historian [d 225], devoted to it, *Fihrist*, p. 101). The attention of the historians became attracted to the *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* and to the *shamāʾil* (cf. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, p 57 *sqq.*), a branch which broke off from the Sīra to assume a development of its own, while historical biography is restored, following the example of Ṭabarī and in general after him, to the great works on universal history. The countless collections of biographies of the companions of the Prophet sometimes contain historical references to the *Sīra* ,differing from those that are taken from the well known sources of Ibn Isḥāḳ and al-Wāḳidī and some of which go back to a remote antiquity. A study, which has still to be undertaken of such works as the *Istiʿāb* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, the *Usd al-Ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥadjar, etc., aiming at identifying and collecting these statements might yield appreciable results; but in any case we have only scattered and fragmentary material Still more meagre is the spoil that might be obtained in the commentaries on the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām of which the best known is the *Rawḍ* of al-Suhailī (508—581; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 135, 413). The colossal compilations of more recent date supply an incredible mass of notices, which their authors, urged by their scholarly zeal to exhaust in the completest manner possible all the sources to which they had access, have laboriously piled up; as regards matter they give no more than is contained in Ibn Isḥāḳ and al-Wāḳidī; the most that one finds in them is only some legend of late origin, the importance of which is no doubt considerable for the history of the formation and development of the cult of the personality of Muḥammad, but the value of which for his actual life-story is absolutely nothing; or they are simply variants of stories already known. Among these compilations, a list of which would immeasurably prolong this article it is sufficient to mention the *ʿUyūn al-Athar* of Ibn Saiyid al-Nās (661 or 671—734; Brockelmann, *G A. L*, ii. 71), the *al-Mawāhib al-ladunīya* by al-Ḳastallānī (851—923; Brockelmann, ii. 73), the *al-Sīrat al-Shāmīya* by Shams al-Dīn al-Shāmī (d. 942 or 974; Brockelmann, ii. 304), the *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabīya* of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (975—1044; Brockelmann, ii 307) and the commentaries on the two first works *Nūr al-Nibrās* by Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (d. 841; Brockelmann, ii 67) and *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib* by al-Zarḳānī (d. 1122; Brockelmann, ii. 319). The résumés and the versifications of the Sīra, in which Arabic literature is so rich, are of course of no historical value.

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

SIRĀDJ AL-ḲUṬRUB (a), "the gnome's lamp" or according to Idrīsī, "the glow-worm's lamp", (for other meanings of *ḳuṭrub* see Lane, vii. 2543), the name for the mandragora (*mandragora officinalis*, l.), one of the *Solanaceae* indigenous to the whole Mediterranean area, with a turnip-shaped root often in two parts, thickly covered with root-fibres, bearing a clump of large, egg-shaped, sinuate leaves, between which grow the axillary petiolated bell-shaped flowers. The fruit is a reddish yellow berry about the size of a cherry which from ancient times has been used for medicinal and magical purposes, as a poison, narcotic or love potion, as early, for example, as the Old Testament under the name *dūdāʾim* (Gen. xxx. 14). According to al-Tamīmī, the plant is also called *yabrūḥ al-waḳād* and *shadjarat al-ṣanam*. It is the queen of the seven mandragora and according to Hermes the herb which Solomon wore under his signet which gave him power over the djinn. The plant is therefore also valuable against all illnesses caused by evil spirits, such as lameness, cramps, epilepsy, loss of memory, etc. According to Ibn Sīnā mandragora is given to a patient to destroy his sensitiveness to pain during severe operations. The most important for magical purposes are the roots known as *atrasne*, about the digging of which curious stories are told even in classical authors (Plinius, *Hist. nat.*, xxv. 94; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 6).

Bibliography: Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ, transl. of Achundow in Koberts, *Hist. Stud. a. d. pharm. Inst. d. K. Univ. Dorpat.*, iii, 1893, s. v. *Luffāḥ*, p 266, 402, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Maḵlūḳāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 297, s v. *Luffāḥ*; Ibn al-Baitār, transl of Leclerc, ii 246; I. Low, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii 363—368. Numerous pictures in von Hovorka and Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, i 14 *sqq*; A Schmidt, *Drogen u Drogenhandel im Altertum*, Leipzig 1924, p 53, 73. (J Ruska)

SĪRĀF, a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf, once a commercial port of great importance (ivth/xth century) The houses in several stories were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbār, it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain of Djamm which dominates it from close at hand The creation of an emporium on the island of Ḳais [q. v] ruined it by taking away its Indian trade It had not a harbour properly speaking and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind The sailors who set out from it went to Maskat, Ḳulam, the Nicobar Islands, and as far as Kalah in the Malay Peninsula, whence they reached Canton in a month The trade consisted mainly in the exportation of striped cloth for bath-towels (*fuwāṭ*), pearls, silks, balances, and in the exportation of *berbehār* (Indian spices, *B G A*, iv 187) The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent for years, they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchants. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought It was also the warmest place in the district, so hot that one could not take a siesta there Under the ʿAbbāsids it was the principal town of the district of Ardashīr-Khurra; it began to decline under the Būyids, destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 (977) it was afterwards rebuilt Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Ṭāhirī (Le Strange, transl of *Nuzhat*, p. 116, n 2)

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kāʾūs when he tried to ascend to heaven, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Pers *shīr*, "milk", *āb*, "water") According to Yāḳūt, the merchants pronounced its name *shīlāw*, which is connected with the above etymology Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water here at the bottom of the sea.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii. 211 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 331; *B. G. A*, Iṣṭakhrī, p 34, 106, 127, 138; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p 39, 198; Muḳaddasī, p 34, 36, 258, 426, Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 321 v°; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geography*, i 326, Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 117; transl p 116; Sāmī-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿAlām*, iv. 2747; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 258, 259, 293, 296. (Cl. Huart)

SĪRĀFĪ, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Marzubān was born before the year 290 (903) in the small town of Sīrāf [q. v.] on the Persian Gulf, the wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā gave the year 280 as the exact date (Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii. 123). He made his first studies in grammar and law in his native town, but before he was twenty he crossed the sea to ʿOmān where he devoted his time to Ḥanafī law. Later he returned to Sīrāf and went from there to al-Muʿaskar, where he studied Arabic grammar under Mabramān (cf. Zubaidī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, N°. 44; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 74). Later he went to Baghdād and studied there principally under Abū Bakr Ibn Duraid and became one of the principal pupils of this eminent scholar and propagator of his works. However he did not confine himself to linguistic studies but became an authority in all branches of learning then practised. He studied the sciences of the Ḳurʾān under Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid, grammar under Abū Bakr b. al-Sarrādj and mathematics under Mabramān, mentioned above, tradition under Abū Bakr b. Ziyād al-Nīsābūrī and Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Azhar. He was reputed to have been a Muʿtazilī, but this cannot be proved from his writings. For over forty years he gave legal advice (*fatwās*) in the Ruṣāfa mosque at Baghdād and the Chief Judge Abū Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf appointed him on more than one occasion his lieutenant on the Eastern side of the city of Baghdād He was also invited to assume a post in the Secretariat of State, but declined the offer Most biographers describe him as a very pious man, devoting his time to prayers and fasting, refusing any gifts from the great, and we are told that he used to copy each day ten leaves of manuscript which he sold for ten dirhems which sufficed for his livelihood. Against this Yāḳūt tells us that he was accused of borrowing valuable manuscripts from two booksellers and, being too mean or too poor, he caused his pupils to make copies of them At the end of these he wrote that the work had been read over to him, and such copies later commanded a higher price than the originals, on account of the reputation of al-Sīrāfī Though a lawyer of the Hanafī school his personal opinion was highly valued and the account of such a personal advice on intoxicating drink is given by Yāḳūt; and though against some of the accepted principals of Hanafī law the words quoted on the subject are sound advice for any creed His reputation as a scholar was so great that he frequently received letters from monarchs and ministers from various parts of the Muslim world. The Sāmānid prince Nūḥ b Naṣr sent him a letter containing over 400 questions and addressed him as Imām, while the ruler of Dailam in a similar letter called him Shaikh al-Islām; other letters were from the Egyptian wazīr Ibn Khinzāba etc Of the ten works which are named by title by his biographers only his commentary on the "Book" of Sībawaihi is easily accessible, but this work enjoyed a great reputation even during his life-time and his contemporary Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, also an eminent scholar of the Baṣrian school, displayed his envy openly. He and his followers tried for a long time to get possession of a copy with the intention of finding in it errors which they could point out publicly. When Abū ʿAlī in the year 368 was able to buy a copy for two thousand dirhem he did not find the errors he had wished and it was too late to meet Sīrāfī, as he died the same year on Monday the 2nd of Radjab in Baghdād and was buried in the Khaizurān cemetery. As stated above, his biographers attribute to him ten separate works: 1) A commentary on the "Book" of Sībawaihi which has been printed in Cairo 1317 and used for the translation of the "Book" by Jahn (Berlin 1894);

2) Commentary on the poem of Ibn Duraid called *al-Maḳṣūra*; 3) *Alifāt al-Ḳatʿ wa 'l-Waṣl*; 4) *al-Iḳnāʿ fi 'l-Naḥw*, a grammatical work which he did not complete but which was finished by his son Yūsuf. The latter declared that his father had made the science of grammar too easy by this work; 5) *Sharḥ Shawāhid Sībawaihi*, explanations of the verses cited in the "Book" of Sībawaihi; 6) *al-Madkhal* (*al-Mudkhil*?) *ilā Kitāb Sībawaihi*, introduction to the "Book" of Sībawaihi; 7) *al-Waḳf wa 'l-Ibtidāʾ*, probably a work on the correct reading of the Kurʾān; 8) *Ṣanʿat al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Balāgha*, an exposition of the correct composition of poetry and prose; 9) *Akhbār al-Nuḥāt al-Baṣriyyīn*, biographies of grammarians of the Basrian school or rather anecdotes about them with accounts of their literary disputes, as can be gleaned from extracts quoted by Yāḳūt and other authors. This book has been preserved and a good manuscript is in Constantinople and Suyūṭī tells us that he used a copy which formed a large fascicule; 10) *Kitāb Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, a geographical book which has been extracted by Yāḳūt for his geographical lexicon. Not mentioned by the biographers is the Commentary on the verses quoted by Ibn Duraid in his large dictionary, the *Djamhara*, having collated the whole of the Leyden manuscript of this work, my estimate is that about a third of the second and third volume of the *Djamhara* is occupied by the commentary on the many verses quoted. (The first volume of the same manuscript does not contain this commentary). The method is most pedantic Every word is explained, seldom is there a reference to the historical background, but in very many cases it is evident that Sīrāfī had diligently asked Ibn Duraid for an explanation and the whole commentary gives the impression that his only share in the work has been to write down these additional explanations which are not found in the other manuscripts of the *Djamhara*. In addition Sīrāfī is credited with some mediocre verses, and also is the subject of a satire by his greater contemporary Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī with whom he had had a quarrel

Biographies of Sīrāfī are found in all works dealing with the lives of grammarians, traditionists and Ḥanafī lawyers. The principal ones are: *Fihrist*, p 62; Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, p. 379, Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 221; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iii., 84—125; *Djawāhir al-Muḍīʾa*, ed. Ḥaidarābād, i. 196, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii. 218; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i. 130; Flügel, *Klassen der hanafitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, p. 107; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 113 etc.

2) Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Sīrāfī, the son of the former, succeeded his father as a teacher after the latter's death and completed his grammatical work, the *Iḳnāʿ*. He did not enjoy the reputation of his father, but three works of his, similar in nature to those of his father, are recorded 1) a commentary on the verses quoted in the "Book" of Sībawaihi; 2) a commentary on the verses quoted in the *Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkit, and 3) a commentary on the verses found in the *Ghaṛīb al-Muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbaid al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām. He resided in Baghdād and died there in Rabīʿ I, 385 A. H. at the age of 55 years (cf. *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 421). (F. KRENKOW)

SĪRAT ʿANTAR, the romance of ʿAntar, rightly considered the model of the Arabic romance of chivalry. This *sīra* surveys five hundred years of Arab history and includes a wealth of older traditions. The story, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of how ʿAntar, the son of a slave-girl, was adopted into the tribe of Banū ʿAbs for saving them at a time of great crisis already bears the stamp of a flourishing but already legendary tradition. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* far transcends the unconscious development of a legend By a bold stroke ʿAntar, the solitary hero, is raised to be the representative of all that is Arab, ʿAntar the pagan is made the champion of Islām The romance thus comes to reflect the vicissitudes of the Arabs and Islām through half a millenium; the tribal feuds of the old Arabs; the wars against Ethiopan rule in Arabia; the subjection of Arabia and especially of ʿIrāḳ to Persian suzerainty; the victories of the rising Islām over Persia; the remarkable historical position of the Jews in Arabia down to the seventh century; the conquests from Christianity by the Arabs, especially in Syria; the continuous wars of the Persian and later of the Muslim East against Byzantium; the victorious advance of Islām in North Africa and in Europe; the influence of the Crusades is also undeniable. The contacts between East and West are numerous The romance is written in smooth rhymed prose into which have been interwoven some 10,000 verses The editions printed in the East since 1286 A.H. divide the *Sīra* into 32 little volumes, none of which, like the separate nights of the *1001 Nights*, ever ends at the conclusion of a tale

Contents The romance brings us through numerous legendary stories from early times down to the period when King Zuhair is ruling over the Banū ʿAbs The ʿAbsī hero Shaddād on a raid captures the negro slave-girl Zabība (not till the xviiith book do we get the denouement that she is a king's daughter, who had been carried off from the Sūdān), who becomes the mother of ʿAntar As an infant, ʿAntar tears the strongest swaddling clothes, at two years old pulls down the tent, at four slays a large dog, at nine a wolf and as a young shepherd a lion Soon he comes to the rescue of his oppressed tribe, for which he is acknowledged by his father and adopted into his tribe He seeks ʿAbla, his uncle's daughter, in marriage, the latter promises her to him in an hour of need; but after ʿAntar has averted the danger, he imposes the most dangerous conditions to be carried out before the marriage. ʿAntar fulfils them all but is only allowed to marry ʿAbla after ten volumes of wonderful exploits. The area of his exploits widens continually. In his own tribe ʿAntar has first to overcome the resistance of his father, then the hostility of ʿAbla's relatives, to win over his rivals including the poet ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, to put an end to the feuds of the Banū Ziyād, Rabīʿ and ʿUmāra. In the feuds between the sister-tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra, ʿAntar proves himself the saviour of the Banū ʿAbs; outside of his tribe, he fights and overthrows the strongest heroes and makes them his friends; such are Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, Muʿammar, Hānīʾ b. Masʿūd, the victor over the Persians at Dhū Ḳār, ʿAmr b. Maʿdikarib, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufail, ʿAmr b. Wudd, the knight of the Ḥarām, Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam, the pattern of Arab chivalry and many others. He fastens up his *muʿallaḳa* in the Ḥaram of Mecca after defeating the other muʿallaḳa-poets in a competition, overcoming all his rivals in duels and passing an examination in

Arab synonyms from Amru 'l-Ḳais. From Mecca he goes to Khaibar and destroys the town of the Jews. But ʿAntar is also taken beyond the bounds of Arabia. The *Sīra* does not lack reasons for this. ʿAbla's father demands asāfir-camels as a bridal gift, which are only bred by Mundhir, King of Ḥīra. This takes ʿAntar to the ʿIrāḳ. From there he is summoned to Persia to fight the Greek champion Badramūṭ. Next we find him in constant association with the kings of the ʿIrāḳ, Mundhir, Nuʿmān, Aswad, ʿAmr b Hind, Iyās b Kābiṣa and their viziers notably ʿAmr b Buḳaila He has also constant dealings with the Shāhs, Khusraw Anōsharwān, Khudāwand (no shāh of this name is found in Sāsānian history), Kawādh (probably Kawādh Shiroe) sometimes as a dreaded opponent, sometimes as a most welcome ally. The son of the king of Syria woos the promised bride of a friend of ʿAntar. The latter goes to Syria, kills his friend's rival, defeats King Hārith al-Wahhāb (Aretas), but becomes his friend and after the death of Aretas at the request of the princess Ḥalīma becomes guardian of the new king ʿAmr b. Ḥārith, who is still a minor, and as such ruler of Syria. Here ʿAntar comes into contact with the Franks, sometimes as an enemy and sometimes as their ally against the Persians Syria is under Byzantine suzerainty. For the services which ʿAntar renders the Christians here, he is invited to Constantinople and entertained and honoured Lailamān, the king of the Franks, objects to this and demands that the emperor should hand over ʿAntar to him ʿAntar along with Heraclius, the emperor's son, then leads the Byzantine army into the land of the Franks, subjects them to the emperor, reaches Spain, defeats King Santiago, pursues his victorious march through his provinces in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt When he returns from these conquests on behalf of Byzantium to Constantinople, an equestrian statue of him is erected out of gratitude; the statue of his two brothers, who had accompanied him to Byzantium, are placed on either side of his Shortly before his death, ʿAntar comes to Rome The king of Rome, Balḳām b Markas is hard pressed by Bohemund; ʿAntar kills Bohemund and liberates Rome. On a campaign of reprisal against the Sūdānese, ʿAntar goes from kingdom to kingdom deeper into Africa till he reaches the land of the Negus. Here he discovers in the Negus the grandfather of his mother Zabība Even more fantastic are the campaigns against Hind-Sind, against the Christian king Lailamān in the land of Baidā, in the land of the demons ʿAntar's death is brought about by Wizr b Djābir called Asad al-Rahīṣ. ʿAntar had repeatedly defeated him and taken him prisoner but always set him free again. Wizr feels humiliated by this magnanimity and continually renews his attack. Finally ʿAntar blinds him Though blinded, Wizr learns to shoot birds and gazelles with bow and arrow from their sound. ʿAntar is struck by one of his poisoned arrows, but Wizr dies before ʿAntar under the delusion that he has missed. While dying, and indeed when dead, still sitting on his steed Abdjar, ʿAntar still wards the enemy off from his people. ʿAntar's marriage with ʿAbla was childless but from his secret marriages and love-affairs, several children were born including two Christians, and indeed Crusaders, Ghadanfar, Coeur-de-Lion, son of ʿAntar and the sister of the king of Rome whom ʿAntar had married in Rome and left in Constantinople, and Djufrān (i.e. Geoffroi, Godfrey), the son of ʿAntar and a Frankish princess. ʿAntar's children avenge and lament the death of their heroic father. Ghadanfar and Djufrān then return to Europe. ʿAbs becomes a convert to Islām.

Analysis. The following are the main elements that have contributed to the growth of the *Sīra*.

1 Arab paganism; 2 Islām; 3. Persian history and epic; 4 The Crusades 1 To Arab paganism it owes the chivalrous and knightly Bedouin spirit of the work, the majority of the characters in it, who often have historical features, the feuds between the sister tribes of ʿAbs and Fadhāra; in connection with the race between Dāhis and Ghabra, the most powerful of the Ahbār al-ʿArab, like king Zuhair's marriage with Tumāḍir, Zuhair's death, Mālik b Zuhair's death, Hārith and Lubna, Djaida and Khālid, anecdotes of Hātim Ṭaiyī, the splendid figure of Rabīʿa b Muḳaddam etc. 2. To Islām belong the introduction with a long midrash of Abraham, repeated legends of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the conclusion of the work which forms a transition to Islām; the tendency of the book, to make ʿAntar really prepare the way for Islām; ʿAntar's victorious campaigns through Arabia, Persia, Syria, North Africa and Spain are modelled on the conquests of Islām Certain details give the *Sīra* a slightly Shīʿa colouring 3. Persian influence is found in the knowledge of Persian history and the Persian epic, in places of the Persian language, in the conception of kingship by grace of God, in the knowledge of Persian court life and ceremonial (throne, crowns, imperial carpet), court-hunts (falcons, cheetahs), pigeon-post, Persian offices and ranks (vizier, mōbedān, mōbed, marzpān, pehlewān, eyes and ears of the Shāh) even the *sahārigja* (écuyers tranchants) 4 Christianity and the Crusades. The *Sīra* knows of Christians in the Syria of the Sāsānians, in Byzantium and among the Franks. The Franks appear as Crusaders (the romance even mentions the cross worn on the breast), fighting for Shiloe and Jerusalem. Djufrān (Godfrey) besieges Damascus and sends troops against Antioch The *Sīra* mentions the cross, the dress of the priests and friars, the girdle of the order (which in the *Sīra* is the most important symbol of Christianity next to the cross), the crozier, the bell (clapper), incense, holy water, prayers for the dead, unction, sacrament and of holy-days, Christmas, Palm-Sunday, is aware that among the Franks the clergy are first in Church and state, that marriages between cousins are illegal, seems also to know of excommunication and describes a Spanish place of pilgrimage and day of pilgrimage The Christians swear by Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, John the Baptist (Māri Hanna al-Maʿmadān, Yukhna), by Luke (Lūḳa), Thomas (Mar Tōma) and Simon. The Emperor Radjīm rules in Byzantium and his son is called Heraclius; Balḳām b. Markas is king of Rome. The Christian rulers of North Africa have names which end with the *-s*, common in Greek and Latin, e. g. Martos, Kardus, Hermes, Ibn al-ʿUrnūs, Kindaryas b. Kirmās, Sindaris, Theodoros. The king of Spain is called Santiago; of the names of Frankish kings and princes that of Bohemund alone is certain. The names of his brothers Mūbert, Sūbert, Kūbert and that of the prince "Shūbert of the Sea" show what is perhaps the commonest ending

in personal names in Old French. ʿAntar's son by the Frankish princess is called Djufrān, which conceals the old French form (Jofroi, Jefroi, Geffroi) of the name of Godfrey of Bouillon. As the romance of ʿAntar knows nothing of Europe, but a good deal about Europeans, the author must have become acquainted with them outside of Europe, of course at the period of the Crusades; Bohemund is slain by ʿAntar Godfrey is the son of ʿAntar, who comes as a Crusader to Asia, learns his paternity there, avenges the death of his father and then returns to Europe. Even the name "Tafur" of the king of the beggars in the army of Peter of Armenia, seems to be preserved in the *Sīra*. "Ḍāfūr" is the name of the usurper who drives the infant prince ʿAmr from the throne of Syria but is overthrown by ʿAntar In regard to intelligent sympathy with and toleration of Christianity, the picture we get from the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is far in advance of that which the mediaeval Christian epic reveals of Islām, where the Muslims are made to worship idols, like Apollo, Cahu, Gomelin, Jupiter, Margot, Malquedant, Tervagant etc. The romance of ʿAntar regards the Crusades not without sympathy and admiration. It is true that Crusaders are mentioned, who go to the Holy Land to seek plunder and to escape punishment; but the Franks are fighting for God the Father, for the Son and for the spread of religion.

Folk-lore and literary parallels There is remarkably little folk-lore in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* but it includes several noteworthy features a splendid witches' kitchen, fine examples of allegorical speech, of omens, life-token Most of the agreements with other narrative poetry may be regarded as commonplaces of the epic, the strength and growth of the hero, his exploits, the killing of a lion, muʿammarūn (longevity is as common in the ʿAntar as in the *Shāh-nāma*), dreams, visions, Amazons, fights between father and son, the Gudrun motif of the bride's fidelity, the motif of the stupid man There are very few borrowings· Nuʿmān's lucky and unlucky day, Khusraw's bell of justice (the motif of the legend of the Emperor Charles and the snake), a flight to heaven in a box borne by eagles, several African traditions (probably taken from geographical works on Africa) There are also links with European legends. The marvellous signs at the birth of Charlemagne (in Pseudo-Turpin) resemble those recorded in our romance at the birth of Muḥammad, but Pseudo-Turpin undoubtedly borrowed from an older source Artificial birds made of metal, which sing in various tunes by means of bells and organ pipes are described in French and German epics and also in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* But here we have to deal with the historical marvel of the Chrysotriklinium in Constantinople, and with a similar thing in the Ctesiphon of the Sāsānids and also in the capital of the Tatar Khāns. Some coincidences are very striking. Ḥārith al-Ẓālim beats his sword Dhu 'l-Hiyāt against a rock, so that it may not fall into the enemy's hands; the rock is broken but the sword is uninjured, just as is the case with Roland's Durandal ʿAntar instructs his son Ghadbān, who wishes to slay Khusraw and seize the power for himself, on the subject of kingship by God's grace just as, Girard de Viane does his nephew Aimeri who wants to kill Charlemagne. ʿAntar's horse Abdjar takes flight to the desert after ʿAntar's death, so that he may not serve another master, just as Renaud de Montauban's Baiart escapes to the forests of the Ardennes. Very remarkable is the parallel between the duel between Roland and Oliver and that of ʿAntar and Rabīʿa b. Muḳaddam; the sword of the one combatant breaks in two and his magnanimous opponent gets him another; the duellists are reconciled and become brothers-in-law. But such poetical developments have their origin in a similar chivalrous outlook, the relations of the knight to his sword, to his horse, to his overlord and to his opponent

Chivalry in the Sīrat ʿAntar. The *Sīra* is rightly recognised to be a romance of chivalry. In the pagan period among the Arabs the ideal of masculine virtue was *muruwwa*, *futuwwa*; alongside of this we have more frequently in the *Sīrat ʿAntar furusīya* along with *farāsa* and *tafarrasa*. The knight is called *fāris*. ʿAntar is called "a father of knights", *Abu 'l-Fawāris*, sometimes *Abu 'l-Fursān*, *ʿAlā 'l-Fursān*, *Fāris al-fursān*, *Afrasu* Not everyone who rides a horse is a knight The knight's qualities are courage, fidelity, love of truth, protection of widows, orphans, and the poor (ʿAntar arranges special meals for them), magnanimity, reverence for women (ʿAntar begins and ends his heroic career protecting women; he swears by ʿAbla, by ʿAbla's eye, conquers in ʿAbla's name), liberality, especially to poets The knights are also poets, especially poets of the Ḥidjāz, who are found in hundreds in the *Sīrat ʿAntar* The *Sīra* also knows the institutions of chivalry. We meet pages and squires, not only the *sahāriḏja* of Ctesiphon; ʿAntar himself trains several thousand squires. The *Sīra* even describes tournaments on a great scale, in the Ḥidjāz, in Ḥīra, in Ctesiphon, the most splendid in Byzantium where ʿAntar's lance strikes the ring 476 times These tourneys have many features in common with those of Europe, fighting with blunted weapons, tilting at the ring, decorating and beflagging the lists, the presence of ladies and girls. These agreements have been explained in the most diverse ways On the one hand Delécluze saw in ʿAntar the model of the European knight, in the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, the source from which Europe had obtained all its ideas of chivalry, while on the other hand Reinaud simply found European ideas, customs and institutions imitated in the *Sīra* (*J. A*, 1833, i. 102—105). In this some have seen the starting point for the study of the question of the origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*.

Origin. The *Sīrat ʿAntar* itself frequently and readily talks about itself and its origin. It professes to have been composed by al-Aṣmaʿī in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd at his court in Baghdād; Aṣmaʿī lived for 670 years, of which 400 were in the Djāhiliya; he was personally acquainted with ʿAntar and his contemporaries, concluded the composition in the year 473 (1080) and recorded traditions from the mouths of ʿAntar, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, Ḥātim Ṭaiyī, Amru 'l-Ḳais, Ḥānī' b. Masʿūd, Hāzim of Mecca, ʿUbaida, ʿAmr b. Wudd, Duraid b. al-Ṣimma, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufail. In fact we have a regular romance regarding the origin of the romance. The repeatedly mentioned *rāwī*, *nāḳil*, *muṣannif*, *ṣāḥib al-ibārat*, Aṣmaʿī and other authorities have the same significance for the *Sīrat ʿAntar* as the Dihḳāne, Pehlewi books and the hoary authorities in Firdawsī, or as the chronicles of St. Denis for the French epic. It is

simply fiction, when the *Sīrat ʿAntar* tells us that it exists in two versions, one for the Ḥidjāz and the other for the ʿIrāḳ. The invention of a Ḥidjāz recension is intended to make it believed that Aṣmaʿī collected the information in the Ḥidjāz from ʿAntar and his companions, which was utilised in the romance The Ḥidjāz as the home of the romance is a pure invention On the other hand ʿIrāḳ may really have made a considerable contribution to the composition of the *Sīrat ʿAntar*. For the date of origin of the *Sīrat ʿAntar* we have the following clues· 1. In a religious dialogue between a monk and a Muslim (*Das Religionsgespräch von Jerusalem um 800 A D aus dem Arabischen übersetst* von K. Vollers, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxix 49) the monk mentions the exploits of ʿAntar 2. About the middle of the xiiᵗʰ century the Jew Samaw'al b Yahyā al-Maghribī, a convert to Islām, describes his career and mentions that in his youth he was fond of long tales like that of ʿAntar (*M.G W J*, 1898, xlii. 127, 418) 3 The evidence contained in the book itself. The appearance of Bohemund, Djufrān (Godfrey of Bouillon), perhaps also of the king of the beggars, Tafur, brings us to the period after the first Crusade, that is at the earliest in the first half of the xiiᵗʰ century. The composition of histories of ʿAntar must therefore have already been begun in the viiiᵗʰ century — on the evidence of the religious dialogue above mentioned According to Samaw'al b Yaḥyā a book of ʿAntar of considerable size was actually in existence in the middle of the xiiᵗʰ century and if Bohemund and Djufrān already appeared in it, it must have been completed at the beginning of the xiiᵗʰ century At the same time the meddahs may have continued to add a great deal to it and in particular continued its islāmisation. The midrash of Abraham which is quite an inorganic addition and the legends of Muhammad and ʿAlī could belong to any period. An original ʿAntar can be reconstructed with philological probability In vol xxxi, the dying ʿAntar reviews his heroic career in his swan-song He proudly recalls his victories in Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Persia and Syria But he mentions neither Byzantium nor Spain, nor Fez, Tunis, Barka, nor Egypt, nor Hind-Sind, the Sūdān nor Ethiopia This original ʿAntar may have arisen in the ʿIrāk (under Persian influence or perhaps in emulation of Persian epic poetry) The swan-song makes no mention of children, and knows of only one love of ʿAntar's This original ʿAntar therefore should be called ʿAntar and ʿAbla Following a genealogical stimulus, the later epic made royal ancestors be found in the Sūdān and royal descendants in Arabia, Byzantium, Rome and the land of the Franks The Crusades next found an echo and a reaction in the ʿAntar. The Crusaders came from the land of the Franks via Byzantium to Syria ʿAntar goes in a kind of reversed crusade from Syria via Byzantium to the land of the Franks and brings about the victory, if not yet of Islām, at least of Arab ideals and culture over European Christianity The whole geographical area and historical range of the novel is filled with the exploits of ʿAntar.

The romance of ʿAntar seems to be first mentioned in Europe in 1777 in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (*J. A.*, 1834, xiii. 256); it was first introduced to European scholarship in 1819 by Hammer-Purgstall and to comparative literature in 1851 by Dunlop-Liebrecht (*Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, xiii.—xvi.). The study of the problem of scholarship raised by the *Sīrat ʿAntar* was begun by Goldziher (mainly in his Hungarian works). The *Sīrat ʿAntar* was for long a favourite subject of study in France. In the *Journal Asiatique* the work was often discussed and partly translated. Lamartine went into raptures of admiration and enthusiasm for ʿAntar (*Voyages en Orient*: *Vie des grands hommes I. Premières Méditations Poétiques*, Première Préface). Taine places ʿAntar beside the greatest epic heroes — Siegfried, Roland, the Cid, Rustam, Odysseus and Achilles (*Philosophie de l'Art*, ii 297) These tributes are not unmerited The *Sīrat ʿAntar* unfolds before us the ever changing, glowing panorama of a particularly attractive period with an extravagant power of imagination, a skill in narration which never palls throughout the 32 volumes, and a poetical style of inexhaustible richness

Bibliography. A very full collection of references to the manuscripts, editions, translations of and treatises on the *Sīrat ʿAntar* is given in V Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, etc., iii ; *Louqmāne et les fabulistes Barlaam ʿAntar et les Romans de chevalerie*, Luttich-Leipzig 1898, p 113—126 Cf also: I. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held ʿAntar in der geographischen Nomenclatur* (*Globus*, 1893, lxiv, N⁰ 4, p 65—67); do, *Ein orientalischer Ritterroman, Pester Lloyd*, Mai 18, 1918, B Heller, *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, Ungarische Rundschau*, v. 83—107; do, *Az arab Antarregény*, Budapest 1918, do, *Der arabische ʿAntarroman, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte*, Hanover 1925

(BERNHARD HELLER)

SÎR-DARYĀ, a large river in Central Asia, flowing like its sister stream, the Āmū-Daryā [q. v.], into the Sea of Aral [q. v.]. European geographers now regard its source as the Narîn which flows through the territory of Djatî-Su (formerly Semirečye) and the north-eastern part of Farghāna [q v]; the native population has always (in the middle ages and at the present day) considered the Ḳarā-Daryā in the southern part of Farghāna as the upper course of the Sîr-Daryā After the junction of the two rivers which form it, the Ḳarā-Kuldja and the Tar, the Ḳarā-Daryā flows past the town (now a mere village) of Uzgend, whence it is sometimes called "river of Uzgend" The district between the Ḳarā-Daryā and the Narîn is called in Persian Miyān-Rūdān, in Turkish Iki-Su-Arasî The length of the Sîr-Daryā from the confluence of the Ḳarā-Daryā and the Narîn is over 1,750 miles In Farghāna it runs southwest at first and then for the most part northwest Numerous tributaries flow to the Sîr-Daryā, both from east and west (in Farghāna north and south) from the neighbouring mountains of which only three now reach the main stream (the Čirčik, Keles and Arîs). The Arab geographers mention further tributaries in Farghāna, which now for the most part enter the great Shahr-i Khān canal which runs south of the Sîr-Daryā; this canal was only led from the Ḳarā-Daryā like the Yangi-Arîḳ from the Narîn in the xixᵗʰ century. Whether any canals of any size were led in the middle ages out of the Sîr-Daryā itself to water, for example, the so-called "Hungry Steppes"

tween Cınaz and Djızak cannot be ascertained ıḳaddasī's mention (only ın the Constantınople ınuscript, *B G A.*, III 22 *m*) of an arm or canal *ḫalīḏj*) said to be 140 farsaḵhs long, between ıodjand and Usrūshana, is not confirmed by any ıer sources The tributaries of the Sîr-Daryā ve always been of incomparably greater ımrtance than the main stream Nor, unlike the nū-Daryā, has the Sîr-Daryā — at least in the ıtorical period — had any oasis of importance its delta.

In Western Europe the Sîr-Daryā is still freently called by its old Greek name of Jaxartes, Pahlawī form Jakhšāıt is assumed and explained J Marquart (*Die Chronologie der altturkischen schrıften*, Leipzig 1898, p 6) as *yakhsha arta* ue, genuine pearl". Against this explanation is : fact that in the numerous personal and geoıphical names compounded with *arta*, this comnent is always found at the beginning of the ırd Yet the word *yakhsha* "pearl" seems acılly to be contained in the name; the Chinese *n-ču-ho*) and Old Turkish (*Yınču-uguz*) names the river have the same meaning The Chinese nscription of the native name is given as *Yao-ı* (E. Bretschneider, *Med Researches from stern As Source*, London 1888, I 75), *Yau-sha* Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, 81, in W Radloff, *Die altturkischen Inschriften · Mongolei*, second Series, St Petersburg 1899) *Yo-sha* (E Chavannes, *Documents sur les Touıe [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903) the Muslim period the initial "*y*" seems to ve disappeared in the land itself, the Arabic *ānūn Masʿūdī* of Bırūnī, in A Sprenger, *Postd Reiserouten*, etc, Leipzig 1864, p 32) and rsian (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, MS of the Asiatic ıseum, f 24b) manuscripts have *Khashart* this m and not as Marquart assumes (*Die Chro'ogie*, etc., p 5), *Yakhshart* was probably in ı Khordādhbih, *B G A*, VI, text, 178, 2 The ne *Silis* mentioned by Pliny, 6, 16, 18 (cf Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*², ımburg 1877, II, p 77) is connected with the rd *sîr* although this latter, a Turkish name, ınot be found before the XVIth century Ibn ıordādhbih (*B. G A*, VI 178, 4) mentions the ne *Kankar* which also appears in Chinese nscription (*K'ank'it*) and was used probably on : central course of the river only: cf *Daryā-i ng* from Firdawsī in *G J Ph*, II. 445 The abs introduced the name *Saiḥūn* for the Sîrryā like *Djaiḥūn* for the Āmū-Daryā (cf the mes Djaiḥān and Ṣaiḥān in the south-eastern ntiers of Asia Minor) In the *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Le Strange, 217, 16, nsl. and note ibid, II. 210) appears the *Gul ryūn* which seems to occur nowhere else ıchet explains this word (in Le Strange, *l. c.*) the Mongol *gul serikūn* = "cold river", probably ongly, as the order of words should be reversed e river is usually called in Arabic and Persian ırces after towns and districts on its banks, st frequently "river of Khodjand" (Khodjand now the only town situated immediately on the ık of the Sîr-Daryā) This name also was ɔpted by the Mongols (E Bretschneider, *Med tearches, loc. cit*, in Chinese transcriptions *-shan-mu-lien*, for Mongol *murän*, „river"). her names: river of Banāket, or Fanāket (in ḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 740: Banākit) after the town on the right bank near the mouth of the Angren said to have been destroyed by Čingiz Khān (this destruction is not recorded by contemporaries); river of Shāhrukhīya after the town built by Tīmūr in 794 (1392) on the site of the destroyed Banāket (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Calcutta ed. 1888, II. 636); river of Akhsīkat (*ibid*, I 441) or Akhsīkath [q v]; river of Čāč or Shāsh, after the great oasis of Čirčik. The last town on the Sîr-Daryā, Arabic al-Karyat al-Hadītha, Persian Dih-ı Naw (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet o poʾezdkʾe v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 83), Turkish Yangıkent, later sometimes Shahrkent in historical works (*Taʾrīkh-ı Djahān Gushā*, i. 69 below) and on coins, was one farsaḵh from the bank of the river and two days' journey from its mouth (now the ruins of Djankent) The ruins were explored in 1867 by P Lerch and the coins found there are of the VIIIth (XIVth) century The river is said to have altered its course about this time and no longer entered the Sea of Aral but according to some was lost in the desert, or to others joined the Āmū-Daryā, on these stories cf above I, p 341 *sq*, 419; on the other hand Abu 'l-Ghāzī in the XIth (XVIIth) century calls the Sea of Aral the "Sea of Sîr" (Sîr Teñizi) and knows nothing of the river ever having not reached the sea.

In the IVth (Xth) century the Sîr-Daryā is mentioned as a navigable river along with the Āmū-Daryā (*B G A*, III 323, 1), in "times of peace or of truce", food supplies were brought to Ḳaryat al-Hadītha by water (*ibid*, II. 393, 4). Navigation is now interrupted by the rapids of Begowat which begin at the village of Kosh-Tegermen, fifteen miles below Khodjand, these rapids seem to be nowhere mentioned in Muslim sources, Djuwainī's story (*Taʾrīkh-ı Djahān Gushā*, I 71 *sq*) of the siege of Khodjand by the Mongols in 1220, and the adventurous flight of the commander Tīmūr Malik presupposes an uninterrupted passage by water from Khodjand to the towns on the lower course of the Sîr-Daryā (cf e g d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 225 *sq*) After the foundation of Russian rule on the lower course of the Sîr-Daryā (since 1847) an attempt was made to introduce steam navigation on the river; the steamers of the Aral fleet went up the Sîr-Daryā also and had their most important anchorage at the town of Kazalinsk founded by the Russians After this service ceased in 1882, no further such attempts have been made, although several times proposed; traffic on the Sîr-Daryā is maintained solely by boats of native construction (*kayık*)

Bibliography: W Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestvıya*, St Peterburg 1898—1900, II 155 *sqq*; do, *K istorii oroshenıya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 129 *sqq.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambrigde 1905, p 476 *sqq.*; L. Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, St. Petersburg 1880, I. 230 *sqq.*; V Masalskiy, *Turkestanskiy Krai*, St Petersburg 1913, p 131 *sqq*, 568 *sqq*; L Berg, *Aralskoʾe Moreʾe*, St. Petersburg 1908, p. 122 *sqq*, 213 *sqq*, N. P. Puzîrevskiy, *Sîr-Darya, ieya fizičeskiya svoistva i sudokhodnost* (*Izv. Geogr. Obshč.*, 38, 1902, p 503 *sqq.*); D N Lyushin, *Ot Čınaza do Perovsko po Sîr-Darye* (*Izv. Turkest. Otd. Geogr. Obshč.*, 9, 1913, p. 84 *sqq.*). (W. BARTHOLD)

AL-SÎRDJĀN, a town in Persia, in the province of Kirmān, near the Fārs frontier; it used to be called al-Ḳaṣrāni, "the two castles",

and was the capital of Kirmān The streets are broad, the gardens well irrigated, the climate healthy and temperate The palace and mosque were built by the Būyid ʿAdud al-Dawla The canals which water it were dug by the Saffārids ʿAmr and Tāhir b Laith Wood being scarce, all the houses are covered with brick vaulting It had eight gates, two markets, the old and the new, with the mosque between the two The minaret was surmounted by a lampholder of carved wood built by ʿAdud al-Dawla who had also built a palace near the Bāb Hakīm gate Corn was grown, cotton and dates, cotton manufactured and *kursī* desks as at Ḳumm, but not so fine

It was the capital of Kirmān in the time of the ʿAbbāsids down to the period of the Būyids, when the Būyid governor moved his residence to Bardasīr (the modern Kirmān) Owned by the Muẓaffarids at the beginning of the eighth (xivth) century, it did not recognise the authority of Tīmūr and was unsuccessfully besieged by ʿUmar Shaikh in 796 (1394); but, under pressure of famine, it surrendered at the end of two years Since then it has been in ruins, and the site is still marked by the debris discovered in 1900 at Ḳalʿa-i Sang by Sir Percy Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p 431), at 5 miles east of Saʿīd Ābād, the modern capital

Bibliography Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iv 263 (cf 106 and 265) = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict de la Perse*, p 333, *B G A* (Istakhrī [*Shīrādjān*], p 167, Ibn Hawkal [*Sīrādjān*], p 223, Mukaddasī, p 464); Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f° 322 r°; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie*, i 336, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 141; transl Le Strange, p 119; Sāmi-bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv 2751, Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 300—302, 311, 320 (Cl Huart)

SIRḤĀN, Wādī, the name of a valley in North Arabia, which runs from the south end of the Hawrān southeastwards for a length of 160 miles with a breadth of two to twelve miles Its north end is marked by the fort of al-Azrak and its southern extremity by the wells of Maikūʿ The whole valley is very rich in water and suitable for settlement At al-Azraḳ, there is even a large permanent pond, the only one in the whole of North Arabia If the life and property of the inhabitants are secured, the ten large and small villages in this wādī, which are still inhabited, may be further increased But under present conditions the inhabitants suffer a great deal from the nomads, for Wādī Sirhān is their natural road to Syria The trading caravans, which used to go from Gerrha and Babylon to Syria, used the road through this valley, the history of which as a caravan route can be traced back still further; for the Assyrian kings had tried to control this important trade route and even found themselves occasionally forced to use armed force The army of King Assarhaddon undertook a campaign against the Bāzu and Khazū who lived in Wādī Sirhān, the Būz and Ḥazō of the Bible (Gen xxii 21 *sq*, Job xxxii 2; Jer xxv 23) whose oases are still recalled by the place-names Bīz and Ḥoẓowza In the Nabataean period Wādī Sirhān formed the eastern frontier between the Nabataeans and the nomads and was called "Syrmaion pedion". In the Muslim period the Wādī Sirḥān was the much contested frontier between the tribes of al-Kain and Kalb and was called Baṭn al-Sirr and was also used as the natural route of communication between al-Hīra or al-Kūfa and Syria The pilgrim-caravans followed it and came to Medina via Taimā' The Sirhān Wādī now belongs to the tribe of Ruwala of the ʿAneze and forms the boundary between their lands and those of the Ahl al-Shemāl (Banū Ṣakhr and Hwētāt b Djād) By section 1 of the treaty of Hadda of November 1925, almost four fifths of the Wādī Sirhān fell to the Sulṭān of Nadjd, while the northeast corner fell to Transjordan

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ṢIRWĀḤ, the name of two ruined towns in South Arabia

1 A large ruined site in the land of the Benī Djebr (Khawlān), a day's journey west of Mārib in the Wādī Wākifa The castle of this town, which E Glaser considered the oldest foundation of the Sabaeans, is mentioned in the Sabaean inscription Bibl Nat, N° 2, along with the two ancient castles of Salhān and Ghundān The town of Sirwāh (*hagarān Sirwāh*) is mentioned in the inscriptions Glaser, 904, 13, 1571, 4, there is also a reference to it in the late Sabaean inscription on the bursting of the dam of Mārib (Glaser, 618, 30) so that it must still have been of some importance in the fifth century A D although it could no longer have rivalled Mārib The most important building among the ruins is the great temple of Almakah built by the priest-king Yadaʿīl Dhārih, which like that of Mārib is elliptical in shape In the centre of the temple stands a stone prism seventy feet long, 35 inches high and eighteen inches thick, the two larger surfaces of which are covered with the famous Sabaean inscription, Glaser N° 1,000, over 1,000 words in length J Halévy, when he visited the ruined site, still found numerous monolithic pillars, some upright and others overthrown bearing long inscriptions The main group of columns like that at Mārib is now called *ʿArsh Bilḳīs* (throne of Bilḳīs) Opposite the temple ruins on a mound is the old citadel of Sirwāh, part of which still existed in al-Hamdānī's time A large number of legends have grown up around it It is said that the djinn built it for Dhū Bataʿ; others say it was built by command of Solomon by the demons

for Bilkīs, the queen of Saba According to the learned South Arabian, Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, ʿAmr Dhū Ṣuwāh al-Malik b al-Ḥārith b Mālik b Zaid b. Sadad b Ḥimyar al-Asghar, one of the eight princes, built it But this is probably mere speculation by South Arabian genealogists The Arab philologists connected the name Sirwāḥ with *ṣarḥ*, "high, commanding building", and interpreted it as "castle, palace" E Osiander and following him H v Kremer correctly connected it with the Ethiopic *ṣerḥ* "citadel" At Siwāh there were gold-washings, which were still being worked when Halévy visited them Al-Hamdānī already knew that gold was found there

2 A ruined site in the land of the Benī Arhab, N E of Nāʿit in the vicinity of Medr, West of the Djebel Etwa The best preserved of the ruins is the old temple which is now known as the masdjid (mosque) and stands in the centre of the extensive area of ruins, 27 paces long and 19 broad The walls of the temple run from south-east to north-east and are 4 feet thick The outer wall has however fallen in and only survives to a height of 3 to 5 feet The stones are very carefully hewn This enclosing wall is pierced by two gateways, one 3 feet broad in the west front and another, 5 feet broad, in the east front On the south side a niche 5 feet wide has been left in the outside of the wall, corresponding to a somewhat smaller niche in the inner side of the north wall A sanctuary enclosed by pillars fills the inner chamber in the upper half and there is a basin also surrounded by pillars in front of it The pillars of the sanctuary are all destroyed except two These are 8 feet high, 16 sided, thickening at the top, the capital consists of six parts and is rounded off, and fluted in keeping with the shaft of the column The pillars around the cistern are octagonal and are also destroyed To the west of the temple the old town probably lay Mounds of ruins 20 to 24 feet high now lie there out of which rise great walls forming chambers The ruins, called *Hadjar Arhab* by the Bedouins, form the gathering place of the whole tribe of Arhab for the discussion and decision of important matters This custom may be a memory of ancient times in which the temple probably played an important part in the worship and legislation of the people

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On 2 J Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, p 17, E Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arhab und Hâschid, Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1884, xxx, p 172, 182, do, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1884* (manuscript), fol 103. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

SIRWĀL (A), trousers Trousers are not originally an Arab garment but were introduced, probably from Persia From quite early times, other people have copied the thing and the name from the Persians and it almost looks as if Persia were the original home of trousers (cf. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p 136 [3]) The Greek σαράβαρα or σαράβαλλα, Latin *sarabala* (perhaps also Aramaic *sarbālīn*, Daniel iii. 21, cf Syriac *ḥarbālīn*) and the Arabic *sirwāl* are all derived from old Persian *zārawāro*, the modern Persian *ẖelwār* (which is explained as from *ẖel* = leg, with a suffix *-wār*); to *sirwāl* in turn may be traced the corresponding word among the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Tartars, Siberians and Kalmucks in the east and the Spanish and Portuguese in the west The form *sirwāl* has probably been influenced by the word *sirbāl* meaning garment in general (explained as a development of the root *s-b-l* and an originally Semitic word). This occurs in the early Arabic poetry and in the Kurʾān, but not *sirwāl*

The Arab grammarians retained a memory of the Persian origin of the word As frequently with loanwords, *sirwāl* shows several formations in Arabic, sing *sirwāl(a)*, *sirwal(a)*, *sirwīl*, dialectic *ẖirwāl*, modern also *ẖarwāl* and the question is continually discussed whether it is triptote or diptote, plur *sarāwīl* and double pl *sarāwīlāt* both also with *ẖin* and dialectic *sarāwin*, diptote only but usually (like the word from trousers in many other languages) used with singular meaning and varying in sex between masc and fem ; dimin. *suraiyil*, plur. *suraiyilāt*; *(ta)sarwala* has been formed as a denominative verb.

When the word entered Arabic and the thing was adopted by Muslims is not exactly known,

but the Muslims must have become acquainted with trousers in the very early days of Islām, at the latest during the conquest of Persia Tradition usually traces them to the Prophet Muḥammad and even credits pre-Islāmic prophets with wearing them. A ḥadīth says. "the first to wear trousers was the prophet Abraham, wherefore he will be the first to be clothed on the day of judgment" Another ḥadīth tells us that Moses was wearing trousers of wool on the day on which God spoke with him It is related in one tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that he bought trousers from the linen-drapers, but it is uncertain whether he actually wore them; on one occasion he replied to the question whether he wore them "Yes, when travelling and at home, by day and night; I was commanded to cover myself and I know no covering really better than these" According to another hadīth, he recommends the wearing of trousers in the words. "be different from the people of the book, who do wear neither trousers nor *izār*" But other stories deny positively that he wore them and it is also disputed whether the Caliph ʿOthmān wore them. The intermediate view is that it is permitted to wear trousers, *ubīḥā*, *lā baʾsa bihi*

In contrast to the men, to whom all that has been said so far applies, the wearing of trousers is recommended for women in all ḥadīths It is said for example "Put on trousers, for they are the garments that cover one best and protect your women with them when they go out" or "God has mercy upon the women who wear trousers" (*yarhamu ʾllāhu ʾl-mutasarwilāti min al-nisāʾ*) — or "a woman came past riding one day and fell off. The Prophet turned aside in order not to see her and was only put at his ease when he was told that she was *mutasarwila*" Other hadīths fix the length of the trousers — to the ankles, not longer; as a concession, as a protection against insects, they may be a little longer but must not trail on the ground

The *muḥrim* is forbidden to wear trousers (along with certain other garments) But even the *ṣalāt* in trousers was *makrūh* according to the strictest view and must be repeated; trousers are also considered unfitting for the *muʾadhdhin*

In actual practice, little attention has been paid to all such restrictions, and numerous passages in historical and geographical literature, in books of travel and in *adab*-books show that trousers have probably been worn in most Muslim lands since the early centuries of the Hidjra. It is quite exceptional to find the statement that in one region a so-called *fūṭa* was worn in place of trousers (e g in India) The word *fūṭa* is of Indian origin and means a simple cloth without a seam, which was fastened in front and behind to the girdle A *fūṭa* of this kind — these from the Yemen were particularly noted — was also worn in regions, where trousers were usually worn by women in negligé, in the house instead of trousers (cf Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Mudkhal*, Cairo 1320, i. 118)

Oriental trousers differ very much in different countries They are of all possible widths, from wide pantaloons, which are only drawn together at the bottom over the feet, to close-fitting shapes which look more like drawers and indeed are so-called by European travellers. They are also of very different lengths, from knee-breeches, especially for soldiers, to long trousers coming to below the feet. Colours were dependent not only on fashion (sometimes only natural colours were considered the thing, as a rule artificial colours never) but also on political considerations; the ʿAbbāsid colour for example was black and that of the Fāṭimids white As regards material, a famous Persian specialty was silken trousers; in Egypt and the adjoining lands the white Egyptian linen was popular, trousers of red leather are mentioned as the dress of the women in the market of lights of Cairo, and so on

In contrast to the European fashion, trousers in the east are worn next the bare body under the other garments (cf Djāhiẓ, *Kitāb al-Tādj*, ed. Zeki Pacha, p. 154 below. the shirt and the trousers are *shiʿār*, the other garments *dithār* are worn above) and are supported not by braces but by a special girdle tied round the body, called the *tikka* (modern *dikka*) Although the *tikak* were covered by the other garments and could not be seen they were the objects of a particular extravagance, being adorned with inscriptions, usually of an erotic nature, the most famous and valuable were the *tikak* made in Armenia of Persian silk The prohibition against wearing them issued by the *fukahāʾ* had scarcely any effect A thousand pairs of trousers of brocade with a thousand trouser bands of silk from Armenia (*alf sarāwīl dabākiya bi-alf tikka ḥarīr ermenī*) were, according to Makrīzī, ii 4, part of the estate of an Egyptian noble (cf Ibn Khallikān, Būlāk 1299, i 110), a thousand jewelled *tikka's* were given to the daughter of Khumārawaih b Aḥmad b Tūlūn on her wedding; the *tikka* was also used as a love-token sent by a lady to her admirer

For practical reasons, trousers formed part of a soldier's dress Tabarī records that even the Umaiyad soldiers already wore *sarāwīl* made of a coarse cloth called *mish* Under the latter, they wore very short drawers called *tubbān*, which were made of hair When Islām adopted the old Oriental custom of granting robes of honour, trousers were included among them; indeed they were sometimes regarded as the most valuable part of the gift, which, it has been suggested, is connected with the phallic worship of paganism Originally the garments of honour given were not new, but had been worn by the donor, he ought to have worn them at least once

As a kind of uniform and a garment of honour, the trousers play a very special part in the Muslim *futuwwa* organisations In the ceremonial reception of a new member into the guild, an essential feature of the initiation ceremony (*shadd*, q v) is the putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa*, often briefly called *futuwwa* Here also stress is laid on the point that the *kabīr* must have either previously worn them himself or at least gone into far enough to touch them with his knees The *sarāwīl* had occasionally a similar importance for the *fityān*, like the *khirḳa* [q v.] for the Sūfīs An oath was taken on the *sarāwīl* (this oath is however invalid according to Ibn Taimīya); they could also be put on a coat of arms with a cup *kaʾs*.

The putting on of the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* acquired a certain political significance under the "reformer of the futuwwa", the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Nāṣir, about whose grants of *sarāwīl*, a few stories have been preserved by the historians. He sent embassies to the petty dynasts of Syria, Persia and India with the demand that they and

their nobles should put on the *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* for the Caliph. This was done with solemn ceremonial and they thereby placed themselves under the protection of the Caliph as overlord of the *fityān*. The same Nāṣir seems to have limited the right of investiture to a very few and his successors also claimed the right for themselves But others did it, for example the Sulṭān Ashraf of Egypt two centuries after Nāsir

When the *futuwwa*-gilds declined, other organisations with political or other aims adopted their external ceremonies, and laid special stress on the putting on of trousers. The gild of thieves in Baghdād for example under Muktafī and a secret Sunnī association in Damascus called the Nabawīya with anti-Shī'a tendencies, mentioned by Ibn Djubair But with the disappearance of the *futuwwa*, the original significance of the *sarāwīl* as a badge of chivalry was no longer understood and they became combined with the *khirḳa* of the Sūfīs into the *khirḳat al-futuwwa*.

For the expression *sarāwīl al-futuwwa* we also find *libās al-futuwwa* with the same meaning "trousers" and in Egyptian Arabic, *libās* (cf Lane) acquired the general meaning of "drawers" (i. e for men; for those of women there is a new foreign word *shintiyān*) This circumstance is a criterion for ascertaining the Egyptian texts in the 1001 Nights; they replace the word *sarāwīl* of the non-Egyptian texts without exception by *libās*

In many expressions *sirwāl* is used metaphorically. Thus, *musarwal* is a pigeon with feathered legs, a horse with white legs or a tree with branches down on the trunk *Shirwāl al-ʿā'ik* "rogue's trousers" and *sarāwīl al-ṭukūk* (cuckoo-trousers) (*linaria elatine*) are the names of plants (on the other hand *sarwal* or *serwēl* or *serwīl* for "cypress" is formed of the well known word *sarw* with the article behind it and has nothing to do with *sirwāl*)

Bibliography In addition to the general dictionaries see Dozy, *Suppl*, s v Sirwāl and Futuwwa; do., *Dictionnaire détaille des noms des vêtements*, s. v Sirwāl, Libās, 'Ikka, Fūta, cf. also Mi'zar, Tubbān, Djakshīr, Hizza, Ḥikw, Sikān, Shintiyān, Nukba, Ḳalsa and Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s v srbl; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, iv 83 — Philology and hadīths see the special work on the subject *Muntakhab al-Akāwīl fī-mā yataʿallak bi 'l-Sarāwīl* by Djaʿfar b Idrīs al-Kattānī, 10 pp lith, Fās n. d Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-Sarāwīl*, ed. Krehl, iv 77, also Suyūtī wrote a book *fi 'l-Sarāwīl*, cf the Berlin MS Ahlwardt, N⁰. 5455. — References from historians and geographers have been collected by Dozy, *Vêt* and by Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 96, 314, 368 *sq.*, 399, 436 — On inscriptions on Tikak s al-Washshā', *K al-Ẓarf wa 'l-Ẓurafā'*, Cairo 1324, p 102, 141 — On the different colours of clothing, see al-Ṭabarsī, *K Makārim al-Akhlāḳ*, Cairo 1311, p 35 — Military N Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omajjaden*, Kieler Diss, 1921, p. 30. — Futuwwa: Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islāmischen Vereinswesens*, p. 49 *sq*, 162, 187, 198 *sq.*, 204 *sqq* ; Blochet, *Histoire d'Egypte de Makrizi*, p. 297 — Modern Egypt Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], 1860, p 28—29 — Mecca Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichworter*, N⁰ 57 (also *Versprʳ Geschriften*, v. 84 *sq.*). — Morocco. L Brunot, *Noms des vêtements masculins à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i., p. 87 *sqq.*; esp p. 95, 107. — Pictures: A Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostums*, table 296, 374 *sqq.*; Tilke, *Orientalische Kostume in Schnitt und Farbe*, Berlin 1923; cf. also Tilke, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des orientalischen Kostums*, Berlin 1923, p. 25, 32.

(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SĪS, a town in Asia Minor, also called Sisiya, (middle-)Latin Sisia and Sis; in French sources of the Middle Ages, besides the usual forms, also Assis and Oussis are found The most obvious explanation of these last mentioned forms would be from *al* (the Arabic article) + *Sīs*: however, attention must be paid to the fact that in the Arabic sources the name seems to occur more often without the article, than accompanied by it (for another explanation of these forms see *Rec des Hist. des Croisades*; *Doc. Arm*, ii, p xii) Sīs is the ancient capital of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom, 65 KM N. E. from Ādana, 290 M above sea-level The town lies against the slope of an isolated mountain, which belongs to the Taurus-system The river of Sīs rises in the Antitaurus; after uniting with another water-course, the Deli Su, it falls in the Djaiḥān (Pyramus)

Before the Middle-Ages, nothing is known about this town; the attempted identifications with antique localities (some have thought of Flavias, others of Pindenissus) are very doubtful

In the Byzantine period we hear of the Arabs besieging in vain τὸ Σίσιον κάστρον in Cicilia, in the 6th year of the reign of the emperor Tiberios III Apsimaros = 703 (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed de Boor, i 372) In the Latin text of Anastasius' *Chronographia Tripertita* (Theophanes, ed de Boor, ii 237) we find *expugnansque Sisui castrum*, where the form of the name of the locality is to be noted, as also the fact, that *expugnans* is a wrong interpretation for the word πολιορκήσας in the text of Theophanes

In ʿAbbāsid time, however, Sīs belonged to the Muslim empire· it was reckoned among the *thughūr al-Shāmiya* It was rebuilt during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, under the direction of ʿAlī b Yahyā al-Armanī, but afterwards laid waste by the Byzantines (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 170) There is also a tradition, going back to al-Wāḳidī, of an emigration of the inhabitants of Sīs to the *aʿlā al-Rūm* in the years 194 or 193 (809/810 or 808/809), which event may stand in relation to the loss of the locality by the Greeks, in the interval between the times of Apsimaros and al-Mutawakkil (al-Balādhurī, *loc cit* ; cf Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iii 217, where the years erroneously are given as 94 or 93) A further mention of Sīs is found during the wars of the Hamdānid Saif al-Dawla [q v] with the Byzantines That prince, after rebuilding ʿAin Zarba (Anazarba), sent his *ḥādjib* with an army, which ravaged the Byzantine territory; the Greeks, in revenge, then took the stronghold of Sīs (*ḥiṣn Sīsiya*), in the year 351 (962) (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Thornberg, viii. 404) It appears, then, that in the early Middle Ages Sīs has been a fortified frontier-town.

The continuous history of Sīs begins about the end of the xiith century of the Christian aera, when it had become the royal residence of the Armenian kings of Cilicia (the Rubenids and the

Lusignans) But already before that time it is sometimes mentioned in the annals of the Cilician kingdom It is numbered among the places, conquered by the Armenian princes Thoros and Stephanos (Chronicle of Kirakos of Ganjak under 562 Armenian aera = 1113/1114), moreover, Sīs belonged to the towns which suffered from the earthquake of the year 1114 (Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa under 563 Armenian aera) Nerses of Lambron, writing in the year 1177, complains, that in the royal residence (*ishkhananist*) Sīs, there is no bishop, nor are there suitable churches It is surprising to find the town mentioned as a royal residence as early as 1177, for it must have been Leo II (1187—1219), who transferred the royal residence for strategical and political reasons, from Anazarba to Sīs Since the time of this ruler, the kingdom of Cilicia is called, by Muslim authors, not only *bilād al-Arman*, but also *bilād Sis*; an Armenian geographer (xiiith century?) cited by Saint Martin, ii 436 *sq* also identifies the names Cilicia and Sīs

Leo II caused many new buildings to be erected in the town The chronicle of the *connétable* Sĕmbat speaks already under the year 624 Armenian aera = 1175/1176 of the new-built (*norashēn*) town of Sīs, in connection with the murder of the Rubenid prince Mleh (dated in Hethum's Chronicle, erroneously under 613 Armenian aera = 1164, Sis is also here mentioned as the place, where that event did happen) If the, tolerably late, chronicle of Sĕmbat is right in using the term "new-built" here, then there must already have been extensive renovations before the time of Leo II

This prince, who in 1198 was crowned king (he himself before, and the older Rubenids only wore the title of baron) transferred, as stated above, the royal residence to Sis His coronation must have been at Tarsus (a later chronicler, Jehan Dardel, erroneously pretends that it was at Sīs), but the town of Sīs is already called the "metropolis" of Leo in a poem on the taking of Jerusalem by Salāh al-Dīn, written by the Katholikos Grigor IV († 1189, in this poem the form, Sisuan is to be noted *Rec des Hist des Croisades, Doc Arm*, i 301) In the year 1212 it was at Sīs, that the coronation of Leo's grand-nephew and co-regent Ruben took place This ceremony was witnessed by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who in his *Peregrinatio* gives a short account of the town "it was the capital of the king (*capitanea civitas domini regis*), with many and rich inhabitants It had no walls, *unde pocius eam villam quam civitatem nuncuparem* But there was an Armenian archbishop, and also a Greek patriarch Then the traveller mentions the stronghold of Sīs (*castrum super se situm in monte valde munitum*), the town rises amphitheatrically against the mountain The locality belonged in ancient time to Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander". This singular item may be due to a reminiscence of Alexander's victory at the (Cilician) Issus It is remarkable, that in the elegy of Grigor, cited above, after the mention of Sīs, it is said that on that spot also the warriors of Alexander defeated Darius In the neighbourhood of the town, Wilbrand continues, the king had caused a pleasure garden of indescribable beauty to be laid out.

It is surprising that the town had no wall; it seems that the stronghold was deemed sufficient for defence Still in 1375, when Sīs was taken by the Egyptians, there was no town-wall: the royal palace, together with some other buildings, were enclosed with a wall; it seems to be this complex which is called by Jehan Dardel the "bourg", and it must be distinguished from the castle on the mountain

The kings of Cilicia, moreover, had a summer residence in the Taurus, to the North of Sīs Barjrberd, which was also their treasure-house Likewise, in modern times, the inhabitants of Sīs during the summer, leave the unhealthy town, to take summer habitations (*yaylak*) in the mountains

The political history of Sīs is, of course, intimately connected with the general history of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom The chief feature of that history consists in the struggle for existence which that kingdom had to carry on against the sultānate of Egypt; it is therefore not surprising that the chief events connected with the town are attacks of the Mamlūk armies and ravages wrought by them Other foes were of minor consequence an attack of a Turkoman chief in the year of the accession of Leo II (1187) was repelled by that prince, but the Turkomans during the reign of the following kings remained a menace to the Cilician kingdom These nomads whenever a strong government was lacking, availed themselves of the opportunity to seize on pasture grounds we shall find them in the actual possession of the territory of Sis in the first half of the xixth century On the occasion of the Egyptian attack of 1266, the town of Sis, with its cathedral, was burnt down and the royal tombs were desecrated Other Egyptian incursions in the district of Sīs occurred in the years 1275 1276, 1298 and 1303 in the last named year the city itself was plundered by the enemy In 1321 the environs again suffered from hostile attack, this time it was the Mongol governor of Rūm, Timurtāsh, who, on the instigation, as it seems, of the Egyptian sultān al-Malik al-Nāsir carried his ravages in the district of Sīs A similar incursion was made by the then officiating governor of Aleppo, by order of the same sultān in the year 1340, the incursions from the amīr of Aleppo were repeated in 1359 and 1369; both times the town was taken In the meantime, Sīs had suffered from the great epidemic, which in Europe, during that same time, is known under the name of the "Black Death" (1348)

However, the end of the Cilician kingdom was imminent The last king, Leo VI (de Lusignan was reduced to his capital, Sīs, after the retreat of the Egyptians, the Turkomans fell upon the land, then, in the years 1374 and 1375 came the catastrophe The sieges of Sīs during these years by the Egyptians, and the final taking of the town, wherein the enemy was assisted by the treason of some nobles and of the Katholikos are described in detail in the chronicle of Jehan Dardel, who had been chaplain to king Leo V since 1377, Leo being then a prisoner at Cairo

From the ecclesiastical history of Sīs during the time of the Cilician kingdom, the following facts may be mentioned Soon after the time when Nerses of Lambron complained about the desolate state of spiritual affairs in the town, we find Sīs (since 1198, when the first archbishop is mentioned) an archbishopric, but depending on the see of Anazarba There had also been some

church-councils at Sīs, e g in 1238, under the reign of Hethum I, when the dogma of the processus Spiritus Sancti according to the Greek doctrine was accepted, in 1307 (March 19) another council aimed at unification with Rome, but obedience to its resolutions could only be compelled within the limits of the town of Sīs itself Two years later (1309) another church-council, not summoned by the king, was convened at Sīs, to take stand against the innovations of 1307, but the king Awshin dispersed it, and had the ecclesiastics who had been convened, imprisoned Another synod was held at Sīs in 1342, under the reign of Constantine IV

The patriarchs of the Cilician-Armenian kingdom fixed their seat at Sīs in 1292 On June 29 of that year, Rūm Kal'a, which was the former seat of this patriarchate, had been taken by the Egyptians, so the new patriarch (Grigor VII) came to reside at Sīs There his successors have remained even after the fall of the kingdom, and after the renovation of the patriarchal see of Ēdjmiacin (1441), which caused, of course, a schism in the Armenian church The chief relic preserved by the patriarchs of Sīs was the right hand of St Grigor, the apostle of the Armenians, which, in 1292, was redeemed, with other relics, from the infidels by king Hethum II

After the Egyptian conquest, the patriarchs, at first, had no fixed residence, they came only to the town of Sīs to perform some ecclesiastical duties, e g the benediction of the sacred oil (*myron*) Under the rule of the Rubenids and Lusignans the habitation of the patriarchs had been within the circumvallation of the royal dwellings After the period of their wandering about, the patriarchs obtained from the Egyptian government permission to reside in the town First, this residence of the patriarch was an ordinary house, in 1734, long after the Turkish conquest, a monastery was founded by the patriarch Lucas, which seems to have been the seat of the patriarchate until 1810, when the patriarch Kirakos founded another monastery, in which the patriarchate was established when V Langlois visited Sīs (1853) A little before 1874, the patriarch was expelled from Sis, and migrated to 'Ain Ṭāb

But if the ecclesiastical history of the town continued until modern times, politically Sis soon became insignificant. Immediately after the Egyptian conquest, Sīs remained the capital of a new province, which included Ayās, Tarsus, Ādana, Massīsa and Ramadānīya, the whole being dependent on Aleppo In 893 (1488) Sīs was taken by the Osmanlīs, during the war between Bāyazīd II and Egypt Afterwards, the town belonged to the realm of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ramadanoghlu, whose members, however, since the time of the fifth prince, Khalīl b Mahmūd, were vassals to the Porte Hādjdjī Khalīfa, in the *Djihānnumā* contrasts the once flourishing condition of the district of Sīs with its uncultivated state in his time

Under Ottoman administration, Sīs belonged to the *wilāyet* Ādana, and the *sandjak* of Kozan When Langlois visited the locality, he found it to be a village, consisting of ± 200 houses, inhabitated by Turks and Armenians. There was a *masdjid* and a *bazār*; the Turkoman beg of the Kozanoghlu tribe was virtually the ruler, for the pāshā of Ādana had no authority whatever in Sīs The village moreover paid no tribute to the Porte There were several remains of old times, but the palace of the Cilician-Armenian kings was ruined; on its site was the monastery, where the patriarch resided The church, belonging to that monastery, is consecrated to St. Grigor Illuminator and the Descensus Filii Unigeniti; the treasure of that church contains among other relics the right hand of St Grigor, and two Gospels from the XIVth century of the Christian aera The archives and the library of the patriarchate, Langlois found to be in a deplorable state Other churches of Sīs, partly restored after the Middle-Ages, are consecrated to St Sophia (the *Čañlī kilise*), to St Sergius, to St Peter and Paul (wholly ruined), to the Holy Virgin, to St. James (ruined) The mountain-stronghold of Sīs, built by Leo II (*Sīs Ḳal'a-sī*) was in a tolerable state of preservation

According to a statement of 1894 (Sāmī Bey Frasherī) Sīs then had ± 3,500 inhabitants, 2 masdjids, 3 churches and 3 medreses. Its territory, though fertile, is insufficiently cultivated, but in its neighbourhood there are many gardens.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x 597, 621 *sq*, 916, XIX 67—96, Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 141; J Saint Martin, *Mémoires hist et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, 1818/1819, I 198, 200, 390, 392, 397, 400 etc, 446, II 436 *sq*, V Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, 1861, p 380 etc, C Favre and B Mandrot, *Voyage en Cilicie* [*Bulletin de la Soc de Géographie*, 1878, série 6, tome 15], p 116 etc, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Documents arméniens*, index; J v Hammer, *Gesch des osmanischen Reiches*, II 292, 298, 601, III 70 *sq*, *Peregrinatores Medii aevi quattuor*, rec J C M Laurent, Leipzig 1864, p 177, 179, Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, I 100, 264; II 100, 258, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p 602, Sāmī Bey Frasherī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, IV 2759

(V F BUCHNER)

SĪSAM. [See SAMOS].

SĪSAR, a town in Persian Kurdistān, bounded by Hamadān, Dīnawar and Ādharbāidjān The Arab geographers place Sīsar on the Dīnawar-Marāgha road 20—22 farsakhs (3 stages) north of Dīnawar (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119—121, Ḳudāma, p 212, Mukaddasī, p. 382) According to Balādhurī (ed de Goeje, p 310), Sīsar occupied a depression (*khufād*) surrounded by 30 mounds, whence its Persian name "30 summits" For greater accuracy it was called Sīsar of Sadkhānīya (*wakāna Sīsar tud'ā Sīsar Ṣadkhāniya*) which Balādhurī correctly explains as Sisar of the hundred springs *Ṣad* in Persian (*kānī* in Kurd) does mean spring, on the other hand the geographers (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 175; Ibn Rusta, p 89) locate the sources of the Safīd-rūd (Kizil-uzan) "at the gate" or "in the ravine' (*bāb*) of Sisar (Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 62 in the *nāhiya* of S). Finally Mas'ūdī (*ibid*, p 53), speaking of the Diyāla [q v], makes it come from the mountains of Armenia (?) and talks of Sīsar as belonging to Ādharbāidjān

These quotations show that the site of Sīsar lay near the watershed between the Ḳizil-Uzan (southern arm) and the Gāwarūd (Diyāla) i e. near the col of Kargābād, where numerous streams rise flowing in different directions According to the ingenious hypothesis of G. Hoffmann, the name of the town of Senna [q. v] might be a contraction of the old form Ṣadkhāniya There is

not sufficient evidence however to show that the site of the modern Senna is identical with that of the town of Sīsar

It should be noted that while Ibn Khurdādhbih and Ḳudāma give the distance between Dīnawar and Sīsar as 20—22 farsakhs, the whole distance between Dīnawar and Marāgha is put sometimes at 50—52 farsakh (same writers), sometimes at 60 farsakh (Muḳaddasī, p 384; Istakhrī, p 194) If an error of 8—10 farsakhs could be made on the stretch Dīnawar–Sīsar, the latter place might be put further north on the line of the watershed between the northern waters of the Sīrwān (Diyāla) and those of the Kizil-Uzān; at the present day names like Čihil-Čashma ("mountain of the 40 springs"), Hazār-kānān ("village of the 1,000 springs") are common in this district

In the district of Sīsar (Balādhurī, p 130), there were at first only the grazing-grounds of the Caliph Mahdī (151—169) This intermediate zone (*hadd*) between three great provinces soon became a refuge for outlaws (*al-ṣaʿālīk wa 'l-dhuʿʿār*) and the Caliph ordered his superintendents to build a town. The estates formed a separate district (*kūra*) which was extended by the addition of the following cantons (*rustāḳ*). 1 Māipahradj, detached from Dīnawar, 2. Djūdhama (?), detached from the *kūra* of Barza in Ādharbāidjān and 3 Khānīdjar (?) Hārūn al-Rashīd stationed a garrison of 1,000 men at Sīsar Sīsar was later the scene of battles between a certain Murra al-Rudainī al-ʿIdjlī and the Khāridjīs under ʿUthmān al-Awdī (Yāḳūt, III 216) The Caliph al-Maʾmūn made Humām b Hānīʾ al-ʿAbdī governor of Sīsar

In the VIIth (XIIIth) century Yāḳūt is able to add very little to the information given by Balādhurī In the VIIIth (XIVth) century Hamdallāh Mustawfī no longer mentions Sīsar On the other hand he talks of the "mountain of Sinā" forming the boundary of Ādharbāidjān and the "pass of Sinā" in the mountains of Kurdistān in which was the source of the Taghatū The *Djihān-numā*, while marking correctly on the map the exact site and correct name of Taghatū, gives in the text the wrong reading *n-f-t-w* which Norberg in his translation (Lund 1818, I 547) renders by Neftu Quatremère introduced the reading Naghatū found in an edition of Mīrkhond G Hoffmann admits the identity of this river with the Khorkhora (a right bank tributary of the Djaghatū) But there is no proof of the actual existence of the name Naghatū and the text of Mustawfī may simply indicate that in his day the frontier between Ādharbāidjān and Sinā was marked by the watershed between the Taghatū (cf SĀWDJ BULĀḲ) and Bāna This last district had long been a dependency of Senna. In this way since the VIIIth (XIVth) century the name Sinā (Sinnā, Sīna) has become substituted for that of Sīsar and its later history will be found in the article SENNA As to the date of origin of this town, it may be noted that in 1630 Khusraw Pasha destroyed Hasanābād which was the capital of the princes of Ardilān (von Hammer, *G.O.R.*², 1840, III 87) Only forty years later, Tavernier (*Les Six Voyages*, Paris 1692, I 197) speaks of his visits to Sulaimān Khān at *Sneirne* (= Senna)

The name Simsar on Haussknecht's map (G. Hoffmann, *op cit*, p. 256) has nothing to do with Sīsar; it refers to the pass to the south of Sinna, the real Kurd name of which is Sīm-sā ("wearing out shoes") There is at the present time a village of Sīsar near Sardasht and another south of Bāna, on the slopes of Sūrkēw (cf SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ) This only shows how frequent such names are, and explains why the Arabs were obliged to define their Sīsar by the addition of Ṣadkhāniya.

It may be added that the popular etymology of Sīsar ("30 mounds", according to Balādhurī) does not preclude the identification of Sīsar (or of one of the Sīsar) with Ṣiṣṣirtu (Ṣiṣirī) of the Assyrian period Ṣiṣṣirtu was a fortress of the land of Kharkhar (cf the name of the river Khorkhora to the north of Senna) on the frontier of the land of Ellipi There are considerable differences in the identification of all these names proposed by Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, Leipzig 1898, p 127, 133, 158, Justi, *Grundriss d iran Phil.*, II, p 404; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, IV., p 404, Streck, *Z A.*, XIV 138—139; XV 349, 379, Thureau-Dangin, *La huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912, map; Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung d assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, p 90, 92—93, 95, 102, 120 The identification of Sissirtu with the capital of the Mannaeans Izirtu (Streck, XIV., p 139) is still only a hypothesis In principle there is no difficulty in the equation Sissirtu–Sīsar, which would give Assyriologists a fixed point in a region, where all is still uncertain

Bibliography. Besides the Arab geographers and Balādhurī quoted in the editions by de Goeje, see *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, pp 85 and 224, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, Stambul 1145, p 388, Quatremère, *Hist des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, I, ad fol. 297 v ; G Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten pers Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p 255–256; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p 18, Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 190, Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1921, IV 479

(V MINORSKY)

SĪSTĀN, or SIDJISTĀN (from Sakastāna, land of the Sakae, cf its classical name Sakastāne), also called Nīmrūz ["midday" = southland, scil. south of Khurāsān; this name occurs often in the *Shāhnāma*, and also on the coins of the Kayānī chiefs (*malik*) of Sīstān, cf *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p 669], border district between Persia and Afghānistān Its area covers ± 7,006 square miles, 2,847 of them being Persian, and 4,159 Afghān territory; its population being about 205,000 persons (for 1906, cf. MacMahon in *Geogr. Journal*, XXVIII. 213)

The land is divided between the two countries by the (theoretical) boundary-line fixed by the Sīstān Mission of 1872; this line runs "from the Band-i Sīstān on the Hēlmand to the Kūh-i Malik Siyāh, a hill to the West of the Gawd-i Zarih" (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 92). F. J. Goldsmid, the head of the Mission, distinguished "Sīstān Proper" from "Outer Sīstān", the first may be said to correspond to the part, belonging to Persia. It is the more important portion of Sīstān, its boundaries are according to Goldsmid. on the North and the West the Naizār and the Hāmūn; on the East, the old course of the Hēlmand, and on the South a line which includes the portion watered by the main Sīstān canal. So, this country is enclosed by water on three sides, and can, to a certain extent, be called a

peninsula. The depressions (Hāmūn) in which the rivers discharge themselves, may be described as follows: there are two lagoons, formed respectively by the Harūd Rūd and the Farāh Rūd (both coming from the North) and by the Hēlmand and the Khashrūd (coming resp. from the South and the East) To the South of these lakes extends the Naizār, a tract of country, covered with reeds. At the time when the Hēlmand is in flood, the two lagoons become united, and the inundation covers the Naizār also. A tract, stretching from North to South, reckoned from the Western of the two lagoons (the Hāmūn-i Farāh), then also becomes overflowed, so that a great lake is formed, which, lastly, discharges its redundant water through a course, called the Shēla, in a third depression, the Gawd-i Zarih [the vocalisation of *Zarih* is not altogether sure, modern travellers write also *Zirah*. In the *Shāhnāma* (ed Vullers-Landauer, 1373, 1971) the name rhymes with *girih*]. Cf. the articles AFGHĀNISTĀN (i. 156a), HĀMŪN and HĒLMAND, and specially Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 364 etc.

The water-supply, and, in consequence, the cultivation of Sīstān, depends chiefly on the Hēlmand. Therefore, the distribution of its water has been, from ancient times, regulated by a system of dams and canals. The river has altered its course several times this, and the fact that during Timūr's invasion of Sīstān many dams and canals must have been ruined (e g the Band-i Rustam is reported to have been destroyed by him), explain the reason why there are found in Sīstān so many ruined localities, towns and villages, now deserted because cultivation has ceased in their environs. The principal hydraulic work of later times is the great Band-i Sīstān (or Band-i Amīr), a permanent construction, near Kūhak The amīr of Kā'in, under whose authority the governor of Persian Sīstān stood, had ordered this dam to be built, some six or seven years before the time when Goldsmid was in Sīstān A description of this dam is given in *Eastern Persia*, i 281 *sq*.

The soil of Sīstān is alluvial, and consists chiefly of sand, mixed with clay A part of the surface shows moving sands, the land is flat, but there are some low hills The highest elevation of the soil is the Kūh-i Khwādja (± 400 feet high), which lies in the tract between the Hāmūn-i Farāh and the Gawd-i Zarih, at times of complete inundation the hill lies in the midst of the water It bears this name because the sanctuary of a local saint is situated at the Northern end of its flat surface At the vernal equinox (*Nawrūz*) the population celebrates a primitive feast, to the honour, as it seems, of this Khwādja; Sykes thinks, that in its ceremonies there are preserved pre-Muhammadan rites. The Kūh-i Khwādja is fortified.

Sīstān is fertilized by the deposit, left by the inundations of the Hēlmand and the canal system. The most important production of the land is grain, but also beans, cotton, oil-seeds and melons grow there. There is plenty of fodder for the cattle; in Sīstān cows are bred in large numbers as well as horses, though the country is notorious for horse-diseases and poisonous flies. Of wild-growing plants, the tamarisk is to be mentioned the banks of one of the canals, the Mādar-i Āb, are covered with it in abundance; Sykes says of it "one of the few jungles I have seen in Persia".

There are not many trees in Sīstān, except in the Miyān Kangī, the district between the Rūd-i Pariyān (the main bed through which the Hēlmand discharges itself into the Hāmūn) and the Siksar (a tributary stream to the Rūd-i Pariyān; cf. the map of Sīstān belonging to MacMahon's articles in the *Geogr. Journ.*, xxviii.).

In former times, the date-tree, which is no longer found, must have existed in Sīstān (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 94). On the kinds of serpents (for the frequency of vipers in Sīstān cf. also al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 400, 402) and birds to be met with in this country, cf. *Eastern Persia*, i. 273. Of the climate not much good has been said by European travellers. The winter is cold, but not unhealthy, then, between March and August, there blows a North-Western wind, the so-called *bād-i ṣad u bīst rūz* (the wind of 120 days), which clears the air from the miasms, produced by the stagnating marsh-water, which in the other seasons cause fevers. Summer is hot and disagreeable. Rawlinson says, in respect to the climate, that "Sīstān is, in its present aspect, a wretchedly unhealthy country, only habitable for a few months in the year"

The population of Sīstān consists chiefly of Tādjīks, there are also Balōčīs and Ḳā'inīs, who have established themselves in the land, moreover, Nādir Shāh forced some nomad tribes of Shīrāz to emigrate to Sīstān Genealogical data about some Sīstānī families (e. g the historical important Kayānīs who claimed descent from the mythical Īrānian kings), and some Balōčī-clans resident in Sīstān are to be found in *Eastern Persia*, i. 415 *sqq*

The Saiyāds (fishermen and fowlers), who live to the South of the Hāmūn and the Naizār, and speak a language of their own, are considered, by some authors, to belong to the aborigines of the country They earn their livelihood on the lake, by fishing during the summer, and by catching wild fowl during the winter To each group of families of them (*maḥalla*), a piece of water is assigned (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p 80). In their neighbourhood, but distinct from them, there is a class of men called *Gāwdār*'s (cow-keepers) Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 367) supposes, that one Sīstānī tribe, that of the Sarbandīs is connected with the Brahōī, and therefore may be aboriginal, but, first, the question of the racial constitution of the Brahōī is a very complicated one (cf. the article BALŌČISTĀN, i 655 *sqq*), and, secondly, there is reason to assume, that the Sarbandīs (as also the Shahrakīs) are immigrants from Western Īrān

The language of Sīstān is described as "a species of debased Persian, somewhat similar to that spoken in Khurāsān" (*Eastern Persia*, i 259). On local names, important from a linguistic point of view cf. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 269 *sq* The people lives in a state of economic misery, all land and water belonging to the Government; as regards trade, it is chiefly carried on by caravans, which are sent by the different villages in common to Quetta and Bender ʿAbbās, and bring back in return articles lacking in Sīstān, such as tea, indigo, sugar, etc. (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 83 etc.)

The original chief town of Persian Sīstān, Sihkūha, is cast into the shadow by Nuṣratābād (built ± 1870) Sihkūha is said to have contained (1872) ± 1,200 mud huts, of which Curzon,

in the year 1892, found no more than half the number inhabitated. The town of Nuṣratābād (which, in Goldsmid's time, was called Nāṣirābād) was founded by the amīr of Kā'in, there being wanted a residence for the Persian Government in Sīstān. The "new city" (*Shahr-i naw*) of the town, has gradually shut in the village of Husainābād, near which the building of Nāṣirābād begun. The "new town" is populated by Ḳā'inīs and people from Khurāsān, but Ḥusainābād retains its original Sīstānī inhabitants. The fort of Nuṣratābād is called *Shahr-i ḳadīm* ("the old city") The town has a garrison, and it is the administrative centre of Sīstān. Another name for Nusratābād is *Shahr-i Sīstān*, this name is used almost exclusively among the inhabitants themselves. The remaining villages of Sīstān are of little importance. The land, in the second half of the XIX^th^ century, was governed by a deputy of the amīr of Kā'in, the title of the governor of (Persian) Sīstān being *Ḥashmat al-Mulk*. He was responsible to the Government for a payment of 12,000 *tūmān*'s, while the revenue of Sīstān (mostly in kind) was fixed at 24,000 *kharwar*'s (à 649 lb) of grain a year, in addition to which, 2,600 *tūmān*'s extra (in cash) were levied (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p 83)

Afghān Sīstān, with its capital Khāḳānsūr on the Khashrūd, comprises the land on the right bank of the Hēlmand, and East to the more eastern of the two lagoons (Hāmūn-i Pūza) up to the district of Djuwain in the North Also, the tract extending from the left bank of the Hēlmand to the boundary of Balōčistān belongs to Afghān Sīstān. In this part of the country lies the Gawd-i Zarih. Cultivation is found in the district of Khāḳānsūr and along the banks of the Hēlmand The population here is similar to that of Persian Sīstān, except that there are here, of course, also Afghāns among them. In the tracts east of the Hēlmand, Mac Mahon found a great number of ruins, and also traces of ancient canal-systems and river-beds He supposes, that "this must have been, not only a former delta of the Hēlmand, but the delta, used by the Hēlmand in, as far as existing ruins testify, one of the most prosperous times of Sīstān history" (*Geogr. Journ*, XXVIII 219) For all detail there should be made reference to MacMahon's paper itself

Historical outline In antiquity, the land at the lower course of the Hēlmand (Etymandros) was known as Drangiana This word has been compared with the old Irānian word for "lake, sea", Avestan *zrayah-*, old-Persian *d(a)rayah-*, but, as this etymology is not entirely certain, we can only say that the land has its name from the people of the Drangai [other forms. Zarangai, Zarangaioi, Sarangai, old-Persian *Z(a)ra(n)ka-*] The name Sakastane (or Paraitakene), belongs, according to Isidorus of Charax, to the borderland of the middle-course of the Hēlmand. It must be remembered, that the word Sakastane is not found before the time of Isidorus, and it is generally accepted, that this name has risen from the fact, that the Sakai conquered this land about 128 B. C F. W. Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 181 *sqq.*) has attempted to show, that the Sakai were found in these tracts already in Achaemenian times, and that the late occurrence of the name Sakastane is to be explained by their becoming politically powerful not before the Parthian epoch (cf. the articles DRANGAI, SAKAI, SAKASTANE, CARCOE in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*[2]; Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *zra[n]ka*).

The Avesta knows the Hēlmand under the form *Haētumant-* ("abounding in dams"), and also the lake *Kąsaoya-*, which is formed by that river. This lake, therefore, must be the Hāmūn-system. In it, according to Zoroastrian tradition, the seed of Zoroaster lies concealed, from which in the future three sons will be born, the third of whom will be the saviour (pahl. *sōshyāns*). It is also in the environs of this lake, that tradition places the origin of the mythical Kawa-dynasty (Kayānids) All this leads us to suppose, that Sīstān, in antiquity, was a principal seat of the Zoroastrian religion. On its relation to Īrānian epic tradition see below.

For the ancient history of the Sakai cf the article AFGHĀNISTĀN (I. 168 *sqq.*) and the articles SAKAI and SAKASTANE in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenz* [2]

The name Sakastane (Sakastān, Sidjistān), in ancient and mediaeval times, denoted a greater area than the modern districts of Persian and Afghān Sīstān (cf al-Ṭabarī, I 2705: *fa-kānat Sadjistān aʿẓam min Khurāsān*); this is already evident from the fact, that the name originally signifies the Saka-state on the middle-Hēlmand It is not possible, to define exactly, which tracts at various times have been assigned to Sīstan. It seems that a great area to the East, up to Kandahār, was sometimes included under the name also

Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, among his other conquests, subjugated Sakastān. The tie to the Persian empire cannot have been very firm, for the Sakai appear in the history of the Sāsānian epoch rather as allies as than subjects. We find, accordingly, a second conquest of the land by Bahrām II, who appointed his son, the future king Bahrām III, governor of the district with the royal title of *Sagānshāh* But during the reign of Shāpūr II, the Sakai once more appear as allies, not as subjects. In the Sāsānian period Christianity, in its Nestorian form, had made progress in Sakastān, which even became the see of a bishop (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*[2], 1 A, 1812) At the time of the Muslim conquest of Persia, Yazdidjird III, after having been driven away from Kirmān, turned to Sakastān, whose king at first accorded to him his protection, but the Sāsānian having tactlessly alluded to arrears of taxation, the king withdrew his protection from him (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 315). It is, however, not possible to find out whether the "king" of Sakastān at that time was a Sāsānian governor with the title *Shāh*, or a national ruler, who only owed tribute to the Persian government.

The Arab conquest of Sīstān began in 23 (643/644), when ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr and ʿAbdallāh b ʿUmair made an incursion into the land and besieged Zarandj (the old capital of Sīstān, now ruined); finally the Sistanis concluded a treaty with the Arabs, to the effect that they should pay the *kharādj* In the year 30 (650/651), the commander of a Muslim army, encamped in Kirmān, sent al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī to Sīstān. Al-Rabīʿ traversed the desert between Kirmān and Sīstān (the *Dasht-i Lūṭ*) and reached Zālik, which is described as a fortress, 5 *farsakh* distant from the frontiers of Sīstān; the stronghold was taken,

and on his further march, al-Rabīʿ reduced two other localities, Kaikūya and هبسون (or, acc to Yāḳūt: هبسوم — vocalisation uncertain), without bloodshed. After returning to Zālik, he set out anew to take Zaranǧ Before reaching that town, some minor localities, Zūsht, Nāshrūdh and Sharwādh were taken with much fighting, the *marzbān* Aparwēz, who commanded at Zaranǧ, defended the town vigorously, but at last was obliged to surrender it to the Muslims. However, the city of Zaranǧ proved to be no secure possession to the conquerors, as two years after its capture, the inhabitants drove out the Arab garrison The town was retaken by the new governor of Sīstān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Samura This general also reduced Bust (which during the Middle Ages was included in Sīstān), and Zābul. At the end of the khalifate of ʿUthmān, when ʿAbd al-Rahmān was replaced by another governor, a new rebellion of Zaranǧ took place. During the khalīfate of ʿAlī, the condition of Sīstān remained turbulent, thereupon, in the reign of Muʿāwiya, the governor of Basra sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to Sīstān once more This energetic general subdued the land, and penetrated as far as Kābul, he subjugated also Zābulistān, which had revolted This achievements caused the *khalīfa* to appoint ʿAbd al-Rahmān as his immediate lieutenant in Sīstān, he remained there, till Ziyād b Abī Sufyān nominated al-Rabīʿ b Ziyād al-Hārithī in his stead. ʿAbd al-Rahmān died at al-Basra in 50 (670) After leaving Sīstān, the king of Kābul drove the Muslims out of his land, and the new governor of Sīstān had to make head against the Īrānian prince Rutbīl (this is no proper name, but a title, like *ikhshīd*, and the like) who conquered Zābulistan and Rukhkhadǧ (then included in Sīstān), and penetrated as far as Bust, there he was defeated by al-Rabīʿ This latter being also deposed by Ziyād b Sufyān, the following governor of Sīstān made peace with Rutbīl. But this prince remained a turbulent element till his death, which occurred while ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir was *wālī* of Sistān Another Rutbil (son of the former?) held his own against the Muslims in Sīstān and Zābulistān, from the time of the khalifate of ʿAbd al-Malik b Marwān till the reign of al-Mansūr Sometimes, however, the Īrānian paid tribute, which payment he stopped altogether during the last years of the Umayyad rule. In the reign of al-Mansūr the Muslim government adopted rigorous measures against him, but the princes of Sistān paid, as it seems, none the less, their tribute to the *ʿāmil*'s of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, though rather irregularly

Under al-Maʾmūn the tribute (*itāwa*) was doubled, during his khalifate the king of Kabul embraced Islām, and, also in al-Maʾmūns reign, Kābul (and of course also Sistān) obtained connection with the governmental post-routes. (For the history of the conquest, and the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid governors of Sīstān cf al-Tabarī, i 2705 *sq* , al-Balādhurī, p. 392 etc.).

In the Middle Ages, Sistān in a wider sense included also the districts of Zābulistān, Dāwar and Rukhkhadǧ. Among its cities were Farāh [q v], Ḏjuwain [q v.], Bust [q v.], and Ghazna [q v] The boundary to the East cannot be precisely defined; to the North it bordered on Khurāsān, to the West on Kūhistān and the great desert of Kumān, to the South on Makrān. But the name does not always imply this greater area: al-Muḳaddasī, e. g says that some authorities include Bust and Ghazna under the name Kābulistān, not assigning them to Sīstān. Amongst the localities of Sīstān, al-Muḳaddasī cites Zaranǧ, Kuwain, Zanbūk, Ḳarnīn, Karwādikan, etc. The capital was Zarandǧ, near the Sanārūd canal, an important city, containing not only buildings of the two first Ṣaffārid princes, Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr, but also of the Sāsānians Ardashīr and Khusraw I (al-Muḳaddasī, p. 306). Zaranǧ was taken and destroyed by Tīmūr (785/1383), and has remained ruined ever since (cf Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 335, note 1)

The only time Sīstān has played an important part in medieval history has been during the reign of the Saffārid dynasty, whose founder, Yaʿḳūb b. Laith was himself a Sīstānī (born at Karnīn). Sistān was, of course, the central land of this dynasty (cf SAFFĀRIDS, ʿAMR B AL-LAITH). After the downfall of the Ṣaffārids, Sīstān belonged successively to the empire of the Sāmānids and the Ghaznawids (coins of Subuktigīn and Mahmūd have been found in Sīstān, cf. *J. R. A. S*, 1904, p 681) The land had, however, its own native rulers (*malik*) under the suzerainty of the greater dynasties By the Sāmānid Naṣr b Aḥmad the Saffārid (?) Ahmad was appointed governor of his native country, Sīstān (309 = 921/922). Ahmad was succeeded by his son Khalaf, who was dispossessed from Sistān by Mahmūd the Ghaznawid, who conferred the land on his (Mahmūd's) brother Naṣr Afterwards, during the Saldǧūḳ epoch, a descendant of Khalaf, named Tāhir, obtained the rulership of Sīstān from the Saldǧūḳ government. It is this Tāhir, whom the *Ṭabakāt-i Nāṣirī* seem to reckon as the first Kayānī *malik* of Sīstān. For this text says "These Maliks claimed descent from the race of Kai Kāʾūs"

It is, however, doubtful, whether they are from the same stock as the Kayānī-family which ruled in Sīstān during the epoch of the Safawids, and later The relation in which the Saffārid family stands to these mediaeval Sīstānī-kings is also very obscure it is very doubtful whether if the line from which Tāhir descends, really originates from al-Laith, the father of the great Yaʿḳūb. Tāhir died in 480 (1087) The following list of his successors, up to the time of the invasion of the hordes of Čingīzkhān, is given after the *Tabakāt-i Nāṣirī*. The chronology is very doubtful and rather improbable, for all detail reference should be made to the *Tabakāt* themselves

Tādǧ al-Dīn I Abu 'l-Fath 480/1087 — 559/1163
Shams al-Dīn Muhammad 559/1163 — "
Tādǧ al-Dīn II al-Malik al-Saʿīd " — 612/1215 (cf. the article GHŌRIDS, ii. 171b).
Bahrām Shāh al-Malik al-Ghāzi 612/1215 — 618/1221.

After Bahrām's death, his sons Rukn al-Dīn and Nusrat al-Dīn contended for the kingdom. At last, the former was victorious, but both brothers perished in the massacres wrought by the Mongols. It appears, then, that the *Taʾrikh-i Ḏjahān Gushā* (i 118), uses a less appropriate phraseology, when it seems to imply that the Mongol invasion did not afflict Sīstān as much as other countries, but that the Mongol ravages reached only the frontiers of the land. Ḏjuwain, which in the Middle Ages was included in Sīstān, the author of the *Taʾrikh-i*

Ḏjahān Gushā explicitly states to have been taken by the Mongols (*loc. cit.*); the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* (transl. by Raverty, p. 198) say that Sistān was ravaged by them in a barbarous manner. This is not to be wondered at, as the Sīstānī ruler Bahrām Shāh was an ally of the Khwārizm Shāh.

After the departure of the Mongols from Sīstān, its history becomes confused Several persons strove for the supremacy; finally we find the land included in the estates of the Harawī ruler Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt. But there have been, also in the later Middle Ages, native Sīstānī princes (on their coins, cf. *J R A. S*, 1904, p 669. There exists a genealogy of them in manuscript, the *Shadjarat al-Mulūk*).

After suffering from an invasion of the Čaghatāī (700 = 1300/1301), Sīstān once more sustained fearful damages at the hand of Tīmūr. It was this conqueror who ruined Zarandj and took prisoner the *malik* Kutb al-Dīn Kayānī (785/1383); he destroyed also the canal system of the country. But up to the epoch of the Ṣafawīs Sīstān had its indigenous rulers, and also a turbulent nobility; the *malik* Muʿizz al-Dīn Husain, for instance, was murdered by the aristocracy (859/1455)

The Safawid Shāh Ismāʿīl conquered Sīstān in the year 914 (1508/1509), and the princes of Sīstān remained vassals to the Persian empire, till the Afghān invasion of Mīr Maḥmūd, about 1134 (1722). The Kayānī Muhammad, by means of an disloyal treaty with the Afghān, secured for himself the possession of Sīstān and part of Khurāsān, and in consequence thereof dethroned the reigning king, his kinsman Asad Allāh Kayānī. Nādir Ḳulī Khān, the general of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, put to death Muhammad, but permitted the succession of the former king, Asad Allāh, to the throne of Sīstān. This *malik* however died very soon, and was succeeded by his son Ḥusain This latter revolted against Nādir, whose forces besieged him and his brothers Fath ʿAlī and Lutf ʿAlī for several years in the fortress of the Kūh-i Khwādja. After their submission, they remained vassals to Nādir This last, still being in the service of Shāh Tahmāsp, was by that monarch formally placed in the possession of Sīstān, together with Khurāsān, Mazandarān and Kirmān (1143/1730) After the death of Nādir (since 1148/1736 Shāh of Persia), Sīstān came under the suzerainty of Ahmad Shāh, the Durrānī ruler of Afghānistān. This prince married the daughter of the then reigning Sīstānī *malik* Sulaimān Kayānī, son and successor of Husain Sulaimān's successor, Bahrām, vexed by the Sarbandī and Shahrakī-tribes, which Nādir had imported from Persia in Sīstān as colonists, called to his aid a Balōčī chieftain; these doings caused Tīmūr Shāh, the successor of Ahmad Shāh, to depose the Kayānī, and to appoint a Shahrakī chieftain as ruler in Sīstān. This man being killed (about 1191/1777), Bahrām was restored to the government, but under the control of the Afghān governor of Lāsh Troubles went on in Sīstān without ceasing. The last Kayānī who had some power was Bahrām's successor Djalāl al-Dīn. This latter was expelled by the Sarbandīs (1838). The authority in Sīstān since then was exercised by the local chiefs, and the land became a bone of contention between Herāt and Ḳandahār, until the Sarbandī chief ʿAlī Khān allied himself with the Persian government, hoisted the Persian flag on the fortress of Sihkūha and sent his sons as hostages to Mashhad (1853). ʿAlī became in fact a Persian governor in Sīstān; his rule was, however, disliked by the Sīstānīs who revolted. ʿAlī Khān perished on the occasion of a night attack on Sihkūha, and was succeeded by his nephew Tādj Muḥammad, who ruled at first independently of Persia (1858). Soon, however, he made overtures to the Persian government, and 1862 he declared himself a Persian subject, being in fear of the progress of the amīr of Afghānistān, Dōst Muḥammad Khān, in the direction of Herāt. Dōst Muhammad Khān died 1863 and was succeeded by Shēr ʿAlī Khān. With the beginning of this reign coincides a disagreement between Tādj Muhammad the Sīstānī and the officers, the Persian government had sent from Ṭahrān; this caused the Sīstānī nobles to incline towards Afghānistān. But as Shēr ʿAlī had enough to do with his own affairs, and could not lend effectual aid to the people of Sīstān, Tādj Muhammad again applied to Persia Finally, the Shāh's army took possession of Sīstān (1865); two years later, Tādj Muhammad was deposed, and Sīstān was placed under the authority of a Persian governor with the title of *Ḥashmat al-Mulk*. These complications between Persia and Afghānistān finally led to the British arbitration and the delimitation of the border by the Sīstān-Commission of 1872, which was conducted by Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid. The Persian forces, in consequence of this regulation, evacuated the part of Sīstān they had occupied on the right bank of the Hēlmand, and the borders were fixed, leaving what was called "Sīstān Proper" to Persia. As the whole border was not marked off entirely, the border-work had to be completed by the MacMahon Mission (1903—1905)

Sīstān in Īrānian epic tradition. Sīstān is the home of the greatest Īrānian epic hero. Rustam, and of his family Originally, Rustam does not belong to the cycle of Avestan heroic legend; but he is connected with it by an artificially composed genealogy, which makes his father Zāl descend, through the medium of Avestan heroes, from Djamshīd (Yima) This theory, put forth by Noldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos* [2], p 9 *sqq* is more probable, than the opposite view, which identifies Rustam with the Avestan hero Kərəsāspa (cf G. Husing, *Kṛsaaspa im Schlangenleibe*, p 2, and the authorities cited there), and would accordingly include him in the Avestan cycle. The legend of Rustam might belong to the old inhabitants of Drangiana, not to the Sakae (if, indeed, that people did not appear in the Hāmūn-country before 128 B C.); cf Noldeke, *loc. cit.* The *Shāhnāma* (ed Vullers-Landauer, p. 1637, 2495) represents Rustam as reigning in Zābulistān, Bust, Ghazna and Kābulistān, i. e. in Sīstān in its widest sense He refuses obedience to the Īrānian king Gushtāsp, whom he regards as an upstart (*Shāhnāma*, p. 1637, 2496 etc) But he is not, in Firdawsī's epic, represented as being an infidel, this idea only occurring in al-Dīnawarī, and seemingly representing a rationalistic view of the old tradition, which only knows of a contest between Rustam and the special champion of Zoroastrian faith, Isfandiyār.

Already in early times, we find names and facts of the Rustam legend localised in Sīstān. The Arab conquerors found in the locality al-Ḳaryatān the stable of the horse of Rustam (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 394); in Karkūya, north of Zarandj,

in medieval times there was a fire temple, whose cupola's were said to have been built by Rustam (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*[2], s. v. CARCOE). Such data are of more value for the history of epic tradition, than those of the same kind, noted by modern travellers, as these latter suppose a tradition among the people, in most cases not differing from the actual one extant in the *Shāhnāma*; indeed, these localizations are very likely to have been borrowed from the *Shāhnāma* itself. Among these are, e. g., the fact, that the Sīstānīs call the Kūh-i Khwādja by another name Kūh-i Rustam, and identify its fortress with the stronghold of the robber-knight Kuk-i Kūhzād, which castle, according to a spurious episode of the *Shāhnāma*, was taken by Rustam (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 86, Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p 378 *sq*). This would even suppose a tradition borrowed from an interpolated recension of the *Shāhnāma*. A ruined fortress Ḳal'a-i Sām exists between Dawlatābād and Sihkūha (Sykes, *op cit*, p. 380). Sām is the grandfather of Rustam, but belongs to the artificial genealogy of this latter, which the *Shāhnāma* traces There was also a dam made by Garshāsp, and later on destroyed by the order of Shāhrukh, the son of Tīmūr (*Eastern Persia*, i. 286). Garshāsp (the Avestan Kĕrĕsāspa) is also a forefather of Rustam, but, again, belonging to the artificial genealogy Localizations of this kind, therefore, can tell us nothing of an earlier form of the legend than that which is known by literary tradition. The following case, however, seems to be an exception the locality Hawḍ-i dār "is said to be the spot, where the dead body of Firāmurz, the son of Rustam, was impaled upon a stake by his enemy Bahrām (read. *Bahman*), the son of Isfandiyār" (*Eastern Persia*, i. 256) Here is a difference with the tradition preserved in the *Shāhnāma*, for according to that text, Firāmurz was taken prisoner, hung upside down and killed with arrows (1753, 93 etc), but later on, the king (Bahman) permitted his body to be buried (1755, 118)

Finally, regarding topographical matters in general, there may be noted, that the *Shāhnāma* seems to know the Gawd-i Zarih Kai Khusraw crosses the *Āb-i Zarih*, when pursuing Afrāsiyāb, but it appears, that Firdawsī, or rather his source, had no notion whatever of the real state of things, as Khusraw, according to the text, has to sail on it for several months (1373, 1971 etc.) For the rest, the *Shāhnāma* also knows the Hēlmand (under the form *Hirmand*. 1750, 36).

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SITT AL-MULK or SAIYIDAT AL-MULK, "Lady of the Empire", the Princess Royal, sister of al-Hākim bi-'Amri-'llāh, 6th Fāṭimid Caliph. Historians also refer to her as Sitt al-Mulūk and Sitt al-Nasr She was a very clever woman and an exceedingly capable ruler as was seen during the short period of her regency Slanderous tongues have attacked her honour and even imputed to her the assassination of her brother the Caliph. According to the popular account, al-Ḥākim was in the habit, during his journeys throughout his kingdom, of receiving from his subjects written petitions which he afterwards considered at his leisure The Egyptians were not slow to take advantage of this in order to send him secretly scurrilous verses and slanderous accusations. Thus, on one occasion in Miṣr, he received a paper containing a shameful denunciation of his unmarried sister Sitt al-Mulk and her alleged gallantries On reading this the Caliph became enraged, laid siege to the city, and went to the extent of threatening his sister with death unless definite proof were forthcoming that she was *virgo intacta*. In this extremity Sitt al-Mulk is said to have conspired with one of the chiefs of the Kitāma Berbers, Yūsuf Saif al-Dawla b. Dawwās, whom she visited one evening alone and disguised She pointed out their common danger; her brother's insane conduct, his impiety and tyranny. Their only hope of safety lay in getting rid of him and placing his son on the throne She is said to have promised him that if their scheme succeeded he would be made commander-in-chief of the Army with complete control over the young Caliph He consented Two men were hired to do the deed One night (27th Shawwāl, 411 = Feb 13, 1021) when al-Ḥākim retired on his grey ass with a servant lad to the Djabal Muḳaṭṭam in order to worship Saturn and hold intercourse with Satan, he was set upon by these hirelings and murdered Thereafter his mutilated remains were secretly brought to Sitt al-Mulk and buried in her palace grounds When the hue and cry arose, she then denounced Ibn Dawwās and the two hirelings as the guilty ones, and they were promptly put to death (de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, i, p ccccxiii, note)

This, at any rate, is the popular account of the crime, but the true story seems to be the one told by Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, i. 354) that in the month of Muḥarram, 415 A H. a man was apprehended who confessed that he alone was guilty, and as a proof produced a portion of al-Ḥākim's head and a fragment of the mad Caliph's headdress. He declared that he had killed him "out of zeal for God and Religion", and when asked in what manner he did it, he drew a poignard and stabbed himself to the heart, saying, "I killed him thus". Al-Ḥākim's son who succeeded him, al-Ẓāhir, was a youth of sixteen His aunt, Sitt al-Mulk, accordingly became regent. During her four years' regency

she brought back stability and order to the state, filled the treasury and organised the army Her rule was severe but salutary, and she won the respect of her subjects Unscrupulous state officials were impartially punished and she was swift to quench any outbursts of sedition in Egypt or in the provinces By intrigue she captured ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the rebellious governor of Damascus, whom al-Ḥākim had appointed as his successor (*Walī 'l-ʿAhd*) She had him imprisoned in Cairo Then when she became ill and knew there was no hope of recovery she ordered him to be slain Three days later she died (415 A H)

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SĪWA, a group of oases in the north of the desert of Libya From its situation at the intersection of the two great western roads of the Libyan desert, Sīwa is the key to Egypt To the south the line of oases Baharīya, Farāfra, Dākhla, Khārga, connects it with the ancient Thebes. To the north, a track now taken by automobiles puts it in rapid communication with the Mediterranean coast, at Marsā Maṭrūḥ, the *Paroethonium* of the ancients It is the central stage in the desert route from Awodjīla to Egypt via Jalo, Djaghbūb on the one side, Maghāra and Kerdāsa on the other. It is 200 miles from the sea, 260 from Awdjila, 80 from Djaghbūb, 270 from the Delta and 200 from Baharīya Sīwa marks the limit of Egypt on the west and the beginning of Barbary.

Sīwa and the various oases grouped together under this name occupy the bottom of a depression running from west to east 60 feet above sea level, 35 miles in the length from Maghāra to Zaytūn, its bounds are not well defined except on the south where the Marmaric cliff marks the geological boundary. The sand invades it on the south, below it begins the Libyan Erg, the largest of the known *ergs*. The bottom of the basin is not uniformly level, *gūrs* like islands rise out from among the palm groves Two of them shelter the *ḳṣūr*'s at present inhabited, Sīwa and Aghurmī, which lie two miles apart

Barely a quarter of the depression is cultivated The remainder is desert or occupied by salt lakes The two largest lie, one to the west of Sīwa and and the other to the east of Aghurmī Magnesian or sulphurous water, perfectly limpid is abundantly supplied by numerous springs fed by a deep subterranean pool. The most important, *tīṭ n-tmussi*, which seems to have been dug by the Romans still shows beautifully worked stones around it. The soil, strongly impregnated with salt, nourishes a prickly plant, *afsur*; the *alfa* grows in the sands.

The total number of inhabitants scattered among the oases or collected in the ḳṣūr of Sīwa and Aghurmī is estimated at about 4,000. This includes the people of Gara, *Umm al-ṣaghāʾir*, the "Mother of the Little Ones", the name of a wretched village which is regularly included in the Sīwa group although it lies some 65 miles to the east. Sīwa itself has over 3,000 including the many Sūdānese, who are mainly occupied in agriculture.

The town of Sīwa, for the most part in ruins, is built on a long and narrow *gāra* lying along the line of the Marmaric. The walls of its houses, built along the cliff, make a rampart of red earth, which has a very picturesque effect, rising to a height of 200 feet at the east end and partly demolished on the northern front. The interior is a labyrinth of narrow tortuous dark streets often covered by a roof of palm tree trunks, which is used as a foundation for erections above them. Almost entirely abandoned by the present Ḳṣūrians who are building other more accessible dwellings at the foot of the cliff and near the gardens, the high town recalls the not very remote period when the prime consideration of building was defensibility.

Aghurmī, closely built on a rocky plateau, dominates the palms on all sides The little village has retained its Berber name. *aghrem* or *ighrem* means a *ḳṣar*, a town and the diminutive *tighremt* common among Moroccan Berbers, means a stronghold, a fortress, a country-house defended by towers at the corners, with walls pierced with loopholes. Aghurmī contains all that is left of a temple of Jupiter-Ammon, a few pieces of walls of huge stones incorporated in the miserable native houses

The Ḳṣūrians of Sīwa, who are settled and are gardeners, live in houses, as a rule roomy with flat roofs and made of the salt clay, rarely of stone There are several types, from the cave made habitable to the modern country house and the oldest houses, several stories high The ground floor is used as a stable, the first a granary and the second contains the living rooms The feature of the architecture is the pyramidal appearance of all the buildings, broad at the base and narrower at the top

The chief object of cultivation is the date-palm. There are over 160,000 of them The dates are harvested in October and they are spread out in a kind of granary in the open air, called *ḥawsh*, of which each farmer has a share in proportion to the importance of his crop The ground is tilled with the hoe. The Ḳṣūrians are not acquainted with the use of the spade, they use the ass which is of a fine breed and not the camel, which is rare in the country

The date is the basis of their food supply together with bread made of barley-flower They also eat rice, *cuscus* on feast days, camel-meat, and exceptionally mutton Tea which they call *shāhīn* is their favourite beverage and palm-wine of which they drink a great deal on days of festivals and cleaning of wells Barley is subject to a kind of tabu. Every year in October they spend a week in the gardens; during the first few days, they live almost entirely on garlic but they do not eat it for the rest of the year

Industry is of the most rudimentary nature. The men make baskets, mats, other woven articles of alfa and palm leaves with designs in colour. The negroes make a valued oil with the help of mills and crushers. A woman at Aghurmī makes

pottery and decorates it in black and red by the archaic process still in use in the Berber world as far as Tangier The women weave, but little, a few blouses with designs in colour, coloured *ḏjubbé*, which form the essential part of the native dress.

The other parts of the dress the *ḥā'ik*, *aḥaram* and the double white and red shirts come from Tripoli; the trousers and shoes from Alexandria. The women also wear trousers, a black blouse (*akbar*) trimmed with coloured embroidery and a long veil of cotton, in which they wrap themselves up completely when they go out The most curious of their silver jewellery is a heavy collar (*aghraw*) which young women wear up to their marriage day and to which there used formerly to be attached a little round ornament called "the disc of virginity" The women are not tattooed, they do not load themselves with anklets — these are worn only by little girls — nor do they hang a ring or button on the nose like the Nubians and the Bedouins of the coast They use hennā' less than the Maghribīs but, use a great deal of *kuḥl* and *sūāk* to brighten their lips and vermilion to colour their cheeks.

The Islām of the people of Sīwa seems somewhat barbarous and sectarian Some are attached to the Sanūsiya and others to the Medanī sect They hold their local saints in great esteem, they celebrate them every year in the course of ceremonies called *mōled*, the most important of which is that of Sidi Slimān the patron saint of the town This individual is said to have lived at Siwa in the xvth century but was originally a member of the tribe of the Banū Sālim of the Hidjāz The importance of the ceremony is shown by the belief that the worst calamities would fall upon the country if it were not celebrated every year with great splendour It is of an undoubtedly agrarian and even in origin at least of a licentious character. It is celebrated at the end of the harvest, lasts three days and takes place partly beside the tomb of Sidi Slimān The fellāhs eat on the threshing floors of the gardens a sheep, whose throat has been cut the night before in the *ksar* and intoxicate themselves on palm-wine They go there in groups to the sound of flutes escorting a young boy dressed as a girl They return in the evening by torchlight after submitting to ritual aspersions at the spring of Tmūssī

The two canonical feasts are celebrated at Sīwa as throughout the whole of Islām The rich alone kill on their roof the sheep of 'Īd Kabīr, the skin of which they eat chopped into minute pieces Following a custom observed everywhere in Barbary they retain — contrary to orthodox rites — a part of the victim which they eat at 'Ashūrā' The last festival, the most popular of the year perpetuates the ancient festival of the summer solstice On this day the houses are covered with long palms The children go about singing all the night with lighted torches and little erections (*beṣbaṣa*) ornamented with rags soaked in oil

The different events in family life, birth, circumcision, marriage, and funeral, are accompanied by rites which are magical in their origin The third and seventh days after the birth of a child are marked by important ceremonies The seventh in particular is the day of purification and for giving a name. The hair is cut for the first time immediately if the child is the first born

The girls are married, before they reach the age of puberty, at 8 or 9 years of age. The amount of the dowry in no case exceeds 120 Egyptian piastres but the fiancé is bound to give to his future wife, jewels and clothes, the number and value of which are the subject of bargaining during the preliminaries of marriage On the marriage day at sunset the bride is led in great pomp to the Tmūssī spring, into which formerly she threw the disk of virginity which hung on her heavy silver collar She is then taken back to her home where a professional hairdresser attends to her nuptial toilet Next morning at dawn the women friends and relatives of the bride come for her and pretend to fight with the members of her family after which she is taken to her new home carried on the shoulder of a negress Polygamy is nominally unknown but the men divorce their wives with such ease and so frequently in the course of their lives that there is not a clearly marked line between marriage and prostitution

It is the custom for all the men to have to attend the funeral of every dead man While they are at the cemetery, the women take the widow to the spring of the Tmūssī where they wash her and clothe her in mourning dress They then shut her up in her house She is then regarded a *ghūla* or ogress No one except her nearest relatives can go near her during the legal period of her retirement On the evening of the last day, the public crier announces the ghūla intends to go out He also indicates the route she will take to go to the spring which is the goal of her first visit. For fear of meeting her, the men go to the gardens and do not come back till the evening. Cleansed by her bath of all the evils that attached to her, she resumes her place in society and may re-marry at once, if the opportunity occurs.

The Ksūrians have beliefs about treasures hidden in the caves and in towns buried in the lakes or sand of the desert They people the subterranean world with *ḏjnūn*, with *'afrīts*, who sometimes assume the forms of men or animals or disappear in whirlwinds of dust They attribute to the evil eye all the ills that befall them, their cattle and their crops. They preserve themselves from it by covering themselves with amulets and hanging asses' bones or pots blackened in the fire to the walls of their houses and to the trunks of their palm-trees They say that the ostrich understands human speech. They also think that when a dog howls at the moon or the owl hoots it means that a death is imminent.

Language Like their brethren the Tuāreg, Kabyls or Berāber, the popular literature consisting of stories, legends and songs written in Berber is so far only known from very few specimens. Arabic is in practice the language spoken and understood in the oasis along with Berber which is still the native tongue. Berber is spoken not only at Sīwa, Aghurmī and Gāra but also at Manshīyat al-'Agūza, in the oasis of Baḥarīya, which marks the extreme eastern limit of Berber territory.

The words and the few phrases recorded by travellers who have visited Sīwa in the last century are not sufficient to enable us to characterise the dialect of Sīwa.

The Orientalists, Hanoteau, Stumme and notably R Basset who have studied them have been able to connect a certain number with Berber roots

till in use. Horneman was the first European to identify them with the language of the Tuāreg and of the people of Twāt, i. e. Berber But the Arab writers, al-Maḳrīzī first of all, had already remarked the Berber origin of the people of Senārīya and even connected their dialect with the Zenete group.

The arabicisation of the dialect, unknown to an equal degree in any other Berber dialect, constitutes the most marked characteristic of the dialect. The vocabulary is very much affected. It would be difficult to quote several hundred Berber words from it. Even the morphology seems in some cases to have been affected The phonetics on the other hand, have remained Berber in their essential features and offer points of resemblance to the dialects of Tripolitania and Southern Tunisia

Certain grammatical forms and syntactical peculiarities regarded as common to most dialects can no longer be found in Sīwa There is no longer any trace of the participial form or of the passive in *t*, nor of the particles *d* and *n*. The feminine forms of the imperative and aorist, except that of the third person singular, have also disappeared Negation does not effect any vocalic modification in certain verbal roots conjugated in the preterite and does not attract the pronouns direct and indirect. The latter retain in all cases a definite place following the verb The initial vowel of the noun undergoes no modification whether the noun be governed by a preposition or be the subject of a verb and placed after it.

The study of the dialect of Sīwa on account of its so marked arabicisation is of obvious interest, but it is clear that it can only be made by a comparison with the dialects which offered a stronger resistance to the Arabic invasion One can foresee the disappearance at no remote period. The establishment of a school where the teaching is given in Arabic by Egyptian masters on modern methods can only precipitate its extinction

History. Sīwa is the historical centre of the eastern Ṣaharā'. The Egyptians called it *Seket-nt*, "the camp of the palm-trees", the Greek and Romans, *Ammonium*, the early Arab writers *Qaṭarīya*. The present name seems to correspond to the *Sua* of al-Ya'ḳūbī and the *Tiswa* of Ibn Ḫaldūn, both derived from the name of the Berber tribe of Banu 'l-Waswa, who according to al-Maḳrīzī were Luwāta of the province of Manūf

The ancient Sīwa owed its extraordinary prosperity to a ram-headed deity Ammon, whom the Egyptians identified with their great Theban deity Ammon-Ra, when at a comparatively late date in the middle of the sixth century B. C. they effectively occupied the Libyan oases. By this time the fame of the Libyan Ammon was solidly established For nearly a thousand years, people of note came from all parts of the ancient world to consult him. He was an oracular deity who unveiled the future. In 331 B. C. Alexander the Great landing at Paroethonium with an army, which was saved from thirst by a shower that fell unexpectedly in the desert, thus learned with satisfaction that he was really the son of Zeus. The colonists of Cyrene and the Greeks of Athens held him in great veneration They assimilated him to Zeus just as they had assimilated the king of gods, the Theban Ammon, to their great divinity. The Phoenician and Carthaginian colonies also gave him a place in their Pantheon, very soon identifying him with their own Ba'al Hammon as a result of a quite fortuitous resemblance of name, according to M. Gsell It is to the oracular god of the Great Oasis that the Romans refer, when they speak of Jupiter Ammon.

As to the original nature of the Libyan Ammon we are reduced to conjectures. Oric Bates thinks that the primitive oracle was an oracle of the dead It is however almost certain that the ram was in ancient times a deity protecting the Libyan herds, whose character may have developed in course of time. He had solar attributes at the period when he first appears in history. The cult with which he was honoured and the manner in which he uttered the oracles were at this time essentially Egyptian.

Relics of these days still exist, besides the ruins of Aghurmī, there are the remains of another little temple situated a few hundred yards from the modern village and called by the natives *Omm al-bida*; they consist of a piece of wall standing in the midst of an area covered with large stones, completely covered with cartouches, hieroglyphs and figures of the gods of Egypt As far as one can judge the monument belongs to the Ptolemaic-Roman period. Farther south the hills of Takrūr are riddled with tombs regularly cut out of the chalk, some still have the fine framework of stone of the same period which marked the entrance The adjoining gūrs and the flanks of the Marmaric also contain such tombs by hundreds Sīwa was a vast necropolis One of its gūrs even has a half-Arabic half-Berber name of *ādrār Imutā*, "the hill of the dead", and thousands of bones still litter the soil there

The Romans occupied the Great Oasis Under Augustus they made it a place of banishment for political prisoners About the fourth century, Christianity reached the oasis A little later, no doubt, its inhabitants joined with the Mazikes of the coast (Imāzighen) in attacking the Byzantine world which was everywhere threatened When about 640, Egypt was invaded by the Muslim armies, the people of Siwa seem to have been free and independent

It is not known how the Muslims conquered the Libyan oases. The Arab historians and geographers on this subject only record stories or legends of no great interest Sīwa was too remote from the main route of invasion which led the conquering armies and migrating tribes to Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. We may suppose that small bodies of Arabs came and settled in the oasis and then became mixed with the population, which has remained Berber to our day

In the beginning of the XVIIIth century civil war broke out between the Gharbīyūn or "people of the west" and the Sharḳīyūn or "people of the east" These feuds which are barely settled to-day led in 1820 to the occupation of the country by the Turks.

European travellers began to visit Sīwa at the end of the XVIIIth century and especially at the beginning of the XIXth The first was Brown in 1792; Horneman followed six years later, Caillaud in 1829, Bricchetti-Robecchi, Baron de Minutoli, in 1820—1821, then Scholz, Bayle St. John, Pacho, Hamilton in 1852 etc All or almost all complain of the hostile attitude of the people towards them

About 1838 Muḥammad al-Sanūsī made a stay

of several months at Sīwa He preached his doctrine there and made several converts. The cave which he used as an oratory is still shown at Ḳṣar al-Hasūna

In the course of the Great War, Sīwa and the line of oases regained their strategic importance. The chief of the Sanūsīs, Saiyid Aḥmad, went to war with the Anglo-Egyptian forces In 1915 he occupied Sellūm which the English had evacuated, but defeated before Maṭrūḥ he took refuge in Sīwa, from which he organised a new line of attack on Egypt, at Dakhla and Kharga. He returned to Sīwa in the early days of 1917 His last forces were surprised at Girba by English troops brought up in motor cars He was then forced to take to flight. He reached the coast with difficulty whence a submarine took him to Constantinople His cousin Sidi Muhammad Idrīs, grandson of the great Sanūsī succeeded him and with his accession peace reigned once more in the Libyan Desert

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(E. Laoust)

SĪWĀS, Turkish wilāyet, was, up to the new administrative partition of Turkey, the largest wilāyet of Anatolia (Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv 2794) Situated between 38° 30′ and 41° N, 35° 30′ and 39° E, it corresponds to part of ancient Cappadocia; on the N its boundaries are the wilāyets of Ḳastamūnī and Trebizond, on the E those of Erzerūm and Maʿmūret al-ʿAzīz, on the S those of Aleppo and Adana, on the W. those of Angora and Ḳastamūnī.

Its entire surface covered about 30,600 square miles, its population, at the end of the xixth century, 11,086,015, divided as follows: 839,514 Muslims, 279,834 of whom were Shīʿīs, especially Ḳizil-bash; 129,523 Gregorian Armenians; 30,433 Protestant Armenians; 10,477 Catholics; 76,068 Orthodox Greeks

The wilāyet was divided in 4 sandjaḳs: Sīwās, Toḳad [q. v], Amāsia [q v], Ḳara Hiṣār Sharḳī, subdivided into *ḳasas* and *nāḥiyas*; its capital was the town of Sīwās (Sebaste).

The territory of the old Sīwās wilāyet is crossed by chains of mountains; that of the Anti-Taurus penetrates it from the S in a N.E. direction with one of its branches; another chain embraces the wilāyet to the N. in an E.-NW direction, towards Trebizond. Amongst the highest peaks are the Ḳara Bel, which reaches 10,910 feet, the Yildiz Dagh 8,300 feet.

The region is rich in rivers; among the most important is the Ḳizil Irmaḳ (q v ; Iris of the ancients), which has its source in the Kizil Dagh in the Sīwās sandjaḳ, and flows into the Black Sea N. of Bafra; its chief tributary, the Yildiz Irmaḳ, originates from the Yildiz Dagh mountain. The Yeshil Irmaḳ (Halys of the ancients) has its source near Erzindjan, passes through Keldik, after which it assumes the name of Keldik Irmaḳ, flows through the Sīwās and Trebizond wilāyets, and into the Black Sea E of Ṣamsun; it receives the Čekerek Irmak, swollen by the waters of the Tozanlı Ṣu

This wilāyet, poor as to communications, is however fertile, its chief crops being wheat and barley Toḳad has a flourishing carpet industry, and copper from the Arghana mines is worked. The climate is exceedingly warm in summer, especially in Amāsia, and cold in winter in the northern mountain region

The present Sīwās wilāyet corresponds to the old sandjak of the same name, comprising the following nine ḳaza Hafik (Ḳoč Ḥiṣār, q v), Zāra, Diwrighi, Gherun, Darende, Kanḥal, Shehir Ḳishla (Temīm), Yeñi Khān (Yildiz Eli), ʿAzīzīye It is rich in mines. copper at Hafik, antimony, copper and argentiferous lead at Zāra; 16 salt mines, with an annual output of 410,300 Turkish pounds

The new reduced wilāyet has now (1925) 377,570 inhabitants on 13,000 square miles; 60,043 inhabit the capital, Sīwās There are 100 public schools with 6,790 regular pupils (*Turk Djumhūriyeti Sālnāmesi*, 1925—1926, Constantinople 1926, p 654)

The region was islāmized under the Seldjūḳs, when Sīwās reached its greatest splendour, its population increasing to 200,000 It passed subsequently in the hands of Turkoman dynasts, and for a certain time under the domination of Kādī Burhān al-Dīn, from whom it was taken by Yildirim Bāyazīd I (the year is not certain; from 794 to 799 according to different historians, from ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde, Constantinople edition and *Tawārīḵh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Giese, p. 47, to Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn, i 133 *sqq* ; Munadjdjim Bashī, iii 308, Hammer, *G. O R* ², i. 189 says 1392, Yorga, i 308, about 1398)

Taken and sacked by Tamerlane (Ertoghrul son of Bāyazīd fell in the defence of Sīwās in 1401), it was recaptured by the Ottomans, but never regained its former splendour, albeit Ewliyā Čelebi, who travelled through the region in 1060 (beg. January 4, 1650) celebrates the country's prosperity The Sīwās *ayāla* was then governed by a pasha, who lived in the fortress of the city of Sīwās, and comprised 48 ziʿāmas and 928 timars; it was divided into 7 sandjaḳs: Amāsia, Čorum, Boz Oḳ, Diwrighi, Djanik, Arabghīr, Sīwās.

The region was often laid waste in the warfare against rebel chieftains, and again at the end of the xixth century, during the campaigns against Čapan Oghli.

A new epoch of progress will dawn with the construction of the Angora–Sīwās and Ṣamsun–Sīwās railways, already progressing thanks to the Kemalist Republic's government

Bibliography. besides the sources quoted above, see Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 613—779; ʿAlī Djewād, Constantinople 1314, ii 464—473; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥetnāme*, iii 195 *sqq.*; M. van Berchem and Khalil Edhem in *M. I. F. A O*, vol. xxxix (E Rossi)

SIWRI ḤIṢĀR, also written Sibri Ḥiṣār, i e strong castle (cf Ahmed Wefīḳ, *Lehče-i ʿOṯmānī*, p. 459), the name of two places in Asia Minor

1 A little town lying in the centre of the plateau bounded on south and east by the upper course of the Sakariya and in the north by the Pursāḳ, c 85 miles southwest of Angora Siwri Ḥiṣār is on the northern slope of the Gunesh Dagh; the citadel of the town was built on this mountain The town does not date beyond the Saldjūḳ period and has no remains of archaeological interest But it was already known as a strong place to Kazwīnī (*Geography*, ed Wustenfeld, p 359) and to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, p 99) In the xivth century it formed part of the possessions of the Karamān-oghlu, who occupied it again after Timur's conquest The latter had his headquarters there for a time But under Muḥammad I, Siwri Ḥiṣār was annexed to the Ottoman dominions (cf e g ʿĀshīḳ Pasha Zāde, *Tawārīḵh-i Āl-i ʿOṯmān*, ed Giese and ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Aḵbār*, v. 177) In the xviith century the town belonged to the sandjak of Khudāwendigʿār (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p 656) but in the new system of administrative division, it became the capital of a ḳadā in the sandjak of Angora Towards the end of the xixth century it had about 11,000 inhabitants of whom 4,000 were Armenians (Sāmī) There is a mosque there attributed to the Saldjūḳ vizier Amin al-Dīn Mīkāʾīl, with a library of 1,500 volumes The principal industries are goldsmith's work and weaving

Siwri Ḥiṣār does not lie on any of the main routes of Anatolia — but since the construction of the railway to Angora which runs along the Pursāḳ, the north part of the ḳadā has received a new economic stimulus — but near it there are relics of important centres of classical and Byzantine times These are the ruins of Pessinus, near the village of Bālā Hisār, four hours S.E of Siwri Ḥiṣār (Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, ii, pl. lxii); and towards the south, on the other bank of the Saḳarya, near Hādjdjī Hamza, the remains of the Byzantine town of Amorium, known to Orientals as ʿAmmūrīya (cf. AMORIUM).

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2. A little town on the shore of the Gulf of Ḳush Adasī (Scalanova), South of Vurla It is now the capital of a ḳadā in the sandjak of Izmīr Under Bāyazīd II, it was the refuge of the pirate Ḳara Turmīsh (von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii 346). Ewliyā Čelebi passed through it in 1670 (according to Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, ii. 39) Sāmī (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv. 2582) gives the population as 3,640 (J. H. KRAMERS)

SIYĀLKŪT, officially spelt Sīālkot, is a town in the Pandjāb situated in 32° 30′ N and 74° 32′ E., the foundation of which is attributed by legend to Rādjā Sālā, the uncle of the Pāndawas, and its restoration to Rādjā Sāliwāhan, in the time of Wikramāditya Sāliwāhan had two sons, Pūran, killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well, still the resort of pilgrims, near the town, and Rasālu, the mythical hero of Pandjāb folk-tales, who is said to have reigned at Siyālkūt In A D 790 the fort and city were destroyed by Rādjā Nalawt with the help of the Ghandaurs of the Yūsufzāi country, and the fort was not restored until it was rebuilt by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muhammad b Sām to overawe the turbulent Khokars, who preferred the feeble rule of the later Ghaznawids to the more energetic domination of their conqueror Under Akbar Siyālkūt became the headquarters of a *sarkār*, or fiscal district, and in the middle of the seventeenth century it fell into the hands of the Rādjpūt princes of Djammū The mound in the centre of the town, crowned with the ruins of a fort, is popularly supposed to mark the site of Sālīwāhan's stronghold, but it is in fact all that is left of the fort of Muhammad b Sām Siyālkūt also contains the shrine of Bābā Nānak, the first Sikh *guru*, where an annual fair is held In 1849 the district passed, with the rest of the Pandjāb, into the hands of the British, and the old fort, now dismantled, was gallantly defended by a handful of Europeans in the Mutiny of 1857

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SKANDERBEG is the name by which the national hero of Albania is generally known in Europe It is based on an Italianised or Latinised form of the name Iskandar Beg, which was given him in his youth when he was serving at the Ottoman court, the name contains an allusion to that of Alexander the Great His real name was George Kastriota, of the family of the Kastriotas of Serbian origin, who had once ruled Epirus and Southern Albania Born about 1404, he and his three elder brothers were given as hostages to Sultān Murād II, so that he was brought up in the Muslim religion as *ič oghlan*. His ability won him the office of *sandjak beg* at quite an early age He played no part in the campaigns of 1435 and 1436 when the Ottoman generals ʿAlī and Turākhān effected a partial submission of the Albanians From this time Skanderbeg lived at Dibra in Central Albania and showed himself a more or less faithful vassal of the Turks, although he was already negotiating with the Venetians and Hungarians. His first rebellion against Turkish rule took place in 1443 after the defeat suffered by the Turks at the hands of the Hungarians at Nīsh; he captured Kroya (Turkish Aḳča Ḥiṣār) by a ruse; it is in the mountains not far from the coast between Durazzo and Alessio. It was here that the Albanian chiefs of clans came to join him and he made it the centre of his power He had by now returned to

Christianity and this marked a very definite change of attitude to the Turks A Turkish army under ʿIsā Beg failed to take the town. Skanderbeg also attacked the Venetian possessions on the coast but in 1448 a peace was concluded between him, the Sulṭān and Venice but it did not last long Murād II commanded in person the expeditions against Albania in 1449 and 1450 The Turks took Dibra and Setigrad among other places Skanderbeg was able to hold out, however, thanks to the mountainous nature of the country and in spite of the temporary desertion of his nephew Ḥamza who had joined the Turks during this period He made an alliance with the king of Naples whose suzerainty he recognised He was also supported by the Pope and by the Hungarians so that when hostilities again broke out in 1455, he was usually able to resist the Turkish generals In 1460 however, Muḥammad II forced Skanderbeg to conclude a truce by which he agreed to pay a tribute The Albanian chief then went to Italy where he fought for the King of Naples Soon afterwards he returned to his native land where, supported by Venice and other Christian powers, he resumed a guerilla warfare against the Turks At last in 1466 Muhammad II began his second Albanian campaign. He succeeded in subduing the country and built in its centre the fortified town of Ilbaṣan (*il baṣan*, i e "dominating the country"). Next year Skanderbeg died at Alessio (Jan 18, 1467)

The history of Skanderbeg has been much studied in Europe since the very circumstantial but not always reliable biography written by Barlesio of Scodra in the second half of the xvth century Other sources are the Byzantine historians Chalcocondylas, Phrantzes and Critoboulos, and Venetian documents (publ by Ljubič in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* at Zagreb) The Turkish sources on the other hand, the chroniclers of the early period (e g. ʿĀshīḳ Pasha Zāde, p 124, 133, 169 and the *Tawārīkh Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed Giese, p 66, 70, 73, 113) and the later historians (e g Munadjdjim Bashī, iii 352, 361, 383) are not at all explicit and, as to dates, they do not agree with the western sources The Turkish histories only mention the first revolt of the Khā'in Iskandar in 846 (1442/1443), the campaign of Sultan Murād in 851 (1447/1448) and the last campaign of Muḥammad II in 871 (1466/1467)

Within ten years of the death of Skanderbeg, all Albania was subjected to Muhammad II Nevertheless the memory of the greatest national hero of the Albanians has remained alive among Turks as well as Albanians It is after him that the Turks called Scodra Iskenderīya Towards the end of the xixth century the Albanian Muslim Naʿīm Beg Frāsherī (brother of Sāmī Beg, q v.) devoted a great Albanian epic to him entitled Skander Beg, publ at Bucharest in 1898

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

SKUTARĪ. [See ÜSKÜDAR].

SLAVS. The Arabic word for "Slav", *Ṣaḳlab*, more rarely *Ṣaḳlāb* (also *Saḳlāb*) or *Ṣiḳlāb*, pl. *Ṣaḳālība* is probably taken from the Greek (Σκλαβηνοί, Σκλάβοι) Slav mercenaries had been settled in the eastern frontier provinces of the Byzantine empire in the seventh century A D, so that the Arabs must have made the acquaintance of the Slavs in their very earliest battles with the Byzantines. During his campaign against Constantinople (715—717) Maslama is said to have taken a "town of the Slavs" (*madīnat al-Ṣaḳālība*) immediately after crossing the Byzantine border (*Fragm hist Arab*, ed de Goeje, i. 25, 4) The Arabs found other Slavs settled in the kingdom of the Khazars (between the Caucasus and the lower course of the Volga) During the reign of the Caliph Hishām (724—743) Marwān b Muhammad (afterwards the Caliph Marwān II) is said to have transported 20,000 Slavs from the land of the Khazars and settled them in Kakhetia (Khākhīt), there "they killed their emir and fled, whereupon he (Marwān) pursued and slew them" (Balādhurī, p 208 at the top); but these Slavs are still mentioned under the Caliph Manṣūr (754—775) among the colonists settled on the Byzantine frontier in Cilicia (ibid, p 166) The red (or reddish) hair and complexion of the Slavs is always emphasised, for example as early as the first century A H in the *Dīwān* of Akhtal [q v], ed Sālhānī, Bairūt 1891, p 18, 5 In spite of this physical characteristic, the Slavs were classed with the Turks as descendants of Japhet (Arab *Yāfath*) Each of the three sons of Noah is said to have had three sons in their turn; Wahb b Munabbih (in Tabarī, i 211, 13) gives as the sons of Japhet, Turk, Gog and Magog, while soon afterwards, Saʿīd b Musaiyib (d 95 = 713/714) gives the descendants of Japhet as the Turks and Slavs and Gog and Magog united into one people (al-Bakrī in Kunik and Rosen, i 18), as do Ibn Ishāḳ (Tabarī, i 211 *sq*) and Gardīzī (in Barthold, *Otčet*, etc, p 80) on the authority of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [q v] Saʿīd b Musaiyib adds that all three sons of Shem (the ancestors of the Arabs, Persians and Greeks) were well brought up while those of Japhet and of Ham were good for nothing The anonymous author of the *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh*, who wrote under Turkish rule in the vith (xiith) century (text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, etc, i. 19) makes an exception for Türk and Khazar among the sons of Japhet They were intelligent but there was nothing good about their brothers According to a story told by Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ, Japhet's son Ṣaḳlāb was brought up on bitch's milk; this is connected with a Persian etymology *sek*, dog, *leb*, lip (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet*, p. 85). In the same source (ibid, p 86) the Kirgiz are described as descendants of the Slavs on account of their "red hair and white skin". The ruler of the Bulghār on the Volga is called "King of the Slavs" by Ibn Faḍlān [q. v.] not

only in Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i 723, 11), but, as is now certain, also in the original *Risāla* (*Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc, 1924, p 244); the story of the raids of the Khwārizmians on Bulghārs and Slavs in Ibn Hawḳal (*B G A*, ii. 281, 13) is to be similarly explained It is also probable that these Slavs were subjects of the king of the Bulghārs. It is perhaps to the same ruler that Yaʿḳūbī's (ed Houtsma, p 598) story of the "lord" (*ṣāḥib*) of the Slavs refers, for whose assistance a Caucasian people appealed against the Arabs about 240 (854/855) at the same time asking for the help of the "ruler of the Greeks" and the "ruler of the Khazars" (another explanation in J. Marquart, *Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, Leipzig 1903, p 200) On the other hand Ṭabarī's story (iii. 2152) under 283 (896) of the campaign of the "King of the Slavs" against Constantinople refers to the war between the Czar of the Danube Bulghārs Simeon (890—927) and the Emperor Leo VI in 893 The name "Slavs" for the people of the modern Southern Russia has been gradually ousted by that of "Russians" The Don, the course of which was thought to be an arm of the Volga was first called "River of the Slavs" (*Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba*, *B G.A.*, v 271, 3; vi. 154, 12) and later "River of the Russians" (*Nahr al-Rūs*) (ibid, ii, p 276, 16, and also by the anonymous author of the Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, cf *Zap*, x 137)

The connection between the Slavs and the peoples of the west seems to have been first noticed by Ibn al-Kalbī (Hishām b Muhammad, cf ii, p 689) According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii 405, 8) he describes the Slavs as brothers of the Armenians, Greeks and Franks and descendants of Yūnān b Yāfaṯ, giving his father as his authority More accurate information regarding the Slavs as neighbours of the Greeks seems to have been contained in the works of Muslim b Abī Muslim al-Djarmī who was released in 845 after being eight years a prisoner among the Byzantines; on the authority of Muslim, Ibn Khordādhbeh (*B G.A*, vi 105, 15) mentions a "land of the Slavs" (*Bilād al-Ṣaḳāliba*) west of Macedonia In Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii 66) the Franks, Slavs, Longobards, Spaniards, Gog, Magog, Turks, Khazars, Burdjān [q v], Alans and the (Spanish) Djalālika (Galizians) appear as descendants of Yāfaṯ In another passage (iv 38 *sq.*) the lands of these peoples are dealt with in geographical succession from east to west, the land (*ʿamal*) of the Slavs is placed between that of the Burdjān and the land of the Greeks A reddish colour (*shukra*) is mentioned as the characteristic feature of the Slavs and Greeks (iii 133) The Bulghārs and Slavs for the most part adopted Christianity and submitted to the lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Rome, the capital of the Franks (*B G A*, viii 181 *sq*) The banks of the Danube are mentioned as the abode of a large section of these peoples (ibid, p 183 infra: cf the still more obscure passages in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*; in the manuscript we have *Dūtā* for *Dūnā* nor *Kūtā* as in *Zap.*, x. 133 *sq.*). The Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Franks and their neighbours on the north spoke a common language and formed a joint empire (*B G.A*, viii 83, 9) The fullest notices of the Slavs in Europe are found in the travels of the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm b Yaʿḳūb in 965, transcribed by al-Bakrī (cf. i, p 606 *sq.*); in it Slavs are mentioned on the Adriatic Sea, as well as in the frontierland of the Slavs, in the northeast, the land of the Polish prince Mieszko (*Mshkh*) about 960—992, the neighbour of the Russians and Prussians. On the other hand, Idrīsī only mentions a land of the Slavs (*Biʿād al-Ṣaḳāliba*) on the Balkan Peninsula in connection with Venice (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl A. Jaubert, Paris 1836—1840, ii 286); in the description of the Slav lands from Bohemia to Poland (*op. cit*, ii, p. 375 *sqq*) no reference is made to the common Slav origin of the population of these lands. From that date the words *Ṣaḳlab* and *Ṣaḳāliba* gradually disappear from Muslim literature and are used only in quotations from older works The word "Slavs" for example never occurs in Djuwainī's (*G. M S*, xvi. 224 *sq*) and Rashīd al-Dīn's (ibid, xviii 43 *sqq*) accounts of the European campaigns of the Mongols The modern Turkish *Islāw* is borrowed from modern European scientific usage, probably from the French

Like the Turks, the Slavs were sometimes introduced into Muslim lands as slaves, especially as white eunuchs (cf *B G A*, iii 242, 5, v 84, 1; vi 92, 5). Special regiments were formed of Slav troops, as of Turks, and their leaders were sometimes able under favourable circumstances to rise to found dynasties On Slavs in the service of the Fāṭimids in Egypt cf e g K Inostrancev in *Zap*, xvii 29 and 86, on Slavs in Spain, e g Dozy, *Recherches*[3], etc, Paris–Leiden 1881, i 227 *sq* (Prince Khairān of Almeria, cf i, p 313 *sq.*) and 235 *sq* (the Slavs as allies of the Arabs against the Berbers)

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AL-SLĀWĪ (or AL-SALĀWĪ), SHIHĀB AL-DIN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B KHĀLID B HAMMĀD AL-NĀṢIRĪ, a Moroccan historian born at Sale (Slā) on 22nd Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1250 (April 20, 1835), died in the same town on 16th Djumādā I, 1315 (October 13, 1897). The genealogy of this writer can be traced in a direct line to the founder of the Moroccan brotherhood of the Nāṣiriya, Aḥmad b Nāṣir, who was buried in his *zāwiya* at Tāmgrūt in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa (Drā) He studied in his native town, which had in those days some reputation as a centre of learning, and was a minor rival of Fās, the intellectual capital of the country. His principal teachers were Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maḥbūba and the ḳāḍī Abū Bakr b Muhammad ʿAwwād; without neglecting theological and legal studies, he acquired a profound knowledge of profane Arab literature. At the age of about 40, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī al-Slāwī entered the legal branch of the Sharīfī government's service as a notary or superintendent of the State domains He held more or less important posts from time to time in this service He was

stationed at first at al-Dār al-baiḍhā' (Casablanca) from 1292—1293 (1875—1876) and made two stays at Marrākush, were he was employed in the financial administration of the imperial household. He then lived some time at al-Djadīda (Mazagan) where he was attached to the customs service He next spent some time in Tangier and Fās and towards the end of his life returned to his native town where he devoted himself to teaching On his death he was buried in the cemetery at Salé outside of the Bāb Maʿallḳa Gate. Al-Nāṣirī al-Slāwī was a minor civil servant who was also a man of letters and a historian. In addition to his historical work, which gained him a certain reputation even outside of Morocco, he left other works which would alone have sufficed to attract attention to him and secure him an honourable position among modern Maghrībī men of letters These are, in addition to the six little books detailed in my *Historiens des Chorfa* (p 353, note 1) 1 A commentary on the *Shamakmaḳīya*, a poem by Ibn al-Wannān which he called *Zahr al-Afnān min Hadīkat Ibn al-Wannān* (lith at Fās in 1314 A.H, vols 2), 2. A survey of the heresies and schisms in Islām entitled *Taʿẓīm al-Minna bi-Nuṣrat al-Sunna* (Rabat MSS., N⁰ 66; cf. my *Catalogue*, i., p 23); 3 A monograph on the family of the Nāṣirīya to which he himself belonged *Talʿat al-nushtarī fi 'l-Nasab al-djaʿfarī* (lith at Fās, 2 vols, a French synopsis has been given by M Bodin, *La Zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918) This work, which the author finished in 1309 (1881), is a good history of the Zāwiya of Tāmgrūt, with much interesting information, which compensates for all the discursions in which the historian tries to prove the authenticity of his family genealogy with the help of somewhat unconvincing arguments

Ahmad al-Nāsirī al-Slāwī's great work is the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā* Its publication was an event unparalleled in Maghribī historiography The author produced not a limited chronicle but a general history of his country. Welcomed by European orientalists on its publication, it was not long in attracting the attention of the historians of North Africa, for whose work it became a much consulted document, especially as a French translation in the *Archives Marocaines* soon made the last quarter — the history of the ʿAlawid dynasty — accessible even to non-Arabists.

It was soon recognised that this chronicle was like all the other products of western Arab historiography. it was only a compilation, the most appreciable merit of which was to have collected in a continuous narrative, items of political history scattered about the chronicles or biographical collections written in the country But it must be confessed that al-Slāwī was the first of his compatriots to attempt to exhaust a subject of which his predecessors had only dealt with parts But this was not his primary object· I have shown elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 357—360) that the starting point in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* was a work of some length on the Marīnid dynasty of Morocco, based mainly on the historical works of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and Ibn Khaldūn, to which he had given the title of *Kashf al-ʿArīn fī Luyūth Banī Marīn*. His residences in the different capitals of Morocco, having enabled him to get access to sources for other dynasties also, he had the idea of composing a complete history of Morocco He finished his work on 15th Djumādā II, 1298 (May, 15, 1881) before the end of the reign of the ʿAlawid Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan to whom he dedicated it But he was poorly recompensed for this act On the death of this ruler, the author decided to have his chronicle printed in Cairo, after continuing it down to the year of accession of Sulṭān Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Azīz The *Istiḳṣā* thus appeared in Cairo in 4 volumes in 1312 (1894)

The reader may be referred to the work quoted above for an examination of the Arabic sources of the history of al-Nāsirī al-Slāwī, and for a list of works from which he adopted or quoted textually passages Here we shall simply point out that the chronicler was the first Moroccan writer to use European as well as Arabic sources; he only learned of them by chance, these were the history of Mazagan (Ar al-Djadīda) under Portuguese rule entitled *Memorias para historia da praça de Mazagao*, by Luis Maria do Couto da Albuquerque da Cunha, Lisbon 1864; and the *Descripción historica de Marruecos y breve reseña de sus dinastías*, by Manuel P Castellanos, Santiago 1878, Orihuela 1884, Tangier 1898

In the arrangement of his chronicle al-Slāwī does not differ from the other historians of his country But he sometimes gives evidence of a critical sense, we have a feeling that he is a historian by accident and a literary man by vocation He sometimes gives evidence of considerable independence of spirit and of some breadth of view As to his style, it is clear and chastened and only rarely resorts to metaphors and rhymed prose The writer seems to be the modern Moroccan historian who writes with most facility and elegance

Vol iv of the Arabic edition of the *Istiḳṣā* was translated by E Fumey under the title *Chronique de la dynastie ʿalaoute au Maroc* in *Archives Marocaines*, Paris 1906—1907, vol ix and x Vol i has just been translated in the same journal, vols xxx and xxxi, Paris 1923 and 1925 by A Graulle and G S Colin

Bibliography A full study of the life and work of al-Nāsirī al-Slāwī has been made by E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa: essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1923, pp 350—368. The full bibliography of this author is given in the notes

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SMALA, 1 French form for *zmāla*, in the Algerian dialect of Arabic, "camp of a tribe or of an important personage, containing his family and his servants, as well as the beasts of burden". The word passed into the French language as a result of the fame of the *zmala* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b Muhyi 'l-Dīn [q v] the capture of which made a great stir in 1843

2 In Algeria under Turkish rule, the name *zmāla* (plur *zmūl*) was given to some tribes forming a kind of mounted police (cf the articles DWĀ'IR and ZMĀLA. (G S. COLIN)

SMYRNA. [See IZMIR]

SOFĀLA, a district and town in East Africa in the southern part of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique — The name *Sofāla* is generally connected with the Arabic root *safala* "to be lowlying" and in support of this etymology the pas-

sage in Masʿūdī (*Murūḏj*, i 331—332) is quoted, where it is stated that "wherever a mountain stretches for some distance below the sea, it is given in the Mediterranean the name *al-sofāla*". Apart from the question of a submarine mountain this interpretation is not untenable; the district of Sofāla as a matter of fact consists of low-lying ground But it should not be forgotten that the name of the ancient Indian port of Surparaka, near Bombay, has likewise become *Sofāla* in Arabic and that there is no question of low-lying ground here. It is therefore not impossible that Sofāla may represent an original Bantu place-name, which however has not been recorded in Oriental texts or in western travellers As the Arab geographers know two ports of Sofāla both situated in the Indian Ocean and relatively close to one another, according to the Ptolemaic conception of the Indian Ocean which they had adopted, they were differentiated as Sofāla of India, the ancient Surparaka and Sofāla of Zeng (Zenḏj) or "golden" Sofāla, its homonym on the east coast of Africa

Masʿūdī (943) tells us in the *Murūḏj*, i. 233, that the land of Sofāla lies at the utmost end of the land of Zeng (cf. ZENDJ) and in the lowest (i e most southerly) parts of the sea of Zeng It adjoins the country of Wākwāk. In vol iii. of the same work (p 6) we are told that the Zengs were settled in Eastern Africa as far as Sofāla, which is the extreme limit of the territory they inhabit and the limit of navigation for ships from ʿOmān and Sīrāf The sea of Zeng ends at the land of Sofāla and of Wāḳwāḳ It is a land which produces gold in abundance and other marvels The climate is warm and the soil fertile It was there that the Zengs built their capital, then they chose a king whom they called *waḳlīmī* [read "whose name is in their language *wafaleme*, "kings", in the singular *mfaleme*" — the text has wrongly وقلبمى for وقلبمى or rather معلبمى — which shows that in the tenth century the eastern coast of Africa south of the equator was already inhabited by Bantu negroes]

In his *Book of the Wonders of India*, the sea-captain Buzurg b Shariyār of Rām-Hurmuz tells how a captain of ʿOmān called Ismāʿīlawaih was twice driven by the tempest to Sofāla of Zeng (the first occasion in 310 = 922, the second a few years later), which was inhabited by cannibal negroes (p 51 *sq*, 177) There are in this land birds which seize beasts in their beaks, or claws, carry them off in the air and then let them fall to kill and crush them (p 64, evidently an allusion to the gigantic bird, the *rokhkh*), one man said he had seen there an animal in the shape of a lizard the male of which had two penes and the female two vaginae; its bite was incurable, snakes and vipers swarm there (p 173) In 334 (945) the Wāḳwāḳ (sic) plundered many towns and villages of Sofāla of Zeng (p 175) A bird of the country the name of which Buzurg's informant could not remember captured and tore to pieces an elephant which he was busy devouring when captured (p 178). The story also recalls the legend of the *rokhkh*

"I thought" says al-Bīrūnī (c 1030 A.D) in his *India* (ed. and transl Sachau p. 100 of the text and vol. i., p 204 of the transl) "that the *gaṇḍa* was the same animal as the *karkadaun* (rhinoceros, from the Sanskrit *khaḍgadanta*, "sword-toothed") until some one who had visited Sofāla of Zeng told me that the *kark* (or *karkadaun*), the horn of which is used to make knife-handles better answers the description. In the language of Zeng (i. e. Bantu) the *karkadaun* is called *mpela* (more accurate *mpela*; cf. Suahili *pera*, Makua *pela*)".

On p. 135 of the text (i. 270 of the transl.) we are told that one cannot sail on the sea which is beyond Sofāla of Zeng. No one that ever tried this foolish venture has ever returned to tell what he had seen. Farther on (p. 253 of the text ii. 104 of the transl), al-Bīrūnī says that if Somanāth in Kathiawar has become so celebrated it is because it is much frequented by sailors and is the starting-point for those who make frequent voyages between Sofāla of Zeng and China

According to Idrīsī (1154) there are in the land of Sofāla famous iron mines, and gold is found in abundance there (transl Jaubert, i 65, 66, 78 and 79) Among the towns of this region the Sicilian geographer mentions those of Ḏjabasta and Dāghūṭa but the readings are not certain and they have not been identified

According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿḏjam*, iii. 96) Sofāla is the last known town of the Zeng The same stories are told of it as of the land of gold of the southern Maghrib. Merchants bring their goods there and leave them They then go away a short distance, wait a certain time and come back The natives have in the meanwhile put beside each article its equivalent in the products of the country (this is the practice known as secret trading, which is known among many peoples) The gold of Sofāla is known to the merchants who trade to Zeng

Manuscript 2234 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is entitled. "The Book collected and arranged by ʿAlī b Saʿīd al-Maghribī al-Andalusī of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy), in seven climes and he has added the exact latitudes and longitudes from the Book of Ibn Fātima" Ibn Saʿīd (xiiith century) says that the names of the towns of Sofāla are not known The capital is Sayūna (it is undoubtedly the *Chiona* of Barros, Dec ii, Bk. i, Ch ii, p 22 [1777] which the Portuguese historian locates between Malindi and Monbasa), which is 99° Long and 2° 30′ Lat in the sixth section of the inhabited world, below the equator

"In this town dwells the king of the Sofālians They and the Zengs worship idols and stones which they anoint with the fat of large fish. Their principal resources are gold and iron They wear the skins of panthers Horses do not live in their country Their army consists of foot-soldiers". Farther on in the same section the writer says "at the foot of the mountain of Repentance (*Ḏjabal al-Nadāma*) on the north coast and in the channel of Komr (Mozambique Straits) is the town of Daghūṭa. It is the last town of Sofāla and the last of the inhabited places in the lands adjacent to this Indian Sea It is in 109° Long and 12° Lat (South) (cf *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persanes et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, ii, Paris 1914, p. 325 and 327)".

In his *Kitāb Āthār al-Bilād* (p 29) Ḳazwīnī (1203—1283) records that Sofāla is the last known town of the land of Zeng, that there are mines of gold there and secret trading is practised He mentioned a bird called the *ḫawāy*, which speaks

better than the parrot and does not live more than a year (on p. 20 of the same book at the end of the notice of Zābag [wrongly written Zānag] i. e Sumatra there is a reference to the same bird on the authority of Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b Khāḳān, the name of which is written *hawārī*, "smaller than the pigeon, with a white belly, black wings, red claws, and a yellow beak, it speaks better than the parrot") He also mentions white, red (or yellow) and green parrots Muhammad b al-Djahm says on the subject of Sofāla, "I have seen men eating flies, they believe that that prevents ophthalmia and as a matter of fact they are not at all affected by diseases of the eyes".

Abu 'l Fidā' (1273—1331) only devotes a few lines to Sofala "According to the *Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* of al-Bīrūnī", he says, "it lies in 50° Long and 20° Lat. south of the equator Sofāla is in the land of Zeng According to the author of the *Ḳānūn*, the people, who inhabit it, are Muslims" Abu 'l-Fidā' also gives some information taken from Mas'ūdi and Ibn Sa'id and ends by saying, "I may note that Sofāla is also a country in India" (*Geography of Abu 'l-Fidā'*, II/1 222–223)

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad al-Dimishki (c 1325) thrice mentions Sofāla In chapter II, sect 4, which deals with precious stones, he gives the following, citing Aristotle as his authority, "The oil stone is red with a bluish light; touched by oil, it is changed for the worse, the oil going right to the centre It comes from Sofāla of Zeng When it is rubbed over a garment stained with oil, it completely removes all trace"

In his *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, Hamdallāh Mustawfī records that there is in Sofāla of Zeng a cavern measuring nearly 500 parasangs in every direction On account of the mass of shifting sands in this country and the heat and aridity, it is not thickly inhabited (Cl Huart, *Documents persans sur l'Afrique* in *Recueil de mémoires orientaux publie par les professeurs de l'Ecole des langues orientales à l'occasion du XIV^e congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Alger*, Paris 1905, p 95—95 This passage is not found in the edition and translation of this Persian text by Guy Le Strange, *G M S*, vol xxiii 1 and 2)

"Golden Sofāla", says Ibn al-Wardī (c 1340) (Cairo 1328, p 51 infra), "adjoins the land of Zeng It is a vast country with mountains containing deposits of iron which the people of the country work The Indians come to them and buy the iron at a high price, although they have iron-mines in their own country, but the iron of the mines of Sofāla is better, purer and more malleable The Indians smelt this iron and make steel of it (with which they make tools and weapons with fine cutting edges) It is in this country (India) that Indian swords and other things are made in abundance. One of the wonders of the land of Sofāla is that there are found under the soil, nuggets of gold in great numbers, the weight of each is 2 or 3 mithḳāls or even more In spite of this the people of the country only wear ornaments of copper which they esteem more highly than gold The land of Sofāla adjoins that of Wāḳwāḳ" Ibn Baṭṭūta (c 1355, *Rihla*, II 192) only says that the town of Sofāla is situated half a month's journey south of Kulwā (read Kilwa)

Ibn Khaldūn (c. 1375) in his *Prolegomena* (I 119 of translation) is hardly more explicit: "Farther to the east (= south) of Moḳadishō (Mayadoxo) is the land of Sofāla which lies on the southern (western) shore of the sea of India, in the seventh section of the first clime Then to the east (= south) of Sofāla on the same southern (= western) shore is the land of Wāḳwāḳ"

According to Bākuwī (beginning of the xv^th century, in *N. E.*, 1789, ii, p. 401), Sofāla is a town of the land of Zeng, famous for its gold mines The gold of this country is much sought after by merchants There is a kind of bird that speaks better than a parrot (it is the *ḥawārī* mentioned above in the extract from Ḳazwīnī).

In his *al-'Umdat al-mahrīya fī Ḍabṭ al-'Ulūm al-bahrīya* (Gabriel Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol II *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie*, Paris 1925, f 29 verso), the *mu'allim* or sailing-master Sulaimān al-Mahrī (first half of the xvi^th century) places the harbour of Sofāla, 6 *iṣba'* from the Great Bear or about 18° south — the exact latitude is 18° 13′ — but, which is peculiar, the text says that Sofāla is opposite the Timor islands of Indonesia which are 10° further north

About 1490 Sofāla was visited by Pedro da Covilhan. But he was not the first European traveller to visit south-eastern Africa, for the *mu'allim* Ibn Mādjid definitely says in two verses of a nautical treatise dated 18^th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 866 = September 13, 1462, "It is said that in former days the ships of the Franks came to Madagascar and to the coast of Zeng and Western India, according to what the Franks say". These two verses seem to allude to the voyage of Pseudo-Brocardus (who is probably the Dominican William Adam) in the first half of the xiv^th century It was actually recorded in this monk's narrative that at this time "mercatores vero et homines fide digni passim ultra versus meridiem procedebant, usque ad loca ubi asserebant polum antarticum quinquaginta [read triginta] quatuor gradibus elevari" But the question will be treated in detail later (vide infra ZENGS)

On May 18, 1506, Pero d'Anhaya or da Nhaya left Lisbon with six ships to go and build a fortress at Sofāla Castanheda (Bk II, Ch x, p 34 of the edition 1833) gives an account of the reception which was given him by the king Çufe (= Yūsuf) But this ruler belonged to the royal family of Kilwa and his entourage consisted of Moors, i e Muslims, which tells us nothing of the natives of the country

Barros (Dec I, Bk x, Ch I, p. 372—388) says that the great kingdom of Sofāla lies on an island between the two arms of the river Kuama and the sea and is over 650 leagues in circumference It is so thickly populated that the elephants are leaving it The natives say that every year 4 or 5,000 die, which explains why so great a quantity of ivory is sent to India The nearest gold mines are at Manica which is about 50 leagues west of Sofāla. The gold which is gathered there is gold dust (or nuggets) which is found at 6 or 7 palms' depth (c 5—6 feet). The most distant mines are 100—200 leagues from Sofāla. There are others also in the land of Toroa which is also called the kingdom of Butua. There is a fortress built of hewn stones, very well built of stones of astonishing size, joined without cement. The wall of the fortress is over 28 palms (23

feet) thick and its height is not proportionate to its width. On the gate of this building is an inscription which several educated Muslim merchants have seen, but they could not read it, nor say in what alphabet it was written (this is probably not accurate as no inscriptions have been discovered in this region) Around this building on eminences are others built in similar fashion, on one of them is a tower of over 12 stories All these erections are called by the natives *symbaoe* (read *zimbabwe*) which they say means court (royal residence *zimba-bwe* literally means stone house and in eastern Bantu this name is given to any house of the king or chief)

In the xvith century, Sofāla was the only port in this region that exported gold Gradually the merchants began to go north to Quelimane, north of the Zambesi, and about the middle of the xviith century, the annual exports from Sofāla amounted to only 500 *pastas* (c 350 lbs) while that of Quelimane was over 3,000 *pastas* (c 2050 lbs) A century later Sofāla had practically ceased to exist

The early Portuguese narratives and certain European scholars located at Sofāla the Biblical Ophir from which the fleets of Solomon and of Hiram brought back every three years cargoes of gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (I Kings, x 22, II Chronicles, ix 21) In a short but solid study, Sylvain Lévi (*Autour du Bāveru-jātaka*, in *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Etudes*, Paris 1913—1914) has shown that Ophir is not to be sought in India Nothing so far makes it likely that it can possibly be located at Sofāla

The old town of Sofāla seems to have been very important, if we may judge by its ruins of commodious houses which are evidence of the wealth of its inhabitants in the xvith century It was abandoned later and rebuilt in the vicinity The new Sofāla was described as a little town in 1764 It lay in 20° 13′ Lat and 34° 45′ Long It was 252 fathoms long, 60 broad and included 35 houses, one of stone and lime and 2 of wood with titled roofs and 32 of wood covered with thatched roofs The famous mediaeval emporium lost its importance at the end of the xvith century In 1883 João de Andrade Corvo speaks of the old kingdom of Sofāla which was so rich under Arab rule In 1889 the authors of the *Elementos para um diccionario chorographico da provincia de Moçambique* write the melancholy words. "The district of Sofāla, so rich in historical memories, is now poverty-stricken and abandoned"

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(GABRIEL FERRAND)

SOFTA, a popular pronunciation of the perf pass. *sūkhte* from the Persian verb *sūkhten*, to burn, to set on fire; literally then one afire, in flames, i e. consumed by the love of God or learning. *Softa* in Turkish is particularly applied to students (Ar *ṭālib*), especially the beginner in the sciences or in theology. After his first courses, the student is usually called *dānishmend* Risings of the *Softa*'s, who used to rebel en masse have repeatedly played a dangerous part in Ottoman history

Bibliography: The dictionaries and J. v Hammer, *G O R.*, ii 238; iv 346, cf also his *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, ii, Vienna 1815, p 402; Muiād Efendi (= Franz v. Werner), *Turkische Skizzen*, Leipzig 1877, vol. 2, p. 90 *sqq*. (FRANZ BABINGER)

SOGHD, AL-SOGHD or AL-ṢOGHD, a district in Central Asia The same name (Old Pers Suguda, late Avestan Sughda, Greek Sogdioi or Sogdianoi [the people] and Sogdiane [the country]) was applied in ancient times to a people of Irānian origin subject to the Persians (at least from the time of Darius I, 522—486 B C) whose lands stretched from the Oxus (cf ĀMŪ-DARYĀ) to the Yaxartes (cf SĪR-DARYĀ), according to the Greek sources The language and especially the terms relating to the calendar and festivals of the Soghdian Zoroastrians are very fully dealt with in the Muslim period by al-Bīrūnī in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed Sachau, Leipzig 1878, cf p 46 *sq*, 233 *sqq* and transl London 1879, p 56 *sq*, 220 *sqq* From al-Bīrūnī's information, modern Irānists (notably F C Andreas and F W K Muller) have been able to identify as Soghdian the language of numerous fragments of manuscripts found in Chinese Turkestan (commercial documents, Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian texts)

As in classical times the Soghdians still appear in al-Bīrūnī (*op cit*, p 45, 21) along with the Khwārizmians as an indigenous people with a Zoroastrian civilisation in Mā Warā' al-Nahr References to pre-Muhammadan Soghdian colonies in remote regions are found, not only in Chinese, but also in Muslim sources, cf *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (unique Tumanskiy MS now in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad) in W Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung der altturkischen Inschriften*, p 4, note 1, appendix to W Radloff, *Die altturkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, New Series, St Petersburg 1897, on the Soghdians in the land of the Tughuzghuz (cf. GHUZZ) and Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333, i 31 and 391 *sq*) on the Soghdian settlers (Sughdāk, as in the Orkhon inscription) in Bālāsāghūn [q v] who had adopted "Turkish dress and customs" and on the Soghdian and Turkish speaking peoples from Bālāsāghūn to Isfidjāb or Sairām (on the name of "white town" given to the latter, cf ibid, iii 132 *sq*). The fact proved by R Gauthiot that the Uighurs borrowed their alphabet from the Soghdians seems to have been known in Muslim times, cf Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (beginning of the viith/xiiith century) in E D Ross in *ʿAdjab Nāma, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E G Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 405. Turkish *Kent* meaning "village, town" is already described as a Soghdian loan-word in the *Kandīya* (text in W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, i., Petersburg 1898, p 48)

As the name of a country Soghd had a much narrower application in the Muslim period than in antiquity. According to Iṣṭakhrī (*B. G. A.*, i. 316) Soghd proper comprised the lands east of of Bukhārā from Dabūsiya to Samarḳand; he also says that others also included Bukhārā, Kishsh (Kash, q v) and Nesef in Soghd. Kash sometimes appears as the capital of Soghd, e. g *B. G. A.*, vii., 299, 14 (Yaʿḳūbī); it is possible that the oldest Chinese name for the region of Kash, *Su-hsiai* (old pronunciation *Su-git*) is a reproduction of the name Soghd, it is so taken by J. Marquart, *Chronologie der altturkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 57 In another passage (*B. G. A.*, vii. 293) Yaʿḳūbī describes Samarḳand as the capital of Soghd; Kash and Nesef are included in Soghd but Bukhārā is separated It is not known what geographical connotation Soghd had for al-Bīrūnī; whenever he associates a Soghdian festival with a particular district, it is always some village in the territory of Bukhārā Nershakhī (ed Schefer, p. 47) quotes a few expressions in the dialect of Bukhārā and these are explained as Soghdian by F Rosenberg (*Praie Linguistyczne, ofiarowanie J. Badowinowi de Courtenay*, Cracow 1921, p 94 *sqq*) According to Iṣṭakhrī (p 314) Soghdian was spoken in Bukhārā According to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (i 391 *sq.*), Soghd is the land between Bukhārā and Samarḳand In modern native topography Soghd is only a part of the territory of Samarḳand and a distinction is made between "Half-Soghd" (Nīm Sughud) on the island between the two arms of the Zarafshān (Aḳ Daryā and Ḳarā Daryā), and "Great Sughd" (Sughud-i Ḳalān) north of the Aḳ Daryā The language of the Soghdians seems to have disappeared earlier than that of the Khwārizmians, ousted like other Irānian dialects, partly by the Persian literary language and partly (especially in the colonies) by Turkish The language called "Middle Soghdian" by F C Andreas still survives in a single modern Soghdian dialect, the isolated Yaghnōbī (cf *Grundriss d iran Philol*, i, Pt ii p 291)

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(W. BARTHOLD)

SÖGÜD, a little town, capital of a ḳaḍā of the same name in the sandjaḳ of Ertogrul, belonging to the wilāyet of Khudāwendigiār in Asia Minor It lies to the south of Saḳarya between Lefke and Eski Shehir and is a day's journey from each of these places (*Ḳirhān-numā*). Sogüd lies at the mouth of a mountain gorge, very deep and very narrow, and is built in an amphitheatre The country round the town forms part of the fertile region which forms the transition between the Central Plain of Anatolia on the

south and the lands on either side of the lower course of the Saḳarya to the north It was the country of Sulṭān Öñü, and is famous in Ottoman history as having been the cradle of power of the Ottoman dynasty According to the unanimous tradition of the Turkish historians, Ertogrul, father of ʿOthmān received this district as a fief from the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; the mountains of Tumānīdj and Ermenī were the *yaylā* of the tribe of Ertogrul and Sogud was their *yurt* (ʿĀshīḳ Pasha Zāde, p 4 and Urudj Bey, ed Babinger, p 7, 83) The *turbe* of Ertogrul is at Sogud; this tomb has a little cupola and lies two leagues from the town, a little to the left of the road to Lefke Tradition still tells that one of the brothers of ʿOthmān, Sarïyatï or Sawdjï is buried beside his father, ʿOthmān himself is also said to be buried in this *turbe* and not at Brussa (Ritter)

As regards the pre-Ottoman period we find in the *Taḳwīm al-Tawārīḵh* of Hādjdjī Khalīfa the legend that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd conquered Sogud in 181 (797) The name Sogud is pure Turkish and means "willow"; the oldest form seems to have been Soguddjuk or Sogütdjuk (thus *Tawārīḵh ʿĀl-i ʿOthmān*, ed Giese, Urudj Bey, and as late as the xviiith century, Mehmed Edib, cf also Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, 1 101) The modern pronunciation is rather Sowut

One of the four *djāmiʿ* of Sogud is attributed to Ertogrul and another to Sultān Muhammad I After the capture of Constantinople the town was situated on the main route of pilgrimage to Mecca It was never large; in the xviith century Ewliyā counted 700 Turkish houses there and at the beginning of the xixth century the number had hardly risen (cf. the traveller's records in Ritter) Towards the end of this century Sāmī gives 5,000 as the population The product for which the country round Sogud has always been noted is a preserve made of grapes cut up and steeped in vinegar (*uzum turshusï*) Silkworms are also grown and there is some weaving in the town

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(J H KRAMERS)

ṢOḤĀR. [See ṢUḤĀR.]

ṢOḲOLLI, MUHAMMAD PASHA, surnamed "Tawīl", "the Tall", one of the most famous of Turkish grand viziers He was born in the early years of the xvth century in the village of Sokol in Bosnia. His family was called Sokolewitch, of which Ṣoḳollï is the Turkish form According to a panegyrical biography written about 1570 entitled *Djawāhir al-Manāḳib* (cf. *T O. E M.*, N° 29, p 257 *sqq*), which is regarded as the best authority for the youth of Ṣoḳollï, Sokol means "falcon's nest". He was the eldest son and was taken from his parents under the *dewshirme* in the early years of Sulaimān I's reign His remarkable abilities gained him important posts on the staff of the Serāy where he finally reached and held for a long time the responsible post of *Ḳapudjï Kïāyasï*. At this period he brought his parents to Constantinople and his two brothers, who died soon afterwards, and also a cousin who later became Muṣṭafā Pasha, Beglerbeg of Budin. In 953 (1546) Ṣoḳollï left the Serāy to become *Ḳapudān Pasha* in succession to Khair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, which was an exceptional promotion In this capacity he conducted expeditions into Tripolitania Three years later he was appointed Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili He there took part in several campaigns. In 959 (1552) he took Temeswár in Hungary In 961 (1554) he accompanied Sultān Sulaimān in his campaign against Persia (capture of Nakhčewān) after which he obtained the rank of *wazīr-i thālith* When the struggle began between the two princes, Selīm and Bāyazīd, in 1559, Soḳollï was in command of the troops assisting Selim against his brother Henceforth he was associated by close ties with Selim whose daughter Esmikhān he married in 969 (1562); she was 40 years his junior. After being *wazīr-i thānī*, he was finally appointed grand vizier in June 1568 on the death of Ahmad Pasha

Ṣoḳollï held this office till his death in 1579 so that he was grand vizier for the last 15 months of Sulaimān's reign, the whole of that of Selim II, and the first four years of Murād III For the greater part of this period Ṣoḳollï was the real ruler of the empire (*pādshāh-i maʿnewī*, cf Pečewi, 1 44) especially during the reign of Selim II [q v] who hardly took any interest in affairs of state By his experience and sagacity, Ṣoḳollï was the obvious man to consolidate the glorious traditions of the time of Sulaimān His efforts were mainly directed to the maintenance of peace abroad and order at home Although we know of nothing very brilliant done by him, he was nevertheless the moving spirit in all the great events of his time Very characteristic of him was the manner in which he kept secret the death of Sulaimān before Szigeth until the new sovereign had had time to reach the army, and again when Selīm II refused to give the accession gifts, against Ṣoḳollï's advice, the latter only intervened at the last moment to pacify the mutinous Janissaries After his return from the Szigeth campaign the grand vizier took no further part in military expeditions The documents of his time however show that he was active in all branches of administration During his grand vizierate the empire and especially the capital, passed through the richest and most glorious period in its history, while the old simple traditions were still strong enough to check the moral decadence, which was already beginning to appear The only opposition that Soḳollï encountered in his domestic and foreign policy was that of the coterie led by the Jew Yūsuf Nāsī, the favourite of Selīm II and by the latter's Jewess favourite The Jewish bankers had control of the customs and had a grip on the whole economic life of the state and Soḳollï was not able completely to counteract their influence, which showed itself for example in the deterioration of the coinage

In the foreign policy of Soḳollï we have probably to recognize a pan-Islamic tendency. Up to the last year of his grand vizierate, the peace with Persia (concluded at Amasia in 961 = 1554) was not broken, while the empire endeavoured to assist Muslim rulers in India and Further India against Portuguese attacks (on the expedition to Atcheh cf *T O. F. M*, N° 10) and the Khāns of Transoxiana against the Russians Ṣoḳollï's European policy was likewise peaceful; he was con-

tinuously on his guard against Russia under Ivan the Terrible, against Austria and Spain, and he hoped to hold these powers in check with the support of the friendship of France and Poland He was however unable to prevent the expedition against Cyprus and the naval war with Venice and the other powers which resulted from it The occupation of Cyprus was mainly due to the influence of Yūsuf Nāsi and his friends with the Sulṭān But once the decision had been taken, the grand vizier did his utmost to secure the success of the expedition It was likewise entirely due to his energy that a new fleet was built in in less than a year after the destruction of the Turkish fleet in the battle of Lepanto (Oct 7, 1571) Ṣoḳolli was less fortunate in other more peaceful enterprises, like the digging of a canal between the Volga and Don and the piercing of the isthmus of Suez He was further very skilled in the field of diplomatic negotiations, which he conducted with courtesy (he had his portrait painted for a Venetian ambassador, which later was in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand) and finesse but sometimes with harshness The peace concluded with Venice (March 7, 1573) left the island of Cyprus to Turkey, it was as if the battle of Lepanto had never been fought

The personal position of Soḳolli was remarkable He was neither unusually popular with the people, nor a particular favourite of the Sultān, but every one respected him In keeping with his character, he was not a patron of literature and poetry (Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, III. 7), nevertheless the poet Bāḳī celebrates him in his *kasīdas* In his palace in Stambul (later bought by Aḥmad I to build a mosque on the site) Sokolli maintained a vast suite Through his great influence he was able to rid himself of his enemies, without, however, having any real friends He was able to prevent difficulties that might have arisen from other influential men of his time like Lala Mustafā Pasha and Sinān Pasha [q v.] His most intimate confidants were his secretary Feridūn Bey [q v], later *Re'is al-Kuttāb* and his *Kāya* Ḏja'far Agha Ṣoḳolli is further depicted as a religious and incorruptible man The latter quality did not prevent him from accepting huge presents, which, added to his own income, made him one of the richest of men Western sources accuse him of avarice, but he built many public buildings in the provinces, especially karwānserāys, besides two mosques in the capital, a mosque and *tekke* in the Kadīrgha quarter and a mosque and *medrese* at ʿAzab Kapu (cf *Ḥadikat al-Ḏjawāmiʿ*, I 193) He is also accused with some justice of having favoured too much his numerous relations and compatriots whom he brought from Bosnia, many of whom occupied important positions The historian Peçewīli Ibrāhīm was the son of a female cousin of Sokolli

After the accession of Murād II, Sokolli's great influence began to diminish The favourites of the new Sulṭān, like Shamsī Pasha obtained the offices from which Ṣoḳolli's proteges were dismissed. But before the dismissal of the grand vizier himself — which seemed to have become inevitable — Ṣoḳolli was murdered on Oct 11, 1579. An individual, disguised as a beggar, came up to him as he was leaving the *dīwān* and stabbed him He was buried in a *turbe* which he had built at Aiyūb (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhatnāme*, I 408)

Bibliography. The principal sources for the life of Ṣoḳolli are the *Taʾrīkh*'s of Peçewi, Selānikī and of ʿAlī (*Kunh al-Akhbār*, part still unprinted) and the *Tuhfat al-Kibār* of Hādjdjī Khalīfa. There are other biographies of him in Munadjdjim Bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār*, III 532 *sqq.*; ʿOthmān Zāde, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzerā*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32 *sqq* ; Thureiyā Efendi, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, IV. 122; Ḥāfiz Husain al-Aiwānserāyi, *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḏjawāmiʿ*, Constantinople 1281, I 193 Among western contemporary sources the most important are the *Tagebuch* of Gerlach, Frankfurt 1674, and the *Relazioni* of the Venetian Alberi All these sources have been used by the modern historians like von Hammer, *G O R*, III and IV ; Jorga, *Gesch des Osm Reiches*, III (especially p. 165 *sqq.*); Brosch, *Geschichten aus den Leben dreier Grosswesiere*, Gotha 1899, Aḥmad Refīḳ, *Ṣoḳollī*, Constantinople 1924 (an important appreciation of Sokolli and his period partly based on original documents, the provenance of which however is rarely mentioned). On the *pençe* of Soḳolli, cf von Kraelitz–Greifenhorst in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, 1923–1926, II, p 261 (J H KRAMERS)

SOKOTO or SAKATU is the name of a town in the western part of the Hausa country, situated on a left bank tributary of the Niger called Gulbi-n-Sokoto, which means in Hausa the river of Sokoto The town seems to have been of little importance before the XIXth century, in any case it was much less known than the other towns of the Hausa, such as Zanfara, Gober or Tessawa, Katsena, Zinder, Kano and Zegzeg or Zaria It formed part of the kingdom of Gober, which like the other Hausa states then contained very few Muhammadans, almost all foreigners There were a few colonies of Pul or Fulbe among the native population, which, as at the present day, lived mainly by agriculture and commerce It was in 1801 or 1802 that Sokoto became the capital of a kind of empire founded by a Tuculor shaikh from Fūta-Tōro (Senegal) belonging to the Tōrodbe caste (singular Tōrodo) This conqueror was called Usmānu (ʿUthmān) and was the son of a certain Muhammad surnamed Fodjo, i e "the wise, the jurist" The Shaikh ʿUsmānu having left his native land to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca was in Gober, where he was preaching Islām in 1801 when he received a deputation from the Fulbe, seeking his protection against the king of Tessawa, against whom some shepherds had a complaint Usmānu, who was only waiting a pretext to declare a holy war, took up the cause of these men, whom he regarded as compatriots because Fulbe and Tuculor, although of very different stocks, spoke the same language Having collected an army of followers, he took the field against Yunfa, the king of Tessawa, and conquered him. Continuing his conquests, he was not long in becoming master of several other Hausa provinces (Liptako, Kebbi, Yauri, Nupe, Kororofa, Bautshī, Adamawa), imposing Islām on the inhabitants by force and placing at the head of each kingdom or province a kind of governor called *amīru*, chosen from the members of his family or caste. Thus there was created for the benefit of a small Tuculor aristocracy of the Tōrodo caste, an empire, military in character, including almost all the lands to the south of the Sahara between the eastern course of the Niger (which it reached in the west also in Liptako),

Benu, Logone, and Chad, with the exception however of Bornu, which, although invaded in its turn by Usmānu's bands, succeeded in recovering its independence in 1810 The general name of empire of Sokoto is given to these conquests because it was in the eastern quarter of Sokoto, at Wurno, that Shaikh Usmānu took up his permanent residence, and his successors lived

But on the death of Usmānu (1816 or 1818) the empire broke up into three allied states. in the west that of Gando, including the Kebbi, the Yauri, the Nupe and Liptako, in the east that of Yola, comprising Kororofa and Adamawa and in the centre that of Sokoto including all the Hausa country and Bautshī Abdullāhi, brother of Usmānu, became king of Gando, Modibba Adama of Yola, which he gave his name (Adamawa) and Muhammad Bello, son of Usmānu, succeeded his father at Sokoto where he reigned from 1816 or 1818 to 1837

He had a difficult task to maintain his authority The natives everywhere abjured Islām and rebelled, supported in their rebellion by the Tuāreg and the Sultān of Bornu After suffering several reverses, Muḥammad Bello's troops finally established him in power A rather poor soldier, reluctant to take part personally in battle, this prince was on the other hand a distinguished writer In Arabic he composed a considerable number of works in prose and verse, one of them a history of the Sūdān which is not without value He was the patron of men of letters, gave a good reception to the explorer Clapperton (1828) and exercised a strict control over the doings of his judges, who feared his enquiries and censure

His brother and successor Atiku (1837—1847) claimed to be a reformer of morals and made himself very unpopular by prohibiting music and dancing His puritanism did not prevent his governors committing all kinds of excesses and depredations, which resulted in the rebellion of the provinces of Gober and Katsena

In the reign of Aliyu, son of Muhammad Bello (1843—1860) who received the explorers Overweg (1851) and Barth (1852 and 1854) at Sokoto, civil troubles and risings increased in extent Gradually the authority of the emperor was lost and usurped by various *amiru* of the provinces The five last sovereigns of the Tōrodo dynasty — Aḥmadu, son of Atiku (1860—1866), ʿAliyun-Karami, son of Bello (1866—1867), Ahmadu-Rafāye (1867—1872), Abubakari (1872—1877) and Moyasu (1877—1904) — showed themselves incapable of efficiently governing an empire, which was too large and too badly organised, and collapsed at once in 1904, simply on the entry of Sir Frederick Lugard's troops into Sokoto

At the present day the town of Sokoto forms part of the British colony of Nigeria, while the rest of Gober and his capital Tessawa are included in the French colony of the Niger

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SOḲOṬRĀ (Socotra), an island in the Indian Ocean on the east side of the Gulf of ʿAden, about 150 miles from Rās ʿAsīr (Cape Guardafui) forms with the smaller islands of the group, notably ʿAbd al-Kūrī, the "brethren", Semḥa and Dersi, and Sambūya (Sambūnīya; Saboyna of the older maps since Wellsted) and the Farūn rocks, the geographical and geological continuation of the coast of North Somāliland. It is 75 miles long (from Rās Shoab in the west to Rās Redresse in the east), and has a maximum breadth of 20 miles and an area of 1,520 square miles. The elongated shape of its horizontal section gives it its characteristic configuration (the figure "about 240 miles" for the distance from Cape Guardafui in Theodore Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p 345, who gives the length and breadth of the island correctly as 72 and 22 miles, is a misprint). Soḳotrā was known in classical antiquity as the island of Dioscorides, *νῆσος.. ἡ Διοσκορίδου καλουμένη* in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, 30 (the MS has *Διοσκορίδα*; C Muller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, i. 280 has in the text *Διοσκορίδου*, but see his note; Fabricius in his edition, Leipzig 1883, gives *Διοσκουρίδου*) after the mention of the Sachalitic Sea (coast of Shehr, east of Rās al-Kelb) and of the promontory of Syagros (Rās al-Fartak), it is mentioned as a territory of the king of the land of frankincense, Eleazos, who lived in *Σάββαθα* (Shabwat) (27; on the genitive form of the name *Ἐλεάζου*, found in manuscripts, of the king known from inscriptions as Il'azz, which Fabricius, wrongly following C Muller on § 26, altered to *Ἐλισάρου*, see the articles ELEAZOS and ELISAR in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopadie der klass. Altertumswiss* [henceforth quoted as *R E*]), also *Διοσκορίδους νῆσος* in Ptolemaeus, viii 22, 17 and *Διοσκουρίδου ἡ πόλις*, vi 7, 45 (var *Διοσκορίδους πόλις*), the oldest and the only classical reference to the capital of Sokotrā, *ἡ νῆσος ἡ καλουμένη Διοσκορίδους* in Cosmos Indopl, p 178 (for the form of the name cf *Διοσκουριάς* in Stephanus Byzantinus)

The island is called by Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi 153· "clara (insula) in Azanio mari Dioscuridu" (similarly also Amm Marc., xxiii 6, 47) and is referred to by ecclesiastical historians (see below) Agatharchides (§ 103) (preserved in extracts in Diodoros and Photius, see the article SABA', p 7) refers to the whole group; after describing the land of Saba' he remarks that near the coast lie the *νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες*, the earliest reference to Soḳotrā and the adjoining islands, which he considers to belong to South Arabia. It may be assumed that Soḳoṭrā is included among the frankincense islands of Arabia mentioned by Theophrastus, *Hist Plant*, ix 4, 10 On the identity of the island of Dioscorides with Soḳotrā cf Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1845, xii 64, 336 (following Vincent, etc); C Muller, *op cit*, 190 etc. Bochart (*Geographia sacra*, Leiden 1692, i/i. 436) had already derived the name, which is found in the form Suḳuṭrā among the Arabs (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, quotes besides the regular form, iii 101 also Suḳutrā', i 543, also Sukūtarā', Ibn Rosta, *B G A*, vii. 82, Suḳuṭ(a)ra, on the other form Usḳuṭrā, see *Ḳāmūs*, i 381 and *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, iii. 273) from the Sanskrit *dvīpa sukhatara*, "fortunate isle" and this explanation of the name which agrees best with the name in Agatharchides (cf *Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία*) has been adopted by Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Konigsberg 1830, ii. 139; Benfey in Ersch-Gruber's *Enzyklopädie*, sect. ii, vol vii., p. 30; C Müller, *op cit.*, i 280 (cf. Ritter, *op cit.*) and more recent writers (Bent, *op. cit.*, p 391 was not acquainted with the literature before Schweinfurth) The Greek name arose, like many other Greek corruptions of Oriental names by a popular etymology, connecting the foreign name with some mythological figure familiar to the Greek circle of ideas. The

name Διοσκόρων λιμήν (Ptolemy, iv. 7, 5) a harbour on the west coast of the Red Sea, is similar in origin. This corruption was all the easier in this case as it was facilitated by the Greek idea that the appearance of the constellation of the Dioscuri (Gemini) was a good omen for navigators The Indian origin of the name is supported by the statement in the *Periplus* (30) that the island included Indians amongst its inhabitants (there are still Hindus on Soḳoṭrā), that sailors from India land there bringing rice, a cereal that does not grow on the islands, Indian cotton and slave-girls and receiving turtles (31) and by the note of Agatharchides (Diodoros, iii 47) that Indian merchants traded with the νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες In ancient times Soḳoṭrā, specially noted for its frankincense was of importance as a centre of sea commerce between India, Arabia and East Africa (Azania, the coast between Rās ʿAsīr and Zanzibar), as a result of its situation at the entrance to the Red Sea and in spite of its lack of proper harbours. Bent's idea (*op cit*, p 391) that Sūk (the name still survives for the ruined site of the ancient capital) the Zoko of the xvith century Portuguese, is a survival of the original Sanskrit form of the name, has little to commend it Sprenger's suggestion (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 88) that the name Soḳoṭrā is perhaps derived from *ḳāṭir*, the popular name for the resin of the dragon-blood tree, is untenable on philological grounds. F Hommel's assumption (*Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904, p 212, note 2), that Soḳoṭrā is in some way connected with Skudru = Thrace and that the island might have received its name from Graeco-Thracian colonists, cannot be defended at all

W Gołenishef connected with Soḳoṭrā the magic island of A-a-penenka or Pa-anch (island of the genius) the abode of the king of the frankincense country, of which we are told in the old Egyptian fairy tale in a papyrus in St Petersburg (French translation by Gołenishef in the *Verhandlungen d V Orientalistenkongresses*, Berlin 1882) of the period of the middle kingdom (about the beginning of the second millenium B C). G Schweinfurth agreed with this on the whole acceptable identification first in a lecture to the 56 Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher at Freiburg i B (*Ein Besuch auf Sokotra*, Freib i. B. 1884), then in *Erinnerungen von einer Fahrt nach Sokotra* (s Westermann's *Monatshefte*, 1891, xxxiv, p 603 *sqq*, xxxv 29 *sqq*); cf also E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii 182 *sq.*, and *Das Weihrauchland und Sokotra*, reprint from the addition to the *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, N⁰ [1] 120 and 121, Munich 1899, p 4, 11, Hommel [s below] Glaser (*Weihrauchland*, p 4 and *Punt*, *M. V. A. G.*, iv, 1899, p. 43) said that the island of Παγχαία (also called Ἱερά) described by Diodorus, v. 41 *sq* (from Euhemerus) was identical with the frankincense island of Pa-anch, and therefore with Soḳoṭrā Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 364 had previously discussed the possibility that the legendary frankincense island of Panchaia, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Roman poets and others, should be located in the vicinity of Soḳoṭrā. The similarity of the names Panchaia and Pa-anch is certainly worthy of note; the plants mentioned in the fairy tale are in keeping with the flora of Soḳoṭrā (cf. Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 3 *sq.*). But Glaser's hypothesis (*ibid*, p. 20 *sq*, 23) that the old Egyptian name of Soḳoṭrā was really not Pa-anch but Panach or Pōnech, i. e. "the Punic island" and that this is the root meaning of Panchaia, is untenable, as is his effort to support by it his main thesis that the original inhabitants of South Arabia and Soḳoṭrā were Phoenicians and Ḥabaṯhīs (*ibid*, p 12 *sq.*), the South Arabian and Soḳoṭran no less than the African were direct descendants of the Phoenicians or of the people of Punt (cf. his *Skizze*, ii., p. 250, 297 *sq*; *Punt*, p 1, 31, 65) and that the language of Soḳoṭrā was Ḥabaṯhī, a descendant of Phoenician In spite of the fictitious character of the story of Euhemerus about Panchaia, there is no doubt that a definite island forms a real background for the scenery. Among the common features in the various descriptions of the islands is further the fact that Diodorus, v. 41, speaks of the wealth of Panchaia in frankincense, myrrh trees of excellent quality and all other kinds of spices, which agrees with modern reports on Soḳoṭrā Diodorus, v 43 (vi 1) speaks highly of the rich vegetation of Panchaia (on the peculiar charms of the flora of Soḳoṭrā see Wellsted, *Report* [see below], p 145 *sq.*, Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p. 614, 620 *sqq.*, 38, 42 *sqq*, Bent, *op cit.*, p 367 *sqq*, on the multitude of palm-trees, Yāḳūt, *op cit*, iii 102; quoting Hamdānī [*Ṣifat*, p 53, see below], *Tāḏ*, *loc. cit.*) Among the features common to the various ramifications of the traditions about the island, which, taken together, form an important factor in the varying identifications, is the fact that according to the *Periplus* 30 there are very many snakes on the island of Dioscorides and the Egyptian story makes the royal genius of the magic islands assume the form of a snake Pliny, vi 169 (also Mela, iii 8) mentions among the people of Trogodytice the *Panchaei*, *quos Ophiophagos vocant*, *serpentibus vesci adsueti*, a people who bore the same name as the inhabitants of Panchaia In the legendary description of the two islands adjoining Panchaia (Diodorus, v 41 *sq*) the reference is to the islands near Soḳoṭrā, similar to Agatharchides' statement on the νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες. Hommel, who made use of the Greek idea of Panchaia for his *Die Insel der Seligen* (Munich 1901), which deals with the history of the idea of the island of the blessed in the different literatures of antiquity (p. 1, 14 *sq*, 32) identified (p. 15) "the small rocky island 150 feet high" described by Schweinfurth with the little island 7 stadia from Panchaia described by Diodorus As Panchaia as a legendary duplicate of the island of Dioscorides gradually became separated from the latter in the geography of the ancients, it is no wonder that many writers like Diodorus and Pliny mention them as two separate islands. The identification recommended by Glaser, *Skizze*, p 337, 432; *Weihrauchland*, p. 11 and Bent, *op. cit*, p 345 of Soḳoṭrā with the Izkuduru of the Naḳs-i Rustam inscription of Darius has nothing to recommend it, but a similarity of name There is no real evidence that the *Ỉ'ntr* (often read *to-Nuter* "land of the gods") of the ancient Egyptian monuments, a name of the land of Punt, rich in spices and usually referred to South Arabia, can refer to Soḳoṭrā, as Mariette Bey (in Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 343) thought, although it may be granted that the island was already known to the ancient Egyptians as a land of frankincense. The identification of Soḳoṭrā with Σαχαλα in

Pausanias, vi 26, 9 (Hommel, *Grundriss* [*Ethnologie*], Munich 1926, p. 650), lacks any sound foundation.

Among the names in literature for the legendary fortunate frankincense island, Hommel (*op cit.*) included also the island of the Phaeaceans of the Odyssey and (p. 23 *sq*) the land of the blessed in the x. and xi. book of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamish While very much in what he says about the part played by Soḳoṭrā as an island of Paradise in the very earliest mythology among Babylonians and Egyptians (see his *Glossen una Exkurse*, iv, *Neue kirchl Ztschr*, ii, 1892, p 881 *sqq*, 899 *sq*) can only be described as fanciful hypothesis, including his etymology identifying the Egyptian name of the "Island of the Spirits", *ʾi pen-en-ke* with *φαίηκες*, from *pai-ʾi-ka*, his suggestion of the similarity of the real name of the island of the Phaeaceans Σχερία to Shihr [q v] (Sāḥil), the old name of the Hadramawt frankincense coast is worthy of serious consideration, especially as Σχερία cannot be satisfactorily explained as regards form and meaning from the Greek. Continuing this line of research, I have sought in Pauly Wissowa, *R. E*, s v SABA', col 1405 *sqq* by quoting the etymological meaning of the name Soḳotrā, which is in keeping with the fundamental idea of the poetical conception of the island of the Phaeaceans, and to the agreement in substance of almost every sentence of the Egyptian fairy story, of the sailor thrown upon the island of the spirits and the mythical matter of the adventure of Odysseus on the island of the Phaeaceans, to make it probable that Sokotrā was the real prototype which supplied the local features of the epic idea of the island of the Phaeaceans, later developed by legend and poetry, which, as is well known, shows Oriental colouring

Among Arab geographers, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab* (ed D H Muller, Leiden 1884, p 53) gives brief notes on the nationality and religion of the people of Sokotrā, saying that on the island there are representatives of all the Mahra tribes and the number of men able to bear arms is about 10,000, they were Christians, Kisrā (Khusraw) transplanted a number of Byzantines there, Mahra tribes then settled beside them, of whom some adopted Christianity Yākūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed Wustenfeld), iii 102, 3 gives a similar story (word for word the same as Hamdānī, *op cit*, p 52, 17—53, 8; cf al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1848, ii 54), but, agreeing with the opinion held by the people of ʿAden, that no Byzantines came to the island, he considers the people of Soḳotrā to be Greeks of the time of Alexander the Great, who lived without marrying after the introduction of Christianity and died out, whereupon Mahra tribes took their places With these statements on the origin of the people of the island may be compared the older story in the *Periplus* (30) that the few inhabitants of the island were immigrants, a mixture of Arabs, Indians and Greeks who came there to trade, the similar statement in Diodoros v 42, that on the island of Panchaia there were Indians, Scythians and Cretans (Greeks) in addition to the natives and what Agatharchides (103) says about the sea-trade to the *νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες*, Persis, Caramania and the rest of the adjoining mainland At the present day Soḳoṭrā still has a mixed population, which on the north coast includes besides native Arabs, Somālī, Swāhilī and Indian elements. According to the above mentioned passage in Cosmos, who rightly traces the Hellenism of Soḳoṭrā to colonisation by the Ptolemies, the Greeks had retained their language and were Christians, who got their priests from Persis Glaser's suggestion, *Skizze*, p 184 (158) that one or other of the three Greek cities of Arabia, Arethusa, Larisa, Chalkis, mentioned by Pliny, *Nat Hist*, vi 159, should be sought on Soḳoṭrā is without foundation Idrīsī, who knew about the traffic by sea between Soḳoṭrā and the Mahra coast, connects (i 48, Jaubert, Paris 1836) the story of Alexander's campaign into Arabia on account of its wealth of frankincense, with Soḳoṭrā, which was colonised with Greeks on the advice of Aristotle on account of the excellent aloes growing there (similarly in *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, *loc cit*) The Christianisation of the island may have been effected by the Abyssinian rulers who conquered Arabia for a time On the notices of Christianity there in Africanus, Theodoret, al-Masʿūdī, Abu 'l-Fidā' and his contemporary Marco Polo, see Bent, *op cit*, p 344 When Persian civilization gained the upper hand in Arabia and after it Islām, Christianity was gradually driven out of the island The final disappearance of the church was comparatively late, the last traces are found in the beginning of the xviith century (according to the Carmelite monk Vincenzo, cf Bent, p 355)

It is significant for the conditions of navigation to Soḳoṭrā that al-Hamdānī, *op cit* (cf Yākūt, *op cit*), says that one who sails from ʿAden to the land of al-Zinḏj (opposite the Zanzibar coast, the land of the Sawāhili) first shapes his course for ʿOmān and leaves the island of Sokotrā on his right and then sails around it into the sea of al-Zinḏj, until he has the island behind him Sprenger (p 87) rightly observes that this circuit is caused by the prevalence of south winds on the East African coast, and not as al-Hamdānī, *op cit*, p 52, thought, by the fact that the Gulf of ʿAden is enclosed by a barrier of the seas of al-Zinḏj (on this see also Yākūt, *op cit*) According to the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tāḏj*, *loc cit.*, Sokotrā is on the left on the voyage from al-Zinḏj He who wishes to go to Soḳoṭrā from ʿAden sails to Rās al-Fartak along the Arabian coast (Sprenger, *op cit*) This may be the reason why, in ancient times, the position of the island was defined with respect to this cape, as in the *Periplus*, 30, according to which the island lay between Syagros and the African cape Aromata (Cape Guardafui) but nearer the former (in reality the contrary is true) and in Pliny, vi 153, who gives the distance of Soḳoṭrā from the "promonturium Syagros" fairly correctly at 280 miles The direction of the sailing route eastwards round the island may explain the fact that it seems to be placed in Ptolemy's map too far west of the promontory of Syagros The calculation given in the *Tāḏj*, *loc cit.*, is based on a direct voyage, according to which Soḳoṭrā is three days and nights distant from Mokhā The length of the island is given too long in Ptolemy (cf Sprenger, *op cit*) and also in al-Hamdānī, at 80 parasangs; it is barely a third of that

Among the statements in Greek literature about the island of Soḳoṭrā which have been confirmed and explained by modern research is that of the *Periplus* 30, that the few inhabitants of the island are to be found on the north side; even at the

present day, the largest and most numerous settlements, including the capital Tamarida ("date-town", the native name is. Hadibo) are on the north coast; the west coast is less accessible and the other coasts are also thinly populated The white cattle mentioned in Agatharchides (103) whose cows have no horns are explained as zebus (Ritter, *op cit*, xii., p 249; cf Bent, *op cit*, p 367 for humpless cows)

The first more accurate information about Soḳotrā was obtained on the voyage of the ship Palinurus from the South Arabian coast to the island in 1834 under Captain Haines, who was sent by the East Indian Company to survey the coast and collect material for a chart Lt J R Wellsted produced the first topographical account of the interior, which was naturally very incomplete He published the geographical and scientific results of his exploration of the island in his *Report on the Island of Socotra*, *J A S B*, iv, 1835, p 138 *sqq*, *Memoir on the Island of Socotra*, *J R G S*, v, London 1835, p 129 *sqq* and in shorter form in *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, ii, London 1840 The island, which as even this first report showed, seemed a promising field for the natural historian, was studied from the botanical, zoological, and geological point of view by J B Balfour (*On the Island of Socotra*, *Rept Brit Assoc for the Advancement of Science*, 1881, p 486 *sqq*), and the petiographical material brought back by him was published by T. G Bonney, *On a Collection of Rock Specimens from the Island of Socotra*, *Philos Transactions of the Roy Soc*, clxxiv, London 1883, p 273 *sqq* In 1881 the Riebeck expedition, one of its members being G Schweinfurth (see *Das Volk von Sokotra*, *Unsere Zeit*, 1813, his lecture of 1883 already mentioned and his *Erinnerungen* [cf p 477[a]]), explored the country round Tamarida for about five weeks (cf the picture in *Westerm Monatsh*, xxxv, p 33, and p. 41 and 49) and the adjoining parts of the Hageher hills Schweinfurth's botanical notes were worked up by Balfour (cf his *Botany of Socotra*, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xxxi, 1888), and his geological by Sauer (cf *Zeitschr d deutschen geolog Gesellsch*, xl 1888, p 138 *sqq*) In the winter of 1897 Th Bent spent two months on the island with his wife, devoting his observations mainly to archaeology His *Travels*, published by his wife after his death, includes a good map of Soḳotrā His companion, the zoologist Bennett was, we believe, the first to ascend the summit of Ḥageher (being followed in 1899 by the two Viennese, O Simony and F Kossmat) In November 1898, the Vienna Academy of Sciences sent out an expedition on the Swedish steamer Gottfried, to investigate the archaeology, ethnology and natural history of South Arabia and Soḳotrā The expedition (Landberg, D. H. Muller, Simony, Kossmat, Jahn and Paulay) were joined in ʿAden by W A. Bury and H O. Forbes and W. R Ogilvie-Grant, who were to collect botanical and zoological specimens for the Liverpool and British Museum After the unexpected break-down of the expedition in South Arabia, the majority of the Vienna explorers went to Soḳotrā in January 1899 where they spent two months, investigating the hitherto insufficiently known south and west of the island; in January they also went to Semḥa and ʿAbd al-Kūrī The scientific results were published in vol. lxxi. of the *Denkschriften der Akad Wien, math.-naturwiss. Klasse*, 1907 (see *Bibliography*) and in H O. Forbes, *The Natural History of Socotra and ʿAbd el-Kūri*, Liverpool 1903. D. H. Müller published specimens of the language taken down from the lips of natives in *Die Mehri- und Soqoṭri Sprache*, *Schriften der sudarabischen Expedition*, *Ak Wien*, vol iv., vi, vii, 1902, 1905 and 1907. Bent gives a small vocabulary (*op. cit.*, p. 440 *sqq*) These researches filled numerous gaps in our knowledge of Soḳoṭrā and corrected many old mistakes For example, the old doubts about the occurrence of frankincense on Soḳoṭrā were removed and Ritter's statement (*op cit*, xii. 362) shown to be wrong, that Theophrastus' verdict on the high quality of the frankincense of this island is refuted by Juba who said that no frankincense is found on the island (Pliny, xii. 32). Theophrastus is thus confirmed (cf previously Glaser, *Skizze*, p. 183), and Bent also speaks (*op. cit.*, 344) of three excellent kinds of frankincense, several varieties of myrrh etc., and (p. 380 *sqq*) of valleys of frankincense, myrrh and other spices, while Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4, had said "Soḳotrā has no myrrh" Ch. J Cruttenden's statement (*Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to Ṣan'á*, *J. R G S*, viii, 1838, p 278 *sq*) about the occurrence of the frankincense tree in Soḳoṭrā was obscure because he called it *sabhúr* or *sabbur* but this (*ṣabir* [q v], *ṣubr*) means "aloe". Diodorus' remark (see above, p 477[b]) about the quantity of frankincense on Panchaia thus becomes intelligible According to the authorities, Soḳotrā has only two kinds of frankincense tree, *Boswellia Socotrana* and *Boswellia Ameero Balfour fil.* (For details of the localities where they are found, see Vierhapper in the article quoted below in the *Bibliography*, p 374 *sq* of the collected volume already mentioned) The Soḳoṭrān name for frankincense is *shére hom di-śáhez* Al-Hamdānī speaks (*op cit.*, p 51, 53) of the Soḳoṭrān species of myrrh as does Muḳaddasī, *B G A*, iii 98 (cf Bent, *op cit*, p 380, 384) Al-Hamdānī reports that the aloe is plentiful (p 53), the Soḳotrān kind is said to be the best of all and was a special article of commerce (cf also *Ḳāmūs* and *Tāḏ*, s v ; on similar testimony of al-Nuwairī, Ibn Sīna, etc., cf E Wiedemann, *Beitrage*, *S B P M S Erl*, 1916, xlviii, p 20). The native name for the *aloe socotrina* according to Wellsted is *tayof*, more correctly *taif* in Bent, p 381, *taif* in Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p 4, i e *taif* according to D H Muller, the Arabic *subal* Bent saw a very fine quality in great quantities (p 344, 377; cf Wellsted, *Report*, p 143, etc) On localities where the aloe *Perryi Bak* grows, see Vierhapper, *op cit.*, p 336; on the method of getting the resin Bent, p 381 (cf Wiedemann from al-Nuwairī, *op cit*) Aloes are still exported from Soḳotrā, although not to so great an extent as before (Bent, *op cit*; cf Wellsted, *op. cit*, p. 143; Schweinfurth, *op cit.*, p 42, A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p 163 *sq*; cf. also C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p 284) — The finding on Soḳotrā of the dragon-tree, *Draco Kinnabari*, from the resin of which dragon's blood is obtained, as is mentioned by Pliny (13, 7; 33, 115 *sq.*), recalls the testimony of the *Periplus*, p. 30, that on the island, the so-called Indian dragon's blood (κιννάβαρι το λεγόμενον Ἰνδικόν) flourishes, which is collected on the trees in the

form of tears. On the dragon's blood in Soḳoṭrā, which is mentioned for example by al-Hamdānī, p. 53 (also the *Ḳāmūs* and *Tādj*), see Wellsted, *Report*, p. 144; Cruttenden, *op. cit.*; Schweinfurth, p. 624, 38; Bent, p. 344, 379, 384 (see the picture at p 387); Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 4; especially accurate in Vierhapper, p. 336 *sqq.* with illustration. The Arabic name for the resin is *dam al-akhwain* (*akhawain*, see *Ḳāmūs*); we also have (vulgar, according to Sprenger, p 88) *kāṭir* (*al-ḳāṭir al-makkī* is given in the *Tādj*), the Soḳoṭrān *edah* (*aida*ᶜ, Wellstedt, *loc. cit.* [who gives *dam khoheil* as the Arabic name], Bent, p 379, cf. al-Hamdānī, p. 53), i e *idhah* in Muller and al-Hamdānī, vi, p. 34 *sq.*; on further names in Nuwairī, see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The description "tear of an Indian tree" from Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawarī (*ibid*) recalls the δάκρυ of the *Periplus* (see above) and the δάκρυον of the frankincense on Panchaia in Diodorus, v 21 (cf Dioscurides, i 23). On the gathering of the resin, see Bent, p. 381 *sq* The export of dragon's blood from Soḳoṭrā (on which see also the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tādj*) has decreased very much in modern times, as it is found also in India and Ḥaḍramawt (see the summary of the earlier notices in Grohmann, *op cit.*, p. 121)

The population of Soḳoṭrā is estimated at 13,000 Muḥammadans The people along the coast on the north devote some attention to agriculture, the *Periplus*, 30, records that there is no corn and no wine-grapes on the island, Wellsted, *op cit*, p. 146 and Schweinfurth, *op. cit*,| p. 620 mention only wild grapes on Soḳoṭrā. With Hamdānī's story (p. 53) that ᶜ*anbar* is washed upon the coast of Soḳoṭrā, may be compared the account of the gathering of ᶜ*anbar* in al-Masᶜūdī and in Marco Polo (see Bent p 344) (on ambei on Soḳoṭrā cf. Wellsted, *op. cit*, p 160; D H. Muller, *op cit.*, vi., 109 *sq*) Of the three towns mentioned in the *Tādj*, Minēsa (described as the residence of the king of al-Zindj) can be found on the maps (Minesha in Bent). Bent describes the customs of the natives (p. 347 *sqq*) That trade relations existed in early times is evident from the scanty reference in classical authors (*Periplus* and Agathai-chides; see above) and the references in the *Ḳāmūs* and *Tādj*. Bent (p. 346, 357) mentions that Soḳoṭrān butter, now almost the only article of export, is esteemed in the markets of the Arabian coast (Masḳaṭ) and East Africa (Zanzibar) We have already mentioned that the export of spices has declined. One obstacle to traffic is the fact that the island, which is exposed to the monsoons, has no bay which would form a safe anchorage all the year round. For this reason and in consequence of its general situation, Soḳoṭrā is shut off from the main traffic-routes of the world and is only used for provisioning by Indian traders and whale-fishers. Tamarida has still the best roadstead; east of it is Bender Delēsha. The east of the island is better watered and has a more vigorous vegetation. It is to this part that the statement refers in the *Periplus*, that the island is rich in water and has (perennial) rivers. In the *Tādj* also the existence of streams is mentioned. Ruins in the east, e. g at Rās Momi show that there was once a higher culture here.

The Soḳoṭrī language occupies a singular position, a result of the ethnological mixture in the population and is not easy to fit into a linguistic genealogical table. The statement of Philostorgius (Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 25) that the people of Soḳoṭrā speak Syriac is due to an intelligible misunderstanding, and has nothing to do with the fact that Soḳoṭrī has phonetical analogies with Aramaic. It is connected on the one hand with the two other Mahra languages Mehrī and Shḥaurī and on the other with the Yemen Arabic but is also markedly different from both. Ibn al-Mudjāwir says that the Mahra used to live in Soḳoṭrā and had a language of their own, which no foreigner would understand (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 91) The contacts with Ethiopic are noteworthy (cf. Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 153; Glaser, *Weihrauchland*, p. 18) Glaser's suggestions, already mentioned (p. 477[b]) according to which the language is "Habashī" (*op. cit.*, p. 12), a hypothesis first put forward by him, which means to him sometimes a single language and sometimes a group of languages, are untenable. He even mentions the possibility (p 24) that the Minaeans, Sabaeans and Ḳatabānians may be descendants of the Phoenicians and explains the Habashī language alleged to survive in Soḳoṭrā as a direct descendant of Phoenician The language of the Habashat is quite unknown to us D. H. Muller's explanation that Mehrī and Sokotrī are descendants of the old Minaeo Sabaean language, attacked by Glaser (p 18) or that Soḳoṭrī has evolved from Mehrī (*op cit*, vi, p 372) certainly requires modification. There is a wealth of linguistic material in M. Bittner's monographs *Charakteristik der Sprache der Insel Soqotra*, in *Anz Wien*, 1918, N⁰ viii; *Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Worterbuche der Soqotri-Sprache*, i, *S B A K*, *Wien*, clxxiii. 4, 193, ii, *ibid*, clxxxvi 4, 1918, (also studies on Mehrī and Shḥaurī, *ibid*, clxii, 1909 *sqq* [in greater detail in his *Charakteristik*, p. 48, note 2]) He characterises Soḳoṭrī as a sister of the two other Mahra languages (cf D H Muller, *op cit.*, vi, p x) Sokotrī, as spoken by the Beduins, who have lived among the hills from early times, may be the form in which the dialect of the original inhabitants has survived, which, probably coming from South Arabia, was related to the contemporary forms of Mehrī and Shḥaurī and formed a linguistic group with these alongside of which may be placed the Minaeo-Sabaean as a sister language in South Arabia The combination of original elements, of the strictly Soḳoṭrān with the Mahrī and Arabic to form a single language, may also however be interpreted as an isolated trace of the migration of an old language of South Arabia to Abyssinia.

Small fragments of inscriptions had already been noticed by Wellsted, Riebeck and Schweinfurth (in his diary) had copied some (those of Erosh) (see Glaser, *Skizze*, p 184) A rock inscription at Ḳalansīya was said by Bent (p 351) to be late Himyār or Ethiopic; the reproduction of his copy (Pl iv of the "Appendices") clearly shows Sabaean forms of letters The script of the graffiti at Erosh, which Riebeck had thought Greek is, according to Bent (p 354), Ethiopic. The camel-brands which he copied (also reproduced in the Appendix) are obviously Sabaean

Geographically Soḳoṭrā belongs to North East Africa, but politically it has always gone with Arabia. In this respect the island has changed little in the course of centuries (Bent, p 345, 392). The linguistic conditions suggest close connections

Mahra In the time of the *Periplus* (see , p. 9) it was dependent on the king of amawt, the lord of the land of frankincense ibove, p 496b) Sabbatha, his capital (= Shab- was wrongly explained by C Landberg, *Ara-* Leiden 1898, v, p 239, as Sabṭa in the Djerdān; M Hartmann's assertion (*Die ara- Frage*, in *Der islamische Orient*, ii, Berlin , p 434) "The statement in § 31 of the *lus* that Soḳoṭrā, like Azania, is subject to bael is significant", is incorrect as the un- guous language of the *Periplus* shows in respect the dependence of Azania on Charibael mpared with the dependence of Soḳoṭrā on os C Muller was also wrong in his note oḳoṭrā (map xi and xiii. of his Atlas to the *raphi Graeci Minores*) "Charibaeli subjecta" he relation of Eleazos to the Sabaeo-Himyār lom, it may be deduced from the *Periplus* Eleazos reigned independently in Ḥadramawt, ingdom adjoining Saba' In modern times it again been erroneously deduced from the nents of Pliny, vi. 154; xii. 52, supported n erroneous textual emendation, Sara for in Pliny (cf SABA', p. 6) that Ḥaḍramawt, ı according to the inscriptions of Saba' was endent, soon lost its independence; for in the Atramitae (i e Hadramōtitae) are de- d as a province of the Sabaeans The truth st the reverse From the time of Juba, Ha- wt was liberated from Sabaean suzerainty n the *Periplus* Ḥaḍramawt is under its own who acted independently, on equality with ing of the Himyārs (cf the article SABA' in , col. 1475) Eleazos had, according to *Pe- s* 31, farmed out the revenues of the island placed a garrison on it, perhaps against the ārs (Glaser, *Skizze*, p 186)

ab merchants are still, as in the days of the *lus*, busy on Soḳotrā and also in Zanzibar t like the *Periplus*, talks of Arab predominance ie island, and we can say the island was the influence of Arabian culture down to the century The island was little known down dern times on account of its position and lack rbours In the middle ages, it was notorious nest of pirates (cf also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa quoted ent, p 344) The first contact with Europe the Portuguese occupation in 1507 but this not permanent The Imām of Masḳat for a period extended his suzerainty over the island ıter the Sultān of Ḳishm In the xviiith century tian missionaries were working there At the ning of the xixth century the Wahhābī mo- nt swept over the peaceful island also As is 1834, E Roberts (*Embassy to the Eastern ts* etc, New York, 1837, p 361) agreeing Wellsted, *Travels*, i, p 51, testifies to the cal and economic dependence of Soḳoṭrā on mām of ʿOmān In 1835 English influence felt for a short period when the East India pany erected a coaling-station here. This was loned when the English occupied ʿAden in In 1876 for political reasons, English interest e island was revived and the British govern- made a treaty with the suzerain of the island, Sulṭān of Kishm, securing it as a sphere of nce. The Sultān living on the island was a ve of the Sulṭān of Ḳishm. In 1886, Soḳotrā ie an English protectorate as a dependency of ı and belongs to the Indian province of Bombay.

Bibliography. The names of the principal books and pamphlets (Wellsted, Bent, Schweinfurth, D H Müller, Glaser, Bittner, Kossmat, Forbes) are, along with the scattered references in the Arabic geographers and lexicons, given with detailed references in the text of the article There is also for the earliest information: Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1903, p 406 *sqq.*; for the Portuguese period *Commentarios do grande Affonso d'Albuquerque* [1557], (*Commentaries ... translated* by) W de G Birch, London 1875—1884, passim, for the period at the beginning of the xviiith century, the account of the French expedition to Yemen in 1708 in *Viaggo nell' Arabia Felice*, Venice 1721 (J de la Rocque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, Paris 1716, p. 222 *sqq*) A good bibliography down to his day is given by J Jackson, *Socotra, Notes bibliographiques*, Paris 1892 We may also mention the section Νῆσοι εὐδαίμονες of the article SABA' in Pauly-Wissowa, *R E.*, s v., col 1402 *sqq.*, and in addition to the purely geological literature: F. Kossmat, *Vorlaufiger Bericht der geologischen Untersuchungen in Sokotra*, *S B. Ak Wien, mathem.-naturw Kl.*, clxxxxix. 9, 1894, p. 73 *sqq* ; H. O Forbes, *The English Expedition to Socótra*, in *The Geogr Journal*, London 1899, xiii 6, p 633 *sq* ; I. W. Gregory, *A Note on the Geology of Socotra*, in *Geolog Magazine*, London 1899, vol vi, p 529 *sq* — Of the already mentioned collected volume lxxi of the *Denkschriften Ak Wien* (presented 1901—1906) the following articles deal with Soḳoṭrā, F. Kossmat, *Geologie der Insel Sokotra*, p 1 *sqq* (with map, the topography of which is based on the Admiralty chart founded on Haines' and Wellsted's observations and Balfour's map, but the orography of which is based on the author's own observations), A. Pelikan, *Petrographische Untersuchungen*, p 63 *sqq* ; I. Steiner, *Bearbeitung der auf Sokotra ... gefundenen Flechten*, p 93 *sqq* ; F Kohl, *Hymenopteren auf Sokotra*, p 123 *sqq* ; F Vierhapper, *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Flora Sudarabiens und der Inseln Sokotra, Semha und ʿAbd el-Kūri*, p 321 *sqq* In this connection may be mentioned Wettstein in *Vegetationsbilder*, ser. 3, part v, Jena 1906 The article SOKOTRA in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed 11, 1911, with special reference to physical, geological, climatological, zoological and botanical conditions is based for the most part on Forbes — *The Pilot of the Gulf of Aden* contains accurate geographical details (on it and on A Jahn's, *Itinerar*, see Kossmat, *op. cit*, p 9) Finally see also the article MAHRA.

(J TKATSCH)

ṢOLAḲ was the name, in the old military organisation of the Ottoman Empire, of the archers of the Sultān's bodyguard The word *ṣolaḳ* is an old Turkish word meaning "left-handed". The relation of this meaning to that of archer is not quite clear The ṣolaḳs belonged to the Janissaries, of which they formed four *orta*'s (60th-63rd), each of 100 men under the command of a Ṣolaḳ Bashī, and two lieutenants (*rekıab ṣolaghī*) They were, however, used exclusively as bodyguards, a duty they shared with the *ṣeik*'s [q. v.] They had the same uniform as the Janissaries, except that they wore a cap (*uskıuf*) with a long plume on the top. The solaḳs always went on foot and surrounded the sovereign whom they also accompanied to war.

Bibliography d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1820, iii, p. 90, 291; von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 50, 210; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p 345; Aḥmad Djawād, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAskar-i ʿOthmānī*, Constantinople 1897, A H Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Mass), 1913, p. 129 (J H. Kramers)

ṢOLAḲZĀDE, an Ottoman historian His real name was Mehmed and his *makhlaṣ* Hemdemī He seems to have been the son of a *ṣolak* and was born in Stambul Not much is known of his life He probably adopted an official career He is said to have died in 1068 (1657/1658) On account of his musical abilities he was called *mişḳālī* (also *miṯḳālī*) from *mişkāl*, *miṯḳāl* (a kind of shepherd's pipe); cf Ewliyā, *Siyāḥetnāma*, i 446, 509, 636 (passages, of which the second at least must refer to the historian)

Mehmed Ṣolaḳzāde was the author of a condensed history of the Ottoman empire, which he wrote during the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed IV. The existing manuscripts as a rule come down to 1054 The work was originally called *Fihrist-i Shāhān* It had a wide circulation on account of its succint and very lucid style and is still a popular book It cannot however claim to be valuable as an independent historical source, except for the reign of Murād IV Continuations were made by Sirrī Efendi (d 1142 = 1729) and by Munīf Pasha. The book was printed at Stambul in 1297 (1880), 6 + 12 + 773 p, 8° An earlier lithographed edition (1271 = 1854) was never completed On the manuscripts of the work see F Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* (Leipzig 1927), p 203 *sq*

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SOLIMAN. [See sulaimān]

ṢŌMĀI, a Kurdish district in Persia near the Turkish frontier In Kurdish, *sōmāi* means "view" (cf in Persian *sūma*, "terminus, finis, scopus", Vullers, ii. 352) To the north Sōmāi is separated from the basin of the Zola-čai (Shepirān, Salmās, q v) by the mountains of Bere-dī, Undjalīḳ and Aghwān; on the east the canton of Anzal separates it from Lake Urmia; to the south-east lies the Shaikh-Bāzīd range, to the south the canton of Brādōst, to the S W the peak of Kotūl, towards the west the ravine of Bānegā runs into the interior of Turkish territory (the Turkish cantons of Bāžirgā and Gewer). Sōmāi is sometimes used to include the cantons of Shepirān and Anzal-i Bālā

Ṣōmāi is watered by the northern tributaries of the Nāzlu-čai, several of which drain the main valley and one (Ḥasanī, Berdūk) comes from the ravine of Bānegā They unite east of Beidūk, flow towards Brādōst, where they are joined by the tributary from the valley of Bāžirgā and then, joining the Nāzlu-čai, enter the lake north-east of the plain of Urmia [q. v].

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Ṣōmāi and Brādōst were at first governed by scions of the Kurd Ḥasanōya dynasty (Hasanwaihids) who had taken refuge in the north after the defeat which the Būyid Shams al-Dawla had inflicted in 405 (1014) on Hilāl b. Badr [q v.] At the beginning of the xvith century, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions a member of the family, Ghāzī-ḳīrān b Sulṭān Aḥmad, who for his exploits was granted by Shāh Ismāʿīl the cantons of Sōmāi, Teigever and Dōl but later went over to Sultān Selīm. His descendants, who were under the wālī of Wān, broke up into various branches. The last mīr of Ṣōmāi mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāme* is Awlıyā Beg (from 985 = 1577)

When in 1065 (1654) Ewliyā Čelebi [q v] visited the country between Wān and Urmia, the strong castle of Ghāzı-ḳīrān still stood on a cliff commanding the plain of Urmia, while the western part of Ṣōmāi was occupied by the Pinyānish tribe (which now lives in Turkish territory in the kādās of Gewer and Albak) The lord of Berdūk was called Čolaḳ ("the one-armed") Mīr ʿAzīz, the strong castle stood some distance below (*ashagha*) Kalʿa-i Pinyānish, which may be identified with Bānegā (3—4 miles above Berdūk)

It is not very clear whether the mirs of Sōmāi who, shortly after the visit of Ewliyā Čelebi, erected several curious monuments were of the same tribe of Pinyānish At Berdūk is a mosque of white and black stone and a cemetery with the tomb of Naẓar Beg, son of Ghāzī Beg (d 1071 = 1660) His son Sultān Takī Sultān, whose title shows that he had consolidated the power — for *sultānlīk* means a fief for which one has received investiture — built the very imposing and picturesque castle near Bānegā. A reconstruction of the old Kalʿa-i Pinyānish probably also dates from his time (1078 = 1667) On a rock at the entrance to the tower can still be seen the remains of a rudely carved inscription *sāhib mālik — Sulṭān Murād bin Sulṭān* — (?) Below the foot is an *ʿibādat-khāna* built by a certain Zāl-i ʿAdil (1103 = 1691 ?) and a mosque The style of these buildings recalls that of the castle of Mahmūdi (Khoshāb) east of Wān (cf Binder, p 126—128) — In 1136 (1736) the hereditary chief of the sandjak of Sōmāi, Khātim Khan, as a reward for his services, received from the Ottoman government the adjacent cantons of Salmās [q v], Kerdkāzān (?), Karabagh and Anzal (cf. v Hammer, *G O R* ^{2}, iv 211)

In the xixth century the Shakāk [q v], encouraged by the Persians gradually occupied Sōmāi According to Darwīsh Pasha, Bānegā was destroyed by ʿAlī Āghā Shakāk (about 1257 = 1841)

In 1851 Cirikow was still able to speak of a "hereditary ruler of Sōmāi", Parıow Khān, who had also seized Brādōst In 1893 the Shakāk killed at Gunbad the last representative of the family of mīrs, a certain Kīlīdj-Khān

Among the antiquities of Sōmāi may be mentioned· 1 the citadel of Zandjīr-ḳalʿa (between Sōmāi and Salmās, q. v) which must correspond to the "Shaddādī" building of Ḳaimī-yarīḳ, mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi (iv. 281) the name of which (*alias* Farhād-ḳapu) is found in Blau, *Peterm Mitt*, 1863, p. 201—210; 2 a chamber carved out of the rock on Mount Kotūl; 3 similar chambers where the Nāzlu-čai enters the plain of Urmia All these monuments must date from the Vannic period (cf Minorsky, *Kelashin*, in the *Zapiski*, 1917, xxiv., p. 190).

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SOMALILAND, a large country in East Africa inhabited by the Somalis

a) Geographical outline. Somaliland comprises the borders of the Ethiopian plateau declining eastward to the Gulf of ʿAden and southward to the Indian Ocean

In the basin of the Gulf of ʿAden in front of the eastern edge of the plateau at a short distance from the shore there is a range of rocky and barren hills (the highest elevation of the range seems to be about 6,000 feet); among them the characteristic Būr Naso Hablōd "girl's breasts hills" and the Hadaftimo This range running in a line almost parallel to the coast of the Gulf of ʿAden drops into the Indian Ocean at the promontories of Guardafui (Raʾs ʿAsīr) and Hāfūn Beyond this range of hills it rises gradually to the Ethiopian plateau, which further is in its southern portion furrowed by the upper valleys of the Shabēlla and Djub rivers The country, owing to its features, is divided by the natives into three regions: the *gūban* (literally burnt land) that is the region of the sand-banks and dunes on the coast with a torrid climate, only fit for pasturage for a few months during and after the rains; the *ōgo* (literally upper land) that is the region of the aforesaid hills with a more temperate climate, but still of little value for agricultural purposes; the region of the *tog* ("torrents") that is the valley between the hills and the plateau, into which flow the streams springing from both sides of the depression and form thus northward the Tog Dēr "the deep torrent" and southwards the Tog Nūgāl This is the best zone of Northern Somaliland particularly fit for cattle and horse-rearing Even more to the interior, westwards of the *tog* zone, the Somali portion of the Ethiopian plateau is inhabited by the Ogadēn, a tribe whose name probably means etymologically "those of the plateau". On the side of the Indian Ocean, however, the country is very different from the northern regions; the plateau in its southern portion does not fall rapidly towards the sea but slopes gradually and its furthest spurs are 200—300 miles from the coast; then its waters do not form short torrents but great rivers which flow, not only in some seasons, but throughout the whole year although with a variable level

The Somali natives distinguish here four regions, which are found in the following order by the traveller going from the coast of the Ocean to the interior: firstly the movable sandbanks (Somali: *baʿad*) on the shore; then the hills or short plains of white and hardly consolidated sand (Somali: *ʿarra ʿad* "white land"); next the flinty red sand covered with jungle, in the most part of acacia-trees (Somali: *ʿarra gudud* "red land"); then along the rivers the strip of alluvial ground (Somali: *ʿarra madō* "black land"), comparatively rich in fertile humus, a country particularly suitable for agriculture.

In the region between the Djub and the great lower bend of the Shabēlla there is, after the aforesaid "black land", another vast zone of "red land", called by the natives *dōy*, which is the most rich in pasturages in Southern Somaliland Across the *dōy* from North East to South West runs a range of granitic hills which from the borders of the Shabēlla's basin reaches at Būr Mēldāḳ to the borders of Djub's valley Beyond the *dōy*, even more in the inland, are found the "black land" regions of Būr Hakkaba and the Baidowa plateau (1,100 feet) Thence the ground rises gradually as far as the zone of Bokkol wells near the boundaries of Ogadēn

River system The high flood of both Somali great rivers and the average volume of their waters depend closely on the rains falling on Ethiopian plateau and are only very slightly influenced by local rains of Somaliland High floods take place twice in the year according to the light and heavy rainy seasons in southern Abyssinia This is a favourable circumstance to agriculture, because Abyssinian heavy rains fall during the months June 15—September 15, which are on the contrary the most severe dry seasons in Somaliland; and in this way the high flood and sometimes the overflowing of the rivers can be considered, at least by some tribes, as a compensation for the damages of the Somali summer

The river known as Juba in European maps and as Djub by the Arabs is called by the Somali Wēbi Ganāna, which is really a double name, as *ganān* or *ganāl* means precisely river in Galla Boiana dialects and in some Sidama languages (the name is grammatically a plural according to the common rule of Kushitic languages that all the names of liquid substances may used only as plural)

The other Somali river, called Shebeli in European maps, is known by the neighbouring natives as Wēbi-ga "the river" The name Shebeli was given to this river probably because the Ogadēn natives designated it to the first travellers coming from the coast of the Gulf of ʿAden as Wēbi Shabēlla "the river of the Shabēlla region" that is the river passing through Shabēlla, the most wealthy and best known country crossed by this river in its upper valley Then the usual translation of the name "the river of the leopards" must be corrected to "the river of the leopards' country" (Shabēlla means literally "where there are leopards")

The most common kind of vegetation is the jungle of thorny acacias, less dense in white lands than in red lands, high trees, especially sycamores, are found on the rivers and form sometimes little forests in a stretch of about one mile on both sides of the rivers Sorghum dura (Somali: *misingo*) and Indian corn (*gallay*) are cultivated in black lands; dura, millet (*wāmba*) in red and white lands; sesame and in a few districts sweet (American) potatoes (Somali. *batāto*) and manioc (Somali: *mahōg*); cotton and sugar-cane in European settlements (the most important of those are the S A.I.S settlements founded by H R H the Duke of the Abruzzi, Luigi of Savoy and the Djināla settlements established by Count De Vecchi). The general physical formation of Somaliland described above has been in past times very useful to defend the natives against foreign invaders, because one must pass, before reaching the only zone economically

valuable, that is the black lands, through the sandy desert of the coast and then the jungle of the red lands, where the characteristic Bedouin skirmishing by ambush and ruse is strongly helped by the same natural feature of the ground

b) Political divisions Somaliland is now divided into:

I French Somaliland, officially known as Côte Française des Somalis (5,790 square miles, 65,000 inhabitants), is administered by a civil governor Its boundaries are determined with Italian Eritrea under the Franco-Italian protocols of January 24, 1900 and July 10, 1901, with British Somaliland by the Anglo-French agreement of February 2 and 9, 1888, with Abyssinia by the Franco-Abyssinian convention of March 20, 1897 In spite of its name only the southern portion of the Colony is inhabited by Somali, the northern regions being inhabited by Danākil The capital is Djabūti (8,500 inhabitants), a port of considerable traffic, especially on account of the French railway Djabūti-Addis-Ababā

II British Somaliland Protectorate (68,000 square miles, 300,000 inhabitants) administered by a civil Governor Its boundaries are determined with French Somaliland by the aforesaid agreement; with Abyssinia by the British-Abyssinian protocols of May 14 and June 4, 1897, with Italian Somaliland by the Anglo-Italian arrangement of May 5, 1894 The capital is Berbera (30,000 inhabitants)

III Italian Somaliland (140,000 square miles, 650,000 inhabitants) The Colony, administered by a civil Governor, is divided into Northern Italian Somaliland, viz the protectorates of the two Somali sultanates of the Madjērtēn and Hobya, and southern Somaliland, formerly known as Banādir The boundaries with British Somaliland are determined by the aforesaid agreement, with Abyssinian by the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of May 16, 1908; with Italian Oltre-Giuba by the river Djub The capital is Makdishū (21,000 inhabitants)

IV. Italian Oltre-Giuba, "Beyond the Djub" (25,000 square miles, 90,000 inhabitants) This is the territory granted by Great Britain to Italy under the treaty of July 15, 1924 The capital is Kismāyū (12,000 inhabitants) But this territory has now been annexed wholly to the Colony of Italian Somaliland and has been administered by the same governor since June 30, 1926

V Abyssinian Somaliland, that is Ogadēn It is divided in two fiefs the former comprises the upper valley of the Shabēlla and depends on the feudatory of Harar (who is actually Rās Tafari, the Heir Apparent of the Abyssinian throne); the latter comprises the basin of the Djub and depends on the feudatory of Konsō territory, who actually is Fitāwrāri Habta Giyorgis

VI Kenya Colony The districts of Tanaland and Northern Frontier and that portion of the late Jubaland that has not been granted to Italy have a Somali nomadic population of shepherds

c) Ethnography The Somali may be divided in three groups: Northern Somali, who are called by the others Ēdji; Hawiya; Sab.

The northern Somali, the greatest group, are divided in. Isāk, Dir, Dārōd. The Dir, who according to some tradition should be the first Northern Somali group immigrated in the region actually called Somaliland, are now dispersed in the whole Somali territory, probably as they were driven out by subsequent invaders. The Dir have sent forth to the following tribes the ʿIsā in French Somaliland, the Bīmāl in Italian Somaliland, the Faḳī Muhammad in the middle valley of the Shabēlla near the boundaries between Italian Somaliland and Ogadēn Besides those tribes, little groups of Dir families living with more numerous tribes of other origin are found in Ogadēn, in Italian Northern Somaliland, in Oltre-Giuba.

The Isāḳ inhabit the western portion of British Somaliland and the market-places on that coast Zeila (Arabic. Zaila', Somali Awdal, Galla Afdali), Berbera and Bulahār. Their principal tribes are the Habar Auwal, Habar Yūnis, Habar Djaʿlo, Habar Gaṛhadjis Isāḳ groups live also in Oltre-Giuba, especially retired clerks of the British colonial Administration with their families, another larger Isāk group is in ʿAden, where they are for the most part workmen or boatmen in the port.

The Dārōd, traditionally enemies of the Isāḳ, are the most numerous Somali group They inhabit the eastern portion of British Somaliland; northern Italian Somaliland, "Oltre-Giuba", the Somali districts in Kenya Colony, and almost the whole Somali zone of the Ethiopic plateau. The principal Dārōd groups are 1) the Kablallah, who are divided into Komba and Kūmada. The Komba comprise the Geri Komba tribe, living in the neighbourhood of Harar, and the ancient federation of the Harti tribes that is. the Madjērtēn, who inhabit the whole Northern Italian Somaliland, the Warsangali, and the Dūlbahanta, who occupy the eastern portion of British Somaliland, and the Dishisha, who live with the Madjērtēn. The Kūmada comprise, besides the little groups Galimēs, Waitēn, Balʿad and Djidwāk, the great tribe of Ogadēn, and then occupy the most part of Abyssinian Somaliland and the central regions of Oltre-Giuba. 2) Another Dārōd group is the Sadda, whose principal tribe is the Mairēhān inhabiting a portion of Northern Italian Somaliland and the northern regions of Oltre-Giuba Dārōd families (Madjērtēn) have occupied the little islands of Bakā and Abbā Gubbā in Italian Dankalia (Eritrea)

The Hawīya inhabit the whole valley of the Shabēlla, in Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland. According to the local tradition, the Hawīya were preceded in their present territory by the Adjurān, a tribe of kindred origin, who probably were the first group to migrate towards the river. The Adjurān are now dispersed and divided into four principal groups the first living with their freedmen at the boundaries between Italian and Abyssinian Somaliland; the second in the low valley of the Shabēlla, South of Afgōy, the third near the Djub in the territory of Bārdēra, the fourth in Kenya Colony, Northern Frontier district. The region inhabited by the first group is called Shabēlla (see above), as the Adjurān are there proportionately few in number the most part of the tribe being former slaves or freedmen, the Ogadēn often call this group the Addōn, viz. the slaves, who have been incorrectly considered by some ethnologists as a Bantu tribe or a Bantu-speaking people. The other principal Hawīya groups are. the Guggundabe, who comprise the tribes Djidla, Djadjēle, Bādi, ʿAdda, Gāldjaʿel, who inhabit South of Shabēlla region as far as Mahaddāy in Italian Southern Somaliland; the Gurgate, who comprise the tribes Habar Gidir, Abgāl (a very numerous group of tribes, as the Waʿēsla, the Dāʾūd, the ʿEli, the Mantān, the

Yūsuf, the Agon-yar, the Warsangalī Abgāl), the Mōbīlēn, the Waʿdān, the Hillibi, they occupy the zone from the southern boundaries of Guggundabe as far as the Ocean and the Sab territory.

The Sab who inhabit the territory between Hawiyya territory and the Djub are divided into Rahanwēn and another group which took the name of Digil, who was probably the common ancestor of both. The Digil comprise the following principal tribes: Djiddu, Tunni, ʿIrrola, Dabaria The Rahanwēn comprise two groups of tribes the Siyyēd ("the eight") and the Sagāl ("the nine"); the principal tribes are the Elāy, the Lisān, the Haryēn, the Hadāmo, the Lubāy, the Galadi, the Gēlidla. While the other Somali tribes are formed on the principle of a common origin from the same ancestor, whose name is generally the name of the tribe, the Rahanwēn tribes are formed, besides a very small group of descendants of Rahanwēn, by families or sections of different origin federated under a common name. Besides those great groups and some tribes of uncertain origin, viz Gaira, living separatedly in Southern Somaliland, in Kenya Colony (Northern Frontier district) and in Abyssinian Somaliland (it is to be noted that the two last groups at quite a recent date spoke both Somali and Galla), we must mention the freedmen, the outcast groups and the population of the towns on the coast. The slaves, for the most part of Bantu origin but now entirely somalized, delivered or escaped from their masters, have formed in some regions tribes like the Shidla in the middle valley of Shabēlla; the Elāy freedmen on the plateau of Baidowa, independent from their late masters living in the black lands of Būr Hakkaba; and the so-called Wagōsha in the low valley of the Djub. The outcast groups, that is the groups considered as impure on account of their trades, live with the high caste tribes to whom they are subjected. In Northern Somaliland the low castes have the general name of Sab, which, as we have seen above, is on the contrary in Southern Somaliland the name of a group of tribes. They comprise the Yibir, magicians; the Midgan, hunters; the Tumal, smiths. Among the Hawīya the low castes have the general name of Bon, which is really the name of a Bantu population in Kenya Colony, and comprise. the Eila, hunters, the Madarīāla and the Gaggāb, tannars; the Ḍardow, weavers; the Yaḥar, magicians, the Tumāl and Ḳalmashuba, smiths. By the Sab the low castes are the Ribi, hunters, the Warabay, smiths

The towns on the coast are inhabited by groups of the Somali tribes of the inland and by families now somalized but of the most varied origin, for the most part Arab immigrants to Somaliland or Bantu; some families would claim Persian origin and there are traditions on the origin from Madagascar of other few families

d) Language. Somali is a language belonging, to the Kushitic family, to the group called by Reinisch "low Kushitic" and thus akin to Saho-ʿAfar, Beḍawīye and Galla languages. Somali, which during its history has been less influenced than Galla by non-Kushitic languages, has not received in its phonetic system the typical consonantic sounds followed by glottal occlusion, the true consonantic diphthongs which are common to Galla, to some Sidāma dialects and have been admitted — although in a different measure — in the modern Semitic languages of Abyssinia *ḳ* is therefore in Somali a velar explosive pronounced as in Arabic; *ḍ* is praecacuminalis and is dialectically liable to be changed into *r ṛ*. It is also to be remarked that there is in Somali a very wide tendency to palatalisation from the influence not only of the vowels *e i* but also of the liquid *l* as in the case of the feminine article *-ta* and the suffix of the reflexive form *-t*, which are palatalised in *-sha -sh*, when preceded by *l* final of the nouns or verbs (*lsha*, *lsh* being successively changed in *sha*, *sh* by assimilation). While other Somali dialects have kept the laryngals *ḥ* ʿ, the Sab dialect has changed *ḥ* in *h* and ʿ in ʾ. As to morphology there are found in Somali both kinds of conjugations used in Kushitic, viz. by praefixes and suffixes or by suffixes only, while on the contrary Galla has kept only the second kind. But on the other side it appears by comparing Somali and Afar-Saho that in the latter language the conjugation by prefixes and suffixes is more frequent than the other (perhaps on account of the strong influence of the neighbouring Semitic languages), while Somali has kept typically the aforesaid conjugation by prefixes and suffixes only in five verbs (which, however, express the most common ideas) that is: to be, to be there, to know, to come, to say. It is noteworthy that already in Hawīya and Sab dialects two of those verbs are found used in both kinds of conjugation. Somali syntax (as there is not a declension of the nouns and especially on account of the use of the prepositions which are not placed before or after the noun, but are all put before the verb at the end of the phrase) gives to the language peculiar characters and causes it to be in some degree difficult to foreigners For instance our phrase· "the camel and the horse were bound with this rope" is translated *hareggan rattiga iyyo faraska ā lo gu ka la heray*, that is literally: "this rope the camel and the horse they were with-from-by bound" (the group from-by expressing the idea that the two animals were not bound together, but every one with a bit of the rope in question) The genitive case, which is translated in Saho-ʿAfar by placing the word meaning the possessed thing before the word meaning the possessor and in Galla, on the contrary, by placing the word meaning the possessor before that meaning the possessed thing, is translated in Somali by the same way as in Galla or more frequently by placing before firstly the name of the thing followed by the master's name with the possessive adjective; for instance. "ʿUmar's house" may be translated literally "the house ʿUmar" or "ʿUmar his house"

The Somali dialects are distinguished, according to the ethnic divisions, in the groups Isāk, Dārōd, Hawīya, Sab Isāk dialects have kept the originary *d* praecacuminalis; they form the durative verbs with the suffix *-ay*, they distinguish in the pronouns two first plural persons: "we" inclusive (that is who speaks and who hears) and "we" exclusive (that is. who speaks and another person) Dārōd dialects change *ḍ* praecacuminalis when placed between two vowels in *r* (Ogadēn dialect) or *r* (Madjērtēn dialect); their durative verbs are formed with the suffix *-hay*, they have also kept the aforesaid two "we". Hawīya dialects change *ḍ* intervocalic in *r*; they form their durative verbs with the infinitive mood followed by the verb *hay*, they have not

the double "we". Sab dialects have changed, as we have said above, *ḥ* into *h* and *ʿ* in *ʾ*; they have kept the modus relativus in *-aw*, which has been changed in the jussivus in *-o* in other Somali dialects; the negative imperative is formed by the prefix *-in-* followed by the verb with the suffix *-oy* (in the other dialects it is used in this case the prefix *ha-* followed by the verb with the suffix *-in*)

As to vocabulary, Somali has been very little influenced by Arabic, and even Arabic loan-words, when received, have been wholly assimilated according to Somali phonetical rules; neither had Galla, if we consider the common origin, a great influence on Somali, except perhaps Sab dialects; we may, however, find in the Somali lexicon some evidence that the Somali and the Sidāmā were neighbours before the great Galla invasion

e) History Although the native legends may have islāmicized Somali history by tracing their origin from ʿAḳīl b Abī Tālib, cousin of the Prophet, and whatever may be thought — on the other side — about the question whether Hamitic populations may have come in Africa from Asia, there is however no doubt that the Somali occupied their present territory by various and subsequent invasions of groups following and pushing on one each other, but all starting from the African coast of the Gulf of ʿAden Thence came the Dir, expelled by other Somali invaders, and a portion of them through Ogadēn and the region between Djub and Shabēlla reached the low valley of the latter river giving origin to the Bīmāl tribe From the Gulf of ʿAden came the Sab, who went first to the valley of the Djūb and going down from the plateau along the valley of the Wēb advanced abruptly to East from the neighbourhood of Mārilla and invaded their present countries, fighting against the Wardāy that is a Galla tribe From the aforesaid Northern coast departed Isāḳ and Dārōd to conquer their seats by driving away the Dir and the Galla From northern regions came the Hawīya, who at first stopped North of Maīēg, while their brothers Adjuran subdued the Shabēlla's valley against Galla and Djiddu, but then the same Hawīya advanced to the river and scattered the Adjurān Therefore we may distinguish in the history of the occupation of the Somali territory two periods the wars against the Galla, and then the wars among the Somali groups themselves fighting one other to conquer the best lands But a most interesting written tradition (of which I have been able to get a MS in Arabic) tells of the war that was fought before those told in Somali legends, that is the war between the Galla invaders and the Zandj (viz the Bantu populations) inhabiting the basin of the Djub The series of the occupiers of Somaliland may be, of course, thus traced Negroes (Bantu) then Kushites Galla; then Kushites Somali.

While these tribes successively occupied the interior, the zone along the seashore has been many centuries in close commercial relations with Arabia; this trade, which had already begun with the commercial colonies of the South Arabic kingdom (see ḤIMYAR) became even more intensive in the Muslim period. Results of this Arabic colonisation were the two little states of Zailaʿ and Maḳdishū, formed and ruled generally by local dynasties of somalized Arabs or Somali strongly influenced by Arabic culture. The kingdom of Zailaʿ which was prospering from the XIVth century A. D. could live and thrive on account of the trade of the inland, where it was supported by the many Muslim states of the Southern Abyssinia, till its strength was exhausted during the great war fought against Abyssinia under the command of Grāñ (q. v., cf. also ABYSSINIA, HARAR; ZAILAʿ) Maḳdishū, however, had only a short period of prosperity in the XIVth century A. D.; then almost rapidly began its decline, as its population was not able to overcome the resistance of the Somali Bedouins inhabiting the interior. Through various vicissitudes Maḳdishū continued to be independent under the dynasty of the Muzhaffar till the XVIth century; in the XVIIth century it was occupied by the Imām of ʿOmān, who after few years left the whole coast called Banādir with Maḳdishū to its inhabitants, insisting only that they recognize him as their sovereign. When the state of Masḳat was divided into the Sultanate of ʿOmān and the Sultanate of Zanzibār (that is at the beginnings of the XIXth century), Maḳdishū was allotted to Zanzibār, and then the Sultāns tried to get a more real dominion there by establishing a wālī with garrisons of soldiers in Maḳdishū, Marka, Brāwā, but after a short period of rule (sixty years about) Zanzibār sold those towns to Italy.

Nevertheless in the interior the Somali tribes had during many centuries enjoyed a full independence Somali traditions have not kept any remembrance of the great Galla invasion in Abyssinia, which divided in the XVIth century the Somali from the Sidāmā and separated them from those little centres of culture There is however to be considered the hypothesis that vestiges of a culture superior to the present Somali culture which are found in some inland regions and are referred by the natives to the Adjurān or the Madinle, may have been rather the work of Somali already in close touch with the Arabs of the Southern coast rather than of natives influenced by the culture of the Sidāmā states of the North

The interior of Somaliland remained thus independent till the end of the XIXth century, when France (in 1884), Britain (in 1884), and Italy (in 1889) occupied their present Colonies

f) Islām The Somali are all Muslims and follow the *madhhab* of Shāfiʿī Neither the Imām of Maskat nor the Sultāns of Zanzibār during their short rule on the Somali coast had in any way propagated their Ibādite views among Somali peoples, therefore since the Sultān's *wālī* retired from Somaliland there has not been any vestige of Ibādism Among the Arabs recently migrated to Somaliland as soldiers (*ʿaskarī*) or workmen in European settlements there may be found a few Zaidites, who, however, generally do not publicly profess their faith

The diversity of formation and historical vicissitudes between the populations of the seashore and those of the interior has caused also a different influence of Islām on them The towns on the coast many centuries in touch with the Arabian centres of Muslim culture and organised as communities of tradesmen, bound together by ties of citizenship and not by tribal relations, have been naturally more easily islāmised than the tribes of the interior independent, hostile and distrustful of the populations of the seashore, and firmly united in their large territory with the bond of the common origin; Islāmic propaganda has been

obliged to struggle there against the ancient paganism and the customary law of the tribes. In this state of affairs the principal support of the diffusion of Islām in the inland has been the organisation of religious brotherhoods We must then give some information about those three elements of the Somalī religious culture: the remains of ancient paganism in the inland, the Islāmic culture on the coast, the religious brotherhoods.

As a remainder of paganism may be regarded the ceremony of the *sār*, perhaps an ancient sacred dance. Natives crowd in a circle and the chorus begins to sing on a special rhythm. One or many among the singers fall fainting away to the ground. The others "beat the sār" by singing and striking the hands or clattering with the feet or striking drums and kettle drums. Then the person who has fainted rises little by little from the ground, takes in his hands a dagger, and dances in the circle with the dagger drawn out, till he falls again in a faint; but immediately rises fully recovered The *sār* is danced also with a burning brand instead of the dagger, among the Sab the dancer goes out of the circle, runs in the jungle near and then comes back showing with loud cries his dagger sprinkled with blood, which is said to be the blood of the genius he has killed. See also the article ZĀR.

Another heathen ceremony is the Somali feast of the New Year's day The Somali have a solar year of 365 days; 7 years form a cycle every year has the name of a day of the week; every cycle has the name of the most important event happened during it. thus the Hawiya quote *isnínta orrāh madō* the year Monday of the Black Sun (certainly thus named on account of an eclipse), the Sab mention *sabti farandji* the year Saturday of the European, alluding to the travels of Captain Bottego in their territory. Then the first day of the New Year is celebrated with the *dabshid* a familiar and very popular festival Every family kindles a bonfire near their hut and the paterfamilias crosses the fire by jumping from one side to another, or hurls his spear through it Then follow public dances and processions of singing young men and sacrifices.

We must mention here the popular belief in continuation of the material life after death and the necessity of providing food and clothes for the dead by making sacrifices of cattle near the tomb and distributing meat and calicoes to the poor who are said "to cause the food to reach" the dead Thence arises the custom of fixing in testaments a large share of the inheritance to celebrate those ceremonies ("what one is buried with"); and the affectionate care of the sons and relatives "to sweep the tomb" that is to make those sacrifices from time to time Other traces of heathen ideas are found in the magical powers of the tribe's hereditary chief, whose eye is to him what the sun was to the ancient Heaven-God of the heathen Kushites The "hot eye" of the chief gives or takes away cattle's fecundity, causes dearth, cures or causes sickness. Ancient heathen magicians have been replaced by Muslim scholars, although they have kept their name *wadād* and may be also applied to magical practices. Propitiatory blessing is given as in paganism by spitting. The head, the belly and the paws of slaughtered animals are regarded in Somali Islām as impure meat according to heathen Kushitic beliefs.

The Somali names of the Heaven-God (*Ebba* and *Wāḳ*) are now applied to Allāh; even the heathen genius' name (*gūl*; Galla. *kollō*; Amharic: *ḳollē*) is used in modern dialects to mean "fortune".

An even more strong resistance has been opposed to Islām by Somali customary law, which is based on a social stage very similar to pre-islāmic Arabian life and is therefore often in evident contrast to the Muslim law. We may quote here the characteristic precepts about the levirate and the price to be paid by the widow to the late husband's relatives if she desires to marry again with a man other than the brothers of the dead (it is, however, to be remarked that, by the Somali, the sons of the second husband, brother of the dead, are not considered as sons of the first and continuation of his progeny as is the case with the Semites, but on the contrary the first husband's offspring is regarded as sons of the second), the marriage by rape, the blood-money conceived in the Somali mind as a price of redemption of the killer from a right that the crime causes the killed man's relatives to have on the killer's person ex delicto; the women excluded from hereditary rights, the outcast groups into which one cannot marry or come in any way in contact with, as they are said to be in a perpetual condition of ritual impurity (*niḏjāsa*) (note the skilful islāmisation of the ancient custom), exogamy, which may be still found in Northern tribes and the remarkable traces of marriages concluded between two tribes rather than single persons

On the coast, however, in the centres of Muslim culture, particularly after the recent increase of trade in the second half of the XIX^th^ century, Muslim scholars' works formed a little local literature written in Arabic specially on mystic subjects The principal printed works are· *al-Madjmūᶜa al-Mubāraka* by Shaikh ᶜAbdullāh b Yūsuf, a native of the Shēkhāl group, who has had his work printed in Cairo; and the *Madjmūᶜat al-Kaṣāᵓid* by Shaikh Ḳāsim b. Muhyi 'l-Dīn, a native of Brava (Barāwā) The latter work is only a collection of poems of many Somali authors, *al-Madjmūᶜa al-Mubāraka* however is formed by five treatises by Shaikh ᶜAbdullāh about the *taṣawwuf*, but its real interest is placed in the third and fourth treatise entitled the former *al-Sikkin al-ḏhābiha ᶜala 'l-Kilāb al-nābiha*, "the knife that slaughters the barking dogs", and the latter *Nasr al-Muᵓminīn ᶜala 'l-Marada al-Mulhidīn*, "Victory of the believers on the rebellion of the heretics", which contain violent polemics against the Tarīḳa Ṣālihiya Another distinguished Somali scholar was Shaikh Awēs [Uways] Muhammad al-Barāwī, who besides two poems published in the aforesaid Madjmūᶜat al-Ḳaṣāᵓid composed five poems in Somali language which he was the only one to write in the Arabic alphabet; one of those poems is directed against the Mad Mulla's followers We must also mention Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Rahmān al-Zaila'ī, who wrote many mystic poems in Arabic (the most diffuse is the *Sirādj al-ᶜUḳūl wa 'l-Sarāᵓir fi 'l-Tawassul bi-Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir*, "Lamp of the minds and the secrets in mystic progress through Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir [al-Gilānī]"). Another Somali scholar is Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbdallāh a native of the Shānshia group in Maḳdishū and commonly known as Shaikh Ṣūfī, he is the author of the *Shadjarat al-Yaḳīn*, "the tree of the certitude" or *al-Nubḏha*

al-yaḳīna fī Muʿdjizāt ḫair al-Barīya, "the certain portion of the miracles of the Best among the creatures", published in *al-Madjmūʿa al-Mubāraka* and very popular in Somali schools of mysticism.

A MS found in Brawa contains a translation of the Hamzīya by al-Būsīrī in Suahili verses It is very probable that further researches may cause other more ancient MS. or Arabo-Somali documents to be found.

Four Muslim brotherhoods are found in Somaliland the Ḳādirīya (see ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR AL-DJILĪ or GILĀNĪ); the Ahmadīya, that is the followers of the mystic rule of Ahmad b Idrīs, died in the first half of the XIXth century at Ṣabya in ʿAsīr; the Ṣālihīya, which is a more recent branch of the Aḥmadīya (its founder and leader was Muhammad Ṣālih, who had his seat in Makka and had been a disciple of the Sudanese mystic Ibrāhīm al-Rashīdī, disciple of Ahmad b Idrīs), the Rifāʿīya following the precepts of Sayid Ahmad al-Rifāʿī The Ḳādirīya, which has among its adherents almost all the scholars mentioned above as authors of mystic works, is the most learned and modernized Somali brotherhood; it has only few settlements and has no economic organisation, but it is more devoted to teaching than to agriculture The Ḳādirīya in Somaliland have been for many years separated from the Sālihīya by a schism; firstly the polemics had been directed by the Ḳādirīya against the Mad Mulla, who had begun his campaigns by proclaiming himself to be a true follower of Muhammad Sālih (see the art MUHAMMAD B ʿABDALLĀH HASSĀN), and caused Shaikh Awēs b Muḥammad al-Barāwī to be killed by the Mulla's followers in 1327 (1909) The polemics began again, although in a less rough way, after the publication of Shaikh ʿAbdullāh's book (*al-Madjmūʿa al-Mubāraka*) and of a poem by Shaikh Ḳāsim Muhyi 'l-Dīn al-Barāwī, where the Ṣālihīya were offended by the refrain *lakum dīnukum wa-lī dīnī*' The Sālihīya, on the contrary, have been particularly occupied with obtaining political influence over the tribes and forming, specially on the banks of the rivers, an organisation of agricultural communities. The Mulla's movement, the rebellion of Saiyid Muhammad Yūsuf against Abyssinia in Wēb's valley in 1917 were led by Sālihīya leaders On the other side the "black lands" along the Shabēlla's valley, the best for agriculture but formerly undervalued by Somali Bedouins only applied to cattle rearing, were in many territories the goal of the Sālihīya's aim and they were skilful enough to take advantage of contests between the tribes or other political circumstances and thus they have tried to get granted to them by the tribes the best zones for agriculture. The Ahmadīya are less numerous and have been directed like the Sālihīya to acquire lands, although they generally take more interest in teaching than the Ṣālihīya. While the Ḳādirīya and the Ahmadīya have not a true hierarchical organisation, the Ṣālihīya are in Italian Somaliland led by the chief of the "Zāwiya Misra" (in the middle of Shabēlla's valley), who is the vicar of Muhammad Ṣālih in the whole region

Native justice is administered in Italian Somaliland by a Muslim Kādī, except in the case of certain crimes and cases of political interest. The sentences of the Kādī begin with this formula: *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmān al-raḥīm innanī aḥkumu bi-sharīʿat al-Islām bi-istiḫlāf al-malik al-muʿaẓẓam malik al-Iṭālīya* etc. "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate I judge according to the Law of Islām by appointment of the great King, King of Italy etc ".

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SONGHOY. The name Songhoy (Songoi) of Songhay was probably applied at first to the part of the valley of the Niger between Bourem and Say, to the people inhabiting this area, and to the kingdom which they formed. At a later date, this state having extended its boundaries upwards to Lake Debo and downwards to the northern boundary of the present French colony of Dahomey,

the same name was retained to describe the kingdom thus enlarged and all its inhabitants, as well as the language spoken by the majority of them, the language of Dyenne, of Timbuktu, of Gāo, of Dendi and of the land of the Zerma or Djerma.

The state of Songhoy is said to have been founded in the viith century A. D. by an individual of Berber origin, whose dynasty ruled at first at Gungiya or Kukiya in the island of Bentia, 100 miles below Gāo until about the year 1000, then at Gāo itself or Gāogāo. The princes of the dynasty bore the title *dja* or *za* until 1335, and then that of *sonni*, *sun*, *san* or *shī* It is said that the founder of the dynasty, called Alyaman, was a Christian. The first of his successors to adopt Islām was the *dja* Kosoy or Kosay, who reigned in the xith century, about the time when the capital was transferred to Gāo.

In 1325 Songhoy was annexed to the Mandingo or Mali empire, the ruler of which at that time was the celebrated Gongon Mūsā or Kankan Mūsā The latter, returning in this year from his pilgrimage to Mecca, went to Gāo and there received the homage of his new vassal, the *dja* Asiboy or Asibay, whose two sons he brought back to his court as hostages. One of the latter, ʿAlī-Kolon, later escaped from the Mali capital and returning to Gāo had himself proclaimed king there with the title of *sonni* (1335)

In 1464 (or 1465) there came to the throne another *sonni* ʿAlī, called *ʿAlī-Ber* (ʿAlī the Great), who delivered Songhoy from Mandingo suzerainty and considerably extended its boundaries below and especially above Gāo, capturing Timbuktu in 1468 and Dyenne in 1473 We may regard him as the original founder of the enlarged Songhoy which through him rose from a little vassal kingdom to a powerful empire But he did not leave a good reputation behind him in the country; the chroniclers of Timbuktu accuse him of having been cruel, impious and a libertine, and of having persecuted men of learning and religion, although, nominally at least, a Muslim himself He died in 1492, being accidently drowned in a torrent With his son and successor Bakari or Bari, who only reigned a few months, the line of al-Yaman died out in 1493, after having been on the throne for about nine centuries.

ʿAlī Ber's best general, a Sarakolle of the Silla faction named Muhammadu Tūre, seized the throne in 1493 and founded a new dynasty, that of the *askiya*. It was in his reign, a particularly brilliant one, that Songhoy attained its apogee Superficially a convert to Islām but tolerant to those who were still pagans, the *askiya* Muhammadu made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1496/1497, in the course of his journey he made the acquaintance of people of eminence like al-Suyūṭī, whose advice he sought and in the holy city, on the proposal of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph of Egypt al-Mutawakkil received at the hands of the Grand Sharīf Mulay al-ʿAbbās investiture as *khalīfa* for the lands of Takrūr (i e. of the Sūdān) The Grand Sharīf even sent to Gāo one of his nephews named Aḥmed al-Sakli. The celebrated reformer of Tlemcen, al-Meghīlī, was in constant correspondence with the *askiya* Muhammadu, whom he even went to visit at Gāo in 1502 This prince by a series of successful expeditions extended his conquests to the lower Senegal, in the west to Air, and to the frontiers of Bornu in the east, and to Segu in the south, Songhoy assumed the place previously occupied in the western Sūdān by the Mali empire. At the same time he organised his country in a remarkable way, creating a permanent army, a flotilla of supply-ships on the Niger, a system of taxation and payments in kind to fill the public treasury, and instituting military, political and administrative offices with well defined spheres of activity, provincial governments, magistrates and and a police With all his power and by every means, he protected scholars and learned men, heaping favours and honours upon them and encouraged the opening of schools in Timbuktu, which became a real intellectual centre and a noted home of Muslim culture.

Unfortunately this able sovereign's successors were mediocre and sometimes detestable. Becoming blind, he was dethroned in 1528 or 1529 by his own son Mūsā, later interned by his nephew Bengan-Korey in 1831 on an island in the Niger, and died miserably in 1538. Eight rulers occupied the throne of Gāo from 1528 or 1529 to 1591. They were for the most part cruel, selfish and debauched, occupied in murdering one another or in satisfying their cupidity and passions; they soon allowed the great work accomplished by the founder of their dynasty to fall to pieces Only one, the *askiya* Dāʾūd (1549—1583) one of the sons of Muhammadu, tried to stop the decline begun by his brothers and cousins It only became more rapid after him

On this, the Sulṭān of Morocco, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī, desirous of gaining possession of the salt-mines of Teghazza, then the property of Songhoy, and of gaining the gold of the Sūdān for his treasury, sent against Gāo in 1590 an expedition of 3,000 men, mostly Spanish renegades, under the Pasha Djūder. This expedition lost on the way from hunger, thirst and exhaustion two thirds of its effectives; but with the thousand soldiers that remained, who had the advantage of fire-arms, Djūder defeated without difficulty on March 12, 1591 at Tondibi, a little north of Gāo some 40,000 infantry and foot-soldiers, armed only with javelins, arrows, sword and lances, who formed the army of the last *askiya*, Isḥāḳ. Djūder then entered Gāo without striking a blow, made his headquarters at Timbuktu where he installed an *askiya*, chosen by himself who was a mere puppet in his hands. The region below Gāo, which the Moroccan troops could not subdue, remained independent and formed a little kingdom called Dendi, governed by *askiya*'s of the line of Muhammadu But the state of Songhoy had ceased to exist. If we reckon its definite foundation to date from the *sonni* ʿAlī-Ber, it had lasted 127 years (1465—1591)

(Maurice Delafosse)

SŌSŌ — or SŪSŪ according to the Malinke pronunciation — is the name of a place in the French Sūdān, 125 miles N N. E of Bamako, once the capital of a kingdom inhabited and ruled by Sarakolle The kingdom of Sōsō was originally a dependency of the famous Ghāna empire It became independent, when, towards the end of the xith century, this empire broke up after its capital had been taken by the Almoravids (1076) The dynasty, then ruling at Sōsō, belonged to a Sarakolle Muslim family, that of the Djariso. It was overthrown about 1180 by a soldier, also a Sarakolle but a pagan, a member of the caste

of smiths called Djara Kante. His successor, called Sumanguru (Sumahoro) Kante, considerably increased the hitherto slight prestige of the kingdom of Sōsō, by adding to it several provinces, north and south of its old frontiers, notably Waghadu and Baghana, which contained Kumbi, the capital of the old Ghāna empire and Manding or Mali, lying on either side of the Upper Niger above Bamako It was in 1203, according to Ibn Khaldūn, that the Sōsō army took the capital of Ghāna An erroneous interpretation of the text of Ibn Khaldūn, has sometimes attributed this conquest to the people of Sūsū or Sōsō, who have always lived in Futā-Djallon [q v] or on its western slopes, at least 350 miles S W. of Sōsō and who have nothing in common with this town except a quite fortuitous similarity of name The king of Sōsō, who was a pagan, persecuted the Muslims of Ghāna; the latter to escape his exactions migrated about 1224 to Biru or Wālata, which they made a centre of Muslim life.

It was after taking Kumbi that Sumanguru Kante undertook and achieved the conquest of Manding A tradition records that he put to death, almost as soon as they succeeded to the throne, eleven kings of Manding from 1224 to about 1230 But he met with fierce opposition, from the twelfth, called Mārī-Djata by Ibn Khaldūn and known throughout the western Sūdān under the name of Sun-Djata or Son-Djata, who belonged to the family of the Keyta This prince succeeded in raising numerous followers not only in Manding, but also in the adjoining provinces, which like his own country, were eager to escape the sanguinary tyranny of the king of Sōsō and he marched against the latter The two armies met near the Niger at Kirina not far from Kulikoro, about 1235 According to the story, Sun-Djata disposed of his adversary by shooting him with an arrow pointed with the spur of a white cock, the *tana* (tabu) of Sumanguru The latter, pierced by the arrow, vanished from sight or was turned into a rock, which is still pointed out, commanding the village of Kulikoro In any case, Sun-Djata liberated the Manding from the bondage of Sōsō, conquered the town, and all the country of which it was the capital, and extended his conquests northwards, as far as the ancient capital of Ghāna, which he captured about 1240 and destroyed completely, he thus substituted the hegemony of Manding or Mali for the ephemeral hegemony of the state of Sōsō

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

SPAHI. [See SEPOY]

SPARTEL, a cape forming the extreme N W point of Morocco and of Africa, 7 or 8 miles west of Tangier Al-Idrīsī does not mention it, al-Bakrī knows of it as a hill jutting out into the sea, 30 miles from Arzila and 4 from Tangier, which has springs of fresh water and a mosque used as a *ribāṭ* Opposite it on the coast of Andalusia is the mountain of al-Aghar (= Ṭarf al-Aghar > Trafalgar) The name Ishbartāl (probably connected with the Latin *spartaria* = places overgrown with esparto) given it by al-Bakrī is not known to the natives.

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(G. S COLIN)

ŠRI WIDJAYA. [See ZĀBAG]

ṢU (T.), water; fluid; a decoction, e. g. of aloes.

SUAHILI. [See ZANZIBAR.]

ṢŪBA is an Arabic substantive from the verbal root *ṣūba*, *yaṣūbu* ("it poured forth") meaning primarily a collection, or heap of wheat, dates, earth, etc In the reign of Akbar it was adopted as the official description of the great provinces of India, to which historians had previously applied such words as *shikk*, *khiṭṭa*, etc Akbar's empire consisted at first of twelve and finally of fifteen *ṣūbas*, named either from their capitals, as in the case of Dihlī, Āgra, and Ilāhābād, or from the old names of the tracts which they covered, as in the case of the Pandjāb, Bangāl, Berār, Mālwa, and Gudjarāt After Awrangzīb's conquest of Bīdjāpūr and Gulkunda, when the empire of the Tīmūrids reached its greatest extent, other *ṣūbas* were added By the English the word has often been wrongly applied to the governor of a *ṣūba* The error seems to have arisen from the designation *Ṣāhib-Ṣūba*, meaning "lord of a province", and synonymous with *Sūbadār* [q. v], in which the first word has apparently been mistaken for a purely honorific title

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ṢŪBADĀR, the governor of a province, or *ṣūba* [q v] It was Akbar who first regularly divided the empire into provinces, styled *ṣūba*, but in his reign the title ṣūbadār was not in use, and the governor of a province is styled *sipāh-sālār* (commander-in-chief) in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*. His successors employed the term ṣūbadār or *ṣāḥib-ṣūba* (lord of a province), but the use of these titles was neither uniform nor consistent The governor or viceroy of the Dakan is usually styled sūbadār, but the governors of Awadh and Bangal are more often styled *nawwāb-wazīr* and *nawwāb-nāzim* in the eighteenth century Europeans, as Orme, himself an offender, remarks, often called a ṣūbadār *sūba* The source of this error is undoubtedly the form *ṣāḥib-ṣūba*, the first part of which was mistaken for a purely honorific title The title sūbadār seems also to have been applied by Europeans to inferior officials, such as the governors of towns or districts (*sarkār*)

The title sūbadār has also been applied, since the formation of a native army in India, to the chief Indian officer of a company of sepoys [q v] or a troop of regular, but not irregular, cavalry, under the original constitution of such companies or troops its actual captain This use of the title, and its former application to civil officials, are perhaps due to the habit of mind, common in India, which seeks to please by conferring complimentary titles on inconsiderable persons, but etymologically *ṣūba* may be as correctly applied to a company as to a province

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ṢUBAIṬILA (ṢBEIṬLA or HENSHÎR ṢBEIṬLA, ancient Sufetula), a town in Tunisia at a distance of 81 miles south-west of Kairawān and 57 miles east-south-east of Tebessa, in the centre of a large plain on a plateau to the east of which lies Wād Ṣbeiṭla. The ancient town has been often described, notably by Guérin, Tissot, Diehl and Merlin In the history of Muslim Africa it is only mentioned in the period of the conquest and its importance cannot be ascertained sufficiently. In A. H. 26 (646/647) an army of 20,000 soldiers commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b Saʿd met the Byzantine patrikios Djurdjīr (Gregorios) at the head of 120,000 men before Ṣubaiṭila According to al-Balādhurī, however, the battle took place at ʿAḳūba The year before, Djurdjīr had declared himself independent from the Emperor of Constantinople (Theophanes, ed Bonn, i 525) and, according to some authors, he had chosen Ṣubaiṭila as his capital. The battle was won by the Muslims; Djurdjīr was killed and Ṣubaiṭila sacked or placed under a Muslim governor

The detailed accounts of the Arabic authors, especially those of Ibn ʿIdhārī and Nuwairī, are full of legendary features, Djurdjīr's daughter appears unveiled at the top of a tower and is promised to him who will kill Ibn Saʿd The rôle ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair seems to have been intentionally accentuated It is he who takes the direction of the battle, fortuitously he kills Djurdjīr with his own hand; with great discretion he conceals his gallant deed and is chosen to report the tidings to the caliph It is equally improbable that the patrikios should have chosen Subaitila instead of Carthage as his capital The Muslim chroniclers, who did not possess reliable sources for the history of North-Africa, are inclined to represent the capital of the country to have surrendered at the first blow It may be admitted, however, that the patrikios had occupied, on the first appearance of the Muslim troops, this important point at one of the main ways from the South, in order to come in touch with the native populations whom he sought to win (Diehl) as well as to protect Tunisia, then a fertile and populous country It is certain that at the end of the vɪth century Subaitila was a well fortified point It was defended by a number of fortifications built around a central point, which was formed itself by the enclosure of the three temples of the Capitol

Bibliography Guérin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, i. 376 *sqq* ; Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, ii 613 *sqq* , Saladin, *Archives des missions*, 3rd series, xiii 68 *sqq* ; Diehl, *Afrique Byzantine*, p 278 *sqq* , A Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula, Notes et documents*, v, Paris 1912 On the rôle of Subaitila at the Muslim conquest Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed Dozy, i 4, 6, transl Fagnan, i 4, 7; al-Nuwairī, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i 320, al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, p 110, transl , p 128; de Slane, *Lettre à M Hase*, in *Journ Asiat*, 1844, ii 328 *sqq* ; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i 112—113

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

ṢU BASHÎ, ancient military title in countries of Turkish civilization. Although later popular etymology has always regarded the first element as the word *ṣu*, "water", this interpretation is probably erroneous. In old Eastern Turkish *su* (very possibly taken from Chinese) signified army and *ṣu-bashî* therefore meant commander of the army (cf. Maḥmūd Kashgharī, *Dīwān Lughat al-Turk*, iii 156; Houtsma, *Ein turkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leyden 1884, p. 14, 30). It is not surprising, however, that this title has been connected with the word designating water, because in practice the responsibility for keeping the waters for irrigation in repair was often in the hands of a very influential functionary (cf. al-Maḳdisī, p. 330 who says that the *amīr* having charge of the waters of Merw had 10,000 men in his service). And in Turkestan, as in Asia Minor, there have always been officials in control of the irrigation (see Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, London 1899, p 332; and for Asia Minor Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Soḳollî*, Constantinople 1924, p 108) But these functionaries have always called themselves *mîr-āb* and never *ṣu-bashî* There is also an Arabian explanation of the title, deriving it from the Arabic word *sū'* "evil". Thus Muḥammad Ḥafīd, in his *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manthūra fî iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra*, p 260, declares *ṣu-bashî* to be a translation of the Persian *ser-bāk* (see also von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii 121)

Ṣu Bashî became a very well known military and police title in the Ottoman empire, but it was found in Asia Minor as early as the times of the Seldjūḳs In the xiiith century Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Recueil de t rel. à l'hist des Seldj*, iv 210) speaks of a *ṣu-bashî* of the town of Kharpūt [q v.] who was probably under the sultān of Konya Every town of any importance had a *ṣu-bashî*, when ʿOthmān took possession of his first capital Karadja Ḥisār, one of his first acts was to appoint as *ṣu-bashîlîk* his cousin Alp Gunduz (*Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿothmān*, ed. Giese, p. 7, Urudj Beg, ed Babinger, p. 12).

As the Ottoman supremacy became confirmed, a differentiation of the functions and the position of the *ṣu-bashî* in the provinces and in the capital was introduced In the provinces they obtained a position in the feudal organisation, which also proves the military origin of their functions The *su-bashî* had their own fiefs (*tîmār*) and they exercised police control over the other *sipāhî* and the inhabitants of the district under their charge Administratively they were under the authority of an *ālāy-beg*, who again was subject to the Sandjaḳ Beg [see SANDJAḲ] These *ṣu-bashî* had many privileges, which varied according to the different provinces, they had the right to a certain amount of the imposts and the fines extorted from the people (see *Ḳānūn-nāme-i āl-i ʿothmān*, ed ʿĀrif Bey, Constantinople 1330, appendix to Nos 13 and 14 of *T O. E M*, p 28)

In the capital the *ṣu-bashî* became one of the chief officers of police, who assisted the Čā'ush Bashî, whose function is most like that of minister of Police With the Muhzir (Muḥdir) Agha and the ʿAses Bashî he was responsible for the carrying out of all the judicial sentences and in general for obedience to the police regulations in the capital. Besides this the title of *ṣu-bashî* is used to designate a certain military rank in the cavalry corps of the ʿUlūfadjı.

Bibliography. Ricaut, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 345; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i. 370; ii. 121.

240; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1820, iii., p. 341, 380 *sqq* ; Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1913, p 129 (J H. KRAMERS)

ṢUBḤ. [See SHAFAK]

SUBḤA (A), also pronounced *sebḥa*, the rosary, which at present is used by nearly all classes of Muslims, except the Wahhābīs who disapprove of it as a *bidᶜa* There is evidence for its having been used at first in Sūfī circles and among the lower classes (Goldziher, *Rosaire*, p 296); opposition against it made itself heard as late as the xvth century A D, when Suyūṭī composed an apology for it (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*, 1st ed, p. 165) At present it is usually carried by the pilgrims (cf Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p 441) and the darwīshes.

The rosary consists of three groups of beads made of wood, bone, mother of pearl, etc. The groups are separated by two transversal beads of a larger size (*imām*), while a much larger piece serves as a kind of handle (*yad*; Snouck Hurgronje in *Int Arch f Ethnographie*, i 154 and plate xiv, N° 12) The number of beads within each group varies (e g 33 + 33 + 34 or 33 + 33 + 31); in the latter case the *imāms* and the *yad* are reckoned as beads. The sum total of a hundred is in accordance with the number of Allāh and his 99 beautiful names The rosary serves for the enumeration of these names, but it is also used for the counting of eulogies, *dhikr*'s and the formulae at the end of the *salāt* Lane (*Manners and Customs*, Register) makes mention of a *sebḥa* consisting of a thousand beads used in funeral ceremonies for the thrice one thousand repetitions of the formula *Lā ilāha illa 'llāh*

Masābiḥ (plur of *misbaha*) are mentioned as early as the year 800 A. D (cf A Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p 318) Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, p 165) thinks it certain that the rosary came from India to Western Asia Still, Goldziher himself has pointed to traditions mentioning the use of small stones, date-kernels, etc for counting eulogies such as *takbīr*, *tahlīl*, *tasbīḥ*

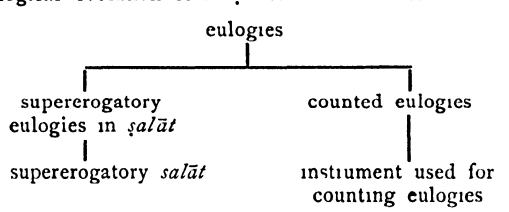
From such traditions the following may be mentioned: "on the authority of Saᶜd b Abī Waḳḳāṣ .... that he accompanied the Apostle of Allāh who went to visit a woman, who counted her eulogies by means of kernels or small stones lying before her He said to her Shall I tell you what is easier and more profitable? "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created in the earth, "glory to Allāh" according to what he has created in the heaven; "glory to Allāh" according to the number of what is between these, "glory to Allāh" according to what he will create. And in the same way *Allāh akbar*, *alḥamdu lillāhi* and "there is no might nor power except in Allāh" (Abū Dāʾūd, *Witr*, bāb 24, Tirmiḏhī, *Daᶜawāt*, bāb 113)

The tendency of this tradition is elucidated by the following one· Ṣafīya said the Apostle of Allāh entered while there were before me four thousand kernels which I used in reciting eulogies. I said I use them in reciting eulogies He answered: I will teach thee a still larger number Say. "Glory to Allāh" according to the number of what he has created (Tirmiḏhī, *Daᶜawāt*, bāb 103)

To a different practice points the tradition according to which the Apostle of Allāh "counted the *tasbīḥ*" (Nasāʾī, *Sahw*, bāb 97). The verb used here is *ᶜaḳada*; its being translated by "to count" is based upon the fact that the lexicons give it among others this meaning. Probably this is based in its turn upon traditions like the one just mentioned, and like the following: "The Apostle of Allāh said to us (the women of al-Madīna). Practise *tasbīḥ*, *tahlīl* and *taḳdīs*, and count these eulogies on your fingers, for these will have to give account" (Abū Dāʾūd, *Witr*, bāb 24; Tirmiḏhī, *Daᶜawāt*, bāb 120) According to Goldziher, in these traditions the counting of eulogies on the fingers is contrasted with their being counted by means of stones etc There is, however, a tradition that makes it a matter of doubt whether *ᶜaḳada* in connections like those mentioned has always the meaning of counting and not its proper sense of tying I have in view a tradition preserved by Ibn Saᶜd (viii 348) according to which Fāṭima bint Husain used to say eulogies aided by threads in which she made knots (*bi-khuyūṭ maᶜḳūd fīhā*).

The term *subha* does not occur in classical tradition in the meaning of rosary; it is often used in the sense of supererogatory *ṣalāt*, e g. *subḥat al-ḍuhā* (Muslim, *Musāfirūn*, trad. 81) Al-Nawawī explains the term by *nāfila* (Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii. 204) Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s v asks how it is that the ideas of *nāfila* and *subha* coincide He answers Eulogies (*subha*) are supererogatory additions to the obligatory *ṣalāt*'s So supererogatory *ṣalāt*'s came to be called *subha*

If Ibn al-Athīr's opinion is right, the semasiological evolution of *subḥa* took two directions



Bibliography Goldziher, *Le rosaire dans l'Islam*, in *R H R*, vol xxi 295 *sqq*
(A J WENSINCK)

SUBḤĀN ALLĀH, "Praise be to Allāh", a religious formula, frequent in the Kurʾān It is an accusative of exclamation from a root which does not occur in Arabic (the verb *sabhaha* is rightly explained by the grammarians as derived from the noun), but which goes back as a loan-word to Aramaic and was also adopted in Hebrew and Ethiopic, viz · *shebaḥ* "to praise". Muḥammad probably found the expression somewhere among "the possessors of a scripture", as it is not probable that he himself should have created such a form from a non-Arabic verb. It is also evidence of an extensive use of the word that *subḥāna* is found in a verse of al-Aᶜshā without a genitive with a following *min* as an exclamation of surprise (Ibn Yaᶜish, ed Jahn, p 43, 5, 148, 1 etc.) As a regular formula in the Ḳurʾān it is placed in the mouth of Moses (vii 140), Jesus (v 116), the blessed in Paradise (x 10) and the angels (ii. 30; cf. xxvii 8) It is used on different occasions to express the impression made upon the speaker by Allāh's overwhelming greatness and His wonderful deeds Thus: "Praise be to Him who made His servant travel in the night" (xvii. 1),

"Praise be to Him, who has subjected all this to us" (xliii. 12), "who created the pairs" (xxxvi. 36), "in whose hand is rule over every thing" (xxxvi 83), "Praise be to Allāh (i.e praise ye him) morning and evening" (xxx 16); when the pious hear the recital of the Ḳur'ān they fall upon their faces and say "Praise our Lord!" (xvii 108), it is also found in a confession of wrong-doing. "Praise be to Allāh, we have done wrong" (lxviii 17 *sqq.*) As an expression of Allāh's absolute superiority and perfection, it is specially used, when anything is rejected than which Allāh is greater, and which would injure his nature (cf xvii 45 where it is connected with *taʿālā*) The thing rejected is often introduced with *ʿan* (xxi 22, xxxix 67; lii. 43; lix 23). Thus Muhammad is fond of using the formula when in the Meccan Sūras he is combatting the worship of other gods than Allāh as blasphemy (ix 31, xii. 108, xvi 1, xvii 45 etc) or when he is filled with horror at the idea that God should have a son (ii. 110; iv 169, v 116; xxxix 6, xliii 82) or sons and daughters (vi. 100, xvi 59, xxxvii 157, 180) It is in a similar connection that the pious say "Thou hast not created the world in vain (*bāṭilan*), *subḥānaka* (how much thou art raised above it!) iii. 188) or that Mūsā recognises that God cannot be seen (vii 140) or that Muḥammad turns aside the demand of his countrymen for miracles by saying he is only a man and a messenger (xvii. 95) In this way the expression may be weakened to mean almost "God forbid!" (xxiv 15)

The derivative *sabbaḥa* early came to mean "to pray", especially of the supererogatory prayers, *subḥa*, e g Hassān b. Thābit in *Delectus*, lxxvii 14 (not in Hirschfeld); cf Lane, *Lexicon*

(Fr Buhl)

ṢUBḤĪ MUḤAMMAD, Turkish historiographer He was born at the beginning of the xviiith century (the date is unknown) as son of Beylikdjı Khalīl Fehmī Efendi He entered upon a long administrative career, beginning with the office of *dīwān kātibi* Soon after, before 1150/1737, he was appointed *waḳʿa-nuwīs* as successor to Shākir Husein Bey and he combined this position with other functions till the end of the year 1156 (Feb 1744) when he was appointed *beylikdjı* The *waḳʿa-nuwīslik* was then given into the charge of Sulaimān ʿIzzī [q. v.] Ṣubhī Efendi died in Ṣafar 1183 (June 1769) His *Taʾrīkh* was printed in Constantinople, together with those of his two predecessors Sāmī and Shākir in 1198/1785; the last year of which he wrote the chronicle was 1156 His Turkish biographers commend him for his style and his poems

Bibliography: Djamāl al-Dīn, *ʿOthmanlı taʾrīkh we-muʾellifleri*, Constantinople 1314, p 48, Thureiyā Efendi, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii 220; von Hammer, *G O R.*, vii 437, 472; viii. 39, 336; F Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18 Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919, p. 22

(J H. Kramers)

AL-SUBKĪ, *Nisba* from the place *Subk* in the district of *al-Manūfiya*, district of *Manūf*, Memphis (ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, Būlāḳ 1305, xii. 7).

A The Shāfiʿī family of scholars al-Subkī (the numbers beside certain persons in the family tree refer to the descriptions which follow; for the whole cf F Wüstenfeld, *Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, p. 119).

1 Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā, Ḳāḍī of al-Maḥalla and later Professor at Cairo, died 725 (*Academien*, N⁰. 183).

2 Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad, b. 704, Professor at Cairo and Damascus, d. 744; wrote a *Taʾrīkh*, his correspondence Ahlwardt, N⁰. 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N⁰. 97; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii. 8).

3 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Muḥammad, b 708, Professor, Kādī and Hākim in Damascus and Cairo, Wakīl of the Sulṭān and Khaṭīb of the Umaiyad mosque in Damascus, d 777; three unfinished writings (*Academien*, N⁰. 52; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 8)

4 Walī al-Dīn Abū Darr ʿAbdallāh, b. 735, Professor, Kādī, Khatīb and financial officer in Damascus, d. 785 (*Academien*, N⁰ 98).

5 Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, b. 741, Professor, Muftī and Ḳādī at Cairo, Damascus etc., Khaṭīb at the Umaiyad mosque, unpopular on account of the influence he allowed his son Djalāl al-Dīn to exercise over his affairs, d 802 or 803 (*Academien*, N⁰ 53, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 8).

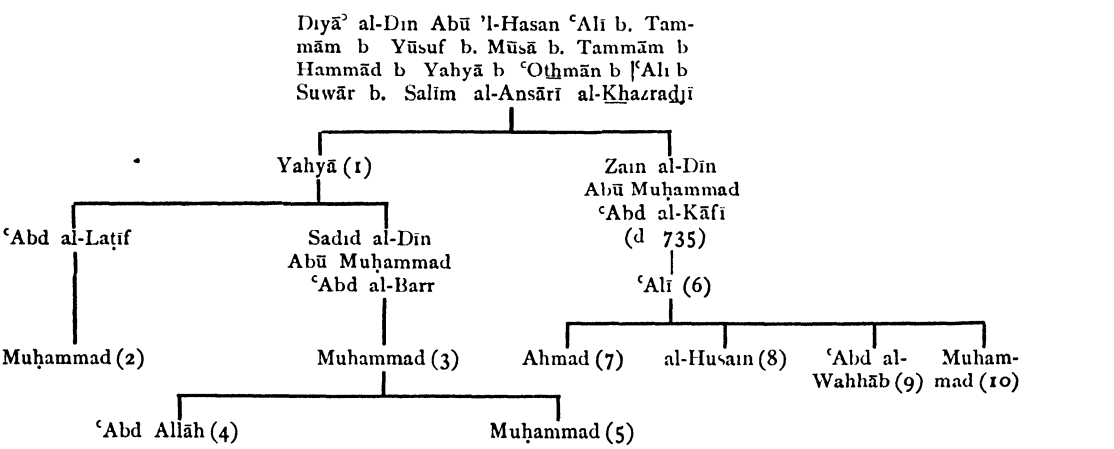
6 Shaikh al-Islām Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, b 683, studied in Cairo principally, Professor, Muftī and Kādī at Cairo and Damascus, Ḥākim at Damascus, Khatīb at the Umaiyad mosque, d 756, produced more than 150 works, of which the following may be mentioned with a view to corrections to the list of those still extant by Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 87 *sq* : 5) printed at Haidarābād 1315, Būlāḳ 1318; 12) also Ahlwardt, N⁰ 9399, 16) that of a *Ḳaṣīda* also in Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8482, fol. 41ᵃ, 18) Answers to legal questions, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 5026, 1; 19) *al-Durr al-nazīm fī Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿazīm* (unfinished); 20) *Tafsīr "yā ayyuha 'l-Rusulu kulū min al-Ṭayyibāti" al-āya* (Kurʾān, xxiii. 53); 21) *al-Ibtihādj fī Sharḥ al-Minhādj* (Brockelmann, i. 395, l 12 [not quite correct] unfinished, cf below, N⁰ 7, 2), 22) a commentary on *al-Muhadhdhab* of al-Shīrāzī unfinished, cf Brockelmann, i 387, 9, 1); 23) *al-Rakm al-ibrīzī fī Sharh Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭibrīzī* (cf Brockelmann, i 393, 24); 24) *Rafʿ al-Shiḳāk fī Masʾalat al-Ṭalāḳ*; 25) *al-Tahḳīḳ fī Masʾalat al-Taʿlīḳ*; 26) *Bayān Ḥukm al-Rabṭ fī Iʿtiḳād al-Shaiṭ ʿalā Sharṭ*, 27) *Munyat al-Bāḥith ʿan Ḥukm Dain al-Wārith*; 28) *al-Riyāḍ al-anīka fī Kismat al-Harīka*; 29) *al-Sahm al-ṣāʾib fī Ḳaḍāʾ Dain al-Ghāʾib*, 30) *al-Ghaith al-mughrik fī Mīrāth Ibn al-Muʿtiḳ*; 31) *Faṣl al-Makāl fī Hadāya 'l-ʿUmmāl*, 32) *al-Ḳawl al-ṣahīḥ fī Taʿyīn al-Dhabīḥ*; 33) *Kashf al-Dasāʾis fī Hadm al-Kanāʾis*, 34) *al-Ṭarīḳa al-nāfiʿa fī 'l-Muṣāḥāt wa 'l-Mukhābara wa 'l-Muzāraʿa*; 35) *Nūr al-Rabiʿ fī 'l-Kalām ʿalā mā rawāhu 'l-Rabīʿ*; 36) *al-Iʿtibār bi-Baḳāʾ al-Djanna wa 'l-Nār*; 37) *al-Ḳawl al-mahmūd fī Tanzīh Dāwūd*; 38) *Ghairat al-Īmān al-djalī fī Abī Bakr wa-ʿOmar wa-ʿOthmān wa-ʿAlī*; 39) *al-Ittisāḳ fī Baḳāʾ Wadjh al-Ishtiḳāḳ*; 40) *Aḥkām "kull" wa-ʿalaihi mā yadull*; 41) *al-Iḳnāʿ fī Ifādat "law" li 'l-Imtināʿ*; 42) *al-Asʾila fī 'l-ʿArabiya*; 43) *al-Djadd al-ighrīḍ fī 'l-Farḳ bain al-Kināya wa 'l-Taʿrīḍ*; 44) *al-Iḳtināṣ fī 'l-Farḳ bain al-Ḥaṣr wa 'l-Ikhtiṣāṣ*; 45) *Iḥyāʾ al-Nufūs fī Ṣanʿat Ilfāʾ al-Durūs*; many of his shorter writings are in the collection of his *Fatāwā* (*Academien*, N⁰ 49; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 7; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flügel, Index, N⁰. 8765; Brockelmann, ii. 86, 9, in which there is an even longer list of literature; complete biography in the *Ṭabaḳāt* of his son [here N⁰. 9]).

7. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Aḥmad, b. 719, Professor, Muftī and Ḳāḍī in Cairo and Damascus, d in Mecca 773; wrote 1) an unfinished commentary on *al-Ḥāwī* of al-Ḳazwīnī (cf Brockelmann, i 394, 29, 1), 2) a supplement to the unfinished commentary on the *Minhādj*-commentary of his father (see above, N⁰ 6, 21); 3) *Djamᶜ al-Tanākūd* or *al-Munāḳaḍāt* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vi 157); 4) *ᶜArūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (cf Brockelmann, i 295, 10), 5) an unfinished commentary on *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib from al-Baiḍāwī (cf Brockelmann, i 305, 6); 6) a *Ḳaṣīda* on the meaning of the word *ᶜAin* (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7065, 1 as also in 6973, 3 and in 7334); 7) a riddle-poem on the Nile (with the answer of Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Safadī [Brockelmann, ii 31, 3] thereupon. Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7866, 1 also in 6111); 8) another poem by him Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8471, 28; 9) writings addressed to him Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7869 and 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N⁰ 50; *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 8, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flügel, Index, N⁰ 1899)

read Leiden, N⁰. 897; printed Cairo 1324; from this also M Enger, *De vita et scriptis Maverdii commentatio*, 1851; 8b) also Ahlwardt, N⁰ 10036; 8c) read Gotha, N⁰ 1762; 10) also Ahlwardt, N⁰ 941; 11) to be cancelled; 12) also Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8465, fol 108a, 16) *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Nazāir*, passages from this Ahlwardt, N⁰ 4611; 17) a commentary on *al-Minhādj* of al-Baiḍāwī (cf Brockelmann, i 418, 11); 18) *Djalab Ḥalab*; 19) *Rafᶜ al-Ḥādjib ᶜan Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥādjib* (see above, N⁰. 7, 5); 20) a poem on foreign words in the Ḳur'ān, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 725; cf. 724; 21) Verses by him Ahlwardt, N⁰ 5967, 1; 22) *al-Durar al-lawāmiᶜ*; 23) letters to him, Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7869; 24) Elegy on him in Ahlwardt, N⁰ 7868 (*Academien*, N⁰ 51, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii (sic), 8; Wustenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfi'i*, 1 10 *sqq*; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ed Flugel, Index, N⁰ 8704, Brockelmann, ii 89 *sq*, where further literature is given)

10 Muhammad his father's admonitory *Ḳaṣīda* is addressed to him (see above, N⁰ 6, 4)

THE SUBKĪ FAMILY



8 Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Taiyib al-Husain, b 722, Professor in Cairo and Damascus, in the latter also deputy Kādī; d 755, previously to his father; wrote a book on people with the name of al-Husain b ᶜAlī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flugel, v. 159), his correspondence Ahlwardt, N⁰ 8471, 24 (*Academien*, N⁰ 73; Ahlwardt, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii. 8)

9. Tādj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, b 727 (or 728 or 729), Professor, Muftī, Ḳāḍī and Ḥākim in Damascus and Cairo, Khaṭīb of the Umaiyad mosque; in 769 he was thrown into prison for about 80 days, but was able to rehabilitate himself; d. 771 of the plague To Brockelmann's list of his surviving works, ii. 89 *sq.*, should be added: 1) Ahlwardt, N⁰. 4401 is autograph from 762; the commentary of al-Zarkashī also Ahlwardt, N⁰. 4402; printed with the commentary by al-Maḥallī and the super-commentary by al-Banānī also Būlāḳ 1297 and 1891, with the same commentary and the *Taḳrīrāt* of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sharbīnī, Cairo 1309 and 1318; 7) ed D. W Myhrman, *Luzac's Semitic Text Series*, London 1908, xviii.; abridged and translated from the Arabic by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925; 8a)

B Shihāb al-Dīn (or Sharaf al-Dīn) Ahmad b Khalīl b Ibrāhīm al-Misrī al Shāfiᶜī, d 1032, at the age of 93; wrote 1) a gloss to *Kitāb al-Shifā'* of al-Ḳādī ᶜIyāḍ (Brockelmann, i 369, 5, 1, *h*); 2) *Fatḥ al-Mukīt fī Sharḥ al-Tathbīt ᶜind al-Tabyīt* (Brockelmann, ii 151, 130b), 3) *Fath al-Ghaffūr fī Manẓūmat al-Kubūr* (ibid a); 4) *Fatḥ al-Mubīn bi-Sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn ᶜImād al-Dīn* (cf Brockelmann, ii. 94, 4; perhaps erroneously attributed to him, cf ᶜ [Pertsch, N⁰. 1080]); 5) *Hadīyat al-Ikhwān fī Masā'il al-Islām wa 'l-Isti'dhān*; 6) *Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj al-kabīra* and 7) *al-ṣaghīra*, 8) besides these he collected the *Fatwā*'s of al-Ramlī (cf Brockelmann, ii 321, 13) (*al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 8 *sq.*; Biography also Ahlwardt, N⁰. 8471, 15b)

C. For the modern Egyptian Aḥmad Bey al-Subkī b. Aḥmad b Sulaimān ᶜUdjaila, cf *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii 9 (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

SŪDA, a town in the Yemen in South Arabia. It is built on a rocky ridge running S W. to N. E. with a peak in the centre. The citadel (*ḥuṣn*) stands in the centre of the town which is also its highest part, a strong lofty building reached by a kind of staircase on the

west side, which is now in ruins. On the west side is also a small plateau with a fine cistern. there is a tower to the west of it on the southern edge of the cliff The town runs N E. by S W. up to the castle; the northeastern part stands high and the southwest slopes down in terraces. The town is entered from the southwest; the market lies in the same direction; it consists of a few miserable booths near the mosque The water supply is provided by four or five well cemented, regular elliptical, circular or quadrangular cisterns, N and N.W of the citadel The town is surrounded by rich fields In the lower lying areas, e g the Wādī Bait Kilāb and the immediate vicinity of Sūda, *sorgho* is grown and in the higher like Djebel ʿAyālī Yazīd, Djebel Benī Hadjdjādj, barley, wheat etc , and also coffee, which is considered the best in Yemen, especially in Wādī Thedje and Wādī Shamayān, 600—1,000 feet lower Bananas also flourish exceedingly The crops are grown on terraces, which, made absolutely horizontal, enclose the hills as it were with hypsometric lines and are separated from one another by a strong stone perpendicular wall, often 12—20 feet high

Bibliography. E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen*, 1883/1884, fol. 43r, 44v (Adolf Grohmann)

SŪDĀN. The expression *Bilād al-Sūdān* properly means "land of the negroes" It would appear then that the word Sūdān which comes from it ought to mean all the parts of Africa inhabited by negroes Among Arabs, as well as Europeans, it has become the custom to restrict the application to the northern part of these regions or in a more general way to the area of sub-Saharan Africa which has been penetrated by Islām In practice this area is divided into three parts Western Sūdān, containing the basin of the Senegal, the Gambia, the upper Volta and the middle Niger; Central Sūdān including the basin of Lake Chad and Eastern Sūdān or the Egyptian Sūdān, confined to the basin of the upper Nile It may be mentioned that the English use the word Sūdān alone to mean the Egyptian Sūdān and that the French officially apply the name "Soudan Français" to one of their colonies, which really corresponds only to a small fraction of the large Sudanese area which they occupy In this article we shall take the Sūdān to include all the lands lying south of the deserts of the Sahara and of Libyan, from the Atlantic in the west to the western frontiers of Ethiopia in the east, the southern limit following roughly the 10° of North Latitude

It is probable that from the earliest times there were relations between the Sūdān and Mediterranean Africa The ancient Egyptians obtained slaves by making expeditions into the land of the negroes and they had also commercial relations with it Caravans setting out from the Phoenician colonies, especially Carthage, used to buy in the Sūdān, gold, ivory, and slaves, in exchange for cloth, copper and tools. This intercourse which took place via the Nile or across the Sahara continued in the Greek and Roman period and later after the conquest and conversion to Islām of North Africa it was continued by the Arabs. By the end of the seventh century A D. Muslims of Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib were attending the great markets of the Sūdān Some were even settled there as correspondents and agents for their compatriots on the shores of the Mediterranean. But according to the Arab authors who give the earliest notices of the land of the negroes, it was evident that these Muslims were only interested in commerce and did not proselytise and it was only in the xiᵗʰ century that Islām began to spread among the Sūdānese. Several traditions, it is true, make the conqueror ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ come to the Sūdān but they do not appear worthy of credence.

We should not however deduce that before the xiᵗʰ century there was no civilisation or political organisation worthy of the name in these regions. While many of the princes who have ruled various parts of Sūdānese territory from the xiᵗʰ century have professed Islām, it was not always nor everywhere thus Indeed several of the Sūdānese states, including the most important were well governed before the beginning of the conversion of their country to Islām and had already attained a power and fame, in some cases considerable, and possessed institutions which Muslim rulers at a later date were pleased to adopt and which still exist to-day in those kingdoms that have remained pagan, like the Mōsi of the Upper Volta, such as are described in the xiᵗʰ century by al-Bakrī when he tells of the pagan kingdom of Ghāna

The religion formerly professed by all the Sūdānese was the same, apparently, as that which is found at the present day among those of them who have not been affected by Islām, i e. a form of Animism based on the worship of ancestors and of the spirits of nature

Christianity had penetrated into several parts of the Sūdān, it was predominant in Nubia from the ivth to the viiᵗʰ century and it is said that the princes reputed to be Berber origin, who founded the kingdom of Songhoy [q v] in the viiᵗʰ century were Christians

Islām must have spread very early among the Nūba or Nūbians of the valley of the Nile, but it appears to have taken a long time to reach the provinces of the eastern Sūdān which lie at some distance from the main branch of the river, when it was only introduced towards the xviᵗʰ century by tribes of Arab origin who at this period pushed south-westwards and came into contact with the negroes of this region. It was on the western part of the Sūdān that a deep and lasting impression was first made by the teaching of Muḥammad It reached there, not through the Arabs, but through Berbers of the Sahara, who at this time launched the Almoravid movement

At this time the Ghāna empire was flourishing in the Western Sūdān, founded at an unknown date by princes who are said to have belonged to a white stock, but whose rulers at the time were negroes of the Sarakolle tribe (alias Soninke, or Wākore or Marka), who lived at Kumbi, S. S. W of Wālata, in the province called Waghadu or Baghana, and who bore titles of *tunka*, *kayamaghа*, and *ghāna* It is this last term extended from the ruler to the town that the Arab writers use for the town of Kumbi The Ghāna extended his sway beyond the proper limits of his kingdom over the greater part of the Western Sūdān, and notably over the goldmines of the left bank of the Upper Senegal, as well as over the majority of the Berber tribes of the Sahara and in particular over that of the Lemtuna and over their capital Awdaghost, probably situated at some distance to the S. W. of Tishīt (Tichit)

In 1042, the Berber reformer ʿAbdallāh b Yāsīn, left the *ribāṭ* or monastery which he had conducted on an island of the Lower Senegal and began to preach Islām to the Berbers of the Adrār and of the Tagant and to the negroes of Takrūr (Fūta-Tōro), ancestors of the Tokorōr or Tuculor of our day and to several other Sūdānese peoples, then more or less vassals of the Ghāna His preaching was all the more successful at it was addressed to people, black or white, anxious to cast off the yoke of the suzerainty of the Sarakolle of Kumbi, who were also a bulwark of paganism The king of Takrūr and his family — the first of the negroes without doubt to do so — adopted Islām and even supplied contingents to the Almoravid army The king of Mandīng or Malī, who lived on the Upper Niger soon became a convert also and the conversion of the king of Songhoy in the region of Gāo on the middle Niger is put about the same date Awdaghost which remained faithful to the Ghāna, was attacked and taken in 1054 by ʿAbdallāh b Yāsīn and about 1076 while Yūsuf b. Tashfīn at the head of the main body of the Almoravids was conquering Morocco and preparing to invade Spain, his cousin Abū Bakr b ʿOmar of the Lemtuna tribe with the Almoravids who had stopped on the threshold of the Sūdān seized Kumbi and put an end to the long period of Ghāna domination Compelled by force to adopt the new religion, the Sarakolle became converted to Islām en masse and began to spread it in the different kingdoms which they still ruled and which had taken advantage of the fall of the Ghāna their suzerain to declare themselves independent kingdoms or provinces of Djāra or Kanyaga (near the modern Nyoro), of Gumbu (south of Kumbi), of Sōsō (between Gumbu and Bamako), of Djakha or Djā (western Māsina) etc The death of Abū Bakr b. ʿOmar in 1087 and the departure for the north of the last Almoravid forces which had supported him, did not prevent the propagation of Islām from going on and at the end of the xiᵗʰ century some Muslim Djula, converted by the Sarakolle of Djakha, carried the new faith up to the dense forests of the Gold Coast, to which they used to go to buy kola-nuts

Progress was then checked for a period; then about 1224 a religious and commercial centre was organised at Wālata and soon Timbuktu and more particularly Djenne were reached In the following century Timbuktu became the Muslim metropolis of the western Sūdān The Mandingo empire, the hegemony of which had succeeded to that of the Ghāna, was then at its zenith In 1325 its ruler, who at this time was the famous Gongon-Mūsa (popular Kankan-Mūsa) had mosques built in Gāo and Timbuktu by an Arab of a Granada family whom he had brought from Mecca; these mosques had flat roofs, and pyramidal minarets and introduced to the Sūdān an architectural style which spread rapidly there; the éclat which he gave the Muslim religion contributed to consolidate Gongon-Mūsa's authority over the Niger countries. It was under his successor that regular diplomatic relations were begun between the Sūdān and Morocco.

The progress of Islām became still more rapid at the end of the xvᵗʰ and beginning of the xviᵗʰ centuries as a result of the policy of the greatest prince of Songhoy, the *askiya* Muḥammadu Tūre. On the other hand it suffered a considerable setback in the middle of the xviᵗʰ century in Senegal, as a result of the conquest of Takrūr or Fūta-Tōro by Pul and Manding hordes from Koli-Tengella and the establishment in this country of a Pul pagan monarchy which held power from 1559 to 1776 Contrary to what one would have expected, the conquest of Songhoy and of Timbuktu by a Moroccan expedition in 1591, was a further signal for a decline in the Muslim faith, on the middle Niger and for the beginning of the decline of Timbuktu as an intellectual and religious centre

It must not however be thought that Islām had ever won over all the Sūdānese According to the Arab geographers and historians and to the local chroniclers, the new religion had made its converts mainly among the kings and high dignitaries; except in the case of a few tribes like the Tuculor, the Sarakolle, the Djula and Songhoy, the mass of the population except in the large towns had remained pagan

It was in the xviiiᵗʰ and xixᵗʰ centuries that Islām made most progress in the Western Sūdān and a progress more marked than it had ever made since the Almoravid period. The mystical temperament of the Tuculor caste of the Tōrodbe (sing Tōrodo) of Takrūr was the main factor in this movement It had begun about 1720 with the creation at Fūta-Djallon [q v] of a kind of theocratic monarchy It was strengthened in 1776 by the foundation at Fūta-Tōro of a similar theocracy as a result of the victory which the Muslim Tuculors then inflicted on the Pul, who still remained pagan and of whom the majority were now forced to adopt Islām Gradually the Wolof of Lower Senegal were also converted to Islām Prophets soon arose among the Tōrodbe of Fūta-Tōro and among the Pul of Māsina The first was the Tuculor Usmānu Fōdjo who preached the holy war between the Niger and the Chad, converted a section of the Hausa, and founded the empire of Sokoto (1802) He was followed by the Pul Sēku Hamadu Barī, who secured the supremacy of Islām in Māsina and built a capital there which he called Hamdallāhi (1810) Then the Tuculor al-Hādj ʿOmar, who in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca (1820) had been invested with the title of Khalīfa of the Tidjānīya for the Sūdān, began in 1838 a series of missionary and military campaigns which made him master of Mandīng (1848), Kaarta (1854), Sēgu (1861) and lastly of Māsina (1862) At his death (1864) he left a vast empire in which Islām was a sort of official religion but it was to collapse before the French conquest (1890—1893). A little later in 1898, an attempt to set up another Muslim empire between the Senegal and the Upper Volta begun by the conquering Mandingo Samōri Tūre was definitely checked by the defeat of the latter, who was captured by the French troops.

In the Central Sūdān, Islām had made its first appearance in the xiᵗʰ century It had been introduced to Kānem in the reign of Ume whose dynasty, which remained faithful to paganism, was overthrown in 1194 by a Muslim dynasty of native origin, that of the *May*, which transferred its capital to Bornu at the end of the xvᵗʰ century. But it was only at this latter date that the Muslim faith took firm root in these regions by establishing itself solidly on both sides of Lake Chad. It was only at the end of the next century in the reign of the *Mbang* ʿAbdallāh (1561—1602) that it reached Baghirmi and it was only at the beginning

of the xviiith century that the prophet Ṣāliḥ, said to have been of Arab origin, brought Islām to Wadāy where it was not firmly established till 1635 onwards Very much later Islām spread southwards under the stimulus of the adventurei Rabah (1878—1900).

In the Eastern Sūdān, the Nūba formed almost the only native Muslim population down to the xvith century. At this period Dār-Fūr, after long being like Wadāy and Kordofān under the authority of the idolatrous Tundjūr princes, said to have been of Asiatic origin, was partly converted to Islām by the founder of a new dynasty named Solun-Slīmān One of his successors, Tcherāb, conquered Ḳordofān and converted the Koldādji of this country in the xviiith century The conversion of the Eastern Sūdān made more rapid progress towards the end of the xixth century under the influence of the Mahdī Muhammad Ahmad [q v] who belonged to a Nūbian family of Dongola and who conquered Ḳordofān, Dār-Fūr, Bahr al-Ghazāl, Sennār [q v] and finally Khartūm (1881—1885) and under his Khalīfa ʿAbdallāh, one of a tribe of Baggāra of Dār Fūr, who extended his conquests into the province of Equatoria (1892), to be finally driven from Khartūm by Kitchener in 1898 and killed in Ḳordofān in 1899 by a force under Colonel Wingate

At the present time (1925) the Sūdān as a whole has a population, that may be approximately estimated at 25 or 30 millions, composed of Muslims and Animists in about equal parts The former predominate in the larger centres but are relatively less numerous outside the towns Some tribes however are all or for the most part Muslims, these are from West to East the Wolof, the Tukulor, the Sarakolle, the Djula, the Songhoy, the Kanūri and Kānembu, the Tēda or Tubu, the Māba, the Kondjāra, the Koldādji, the Nūba and a few others of minor importance Some are partly pagan like the Pul or Fulbe, the Mandingos or Malinke, the Sorko or Boso, the Hausa, the Baghirmi, etc , and lastly many are entirely or for the most part Animists, like the Serēr, the Djola or Flup, the Basari and Konyagi, the Bambara, the Bobo, the Dogon or Tombo, the Samo, the Mōsi, the Gurunsi, the Lobi, the Dagāri, the Senufo, the Busanse, the Gurmantshe, the Berba, the Kambari, the Bautshi, the Mandara, the Musgu, the Mundang and the numerous peoples of the Central and Eastern Sūdān grouped together by the Muslims as Kāfiri, Kirdi, Fertit, Djenakhēra, etc

Arabic as a spoken language has made very little progress in the Sūdān, it has only enriched the dialects of the Sūdānese Muslims with words relating to religion These dialects, like those of the Sūdānese Animists, all belong to the African-Negro family On the other hand, Arabic is the written language for all the Muslims of the Sūdān who have any education and there has existed since the xvth century a regular Sūdānese literature in the Arabic language Sometimes, at least as far as the Pul and Hausa are concerned, the characters of the Arabic alphabet are used to write the native languages

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SUEZ, an Egyptian frontier sea-port town situated at the head of the Gulf of Suez on an arid, sandy plain with the dark ʿAtāḳa Mountains in the West On account of its physical surroundings it has earned for itself the descriptive sobriquet of "The Stony" *al-Hadjar* (see *Description de l'Égypte*, État Moderne, 1 185) It is 80 miles S E of Cairo and 2 miles N of Port Ibrāhīm, the harbour at the South entrance of the Suez Canal 29° 58′ 59″ N , 32° 35′ E Population c 20,000 Its position on the Canal (opened in 1869) has changed it from a village into a considerable town Nowadays it is a governorship (muhāfiz) The old city is largely built of sun-dried bricks, and presents a dreary appearance There are several poor mosques In the European quarter large offices and warehouses have been built The town is a quarantine station for pilgrims on their way to Mekka.

The modern Suez occupies the site of several former cities Ancient Egyptian remains have been found, and on an eminence (*Kūm al-Kulzum*) near by, are the ruins of the Ptolemaic fortress of Κλύσμα (*Clysma Praesidium*; the *Ḳulzum* [q v] of the Arab geographers). Previous to this, however, Ptolemy Philadelphus (c. 230 B. C) had built in the vicinity the town of Arsinoe (Αρσινοή) later named Cleopatris (Κλεοπατρις) In early Christian times a colony of natives chiefly engaged in fishing and smuggling existed here. During Muslim rule, the town became rich except under the Mameluke Sultans when a check was given to its growth. On the discovery of the Cape Route its prosperity further diminished. Once again under

Selīm I (1517) it revived as a naval station At this time the water from the *Bi'r Sues*, a league and a quarter distant on the road to Cairo, was brought to the town by an aqueduct, traces of which still remain This water according to ʿAlī Bey (*Travels*, II 30) was brackish Water was also brought (about 8 miles) from the Wells of Moses (*ʿAyūn Mūsa*), celebrated in legend (Ibn al-Wardī, *Perles des Merveilles*, in *N E*, II 31) ʿAlī Bey declares that the wells yielded "a disagreeable and fetid kind of water". In modern times, however, a fresh-water canal was cut in 1863 between Cairo and Suez

By the beginning of the 19th century the town had once more fallen into decay and insignificance (ʿAlī Bey, *tbid*, II 29) But it revived again when the overland mail route was opened in 1837 between England and India, and still more after the construction of the Canal

An etymology of the name *Suez* will be found in *Descr de l'Eg*, I 87 Yāḳūt mentions, on the authority of al-Muhallabī, the presence in the neighbourhood of magnetic rock (*maghnātīs*) whose power is decreased or increased according as it is rubbed with garlic or vinegar

An ancient canal, called *Amnis Trajani*, although much older than the Roman occupation, once existed between the Nile and the Red Sea One of its termini was at Kulzum ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs re-opened this ancient waterway to enable grain supplies to be shipped direct to the Ḥaramain (Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p 345 *sqq*) Soon afterwards it was silted up again until restored under al-Mahdī (c 780 A D) In the year 971 A D Ḥasan the Ḳarmaṭian captured the city During the middle ages the commerce of the Indies passed steadily through the town Caravans from Farma (*Pelusium*) took four days, from Cairo, three (see J M Hartmann, *Edrisi Africa*, p 449, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s v)

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(J. WALKER)

ṢŪFĪ. [See TAṢAWWUF]

AL-ṢUFRIYA, one of the principal branches of the Khāridjīs [q v] Historiographic tradition, established as early as the middle of the 2nd century by Abū Mikhnaf (al-Tabarī, *Annales*, II 517 *sqq*) places its rise in 65, when the Tamīmī ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ṣaffār, a Khāridjī of al-Baṣra, broke away from his colleague Nāfiʿ b al-Azraḳ on the question of the *istiʿrād* (the murder of adversaries and their families), propounded by the latter, and subsequently from ʿAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ, who maintained that non-Khāridjī Muslims should not be regarded as polytheists The account of Abū Mikhnaf shows, as has been aptly remarked by Wellhausen, a spirit of pragmatism, which regards the three great branches of the Khāridjīs. the Ṣufrīya, the Azraḳites [I 563/564] and the Abādīs or Ibādīs [I 3/4, II 372/373], as the simultaneous product of a conflict of principles Another historian al-Balādhurī (ed Ahlwardt, p. 82—83), names as founder of the Ṣufrīya ʿUbaida b Kabīṣ; theological sources, on the other hand, assign this rôle to Ziyād b. al-Aṣfar, after whom the Sufrīya have also received the name of Ziyādīya (al-Baghdādī, *Firaḳ*, p 70; al-Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, p. 102, al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm*, ed van Vloten, p 25; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, vol 354 a) or to al-Nuʿmān b. Ṣufr (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II 354 below = 2nd ed , IV 178, below) all of which persons are equally obscure In reality the Sufrīya began to take part in the Khāridjī movement in the month of Safar 76, when the great revolt raised by Sālih b Musarrih (or Musarrah, cf Ṭabarī, II. 881, note *g*) broke out, after his death led by Shabīb b Yazīd al-Shaibānī [see above, p 261—262] Salih b Musarrih, who was regarded by his followers as a saint, and whose tomb remained an object of veneration for a long time (Ibn Kutaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, p 209 = Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed Wustenfeld, p. 133), represents the type of devotee with ascetic tendencies who becomes propagandist and ends by becoming engulfed in the turmoils of a bloody war in spite of his pacific temperament, he is represented in the account of a contemporary, who in all probability writes with authority (Tabarī, II. 886) as opposed to the terrorist methods of the Azraḳīs, a point which has invariably constituted a characteristic of the Sufrī theory, although its adepts have not always observed it in practice

After the defeat of Shabīb b Yazīd, the Ṣufrīya again appear involved in the revolt of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kais [q v] towards the end of the Umaiyad period At the same epoch they are found spread over the whole of the Islāmic world, they are mentioned in the Maghrib from the year 117 (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v. 153 below), where, a few years later, guided by their chief Abū Kurra, they slew the ʿAbbāsid governor ʿOmar b Hafs, in 153 (Tabarī, III 370—371), and seized the town of Sidjilmāsa [see above, p. 432—433] where they long maintained their independence (Ibn al-ʿAdhārī, *Bayān al-Maghrib*, ed Dozy, i. 58 *sqq* ; Ibn al-Athīr, VI 4 *sqq*., 53); they joined the Ibāḍīs in the general rising of the Berbers, and ended by being absorbed by the former, who in North Africa as elsewhere became dominant Another conflict between Ibāḍīs and Ṣufrīya, where the latter were overthrown, took place in ʿOmān, in which the Ṣufrīya had taken refuge in 134, after having been defeated by the ʿAbbāsid chief Khāzim b Khuzaima (Ṭabarī, III 78)

It is principally as exponents of Khāridjism

that the Ṣufrīya are of importance, they seem to have been the first to attempt a systematic exposition of their religious principles, and one of their very earliest *imāms*, the poet ʿImrān b Ḥiṭṭān [ii. 507—508], d 84, is renowned as jurisconsult and theologian. Other names of Sufrī traditionists and theologians are cited by al-Djāhiz in his list of Khāridjī scholars (*Bayān*, i 131—133; ii 126—127)· amongst others Shubail b ʿAzra al-Dubaʿī (d 140), also known as poet and lexicographer (cf. Wustenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, N° 20, where the patronymic is incorrect, Ibn Duraid, p 193; Ṭabarī, ii 1913; Djāhiz, *Hayawān*, i 152, Ibn Hadjar, *Tahḏhīb al-Tahḏhīb*, iv 310, etc), al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Sadīḳa, Mulail, etc. The principal theses which divided the Ṣufrīya from the extremist Azrikīs, though not quite equalling the moderation of the Ibādīs, are, according to the systematic tracts by ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī, the admission of *kuʿūd* (temporary cessation of war with other Muslims; cf Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p. 527, 595, 10, 604, 10) and of *takīya* (dissimulation of faith), the negation of the doctrines of *istiʿrāḍ* and the damnation of the children of infidels In moral doctrine also the strictness of the Khāridjis is somewhat modified by the Sufrīya one of their subdivisions maintains that sins do not produce in the sinner the quality of an infidel (*kāfir*) nor of a polytheist (*mushrik*) as long as it concerns infractions of righteousness for which the religious law provides a definite punishment (*ḥadd wāḳiʿ*. this expression has not been included in the translation of al-Shahrastānī by Haarbrucker, ii. 154), but only in those cases in which there is no punishment in the law Oher peculiarities of the Sufrīya refer to questions of ritual and equity

The Ṣufrīya, as a religious school, seems to have especially pre-dominated, in the eastern half of the Islāmic world, where they maintained themselves up to a comparatively recent period Ibn Hazm (d in 456) affirms that they were the only branch of the Khāridjīs who existed in his time, beside the Ibāḍīs (*al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal*, iv 190—191) This leads us to suppose that there was a gradual absorption of the other schools of Khāridjīs into that of the Ṣufrīya, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that Ibn Hazm ranges with the Ṣufrīya the schools of Thaʿālība, ʿAdjārida [i 149, ii 381], Baihasīya [i 617] with their subdivisions, while ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī and al-Shahrastānī consider them as independent schools.

The origin of the name Ṣufrīya is greatly disputed, the etymologies that are derived from the supposed founders (Ibn al-Ṣaffār, al-Aṣfar, Ibn Sufi) seem somewhat artificial, a perfectly foolish one, although it is due to the celebrated philologian al-Asmaʿī, is the one which, admitting the vocalisation *Ṣifrīya*, attaches it to the word *ṣifr* "zero" and supports it by an anecdote according to which an imprisoned Ṣufrī was accosted by one of his companions in captivity with the words: "You count for no more than zero in religion!" (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi 135 = *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, iii 337) A third etymology deserves more credit, although it is not entirely beyond doubt: it is that which derives the name from *Ṣufr*, the "yellow colour", which their faces had assumed in consequence of their devotional practices (al-Balādhurī, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 82—83; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 604, 9—11, 615—616; cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 881, 14, where he says of Sālih b Musarrih that he was a man of "yellow countenance" [*muṣfarr al-waḏjh*]). This etymological uncertainty is the consequence of the obscurity that covers the origin of the movement itself: Ṣālih b. Musarrih, who as we have seen, seems to have been the real originator, is not recognised as such by the later Ṣufrīya, who name as their first *imām* ʿImrān b. Hiṭṭān (al-Baghdādī, *Firak*, p 71) al-Baghdādī, p 89, hesitates to attribute to Ṣālih the denomination of Ṣufrī and al-Shahrastānī, p. 95, in mentioning the school of the *Ṣāliḥīya* says that they do not enter into any of the known categories of the Khāridjīs.

According to al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii 354 below = 2nd ed, iv. 179) the Sufrīya also bore the name of *al-Nukkār*, "the deniers" because they reprove (like all the other Khāridjīs) a part of the conduct of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and ʿĀʾisha; but the passages quoted by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii 722b (which refer without exception to the Maghrib) show that it was an insulting appellation applied to Khāridjīs in general

Bibliography see article KHĀRIDJĪS

(G Levi Della Vida)

ṢUFRŪY (vulg *Ṣefrū*, *nisba Ṣefrīwī*), a small town to the north of Morocco, 33 KM S E of Fās (Fēz), 800 metres above sea level at the foot of the northern spurs of the Middle Atlas The town, watered by the Wādī Ṣufrūy, is surrounded by beautiful orchards, principally cherry The quarters are N Tāḳsebt and Shebbāk, E the Kasba or fort, S Mesbāh and Zemrīta, surrounding the Mellāh or Jews' quarter on all sides The town is protected by a high wall restored in the xixth century by the Sultān Mawlāy Sulaimān, who also built a mosque and a *hammām* The population exceeds 8,000, of whom more than 3,000 are Jews

The principal sanctuaries of Sufrūy are those of Sīdī Bū-Serghīn, Sīdī Bū-ʿAlī and Sīdī Bū-Medyen The first is the most important, at the end of the summer a spring near to the sanctuary is the object of a water-cult, it has the virtue of curing madness and idiocy These sacred spots were visited in 1179 (1765—1766) by the Sulṭāna Fātima bint Sulaimān who came from Marrākesh to Fās for the express purpose of visiting these sanctuaries

It was in the environs of Ṣufrūy, that in the Berber tribe of the Aït Yūsī, the learned and versatile al-Ḥasan b Masʿūd al-Yūsī (d 1102/1691) [q v] was born; his tomb is at the *zāwiya* called Sīdī Lahsen in the S W of the town, he is still greatly venerated by the Aït Yūsī, who hold a *mawsim* there every year.

Nothing is known of the date at which Ṣufrūy was founded Leo Africanus (who calls it *Sofroi*) says that it was built by the "Africans", which means that for him its origin is lost in antiquity. It would seem to have been in existence at the time of the foundation of Fās by Idrīs II; he was not slow to enter into conflict with the inhabitants of the region of Ṣufrūy and al-Bahālīl, where the religion seems to have been strongly impregnated by Judaism, and converted them to Islām The memory of an ancient Jewish population is preserved in the name of wādī 'l-Yahūdī (the name of the lower part of wādi Ṣufrūy) and by that of the grotto called *Kāf al-Yahūd*, which

among the Jews in the town is the centre of a true naturalist cult

The importance rapidly attained by Fās, the new and adjacent capital, accelerated the decline of the ancient Berber city Ṣufrūy, however, as a necessary point of passage for the caravans bound for Sidjilmāsa always retained a certain vitality, it was, moreover, the natural depot for the products of the Middle Atlas, destined for Fās fruits, wool, skins and cedar wood

In 407 (1016—1017) on the fall of the Umaiyad caliphate of Cordova Sufrūy, which was a fief of the lord of Fās, al-Muʿizz b Zīrī, was taken from him by Wānūdīn b Khazrūn al-Maghrāwī, lord of Sidjilmāsa and of Darʿa In 455 (1063) Yūsuf b Tāshfīn took Ṣufrūy by assault and massacred all the Maghrāwa who had shut themselves up in it In 536 (1141) Sufrūy was seized by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin for the Almoravids

Speaking of Ṣufrūy in the xiᵗʰ century, al-Bakrī only says that it is on the route from Fās to Sidjilmāsa and that it is a city surrounded by ramparts, possessing water-courses and trees In the xiiᵗʰ century al-Idrīsī describing it says that it is "a small and secluded but civilised town, where there are not many markets Its inhabitants are for the most part agriculturists, who cultivate a quantity of cereals, there are also a large number of large and small cattle The waters of the land are sweet and abundant"

Sufrūy suffered greatly during the civil wars which devastated the region of Fās during the dynasty of the Banū Waṭṭās and of the Saʿdites After the accession of the ʿAlawīs, it was again the victim of the wars waged by these sultāns against the rebel Berbers of the Middle Atlas

In 1096 (1684—1685) Mawlāy Ismāʿīl passed through Sufrūy upon an expedition against the tribes of the Middle Atlas and the High Molouya In 1736, the inhabitants of the town and the neighbourhood were massacred by the Sultān Mawlāy Muhammad b Ismāʿīl, called Ibn ʿArabīya, infuriated by the protection which the Berbers of the district had given to his rebellious brother ʿAbd Allāh, their heads were transported to Fās In 1811, in the course of the great revolt of the Berbers they came as far as Ṣufrūy to surround an army that was sent against them, they pillaged the camp and sacked the whole region In 1235 (1819—1820) the Sultān Mawlāy Sulaimān had three hundred men of the rebellious neighbouring tribe of the Aït Yūsī arrested in Ṣufrūy

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, text p 76, transl. p 87; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, 1911, p 146; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch Schefer, ii. 359; Marmol, *Description de Affrika*, iv., fº 162; De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, p 37 *sqq* ; E Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1905, p 394—397; L Brunot, *Cultes naturistes à Sefrou*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918, vol iii., p 137—143; Reisser and Bachelot, *Notice sur le Cercle de Sefrou*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie du Maroc*, 3ʳᵈ year, Nº 4, p. 29—51

(GEORGE S. COLIN)

SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH SUFYĀN B. SAʿĪD (according to some SAʿD) B. MASRŪḲ AL-THAWRĪ AL-KŪFĪ, a celebrated theologian, traditionist and ascetic of the second century A. H. His *nisba* al-Thawrī is derived, according to the view generally held by the biographers, from Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāt .... b. al-Yās b Muḍar, who was among his ancestors (cf. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealog. Tabellen d. arab. Stamme u Familien*, 1853, p 452; Ibn Duraid, *Ishtikāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1854, p. 113; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, *G. M. S*, xx., fol. 117ᵃ). Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Nº. 265 (transl. by de Slane, 1842, i., p. 576 *sqq.*) gives as the date of his birth "95, 96 or 97". On the other hand, all the other sources agree in giving 97 (715/716) as the date (Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, i 5, p 1180, Nº. 26 puts the date of Sufyān's birth as 96, on the authority of a unique manuscript). Sufyān received his first instruction in *hadīth* from his father, a learned Kūfan, who died in 126 (according to others in 128, cf Caetani, *loc. cit*, p 1607, Nº 73) and is quoted among his authorities by different names in the biographical dictionaries to be mentioned below. Sufyān was one of the old school of pious men, who showed their dislike of the new régime by declining to accept offices in the government service and thus brought the wrath of the court upon their heads. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabakāt*, ed. Zetterstéen, 1909, vi, p. 258, says that Sufyān on one occasion accepted money and gifts from a wālī but ever afterwards refused them In 150, he left Kūfa and went, like so many others (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, 1922, p. 209) beyond the bounds of ʿIrāḳ to escape appointment as ḳāḍī He went to the Yemen and made a living as a merchant by giving other merchants goods to dispose of on commission and settling up with them annually, so that he finally possessed a fortune of about 200 dīnārs (according to Ibn Kutaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed Wustenfeld, 1850, p. 250 his estate at his death amounted to 150 dīnārs in goods) But even there, he was not safe from persecution by the Baghdād court. He was sought out but went to Mecca. The amīr of Mecca, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, was ordered by the Caliph in the year 158 (the year in which al-Mahdī succeeded al-Mansūr; therefore the sources vary as to which Caliph gave the order) to find him (*yatlubūhu*, so most sources, in al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed Wustenfeld, 1842—1847, p. 287, and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 1325, iv., p 114, however some wood-merchants who were going to Mecca are ordered by al-Mansūr to crucify him, *fa-ʾṣlibūhu*, which is certainly not simply a copyist's mistake, but it suggests another story) The governor, however, did not carry out his orders; according to Ibn Saʿd, *loc cit.*, he warned Sufyān so that he was able to go promptly into hiding. While al-Ṭabarī, iii. 385 *sq*, says that he had already taken Sufyān prisoner but then set him free again. The whole story is embellished in the different versions with details of interest to the student of the life of the time. It seems certain in any case that Sufyān was actually forced to seek refuge from his pursuers in the Kaʿba (Ibn Saʿd, p. 259). In the end however, Mecca also became too hot for him, and he went to Basra to Yahyā b. Saʿīd, where many learned jurists came to study *ḥadīth* under him In Baṣra also he had to change his abode for the sake of safety. Hammād b. Zaid advised him to make peace with the court. Sufyān began negotiations by correspondence, which led to a satisfactory result, but before he could set out for Baghdād

he became ill and died at the age of 64, in Shaʿbān 161 = May 778 (169 in al-Dhahabī al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabakāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1833, i, p 45, N⁰. 40 is probably only an error of the lithographer). The sources then are all agreed that up to the time of his death he kept himself in hiding from the temporal powers. His son, whom he loved above all else had died before him; he therefore left his whole estate to his sister and her son ʿAmmār b. Muhammad, but left nothing to his brother al-Mubārak (d. 180). He was buried, as several authorities tell us, by night; his grave in Baṣra is mentioned by several geographers. He had not seen his native city of Kūfa since the year 150; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *loc. cit*

The above outline is all that can be considered certain in Sufyān's biography. But in view of the extraordinary authority which he enjoyed, a large number of legendary features could not fail to creep into the story of his life, which one must treat with general distrust, even when they are not obvious inventions or cannot be shown to be historically impossible. The most characteristic is his conversation with the Caliph al-Mahdī, which has been adopted in Ibn Khallikān's biography of Sufyān from al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (vi, Paris 1871, p. 257) It is — apart from other reasons — unhistorical simply because the two certainly never met in their lives What else is related of Sufyān's life will be discussed below in connection with the various intellectual movements in Islām which claimed the authority of Sufyān for their views and had therefore an interest in finding the characteristics they required in his life

As a traditionist, the greatest praise is everywhere bestowed on him on account of the extraordinary breadth of his knowledge and his reliability The most pregnant criticism of him is the verdict in al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, 1325, N⁰. 3266. *ḥudjdja*, *ṯabt*. At the same time, he is credited with other "qualifications of the first rank", as collected in Goldziher, *Muhamm Stud*, ii. 142. He is occasionally rated higher than Mālik b Anas. The only reproach made against him is that of *tadlīs*, that he used to trace traditions directly to recognized authorities, although he had only received them indirectly or from transmitters of less authority (cf *Kāmūs*, s v and Goldziher, *loc. cit*, p. 48, and the passages there quoted from Ibn Khaldūn) Ibn Ḥadjar, *Ṭabakāt al-Mudallisīn*, Cairo 1322, p. 9 places him in the second rank of the *mudallisīn* i e those whose *tadlīs* the Imāms have tolerated, because they were such important personalities and their *tadlīs* amounted to very little (*killat tadlīsihī*) and gives as his authority al-Nasāʾī (Brockelmann, *G A. L*, ii 199) and al-Bukhārī [q. v.]. Sufyān's *tadlīs* however does not prevent the biographers vying with one another in telling stories to his credit He was one of the first to commit to writing the wealth of traditions stored in his memory. cf. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, *Annales*, ed Juynboll, i., 1855, p 387 *sq* and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i. 80 *sq*. The *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i., p. 225, for example gives a number of works by him, namely: 1) *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*; 2) *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, 3) *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ* and 4) and 5) two epistles the subject of which is not recorded. Then there is his commentary on the Ḳurʾān, *Tafsīr*, which according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 3248 is quoted by Thaʿlabī These works however have not survived; several biographies record that on his deathbed Sufyān commissioned a friend whose name is not given (cf. *Fihrist*, ii., p. 98, note 3, on p 225) to burn them, which was done. The reason for this action is said by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i 126) to have been that he felt remorse at the traditions with weak authority which he had admitted into his books; the reproach of *tadlīs* already mentioned therefore does not seem to have been made against him unjustly. The most comprehensive list of his authorities and pupils is given by Ibn Ḥadjar (*loc. cit.*, p. 111 *sq.*) but names not included here are given in other biographical sources. Al-Nawawī and Ibn Ḥadjar give as the best Kūfic *isnād*, Sufyān from Mansūr [b al-Muʿtamir, see Nawawī, p 578] from Ibrāhīm [al-Nakhaʿī, see Nawawī, p 135] from ʿAlḳama [al-Rāwī, see Nawawī, p 433] from Ibn Masʿūd [q v.].

As a faḳīh he was the founder of a madhhab which however later disappeared, cf Mez, *loc. cit*, p. 202 *sq* He was a strict follower of the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* [q. v] and as regards theology belonged to the *Ṣifātiya* i e he recognised the qualities of Allāh mentioned in the Kurʾān as existing in the literal sense and peculiar to him, cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed Cureton, i 65, 160 (transl by Haarbrucker, i 97, 242). That he was a Sunnī is proved, if it were necessary, from the profession of faith which he is said to have dictated to Shuʿaib b. Djarīr, cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, i, Ḥaidarābād 1333, p 193 In this, after speaking of the uncreatedness of the Kurʾān, he says that *ḳawl*, *ʿamal* and *nīya* (see SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ) constitute the *īmān* [q v], that it can increase and decrease (cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, ed 2, 1925, p 81), that pre-eminence (i. e. over ʿAlī, cf van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het zaidietische imamaat in Yemen*, 1919, index, s. v. *śaihks*, de beide) is due to the two shaikhs (Abū Bakr and ʿUmar), that in the minor ablution (*wudūʾ*) the washing of the foot-covering is permitted in place of the feet (*al-mash ʿalā al-khuffain*) (cf Goldziher, *loc. cit*, p 369), that it is better to recite the *basmala* in a low voice than in a loud one (cf Goldziher, *Beitrage zur Litteraturgeschichte der Śiʿa, S B. W. A*, lxxviii., 1874, p. 451 *sq*, 457), that one must believe in predestination (see KADAR), that one may pray on Friday and at the two festivals behind any imām, but at other times must choose one in whose piety one has confidence and of whom one knows that he is a Sunnī and finally that the *djihād* will exist to the day of judgment (see Hughes, *Dict of Islām*, 1885, p 244a, b) and that one should obey every person in authority, whether he is just or unjust. It is easy to see that the majority of these articles represent well known points of difference between Sunna and Shīʿa, which are all decided according to the Sunnī view. Nevertheless Sufyān is credited with an inclination to the Shīʿa; thus the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, *loc. cit.*, mentions among his authorities the imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [q. v]; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Maʿārif*, p 301 mentions him in a list of Shīʿis, and al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2516, gives a story according to which he was a Shīʿī but met two scholars in Baṣra who persuaded him to change. He has, however, also been claimed as a Zaidī, cf. *Fihrist*, p. 178, and, thereon van Arendonk, *loc. cit.*, 284, and index s. v.; "*Corpus Iuris*" *di Zaid ibn Ali*, ed. Griffini, 1919, p. clxxv. with note 3 and index s.v.

These are doubtless inventions Massignon, *La Passion d'Al-Ḥallâj*, 1922, p 72 sees their origin in the fact that for men like Sufyān, al-Shāfiʿī etc. reverence for the Prophet implied reverence for his family which of course included the ʿAlids. The explanation given by Bergsträsser in his review of the *Corpus Iuris*, *O L Z*, 1922, col. 122 *sqq.* seems to me much more illuminating, namely that the *Corpus* in many cases is in conformity with the jurists of the ʿIrāḳ of whom Sufyān was one. As it thus comes about that he often taught the same as the *Corpus* (except that in reality it was the latter that borrowed), he might be claimed as a Zaidī. It must have been similar with his Shiʿism — The above mentioned requirement of *ʿamal* as an essential of *īmān* is directed against the Murdjiʾa, cf thereon Goldziher, *Vorlesungen* ², p 351, where it is related (on the authority of Ibn Saʿd) how Sufyān refused to take part in the funeral of a murdjiʾ

That Sufyān was an ascetic is beyond doubt. Here also the biographers cannot quote too many stories about him The best evidence of his asceticism is however that he is claimed by the Ṣūfīs as one of their fore-runners. Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* (ed Nicholson, i., 1905, p 188 *sqq.*), devotes an article of nearly 9 pages to him, which however contains nothing characteristic and of which H H Schaeder's remark (*Islām*, xiv, p. 1) on the biographies of the devout men of the past in general in ʿAṭṭār holds, namely that they are "very much modelled on a single pattern of mystic piety" Sufyān is however mentioned by the *Fihrist*, i 183, in a list of ascetics who wore the *ṣūf* and Abū Nasr al-Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, ed Nicholson (*G M S.*, xxii 1914), p. 22 actually quotes him as evidence of the antiquity of the Sūfīya. His relations with al-Djunaid (q. v) are several times discussed, although the two could not have known one another, cf e. g al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl Nicholson (*G M S*, xvii, 1911), p 128 The reference is apparently only to intellectual kinship; it is difficult to understand it otherwise when Abu 'l-Mahāsin (*loc. cit*, ii. 213) says that al-Hallādj [q v.] was acquainted with Sufyān (*lakiya*) On the other hand, one need not doubt the truth of the story recorded by the same author (i 424) that Sufyān was on friendly terms with the ascetic Shaibān al-Rāʿī (d. 158) who lived the life of a hermit in Lebanon.

These remarks on Sufyān viewed from different angles, corresponding to different currents in the intellectual history of Islām, are of course nothing more than prolegomena, they cannot take the place of a monograph on him, the necessity of which must be evident from the manifold variety of what we have said above.

Bibliography. On the sources it should first of all be noted that al-Dhahabī's *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, i, p 192, depends on his own great historical work in which he dealt at great length with Sufyān. The volume, in which the article must have been, is however not quoted among the manuscripts of the separate volumes mentioned in Brockelmann, *G. A L*, ii. 47. Al-Dhahabī also refers to a book on the *Manāḳib* of Sufyān by Ibn al-Djawzī [q. v.] but this has not survived. — The biographical, bibliographical, and historical works quoted in the article almost all contain articles on Sufyān, which have been utilised here. So far as they have appeared in European editions, the indices should be consulted, s.v. Sufyān, for scattered references to his life and teaching. The reader may be also referred to the story of his meeting with Mā shāʾa Allāh in al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Lippert, p. 327, to his refusal of the office of ḳāḍī, as it is told in al-Hudjwīrī, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 and to his meeting with al-Mansūr (Ibn ʿAhd Rabbihī, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1331, ii., p. 108) — The indices of the European works should also be consulted for passages not quoted here There is further Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 1920 (in *Muh Stud.*, ii, the reference in p. 58 is not in the Index on it cf D B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, 1903, p. 97 *sq*); Browne, *Lit Hist. of Persia*, 1909, i. 424—426 (p. 434 he adopts the already mentioned story of Sufyān's meeting with al-Ḥallādj)

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-**SUFYĀNĪ**. [See AL-MAHDĪ]

SUGHD. [See SOGHD]

SUGHDĀḲ, once a great seaport, now a little town in the Crimea, Greek Σουγδαία or Σουγδαία, also Σουγδία, Latin and Italian Soldaia or Soldachia, Old Russian Surož; the Arabic form Sholtātia in Idrīsī (transl Jaubert, ii 395) is probably connected with the Italian form The name is connected with Soghd [q v], the name of a country in Central Asia and explained as Iranian, its foundation is therefore ascribed to the Alans (see ALLĀN) The Alans are mentioned in the region (east of the Tauric Chersonese) as late as the xiiith and xivth centuries Like the Greek cities, Sugdaia had an era of its own, according to which the year of its foundation was 212 B C , but the name is not found in Pliny nor in any other geographer of antiquity It is first mentioned in the viiith century by the Anonymous writer of Ravenna (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed Pinder and Parthey, Berlin 1860, p 175 *sq.* Sugdabon) At that time the town had a Greek bishop although it was not under Byzantine but Khazar rule It was only after the destruction of the Khazar empire and of the Russian principality of T'mutarakan that the whole southern shore of the Crimea passed to Byzantium During Latin rule in Constantinople this region belonged to the kingdom of Trebizond Twice, in 1223 and 1238, Sughdāḳ was sacked by Tatars. It is to the intervening period that the very full but undated account in Ibn Bībī ([q. v.]: Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, iii. 329 *sqq* ; iv. 134 *sqq*) of the invasion by Turks from Asia Minor belongs; Husām al-Dīn Čoban the commander sent by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaiḳubād (616—634 = 1219—1236) succeeded in defeating the Greeks in Sughdāḳ and their allies, the Russians and Kipčaḳ In Sughdāḳ the bells were broken in pieces, a large mosque built in less than a fortnight, a *muʾadhdhin*, a *khaṭīb* and a ḳadī appointed and a garrison left; but the Turks seem (*op. cit.*, iii. 358; iv. 138 *sq*) to have been very soon driven out again. In 1249 the Tatars were forced to leave Sughdāḳ whereupon the Greek governor (*Sebastos*) had the population counted The total was only 8,300, which probably refers only to male adults In spite of its small population Sughdāḳ was then of great importance for sea-trade, especially for trade with Venice, as is evident from Venetian documents

and from Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i. 2 *sq.*). Sughdāḳ suffered a heavy blow in the reign of Özbeg, Khān of the Golden Horde (712—741 = 1302—1340); on Aug 8, 1322, the town was occupied without resistance by Kara-Bulat, sent by Özbeg, all the bells were carried off, all images of saints and crucifixes smashed, and all the churches closed In spring 1327 Özbeg ordered his governor Tolaktemir to destroy the citadel and several churches When Ibn Baṭṭūta [q. v], visited "Surdāḳ" (for Sūdāḳ) it looked like a Turkish and Muslim city; only a few Greek artisans were left The harbour is described by Ibn Battūta as "one of the largest and best" The houses were mainly of wood (*Riḥla*, Paris, ii 414 *sq*) The Christian population soon came back again The conquest of Sughdāḳ by the Genoese in 1365 and the treaty between them and the Tatars of 1380 were important events in the history of the town The district of Sughdāḳ in those days extended as far as Alushta and included 18 villages, almost the same number as the corresponding Turkish *ḳāḍīlīḳ* in 1774 (19), they must have been the same villages, as the most westerly one, Alushta (Arab Shālūsta), did not belong in the Genoese period to the district of Sughdāḳ Sughdāḳ henceforth, down to the Turkish conquest of 1475, belonged to the Genoese colony of Gazaria or Gazaria and was administered by a separate consul, subordinate to the consul of Kafa In the sources dealing with the Turkish conquest only the fighting round Kafa is fully described, no details of the fall of Sughdāḳ are known Unlike Kafa, Sughdāḳ experienced no revival under Turkish, nor later under Russian rule Broniewski (1578) describes Sughdāḳ as a town in ruins The present ruins (pictures e g in Marco Polo, ed Yule-Cordier, i 3; Yu Kulakovskiy, *Proshloye Tavrida*[2], Kiew 1914, p 120 , L Kolli, *Izv Tavr Arkh Komissii*, xxxviii , p 1) date mainly from the Genoese period

Bibliography (cf also BAGHČE SARĀI and KAFA) V. G Vasilʾewskiy, *Istoričeskiya svidʾeniya o Surože* (*Trudy V G Vasilʾewskago, t III, Izd. Akademii Nauk*, Petrograd 1915), P. Melioranskiy, *Seldjuk-Name, kak istočnik dlya istorii Vizantii v XII—XIII vekakh* (*Vig Vremennik*, i. 613 *sqq*); L Kolli, *Khristoforo Di-Negro poslʾedniy konsul Solʾdai* (*Izv Tavr Učenoy Arkh Komissii*, xxxviii., 1905, p. 1 *sqq*)

(W BARTHOLD)

AL-**SUHAIL**, i e the Κάνωβος (Canopus) of the ancients, the star *α* Carinae in the modern star catalogues, next to Sirius the brightest fixed star in the heavens (magnitude — 0 9), but invisible for all regions north of 37° of Latitude; for it has a declination of $\delta = -52^\circ 38' 52''$, while its right ascension AR = $6^h 22^m 1^s$ In the northern Muslim lands, therefore it scarcely rises above the horizon and for example about the year 2,000 B. C in Babylon its altitude of culmination was only 2° 9 It was therefore the most southern of the fixed stars marked on the spider (*al-ʿankabūt*) of the Arab astrolabes

The name Suhail was given by the Arabs to several stars in the southern heavens; but *suhail al-Yaman*, *suhail hadār*, *suhail al-wazn*, or *suhail* alone, always meant Canopus i. e. the bright large star of the southern helm in the constellation of *al-safīna* (the ship). As in the northern parts of the Indian Ocean, Canopus rises in the S S.E and sets in the S.S.W., in the nautical language of the Arabs, according to G. Ferrand, S.S.E. is indicated by *muṭāliʿ al-suhail*, S by *ḳuṭb al-suhail* and S S W. with *maghrib al-suhail* In Central Arabia Canopus is called *e-shēl*; it is used to find the south. According to J J. Hess, the Beduin of Central Arabia say: *ent rātsib n-shēl fī wedjhek* ("when thou ridest, Canopus is in thy face").

Various suggestions have been made regarding the derivation and meaning of the word *suhail* Ideler points out that *suhail* can be explained as diminutive of *sahl* "level", but finds Buttman's explanation the least forced, that *al-suhail* received this and the two names *ḥadār* and *al-wazn* because it only rises a little above the horizon in the lands where these names are given it; it is therefore called "the heavy", "the earthly"; *ḥaḍār* from the earth and *sahl* from the plain, above which it rises very little Eratosthenes tells us that it was called περίγειος, "terrestris" for this reason by the ancients

According to F X. Kugler the Babylonians placed Canopus in the constellation ^{mul}NUN^{ki} = ^{k}Eridu (= constellation of Eridu i e Vela + Southern Puppis + Canopus) On the Greek name Κάνωβος the following may be noted. Κάνωβος was the steersman of the ship which was to bring Menelaus back to Greece A storm drove the ship on to the Libyan coast. Κάνωβος died here of a snake-bite Menelaus, deeply mourning the death of his excellent friend had a splendid memorial built to him and called the settlement of Spartiates that arose here Κάνωβος in honour of Κάνωβος It lay on the western mouth of the Nile, a few geographical minutes north of the site of Alexandria (cf also Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii 60 "Condidere id [oppidum Canopum] Spartani, ob sepultum illic rectorem navis, Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus, Graeciam repetens, diversum ad mare terramque Libyam delectus est").

The Egyptian name for Canopus is not yet certainly known In the Dekan lists (cf Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, p 148, 173), there is the name of a dekan *ḥrı ỉb wʿ* (= he in the boat) but that this is a steersman, let alone the steersman Κάνωβος, cannot be proved, on the contrary it is improbable as the dekan star is to be sought in the vicinity of the ecliptic

According to Athanasius Kircher, Canopus was the god of moisture and of fertility and as, he had his abode in the Nile, in Egypt he was the god of water generally, comparable to Poseidon and Neptune. He was therefore naturally credited with influences relating to seafaring in astrology, i e in the horoscope of a new born infant The following reference to this is found in Hieronymus Vitalis (*Lexicon Mathematicum*, Paris 1668, p. 63): "Argo Navis sidus in caelo ad Australem plagam stellas continens secundum communem, numero 45, at secundum Bayer, 63. Omnes fere de natura Saturni, parvum Jovis; intra quas una fulgentissima in Canopo existans primae magnitudinis, arabice Rubail (!) Haec in Horoscopo, inquit Pontanus in Urania (cf. Pontanus, Giovanni Giovano da Caretto, *De rebus caelestibus*, lib. xiv., Florenz 1520), facit Nauclerum et praestat fortunam in navigationibus, praesertim si Veneris benigno radio fulciatur: At in occasu cum Saturno partiliter reperta, portendit mortem in aquis".

The treatise of the Arab astronomer and court physician Sinān b. Thābit b. Ḳurra Abū Saʿīd

(† 943): "On the star Canopus" no longer exists

Bibliography L Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 249—251, 269, G Ferrand, *l'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in *J A*, 1924, p. 216 *sqq* ; F. X Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Munster 1913, suppl., p 175; Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus aegyptiacus*, Rome 1652, p. 207—212 — On Dekans and Dekan stars, cf F. K Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathem u. techn Chronologie*, Leipzig 1906, 1., p 165 *sqq* (C. SCHOY)

ṢUḤĀR, a seaport on the coast of ʿUmān in 24° 22′ N Lat. and 56° 45′ East Long with about 7,500 inhabitants. The harbour has a good roadstead and excellent anchorage and is well protected in the north and west by the promontory of Faiksa and from the south by Cape Suwāra The most important building is the palace of the lord of the town, which is richly ornamented, having pointed arches, slender round pillars, crossed vaulting, projecting balconies and turrets The palace stands on a little eminence within the town and is surrounded by a triple wall and a ditch, which is crossed by a bridge leading to the inner gateway. On the wall are old field guns and four great cannons before the entrance Before the palace lies an open square planted with trees which stretches to the walls on the seaside. The town is defended by walls on which a few old guns still stand and is guarded by a ditch against the land side The market-place is large and has a busy trade. The market-hall called Ḳaiṣarīya [q.v.] is vaulted with great swing-doors and is long and spacious, most of the artisans are weavers, smiths, gold- and silversmiths or copper-smiths, and are masters of their crafts. The town is picturesque The two or three storied houses are often connected by archways over the narrow streets. The town is probably about two miles round, it is connected by a broad road with neighbouring towns like Masḳat, the hinterland is very fertile, well watered, and thickly populated Fishing is very much followed, and it plays an important part in providing the food supply of the population.

Although A. Sprenger's identification of Suhār with the Oman of Pliny cannot be maintained, there can be no doubt that we have a very old settlement here, which can be traced back to the pre-Muslim period at least How ancient the town is in the eyes of Arab scholars may be seen from the legend which traces its foundation to Suḥār b. Iram b. Sām b. Nūh The Persians who were at one time supreme in the gulf called after Yemen were probably the first rulers of this town The old name of the town, Mazūn, which the older Arab writers mention, is also Persian. Ṣuḥār first appears in history in the year 8 (629/630) when the envoys of the Prophet Muhammad, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī and Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī, handed the Prophet's message to the two princes of the town, Djaifar and ʿAbd (or ʿAbbād) They accepted Muḥammad's offer and adopted Islām; the first mentioned of the Prophet's envoys remained as resident in ʿUmān. The name of the town is again mentioned in the accounts of the funeral of Muḥammad where it is recorded that the corpse of the Prophet was wrapped in two robes of Ṣuḥārī manufacture (other texts give Sahūlī); the textile industry of the town was even then apparently highly developed, which may have been due to Persian influence. The general unrest which seized the whole of Arabia after the death of the Prophet also affected ʿUmān and particularly Ṣuḥār. In the war against the leader of the pagan party in ʿUmān, Dhu 'l-Tādj Laḳīṭ b Malik al-Azdī, in which the leaders of the Muslim party were the two brothers ʿAbbād and Djaifar of the al-Djulanda family, the latter had for a time to abandon Ṣuḥār and take refuge in the mountains. But they apparently succeeded in returning to Suḥār and leading the resistance against the pagan party there until the town was taken by the Muslims in 12 (633/634) But like the rest of ʿUmān it was only very loosely attached to the Muslim empire. The situation was altered when the notorious Umaiyad governor Ḥadjdjādj b Yūsuf conquered ʿUmān and united it to al-ʿIrāk. In 751 A D the land again became independent and chose a ruler for itself in the person of al-Djulanda b. Masʿūd al-Azdī, the first Imām of ʿUmān. The capital however was not Suḥār but Nazwa. By the tenth century A D Ṣuḥār had attained considerable prosperity It was considered the most important town of ʿUmān and the most beautiful on the Persian Gulf, flourishing, populous, rich and busy, more important than Zabīd or Sanʿā', healthy, with wonderful markets and pleasant surroundings The fine houses were built of brick and teak. The great Friday mosque was built by the sea, the splendid building with a lofty minaret stood on the spot where the Prophet's camels had knelt down. The *miḥrāb* had a winding staircase which presented different colours, yellow, green and red, from different sides. A small chapel (*muṣallā*) lay in the centre of a palm-grove Springs with good water and canals of fresh water provided the town's water-supply and its climate was considered excellent. The capacious bazaars were filled with the most varied goods. Suhār was a depot for wares from China, and the centre for trade with the East and the ʿIrāḳ and was also of importance for the trade of Yemen It had an advantageous position for trade with the east. The harbour which was always busy with ships entering or leaving was a parasang in length and breadth. The language of business was Persian, as al-Muḳaddasī expressly tells us. Merchants from all parts of the world met here. There was constant intercourse with Yemen and China for which expeditions were equipped here The rich land which produced dates, bananas, figs, pomegranates, quinces, and other fruits attained wealth and prosperity There was also constant intercourses with al-Bahrain, for which a road ran from Ṣuḥār along the coast over the mountains to Djulfār. But its decline soon set in The campaign of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and that of al-Muʿtaḍid, the latter of whom tried with more success to gain ʿUmān for the Caliphate, do not seem to have seriously affected Suhār. Suḥār was destroyed in the Ḳarmaṭian troubles but rebuilt again. In 362 (972/973) there was an encounter before Ṣuḥār between Abū Ḥarb, ʿAḍud al-Dawla's general and the Zendj who had occupied ʿUmān Abū Harb was victorious and seized Ṣuḥār the population of which had to take to flight. In 433 (1041—1042) the Būyid Abū Kālidjār sent a Persian army by sea to ʿUmān which had risen against him. The fleet anchored before Ṣuḥār, occupied the town and brought the people to submission. But neither the Būyids nor the Seldjūḳ

rulers of Persia, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Caliphs of Baghdād did anything to revive the prosperity of Ṣuḥār. About the middle of the twelfth century A. D the trade of Suḥār with the Far East was ended, when a governor of Yemen by a clever coup seized control of the Persian Gulf and not only strangled traffic by sea but also plundered the coast so that trade went more and more to ʿAden. According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir, who is well informed, Suḥār was already destroyed in the first quarter of the seventh century A. H. (c. 1225 A. D.) and its trade had passed to the Persian emporium of Hurmuz, and to the Arabian harbour of Ḳalhāt. Suḥār seems to have revived again later and to have been rebuilt, for Marco Polo mentions it under the name "Soer" and says that it traded in horses with Malabar. Ibn Battūta also mentions Suḥār in his *Travels* On Sept. 16, 1506 a Portuguese fleet, which was conducting an attack on Hurmuz from Soḳoṭrā [q v] passed for the first time before the town which the Portuguese called "Soar" The town and also the fortress were occupied by them. In 1588, they built a new fort which was restored at the beginning of the xviiith century, and was surrounded for a circumference of 8 miles with tamarisks and fields of corn and vegetables The yield from taxation and other revenues was not unimportant and amounted to 1,500 Xerafis When the Yaʿrubid Nāsir b Murshid b. Sulṭān, who had gained a following in the towns in the interior attacked the Portuguese possessions in ʿUmān, the Portuguese could only hold the fortified coast towns of Ṣuhār, Masḳaṭ, al-Matraḥ and Karyāt Their influence on land in any case had never been important. In order to take Suhār, Nāsir b Murshid had a fort built on the coast and threatened the city; this attack was so far successful that the Portuguese were only able to hold the citadel of Suhār and also lost Ḳaryāt. They were able to retain the fortified market-place for a time on payment of tribute to the Imām, about 1650 they were finally driven out In 1724, Suhār was taken by Khalaf b. Mubārak the rival of Muhammad b. Nāsir but later surrendered to the Yaʿrubid Saif b. Sultān. In 1738 Ṣuhār was besieged by the Persians, who after the conquest of Masḳat had been defeated at Ṣuhār by its governor Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, but returned to attempt to take the town The stubborn defence under Aḥmad foiled all their efforts The town must have suffered severely — its important commerce had already been ruined by the Portuguese — for according to C Niebuhr it was of no great importance. A heavy blow to it was the raids by pirates who had settled in the stronghold of Shinās at the beginning of the xixth century. Slight relief was brought by English intervention which led in 1819 to a naval battle between the pirates and ships of the English navy off Suḥār. J. R Wellsted who visited the town in 1836 describes Ṣuḥār as the most important and by far the largest town on the thickly populated ʿUmān coast between Shinās and Birēma, and next in importance to Masḳaṭ as a commercial centre. It had 40 large bangalás and maintained a considerable trade with Persia and India The number of inhabitants including those of the adjoining small villages is put by Wellsted at 9,000, including 20 families of Jews who had a small synagogue and made a living by money-lending. It is evidence of the importance of the trade of Ṣuḥār at this time, that the Shaikh of the town drew a revenue of 10,000 dollars annually from harbour dues and in 1825 the tribute paid by Ṣuḥār to the Imām of ʿUmān amounted to 24,000 dollars. The treaty concluded by England on Jan 8, 1820, with the pirates guaranteed for a brief period peace and security in the waters of the Persian Gulf so that the trade and commerce of the ports prospered. But while the then Imām of ʿUmān, Saiyid Saʿīd, was intent on extending his possessions in East Africa, his authority was undermined in his absence; piracy was again revived and the pirate chief Hamūd b ʿAzzān seized Ṣuḥār and Rastāḳ. The Imām Saʿīd could not do much against this and in 1834 was forced to recognise his rival. Two years later he went with the help of the Wahhābīs to drive Hamūd out of Suhār. The town was blockaded by land and sea but the siege led to no decisive result as Saʿīd was afraid that if they took the town it would fall not to him but to the Wahhābī Faisal b. Turkī Saʿīd was freed from his dilemma by an English warship which brought Hamūd to Masḳaṭ where he was forced to sign a treaty handing over the rule over Ṣuhār to his son Saif. As the latter did not fulfil the pledges made to his father, and refused him his due share of the revenues, Hamūd had his son murdered in 1849 and assumed power himself, but with the approval of England was seized and imprisoned by Saʿīd His brother Ḳais b. ʿAzzān succeeded him in Suḥār but had to hand over the town in 1852 to Saiyid Saʿīd under superior military pressure and to be content with ruling over Rastāḳ. From that date Ṣuhār has again formed part of the imāmate of ʿUmān, which now for the most part belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Saʿūd

Bibliography· al-Istakhrī, *B G.A*, i 25; Ibn Hawḳal, *B G. A*, ii. 32; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G.A*, iii. 34, 67, 70 *sq*, 92, 96; al-Masʿūdī, *B. G. A*, viii 281, al-Hamdānī, *Sifat Djazirat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H Muller, Leiden 1884—1891, p 125; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Kitāb Taḳwim al-Buldān*, ed Ch Schier, Dresden 1846, p 75, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii. 368, 369; *Marāṣid al-ʿIṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G J. Juynboll, Leiden 1853, ii. 147, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1876, i. 207; ii. 599; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, French transl by Jaubert, ii 6; ʿAzimuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Sudarabien bezuglichen Angaben Nazwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm*, *G. M S*, xxiv., Leiden 1916, p 16, 59; al-Dimishḳī, *Kitāb Nukhbat al-Dahr fī ʿAdjā'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Bahr*, ed A. F. Mehren², Leipzig 1923, p 218; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1858—1860, p. 1019; Abū Dharr, *Sharḥ al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, ed P Bronnle, Cairo 1911, ii, p. 462; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi 115; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ii. 285; viii. 475, ix. 344; *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses per Fernão Lopez de Castanheda*, Coimbra 1552, ii., ch. 58; *L'Ambassade de Dom Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, Paris 1667, p. 388; *Decada primeira da Asia de Iodo de Barros*, Lisbon 1628, ix., ch. 1, fol. 172; *Decada Secunda*, ii., ch. 1; x., ch. 7; *Terceira decada da Asia de Iodo de Barros*, Lisbon 1563, vii., ch. 5; *Decada decima da Asia de Diego de Couto*, i., ch. 7; *Decada XIII. da Historia da India por Antonio Bocarro*, Lisbon 1876, ch. 157; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*

von Arabien, Copenhagen 1772, p. 296; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, VIII/1, Berlin 1846, p. 375, 378, 382, 389, 476, 489 *sq.*, 498, 508, 526 *sq.*; J. R. Wellstedt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, I 229—233, W. Gifford Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year*; *Journey in Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, II, 329—337; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, III/3, Leipzig 1864, p. 109, 141, 146 *sq.*, do, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p 124, 300, do, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*², Berlin 1869, III., p. 382, 442 *sq.*, E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, II., p. 76, 78; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 49; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1907, II 208, 560, note 3, 777—779 and note 5; Cl Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1913, II, p 76, 262 *sq*, 267 *sq.*, 275—280, F Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Turkei und England*, *Hamburgische Forschungen*, Braunschweig 1916, I., p. 155 *sq.*, 160—163, 170, 189, *Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, N⁰. 76, *Persian Gulf*, London 1920, p 32, *Admiralty Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916, p 251

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

SUHRAWARD was a town in Djibāl [q v], the ancient Media Noldeke was the first to connect the name with Suhrāb and Marquait followed him so that one may assume older forms of the name to have been **Suχrāp-kart*, **Suhi āvgerd* Noldeke thinks that the eponym of the town was the Suhrāb who was a Persian governor of al-Hīra [q v.] Although this does not mean that the town was not founded till the time of this governor — it is only a hypothesis that he and no other of the many known bearers of the name Suhrāb is the one in question — one should perhaps be careful not to date the foundation of the town at too remote a period. The classical geographers do not seem to have known the town, at least, no ancient name is known, which could be applied to the place later known as Suhraward

The site of Suhraward cannot be located with absolute certainty We have the statements of the Muslim geographers, according to which the town lay on the road from Hamadhān to Zandjān to the south of Sultānīya This road, 30 farsakhs long, was, according to Iṣtakhrī, used in times of peace as the shortest route to Ādharbāidjān, in troubled times the circuit via Kazwīn was taken Ibn Hawḳal states exactly the reverse about the use of these two routes In the IVth (Xth) century the town was already in the hands of the Kurds; the inhabitants were mainly heretics, who emigrated, with the exception of such as stayed in their native town out of lack of courage or love of their home.

The town, which had been walled, was destroyed by the Mongols; Mustawfī describes it as a little village with many Mongol villages around it On account of the cold in the Median highlands, little was grown here beyond corn and the smaller fruits.

Bibliography: On the etymology cf. Th Noldeke, *Über irânische Ortsnamen auf -kert und andere Endungen*, *Z. D. M. G*, XXXIII., 1879, p. 143 *sqq.*, esp. p 147; do, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 346, note 1; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (*A. G. W. Gott.*, N. F. III., N⁰. 2, 1901), p. 238; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. Suhrāb. — The passages in the Muslim geographers are briefly utilised by G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 223 with references; those of the Arabs only fully in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab Geographen*, VII, 1926, p. 731 *sqq* — The only map which attempts to locate Suhraward is map V in Le Strange's book — On famous men of Suhraward cf. in addition to the biographical works Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, s v Suhraward, and Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, *G.M.S.*, XX., s.v. Suhrawardī.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Hafṣ ʿUmar b ʿAbdallāh, a Sūfī and theologian of the Shāfiʿī school, was born in 539 (1145) at Suhraward in the province of Djibāl in Persia He pursued his first studies of mysticism under his uncle Abu 'l-Nadjīb, — whom he often quotes in his *ʿAwārīf al-Maʿārīf* — and under the celebrated Shaikh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī He settled in Bāghdād, where he was received at the court of the Caliph al-Nāṣir There he became chief of the Ṣūfīs and died at a great age in 632 (1234) Saʿdī, when he stayed in Baghdād, studied under Suhrawardī of whom he relates an anecdote in the *Bustān* (ed Graf, p. 150) Suhrawardī, who performed the ḥadjdj on several occasions, met the poet Ibn al-Fārid during a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1231 On this occasion the two sons of the poet were invested with the khirḳa [q v] by the celebrated Ṣūfī

ʿUmar Suhrawardī is a representative of orthodox Ṣūfism His best known books are the *ʿAwārīf al-Maʿārīf* and the *Kashf al-Naṣā'iḥ al-īmānīya wa-Kashf al-Fadā'iḥ al-yūnānīya* both dedicated to the Caliph al-Nāṣir The first is one of the most popular treatises on Sūfism It was published in Cairo on the margin of the *Ihyā'* of Ghazālī, and translated into English by H Wilberforce Clarke (from a Persian version) as an appendix to his translation of Ḥāfiz (London 1891) It is more particularly a treatise on ethics and practical mysticism, but it at the same time contains interesting historical notes and is of value for our knowledge of the Ṣūfī terminology The *Kashf al-Naṣā'iḥ* is a polemical work directed against the study of Greek philosophy In it Suhrawardī gives, on the model of the *Kalām* and of Ghazālī, a criticism of the hellenising philosophers but reveals a much inferior comprehension of philosophy to that of the author of the *Tahāfat* A curious feature of the book is that in it the Caliph al-Nāṣir, who himself taught, is frequently cited as an authority in support of traditions.

Bibliography. Brockelmann, *G A.L*, I 440—441 Also Carra de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris 1902, p 235—241; do, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, vol IV, Paris 1923, p 199—207 (S VAN DEN BERGH)

AL-SUHRAWARDĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Habāsh b Amīrak, known as al-Maḳtūl, was born in the middle of the XIIth century. He studied law at Marāgha and becoming a philosopher and Ṣūfī lived in Iṣfahān, then in Baghdād and Aleppo. It appears that at Aleppo the viceroy al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at first granted him his patronage but when his mysticism rendered him suspect to true believers and the orthodox party demanded his execution, al-Malik had him put to death in 578 (1191) He was then 36 or 38. He was called al-Maḳtūl to show that

he was not to be considered a martyr (*shahīd*).

Suhrawardī declares himself a Peripatetic and a Ṣūfī. In his interpretation of Aristotle, he is influenced by Ibn Sīnā But while Ibn Sīnā, just like the Greek commentators on Aristotle by whom he is inspired, does not, as a rule, make use of mysticism except to supplement or extend Aristotle's thought by certain Neo-Platonic theories when it in his view presents lacunae, or to develop monistic tendencies which he thinks are already implicit in the work of the master, one finds in Suhrawardī alongside of Peripatetic ideas all that mystic philosophy which Islām obtained from Hellenistic syncretism, all that mixture of Neo-Platonic doctrine, Hermetic theories, occult sciences, Gnostic traditions and Neo-Pythagorean elements For Suhrawardī and other Muslim mystics, as had been the case with Hellenistic syncretism — the Neo-Platonist Asclepiades, for example, had composed a treatise "On the Agreement of all Religions" — all philosophical systems and all religions express only one single truth and he claims as his masters Agathodaemon, Hermes and the "five greatest philosophers of Greece", Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle and at the same time Djamāsp and Buzurgmihr With patriotic pride he regards the latter as the true precursor of the Greek thinkers (the Jewish historian Artapanus — first century B C — had already said that Moses was the teacher of Orpheus and was known to the Greeks as Musaeus) and according to him it was they who — far from being dualists — were the first to express the truth of absolute Being and contingent Being under the symbols of Light and Darkness But, although he professes agreement with Aristotle and Plato, he gives in his principal work, *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-Ishrāk* (lithogr Teherān 1316 = 1898) a prominent place to an attack on Aristotle The extreme liberalism of his ideas even allows him, while teaching in other passages the theories criticised, to repeat the criticisms which the *Kalām* had formulated against certain fundamental theories of the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, e g against the theory of the definition of essence (by the argument, of sceptical origin, that we could only find the universal by complete induction from the particular cases which are infinite in number) and against the doctrine of matter (by the argument — of Stoic origin — that the possible has no objective existence, if this were not the case, it would be at once potential and actual) As a rule we find, quite frequently in him, those theories and arguments of the Sceptics and Stoics which the *Kalām* had taken up, he teaches for example the theory of the Stoics — revived by Leibniz — of the identity of the indiscernables and the theory of the Stoics or of the Sceptics of the subjectivity or the impossibility of relations and he shares with the *Kalām* the optimism of Stoic (or Neo-Platonic) theodicy — revived by Leibniz — "that everything is for the best in the best of possible worlds"

But what is most characteristic of his work is his metaphysics of light, of illumination (*ishrāḳ*) It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of things. We find this theory, which has played a great part in Christian and Muslim philosophy and mysticism, in most of the Arab philosophers, especially in Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ghazālī, but no one, I believe, has made so much use of this symbol as Suhrawardī Necessity and contingency, being and non-being, substance and accident, cause and effect, thought and sensation, body and soul, are all explained by his doctrine of *ishrāḳ*; he regards all that lives, or moves or has its being as light and even his proof of the existence of God is based upon this symbol. It is particularly for his metaphysics of light that he is known to posterity; he was the founder of a sect, whose name *al-ishrāḳiyūn* is derived from *ishrāḳ* and the order of dervishes, who trace their foundation to him, are similarly called *Nūrbakhshiya*

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AL-**SUHRAWARDĪ**, ʿABD AL-ḲĀHIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH, born in 490 (1097), d in 562 (1168), a Sūfī and jurist of the Hanafī school, see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 436.

ṢUḤUF. [See ṢAḤĪFA]

SŪḲ (A.), market, frequent in street- and place-names The word in this sense is, according to Fraenkel, *Die aram Fremdworter im Arab*, Leiden 1886, p 187, borrowed from the Aramaic. Fraenkel was especially induced to come to this opinion by the consideration that "markets in this sense must have been unknown to the earliest Arabs" This may be true for the early period during which the word may be presumed to have been borrowed from the Aramaic; but it is certain that regular markets were already in existence among the Arabs before Islām; on this the most recent reference is H. Lammens, *La Mecque a la veille de l'Hégire* (*M I F. A. O.*, IX 3, 1924), p. 57—58 (153—154), from whose quotations it is evident that *sūḳ* was used not only in the meaning of "market-place" but also in that of "market"

The whole complex of social, economic, and legal problems of the Muslim world associated with the conception of "market" can only be hinted at here. Preliminary studies dealing with special aspects of these questions do not exist; on the other hand, in many works of the most varied nature there are occasional notes which still have to be submitted to a systematic examination The most important thing to remember in such a study is that Islām in a very short time conquered an enormous territory, the separate parts of which, formerly independent kingdoms, with very different economic and legal histories, at once were formed into one state with a uniform government, with a system of law based on a single canon and administered by organs of the central authority and not by an independent local authority. The importance of this lies in the fact that Islām by its whole structure prevented the growth of

civic communities, possessing the right of making laws of their own, and able to use them in the local market, as was the case in the west during the middle ages At the same time, it is recognised that in Islām the existence of a market was much more independent of the protection of the town, in which it was situated than was the case in the west, in legal theory at least, and probably in fact also The historian of the market in the *Dār al-Islām* will thus have to trace back to pre-Muḥammadan times the local history of the markets in the different regions and to ascertain to what degree the Muslim conquest interfered with their development, and finally will have to ask whether typical developments are found after a study of many different cases, as far apart geographically as possible, which are characteristic of different parts of the empire and whether and how these types differ from the markets of these towns, which were only founded by the conquerers or at any rate after the conquest Such an investigation would be very important not only from the point of view of social, economic, and legal history, but it would to a very special degree throw light on the relation between *sharīʿa* and practice, and on the question whether the difference between the sects and the *maḏhāhib* in the different parts of the world of Islām favoured a varying development of this relation in certain fields, for example, on that of the history of the market, which is not to be traced to the fact that the regions in question belonged to different kingdoms before Islām

The *Bibliography* which would be required to study this problem is almost boundless; it is easier to mention Muslim works which are valueless for our subject than those that are There is the whole theological, historical, geographical and *adab* literature, as well as applied philosophy and a part of the poetry Only philology, metaphysics, mathematics and some natural sciences can be dropped, in so far as they do not deal with saleable goods

There is much economic material in modern travels, etc.; but these do not deal with questions of historical development A few observations which might serve as starting points are to be found in Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Grundriss der Sozialokonomik*, III 1922), p 522 *sqq* (cf H H. Schaeder in *Isl*, XIV. 1925, p. 5 *sqq*.) and in the posthumous *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* of the same writer (1923), Index s v Vorderer Orient (jungere Perioden)

Special mention should be made of al-Dimashḳī, *K al-Iṯāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tiḏjāra*, cf H Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft* (*Isl*, VII. 1—91) On the office of superintendent of the market cf ḤISBA, on some ḥadīths relating to the market cf A J Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Register, s v SŪḲ (M PLESSNER)

SŪḲ AL-SHUYŪKH, a small town in ʿIrāḳ on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 25 miles to the east of Nāṣirīya, opposite the mouth of the canal al-Badʿa, an arm of the Shaṭṭ al-Hāy The distance to Baṣra as the crow flies is about 100 miles. The town is surrounded by date-groves extending along the river bank, but the marshy country, that extends into Basra, makes the air very unhealthy Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh was founded in the first half of the XVIIIth century as a market-place (*sūḳ*) of the confederation of the Muntafiḳ [q. v.] Arabs; 4 hours to the east there was formerly the residence of the chief Shaikh of the Muntafiḳ, called Kūt al-Shuyūkh; the plural *shuyūkh* designates the members of the clan of this chief. To the end of the XVIIIth century Sūḳ was a small town with a mosque and surrounded by earthen walls (Beauchamp) and in the beginning of the XIXth century it is described as an extremely dirty town, inhabited by 6,000 families and having a lively commercial intercourse with Baṣra and even with Būshīr and Bombay. According to Fraser the Muntafiḳ Shaikh disdained to live in the town, but in Petermann's time (1854) he had a house there, the last mentioned traveller estimates the number of the population at 3,000 At the end of the XIXth century the number 12,000 is given (Cuinet, Sāmī), of whom 2,250 were Sunnīs possessing two mosques (*ḏjāmiʿ*), and 8,770 Shīʿīs with one sanctuary (*masḏjid*) The population also included of 280 Jews and 700 Mandaeans or Ṣubbā The latter lived for the greater part in the suburb Ṣubbūye on the opposite bank of the Euphrates Before 1853 the Mandaean population had numbered 260 families, but the oppression of the Muntafiḳ had caused 200 families to emigrate to ʿAmāra. The German orientalist Petermann in the year 1854 visited in Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh the high priest of the Mandaeans, Shaikh Yahyā As elsewhere these people are here silversmiths; they are also builders of a special type of boats.

Under Turkish administration Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh became the capital of a *kaḍā* of the same name in the *sanḏjaḳ* of Muntafik The tribes living on both sides of the town (Badūr and Banī Asad) are Shīʿīs The number of the population of the *kaḍā* is given as 50,000 (Cuinet)

Bibliography Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XI. (vol. VII, second part), p 1000, 1008, who cites the earlier travellers, H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, II, p 83—93, V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, III, p 308 *sqq*, Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, IV 2687; M von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, II 72; E Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p 72; W. Brandt, *Die Mandaer*, *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, N R., Amsterdam 1915, vol XVI, p 57—58

(J. H. KRAMERS)

SUKAINA, daughter of al-Ḥusain b ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib and of Rabab bint Imrʾ al-Ḳais b ʿAdī b ʿAws the poetess, who gave her daughter the name of Sukaina (sometimes called: Sakina, but the *Ḳāmūs* has: Sukaina). Her real name was Umaima (according to Ibn al-Kalbī quoted by Ibn Saʿd and the *Aghānī*) or Umaina but more probably Āmina or Amīna (according to the *Aghānī*) The date of her birth is not known; but she was a little girl at the time of her father's death (definitely stated by Tabarī, II. 232, 10, and by Ibn al-Athīr in telling of the death of Ḥusain, *Kāmil*, IV 73; the same writer says that Yazīd had the survivors of the day of Kerbelāʾ — of whom Sukaina was one — brought to Medīna under a strong guard — and that the latter's mother died of grief a year later; ibid., IV. 76/6). Sukaina is particularly famous for her successive marriages; very contradictory statements are given regarding their number and order. According to the *Kit. al-Aghānī*, a proposed marriage with her cousin Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī came

to nothing and the latter married Sukaina's sister Fāṭima Ibn Ḳutaiba and Ibn Sa'd give lists; the former three lists in which the order varies, the second two lists; the *Aghānī* gives six contradictory lists. It is best in the circumstances to accept the oldest order, on which Ḳutaiba and Ibn Sa'd are almost in agreement, the order adopted by Ibn Khallikān. Her first husband, according to this, was Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair b al-'Awwām (d. in 70 or 71 in a battle fought against 'Abd al-Malik b Marwān; cf Ibn al-Athīr, iv. 263 *sqq*), Mus'ab gave Sukaina a considerable dowry when she was given him by her brother 'Alī (cf the satirical verses in Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, p. 53), they had a daughter to whom Sukaina gave her mother's name; this daughter married the brother of Mus'ab and died young The second husband of Sukaina seems to have been 'Abdallāh b 'Uthmān, nephew of Mus'ab b al-Zubair, from this union was born 'Uthmān called Ḳuraiṣ (and according to Ibn Sa'd two other children Ḥākim and Rabīha), a union not always peaceful (according to the *Aghānī*) The third husband was, according to Ibn Sa'd, Zaid b 'Amr b 'Uthmān b 'Affān, the *Aghānī* describes him as miserly and unreliable and speaks of continual quarrels with Sukaina, who survived him Al-Asbagh b 'Abd al-'Azīz b Marwān (d 86), brother of 'Umar b 'Abd al-'Azīz and governor of Egypt from 75 A H, married the divorced Sukaina without ever consummating the union (too much stress need not be laid on the differences of the biographers on this question; while Ibn Kutaiba, followed by Ibn Khallikān and Safadī makes al-Asbagh the third husband of Sukaina, Ibn Sa'd and a verse quoted by the *Aghānī* made him her fourth husband) According to Ibn Sa'd, besides, Sukaina married, immediately after Zaid b. 'Amr, Ibrāhīm b 'Abd al-Rahmān b 'Awf al-Zuhrī with whom she lived three months; they were divorced, it is said by orders of Hishām b 'Abd al-Malik, which is not at all probable, according to Ibn Hadjar and Ibn Kutaiba (*Ma'ārif*) Ibrāhīm died in 76, aged 75, the marriage must therefore have been earlier. Ibn Kutaiba further records, without giving an authority, that Sukaina married 'Amr b Ḥākim b. Ḥizām The statements of the *Aghānī* about a marriage between Sukaina and her cousin 'Abdallāh b Hasan b. 'Alī may be rejected Sukaina was generally recognised to have been one of the most remarkable women of her time One of the authorites quoted by the *Aghānī* (xiv) describes her as chaste, fastidious, full of a dignity which did not exclude a fondness for badinage (jests and hoaxes quoted, xiv and xvii, p. 94, 97, 101) The beauty of her hair was celebrated; she had a particular method of arranging it; at a later period 'Umar b 'Abd al-'Azīz strictly prohibited this coiffure. She was very proud, not only of her beauty but of her ancestors (*Aghānī*, xiv. 164) and of her daughter whom she liked to cover with jewels. She also gave evidence of the possession of courage, if we may believe *Aghānī* (xiv.) on the stoicism with which she submitted to an operation on the eye. She was also a woman of wit, devoted to poetry and song (numerous anecdotes, *Aghānī*). She spent her life in the region of the sacred cities and died at Medīna on Thursday 5th Rabī' I 117 (April 7, 735). Her burial was postponed for several hours because the governor ordered that they should wait till he could arrive.

Bibliography. Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, *Aghānī*, index; Yāḳūt, index, and *Syria*, 1921, p. 221 *sqq*.; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, index; Ibn Sa'd, viii 348; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v 252, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, ed. Juynboll, index; al-Dhahabī, ed De Jong, s. v.; Ibn Khallikān, transl de Slane, i 581; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G A*, 186; Ibn al-Tiḳtaḳā', *Fakhrī*, transl Amar, p 197; *Mustaṭraf*, transl Rat, i. 201; Tha'ālibī, *Rois des Perses*, p 727; Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, ed. De Jong, index; Zainab Fawwaz, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, p. 244; al-Shablandjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāḳib al-Bait al-Nabi 'l-mukhtār*, Cairo 1298, p 259—263; Ṣafadī, B N. Paris MS 2064, fol 151 v°, Perron, *Femmes arabes*; Kremer, *Kulturgesch*, ii 100; *J. A*, 1832, p. 47 and 50; 1884, p. 173, N° 1 (H Massé)

SUKKAR, from Pers *shakar* or *shakkar*, from Sanskrit *çarkarā*, Prakrit *sakkarā*, the sap crushed from the sugar-cane (*kaṣab al-sukkar*) and solid sugar. Vullers (ii 439) gives the following from the *Bh shakkar* is in the technical language of the physicians the sap of a plant, similar to the reed (*nay*) but not hollow between the nodes, which becomes solid on boiling It is given different names in different stages of preparation Thus for example, when not yet purified (simply solidified) it is called *shakkar surkh* (red sugar); when it is boiled a second time and purified by being poured into a vessel where the impurities are deposited, it is called *Sulaimānī*, when it has again been boiled and poured into a mould shaped like a pine-apple (*kālib ṣanawbarī*) it is called *fānīd*; when it is boiled for a third time and reaches the highest stage of purity, it is called *īmūdj* or double *kand*, when it is poured into long reed-shaped moulds similar at both ends, it is called *ḳalam* (sugar-stick), when it is once more boiled and poured into glass moulds, it is called *nabāt-i kaszūzī* (grown silk sugar?); if it is brought to the boil with water and stirred vigorously till it solidifies and is then drawn out into threads it is called *fānīd khazā'ī* and *sandjarī* (*Sindjarī*?); if in the third boiling it is brought to the boil with a tenth of its bulk of fresh milk added to it, until it solidifies, it is called *ṭabarzad* (sugar lump)

The names are not all clear The word *fānīd* came into Persia from the Sanskrit *phāṇita*, *ḳand* or *kand* from the Sanskrit *khanda* (with the meaning somewhat changed) As *Sulaimānī* is probably a trade-mark, from the name of the town of Sulaimānān in Khūzistān, *Sindjarī* may refer to the district of Sindjar Instead of *khazā'ī*, we find the reading *khazā'inī*, which P. Schwarz proposed to translate "intended for the treasuries"; *sandjarī* therefore might also mean "royal". The pine-apple shape is the original of our sugar-loaf, the *ḳalam*-shapes were probably cylindrical, the name *ṭabarzad* "chopped with an axe" is also given to rock salt; the sugar made in this way must have been so hard that it had to be smashed into small pieces.

A wild variety of the sugar-cane (*saccharum officinale*) is not known and the attempt to cultivate the related *S spontaneum*, which is widely distributed, has not succeeded The original home of the sugar-cane is Bengal; it is said to have been brought from there to China in the seventh century B C. Herodotus did not know of the sugar-cane, nor Ktesias, the court physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (c. 416); on the other hand Nearchos and Onesikritos mention that in India

a reed produces honey "without bees" and Megasthenes, who went to India several times as an ambassador, about 300 B C. tells a similar story Theophrastus speaks of *μέλι καλάμινον* (nature unknown, the translation "reed honey" is doubtful), later writers hardly add anything new Pliny never mentions the sugar-cane, on the other hand the word *σάκχαρον* is first found in him and in Dioscurides, applied to a kind of "liquid honey from India and Yemen, which is found in a reed and looks like salt" In the *Periplus* (c 77 A D) a "reed-honey" called *σάκχαρι* (see above) is mentioned as an article of export from Barygaza (the modern Baroach) Galen quotes Dioscurides, but hardly makes any use of the scarce stuff which was difficult to obtain According to E. O von Lippmann, *sakcharon* is not a product of the sugar-cane and should not be identified with our sugar In Sanskrit the word means something friable, of the constitution of sand or grains of corn The purification of sugar was first known in India about 300 A D.; the first certain European mention is in 627 A D in connection with the conquest of Dastagird, the capital of the Persian king Khosrū II, when sugar is mentioned among the Indian treasures of the Persian king It may be assumed that the manufacture of sugar and the cultivation of the sugar-cane reached Persia about the same time, as the flat and moist low-lying lands of southern Mesopotamia and Khūzistān afforded excellent conditions for its cultivation At first cultivated only to a small extent for medical purposes or as a valuable sweet, the sugar-cane was very rapidly spread by the Arabs after the conquest of Persia, anywhere that the climatic conditions were suitable to the plant, notably Egypt, along the north coast of Africa as far as Morocco (Sūs al-Aḳsā), Spain and Sicily, India and Persia however still remained the main centres of production

All the sources for the history of the sugar-cane and sugar, including Oriental ones, so far as available up to 1890, were utilised by E O von Lippmann in his *Geschichte des Zuckers*, Leipzig 1890 A new work on the subject which will take note of the new literature of the last 40 years is desirable in the near future Below are given also, a few works dealing with the narrower field of Islām and Persia

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(J RUSKA)

AL-SUKKARĪ, AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤUSAIN B ʿUBAIDALLĀH ABŪ SAʿĪD, an Arabic philologist, pupil of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī, the pupil of al-Asmaʿī, who is also sometimes wrongly mentioned as one of his teachers, although this is impossible on chronological grounds alone, and of Muhammad b Habib and of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, born 212 (827), died 275 (888) His activities were almost entirely devoted to the collection and editing of old Arabic poems Of the *Dīwāns* of various tribes collected by him, only that of the Hudhailīs has survived but is incomplete. That he had the help of other collections for this edition (see Goldziher, *D. L Z*, 1895, p. 1451) is very probable, but when ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī in the *Khizānat al-Adab*, ii. 317, 25, speaks of a copy of the year 200 A.H , the quotation cannot be from the commentary of al-Sukkarī, as that copy bore a certificate by Ibn Fāris (d 395 = 1005) but he must refer to his own copy of the *Dīwān* Besides the editions by Kosegarten, Wellhausen and Hell we have also Sukkarī's commentary edited by F Bayiaktarevič, *Abū Kebīr al-Hudhalī, la lāmiyya, publiée avec le commentaire d'al-Sukkarī, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1923 Of his still frequently quoted *Akhbār al-Luṣūṣ* only the *Dīwān* of Tahmān, ed W Wright in *Opuscula arabica*, Leiden 1859, p 76—95, survives Of his editions of the *Dīwāns* of various poets we only possess the *Dīwān* of Imraʾalḳais in the Leyden MS Warn 901 (1, s *Catalogus codd. ar bibl. ac. Lugd Bat* ², ed 1 347, N⁰ clxiv), and perhaps that of Kais b Khatīm, see ed Kowalski, xxxiii His only share in the surviving recension of the *Nakāʾid* of Abū ʿUbaida was that of a transmitter from his teacher Muhammad b Habib Quotations from other works are given in *G A L* , 1 108)

Bibliography Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p 78, 20—27, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, p 274—275, Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed Margoliouth, iii 62—64; al-Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p 208—209, Flugel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p 89 (C BROCKELMANN)

SUḲMĀN (SUKMĀN) B ORTOK, MUʿĪN AL-DAWLA, lord of Hisn Kaifā After the death of his father Ortok in 484 (1091/1092) Suḳmān, jointly with his brother Īlghāzī [q v] received the city of Jerusalem as a fief from the Saldjūk Sultān Tutush b Alp Arslān But by Shaʿbān 489 (July-Aug 1096) or, according to another less reliable statement, in 491 (1098), it was taken from them by the Fātimids The two brothers then went first to Damascus from which Īlghāzī went to al-ʿIrāk and Sukmān sought refuge in Edessa After the inhabitants of this town, who were mainly Armenians, had called in the Franks and given them rule over the town, Suḳmān collected an army with which to oppose the Franks He was successful in taking the town of Sarūdj but when he met the enemy soon afterwards he was defeated and had to take to flight (Rabīʿ I, 494 = Jan. 1101), whereupon the victors wrought a fearful massacre among the people of the town. After some time Hisn Kaifā was taken by Sukmān The amīr Kurbukā [q. v] who lived in al-Mawsil died in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 495 (Aug-Sept 1102) and when his governor in Hisn Kaifā, Mūsā al-Turkmānī, quarrelled with Djekirmish, the lord of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, his troops abandoned him and went over to Djekirmish, whereupon Mūsā in desperate straits sought help from Suḳmān, who was then in Diyār Bakr, and had to give him Hisn Kaifā in return. In time Suḳmān succeeded in bringing Māridīn also under his rule In Rabīʿ I, 496 (Dec 1102), Sultān Barkiyārūḳ [q v.] appointed Gumushtekīn al-Ḳaisarī governor of Baghdād, although Īlghāzī had already been given this office by Barkiyārūḳ's rival, his brother Muhammad With the help of his brother Suḳmān and the lord of al-Hilla, Ṣadaḳa b. Mansūr [q v], Īlghāzī was soon able to dispose of Gumushtekīn. When the Franks attacked Ḥarrān in 497 (1104), the old enemies Suḳmān and Djekirmish, who were just preparing to attack one another, made up their quarrel. The people of Ḥarrān were

already negotiating their surrender to the Franks, when the two amīrs, who had met on the Khābūr, arrived in time to relieve the town. A battle was fought on the Balīkh, a tributary of the Euphrates, and the Franks were completely defeated Count Baldwin of Edessa and Joscelin were taken prisoners, while Boemund and Tancred succeeded in reaching Edessa with great difficulty. In spite of the brilliant victory it wanted little to arouse once more the old jealousy between the two Muslim leaders, as the rich booty which fell to Suḳmān's men aroused the envy of their allies and only Suḳmān's skilful diplomacy enabled the threatening danger to be averted from the victors After the resistance of the Franks had been temporarily broken, Djekirmish took possession of Harrān and then turned his attention to Edessa. There Tancred commanded, while Boemund remained in Antioch The latter was at once sent for, but as difficult roads delayed his march, Tancred resolved to risk all on one throw and made a bold sortie early one morning He succeeded in surprising the besiegers and put them to flight Soon afterwards Ibn ʿAmmār [q v], lord of Tripoli, appealed to Suḳmān for help against the Franks Suḳmān declared himself ready to assist him and set out for Damascus, but died on the way (beginning of Safar 498 = Oct 1104) In Ḥiṣn Kaifā he was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm and in Maridīn by his brother Īlghāzī

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, x, passim, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales*, ed Reiske, iii. 309, 319, 337, 343, 351, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, v 210—212; Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Dhail Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, p 132—138, 143, 146 *sq*, 158, 176, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Histor occidentaux*, iii, see Index, *Histor orientaux*, i 3 *sq*, 6—8, 197 *sq*, 208—210, 221—223, 226 *sq* ; iii 462, 483, 486, 489, 494, 523, 527 *sq*, 557—580; Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 149 *sq*, 153 *sq*, 165—168, 185; Rohricht, *Gesch d Königreichs Jerusalem*, p 49, 51, 55, 78, 283

(K V Zettersteen)

SULAḤFĀT, the tortoise, or turtle Land (tortoise) and sea (turtle) varieties are distinguished as *al-barrī* and *al-baḥrī*. Al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī give practically the same fables about their habits The turtle attains the size of an island As it cannot hatch its eggs on account of the hardness and coldness of the shell on its belly, it looks after the eggs until God allows the young ones to come out If the eggs fall into water, turtles are born from them Magical qualities are attributed to them by the *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* of Balīnās and healing properties are mentioned by al-Kazwīnī and al-Damīrī Combs are made from the shell. The stupidity of the tortoise is proverbial.

Sulaḥfāt is also the Arabic name of the constellation of Lyra, compared to the Greek χελύς.

Bibliography al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, i 136; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, transl. Jayakar, ii/i. 55; L Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 68 (J. Ruska)

ṢULAIB. The generic and proper name of this Arab pariah tribe living in Central Arabia and the adjoining territory, usually called Ṣulaib (pronounced Ṣlaib), is (according to a letter from the Carmelite father A. M. de St. Élie) Ṣulaba (pronounced Ṣleba). The collective form is derived from the singular Ṣulabī (pronounced Ṣlebiy), fem Ṣulabiya. The plural al-Ṣulabāt is also found (in Wetzstein, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxii. 125). Hess only knows the term Ṣluba. The diminutive form, which is commonly used in Arabia with a contemptuous sense, from Ṣulaba is Ṣulaib, or sg. m. Ṣulaibī or Ṣulaibiya (pronounced Ṣlāib, Ṣlaibīy or Slāibiya). The combination with "Banū" and "Benī" is also occasionally found but is probably not correct, as in Arabic geographical proper names no essential alteration took place in the oldest recorded form of the name in the form or combination of these names from the period of the oldest tradition. This applies even to the use of the Arabic article *al-*

The most varied explanations are given of the meaning and origin of their name. Those who connect the word Ṣulaba with totemism have most in their favour, of all the explanations given in Pieper's work (p 65—69), for the *wasm* [q. v] of that tribe is said by some (St. Élie in *Machriq*, Wetzstein and Palgrave) to be the cross *el-ṣalīb* [q. v]; but Huber (197) gives their tribal badge as another symbol, a short stroke with a semi-spherical snake by its side (*meṣbāʿ*, according to Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, p. 82. *el-medba*), probably a parrying-shield such as is borne by the people of the Upper Nile and the Dinka. Another tribal mark is *el-hāzim*, which looks like a "K" and is branded on the left shoulder of their animals, while the *meṣbaʿ* is put on leg, neck or cheek (Massignon, *loc cit*, p. 75) The other less probable interpretation, which, according to Doughty (i 283) and Pelly (189), is the Beduin etymology, derives the tribal name from the expression *ṣulb el-ʿArab* (= the Arab's stock, from the back of the Arabs = the dregs of the Arabs) On the other hand the Arab derivation from *sulb* (= hard, hardened, steadfast, i e in faith, St. Élie in *Machriq*, p 674) is only to be adopted with some misgiving as perhaps illuminating but hardly scientific in my opinion A connection of the name Sulaib with Greek gods of agriculture, who according to St Élie (*loc. cit.*, p. 674) were called "Sulèves" may on the other hand be at once rejected as it is little probable that the Sulaba, being in the main hunters, should have formerly worshipped agricultural deities Nor can the name be derived from names of places, e g. from Ṣulaib (Solēb; St. Élie, *loc cit.*, p. 674) Their name does not seem to be a patronymic, not simply because the compound name Banū Ṣulaib is hardly to be found and is incorrect but also because neither in the Arab legends so far known nor in the scanty references of the Arab historians and geographers is there any mention of the name of a possible ancestor from which the name of their tribe could be derived (their legendary ancestor Dabʿān does not come into question here). The suggestion that they are descended from the Crusaders (*Ṣalībī*, *Ṣalībiya*; cf. St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 613, first made in the Paris periodical *Le Rosier de Marie*, 1864) is very improbable for practical reasons and because historical references suggesting such a thing are entirely wanting.

Their origin and descent is obscure because, as already remarked, the historical sources give negligible information about them and these important points in particular, which may be due not only to their small numbers and slight importance, but particularly to their low social status as a despised and barely tolerated pariah tribe among the

Beduins. In the earlier Arabic literature they are not called by their proper name Ṣulaba, Ṣulaib, etc., but are called al-Zaʿānif (according to a letter from St. Élie). So far as I know there are no genealogies of them in existence, not even fictitious ones Their legends and those of the Arabs form only a very poor substitute for this deficiency. Common to them — and this is very significant — is the statement that the ancestors of the Sulaba once held a much higher social and economic position than they do now (St. Élie, *loc. cit.*, p. 675, Doughty, 1 283), which however they forfeited through arrogance etc. (motif of the Fall, a Christian survival?) Pelly (p. 189) says that an Arab once had sexual intercourse with his mother and the Sulaba are the descendants of this act of incest. Quite apart from the fact that it is the regular custom in Arabia to disparage the descent of one's enemies or people one holds in contempt — even beyond the bounds of truth — the story given by Pelly recalls a significant statement in Strabo (xvi 4, 25), according to him the Nabataeans recognise marriage with the widowed mother on the death of a father, a peculiar degeneration of the true Semitic institution of the levirate marriage Wright, p 43, records another legend, which may be important for dating the age of this people. Their ancestors are said to have left Husain b ʿAlī and his followers and companions in the lurch at the battle of Kerbelā' (61 = 680) and thus contributed to the guilt of their massacre. This is unusual as it suggests the Shīʿa and a connection with Mesopotamia.

More positive facts however throw light on the present position of the Ṣulaba, their customs, ideas, and social position with regard to the other Arabs. It is decisive for their whole existence and peculiarities that they, like the Ḥutaim (pronounced Ḥuṭāim or Ḥ'ṭāim), ʿAkēl — Arabs and Arab gipsies (Navar, sing Nūrī) — are a race of pariahs.

The area over which they are found is the whole of the interior of the northern and central part of the Arabian peninsula. The southern frontier of the country over which they wander corresponds roughly with the Tropic of Cancer on the southern boundary of the fertile zone of Naǧd Assertions to the contrary by Pelly, p 189 and Doughty, 1. 282, are not so very important in my opinion, as there had been no previous mention of them in South Arabia and Yemen by Europeans who had travelled there, which would be remarkable in the case of a people of such striking appearance as the Sulaba. This does not of course mean that we deny their occasional appearance in these regions. A further argument in favour of this assertion is that the Ṣulaba are reckoned with the Ahl al-Shemāl (cf Curtiss, p. 46, note 2) The large towns on the border of the steppes and deserts are only occasionally visited by the desert Ṣulaba to buy provisions, arms (Wetzstein in *Z. D M. G.*, xi. 492) and munitions and other necessities or to sell their manufactures and booty of the chase On the other hand some of them are settled in the fertile parts of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Transjordania Within the area above defined, especially in the steppe district the desert Ṣulaba wander northwards or southwards, according to the season, following the movements of the game, their chief source of food, which depends on the growth and decline of vegetation They, like the Beduins, are not settled The few Ṣulaba in the more fertile zones on the edge of the Arabian deserts need hardly be taken into account, especially as they are also for the most part half nomad. Their unsettled and migratory form of life is connected with their way of living. Unlike the Beduins, they live for the most part by hunting or handiwork. This also causes them to split up into very small groups whether settled or migratory — here again unlike the Beduins. They are found, according to Raynaud and Martinet, p 30—35, in groups of two or three families But it sometimes happens although rarely, that larger bodies are found wandering or camping together This is all the more remarkable as in Arabia the tribes acquire all the more prestige and are less exposed to hostilities the greater their numbers. The Ṣulaba share this peculiarity with the other wandering pariah tribes of Arabia But in particular places in Arabia the Ṣulaba are said to be found in larger bodies. According to Doughty, 1. 283 *sq.*, this is particularly the case in the oases of Taimā' and Wedjh. The fact that they are so thinly distributed makes it difficult to estimate their numbers and the estimates vary very much St Élie (*loc cit.*, p 678) at the end of 1898 (?) puts their strength at over 700 tents which, as a mean, is probably nearest the truth, for Curtiss, p 46 note 1, gives 400 and Huber, p 196, 1,000 tents for el-Hedjra or el-Hedjra alone The latter figure can only be taken with scepticism

They are divided into different small tribes and these again into clans According to Raynaud and Martinet, p 30—35 supplemented by the publications of St Elie, the best living authority on this people, and letters from him to me, the Ṣulaba have been divided since the last century into three sub-tribes as follows

I Sulaib [Slāib], who are divided into the sub-tribes of

1 al-Mālik;
2 al-ʿĀmil [Tamel] (= the shameless),
3 al-Mādjid in Lower Mesopotamia or Bilād al-Muntafiḳ [dial also al-Māyed],
4. al-Duraib [D'rāib] (= the nimble, alert, active),
5 al-Ḳabwān (= the faithful, reliable) [dial.. al-Gabwān],
6 al-Bennāḳ [dial al-Bannāy] (= those who hunt partridge with extraordinary skill);
7 al-Nāzim;
8 al-Tarfā';
9 al-Hāzim and
10 al-Subaiba [pronounce. S'bāiba] (in Raynaud and Martinet, *loc. cit*, wrongly called: Sbeipat).

II Sub-tribe of al-Ṣaidān, clan al-ʿAmīra and
III. Sub-tribe of al-Ghunmī or al-Ghunaim, also wrongly called. Banū Ghunaimī [Benī Gh'nāimī].

Another division on a geographical basis is given (in a letter) by St Élie.

I. Sub-tribe of desert-Ṣulaba or Khalawīya [Khlawīyā], sgl.. Khalawī [Khlewī] or Khalawa [Khlewa], who are divided into the following clans.

1 al-Mādjid at Nuḳra Banī Khālid in Naǧd;
2. al-Rashā'ida;
3. al-ʿAwāzim; Rashā'ida and ʿAwāzim meet in the hinterland of al-Kuwait;
4. al-Hāzim at Nukhaib [N'khāib], at Tubal T'bal] and at al-Salam, i.e. in the land between Lower Mesopotamia and Naǧd;

5. al-Sulaimān [S'lāimān] at al-Shinbil [Shenbel];
6. al-Rāshid, in the vicinity of al-Ḳasīm;
7. al-Ḥutaim (!) [Ḥ'taim] at Ḥā'il and at Madīnat al-Rasūl and
8. al-Djamīl, who adjoin the Mādjid.

II. Sub-tribe of the Palestine-Ṣulaba or al-Ghunmī [Ghenmī] with the clans:

1 al-Ghunmī in Shinbil, among them is the supreme chief now called Muᶜaidhif [Mᶜaidhef] who to some degree holds the supreme judiciary powers over them and the right of appeal; also found in Nadjd;
2 al-Sulaimān (cf. above),
3 al-Tarābīn between Jerusalem and the Egypt frontier;
4. al-Khanādjira [Khanādjrā], neighbours of the Tarābīn;
5 al-Maᶜāza, between Ghazza and Egypt, and

III Sub-tribe of the Sulaba of Transjordania, Syria and Mesopotamia or the Ṣulabat ul-Sarḥān [Serhān] with the clans·

1. al-Khuwaitāt [Khwāitāt], east of Jordan;
2. the Banū ᶜAṭīya,
3 al-Sharārāt [q v.] and
4. the Banū Ṣakhar (!) [Banī Ṣakhar]

These three clans are distributed over the southern and eastern part of Transjordania. A more accurate delineation of the tribes and stock of the Ṣulaba is urgently required, especially as regards which Arabian pariah tribes are to be included among them; the Nawar gipsies [q. v] do not come into question.

Various branches of the Sulaba, especially those in the more fertile districts, are distinguished from the other (desert-) tribes by a higher standard of living (e g as camel-breeders) or by a certain tribal pride (like the Ghunmī); the latter for example demand a higher price for the bride from a Ṣulaba not of their tribe who wishes to marry into it (*Mahr*; q. v), than from one of their own tribesmen. Nevertheless they possess the feeling that they are all one people (see Pieper, p 17)

From the anthropological point of view, nothing absolutely certain can be stated with regard to their racial connections for want of reliable sources and in view of the contradictory accounts of their physical appearance This is unfortunately the weak point in our present knowledge of this people.

According to St Élie (*Machriq*, p 676) the Sulaba are markedly distinct from the Bedouins in their somatic attributes, by the smallness of the head, the fineness of the features, the height and breadth of the forehead, their blue eyes, light complexions, fair hair, the oval shape of the face, their more tender skin but especially by their more elegant figures. According to St Élie (in a letter) occasionally lighter pigmented individuals are the exception among the Arabs of pure stock in Nadjd etc The Sulaba are also proverbially lean. These statements of St. Élie are only partially confirmed by other authorities, e. g. by Blunt, ii. 109; Wright, p. 48 and von Oppenheim, i. 221 hold the contrary opinion. Generally they are said to be of a straight and rigid carriage, of no great stature and slightly built. Blunt, ii. 109 gives the height of a "little old" Ṣulabīya woman as "not more than than four feet". These vague statements do not permit us to make any deductions about their descent or racial connections. Reliable measurements are also completely lacking The only pictures of Ṣulaba, so far as I know, are the little sketch by Euting in the second volume of his *Travels* and the group (the only picture to some extent satisfactory) in v. Oppenheim, i. 220, which however is not sufficient for any far-reaching deductions. In any case from all the evidence available, this people seems, according to Christian (*Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Anthrop. Ges.*, 1923/1924) and Littman (cf. Pieper, p 75), to belong to the Mediterranean branch of the human race and also to be of Semitic stock.

As to their character, the Ṣulaba are readily distinguished to their advantage by their naively cheerful and open natures from the reticent and always suspicious Bedouins. They are not ungifted, musically and poetically, whence they can earn a living in the tents of the Bedouins, and are kindly, peaceful, of gentle and amiable disposition and hospitable like all Orientals. According to a letter from St. Élie they are on the other hand not very liberal on the march or on their passages through the desert so that travellers who want anything from them have to threaten them. Their moral standard, as with all pariah peoples, does not seem to be very high.

Much more important for ascertaining their racial connections are their mode of life, customs, ideas and particularly their position with regard to the people among whom they live. It is this that marks them as pariahs. As to their mode of life it has already been mentioned that they make a living in quite un-Semitic fashion (Christian, *op. cit.*) — for the true Semite of these lands earns his livelihood either as a cattle-rearing nomad or as a trader, sometimes also as an artisan and soldier — mainly by the chase. Their main booty is the gazelle (*gazella dorcas*, L.), the sabre antelope or *bakar wahshī* (*oryx elgazel*, Pall.), the wild goat (*capra beden nubiana-sinaitica*, Hempr. Ad rhreub.), and of ground game the desert fowl or the *katā* bird (*pteroclidurus elchata*, L), bustards, e g. the *hubārā* (*Houbara undulata*, Jacq.) etc. Ostriches (*struthio camelus*, L) in spite of the statements to the contrary by several travellers (e. g. Musil, iii 19), are no longer hunted as they have been driven away to the south Besides these wild creatures, anything else that it is at all possible is eaten by them as, being pariahs, they have no prohibitions regarding food either from custom or belief. They even eat the vulture and the dog, despised by the Arabs as unclean (Huber, p. 197; Doughty, i 281, Pelly, p. 189). Pieper, p. 31–34 gives a detailed account of a Ṣulaba hunt, which is conducted either on foot by stalking or from the back of an ass Another main business of the desert Ṣulaba with whom we are mainly concerned here, is the rearing and sale of the Ṣulaba ass, highly esteemed for its excellent qualities, also called Ṣulaibī (Slāibī). Their strength and endurance and appearance are described by Musil, *op. cit.*, iii. 291, and Butler, p. 524. As a rule they are light, almost white in colour. Huber, p. 588, however (cf. Wright, p. 52), says that a clan of Ṣulaba on the Djebel ᶜAwdjā' about 1880 also bred dark coloured asses. According to Musil, *op. cit*, the Ṣulaba catch wild asses (*equus asinus africanus*, Fitz) and use them for breeding whereby the strength of their asses is maintained at a high level. On account of their excellence these animals are very highly esteemed by the citizens and *fellāḥīn* of the lands bordering on the Arabian deserts who do not share the prejudice of the

Beduins against the ass, and exported even to Europe under the name Baghdād or Moroccan asses. At the same time but only rarely — this must be emphasised — individual Sulaba, e. g. those parts of this people who lived under the rule of the enlightened and vigorous amīr of Hā'il, the well known opponent of the Wahhābīs, Muḥammad b. Rashīd, also rear camels (*camelus dromedarius*, L.). Each family among them has on an average three or four camels. But this must be considered exceptional. As a general rule if the Ṣulaba were to accumulate or possess wealth to any considerable degree in the larger domestic animals, desired by the robber Beduins (with the exception of the ass which they detest), they would no longer enjoy protection and security from their attacks. This immunity has also a material foundation. the Ṣulaba pay their hosts a tribute, the so-called "brotherhood tax" (*khuwwe*, cf. in Raynaud and Martinet, p. 32, the list of their 9 *khuwwa*) for permission to graze and sojourn among them. Huber, p. 197 and Butler, p. 524, however, say that they are attacked and persecuted by several Beduin tribes, e. g. the ᶜAdjmān, and on religious grounds by the Ḳaḥṭān also, according to Huber and according to Butler, out of covetousness by the robber ᶜAneze [q v] as soon as they become prosperous. They also keep — although not in such large numbers as the Beduins — sheep and goats, less for their meat than for their wool, milk, and milk products. The Sulaba further work as day-labourers among the *fellāḥīn* of Taimā' and other oases during the date-harvest (Huber, p. 588) or work as smiths and carpenters. The latter may be evidence in favour of a great antiquity for this people (cf. Eisler, *Orientalische Wetheinschriften*, Freib./B. 1919, p. 741). They are, like the (Arabian) gipsies, with whom they have nothing racial in common, as the latter's origin has been established beyond all doubt by de Goeje (*Bijdr. tot de geschied. d. Zigeun.* and *Mém. sur les migrations d. Tsiganes*, etc), skilful tinsmiths, make and repair weapons, sickles, domestic utensils of brass (*shughl al-khlāwiya*) etc and wooden frames for the saddles of pack-camels, wooden screws, wooden vessels, etc. They are thus indispensable to the Beduins — a further ground for their immunity They are well known and welcome for their medical practice on men and animals (St Élie in *Machriq*, p. 680 *sq*) which consists partly of cauterisation (*kaiy*) and partly of unguents, manipulations which follow definite rules, known only to the experts Their fortune-telling is also mentioned (Blunt, ii. 110) and their begging (Doughty, i. 284; Burckhardt, p. 14).

Their dress and dwellings are most primitive They wear a garment of skins (*farwa*) made of 15—20 gazelle-hides dried in the sun and sewn together with the hair outside (cf. the picture in von Oppenheim, i. 220) Unlike the *ᶜabā'* of the Beduins it is not open the whole length in front but has an opening at the neck (*ed-djēb*) through which it is slipped on. The sleeves reach to the roots of the fingers and contract at the wrists The garment has a hood which suggests Hamitic north African influence The *farwa* is held together with a girdle of dyed lamb-skin. To wear a shirt (*thōbe*) below this garment or a cloak above it is considered by them to be a luxury The two sexes dress practically alike The Ṣulaba usually go bare-footed but they sometimes wear sandals (*h'dhā*) as a protection against thorns and sharp stones The Ṣulaib wear a head-cloth (*keffiye*) and veil (*ᶜukāl*) in the same way as the other Beduins of Arabia Their garment of skins is further remarkable, as it is either a survival from an earlier period of development or an adaptation to the special circumstances under which they are forced to live; perhaps it may prove to be of use in eventually ascertaining their origin. The *farwa* is convenient because it wears better than woven material and by its desert colour suits the conditions of light and ground in the desert, which is very useful in hunting and enables the game to be successfully stalked.

The arms are old fashioned carbines with six chambers which therefore get the Persian name of *shish-khān* (St. Élie, *op cit.*, p. 677 *sq*), and the *meṣbāᶜ*, a parrying-stick (Christian, *op cit*) which has already been mentioned, and as clubs the *mikyār* which consists of a rather short wooden handle with a knob of asphalt as a head, those made entirely of iron mainly in al-Ḳatīf (cf the pictures in v. Oppenheim, ii. 103) The Ṣulaba are still said to use also the bow and arrow (Pieper, p 22 and 32) But they do not seem to be armed to the same degree as the Beduins As they are extremely peaceloving and do not allow themselves to be involved in the feuds of the Arab tribes nor have any of their own, it is probably hardly necessary for them to be so well armed.

They live like the Beduins in tents (*bait, buyūt*) which are made either of mats, of goat's hair (*al-ṭarāyeḳ*), or like their dress from the skins of the victims of the chase. These are of varying size· Burckhardt, p. 24, once saw a Sulaba tent which according to him could shelter 20—30 families. The cleanliness in and around their habitations is not very great (Wright, p 51) They also use caves to shelter themselves and indeed, being children of nature with no wants, they often spend the night in the middle of the khalā when on a hunting expedition

Their customs show traces of ancient Christian and Sabaean elements Nominally they are Muslims According to St. Élie (in a letter to the writer) the Christian survivals only began to disappear in the last century, till then the Ṣulaba had remained true to the faith of their forefathers. He tells me for example that polygamy, divorce or repudiation, circumcision etc only began to be adopted by them in the second half of last century. Whether this development is directly or indirectly due to the Wahhābī movement, as was the case with the Murreḳede or Merreḳede Arabs (cf Burckhardt, p 145—146) awaits further investigation. In any case their long adherence to Christian beliefs and customs seems to have been not without influence on their position as outcasts among the Beduins. We find undoubted reminiscences of Christianity in their religious beliefs and usages, for example the use of the cross on ceremonial occasions, baptism on the tenth or fortieth day after birth in addition to circumcision which they also practise According to Pelly, p 189, at baptism they dip the child seven times into the water, which is the practice of the Johannites or Mandaeans. The Ṣulaba also believe in the existence of a supreme being. In praying they stretch their arms out sideways so as to form a cross. According to Pelly, p 189 *sq* , the Ṣulaba have a place

of pilgrimage and a holy town in Ḥarrān and their kinsmen living there have older and purer forms of prayers and psalms composed in Chaldaean or Assyrian (probably Eastern Aramaic); but this, like the whole of Pelly's account, is very much to be questioned as, according to other authorities (St. Élie, Curtiss, Littmann), they have now no special language of their own but speak a bedouinised Arabic. According to Pelly they still adhere to the old Arabian star-worship. They worship the Pole-Star and a star in the constellation of the Ram. Like the Jews, they pray three times a day, at sunrise, at midday and at sunset. They have priests and priestesses Doughty p. 281 mentions a patriarch of all the Ṣulaba. The priestesses enjoy special reverence and according to Curtiss, p. 63, 286, are called *faḳīra* (female anchorites?). They heal the sick by the laying on of hands. It is still an open question whether the Sulaba may not still be crypto-Christians. Old Semitic ideas are also apparent in their conception of sacrifice (Curtiss, p. 37, 107). Pieper, p. 39—56 in his account of the Ṣulaba describes their festivities and dances, the morals of their women, marriage, divorce, funeral customs etc, which cannot be gone into here for lack of space But it may just be mentioned that they tolerate polygamy, although it is rare among them on account of their poverty

The alpha and omega of the study of this people, one of the most remarkable and most interesting of the pariahs among the peoples of Eastern Asia is and will be, as already mentioned, the question of their ethnology Pieper, p. 67, 70, 74 *sq* thinks that till the question is definitely settled they must be regarded as Semites For several important reasons it is very difficult to uphold this view at the present time. The rigid way in which they are cut off from the other Arabs of the peninsula, who would never marry a Ṣulabīya woman and consider themselves as high as the heavens above these pariahs, is in my opinion evidence of non-Arab origin Occasional exceptions to this statement about mixed marriages are found but very rarely (Doughty, ii. 461, Curtiss, p 34, 46). According to St Élie (in a letter to me) they are undoubtedly pure-bred Arabs. Pieper might be right in so far as they, if they were not originally Semites, might have very much arabicised their mode of living by intermarriage, although only to a very small degree, for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years The view held by Blunt and v. Oppenheim that the Ṣulaib are gipsies is rightly rejected by Pieper (p 69—73). From what has been said above it will be seen that there is much more probability in the hypothesis that they might originally have been a fragment of some, perhaps Hamitic, people which had found a way into Arabia; for we find Hamitic memories in their skin-dress with hood, and the parrying-shield and their living by hunting As St. Élie claims to have found clans of the Ṣulaba in Palestine and even in the Sinai Peninsula, and on the frontiers of Palestine and Egypt, e g. the Tarābīn, al-Khanādjira and Maʿāza, we cannot see why Hamitic tribes, reversing the direction of the Arab immigration into North Africa, should not have entered Arabia and Palestine by the old route through the Sinai peninsula. The last link in this chain of argument, historical tradition, is however lacking Careful investigation of their somatic qualities etc. by the methods of ethnology might provide some compensation for this historical material which will barely be obtainable. In this connection, reference may be made to Moller's essay (*Die Ägypter und ihre lybischen Nachbarn*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1924, lxxvii. p. 45—59) particularly to the Thuimah there mentioned, who according to Möller show in many respects a really striking similarity to the Ṣulaba. The present position of the Ṣulaib, their customs, etc. suggest in my opinion, that they are the victims of some great and catastrophic war of nations.

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(Pieper)

ṢULAIḤĪ is the name of a dynasty which ruled over Yaman as nominal vassals of the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, was the son of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, ḳāḍī of Harāz of the clan of Yām, a subdivision of the large tribe of Hamdān ʿAlī came as a young man under the influence of the Shīʿa missionary ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zawāhī, who was supposed to have had in his possession a copy of the mysterious book "al-Djafar" in which the destinies of the Shīʿa Imāms were laid down. Through ardent studies ʿAlī became an accomplished jurist and for fifteen years was leader of the pilgrims from Yaman to Mecca It was during the pilgrimage in the year 428 (1037) that ʿAlī confided to sixty men of his tribe of Hamdān that it was his intention to set up the rule of the Fāṭimids in Yaman. These sixty men swore him allegiance for life and death and upon their return to Yaman and in the following year he and his followers took possession of the village

of Mazar in the mountains of Ḥarāz to the West of the city of Ṣanʿāʾ. They were quickly besieged by angry tribesmen, but with the utmost speed fortified the village in such a way that its conquest was very difficult. ʿAlī appears to have made very little material progress at the beginning of his career and the small kingdoms formed after the disruption of the Ziyādī dynasty more than held their own while the kingdom founded by the Abyssinian slave al-Nadjdjāḥ in the lowlands (Tihāma) of Yaman was always a serious obstacle to the Ṣulaiḥīs becoming rulers of the whole of Yaman. ʿAlī obtained the sovereignty over the Tihāma and the city of Zabīd in the year 453 (1061) by having al-Nadjdjāḥ poisoned by a slave girl whom he sent to him. This event probably (though the historians are silent as to the grounds) led the Zaidī Imām al-Kāsim b. ʿAlī to send an army against ʿAlī under the command of his son Djaʿfar ʿAlī however surprised this army and in the month of Shaʿbān of the same year, he routed Djaʿfar's army and the latter is killed After this he attacked the strongholds of the Zaidī Imāms and took the castle of Yanāʿ on mount Hadūr. After defeating Ibn Abī Ḥāshid near the village Ṣawf he proceeded to Sanʿāʾ which he took in 455 (1063). After this he devoted his attention to the conquest of the city of Zabīd in the Tihāma over which he appointed in the following year his brother-in-law Asʿad b Shihāb and one year later he took possession of ʿAdan, where he allowed the two sons of the late ruler al-Karam, al-ʿAbbās and Masʿūd to remain rulers as vassals, because they had assisted him in the conquest of Zabīd. They agreed to pay to his daughter-in-law Saiyida an annual tribute which amounted to approximately 100,000 dīnārs, which tribute was regularly paid till the death of ʿAlī How great the power of ʿAlī had become by this time is proved by the fact that in the year 455 he was able to install as ruler of Mecca Abū Hāshim Muḥammad. He also sent from this time annually the covering of the Kaʿba and restored the treasures which had been carried to the Yaman by the Ḥasanids. Some smaller principalities still remained to be subdued and in the year 460 (1068) when one Ibn Ṭarf who ruled in Zarāʾib having invoked the help of the Abyssinians rebelled, he and his allies were defeated and this mountainous district was conquered. After this event ʿAlī returned to Sanʿāʾ which he did not leave for the next twelve years. The various districts of Yaman were administered by trusty governors and he took the precaution of keeping in his entourage the princes whose dominions he had conquered, a system followed by the rulers of Yaman to this day

In the year 473 the rulers of Mecca abandoned the mention of the Fāṭimid caliphs in the public prayers and returned to the mention of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Baghdād and it was probably this which induced ʿAlī to leave Ṣanʿāʾ and proceed towards Mecca as if wishing to perform the pilgrimage. He took with him the princes whom he had with him at his capital, leaving his son al-Mukarram in charge of the capital. When they reached the district of al-Mahdjam in the Northern Tihāma he pitched his camp near a well named Umm al-Duhaim. While they were off their guard the camp was attacked by followers of Saʿīd, the son of al-Nadjdjāḥ, who murdered ʿAlī and his brother ʿAbd Allāh and consternation reigned throughout the camp Saʿīd spared some of the princes who were with ʿAlī, as hostages, but most of the army were massacred. Among the captured was the queen Asmāʾ, daughter of Shihāb and mother of king al-Mukarram, whom he took with him to the capital of his father, Zabīd, which now opened its gates to Saʿīd.

Asmāʾ was kept closely guarded by Saʿīd and it was not till the year 475 (1082/1083) that she was able to send her son a letter in which she stated that she was with child by Saʿīd. She wrote this to incite al-Mukarram to rescue her with all possible speed. The power of al-Mukarram had diminished considerably, because most of the vassal principalities had declared themselves independent like the rulers of ʿAden. He urged his followers at Ṣanʿāʾ to avenge the honour of their tribe and king They marched against Zabīd which was defended by 20,000 Abyssinians, while the army of al-Mukarram is stated to have numbered only 6,000 He himself took command of the centre while his brother-in-law Asʿad b. Shihāb and an uncle of the queen led the wings. After a fierce battle the city was taken by storm and al-Mukarram with two followers was the first to reach the place where his mother stood. He ordered the head of his father and uncle which had been put up on poles to be taken down and buried honourably. Then, after appointing his brother-in-law Asʿad b. Shihāb governor of the Tihāma, he departed with his mother to Ṣanʿāʾ. Asmāʾ died in Sanʿāʾ in 479 (1086) and in the same year al-Mukarram instituted a new coinage called Mālikī Dīnārs which monetary standard remained in force for a long time afterwards. However the sons of al-Nadjdjāḥ, who had fled to the islands of the Red Sea returned to Zabīd in the same year, drove out Asʿad and made themselves masters of the city and the Tihāma. Al-Mukarram retook the city and Saʿīd, the son of al-Nadjdjāḥ, was killed under the walls of the city in the year 481 (1088) while his brother al-Djaiyāsh escaped with his wazīr to India by the way of ʿAdan. They remained there for six months only, then returned to Yaman and again gained possession of the city of Zabīd

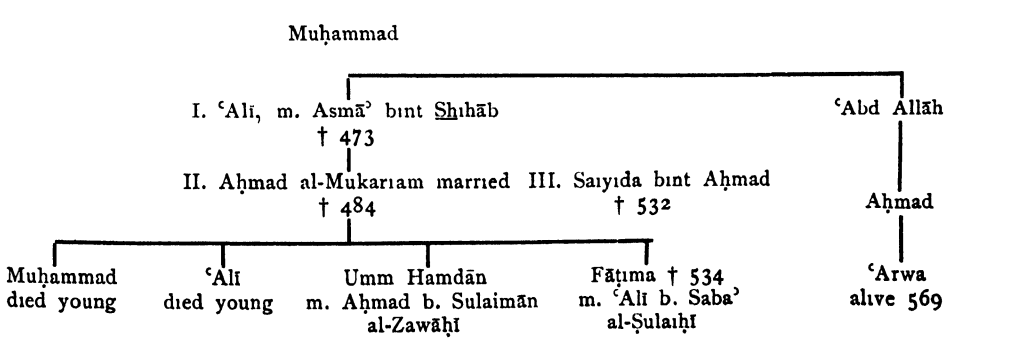
Al-Mukarram appears to have been an incapable ruler and we find the singular spectacle in Islāmic history of a woman, his queen Saiyida, taking the most prominent part in the management of the affairs of State. She was born in 444 and was brought up under the care of the late queen Asmāʾ She was married to al-Mukarram in 461 and bore him four children, two sons and two daughters After the death of his mother, al-Mukarram gave himself up to wine and pleasures and handed the cares of the State to his wife who demanded from him full freedom of action. One of her first actions was that she left Ṣanʿāʾ and took up her residence at Dhū Djibla, at a place, which had been founded by ʿAbd Allāh b Muḥammad al-Sulaihī, who was slain with king ʿAlī at al-Mahdjam, in the year 458. The capital of the country was henceforth transferred to Dhū Djibla and a palace and chief mosque erected in which queen Saiyida was subsequently buried. It was due to her that the death of Saʿīd b. Nadjdjāḥ was brought about. Al-Mukarram died in 484 (1091) and having no surviving sons the office of Dāʿī was bequeathed by him upon Sabaʾ, son of Aḥmad b. al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī, the Ṣulaiḥī. He however

did not gain possession of Dhū Djibla where the queen Sayyida reigned with the consent of the nobles and populace. Saba' therefore first turned his attention to the conquest of the Tihāma and the city of Zabīd, but was attacked unawares by the troops of Djayyāsh and barely escaped to his stronghold of Ta'kar with his life. He then corresponded with the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustansir and from him received a letter in which Sayyida was instructed to marry Saba'. This letter was conveyed to her to Dhū Djibla and after much hesitation she consented to the marriage and a dowry was fixed. Saba' came personally to her capital to contract the marriage, but her majestic manner and other causes prevented him from completing the marriage contract and after the first night he departed again to his residence without consummating the marriage.

After this the queen placed her reliance principally upon al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt to whom she had granted the castle of Ta'kar which lay on one of the highest mountains overlooking the Tihāma. There the treasures of the Ṣulaiḥīs were stored and the queen was in the habit of making it a place of residence during summer, returning to Dhū Djibla for the winter It was through Mufaḍḍal that she regained the revenues of 'Adan and a partial submission of the lowlands In 504 (1110/1111) Mufaddal laid siege to the city of Zabīd and his absence was used by men of the tribe of Khawlān to get possession of his fortress Mufaddal returned but died under the walls of the castle Then the queen herself marched with her troops from Dhū Djibla and by a ruse again got possession of the fortress, in the following year (12th Rabī' I, 505) As the Khawlānīs however did not act with justice towards the inhabitants of the district she ordered 'Amr b 'Urfuta al-Djanbī to drive them out Though not actual ruler of the country the queen managed to exercise during the following years a kind of suzerainty over the various small principalities which had sprung up in all parts of the country till the arrival in Yaman in 513 (1119) of Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla, who was sent as an emissary by the Fāṭimid caliph and who for the next six years waged war against the smaller principalities reducing them gradually to obedience The queen having aged, he made in 519 the attempt to wrest the power from her and wished to place her in seclusion, but she received such strong support from the various princes of the country that he was forced to desist from his design As Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla began to intrigue in the Yaman in favour of the anti-caliph Nizār, he was arrested at the request of the caliph al-'Āmir and sent in fetters to 'Aden to be shipped back to Egypt and though the queen repented and was desirous to have him back, his keepers left 'Adan by ship for Sawākin (Suakim) but the ship was wrecked on the voyage and all on board drowned. After the fall of Ibn Nadjīb al-Dawla the queen appointed one Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥāmidī, but learning of the death of the caliph al-'Āmir she replaced him by Saba' b Abī Su'ūd, the first ruler of the Zurai'ī dynasty [q. v.] who were the successors of the Sulaiḥīs until the conquest of the country by Tūrānshāh The queen survived for some years and died in the year 532 (1138) when the dynasty of the Sulaiḥīs came to an end. Some of the princes held isolated fortresses and as late as 569 we find a princess 'Arwa, daughter of 'Alī b 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, in possession of the castle of Dhū Djibla.

It would be wrong to assume that the Ṣulaiḥīs, except under the first ruler, were in possession of the whole of the Yaman The Abyssinian dynasty of the Banu 'l-Nadjdjāh was practically the whole time in possession of Zabīd and the lowlands, while 'Adan and other important points of the country were ruled partly independently, partly in semi-independence by various smaller princes. The historians do not give many details about the Zaidī Imāms who had their headquarters in the town of Sa'da, but they too seem to have enjoyed unrestricted rule Though the Sulaiḥīs were the actual representatives of the Fāṭimid Shī'a caliphs of Egypt, there remained a large following of the Sunnī doctrines as is exemplified by the temporary seizure of the fortress of Ta'kar by the Shāfi'ī tribesmen of Khawlān The chief historian of the dynasty, 'Umāra, is unfortunately far from lucid in his account, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, and the later chroniclers follow mostly in his footsteps The account given by Ibn Khaldūn is, as so often with him, very fragmentary and full of errors

Bibliography: *Yaman and its early History by 'Omāra al-Ḥakamī*, ed. Kay, London 1892, Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i 368; Djanadī, *Sulūk*. MS Paris 2127, and the manuscripts enumerated by Kay in the Introduction of the *History of 'Omāra* There is in the John Rylands Library in Manchester a large history of the Yaman by a Zaidī Imām which may throw further light upon this period but I have unfortunately not been able to make use of it.



(F. KRENKOW)

SULAIM B. MANṢŪR. This powerful and energetic tribe belonged to the group of Ḳaisīs or Ḳais-ʿAilān [q v.] It does not appear in Arab history until the middle of the 4th century A D Its lands lay along the frontiers of Nadjd and the Ḥidjāz and were bordered on the north by the territory of Medīna and on the south by that of Mecca On the east its neighbours were its relations, the tribes of Ghaṭafān, Hawāzin and Hilāl Down to the end of the Omaiyad period the district of the Sulaimīs seems to have enjoyed very considerable prosperity It was a succession of volcanic *ḥarras*, of mining centres and wooded hills and of oases which were intelligently exploited; some of these were al-Rabadha, famous for Abū Dhaʾir's [q v.] sojourn there, Farān, Maʿdin al-Boim, Ṣofaina, Sawārikīya, etc. The two last named still exist The oasis of Sawārikīya stretched for a length of several day's journey with its banana and pomegranate-trees, and vines, not to speak of palm-groves. The Sulaim had numerous horses, which in the desert is another sign of prosperity

They were on good terms with the Jews of Medīna In Mecca the Kuraishī financiers and business men early realised the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the Sulaimīs, who possessed mineral resources and commanded the road to Medīna as well as access to Nadjd and the Persian Gulf Many Meccan families had joined them as *ḥalīf* and jointly with the Sulaimīs exploited the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country Evidence of the latter is found in the frequency of the name *maʿdin* (mine) in Sulaimī place-names

Their main mineral wealth lay in gold and silver Tradition asserts that a Sulaimī "companion" used to send Muhammad a tithe of the precious metals extracted from his mine In the mining district of Sulaim we find in the caliphate of Abū Bakr a resumption of activity and the mines continued to be exploited under the Omaiyads whose treasury derived an appreciable revenue from them

The Sulaimīs held in reverence a stone or betyl called Damār Having common interests with Mecca, they were at first hostile to the Prophet, but when they saw that the triumph of Islām was assured, these practically-minded Beduins professed it ostentatiously In the year 8 (629/630) a strong Sulaimī contingent took part in the easy conquest of Mecca after the battle of Hunain Their chiefs after the victory claimed as the price of their assistance among others the poet ʿAbbās b. Mirdās [q.v.], son of the poetess al-Khansāʾ [q v]

During the troubles which marked the reign of the third caliph, the Sulaimīs as a rule took the side of ʿOthmān This attitude earned them the favour of the Caliph Muʿāwiya I, who numbered among his best lieutenants the Sulaimī Abu 'l-Aʿwar [q v]. It was part of the policy of the Omaiyads to conciliate this proud tribe, settled along the route of the pilgrimages and in the neighbourhood of the holy cities, the rebellious populations of which they could keep a watch upon. This entente lasted until the death of Muʿāwiya II Along with the other Ḳaisīs, the Sulaim refused to recognise his successor Marwān I and proclaimed for the anti-Caliph ʿAbdallāh b al-Zubair The defeat of the Ḳaisīs at Marḏj Rāhiṭ [q. v.] provoked the definite split between Yemen and Ḳais and opened a war to the death between these two sections of the Arab race Two Sulaimīs, ʿUmair b. al-Ḥubāb and Djahḥāf b Ḥukaim, distinguished themselves in it for their ferocity rather than their valour. The poems of Akhṭal [q.v.] preserve the memory of this merciless feud.

After the Hidjra a part of the tribe settled in western Mesopotamia. In 109 (727) a hundred Sulaimī families were allowed to go to Egypt and they soon multiplied there In 230 (844/845) the Sulaim of Arabia along with their cousins of Hilāl sacked the town of Medīna and brought a bloody retribution upon their heads In the time of the Fāṭimid Caliphs of Egypt, they took the side of the Ḳarmatians and attacked the pilgrim caravans This was the beginning of a period of anarchy in which the Sulaimī part of Arabia suffered a great deal In Egypt their Ḳarmaṭian sympathies embroiled them with the Caliphs of Cairo In 444 (1052) the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir, anxious to get rid of these troublesome Beduins, sent them with the Hilāl to the conquest of North Africa where many of the tribes are connected with the Sulaimīs For the long fighting in which they were there engaged, cf. the article HILĀL

Bibliography Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk*, p 187—189, al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuv. Guest, p 77, 297; Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ii 63; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p 132, 154, 170, 171, 183, 185, 205, 220, Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii 403, iv 572, v 865, Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed de Goeje, p 335; Wustenfeld; *Register genealogisch Tabellen*, p 426—430, Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*², p 68, Blau, in *Z. D M G*, xxiii 586, Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p 99—100, 136, do, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p 196, 197, 198 (extract from *M F O B*, ix, fasc 3), do, *Etudes sur le règne du calife, Moʿāwiya Ier*, p 43, 337, 423, do, *Le Chantre des Omaiyades, notes sur le poète arabe Akhṭal*, p 133 etc (extract from *J A*, 1894), G Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita ed il canzoniere della poetessa araba Al-Ḫansāʾ*, Florence 1899, p 11 *sqq*, 67 *sqq* (H LAMMENS)

SULAIMĀN B ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umaiyad Caliph Sulaimān was born in the year 60 (679/680), his mother was Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās b Djazʾ After the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [q v], his brother, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, had homage paid to his sons al-Walīd and Sulaimān as heirs-apparent Towards the end of his reign, al-Walīd wished to make an arrangement with al-Ḥadjdjādj b Yūsuf [q v] and Ḳutaiba b Muslim [q v] governor of Khorāsān to exclude Sulaimān from the succession in favour of his own son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but he died before the necessary steps had been taken, so that Sulaimān succeeded him in Djumādā II, 96 (end of February 715) as Commander of the Faithful When Sulaimān heard of his brother's death, he was in al-Ramla, which he himself had founded when commanding the Muslim troops in Palestine and which continued to be his headquarters. As soon as he had assumed the reins of government, the supporters of al-Ḥadjdjādj, now dead, had to pay for the enmity between him and the new Caliph In the very same year, ʿUthmān b Hayyān al-Murrī, the governor of Medīna was dismissed and the same fate threatened the doughty Ḳutaiba b. Muslim Relying on the fidelity of his troops, he tried to persuade them to rise against Sulaimān; but the daring plan came to nothing and Ḳutaiba was surprised and killed Yazīd b al-Muhallab

was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāḳ in place of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in 96 (715); he had been one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's bitterest enemies and persecuted his supporters with the greatest ardour But as he feared that his strict principles of taxation, which could not be altered without affecting the revenues of the state, would make him as hated as al-Ḥadjdjādj had been in his day he asked the Caliph to relieve him from financial administration, whereupon Sulaimān appointed one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's financial officers named Ṣāliḥ b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to the head of the treasury. But the latter's economy did not suit the extravagant Yazīd, so that in 97 (715/716) he contrived to persuade the Caliph to let him have the governorship of Khorāsān along with that of al-ʿIrāḳ From there he conducted an expedition next year against Djurdjān and Tabaristān but with very little success. Sulaimān treated the conqueror of Spain, Mūsā b Nuṣair, with great severity and according to some he was even responsible for the murder of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q v] Sulaimān continued the war against the Byzantines with great energy although fortune did not particularly favour the Muslim arms In autumn 97 (715) Maslama b ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿOmar b Hubaira took the field against the Byzantines The Arabs besieged Amorium but without success After ʿOmar and, according to one statement Maslama also, had wintered in Asia Minor, military operations were resumed in the following summer when Maslama took Pergamos and Sardes The Arabs also began the siege of Constantinople By August Maslama appeared before the city and the Muslim fleet arrived a fortnight later The siege lasted about a year, the Arabs suffered much from the cold and want of supplies and had no kind of success An army which invaded the land of the Bulghārs was also driven back with considerable losses In Safar 99 (Sept–Oct 717) Sulaimān died in Dābik and the siege was raised about the same time Although his brother Yazīd had been designated his successor by ʿAbd al-Malik, Sulaimān had homage paid to his own son Ayyūb as heir-apparent But when the latter was dying, he arranged with the influential theologian Ḳadjā' b Haiwa that his cousin ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz renowned for his piety should succeed him, and therefore received the title of "Key of Goodness" *Miftāḥ al-Khair* From the statements of the Arab historians however it is very evident that Sulaimān, in spite of a certain piety, was cruel and devoted to sensual pleasures

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N° 278, Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i 177; Tabarī, ed de Goeje, Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, passim, especially v 5—9, 12, 14—20, 25—30, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, Index, Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 335 *sq*, 345, 351—362, 366, 369, 371; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed Paris, Index, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 493, 508, 540 *sqq*, 554—578; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i 417, 436 *sq*; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, 3rd ed., p. 333, 361, 372—380; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romaern*, p 439—442 (= *Nachr. von d Kgl. Gesellsch d Wiss. zu Gottingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1901) and do., *Das arabische Reich*, p. 160—165

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN B. AL-ASHʿATH. [See ABŪ DĀWŪD.]

SULAIMĀN B. DĀWŪD, the biblical King Solomon, is an outstanding personality in Muhammadan legends. There were, as the Arab histories recount, four great world-rulers, two of whom were infidels, Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar; and two of whom were believers, Alexander the Great and Solomon. Of these the last was the most resplendent figure. Special emphasis was placed on his wonderful powers of magic and divination. The most puzzling riddles and the most abstruse subjects were within his ken. Perspicacity and discernment dwelt in his eyes; wisdom and justice were graven on his forehead His knowledge was deeper than the Jordan Valley. In the Ḳur'ān itself he is frequently mentioned, and along with Alexander enjoys the distinction of being designated a true Apostle of Allāh, a divine messenger and prototype of Muḥammad The Ḳur'ānic passages tell how at an early age he even surpassed his father David in skilful administration of justice (xxi. 78, 79) And when David died Solomon was chosen from amongst the other sons as successor (xxvii 16). He had admirable endowments. God had granted him esoteric knowledge He was acquainted with the speech of birds and animals (xxvii 16, 19), a tradition based on I Kings iv 33. A strong wind was subjected to him (xxi. 81; xxxviii 36). It blew in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month, while a fountain of molten brass was made to flow for his benefit (xxxiv 12) At his command were legions of satans to do whatever he wished They were employed, for example, in diving for pearls (xxi. 82; xxxviii. 37) The *djinn* were forced to work his will If they disobeyed they were threatened with the pains of hell (xxxiv. 12) They constructed for him shrines and statues and costly vessels (*ibid*, 13) His armies were recruited from men and *djinn* and birds. The hoopoe (*hudhud*) was the first to bring him tidings of the kingdom of Saba and of its illustrious queen, Bilḳīs [q v]. Solomon, as a prophet, corresponded with her and summoned her to Islām And after an exhibition of his strength and wisdom, she submitted (xxvii 20—44) The devils frequently sought to convict him of infidelity, but in vain (ii 101). On a certain occasion he failed in the observance of his religious duties, and that was when his admiration for his stud of horses led him to forget his prayers. In atonement he sacrificed them, cutting their legs and necks (xxxviii 31—33) For a time he seems to have lapsed into idolatry. As a punishment he lost his kingdom, his throne being occupied by some one in his own likeness When he had asked forgiveness, he was restored to his place, and promised divine favour in Paradise (xxxviii 34, 35, 40) When he died he was resting on his staff, and no one knew of his death until a worm bored its way through the prop and the body collapsed Then the *djinn* were released from their labours (xxxiv. 14)

Later legendary lore has magnified all this material, which is chiefly Rabbinic in origin. Solomon's control over the *djinn* and his use of them in his building operations are derived from the *Midrash* on Ecclesiastes, ii. 8. His kingdom is even made universal, perhaps after the analogy of that of the 40 (or 72) kings of the Pre-Adamite *djinn*, who were each named Solomon (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Introd., note 21; d'Herbelot,

Bibliothèque Orientale, v 372). His renowned wisdom included "the wisdom" for which Egypt was famous, i. e. occult science. Pythagoras is said to have received his knowledge from Solomon in Egypt (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr*, i. 27). Solomon is said to have been the pupil of Mambres the Egyptian Theurgist (G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, iii 283, note) Hence his reputation in tales as a magician This magic power of his was effected by means of a talismanic ring engraved with "the most great name" of God Permission to use this was also vouchsafed to his wazīr, Āsaf b. Barkhīya [q v], who transported the throne of Bilkīs from Sheba to Jerusalem in the twinkling of an eye Solomon was in the habit, when he performed his ablutions, of laying aside this ring from his finger, and entrusting it to one of his wives, Amīna Ṣakhr, one of the Satanic spirits, assumed the form of the king, purloined the magic seal, and for forty days ruled, while Solomon was forced to wander as an outcast. The demon, however, lost the ring in the sea, whence Solomon recovered it when he cut open a fish which had swallowed it Thus he regained his throne It is said he was punished in this way, because of the idolatry of the royal consort, Djarāda, the daughter of the king of the Sidonians. Some say the counterfeit body that occupied his throne was his son who died The 13th of the month is regarded as unlucky because on that day Solomon was exiled by God The Persian *Nawrōz* festival and its customs are said to date from the restoration of Solomon to his kingdom (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed Sachau, p 199) Because he boasted that 1,000 wives would bear him 1,000 warrior sons, he had one son only who was misshapen, with one hand, one eye, one ear, and one foot Then in humility he prayed to God, and his son was made whole In his capacity of warrior, he conquered many kingdoms (Baidāwī, v. 19)

Some of the marvellous works of Solomon may be briefly mentioned Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *djinn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *djinn* The seal is said to have held a mandrake (Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 390) Solomon's seal (*Khatam Sulaimān*) is a common charm, in the form of a six-pointed star, often inscribed on drinking cups The Table of Solomon (*Mā'idat Sulaimān*) and other marvellous relics, according to legend, found their way to Spain where they were discovered by Ṭāriḳ at the capture of Toledo They had been taken from Jerusalem as booty (Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghreb*, ed. Fagnan, p 37 *sqq*; Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, ed Zotenberg, iv 183; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i 52). The Table was made of green beryl, had 360 legs, and was inlaid with pearls and rubies There was also a magic mirror which revealed all places in the world (Carra de Vaux, *Abrégé des Merveilles*, p. 122)

The blocks of stone for the building of the Temple were hewn by means of the miraculous pebble Samur (*Shamir*) which the demon Ṣakhr procured from the sea-eagle Solomon sheltered himself from the heat of the sun under a canopy composed of all the birds of the air. A magic carpet of green silk for aerial transportation was woven for him On this he could leave Syria with all his equipment in the morning, and reach Afghanistan by evening. Untold wealth of precious stones and gold and silver was accumulated with the help of the servile djinn They also assisted him in erecting palaces, fortresses, baths and reservoirs Various relics of these operations are pointed out in Palestine, Arabia and elsewhere (see *Revue des traditions populaires*, ix. 190; Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *Sefer-Nāma*, p 56, 76, 84, 85) He had 1,000 glass-roofed houses containing 300 couches and 700 wives (Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, p. 204) Besides the building of the Temple, during which he outwitted the djinn, the Farther Mosque is likewise claimed as his work (Mirkhond, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, ii/i 76) He is even credited with founding a mosque in Alexandria (Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, i 37) Part of his leisure time was spent in acquiring the art of basket-weaving, that he might have some means of earning a livelihood if the need arose (Mirkhond, *op cit*, p 79). The tradition seems Rabbinic in character His throne was constructed of pure gold The whole natural world was so completely under his sway that on one occasion the sun stood still to enable him to say his evening prayers The evil djinn he imprisoned in vessels of lead (cf *Zechariah*, v. 8) 'Aidhāb, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, *op. cit.*, p 297) His knowledge of the speech of the animal world enabled him at times to display his clemency Once he turned aside his armed hosts in order to avoid smashing the eggs of a bird, while on another occasion, he had compassion on a colony of ants (Bīrūnī, *op cit*, p. 199; Sūra xxvii 17, 18)

A claim is put forward that he invented the Arabic and Syriac scripts, and that he was the author of many Arabic treatises on magic He is compared with Djamshīd, and there were, undoubtedly, Iranian influences at work in the Solomon Saga His personal appearance is variously given, e g. as "a large-headed man riding on a horse" (Mirkhond, *op. cit*, ii/i. 83), and as being "fair, well-built, of lustrous beauty, with a plentiful supply of hair, and clothed in white garments" (Tha'labī, *op cit*, p 254) When he died he was aged 53, having reigned for forty years The exact location of his tomb is uncertain Some place it in Jerusalem, in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra; others, near the Sea of Tiberias. The Prophet said (according to Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, i. 60) it was "in the midst of the sea ... in a palace excavated in a rock This palace contains a throne on which Solomon is placed with the royal ring on his finger appearing as though he were alive, protected by twelve guardians, night and day. No one hath arrived at his tomb except two persons, Affān and Bulukiya" (Lane, *op cit*, xx 96; see Mirkhond, *op cit.*, p 102—103). The tomb is placed also in the Andaman Islands (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p 134) Solomon has found his way into Malayan folk-lore Fowlers use his name for snaring pigeons (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iii 418; *Folk-Lore in the O. T.*, ii. 476 *sq*). Regarding Solomon and the Evil Eye, see W. B. Stevenson in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Glasgow 1920, p 104 *sq.* and the references therein The Ethiopic Legends of Solomon

and Mākedā, Queen of ʿAzēb, may be found in Bezold, *Kebra Negast*, and in Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelik* (see art. BILḲĪS) Examples of the Solomonic riddles may be seen in Thaʿlabī, *op. cit*, p 202, Jacques de Vitry, *P. P. T. S.*, p. 17.

Bibliography. besides the works mentioned in the text, consult the Kurʾān commentaries; a great many Solomonic legends are contained in Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, p 200 *sqq.*; see also Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, index, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, index; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, p 140, 173, 188, Masʿūdī, *Murūḏ* i. 110 *sqq*; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, p. 141, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīḵh*, p. 25, 67; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, p. 247 *sqq.*, Grunbaum, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p 189 *sqq*; Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semit. Lit*; *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron in der semit. Sagenliteratur*; R Farbei, *Konig Salomon in der Tradition*; W. A. Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, p. 215 *sqq*, Baring-Gould, *Myths of the Middle Ages*, index, Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*; Wallis Budge, *Alexander the Great*, index; Seymour, *Tales of Solomon*; J C. Mardrus, *The Queen of Sheba*, John Freeman, *Solomon and Balkis*, Gabrielli, *Fonti semitiche d'una leggenda Salomonica*, *J A*, 1868, p 475, 1881, p. 59; De Vogué, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 13; R. Basset, *Mille et Un Contes, Récits et Légendes Arabes*, i 356, do, *Contes populaires berbères*, p. 27

(J WALKER)

SULAIMĀN B KUTULMISH, ancestor of the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor After Kutulmish had fallen in 456 (1063/1064) in battle against his relative Alp Arslān, his son Sulaimān became chief of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor and in a few years succeeded in founding an independent kingdom Malik Shāh who had succeeded his father Alp Arslān in 465 (1072) entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the Byzantines and he was given the supreme command of all the Saldjūḳ troops in Asia Minor Here a considerable part of the poor peasantry in Asia Minor had come completely under the power of the rich landowners and many estates were worked by slaves Sulaimān declared them freemen on payment of a certain tax and he thereby won their active sympathy while misfortune followed the Byzantines Their general Isaac Comnenos was weakened by a mutiny of his Norman mercenaries and then defeated and captured by the Saldjūḳs near Caesarea When his successor Caesar Ducas tried to deal with the Norman mutineers, they took him prisoner They then won him over to their side and persuaded him to rebel at their head against his nephew, the Emperor Michael VII There was nothing left for the latter but to appeal for assistance to the Saldjūḳs and in 1074 (466/467) he concluded a treaty, approved by Malik Shāh, with Sulaimān, who promised to send forces to assist the Emperor and in return was given the Byzantine provinces at that time in Saldjūḳ occupation Ducas was captured by the Saldjūḳ auxiliaries; but a few years later Michael abdicated and retired to a monastery. In 1079 (471/472) Nicephoros Melissenos rebelled. To strengthen his position, he made an alliance with Sulaimān and concluded a treaty with him by the terms of which Sulaimān, in return for troops, was to receive the half of any towns and provinces taken in the war against the Emperor Nicephoros III. Cyzicus and Nicaea fell to the Saldjūḳs at the beginning of the year 1081 (473) Sulaimān chose the latter as his residence. In 477 (1084/1085), he also took the city of Anṭākiya The Greek governor, Philaretos, who paid tribute to the ʿUḳailid Muslim b. Ḳuraish, had gone on a journey and in his absence his son, whom he had thrown into prison, came to an arrangement with his deputy and opened the city gates to the Saldjūḳs Sulaimān then came into conflict with Muslim about the payment of tribute and there was a certain amount of raiding on either side Finally in Ṣafar 478 (June 1085) there was a battle near Antioch in which Muslim fell Sulaimān then advanced on Aleppo and laid siege to it but had to return after a few weeks without attaining any success. After some time he again demanded that the governor there, Ibn al-Hutaitī al-ʿAbbāsī should surrender the town to him; but the latter delayed replying, under the pretext that he wanted to get Malik Shāh's approval, until the lord of Damascus Tutush b. Alp Arslān and the Emīr Ortoḳ b Aksab were able to come up When Sulaimān met them, his troops took to flight and he himself perished (479 = 1086) Whether he was slain by the enemy, or as some say, killed himself with his dagger, is uncertain

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, x 89—91, 96 *sq*; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed Reiske, iii 255, 261; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīḵh-i Guzīda*, ed Browne, i 444, 480 *sq*; Weil, *Gesch d. Chalifen*, iii. 129 *sq*, 137; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii 89 *sqq*; Hertzberg, *Gesch d Byzantiner*, p 254—256, 258—260, 274 *sq.*

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULAIMĀN B. MIHRĀN. [See AL-AʿMASH]

SULAIMĀN B SURAD AL-KHUZĀʿĪ, a Shīʿī. He was originally called Yasār; but when he adopted Islām he received from the Prophet the name Sulaimān He enjoyed great prestige in his tribe and when the Muslims began to settle in Kūfa, Sulaimān also migrated thither In the battle of the Camel and at Siffīn, he fought on the side of ʿAlī After the death of Muʿāwiya in Radjab 60 (April 680) he showed himself one of the most ardent supporters of Ḥusain [q. v.] but he did not maintain his first enthusiasm. He was one of those who invited Ḥusain to come to Kūfa to lead them against the Umaiyads but when Ḥusain was approaching the town in answer to the invitation, Sulaimān did nothing to help him. After Ḥusain had fallen at Kerbelā' on 10th Muḥarram 61 (Oct 10, 680) the Kūfans who had enticed him from Mecca regretted their cowardice and inactivity and considered themselves sinners, whose guilt could only be wiped out by avenging his murder so that they received the name *al-Tawwābūn* "the penitents" After some time they organised themselves and chose Sulaimān as their commander-in chief None of the party was under 60 years of age, they had not agreed upon any definite measures and "vengeance for Ḥusain" was simply a rather obscure aim which they never clearly visualised Sulaimān wrote to Saʿd b. Ḥudhaifa b al-Yamān in al-Madāʾin and al-Muthannā b. Mukharriba b al-ʿAbdī in Baṣra and secured their cooperation. But as long as Yazīd was alive however, they worked in secrecy; it was only after his death in

Rabīᶜ I, 64 (Nov. 683) that the movement sought wider scope. But when Sulaimān's followers wanted to drive out of Kūfa ᶜAmr b Huraith al-Makhzūmī the deputy of the governor ᶜUbaid Allāh b Ziyād who lived in Basra, Sulaimān refused to allow it and advised caution Nevertheless ᶜAmr b. Ḥuraith was expelled by the Kūfans. They then paid homage to ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair as Caliph, whereupon he appointed ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī as governor of Kūfa In Ramaḍān 64 (May 684), the latter arrived in Kūfa, but al-Mukhtār b Abī ᶜUbaid [q v] had already entered the town a few days earlier The latter wished to expel Sulaimān and he was suspected by the Shīᶜīs on account of his inactivity. Many left Sulaimān and joined al-Mukhtār. When Sulaimān finally came out openly and asked his followers to take the field against ᶜUbaid Allāh b Ziyād, who was in Syria with a large army, the governor ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yazīd placed no obstacles in his way and even promised to support the Shīᶜīs; but no active cooperation took place between Sulaimān and the governor The Shīᶜīs proved less enthusiastic than Sulaimān had hoped When he appeared on 1st Rabīᶜ II, 65 (Nov 15, 684), in al-Nukhaila near Kūfa, instead of the 16,000 men who had promised to follow him there were only 4,000 Messengers were at once sent to all Shīᶜīs who had promised their help and gradually reinforcements came in On the 5th Rabīᶜ II (19 Nov) they set out They spent 24 hours in Karbalā' at Husain's tomb, confessing their guilt and giving evidence of their penitence They then continued their march. Reaching Ḳarḳīsiyā they were supplied with provisions by Zufar b al-Hārith al-Kilābī, who was in command there and obtained information regarding the movements of ᶜUbaid Allāh, who was in al-Rakka Sulaimān then continued his march till he met the enemy at ᶜAin al-Warda under the command of Husain b Numair The battle began on 22nd Djumādā I, 65 (Jan 4, 685) and lasted three days Sulaimān fell on the third day at the age of 93 and the fiercely contested battle ended in the complete route of the Shīᶜīs Their supporters from al-Madā'in and Basra, who did not arrive in time, had to go back without striking a blow for the cause

Bibliography Ibn Saᶜd, *Tabakāt*, ed Sachau, iv 11, 30, vi 15 *sq* ; Nawawī, ed Wustenfeld, p 302, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii. 351; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii., N⁰ 7046, Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, ii, passim, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, iv, Index; Yaᶜḳūbī, ed Houtsma, ii 270, 306, 308, 321, Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, i 352 *sqq.*, Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, p. 61—73

(K V Zeiterstéen)

SULAIMĀN b Wahb b Saᶜid Abū Aiyūb, an ᶜAbbāsid vizier He belonged to a family which had originally been Christian but had later gone over to Islām. His father had been in the service of the Barmecide Djaᶜfar b Yaḥyā [q v.] and later in that of al-Faḍl b Sahl [q v.] On the latter's death he was given the governorship of Fārs and Kirmān At the age of 14 Sulaimān became secretary to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn; he later entered the service of the generals Itākh and Ashnās, the former of whom held several important offices in the reign of al-Mutawakkil but finally was sacrificed to the cruelty of the Caliph. We find Sulaimān mentioned as vizier as early as al-Muhtadī (255—256 = 869—870) and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 263 (Aug. 877) al-Muᶜtamid gave him the same office But he did not hold this office long, being dismissed in Dhu 'l-Kaᶜda 269 (beg Aug. 878) Sulaimān died in prison in Ṣafar 272 (Aug 885); according to another statement he died in the preceding year

Bibliography. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aᶜyān*, ed Wustenfeld, N⁰ 276, de Slane's transl., i 596; Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, viii , passim; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 337—341, 344, 347, 350, 373, 375

2 The son of the preceding, ᶜUbaid Allāh b Sulaimān, who also began his career in the public service as a secretary, was promoted to be vizier of the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid in Safar 278 (June 891) and filled the office in the reign of al-Muᶜtadid also He died in 288 (900—901)

Bibliography Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, iii , see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, vii 96, 219, 227, 309, 317, 328, 332, 336, 332; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 337, 347—349, 373, 375

3 Sulaiman's grandson Abu 'l-Husain al-Ḳāsim, succeeded his father ᶜUbaid Allāh as vizier and took the title of *Walī al-Dawla*, "administrator of the kingdom" Even before the death of al-Muᶜtadid in 289 (902) al-Kāsim was conspiring against his son, the heir-apparent al-Muktafī, and on the latter's accession he had the governor of Fārs, a freedman named Badr, put to death because he had been a confidant of his and he was afraid he might betray him Al-Ḳāsim died in 291 (903/904)

Bibliography Tabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, iii , see Index, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, vii 335, 352 *sqq* , 369; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p 349–353, 372 *sqq.*, Weil, *Gesch der Chalifen*, ii. 516 *sqq.*, 539

(K V Zeiterstéen)

SULAIMĀN I, the tenth and the greatest of the Ottoman Sultāns, reigned from 1520 to 1566. The Turks call him Kānūnī Sultān Sulaimān and western authors Soliman the Magnificent. Some Western historians like Leunclavius and, more recently, Jorga call him Sulaimān II, the first Sulaimān having been, according to them, the son of Bāyazīd I who lived at Adrianople In Turkey however the opinion that Sulaimān the Legislator is the first of the name has prevailed; he is always called Sulaimān Khan Awwal and the ten *sherfe* of the four minarets of the Sulaimānīya mosque signify, according to the *Hadīḳat al-Djawāmiᶜ* (p. 16) that Sulaimān is the tenth Sulṭān. A very special symbolical significance has even been credited to the number ten in the life of the Sultān (*G.O.R.*, iii. 4) and the name Suleimān was also regarded as a national and religious symbol, in the documents issued by Sulaimān we frequently find allusion to passages in the Ḳur'ān where the royal prophet Solomon (Sulaimān) is mentioned.

Sulaimān was born in 900 (1494/1495), the son of Sulṭān Salīm and ᶜĀ'isha Sulṭān (d. 940 = 1533, cf. *Sidjill-i ᶜOthmānī*, i. 49), daughter of Mengli Girāy, Khān of the Crimea, celebrated for her beauty. In the reign of his grandfather Bāyazīd, Sulaimān had held the sandjaḳ of Kaffa and under

Salīm I he had lived in Maghnīsā as governor, without playing any important part in the state. No one therefore had any idea what to expect of the new sovereign when he arrived in the capital on Sept. 30, 1520, eight days after his fathers' death.

The most striking feature in the career of the Sulṭān, by nature peace-loving according to the Venetian reports, is that he took part in person in thirteen great campaigns — ten in Europe and three in Asia — which were so many stages in the extension of the power and territory of the Ottoman empire so that their enumeration coincides for the most part with the very important military history of the empire in his reign The first campaign was that of Belgiade which was provoked by the ill-treatment inflicted by the king of Hungary on the Turkish envoys who had come to demand the payment of tribute by him. The capture of Belgrade by the grand vizier Pīrī Pasha (Aug. 29, 1521) was preceded by the taking of Sabacz (Turkish: Bogürdelen) on the Danube and was accompanied by the devastation of Syrmia by the Turkish troops On Aug 30 the Sultān made his entry into the conquered city which received a garrison under a Sandjaḳ-beg In the following year took place the conquest of the island of Rhodes from the Knights of St John, who had long been a menace to Ottoman power because they supported the Christian corsairs Sulaimān left Constantinople on June 15, 1572 and crossed Asia Minor to the port of Marmaris; the fleet sailed under the vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha and was reinforced by an Egyptian contingent sent by Khair Beg of Egypt The siege inflicted great hardships on the Turkish troops and towards the end of October the fleet had to take refuge in Marmaris. But in December the Grand Master of the Order, Villiers de l'Isle Adam (called by the Turks Migāl Mastūri, from the Greek Megalomastia), capitulated and soon afterwards left the island A son of Djem, brother of Bāyazīd II, who was in the Christian army was killed Shortly after the return of the Sultān to Constantinople, he deposed the grand vizier Pīrī Pasha and replaced him by his favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v] (June 27, 1524), who remained the faithful companion of Sulaimān on all his campaigns until his sudden execution in 1536. The bond between the two was strengthened in 1524 by Ibrāhīm's marriage to the Sultān's sister In 1525 new military preparations were made, without their object being revealed, negotiations with Poland and France, guerilla warfare in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (especially the exploits of the Pasha of Bosnia who tried in vain to take the town of Jaice) and a mutiny of the Janissaries in the capital had been further indications of a great military enterprise. In April 1526 Sulaimān set out with Ibrāhīm; they arrived at Belgiade on July 15 whither a fleet had also gone by the Danube On July 30, Ibrāhīm took Peterwardein (in Turkish Warādīn). The army then crossed the Drave at Eszek and met the Hungarian army, weakened by the number and quarrels of its commanders at Mohács Here on August 28 was fought the battle which cost Louis of Hungary his life and destroyed the power of Hungary to resist further, so that it was henceforth open to Turkish invasion. The Sultān and Ibrāhīm immediately resumed their advance and on Sept. 11 occupied the capital Buda (in Turkish: Budin or Budun) which became a prey to the flames in spite of orders to the contrary. This occupation of the capital was however only temporary. The Turkish army crossed the Danube and returned by Szegedin, laying waste the country and crushing the resistance offered by several forces that met them. In November Sulaimān was back in Constantinople, where he had to deal with trouble in Asia Minor. For the two and half years that elapsed before the second Hungarian campaign, the war continued in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia; at the same time broke out the rivalry between Ferdinand the "Roman King" and John Zápolya, the voivod of Transylvania (Erdel Bān) for the Hungarian crown. Both sent an ambassador to Constantinople. Zápolya's envoy was able to secure the goodwill of the Sulṭān who set out in May 1529 for his new campaign, the Vienna campaign. On Aug. 10 they reached Mohács, where Zápolya recognised by Sulaimān as king of Hungary (Ḳrāl Yānūsh), came to pay homage to his suzerain. Ibrāhīm Pasha was now appointed ser-ʿasker and the Sultān set out to install his new vassal in his capital which was occupied by Ferdinand's troops On Sept. 8 Buda capitulated and Sulaimān had Zápolya installed as king of Hungary without himself being present at the ceremony. On Sept 27, the Turkish army began the famous siege of Vienna but was forced to raise the siege on Oct. 15 and to begin to retreat, not without ravaging the environs of the town In the two years following, the war with Austria continued and the various embassies from king Ferdinand had no success In 1532, Sulaimān then undertook what the Turkish sources call "the German campaign against the king of Spain" i e. Charles V, who claimed the *ṣāḥib-ḳirānlīḳ* (Chronicle of Rustam Pasha) The most remarkable event of this campaign was the taking of Güns (Turkish Kosek) after a long siege (Aug. 21). During the next few months Suleimān was in Styria, where his armies ravaged the country without meeting an army of the emperor. The Sulṭān's return to Constantinople in November was soon followed by an armistice with Austria, concluded on Jan. 14, 1533. Sulaimān's sixth campaign was directed against Persia. It was caused by the Turkish claims to possession of Bitlis (the governor of which, Ulama, had abandoned the Turks) and Baghdād. The grand vizier Ibrāhīm occupied Tabriz in July 1534 while the Sulṭān himself entered it in September. From Tabrīz the army set out for Baghdād by way of Hamadān without Shāh Tahmāsp offering any resistance. Baghdād was left defenceless; Ibrāhīm occupied the town and a few days later Sulaimān made his ceremonial entry into it on Nov. 30, 1534. During the four months that he spent there he built the mausoleum of Abū Hanīfa and the sources mention a large number of holy places which the Sulṭān visited at Baghdād, Nedjef, Kūfa and Kerbelā. As the Persians had regained the greater part of the Turkish conquests, Sulaimān set out for Persia again, this time by Arbil and Marāgha to Tabrīz. The Shāh continued to avoid a battle and the Turks were able to take the strongholds of Ādharbāidjān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. The only fighting was during the return march when the rearguard had occasionally to fight the Persians, for example at Wān. On Jan. 17, 1536, the Sulṭān was back in Constantinople and two months later (March 15)

there took place the disgrace and death of Ibrāhīm, grand vizier and intimate favourite of the Sulṭān and up till then this companion on all his campaigns. His place was taken by Āyās Pasha. In 1537 the Pādishāh accompanied the expedition against Corfu but stayed himself at Walona. The Turks were forced to raise the siege of the citadel of the island which was defended by the Venetians on Sept. 7. This campaign is specially remembered for the raids made on the coast of Apulia led by Luṭfī Pasha [*q. v.*] In the following year a rebellion by the voivod of Moldavia forced the Sultān to military intervention in which he also took part; it ended in the capture of the capital Sučāwa; after the installation of a new voivod and a new delimitation of his frontiers Sulaimān returned to Adrianople The two following campaigns, those of 1541, and 1543, took him again into Hungary where the war had broken out again after the death of Zápolya in 1540.

The widow of the latter was incapable of defending the rights of her infant son against the claims of Ferdinand of Austria Sulaimān arriving before Buda — which had just been besieged in vain by the Hungarian Peter Perenyi — in August 1541, annexed it along with the kingdom of Zápolya with the exception of Transylvania which was to be left to the queen dowager Isabella, henceforth Buda was the residence of a beglerbeg and Turkish administration was introduced into Hungary. Ferdinand's claims were of no avail and his attempt to take Pest in 1542 also failed. Sulaimān's campaign in 1543 brought a number of conquests, Valpo, Siklós, Funfkirchen (Peč) and other towns The Pādishāh then went to Buda, after which Gran (Esztergom, in Turkish Usturghān) and Stuhlweissenberg (Ustun-Belgrade) were taken in September. The Sultān returned to Buda, where he crossed the Danube and returned to Constantinople on Nov. 11. This last campaign was followed by a pause of five years in the military activity of Sulaimān The grand vizier Sulaimān Pasha, who had succeeded Lutfī Pasha in 1541, who had in turn succeeded Āyās Pasha (d. 1539) was dismissed and replaced by Rustam Pasha who had married Mihr-u Māh, daughter of Sulaimān and Khurram Sulṭān, it is from this time that harem influence begins to be active in politics. As a result of this, relations with Persia became more actively hostile, while the Hungarian war was terminated by a treaty making a seven years' truce with Ferdinand of Austria, who promised to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats. The campaign of 1548/49 of Sulaimān against Persia was provoked by Elkās Mirzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, a refugee at the Ottoman court. The Sulṭān went to Erzerūm and then to Tabrīz without the Shāh offering any resistance. But circumstances forced the Turkish army to retire to Diyār Bakr, while the Persian army ravaged the frontier towns Sulaimān spent the winter at Aleppo and passed the following year in inactivity also; the vizier Aḥmad made some conquests in Georgia. In December Sulaimān was back in Constantinople. The following years were occupied with military operations provoked by Austrian intervention in Transylvania, the only part of Hungary which so far had never seen a Turkish army. The Sulṭān took no part in these operations, the control of which was taken by Soḳollı Pasha [*q. v.*], beglerbeg of Rūm and future grand vizier (taking of Temesvár in 1551). Sulaimān had not intended to take part in the new Persian campaign of 1553 either; Rustam Pasha had been appointed Ser-ʿasker for it. But the rumour which reached him — through the intermediary of Rustam — of a rebellion said to have been organised by prince Muṣṭafā, the governor of Amasia, decided the Sulṭān to rejoin the army in person. He set out on Aug. 18, 1553, accompanied by prince Salīm. At Eregli in Karamania took place the sudden and tragic execution of prince Muṣṭafā who had come to greet his father (Oct. 16). One result of this act of violence, inspired by harem intrigues, was the temporary replacement of Rustam Pasha by Ahmad Pasha (until his execution on Sept. 28, 1555). Military operations on a large scale did not begin till 1554 and resulted in the destruction of Nakhčewān, Eriwān and Ḳara Bagh (in July). In September negotiations for peace began at Erzerūm but it was not till May 29, 1555 that a treaty — the first Persian peace — was concluded at Amasia In this last town the Sultān received the famous Austrian embassy under Busbecq which could only obtain an armistice. In August, Sulaimān returned to Constantinople. Ten years passed before his thirteenth and last campaign, that of Szigeth In spite of the uninterrupted negotiations of Busbecq, the war in Austria went on because the Turks insisted on their claims, notably for Szigeth, besieged in vain in 1556 The grand vizier Rustam proved a particularly difficult person to negotiate with It was only after his death (1561), that peace was concluded by his more amenable successor ʿAlī Pasha in 1562. Austria had to abandon Transylvania and after the death of Ferdinand (1562) this peace was renewed by Maximilian. The last years of Sulaimān's life were darkened by the death of Khurram Sultān (April 1558) and by the war between the princes Salīm and Bāyazīd, which ended in the execution of the latter (cf SELIM II) In 1565 hostilities with Austria were resumed and the Christians gained some successes. This gave the aged Sulṭān a reason for taking the field once more at the head of his armies He left Constantinople on May 1, 1566, with the new grand vizier Mehmed Soḳollı (appointed in June 1565 after the death of ʿAlī) At Zemlin, John Sigismund, son of Zápolya was received with remarkable honours Although the original plan had been to attack Erlau (Egri), the information he received decided the Sultān to lay siege to Szigeth (Sigetwār) defended by Nicolas Zrinyi. The siege began on Aug. 2 and on Sept. 8 the town fell before the Turkish assault but the great Sultān, who had died on the night of Sept. 5/6, did not live to witness its capture. The death of Sulaimān was kept secret by Soḳollı for three weeks to prevent trouble in the army and to give Salīm II time to gain possession of the throne. Salīm met the army near Belgrade; the body of Sulaimān (his heart was buried in the mausoleum near Szigeth, cf. Jacob, *Aus Ungarns Turkenzeit*, p 24) was sent in advance of the army to Constantinople, where it was buried in his *turbe* in the Sulaimānīya mosque.

This résumé of the campaigns of Sulaimān I reveals the extraordinary energy of this, the greatest, Sultān of the Ottoman Empire but does not give a complete picture of his personality. Unfortunately the sources do not supply us with sufficient data to reconstruct this personality. The Turkish sources

rarely contain anything but exaggerated praises, while the European sources, although more critical, are less well informed and often biassed. There is however no lack of brief personal touches, such as the short but fervid prayer which Sulaimān uttered before the battle of Mohács (*G. O. R*, III 59) the humility with which he assisted the bearers of the bier of Gül Baba after the occupation of Buda in 1529 (Ewliyā, VI. 248) His piety is shown by the eight copies of the Ḳur'ān copied by Sulaimān himself and kept in the Sulaimānīya, while his Muslim orthodoxy is evident from several *ghazal* in the *Dīwān* composed by him The chroniclers further describe him as an ardent lover of the chase. In any case Sulaimān must have been a born ruler, of remarkable dignity, a striking figure in the midst of his brilliant court, on such occasions of ceremony as the festivals of the circumcision of his sons as in 1530 or the marriages of the princesses, his sisters. His great affections were in his youth for Ibrāhīm Pasha and for his favourite Khurram Sultān [q. v] whose influence made itself felt in politics, but it was not the latter's children that Sulaimān loved best (the princes Salīm, Bāyazīd and the princess Mihr-u-Māh). It was rather prince Muhammad, who accompanied him on several campaigns and of whose death he learned (Nov. 6, 1543) on his return from the campaign, who was his favourite son. In memory of this prince he built the Shāhzāde Djāmi' in Stambul (finished in 1553). In memory of prince Djahāngīr (d. in 1553 soon after the execution of his brother Mustafā and also buried in the Shahzāde Djāmi') another mosque was built on the heights of the Top-khāne.

In the history of the Ottoman empire the name of Sulaimān is greater than that of any of the other sultāns, the name marks an epoch, the epoch during which the empire became an undisputed power, in the Christian world as well as that of Islām, and one which left its stamp upon later political and cultural developments. The part played by Sulaimān himself in this development is difficult to determine, we may note however that during his reign Turkey possessed a large number of able and remarkable men, like the Kapudān Pasha Khair al-Dīn [q. v.] Barbarossa, the *muftī* Kemāl Pasha-Zāde [q v], the architect Sinān [q.v] and many others, but that each of them seems to have played his part in his own proper sphere There seems to have been a lack of great personalities in the immediate entourage of the Sultān, with the possible exception of the grand-vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha.

On the other hand, the development of the Ottoman empire under Sulaimān may perhaps be largely explained by the internal political system of the state. The foundation of this development had been laid by earlier sultāns but under Sulaimān the state institutions had been perfected to such a pitch that we may with justice speak of a system. Following the principle of his predecessors, Sulaimān elaborated this system by the promulgation of the *Ḳānūn* [q. v.] which were later collected into the different *Ḳānūn-nāme* (cf. the *Bibliography*).

It is this legislative activity which has gained him the epithet Ḳānūnī. The *Ḳānūn* dealt mainly with the organisation of the army and military feudality, the laws of landed property, the police and the feudal code; one of the principles of the "system" was the exploiting of the Christian element in the empire through the *Dewshirme* and the entrusting of high offices of state to renegades. This was not without influence on the cultural developments which were the result.

The elaboration of the new ideal of the Ottoman state was not realised, however, without a certain amount of opposition from representatives of the old order of things, in the newly acquired provinces as well as in Asia Minor. Among these demonstrations which broke out mainly at the beginning of the reign may be mentioned the last remnants of independence shown by the Dhu 'l-Ḳadroghlū, suppressed by Farhād Pasha in 1522, and the rising in 1527 in Ič Ili and the rebellion of Ḳalenderoghlū in the same year put down by Ibrāhīm Pasha; the mutiny of the Janissaries in 1525 in Constantinople falls into the same category. In the provinces peace was broken in 1521 by Ghazālī, governor of Syria, and in Egypt by the attempt to regain independence under Ḳānsūh and later in 1524 under the governor Aḥmad Pasha. The government further had to intervene on several occasions in the dynastic troubles in the Crimea and in the principalities of the Danube.

The enormous expansion that the empire underwent under Sulaimān was also a result of the system, especially of its military side. For, as contemporary writers (e g Dernschwam) make him say, permanent peace is an impossibility; the country would have had nothing to support itself upon or to pay the Janissaries and the other turbulent soldiery At the same time the great victories brought about a fundamental change in the place of the empire in international affairs. The Christian states had lost all hope of driving the Turks out of Europe, it was in the reign of Sulaimān that the famous alliance with Francis I of France was concluded which led to negotiations when he was in Italy as a prisoner of Charles V. One of the consequences of this alliance was the famous capitulation of 1535 which settled the privileges of the French in the Empire, notably consular jurisdiction. This capitulation is the starting point for the capitulations between the Christian states and Turkey in the centuries following, although similar privileges had already been granted by Ottoman Sultāns, notably to Venice Another consequence of the French alliance was the great naval activity of the Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean against the Spanish fleet under Andreas Doria and against the African, Italian and Dalmatian coasts especially after Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa had become Ḳapudān Pasha (1536—1546); it was under him that the Franco-Turkish expedition against Nice took place in 1543. In the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, a Turkish fleet under Sulaimān Pasha waged war on the Portuguese (siege of Diu in 1538). This expedition secured to Turkey possession of 'Aden and the Yemen. From 1550 it was the Ḳapudān Piyāle Pasha [q. v.], Torghud Re'īs and Ṣālih Re'īs who spread the fame of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean especially in the ports of the Maghrib. In 1565 took place the great expedition against Malta in which Ṭorghud Re'īs was killed. The Turkish fleet did not succeed in taking the island. To the same period belong the expedition and adventures of Pīrī Re'īs and Sīdī Re'īs in the Indian Ocean.

Alongside of these political developments at home and abroad, the Empire experienced a cultural

advance which may be said to be more independent than that of preceding centuries Ottoman civilisation gained its own special character in the field of literature as well as that of art. Sultān Sulaimān played a part in the literary life of his time as a poet under the *takhallus* of Muḥibbī and as a patron of the great poets of his time. In another way he and his glorious reign contributed to the development of literature by inspiring poets like Bāḳī to write panegyric ḳaṣīdas and various *shāhnāma*, and prose-writers to write histories (cf. the *Bibliography*). But it is in the field of architecture especially that Turkish culture owes much to the initiative of Sulaimān. Of the mosques which he built in the capital first place must be given to the Sulaimānīya built between 1550 and 1556 and containing the *turbe* of Sulaimān (Sulaimān II and Aḥmad II are also buried here); next comes the Salīmīye built in memory of Salīm I and finished in 1522, the Shahzāde Djāmiʿi built between 1547 and 1548 in memory of prince Muḥammad, also contained the tomb of the prince Djahāngīr; the mosque founded in memory of the latter at Topkhāne is now destroyed, the Khaṣṣakī Djāmiʿi was built in 1534 in memory of Khurram Sulṭān; lastly may be mentioned two mosques built, one at Stambul and the other at Skutarī, in memory of princess Mihr-u-Māh, wife of Rustam Pasha With the exception of the Salīmīye all these mosques are the work of the architect Salīm Sinān [q. v.] who also built a large number of other mosques in the capital and elsewhere, for the grandees of the empire who followed the Sulṭān's example Among other buildings of Sinān for Sulaimān are the aqueducts of the capital and the palace at Skutarī.

Of the edifices erected throughout the provinces in large numbers by Sulaimān's orders, the most remarkable are the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa at Baghdād, the mosque over the tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonia, the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem (cf. AL-ḲUDS), the restoration of the Kabʿa (after authorisation by a *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, q. v.) and of the aqueducts of Mecca.

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Venetian ambassadors publ. by Alberi, then the narratives of other envoys like Busbecq, accessible in Forster and Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, London 1881; the *Tagebuch* of his companion Hans Dernschwam, ed. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, is very useful for its description of Turkey in the time of Suleimān; Lewenklaw, in *Neuwe Chronica Turckischer Nation*, Francfort 1590, gives in the appendix an important document (e. g. on page 418 the stages of the second campaign in Persia); Boissard, *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum*, Francfort 1596.

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SULAIMĀN II, twentieth Ottoman Sultān, reigned from 1687 to 1691. He was born in 1052 (1642) (on 15th Muharram = April 15, according to von Hammer, *G. O. K*, the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* gives the 25th Ṣafar = May 25), and was the son of Sultān Ibrāhīm; from the accession of his brother Muhammad IV he lived the life of a prisoner in the palace with his brother Aḥmad. On the deposition of Muḥammad IV, the result of the defeat of the Turkish army at Mohács, Sulaimān was placed on the throne on Nov 8, 1637, mainly through the efforts of the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* Koprulu Muṣṭafā Pasha. In the precarious position of the empire, great hopes were placed upon a second Sulaimān but the latter had not the necessary qualities. He is described as being of a resolute and warlike character, and indeed he twice took the field at the head of the army, a weak constitution however prevented him from carrying out his good intentions. Soon after his accession the mutinous army returned from Hungary, invaded the capital and committed unprecedented excesses in which the new grand vizier Siyāwush Pasha was killed (Nov. 24, 1688) A spontaneous rising of the population of the capital finally suppressed the rebellion and the aged Nishāndjī Ismāʿīl Pasha became grand vizier (Jorga, iv. 227, speaks of another grand vizier the Sipāhī ʿAlī Agha, as holding the office between these two, but he is not mentioned in the *Ḥadīḳat al-Wūzāraʾ*). A new mutiny of the troops however put an end to Ismāʿīl Pasha also His successor was the ex-Janissary Takfur Daghlī Muṣṭafā Pasha (May 1688). Meanwhile the Turkish arms suffered defeat after defeat in Hungary (loss of Erlau in Dec. 1687) and in Dalmatia, while Yegen ʿOthmān Pasha, Beglerbeg of Rūm-ili was in rebellion against the government; in Anatolia he had a supporter in Geduk Aḥmad Pasha. After greats effort to raise the necessary money, an army left the capital in July 1688. The Sulṭān set out with it, but went no farther than Adrianople, for in the meanwhile, the Austrians and their allies had taken Belgrade (Sept. 6) and Semendria. In September the Porte sent Mavrocordato and Dhu 'l-Faḳīr Efendi to Vienna with the task of negotiating a peace; but fighting went on as the negotiations were prolonged. The rebels Geduk Aḥmad and Yegen ʿOthmān were finally defeated and slain. In Dec. 1688 a great council of war was held which decided among other things, to enrol in the army a certain number of the inhabitants of Constantinople; on the other hand the assistance of France who attacked the Emperor in Germany gave the Turks a chance to re-organise their forces. In June 1689, Sulaimān again put himself at the head of an army which he only accompanied as far as Sofia, having heard of the loss of Szigeth, Radjab Pasha became Serʿasker. After some initial successes this campaign ended in a great Turkish defeat near Nīsh on Sept. 14, a result of which was the execution of of Radjab Pasha, and the dismissal of the grand vizier in favour of Kūprūlū Muṣṭafā Pasha (Nov. 7). The latter took energetic steps to re-establish order in the army and the finances; for example he levied a series of new taxes In 1690 fortune turned in favour of the Turks assisted by a Tatar army. They retook Nish, Semendria and Belgrade (Oct. 8) as well as several towns in Transylvania.

In Albania the Venetians had to give up their conquests The campaign of 1691 thus started very favourably but it ended with the defeat at Szalánkemen, in which Muṣṭafā Kūprūlū [q. v.] lost his life But the Sultān was already dead (June 23, 1691; the *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* gives the date 15 Shawwāl = July 12) He was succeeded by his brother Ahmad II. Sulaimān II was buried in the *turbe* of Sulaimān I in the Sulaimāniye in Constantinople. Two of his sons became sultans: Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmad III.

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SULAIMĀN, MAWLĀY ABU 'L-RABIʿ B MUḤAMMAD, ʿAlawid Sulṭān of Morocco, reigned from Radjab 1206 (March 1792) to 13th Rabīʿ I 1238 (Nov. 28, 1822) The son of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl and a free woman of the Arab tribe of Aḥlāf, he spent his youth in Sidjilmāsa where he devoted himself to study without taking part in politics. When on the death of his father in Radjab 1204 (March—April 1790) the power passed to his brother Yazīd, Sulaimān came

from al-Tāfīlālat escorted by the Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara to bring him the *baiʿa* of the people of Sidjilmāsa After the death of Mawlāy Yazīd, killed near Marrākesh (end of Djumādā II 1206 = Febr 1792) fighting against Mawlāy Hishām, one of his brothers who had rebelled against him, Morocco fell into anarchy The people of al-Hawz of Marrākesh remained faithful to Mawlāy Hishām but those of al-Hibt and al-Djabal proclaimed Mawlāy Maslama, uterine brother of Mawlāy Yazīd The people of Fās, the tribes around the capital and the ʿAbīd, Wadāya and Berbers proclaimed Mawlāy Sulaimān whose learning and piety particularly distinguished him. Soon afterwards the ʿAbīd of Miknās and the Berbers of the region joined them and the new Sultān received their oath of allegiance in the sanctuary of Mawlāy Idrīs, on Monday 17th Radjab 1206 (March 12, 1792) Later he was also recognised by the Banū Ḥasan and the other tribes of al-Gharb, as well as by the people of Sale and Rabat.

He had hardly been proclaimed, when M Sulaimān had to fight his brother and rival, M. Muslama, who was soon defeated and went to live in the east. At the end of 1206 (1792) M Sulaimān made an unsuccessfull expedition with the object of chastising the Angād, an Arab tribe around Udjda, who plundered caravans and convoys of pilgrims In al-Hawz of Marrākesh however M Hishām was still supreme At the end of 1207 (1793) M Sulaimān sent his brother M al-Taiyib against the Shāwiya but he was defeated In 1208 (1793—1794) the Djabāla, the tribes inhabiting the mountainous massif of the northwest (Akhmās, Banū Yadar, Banū Gurfut, Ghazāwa etc) rebelled on the invitation of a *ṭālib*, Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Salām Zaitan al-Khumsī After his defeat in the first encounter, the troops of M Sulaimān ultimately crushed the rebels and Zaitan, captured and pardoned, was appointed governor of the tribe and became one of the strongest supporters of the government.

M Hishām was always powerful in al-Hawz of Marrākesh, where the tribes of Dukkāla, ʿAbda, Aḥmar, Shayādhima, Hāha and Rahāmina followed him; but discord was not long in breaking out among them and M. Sulaimān seized his opportunity He began by attacking a section of the Shāwiya whom he defeated In 1210 (1795/1796) the Raḥāmina sent him a deputation inviting him to march on Marrākesh and he took the field against the Shāwiya whom he routed, then invaded the territory of the Dukkāla and took Azammūr in 1211 (1796/1797) He then turned his attention to Marrākesh, on his approach, M. Hishām fled from the town to the Atlas; M. Sulaimān occupied the capital of the south and extended his authority over the tribes of al-Ḥawz, al-Dair, al-Sūs, the Hāha and the town of Mogadar. A little later, the *ḳāʾid* of the ʿAbda, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Nāṣir who had been one of the most faithful auxiliaries of M. Hishām submitted to the Sultān and M. Hishām now alone, soon followed his example. M. Sulaimān was now undisputed sovereign of all Morocco

His authority once well established, M Sulaimān undertook several secondary expeditions to assure the security of the frontiers of his empire The Turks of Algiers had seized Udjda and extended their authority over the tribes in the neighbourhood of this town In 1211 (1796—1797) M Sulaimān sent troops who reconquered the territory without difficulty In 1213 (1798—1799) there was an expedition to al-Sūs, in 1215 (1800—1801) the unfortunate campaign against the Berber tribe of Ait-Umālū, in 1216 (1801—1802) an expedition against the land of Darʿa (Drā) and in 1217 (1802—1803) against the Rīf to collect taxes In 1218 (1803—1804) there was the campaign against the Ait Idrāsan of the Central Atlas and against the tribes of the Sahara (Tudgha, Farkala, Gharīs and Tāfīlālat)

The power of M. Sulaimān had now reached its zenith and Morocco enjoyed several years of peace and prosperity. This period unfortunately did not last and the Sultān had to spend the last years of his reign in almost annual expeditions. In 1222 (1807—1808) there was an expedition against the Tādla and the Gurāra, in 1223 (1808—1809) a new campaign against the Ait Umālū, who were forced on this occasion to pay tribute; in 1224 (1809—1810) there was an expedition against the Tādla and against the Ait Isīī; in 1225 (1810—1811) there was an expedition against the Rīf

Very soon afterwards the situation changed. The nationalist rising of the Berbers in the Central Atlas, exasperated by the oppression of the central arabicised power imperilled the empire and brought Morocco to the verge of anarchy In 1226 (1811—1812) the Gaiwān and the Ait Umālū rebelled under the chief Āmhāush, the first expedition sent against them was routed at Azrū In 1227 (1812—1813) the Sultān sent to the Rīf an expedition to punish several eastern tribes notably the Galʿiya, who, in spite of his prohibition, were selling wheat to the Christians This campaign was crowned with success but had no permanent results so that the very next year in 1228 (1813—1814) the Sultān, accompanied by Arab contingents from the Banū Malik and the Sufyān had to go in person to the Rīf which he ravaged with fire and sword In 1230 (1814—1815) there was an expedition to the region of Marrākesh to punish the turbulent tribes of Dukkāla, ʿAbda and Shayādhima In 1231 (1815—1816) the Sultān sent his son M. Ibrāhīm to punish various Arab and Berber tribes of the Sahara, the Sabāh and the Ait ʿAṭṭā who had seized fortresses (*ḳuṣūr*) built in their land by M Ismāʿīl, the expedition was a failure and the Sultān had to undertake a second one in person which was quite successful.

But the enemy who caused the greatest trouble to Sulaimān was the Berber bloc of the Central Atlas, which rebelled on several occasions against the Arab yoke, frequently threatening the town of Miknās. The Sultān never succeeded in taming them and their stubborn resistance was the cause of the internal dissensions which troubled the close of his reign The Sanhādja of the Central Atlas and especially the confederation of the Ait Umālū of Fāzāz refused to submit to the central power. In 1234 (1818—1819) the Sultān decided to subdue them with Arab and Berber contingents (Zammūr, Garwān and Ait Idrāsan), but as a result of the defection of the Zammūr, the Sultān's son M Ibrāhīm was mortally wounded and the Sultān himself was captured by a Berber who however ultimately released him. This success inflamed the national ardour of the Berbers who rose under a local *murābiṭ* Muḥammad U-Nāṣir Āmḥāush, to fight against the whole Arabic speaking element in Morocco. The checks suffered by M.

Sulaimān had destroyed his prestige and the end of his reign was simply a series of risings which he had great difficulty in putting down. While the Sulṭān was at Miknās defending it against the Berbers, the people of Fās rose against his governor, al-Ṣaffār He therefore returned to Fās and on the way his army was attacked by the Berbers. In 1235 (1819—1820) he went to pacify al-Ḥibṭ and then to Marrākesh During his absence the Wadāya plundered Fās, discord broke out among the people of the town who ultimately asked the help of the Berbers against the Wadāya Soon the people of Fās by arrangement with the Berbers abandoned M Sulaimān and chose as ruler M Ibrāhīm b Yazīd, who was also recognised by a part of the people of N W. Morocco, notably the inhabitants of Tetwān; returning to the town, M Ibrāhīm died and his brother M. Saʿīd was proclaimed in his stead The Sultān M Sulaimān then left Marrākesh and laid siege to Fās The siege lasted till Radjab 1237 (March—April 1822) During this period the Sultān sent an expedition to attack Tetwān and pacified the district of Tāza

Having retaken Fās and settled the situation in the north M. Sulaimān set out for the south where he had to fight against the Arab tribe of the Shaārīda, who lived near Marrākesh Wearied with ruling M Sulaimān was thinking of abdicating in favour of his nephew M ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Hishām, when he died on 13th Rabīʿ I, 1238 (Nov 28, 1822) at Marrākesh, where he was buried

In spite of his unfortunate reign, M Sulaimān left a great reputation for piety, justice and benevolence; for example he abolished the non-Islāmic taxes (*mukūs*) He was also a great builder

Bibliography. Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Zaiyānī, *al-Turdjumān al-muʿrib*, ed Houdas, text, p 92, transl, p 169, Muḥammad Akansūs, *al-Djaish al-ʿaramram*, lith, Fās 1336, i 181, Ahmad al-Nāsirī, *al-Istiksā*², iv 129—172, transl in *Arch Marocaines*, ix 384—399, x 1—105 — Sulaimān al-Hawwāt wrote poems in praise of Mawlāy Sulaimān, but the collection, of no historical value, is still in manuscript

(Georges S Colin)

SULAIMĀN, al-Mahrī, a sailing-master (*muʿallim al-bahr*) and author of "Sailing Instructions" in the first half of the xvith century

MS N° 2559 of the Arabic collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several nautical treatises in prose and verse on the Indian Ocean, the sea of Western China and the seas of the great Asiatic Archipelago The treatises in verse are by the *muʿallim* Ibn Mādjid (cf Shihāb al-dīn) The five treatises in prose have been prepared by another sailing-master called Sulaimān b Aḥmad al-Mahrī al-Muhammadī (fol 59*b*) or Sulaimān b Aḥmad b Sulaimān al-Mahrī (fol 155*a*, here wrongly written al-Mahīrī) In either case he would be son or grandson of Mahrī, i e of a member of the tribe of the Mahara of Southern Arabia. Sulaimān is otherwise unknown. The "Sailing Instructions" of which he is the author contain no biographical information His Turkish translator, the admiral Sīdī ʿAlī who wrote the *Muhīṭ* in 1554, mentions that he was dead by then (cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Nov. 1834, p. 548). One of the nautical treatises is dated 1511; it is therefore probable that the texts in question were prepared in the first half of the xvith century

MS. 2559 is a small 4° of 215 × 150, 187 folios with 15 lines to a page The five treatises by Sulaimān contained in it are as follows:

I *Risāla kulādat al-shumūs wa-ʾstikhrādj kawāʿid al-usūs*, folio 1*b* to 3*b* At the beginning the text says. "The object of this epistle is to make known the [different kinds of] known years and their use by all the world; these years are the lunar, solar, Byzantine (*rūmīya*), Coptic and Persian The epistle contains a short introduction of 10 lines and 6 *faṣl* or sections. The first deals with the lunar year, the second with the basis of the solar year, the third with the solar year; the fourth with the Byzantine year; the fifth with the Coptic year and the sixth with the Persian year". Not dated. On folio 1*a* where the titles of the treatises contained in the manuscript are given in another hand, this text is entitled "Epistle dealing with the science of eras, i e with the knowledge of the principle of years, the use of which is found throughout the world".

II *Kitāb tuhfat al-fuhūl*, from folio 4*a* to 10*a* inclusive On 1*a* this text is entitled. "Epistle of the gift to men of energy to facilitate the knowledge of the principles [of astronomical-nautical science]" This treatise is divided into 4 lines of introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion Chapter 1 deals with the description of the spheres and the stars which they contain, chapter II treats of the division of the circle which those learned in nautical astronomy are agreed to divide into 32 parts called *khann* "(celestial) rumb", by analogy with the rumbs of navigation Chapter III deals with *zām* = 3 hours sailing at sea, chapter IV. with the two kinds of sailing at sea, i e following the coast line or crossing the high seas, chapter V with the altitudes of the stars to determine the latitude of a port; chapter VI with the distances between two ports estimated in *zām*, chapter VII with the winds The conclusion of this treatise is as follows the art of navigation is based on a double foundation, good sense and experience

This text is not dated but it is later than IV which is quoted on folio 7*a*, line 1 and than III which is mentioned in folio 5*b*, line 11 which puts its date after 1512

Folios 10*b* and 11*a* are blank in the MS

III *Al-ʿUmdat al-mahrīya fī dabṭ al-ʿulūm al-bahrīya*, from folio 11*b* to 59*a* inclusive It is divided into 7 chapters which are subdivided into sections

Chapter 1 deals with the principles of nautical astronomy It contains the following sections

(*a*) To know the rumbs; (*b*) to know the distance of the stars at the equator, (*c*) to know the parallels (*madārāt*) of the stars expressed in degrees; (*d*) to know the stars which are in horizontality (*ʿtidāl*) (observed on a single planchette); (*e*) to know the *zām*; (*f*) to know the guide to the exact number of *zām* between the rumbs, (*g*) to know the exact number of *tirfāt* (co-efficient indicating the length of the voyage to be covered to a given cape to get the same displacement in latitude sailing straight north); (*h*) to know the basis (for calculation) of the altitude of a star; (*i*) to know the distances

Chapter II. deals with the names of the stars and allied matters. It has two sections (*a*) to know the number of *isbaʿ* = 1° 37′ that are one between the North Pole and the *gāh* or Pole Star, the great *farḳad* or β of Ursa Minor, the *mīzḳ*,

lit = knot = 122 (Piazzi) of Cepheas; and (*o*) to know the circle described by the great *farḳad* around the pole

Chapter III deals with sea routes in the regions to windward and under the wind (i e in the author's particular terminology, to the east and west of Cape Comorin) It contains 7 sections· (*a*) routes of the Ḥiḏjāz, (*b*) route along the south coast of Arabia, (*c*) route along the north-west coast of India, (*d*) route along the east coast of Africa from Bāb al-Mandam (var of Bāb al-Mandab), (*e*) route past the Khūriyā (cf above, II, p 975, where these islands are wrongly called Khūriyān-Mūriyān from an erroneous reading of several Arab geographers) from the south coast of Arabia to Sokotrā; (*f*) routes under the wind on the east coast of India, (*g*) route from the coast of Siam (i e west and east coast of the Malay peninsula which used all to belong to Siam), along the coasts of Siam proper of Indo-China and western China

Chapter IV deals with the routes along the coast of the following islands Komr or Madagascar, the archipelago of the Comoros (which includes 4 islands Ngazīḏja or Great Comoro, Mulālī or Moheli, Dumūnī or Anjuan so-called from its capital, and Mayotte), the small islands to the east of Cape Ambre and Cape St. Mary (the two Capes at the north and south ends of Madagascar), the Zarīn Islands or Seychelles; Soḳotrā, the Fāl or Laccadives, the Dib or Maldives, Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the islands along the coast of Siam (i e west coast of the Malay Peninsula), Sumatra, Java, the south-east islands Gilolo, Fanyūk (the *Peinoco* of the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, vol III, ch. XVIII. (?), Ghūr = north part of Formosa, the Maluccas, Macassar = Celebes, the islands of Banda, Tīmūr-Lawt or Tīmūr of the Sea, Tīmūr-Kīdul or Tīmūr of the south, Brunei or Borneo)

Chapter V deals with latitudes ascertained from the altitudes of the *gāh* or Pole Star, the *farḳadain* = $\beta\ \gamma$ of Ursa Minor and of the *naʿš* = $\alpha\ \beta\ \gamma\ \delta$ of Ursa Major It contains 7 sections indicating the latitudes of the ports of the Red Sea, of the eastern coast of Arabia and the western coast of India, of the east coast of Africa and the west coast of India and Ceylon; of the east coast of Africa to the south of Guardafui, of the Gulf of Bengal, of the island of Ceylon, of Sumatra and Java It also deals with *bāṣhī* (the correction to be made according to the elevation of the Pole Star), the 28 lunar mansions and the altitudes of the known stars

Chapter VI. deals with the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the dates of which are expressed in the Persian reckoning The monsoons are divided into two categories The first is divided into two classes The first of these is called "head of the wind" and includes the following monsoons monsoon of ʿAden which takes one to the west coast of India, the monsoon of Shiḥr [q v] for the same destination; monsoon of Zufār, monsoon of the Sawāḥil or of the eastern equatorial coast of Africa for the same destination; monsoon of the Sawāḥil to the south coast of Arabia; monsoons of Gujarat, of the Konkan, of Malabar, of the Maldives, of Shiḥr, of Zufār, from Masḳat to Malacca, Sumatra, Tenasserim and Bengal Monsoon from Zaila and Berbera to the South Arabian coast; monsoon from ʿAden to Hormuz.

The monsoons of the second class of the first category are the monsoons from Mecca (i e. from Djedda), Sawākin, Zaila, ʿAden, Shiḥr, Mashḳāṣ Zufār and Kālahāt to the west coast of India.

The monsoons blowing towards the lands "under the wind" (i e to the east of Cape Comorin) are the monsoons from ʿAden, Shiḥr, Mashḳāṣ, Gujarat the Konkan, Sumatra, Tenasserim, Malabar and Bengal, the monsoon from Bengal towards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, the monsoon from the east coast of Africa to the Maldives; the monsoon of the Sawāḥil to the south Arabian coast

The second category of monsoons includes the monsoons from Gujarat, the Konkan and Hormuz to the coast of Arabia; from Gujarat to the east coast of Africa, from Bengal, Malacca and Tenasserim, Martaban and Sumatra to Mecca (i e Djedda) ʿAden and Hormuz; from Sumatra to Bengal, from the Maldives to ʿAden and the whole Arabian coast, from Diyūl in Sind to the Arabian coast; from Malindi in East Africa to Madagascar; from Kilwa to Sofāla and from Sofāla to Kilwa

Chapter VII deals with voyages It begins by describing in detail the islands along the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. Then follow itineraries extremely in detail in the following regions from Bāb al-Mandab to mount Zukur and Saibān, in the south of the Red Sea; from Saibān to Djedda, from Saibān to Sawākin, from Djedda to ʿAden, from Sawākin to ʿAden, from Zaila to Gujarat, from Berbera to Gujarat; from Kishin to the south Arabian Coast of Gujarat, from Khalafāt to Gujarat, from Ẓufār to Gujarat, from Kalahāt to Gujarat, from Maskat to Gujarat, to the Konkan and Malabar; from ʿAden to Malabar; from ʿAden to Hormuz; from Rās al-Ḥadd to Diyūl in Sind, from Diu to Mashkās; from Diu to Shiḥr and ʿAden, from Mahā in and Shayūl (the Chaul of our maps) and the vicinity to the Arabian coast, from Diu to the Maldives; from Dābūl to the Maldives, from Diu to Maskat and Hormuz, from Cambay to ʿAden at the end of the monsoon, from Goa-Sindābūr to ʿAden at the end of the monsoon, from Honōr and Bādkalā to ʿAden at the end of the monsoon; from Calicut to Guardafui, from Diu to Malacca, from Diu to Bengal, i e to Shātīgām (sic); from Malacca to ʿAden, from Shatīgām to the Arabian coast — In the conclusion (*ḵẖatima*) the author enumerates the ten dangers to be avoided by sailors

This treatise is dated in figures, 21st Rabīʿ II, 961 = March 27, 1554, but according to the *Muḥīṭ* of Sīdī ʿAlī, it was compiled in 917 (1511—1512) (cf *J A S B*, Nov 1834, p 548), and this is the date which should be adopted as correct The Turkish admiral actually collected the Arabic documents which he translated during his sojourn on the Persian Gulf in 1553. The date given in MS. N°. 2559 is no doubt that when the copy was made as Sulaimān was already dead in 1554

IV *Kitāb al-minhūḏj al-fāḵẖir fī ʿilm al-baḥr al-zāḵẖir*, from fol 59*a* to 93*b*, l 3 It is divided into an introduction, 7 chapters and a conclusion. The introduction deals with *zām* and *tirfāt*; chapter I with the sea routes on the coast of Arabia, Makrān, Sind, Gujarat, the Konkan, Tulwān, Malabar, on the Somali coast and the east coast of Africa; the east coast of India, Bengal and Siam (= west coast of Malay peninsula), and of Malacca; on the west coast of the Malay

Peninsula, Indo-China, Western China, and some routes on the high seas.

Chapter II dealing with the latitudes (*kiyās*, lit "measure") of the ports on known and inhabited coasts· "Know", says the author, "that as regards the observation of the Polar Star, there is a difference between the people under the wind and those of the lands in the wind of Cape Comorin, as far as certain capes are concerned The result is differences between the people of Western India (*al-Hind*, this is how we must take it in nautical terminology) and the Arabs as regards the fundamental measure (i e. the measure of the height of the Pole Star) In my book entitled *al-ʿUmda* (cf above col 2) [the latitudes given] are in conformity with those of the Čolas; in the present book, I have reproduced the opinion of the older masters of navigation for all the coasts because [as to these latitudes] I have verified them from certain capes which I supposed to have been situated above their true latitude " Then come the sections where they are indicated (*a*) a great number of latitudes furnished by observation of the Pole Star, (*b*) of the *farkadain* ($\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor), (*c*) of the *naʿš* $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major, (*d*) the altitudes of the known stars.

Chapter III. contains the description of the coasts of the large known inhabited islands Madagascar, the Seychelles, Sokotrā, the Laccadives, the Maldives, Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Takwa Islands on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the northeastern islands (Timor, the Sandalwood Islands, Banda, the Moluccas, the island of Lakyū [Arabic transcription of the Chinese *Lieou-kʾieou* also called *Ghūr* — north of Formosa], Gilolo, Fariyūḳ [?], Borneo and Macassar = Celebes)

Chapter IV deals with the distances between Arabia and Western India, the ports of the Bay of Bengal, the east coast of Africa and certain ports of Sumatra, Java and Bali

Chapter V. deals with the winds, cyclones and the dangers to which ships are exposed Chapter VI treats of the landings and landmarks of western India, the Arabian coast and the east coast of Africa Chapter VII deals with the entrance of the sun and moon into the signs of the Zodiac The conclusion contains the following detailed itineraries from Diu to Malacca, from Malacca to the Maldives, from Diu to the west coast of Sumatra and back to Martaban und Tenasserim and to Bengal

This text is not dated but it mentions *al-ʿUmda* (III) in folio 64*a*, l. 13; it is therefore later than 1511 It also mentions II which is quoted on folio 60*b*, l 9.

Folios 93*b* to 151*a* contain nautical treatises in verse by Ibn Mādjid, which have already been discussed (cf above, p 364 *sq*) Folios 151*b* to 154*a* are blank.

V. *Kitāb šarḥ tuḥfat al-fuḥūl fī tamhīd al-uṣūl* from folios 155*a* to 187*b* and last. At the end of several lines of introductory matter the author says: "I have extracted [the substance] of this book from different sciences and collected the contents [by borrowing] from my own works and those of my brethren [of the brotherhood of sailing masters] (folio 155*a*, l. 3 *infra*)

Chapter I. deals with the description of the celestial spheres and the stars which they contain (spheres of the moon, of Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars), the loadstone and the compass. Chapter II. deals with the division of the circle "I say", says the author (f 161*a*, l. 3) "that this chapter II. of this book contains the description of the circle The word *circle* here means the circle of the horizon divided into 360 parts, each part of which is considered a degree by observers i e. astronomers. I say that those learned in nautical science are agreed to divide the circle (of the horizon) into 32 parts I say that the masters of navigation of the ocean of Western India agree. There are the Arabs, the people of Hormuz, the people of Western India, the Čolas and the Zengs (or Zendjs) It is the same for masters of navigation of the west, like the Maghribīs, the Franks, the Byzantines (Rūmīya) who also divide the circle into 32 parts As to the Chinese and Javanese — these are the people of the islands of the south — they divide the circle into 24 parts It is the same with the people of the non-Arab countries like Khorāsān and the non-Arab lands adjoining it and the masters of navigation have called each of these parts *khann* by analogy with the *khann* (or rumbs) of navigation" The same chapter then deals with the *iṣbaʿ* (lit. finger = 1° 37′) Chapter III is devoted to the *zām*· chapter IV to the routes along the coasts and on the high seas, chapter V to the altitudes of the stars, chapter VI to the distances between two points; chapter VII to the winds. The book ends with a general concluding chapter

This last nautical treatise which is not dated is later than the *Kitāb al-minhādj* (IV) quoted in f 173*a*, l 8 and 184*a* l 11, and than the *al-ʿUmda* (III) mentioned in folio 165*a*, l 9, 165*b*, l 8; 181*a*, l. 13—l. 14 *The Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* of de Slane wrongly says that the text of this treatise is written in red ink; the titles of the chapter, sections, and paragraphs alone are written in red ink, the text itself is written in black ink like the rest of the manuscript

Without going into details we may here mention the main rules used by Arab seafarers in the XV^th^—XVI^th^ centuries According to the nautical texts of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī the latitudes of the parts of the Indian Ocean in the wide sense, i e the ports of all the coasts between Southern Africa and the Chinese province of Fou-Kien (coasts of the mainland and islands of the Indian Ocean in the strict sense, of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the sea of ʿOmān, the Bay of Bengal, of the Sea of western China, and the Seas of the Great Asiatic Archipelago), are determined by observation of three stars or groups of northern stars. *gāh* = Pole Star, the Guards, in Arabic *al-farḳadain*, "the two calves", = $\beta\gamma$ of Ursa Minor, the tomb, in Arabic *al-naʿš* = $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ of Ursa Major The latitude of the harbours between the parallels of 32° 48° N = 17½ *iṣbaʿ* and 6° north = about 1 *iṣbaʿ* from, the *gāh* is determined by the observation of the Pole Star, that of the ports situated between the parallels of 5° 21′ south = about 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farkadain* by observation of the Guards of Ursa Minor, and that of the ports between the parallels of 6° N = 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *gāh* or 8 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farkadain* and of 5° 21′ south = 1 *iṣbaʿ* from the *farkadain* or 13 *iṣbaʿ* from the *naʿš* and about 25° 16′ south = ¾ *iṣbaʿ* from the *naʿš*, by observation of *al-naʿš* of Ursa Major The result of these observations has been laid down in the *Sailing Instructions* in the following from: Ibn Mādjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī give first

of all the parallel in question and then mention all the points which are found on this latitude, the one from east to west and the other from west to east For example in fol 64*b*, l 8 of MS 2559 we are told·

"[There where] the *gāh* is 11 *iṣba*ᶜ [above the horizon = about 21° 14′ N are] the harbour of Kawshī (arabicised form of the Chinese 交趾 Kiao-če near the modern Hanoi in Tonkin) which is in China (sic), this is the port of the Sultān [of the country] Then Shatīgām = Chittagong in Eastern Bengal (= west coast of Burmah), then Rās al-Kanfār on the west coast (of the Bay of Bengal = east coast of India); then Kanbāya (in the bay of this name, on the west coast of India), then Rās Djagad (the west point of the peninsula of the Kathiawar), then Rās al-hadd (south-east point of Arabia), then al-Kahhāz [a cape] on the coast of the Hidjāz, off this cape is a reef [called] al-Būm, then [cape] Dawā'ir on the African coast [of the Red Sea] ". The list goes on by ¼ *iṣba*ᶜ's from north to south to 1¼ *iṣba*ᶜ from the Pole Star which section ends in the parallel of 6° N Lat The next section is entitled "Section dealing with the altitude of the *farkadain* of the place where the Pole Star is at 1 *iṣba*ᶜ to the end of the observations made with the two stars" Practically 1 *iṣba*ᶜ from the Pole Star = 8 *isba*ᶜ from the Guards of the Ursa Minor, these two expressions are interchangeable It is at this parallel of 8 *iṣba*ᶜ = 6° N that the section begins

"[There where] the *farkadain* are at 8 *isba*ᶜ [above the horizon are] Kēlantan in China (read on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula), then Kēdah on the east coast (of the Bay of Bengal = west coast of the Malay Peninsula), then the island of Perak (off the preceding harbour), then the islands of Mās-fula and Gāmis-fula and the north-west cape of Sumatra; then Aitam on the east coast (lit on the back) of Ceylon, then Tūṭāgām on the west coast of Ceylon, then the island of Kandikāl of the Maldives, then the beginning of Saif al-Tawīl (lit the long bank) on the east coast of Africa. " The enumeration continues by ¼ *iṣba*ᶜ's to 5 *iṣba*ᶜ, then following the parallels of 4, 3, 2½, 2 *iṣba*ᶜ the section ends at 1 *isba*ᶜ = 5° 21′ S L The next section is entitled "Section dealing with the altitude of the *na*ᶜ*sh* in the Southern Isles [of Indonesia], Madagascar and on the coast of Zeng (or Zandj)" 13 *isba*ᶜ from Ursa Major = 1 *isba*ᶜ from the Guards The text of this section does not begin till the following parallel.

"[There where] the *na*ᶜ*sh* are at 12 *iṣba*ᶜ [above the horizon = 7° South are] the port of Surabaya which is on the west coast (this is an error for north) of the island of Java, then [the island of] Sumbava [which produces] sandalwood and is situated west (read east) of Java; then Monfia (the Mafia of our maps) on the coast of the Zeng . ". The enumeration goes on by *iṣba*ᶜ (Java being always inaccurately orientated N S instead of E W) to 1 *iṣba*ᶜ and alternately ¾ *iṣba*ᶜ = about 25° 16′ south On the parallel of 1 *iṣba*ᶜ the text says [There where] the *na*ᶜ*sh* are 1 *iṣba*ᶜ [above the horizon are] the harbour of Kūs (?) on the east coast of Madagascar; then the bay of Kūī (?) on the west coas tof the same island; then the port of al-Shadjara (or port of the tree) on the (east) coast (of Africa)"; and the author adds· "According to the early (i e writers on navigation), [this port] is the last of the islands (sic) of the coast of Zeng; but the Franks say that the [west] coast [of Africa runs to the north and] continues to the place where the *na*ᶜ*sh* are 7 *iṣba*ᶜ in the water (= 15° 07′ south) But Allāh knows best" Ibn Mādjid expresses himself more clearly in this connection in section 9 of the *Ḥāwiya*, a poem on navigation dated September 13, 1462 (MSS 2292, fol 112*a*), where he says " . the harbour of al-Shadjara which is well known lies 1 *isba*ᶜ from the *na*ᶜ*sh*. The learned give this as the position of this port. There are no others having a name .. And there is nothing south of these lands, for it is there the land of Zeng ends (on the east coast of Africa) and there is the strait [that leads] to the land of the west and of the Franks There is nothing to the south [of Africa] except reefs and darkness which the Creator [alone] knows Some say that there are islands and that the extreme end of the coast is 5 *isba*ᶜ (18° 21′ S) — O thou, the best informed! But the stories of the authorities do not agree We ask Allāh to pardon our errors" — I have discussed this passage in the *J A*, for Oct–Nov 1922 (p 307—309) and came to the conclusion that the harbour of al-Shadjara must be identified with Lorenzo Marques.

We have seen that several sections aim at making known the distances between two fixed points The following on fol 81*b*, l 8 *sqq* is particularly important because it deals with parts situated at the two ends of the Indian Ocean and with the navigation of the high seas from end to end without altering one's course

"Section dealing with the distances [between the ports whose altitude is known] by observation of the *farkadain* [ports which are situated] on the coast of Zeng [on the one hand] and in the island of Java and Sumatra [on the other]

"By 7 *isba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 4° 24′ N of the atoll (*fushī*) of Mukbil (on the African coast) to Mākūfāng (the *Mancopa* of the early Portuguese travellers, cf Barros, Dec III, Bk V, Ch I, on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 234 *zām* = 29 days 6 hours

"By 6 *iṣba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 2° 47′ N from Miūtī (on the African coast) to Pančūr (lit Fansūr or Baros on the west coast of Sumatra), it is 248 *zām* = 31 days

"By 5 *iṣba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 1° 10′ N from Brāwa (or Brāva of the African coast) to the harbour of Priaman (on Sumatra), it is 264 *zām* = 33 days

"By 4 *isba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 0° 30′ south: from Malwān (on the coast of Africa) to Indrapura (on Sumatra), it is 278 *zām* = 34 days 18 hours

"By 3 *isba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 2° 07′ south from Kitāwa (on the African coast = Quitau in Barros, Dec II, Bk I, Ch II) to Sunda-bālī (lit the straits of Sunda or of Sonde), it is 292 *zām* = 36 days 12 hours.

"By 2 *iṣba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 3° 44′ south: from Mombasa (on the African coast) to Sunda (west coast of Java), it is 306 *zām* = 38 days 6 hours

"By 1 *iṣba*ᶜ from the *farkadain* = 5° 21′ south. from the Green Island (Arabic name for Pemba on the coast of Africa) to the island of Bālī (east of Java), it is 317 *zām* = 39 days 15 hours"

The "Sailing Instructions" of Sulaimān al-Mahrī contain a certain number of detailed itineraries which are remarkably accurate We give as an

example the itinerary from Diu to Malacca (fol 88*a*, l 15 to fol 90*a*, l 3) translating the Arabic nautical terms in the text by their English equivalents

"Voyage from Diu to Malacca When you leave Diu steer on the pole of Canopus, i e to the south for 2 *zām* (= 6 hours sailing), then to sunrise (*al-ṭā'ir* = to the east), keeping 8 *zām* (= 24 hours sailing) from the west coast of India Keep your course towards Canopus (= south) until you reach 9 (sic) *iṣba'* from the *farḳadain* (= 7° 37′ N circa) Then steer for the rising of the Scorpion (S E) until you reach a point a little less than 7½ *iṣba'* from the *farḳadain* (= 5° 12′ N) Then steer to the fundamental rising (*maṭla' al-aṣlī* = due east) for 12 *zām* (= 36 hours), then to the rising of *al-simāk* (= E N E) until you arrive at 8 ⅛ *iṣba'* (6° 33′ N), then due east [still] and you will strike land south of the island of Sargal (in the archipelago of the Nicobars) When you strike land, leave the island on the left (i e on the north) and when you have passed it, steer for the rising of *al-tīr* (= E S E) for 4 *zām* (= 12 hours), then steer for the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S E ¼ E) until you reach 8 *iṣba'* from the *farkadain*) = 6° N) Then steer due east and pay attention at the same time to the flood tide to strike the beginning of the island of Perak, which is a little island lying at 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) from the coast From Perak steer a course due eastward [until] you are in sight of the island of Pulo Pinang If the flood tide is not running north and if you see the flood tide, steer from there to the rising of *al-tīr* (= E S E) and you will reach Penang which is an elongated island of which the two coasts are identical it is black and is seen from afar When you are near it steer for the rising of Canopus (= S S E) up to the island (read islands) [called] Pulo Sĕmbilan which [in Malay] means the "nine islands" You will [then] distinguish on the coast two mountains which resemble the island of Pinang and which might be taken for two islands They lie between the island of Pinang [and the islands of] Dingding and the two mountains are called Fān-kūra After these two mountains you reach Dingding They are two great elongated islands of the same size After these lie the island of Tanbūrak which is a little round island"

"Know that the island of Pinang and [those] of Dingding lie near the mainland and there is a reef there After Dingding you come to the islands of Sĕmbilan which are islands with high mountains, some of these islands are small When you arrive there, when you have taken in water and resumed the voyage, steer for the pole of Canopus (= south) for 6 *zām* (= 18 hours) and you will arrive at the island [called] Pulo Djumur Between [the islands] of Sĕmbilan and Djumur the sounding indicates 35 fathoms until you come to the island of Djumur where there are great depths The depth is near to 40 or 50 fathoms When you are near Djumur you see the part of the land on the coast of the sea but you do not see the [adjoining] coast of Sumatra In clear weather you see the outline of the coast of Siam (= west coast of the Malay Peninsula) [and] the mountains [from which] tin [is obtained]. When you approach Djumur, coasting along the island steer for the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S E. ¼ E) for 1 *zām* (= 3 hours), then towards the rising of *al-tīr* (= E S.E.) Know that at the rising of the Scorpion (= S.E.) from the island of Djumur lies a reef on which the waves break. Keeping your course E S.E. the depth diminishes to 18 fathoms roughly. Continue to steer E S E. When [you are far from the island] of Djumur and it appears to you level with the surface of the sea, you have before you (lit in front of the ship) the mountain of the island of Pāsalār Keep your course E S E The sounding then gives 16 to 17 fathoms When the sounding is less than 15 fathoms turn to the right (i e to the west). If it becomes more than 18 fathoms turn to the left (i e. to the east) Such is the route that you must follow. Take care of the tide if you have the flood against you with a *shawār* wind (= whirlwind); otherwise the flood tide will carry you on to the reef When you are near the island of Pāsalār and land appears to the south turn towards the reef for 8, 7, 6 fathoms of depth The sounding sometimes gives about 9 fathoms The point for which you are making is in this place There is the bank of Ḳafāsī (= *Capacia* of the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, Vol III, Ch XVI and XLII, Barros, Dec II, Book VI, Ch II) and [there are] reefs When you are on this route continue in the same direction keeping the *sanbūḳ* (here "small boat") in front of you [to show the way], from the time you leave Djumur, and keep on taking soundings I mean that when you reach the place where the reef lies — where the sounding gives about 7 to 8 fathoms — and when you follow the route already indicated, then after having doubled the reef, sounding increases to 15, 20, 25 fathoms Know that [all danger] has now disappeared and that you are near the land Then follow the route along the coast and steer towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S E.) in 25 fathoms Sometimes the sounding gives 30 fathoms, sometimes 25, 20. It diminishes or increases at each sounding from 5 to 6 fathoms I think that the bottom varies in level on this route When the tide turns against you with a *shawār* wind, slacken sail [When you resume the voyage] follow the route [already indicated] until you reach Malacca, opposite this point lie the islands of Pulo Sīnā and the island of Pulo Anī (? the name is written without diacritical points — it is perhaps the Pulo Amol of our maps 8½ miles from Malacca). The *sanbūk*'s will come to meet you. Make your arrangements for entering"

Chapter III of the same *Kitāb al-Minhādj* (III) contains the description of the principal islands of the Indian Ocean The island of Sumatra for example is thus described (fol 78*a*, l. 10 to 79*b* l 6)

"Section to make known the island of Sumatra. Sumatra begins in the north west where the *farḳadain* are a little less than 8 *iṣba'* in altitude (= a little less then 6° north) The island of Gāmis-fula is west of this cape Near this cape i e. the [north] cape of Sumatra, lie the islands of Mās fula. These are large and small islands. As to the southern latitude of the island of Sumatra there are several opinions which I have given in [the work entitled] *al-'Umda* (III, f 27*b*, l 6 *sqq*). The most popular belief is that the island ends at the place where the *farkadain* are 3½ *isba'* in altitude (= 1° 17′ south, which is inaccurate, the south part is about 6° south) This is the route to follow on the west coast, from Gāmis-fula to Mākūfāng, towards the rising of Canopus (= S. S E.), from Mākūfāng to Pančūr (or Baros) towards the rising of *al-ḥimārian* (= S. E. ¼ S.); from Pančūr to the

south end of the island, towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S. E) This is the route to be followed on the east coast from Gāmis-fula to Mās-fula, due east, from Mās-fula to the port of Sumatra (also called port of Pase, cf *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, Vol. 1, p 45), the rising of *al-ḏjawzā* (= E ¼ S E), from the port of Sumatra to Pulo Barhala towards the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S E. ¼ E) — the *farḳadain* are there 7 *iṣba*ᶜ in altitude (= 4° 24′ N) —, from Pulo Barhala to the island of Djumur also towards the rising of *al-iklīl* (= S E ¼ E) This route is [called the route] across, the route along the east coast to Sumatra is as follows. from [the port of] Sumatra to ᶜĀrūh (sic) where the *farḳadain* are 6½ *iṣba*ᶜ in altitude (= 3° 34′ N) towards the rising of the Scorpion (= S E), from ᶜĀrūh to the neighbourhood of Rĕkan to the rising of *al-ḏjawzā* (= E ¼ S E) — the *farḳadain* here are 6¼ *isba*ᶜ in altitude (= 3° 02′ N.) From Rĕkan the land runs in the direction of the [south] pole, from there to the end of the island This is said, but other statements are also made

The known harbours of the west coast of the island are The harbour of Pančūr (or Baros), this is the port for camphor (*al-kaṭy*) (sic), gold and other products; the harbour of Priaman, famous among men, [which lies in the land] of Mankabwa (= Minangkabaw), it is the port for gold-dust and aloes, the harbour of Indrapura which is now no longer known (i e at the beginning of the xvith century) but which was at one time famous

The harbours of the east coast are the harbour of Pedir under Mount Lāmurī, it is the port for pepper, the harbour of Sumatra (= Pasè), it is the most famous of the harbours of the island It is a large town It is the port for pepper, silk and gold, it is a busy harbour; the harbour of ᶜĀrūh, it is a little port, the harbour of Rĕkan, also small. The port of Palembang is also small Among these small harbours are those for benzoin, and other products of these regions As to the latitudes of these ports, I have given them in the chapter on latitudes and there is no need to return to the subject here.

NOTA BENE! (this is written in red ink to call special attention to the passage, just as it is printed in heavy type for the same reason in our modern Sailing Instructions) Know that on the coast of Sumatra which faces the high seas, the west coast, there is a series of islands [This is] the route along them from Gāmis-fula to the islands of Indrasābūī which are the first and beginning at the north [the route is] towards the setting of Canopus (= S S E) – these islands are opposite Mākūfāng –, the distance between these two points is 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) Then to the south a large island with large (read numerous) creeks and harbours called Mīḳāmārūs were the *farkadain* are 6¾ *iṣba*ᶜ (= 4° N) in altitude This is the land to which belong the cannibal Batak We seek pardon and safety from Allah! — Between this island and the west coast of Sumatra is also 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) If from this island you sail towards the rising of *al-ḏjawzā* (= E ¼ S E) you arrive at a group of islands which include Pulo Bānī (read Banyak), Pulo Lunbū, Pulo Lūlū, the island of Talāgīh and the desert islands close to the coast On the coast is the harbour of Shinkel (sic) where the *farḳadain* are 6½ *iṣba*ᶜ (= 3° 34′ N) in altitude. This is a place with reefs of rock. After these islands sailing towards the south lies an island opposite Pančūr (or Baros) — between these two points there are about 8 *zām* (= 24 hours) sailing, this island is called Mankārūsh (sic). Know that the route from Manḳārūs (sic) to Pančūr is towards the rising of *al-tīr* (= E.S E), but take good care of the unhealthy parts of these regions

"Among the known islands [of the region of Sumatra are the following]. the island of Nias which lies to the south of (lit. below) the harbour of Pančūr (or Baros), the island of Pāsalār which is to the south [of the island] of Pančūr (same name as the preceding harbour on the east coast). In this island is a stream of water which never dries up. But how many other islands and reefs exist besides those we have mentioned!"

We see from certain latitudes that the coast of Sumatra and especially the south side of the island was not well known by Arab sailors. Sulaimān refers to the direction which he has given in *al-ᶜUmda* (III) on the subject of the south point. It is evident that he did not himself visit this region and that he is content to reproduce information from other sources contradictory and inaccurate "The island of Sumatra, he says (fol. 27ᵇ, l 7 *sqq*), ends in the south at Tīkū-tarmad (?) Opinions differ regarding the latitude of this place, some say that it is 4 *iṣba*ᶜ from the *farḳadain* (= 0° 30′ S) — this is the opinion of the majority of the people of Western India — others say a little less than 4 *isba*ᶜ — this is the view of the Arabs and Čolas — and others again who have verified this latitude say 3½ *iṣba*ᶜ (= 1° 16′ S) Some say that the south end of Sumatra is 3 *iṣba*ᶜ (= 2° 07′ S)".

On several occasions the author mentions the opinion of the Čolas about the latitudes of certain harbours He had in mind the Sailing Instructions of Coromandel, more or less identical with his own None of the Indians or Hindus whom I have consulted in this respect knew of any such document in existence or having existed. It would be extremely useful if a search could be made in India to try to find these documents the existence of which is proved for the xvith century (cf particularly 64ᵃ, l 13 *sqq*)

In fol 5ᵇ, l 1, the author says that the circle of 360° is divided into 224 *iṣba*ᶜ, which gives 1° 37′ for the *isba*ᶜ, 3° 14′ for 2 *iṣba*ᶜ and so on. In the last treatise (fol 162ᵇ, l 1), we are told on the contrary that the circle is divided into 210 *iṣba*ᶜ or 1° 42′ for the *iṣba*ᶜ. Sulaimān also says that the first division into 224 *iṣba*ᶜ is that of the ancients but that in his time, i e. at the beginning of the xvith century, this division was reduced to 210 *iṣba*ᶜ. The first division is thus justified by Shihāb al-Dīn b Mādjid. "there are", says this *muᶜallim*, "7 *iṣba*ᶜ from one rumb to the other and 8 *iṣba*ᶜ from one lunar mansion to the other", which gives the figure 224 for the circumference: 7 × 32 rumb = 8 × 28 lunar mansions = 224 *isba*ᶜ = 360°." This conversion is thus perfectly coherent but we do not see on what basis the division of the circle was later reduced to 210 *iṣba*ᶜ All the altitudes in *iṣba*ᶜ mentioned in the present article have been converted into degrees at the rate of 1° 37′ = 1 *iṣba*ᶜ.

Bibliography Hammer, *Extracts from the Mohit, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on Navigation in the Indian Seas*, in *J. A. S. B.*, 1834, p. 545—553; 1836, p. 441—468; 1837,

p 805–812; 1838, p 767–780, 1839, p 823–830; L Bonelli, *Del Muḥîṭ o descrizione dei mari delle Indie dell' ammiraglio turco Sidî ʿAlî detto Kiâtib-i-Rûm*, *R R A L*, 1894, p 751—777, do, *Ancora del Muḥîṭ o descrizione dei mari delle Indie*, *ibid*, 1895, p. 36–51, M Bittner, *Zum Indischen Ocean des Seidî ʿAlî W Z K M*, x, M Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les sources arabes du Muḥīṭ turc*, *J A*, xth series, xx, 1912, p 547–550; G Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siecles*, II, Paris 1914, p 484–541, do, *Les instructions nautiques de Sulaymān al Mahrī* (*XVIe siècle*), in *Annales de géographie*, Paris 1923, p 298—312, do, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol II *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonésie par Sulaymān al-Mahrī et Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad bin Mājid*, arabic, Paris 1925, do, *L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XVe et XVIe siècles*, *J A*, 1924, p 193–257, M Bittner and W. Tomaschek, *Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Mohît*, Vienna 1897 (GABRIEL FERRAND)

SULAIMĀN ČELEBI (Emīr), son of Yıldırım Bāyazīd I, was ruler of Sarukhān and Karasī, after the defeat at Angora he came to Adrianople He was ruler of Turkey in Europe and in 1403 concluded treaties with the Emperor of Byzantium and with Venice From 1406 he was engaged in Anatolia fighting his brother Mehmed Čelebi and in Turkey in Europe fighting his brother Mūsā Čelebi Abandoned by his followers he was killed on Feb 17, 1411 in the village of Dugundjilar His brother Mūsā had his body brought to Brusa, where he was honourably buried beside his father Although he ruled for over seven years in the European part of the empire, he is not reckoned among the Ottoman Sultāns

Bibliography Khodja Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, I 218—220, *Sidjill*, I 42, Hammer, *G O R* ², p. 217—300, Jorga, I 325 *sqq*, G Heyd, *Storia del Commercio del Levante nel Medio Evo*, Turin 1913, p 835—836 (ETTORE ROSSI)

SULAIMĀN ČELEBI also called SULAIMĀN EDE is the earliest Ottoman poet of whom an original poem written in Turkish has survived and who is still known and popular at the present day Turkish poems of earlier date are either translations like the *Suheil u-Newbehār* of Mesʿūd b. Ahmed (VIIIth century A H.) published by Mordtmann in 1925, or they seem to have been completely lost, like those of Mewlānā Niyāzi and those of the grandfather of our poet Shaikh Mahmūd Efendi, who wrote a *tahnīya* (congratulatory poem) for the Shehzāde Sulaimān Pasha b Orkhān on the conquest of Rumelia

Little is known of the life of Sulaimān Čelebi He flourished in the time of Sultān Bāyazīd Yıldırım (d 805 = 1403), he was born in Brussa, as son of Aḥmad Pasha, Murād I's vizier and was Khalīfa to the celebrated Khalwatī Shaikh Amīr Sultān (d. 833 = 1429) Later he was Imām to the imperial *dīwān* under Bāyazīd and after his death became Imām at the great Bāyazīd mosque in Brussa. There he died in the year 825 (chronogram *rāḥat-i Erwāḥ*) and was buried outside the town on the road to Čekirdje.

His only famous work is the *Mewlid-i Nebī* or *Mewlid-i Peygḥamberi*, called *Wasîlet al-Nadjāt* It is the oldest Ottoman example of this kind of panegyric on Muhammad, and in the course of the next five centuries had almost countless (over a hundred are mentioned) imitations which according to the unanimous opinion of the Turks all fall a long way behind this, the oldest, *Mewlid* It is therefore almost exclusively recited at all *mewlid* festivals on 12th Rabīʿ I (cf MAWLID)

The sources tell a story about the origin of this poem which, while not without legendary features, is interesting for the difference between Arabs and Turks in those days A khaṭīb in Brussa expounded Sūra II 285 to mean that God did not prefer one prophet to another, not for example Muhammad to Jesus This was fiercely refuted, notably by an Arab from Syria who did not rest till he got a *fetwā* against it from home and finally killed the Brussa khatib This conflict is said to have been the cause of first a verse, then of a whole poem, the leading idea of which is the unique position of Muhammad

The poem written in *mathnawī* verses, contains about 600 couplets and is divided into 18 sections It describes not only the birth of the Prophet but in a prologue, after the usual exordium, develops the theory of light, of the migration of the divine light from Adam through the whole series of prophets to Muhammad The main part deals with the marvels which foretold the birth of Muhammad, the joy of the angels, the birth itself, Muhammad's parents, etc, the popular miracles wrought by him, such as the cleaving of the moon, the fact that his body threw no shadow, that roses grew where his breath fell The ascent to heaven (*miʿrādj*) is then fully dealt with and finally his last illness and death.

The style is very simple and for this reason attractive and very effective; the language is pure Othmanlı in the Brussa dialect There exist numerous manuscripts, in European libraries also, but unfortunately there seem to be none very old, which might form a sound basis for linguistic study There are also translations of the poem, which are listed by Tāhir (see below) a Bosnian, a Greek, two different Albanian and one Circassian

Bibliography Latīfī, *Tezkire*, p 55—57; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v 115, ʿAshīḳ Čelebi, *Tezkire*; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flugel, VI, p 270, N⁰ 13448, Ṭiyā Pasha, *Kharābāt*, Introduction, p 17 and III. 29—33, Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, p 2620, Nādjī, *Esāmī*, p 173; M Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i Osmānī*, III. 76; Belīg-i Brusewī, *Guldeste-i Riyāz-i ʿIrfān*; Husein Wassāf Bey, *Wasîlet al-Nadjāt*, Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *Taʾrīkh-i Adabiyāt-i ʿothmānīya*, Stambul 1328, p 32 *sqq*; Fāʾik Rashād, *Taʾrīkh-i Adabiyāt-i ʿothmānīya*, Stambul, p 65 *sqq*; Koprulū Zāda Mahmad Fuʾād and Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *Yeñi ʿothmanlî Taʾrīkh-i Adabiyātî*, Stambul 1332, p. 142 *sqq*, ʿAlī Emīrī, in *Osmanlî Tārīkh we-Adabiyāt Madjmūʿasî*, part II, Brusalî Mahmad Ṭāhir, *Osmanlî Muʾellifleri*, II. 221—223; Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, I. 67—70; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, I 232 *sqq* See also the Catalogues of MSS in Berlin, Vienna, Munich, London, etc.; Irmgard Engelke, *Suleymān Tschelebi's Lobgedicht auf die Geburt des Profeten*, Halle 1926

(WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

SULAIMĀN PASHA (1316–1359), the eldest son of the second Ottoman Sulṭān, Orkhan (1326—1359), and of Nilüfer (Lulüfer) daughter of the Greek lord of Yai Hiṣār His younger brother was Murād Khān afterwards Sultān Only Greek sources record a third brother Khalīl and his romantic abduction by a Greek corsair (cf J. I. Hodji Efendi, *Shehzāde Khalīlun Sergudheshti*, *Revue Historique*, 1, N° 4, p. 239, N° 7, p 436, Constantinople 1328/1329) The title pasha which he bore, according to ancient custom, marks him as the elder brother, as is the case also with ʿAlā al-Dīn Pasha (in old chronicles often called simply ʿAlī Pasha) who has the title pasha in contrast to his younger brother Orkhan (Nāmïḳ Kemāl, *ʿOsmanlï Tārikhi*, Constantinople 1326, i 137, Ahmad Djawād, *Tārīkh-i ʿAskarī-i ʿosmāni*, Constantinople 1299, p 5)

According to the usual tradition Sulaimān Pasha was the second grand vizier of the rising Ottoman kingdom, succeeding on the death of the first grand vizier his uncle, the above mentioned ʿAlā al-Dīn Pasha, who had resigned his claim to the title Sultān or rather Beg due to him after the death of ʿOsmān I But this can hardly be right, as the oldest sources (Neshrī, ʿĀshïḳ Pasha-zāde, the anonymous chronicler ed by Giese) only talk of the older brother's renunciation of the throne by his father's orders on account of his unwarlike temperament and inclination for the contemplative life of a dervish and of his express refusal of the vizierate which was then offered to him The reforms recorded by the chroniclers as suggested by him in the army, dress and coinage, may readily be attributed to proposals of the older brother.

In any case the alleged grand vizierate of Sulaimān Pasha is not at all in keeping with the later conception of this office From the very first his father gave him a share in the development and expansion of the kingdom in keeping with his military inclinations and abilities, especially as a leader in the field in military operations, as they became necessary — there was not yet the later traditional objection to the Sultān's sons filling important offices — from the taking of Iznikmid and Iznïḳ (Nicaea) in 1331 to the inclusion of the European coast of the Dardanelles in the Ottoman sphere of influence Sulaimān is said to have been the first to hold the title Ser ʿAsker He led the Ottoman forces independently, especially as Orkhan latterly never took the field at all

As is to be deduced from the absence of any reference to military operations, after the voluntary alliance of Orkhan by treaties and matrimonial links with the Greek ruling house, there seems to have been a pause for about twenty years in the policy of conquest, which was used for consolidation in internal affairs until Sulaimān Pasha put an end to this stagnation and by a bold coup resumed the expansion of Ottoman power, skilfully taking advantage of the discord in the Greek empire in which three claimants were fighting for the throne, and giving as an excuse the combination of the Byzantines with the Genoese and Venetians

At his father's suggestion in 758 (1356), Sulaimān with only 80 followers (including Ewrenos Beg, Hādjdji Ilbegi, Adje Beg, Ghāzī Fāzil Beg) crossed, for want of boats, on rafts from the peninsula of Cyzicus (Ḳapu daghï) to the European shore of the Dardanelles and took by surprise the fortress of Čemeni (Tsympe), the modern Wirandje Hiṣār After some 18 Turkish corsair raids on Europe, this was the first crossing with permanent results. Sulaimān at once sent for troops and Muslim settlers from Asia Minor and extended his success by taking further strongholds, notably that of Gallipoli, the key to the Dardanelles, and the whole of Rumelia, which was surrendered to him after a battle with the Greeks, Malghara, Ipsala, (Kypsele), Bulair, Tekfur daghï (Rodosto), etc The Byzantine story of an earthquake destroying the walls and rendering the fortresses defenceless is obviously an attempt to conceal the disastrous results of Greek policy.

Sulaimān took up his residence in Bulair where he built a mosque and a palace (he had also erected mosques in Brussa and Iznïḳ) But before he could set in motion his further extensive plans for the conquest of Rumelia, he was suddenly carried off by death in 760 (1359); while he was out hawking near Bulair his horse fell and he was mortally injured (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā* and Kātib Čelebī, *Takwīm al-Tawārïkh*, Constantinople 1146, p 94 give the year 760, while the anonymous chronicler ed by Giese and Leunclavius 759 and ʿOsman-zāde Tāʾib Ahmad, *Hadīkat al-Wuzarāʾ*, Constantinople 1271, p. 5 gives the year 761)

In keeping with a wish he is said to have expressed in his lifetime, Sulaimān was buried in Bulair, being the first Ottoman prince to be interred on European soil This was a symbol of the firm resolve never again to abandon the new won ground The existence of his tomb made impossible the idea of going back to Asia Minor which arose in the minds of several of his comrades-in-arms immediately after his death They successfully drove off the attacks of the combined Christian forces

Sulaimān's tomb has penetrated to the very soul of the Turkish people, it was and still is one of the holiest places of national pilgrimage, a fact that found particular expression, when the national hero of the Turkish liberation movement, Nāmïḳ Kemāl [q. v], was interred here

The tomb of a daughter of Sulaimān is in Aḳshehir (Ahmad Tewhïd in the *Revue Historique*, Constantinople 1907, N° 44, p 106)

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(Th. Menzel)

SULAIMĀN PASḤA, known as Ḫādim, the "eunuch", a Turkish general and statesman of the time of Sulaimān the Great. He began his career in the Imperial Harem, which he left with the rank of *wazīr* to take over the governorship of Syria. As *Mīr-i Mīrān*, he was then summoned to the important office of governor of Egypt which he filled for ten years (931—941 = 1524—1534) with vigour and circumspection. He was the first to send to the Porte the yearly revenue from Egypt, the so called Egyptian treasure, later so important for Turkey.

In reply to the appeal of the Sultān of Gudjarat he was ordered by Sultān Sulaimān to equip a considerable fleet at Suez and to strengthen Turkish power in the Red Sea and to drive the Portuguese out of India. This was the period when Ḫair al-Dīn Barbarossa [q. v.] was extending Turkish power in the Mediterranean. Sulaimān Pasha succeeded in adding ʿAden and the whole of Yemen to the Ottoman Empire. He appointed Mustafā Beg, son of Bīyīḳlī Mehmed Pasha, first governor of Yemen. But his efforts in India proved fruitless as he was not properly supported by the Indian rulers.

Returning to Constantinople, he became a member of the Council of Viziers which consisted of four viziers and governed the country (Lutfī Pasha, Sulaimān Pasha, Mehmed Pasha and Rustem Pasha). After the fall of Lutfī Pasha he became grand vizier. He filled the office in an important period (Hungarian campaign), for four years 948—951 = 1541—1544) until he came into conflict with the vizier Ḫosraw Pasha over a faithless page. The mutual reproaches about various derelictions of duty ended in both being deposed and an investigation ordered. Sulaimān Pasha was banished to Malghara where he died in 955 (1548). He was able, vigorous and just, which contradicts the low opinion usually held of a eunuch.

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(Th. Menzel)

SULAIMĀN PASḤA, Maṭraḳdjī Ermeni, a Turkish general and statesman under Mehmed IV (1648—1687). A native of Malatia, of Armenian origin, he rose from page to *silihdār* and became governor of Erzerūm and Sīwās with the rank of *wazīr*. He married ʿĀʾishe Sultān. In 1065 (1655) he was appointed grand vizier in succession to Murād Pasha but he only held office for ten months on account of the confusion in the empire as a result of the mutinies in the army and the complete financial ruin. He was several times banished and again recalled to high office. In 1098 (1687) he died in Scutari at the age of 80 and was buried there.

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(Th. Menzel)

SULAIMĀNĪYA (Sulemānī), a town and district in southern Kurdistān. A distinction must be made between the *ḳaḍā* of Sulaimānīya proper (the canton of Sar-činār) and the territory formerly ruled first by hereditary pāshās and later by the Ottoman mutassarifs of Sulaimānīya.

The historical region of Sulaimānīya lies between the Persian frontier, the Diyāla [q.v.], the lands that go with Kirkūk [q. v.] and the little Zāb and occupies the group of mountains from which flow rivers to the east (Sīrwān, cf. Shahrizūr), the south (ʿAdaim, q. v.) and the north and northwest (left bank tributaries of the Little Zāb, cf. Sawdj-bulāk).

Orography. The mountain chains which separate these three basins of the left bank tributaries of the Tigris, rise gradually from the Mesopotamian plain and have the general direction N. W. to S. E. like all the ranges of western Īrān. Different summits in the southern barrier are called Baziān, Bā-Sirrā, Segirma, Kara-dagh and Pāi-Kūlī. To the S. W. of this line on the upper waters of the ʿAdaim lie the districts of Čamčamāl (this is also the name of the district in Persia which includes Bīsutūn), Ribāt, etc. The second range of mountains includes peaks like Tokma, Tashludja, Darmāzala (Gilzaida) etc. Between the first and second chains lie to the west the upper waters of the Taʾuk-čai and to the east the plateau of Naw-kopī, the canton of Kara-dagh, etc. which are watered by the Āwī-dēwāna, which flows into the Diyāla (Sīrwān). The third chain includes Āzmīr, Gwoža etc. It forks towards the west (along the little Zāb), on the southern arm of the latter is the summit Pīr-ʿOmar-Gudrūn (8,000 feet) which is visible from a long way off and seems to form the centre of all this mountainous region. The area between the second and third barrier is drained towards the west by the Tābīn-su (Dola-dreż), which runs into the little Zāb and to the east by the Tandja-rō (Tādj-Rūd) which flows into the Sīrwān. On the upper waters of the Tābīn which rises behind Pīr-ʿOmar-Gudrūn lies the canton of Sūidash, the Tandja-rō waters the canton of Sar-činār in which lies the town of Sulaimānīya. The chain of Āzmīr sends out spurs to the east, the Kurī-Kažāw, Kalʿa-Sārim etc. which rejoin the Awrāmān chain (cf. Senne). To the south of this spur lies Shahrizūr [q. v.] in the strict sense of the word. To the north of Āzmīr lie the cantons of Serōčik and Shaira-bažar (Ḳara-čwolān). The river of the latter (Gawgasur) rises in the depths of Awrāmān (in the valley of Pīrān) and receives on its left bank the waters of Serōčik and on the right the waters of Ḳīzīldja. This latter canton lies north of the mountain (Sar-Sīr) which rises from the right bank of the Kara-čwolān. Its administrative centre is Pendjwīn from which one can reach Persian territory. Before regaining the Ḳara-čwolān the river of Ḳīzīldja receives on the right bank the river Tatan which drains the canton of Shilēr (Taiatūl) which lies inside the curve here made by the Persian frontier, and the waters of the canton of Sīwēl, the administrative centre

of which is Shiwa-kal. Contrary to the indications of the maps, the combined waters of the Ḳara-čwolān and the Ḳizildja flow into the little Zāb in the canton of Māwat (a short distance below Teyet; cf Čirikow, p 556; Khurshid Efendī, p 398; cf SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ) The part of the territory of Sulaimāniya lying between the left bank of the Kara-čwolān and the chain of Āzmīr (the districts of Sargalu, Marga) is not yet well known The little Zāb forms the natural frontier between Sulaimāniya and Kōi-sandjaḳ but the canton of Pizdar (Kal'a-Diza) lying on the right bank of the little Zāb (between Rāniya and the Kandil range) regularly formed part of Sulaimāniya The Bābān pāshās also often seized the adjoining cantons (Khurshīd Efendī, p 246: the cantons of Aghdjalar, 'Askar, etc went with Kōi-sandjak) and sent governors to Kōi-sandjaḳ etc (Rich, i 157, 313, 384).

History The district of Sulaimānīya is known from the earliest times Mount Niṣir (in Lullu Kimiba), where according to the Babylonian epic the ship of Gilgamesh rested during the Deluge, can only be Pīr-'Omar-Gudrūn The region of Sulaimāniya corresponds to the land of Zamua occupied by the Lullu people, the southern frontier of which was on the col of Babite (the modern Bāziān) In 880 B C Assur-nāsir-pal conquered all the kings of Zamua A stele found at Darband-i Gawr, north of Kara-dagh seems to belong to a Lullu king Brzozowski mentions another ancient bas-relief at the entrance to the defile of Derbend through which the little Zāb forces a passage, to the extreme northwest of the territory of Sulaimaniya. Herzfeld (*El*, xi 127) mentions ruins at Sītak in the canton of Sēröčik In 745 B C Tiglat Pileser III transplanted to Mazamua (*Māt-Zamua*, Forrer, p 43) Aramaeans who had lived in northern Mesopotamia In the Sāsānian period we have in the extreme S W of the territory of Sulaimānīya the famous monument of Pāi-kūlī (cf SHAHRIZŪR) In the history of the Syrian church the district of Sulaimānīya formed part of the diocese of Bēth Garmai (Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p 253)

In the Muslim period the history of the region was at first involved with that of Shahrizūr Sulaimānīya had a more or less autonomous existence from the end of the xiᵗʰ (xviiᵗʰ) century to 1267 (1850) The local dynasty was called Bābān According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i 280—288) the first chief and the eponym of this family was Pir Būdāḳ Babē (probably about 1500) The home of this tribe seems to have been to the west of Kandil (cf SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ) The direct descendants of Babē were soon supplanted by their subordinates but this second line disappeared also and about 1005 (1596) the tribe had no recognised chief A new line (of the clan Saḳir of the tribe of Bilbās, Rich, i. 270) came from the village of Darishmāna to the canton of Pizdar; it had a legendary genealogy claiming descent from a young "Frank" woman called Kēghān, whom their ancestor had taken prisoner in a battle The true founder of this third dynasty, Bābā Sulaimān, came to the front 1088 (1677) and in 1111 (1699) took service at the Ottoman court Rich (i 381—385) gives a list of his descendants, who include 17 Bābān Pāshās The representatives of this local dynasty cleverly maintained their position between the two rival powers, Turkey and Persia, but they were really under the Pāshās of Baghdād, who themselves held a very subordinate position with respect to the Sublime Porte. Mahmūd Pāshā who received Rich on his memorable journey through Kurdistān and in whom Rich (i 322) tried to arouse the Kurd national pride finally submitted to the Persians The latter invaded Sulaimānīya in 1842 to re-establish Maḥmūd Pāshā but by the treaty of 1847 Persia withdrew all claims on the town and sandjaḳ of Sulaimānīya in favour of the Turks (text in Čirikov, p 631) The last ruler of the family of Bābān, 'Abd Allāh Pāshā, was deposed by the Turks in 1267 (1850) (Khurshīd Efendī, p 209)

It may be mentioned that the Bābān family was simply a conquering and warrior caste Alongside of the Bābān and under their suzerainty lived several other warrior tribes (*'ashīrat*) of which lists are given by Rich, i 280 and Khurshīd Efendī, p. 217 The principal of these tribes was Djāf (cf SENNE and SHAHRIZŪR) Later we often find mentioned the turbulent tribe of Hamāwand of Čamčamāl which claimed to have come from Persian Kurdistān (its name resembles those of the Lūr tribes) The Hamāwand in the course of their razzias used to come down as far as the banks of the Tigris (Cholet, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris 1892, p 295—311)

Beside the clans which had kept their tribal organisation there were in Sulaimānīya as elsewhere in Kurdistān, the peasants (*gūrān*, *kelow-spī* "white caps", according to Rich, i 80)

At first the capital of the Bābāns was at Shaira-Bažāi (Shahr-i bāzār) in the first valley conquered by Pīr Būdāk Babē but Ibrāhīm Pāshā moved his residence to the canton of Sar-činār, where he founded about 1199 (1784) (Rich, i 387) the town of Sulaimānīya on the site of the village of Malik-Hindī (Malik-Kendi') built around an ancient mound which had to be cleared away on the occasion The town was called after Buyuk Sulaimān Pāshā (of the family of Georgian Mamlūks), governor of Baghdād in 1780—1802 (Huart, *Histoire de Baghdad*, Paris 1901, p 159) Towards 1820 the town had 2,000 households of Muslims, 130 of Jews, 9 of Chaldaean Catholics (who had a little church) and 5 of Armenians in all 10,000 souls There were 5 mosques in Sulaimānīya In 1868 Lycklama estimated the population at 6,000 Kurds, 30 families of Chaldaeans and 15 of Jews

Under Ottoman rule Sulaimānīya remained the nursery of an indefinite Kurdish movement The local Kurds supplied Turkey with a large number of officials and particularly army officers Several Bābāns became distinguished in Constantinople, like Ismā'īl Ḥaḳkī Pāshā, unionist minister and diplomat in 1909—1914 After the deposition of the Bābāns, a great part in politics was played by the family of religious Shaikhs of the family of Barzandja, whose ancestor Ḥādjdjī Kaka Ahmad enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and is buried at Sulaimānīya

Although the conquerors in 1918 had only talked of independence for Arabs and Armenians at first, the idea of Kurd emancipation made wide progress between 1917 and 1920 Sulaimānīya was eventually to be included in "Southern Kurdistān" the autonomy of which was provided for in Articles 62—64 of the treaty of Sèvres (Aug 10, 1920) However, as a result of long negotiations about the wilāyet of Mōṣul, this latter territory including the sandjaḳ of Sulaimānīya was

definitely included in the new state of ʿIrāḳ By the same decision of the Council of the League of Nations of Dec 16, 1925 a certain local autonomy was granted to the Kurds (administrative officers of Kurdish origin, official use of the Kurdish language and Kurdish schools)

The official negotiations were accompanied by considerable local complications Not only did Sulaimānīya in Jan. 1921 refrain from taking part in the plebiscite for the election of King Faisal but numerous disturbances broke out in the district The principal instigator of the insurrectionary movement — Muslim in character and obviously aiming at the creation of a Kurd state — was Shaikh Mahmūd Barzandja He rebelled on May 21, 1919 and was supported by the chief of Awrāmān (cf SENNE) By June 18, Sulaimānīya was re-occupied by British troops and Shaikh Mahmūd deported to India However when under the threat of risings in Čamčamāl and Kāniya, Sulaimānīya had to be abandoned on Sept 5, 1922, Shaikh Mahmūd was permitted to return In October he proclaimed himself "Ḥukmdār" of all the Kurds of the ʿIrāk His suspicious attitude caused Sulaimānīya to be bombed from the air on March 3, 1923 and Shaikh Mahmūd then retired to Sūidāsh Re-occupied on May 26, 1923, Sulaimānīya was again evacuated and on July 11, Shaikh Mahmūd returned for the third time and was recognised by the authorities at Baghdād An attempt on his part to occupy a detached canton of Sulaimānīya provoked new air raids (Aug 16, Dec 25, 1923 and March 25, 1924) Shaikh Mahmūd's headquarters were destroyed and he himself driven back on the Persian frontier As a result of all these events the urban population of Sulaimānīya in July 1924 had been reduced to 700 persons but by November it had risen again to 20,000. The liwā of Sulaimānīya consisting of 6 kadās viz Sulaimānīya, Čamčamāl, Halabdja, Kalʿa-Diza (Pīždar), Kara-dagh and Shaiabāzar — which are again divided into 17 nāhiya — had in 1924 a total population of 189,900 Kurds, 1,550 Jews and 75 Arabs

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Cartography Haussknecht-Kiepert, Herzfeld (cf SHAHRIZŪR); Brzozowski, League of Nations, C 400, M. 147, 1925, vii

(V. MINORSKY)

SULDŪZ (SULDŪS) 1. A tribe in Mongolia. According to Bérézine the Mongol form of the name would be Suldes (plural of *sulda*, "good fortune") L Ligeti (*Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgis*, Korosi-Csoma Archiv, Budapest 1925, i) sees in the ending of Suld-uz, as in that of Kïrk-ïz the remains of an ancient Turkish plural suffix (cf *biz*, "we", *siz*, "you", etc) and as a hypothetical singular quotes the name of a Kïrghïz clan. Sult, Sultu Rashīd al-Dīn classes the Suldūz among the *durlukin* Mongols, i. e. of "common" origin, in contrast to the "pure" (*nirūn*), who however were descended from the *durlukin* through Alān Goā, the miraculous grandmother of Čingīz-Khān

Sūrghān-Shīra Suldūs one day saved the life of Čingīz Khan while the latter was fighting with the Tāičiūt This exploit gained the Suldūz great prestige with Čingīz Khān and his successors.

Sūrghān-Shīra
|
Djīlāwghān
|
Sodō-Noyōn (Sodūn)
|
Tūdān
|
Malik
|
Čōbān

The children of Sodō came to Persia with Hūlāgū-Khān whose wife Yesunčin (mother of Abagha) was a Suldūz Malik is said to have conquered the Persian Kurdistān In 688 (1289), under the Ilkhān Arghūn, an act of bravery brought to the front Čōbān, son of Malik (cf. i, p. 104ª) and he afterwards distinguished himself in the reigns of Ghāzān and Uldjāitū The history of the latter written by Kāshānī (Bibl. Nat., Suppl Pers. 1419, fol. 6) in a list of the Amirs mentions Čōbān (*Amir-i buzurg mukaddam-i Tāzik wa-Turk*) in the second place next to Kutlughshāh Manḳūt but adds that in ability he is superior to all There is a letter from Pope John xxii, dated Avignon, November, 12, 1321 addressed to "Zoban Begilay" (Čōbān ?). In spite of the Shīʿa leanings of Uldjāitū, Čōbān remained Sunnī. When the young Abū Saʿīd (716 = 1316) (cf. i, p. 103ᵇ) ascended the throne Čōbān became regent and in 719 (1319) married Sātī-beg, daughter of Uldjāitū-Khān. The increasing influence of the family of Cōbān and the evil conduct of some of its members aroused the monarch against

them. A series of persecutions began. Čōbān took refuge in Herāt and was killed there in 728 (1327) by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kart.

A dynasty with a short but stirring life descended from Čōbān (the Čūbānī) arose in the period of troubles that marked the end of the line of Čingīz in Persia Among the 18 children of Čōbān the following are the best known. (1) Amīr Hasan, (2) Dimishk-Khwādja, executed by Abū Saʿīd in 727 (1327), (3) Timūr-Tāsh, from 718 governor in Asia Minor, rebelled in 722, struck coins in his own name and even claimed to be the Mahdī, his father brought him back to obedience but after the death of Čōbān, Timūr-Tāsh, went to Egypt where the Mamlūk Nāsir, fearing his popularity and to please Abū Saʿīd had him executed in 728, (4) the beautiful Baghdād-Khātūn, wife first of Hasan Buzurg Djalāʾir [q v] and next of Abū Saʿīd, suspected of having poisoned the latter she was executed after the accession of the Ilkhān Arpā

On Hasan Kūčik, son of Timūr-Tāsh, who ruled between 738 and 744 at Tabrīz, Sultānīya, Hamadān, Kum, Kāshān, Rayy, Waramīn, Farāghān and Karadj, cf II, p 280b His brother Malik Ashraf succeeded him His oppressions provoked the migration of the Kādī Muhyi 'l-Dīn from Bardaʿa to Djānī-Beg, Khān of the Western Kipčāk Djānī-Beg without delay attacked Malik Hasan who was defeated, captured and executed in Tabrīz in 756

The Suldūs (Suldūz) after this are only occasionally mentioned by the historians Under 807 (1404) Mirkhwānd mentions the instructions given by Timūr to the Khaladj of Sāwa to reinforce the troops under Pīr ʿAlī Suldūz in Rayy. At the present day there is still a body of Suldūz in this region among the Shāh-sewān [q v.] of Sāwa

Several women of the Cūbānī have had remarkable careers Besides Baghdād-Khātūn we may mention (1) Sātī-beg widow of Čōbān, who was first the wife of the Ilkhān Arkā and in 739 was herself placed on the throne by the grandson of her first husband, Hasan Kūčik Finally the latter married her to the new pretender Sulaimān who reigned from 740 to 744 (2) Dilshād-Khātūn, daughter of Dimishk-Khwādja first of all married Abū Saʿīd (at the same time as her aunt Baghdād-Khātūn) and then Hasan Buzurg Djalāʾir. (3) Malik ʿIzzat, wife of Hasan Kūčik, whom she killed in an indescribable and atrociously cruel fashion She was executed by her husband's relatives They cut her into pieces which they ate

In Mongolia in the time of Čingīz the encampments of the Suldūz seem to have been not far from the river Onon But in the time of Rashīd al-Dīn the *yurt* of the Suldūz was near the forests inhabited by the forest-dwelling Üriānkit The Chinese list of Mongol encampments published in 1867 (*Meng-gu-yu-mu-tsi*, Russ transl by P Popov, St Petersburg 1895) no longer mentions the Suldūz. In Turkestan the Suldūz with their subdivisions (?) Nukuz and Tamadur, are mentioned among the troops of Shaibānī [q v] at the beginning of the xth = xvith century Later the Suldūz rejoined Bābur (*Shaibānī-Nāma*, ed Mehoranski, St Petersburg 1908, p. 137, 176, cf the *Scheibaniade* of N Vambéry, Vienna 1885, p. 273, 350) According to information given me personally by Zekī Walīdī Özbeg genealogies (*shadjara*) mention the Suldūz among the 92 Özbeg clans; the people of the canton of Altīn-kul in Farghāna [q. v] are Suldūz and there must be some in Khīwa (Khwārizm) alongside of the Nukuz.

Bibliography Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Bérézine in *Trudy Vostoč Otdēl*, especially vii. (St Petersburg 1861), p. 224 *sqq* and indexes to Vol. v (1858) and xv (1888), Ibn Battūta (Défrémery and Sanguinetti), i. 172, ii. 119—125. Other references in the article ḤASAN-BUZURG, i 297 and E G Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, 1920, p. 54, 170 Later eastern writers recall the Suldūz origin of the Čūbānī Turk transl. of Munadjdjim-Bashī (Constantinople 1285), iii 6 Asuldūz, Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Gianmaison, St. Petersburg 1871), i 166 Suldūz. — According to Vladimirtsev, *sulde* means in Mongol "le génie-protecteur habitant le drapeau".

2 A district in Ādharbāidjān, to the south-west of Lake Urmia, on the lower course of the Gādir-Čai, which here receives on its right bank the Bāizāwa and Mamad-shāh and flows into the Lake To the west it is bordered by Ushnū which lies on the upper course of the Gādir from which it is separated by the Darband gorge through which the river runs, to the north it is bounded by the little district of Dōl (cf. Dōl-i Bārīk in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i 288) belonging to Urmia, to the south and the east by the cantons of Paswa and Shārī-wērān which go with Sāwdj-Bulāk [q v]

Suldūz is a fertile plain producing much wheat. It is often flooded by the waters of the Gādir, which near its mouth forms marshes and salt beds (*kopi*) On the south side Suldūz is bordered by the heights of Firangī at the foot of which are numerous springs impregnated with lime The crest Bahrāmlū separating Suldūz from Shārī-wērān is also of limestone formation.

We know that in 703 (1303) Ghāzān distributed the land in fiefs It is possible that it was at this time that the name of the tribe (Suldūz, in Kurdish Sundūs) replaced the old name of the district now lost.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma* in the time of the Turkoman dynasties (about the xvth century), i e long after the Čōbānī had disappeared, the Mukrī Kurds occupied the district the old inhabitants of which were probably reduced to servitude The same authority (i. 280) in a sentence now mutilated in the MS, and undated, says that Pīr Budāk of the Kurd tribe of Bābān (Babē) took Suldūz from the Kizilbash which may refer to one of these sudden outbursts of fighting on the frontier in the time of the Safawīs.

In 1828 ʿAbbās-Mīrzā gave Suldūz as fief to 800 families of Ḳara-papākh [q v.]. The newcomers were allowed to levy and collect the taxes (12,000 tomāns a year) and in return had to maintain 400 horsemen at the disposal of the government At this period there were in Suldūz 4—5,000 families of Kurds and Muḳaddam Turks but gradually the lands passed into the hands of new Shīʿī masters

The divisions of the Ḳara-papākh are as follows Tarkawūn, Sarāl, ʿArapli, Djān-Aḥmadli, Čakhāili and Ulačli Each has retained its hereditary chief The principal division is the Tarkawūn to which the Khāns belong. Mahdī-Khān, son of Nakīkhān, had brought the Ḳara-papākh to Suldūz. His grandson Nadjaf-ḳuli was the chief

of the tribe before 1914 but another Khān actually exercised the functions of government. The division of Taikawun also included a family of *āghās*, inferior to that of the Khāns but quite important, Aras-Agha was lord of a hundred horsemen

There are at present 123 villages and small towns in Suldūz with 8,000 families. The chief is Naghāda (Nahāda, Rawlinson writes Nākhoda?) with a thousand houses This little town lies on the bank of the Bāizāwa around an ancient artificial mound. Another important centre is Rāhdāna (Rah-dahna) where there is a good bridge over the Gādir which provides communication between Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāk

The village of Khalīfalu is inhabited by Sunnī Kazakh who also came there in 1828 from the neighbourhood of Tiflīs

The south-east corner of the district is occupied by the canton of Mamad-shāh the name of which is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 290). The present inhabitants are Shamsaddīnlu Turks. With their chief Māsī-Beg they came into Persia at the same time as the Kazakh and received from ʿAbbās Mīrzā 3 villages with 100 families of Kurd peasants (*raʿīyat*)

The Sunnī Kurds of the tribes of Mamash, Zarzā and Mukrī number 2,000 families, or a quarter of the present total of the population They entirely occupy 10 villages (Ghilwān, Warna, etc), and 11 others (Čiāna, Naghāda, Mammiand, etc) they share with the Kara-papākh

Suldūz like Ushnū is mentioned among the Nestorian bishopries (Assemani, iv 423, Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, p 204 Saldus, Saldōs) but in 1914 there were only 80 Christian families left in Naghāda The Jews are more numerous (120 families in Naghāda) and are probably the oldest element in the present population of the district

Under the Turkish occupation of 1908—1912, the Shiʿī Kara-papākh suffered considerably as the Turks regarded them as Persian agents. The Turks, without success however, tried to destroy the tribal organisation and to emancipate the *raʿīyat*'s During the Great War the village of Haidar-ābād (on lake Urmia) became a Russian naval base and a light railway was built through the district Suldūz changed hands several times but since the departure of the Russians and Turks it has been able since 1919 to regain its status quo ante

Bibliography Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabrīz*, *J R. G S.*, x, 1840, p. 13—14; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix /ii, 602, 939, Minorsky, *Materialy po izuč. Vostoka*, ii (Petrograd 1915), p. 453—457. (V. MINORSKY)

ṢULḤ, composition, settlement, which is recommended as early as Ḳurʾān, iv 127, is a contract of sale (*baiʿ*) with the object of averting a dispute (cf the Roman-Byzantine *transactio*, διάλυσις: *Cod*, 2, 4, 21; also *Dig*, 2, 15, 1) The rules of *baiʿ* hold for it, especially *kubūl* and *īdjāb* There are three kinds of settlements. the defendant either acknowledges the disputed point to be justified (*iḳrār*) or he disputes it (*inkār*) or he says nothing (*sukūt*) The older jurists differ on the admissibility of these three kinds al-Shāfiʿī and Ibn Abī Lailā demand definite acknowledgment, while Abū Ḥanīfa denies the possibility of a *ṣulḥ* in the case of *iḳrār* (al-Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, iii. 203) and adduces the principal of Roman law· *confessus pro judicato habetur* (*Dig*, 42, 2, 3; cf *Cod*, 2, 4, 32) As to the competence to negotiate of the two parties (*muṣāliḥ*) the usual rules hold but it is not essential that they should have attained their majority (*bulūgh*) or be freemen The thing which gives rise to the settlement (*muṣālaḥ ʿalaihi*) must be a *māl*, i e something about which an agreement of sale can be concluded, whether it is a thing, a claim or a usufruct. The disputed legal point (*muṣālah ʿanhu*) raised by the settlement may concern a thing (*māl*) or a legal claim arising out of killing or wounding (*diya* and *kiṣāṣ*), but a *hakk Allāh*, e.g the *ḥadd* punishment for theft or incontinence, can never be settled in this way (cf *Cod*, 2, 4, 18) — The settlement is reached 1) by the will of the parties, 2) by giving back the thing given for the settlement on account of defects (*khiyār al-ʿaib*) and 3) if circumstances unknown at the time of the settlement afterwards show that the legal position could not be disputed (e g rediscovery of a bond) — The Shāfiʿīs divide the settlement into *ṣulḥ al-ibrāʾ*, which is considered as a donation (*hiba*) (cf *Dig*, 2, 15, 1) and *sulh al-muʿāwada*, in which in place of the object claimed another is given

The *Code Civil Ottoman*, art 1531—1571 is practically the Hanafī teaching on the subject

Bibliography Besides the pertinent sections in the books on Fikh, the following are the most important al-Kāsānī, *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vi 39—56, Halīl, *Muḫtaṣar o sommario del diritto malechita*, transl Dav Santi'lana, Milan 1919, ii 335—343; Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i 487—495; Sachau, *Muh Recht*, Berlin 1897, p 357 *sqq* , van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, Algiers 1896, p 90 *sq* , Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vi 387 *sqq* (HEFFENING)

AL-ṢŪLĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUHAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ, Arab chess-player, historian and man of letters, d. 335 or 336 (946) Like many distinguished men of his time he was not an Arab by race, according to one story he was descended from a certain Sūl, who like his brother Fīrūz was a petty Turkish ruler (*mālik*) in Djurdjān Both adopted Islām under Yazīd b Muhallab with whom they were closely associated till his death in 102 (720) Their descendants were for the most part secretaries (*kātib*) in the service of the caliphs; the grandfather of our al-Ṣūlī was specially famous, Ibrāhim b al-ʿAbbās (d 243 = 857) whose poems were collected by his grandson (*Aghānī*[1], ix 21—35; Yākūt, *Irshād*, i 260—277).

Abū Bakr was thoroughly arabicised, among his teachers the most notable were Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad, al-Sidjistānī, Abu 'l-ʿAmā [q v] and ʿAwn b Muhammad Ibn al Muʿtazz had a very great influence on his literary tastes (cf e.g al-Husrī, *Zahr al-Adab*, iii. 298 *sq*) To his close connection with the court of al-Muktafī (289—295 = 902—908) he owed his skill in chess in which he defeated the *maestro* of the day, al-Māwardī His name has not only become proverbial but a legend has been invented which makes him the inventor of chess (Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, 659, p 52) A *Kitāb fi 'l-Shaṭrandj* by him and his predecessor al-ʿAdlī exists in two manuscripts (Cairo and Constantinople; A. van der Linde, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, p 21—22, 333—337 An edition was planned by A. Gies and van der Linde; A.

van der Linde, *Das erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur*, 948) From the time he defeated Māwardī he was a courtier (*nadīm*) of the caliphs He was specially intimate with his former pupil al-Rāḍī (322—329 = 934—940) (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 311, 339; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, p 145; cf Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p 132) But in the last year of his life he had to take refuge in Basra when he was prosecuted for a remark about ʿAlī (*al-Fihrist*, p 150, 26), there he died in hiding

As a historian al-Ṣūlī is best known for his ʿAbbāsid history, *Kitāb al-Awrāk fī Akhbāri Āl-ʿAbbās wa-Ashʿārihim*, the first part was arranged chronologically and the second gave a selection of the poetical works of members of the house of caliphs and of several others The work which filled at least five or six volumes was never completed (*al-Fihrist*, p 150, 27—151, 6) and is so far only known in a few fragments There are manuscripts of the first part in Leningrad (Publ Libr, years 227—256, *Zapiski*, xxi 101—102), Cairo (Azhar, *Taʾrīkh*, N⁰ 443, years 295—318, *Zapiski*, ibid, p 99—100), Constantinople (part iii, Rescher in *M F O B*, 1912, v/ii, p 523) and Paris (Bibl Nat, Fonds Arabe 4836, years 322—329), of the second in Cairo (Royal Libr, *Taʾrīkh*, N⁰ 594, Barthold in *Zapiski*, xviii 0148—0153 = Azhar, Adab, N⁰ 487, *Zapiski*, xxi 98—99) and Leningrad (*Zapiski*, xxi 102—113) Only a few parts of the *Kitāb al-Awrāk* have been published e g *Akhbār al-Hallādj* (*Zapiski*, xxi 0137—0141, fully analysed in L Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, passim), some of the *Akhbār Abān al-Lāhiki* (A Krimskij, *Abān al-Lāhiqī*, etc, Moscow 1913, p 1—43) and *Akhbār Ibn al-Muʿtazz* (*Zapiski*, xxi 104—112) No less famous was the *Kitab al-Wuzarāʾ* of al-Ṣūlī, so far only known from quotations (several times mentioned by himself in *al-Awrāk*, cf also Yākūt, *Irshād*, ii 131—132; v 320; cf Amar, *al-Fakhri*, *Archives Marocains*, xvi, p xxv) Of his other works the *Adab al-Kuttāb* was recently published in Cairo by Muḥammad Bahdjat from a Baghdad manuscript (1341 = 1922) The book was written in the reign of al-Rāḍī (p 163) and is a handbook for the guidance of clerks in the chancelleries, a kind of literature which later became very popular and attained its apogee in the monumental *Subh al-Aʿshā*ʾ of Ḳalḳashandī (it is noteworthy that Ḳalḳashandī, although he knows al-Ṣūlī well, never quotes this book)

In pure literature al Ṣūlī made a name by his edition of the *dīwān*'s of ʿAbbāsid poets Like al-Sukkarī with the old poets, al-Ṣūlī dealt with the *Muhdathūn* His *Akhbār Abī Tammām* exists in manuscript in Constantinople (Rescher in *M F O B*, v/ii 501—502) Among his editions of *dīwān*'s may be mentioned those of Abū Nuwās (E Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tatigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānīs*, Berlin 1909, 42 *sqq*), Muslim b al-Walīd (De Goeje's edition, p viii), Ibn al-Muʿtazz (Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 81), al-Buḥturī [q v], Ibn al-Rūmī (extr publ in Cairo, 1924), al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ahnaf (*Aghānī*, viii 15—25; xv. 141—144), al-Ṣanawbarī (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 250) and many others (*al-Fihrist*, p 151, 15—16; 161, 16, 21, 166, 3) His *Akhbār Shuʿarāʾ Miṣr* is quoted by Yākūt (*Irshād*, ii 5, 415—416; v 454). He also wrote a dozen other works of which as is often the case we only know the names (*al-Fihrist*, p 151, 8—13; Ibn Khallikān, ed Wüstenfeld, 659, p 51; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii 598, 4095; iii 144, al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, p 175; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, p 147, 8) Al-Ṣūlī was not particularly renowned as a poet, but his verses are often quoted (specimens are given by M Bahdjat, *op cit*, p 14—18)

Not a very favourable verdict is given on al-Ṣūlī's honesty The ironical verses on his library are well known (Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit*, p 54), they show that all his learning was regarded by some of his contemporaries as merely a knowledge of other people's books The *Fihrist* (p 129, 27—28, 151, 6—7) and Yākūt (*Irshād*, ii 58) regarded his *al-Awrāk* as a plagiarism from the *Ashʿār Kuraish* of al-Marzubānī (so to be read in *Fihrist*, p 151, 6 instead of al-Marīdī) (but cf the more favourable verdict in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i 16—17) Yākūt calls him a liar (*Irshād*, ii 10) and the *Fihrist* thinks his *Akhbār b Harma* a failure (158, 29) His vanity and his bad taste are several times pilloried (e g al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wisāṭa*, p 260, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, p 289) His boasting is also known to Persian literature of the xith century (Abu 'l-Fadl Baihaḳī in Barthold, *Zapiski*, xviii 0151) A large number of verdicts upon him have recently been analysed by L Massignon (*La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, ii 920 and passim) This all goes to show that al-Ṣūlī cannot be considered an historian of outstanding merit He was only an industrious compiler, not always able to distinguish his own work from that of others But this did not affect his influence on literature, among his immediate pupils are mentioned al-Dārakutnī, Ibn Shadhān, al-Marzubānī, etc , he is still more important as a source used by many Arabic historians and literary men Even his younger contemporary al-ʿArīb [q v] several times copies him word for word ʿAlī al-Isfahānī quotes him over 250 times as a particularly valuable source for the history of the ʿAbbāsid poets (not noted in Guidi's *Tables alphabétiques*, as all *isnād*'s)

Bibliography *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed Flugel, p 150, 22—151, 16; 156, 4—6; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, fol 357, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ*, Cairo 1924, p 343—345, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed Wustenfeld, 659, p 51—55 = de Slane, iii 68—73; al-ʿAinī, *Ikd al Djumān*, Asiat Mus, 177, iii, fol 14—15, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, ed Flugel, Index, Wustenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschr der Araber*, p 37, 115; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 143, 5, Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, 1900, xi 68—69, Horovitz in *M S O S*, *Westas St*, 1907, x 25—38; Barthold in *Zapiski*, 1908, xviii 0148—0153; Krimskij, *Hamasa Abu Temmama Taiskago* (Russian), Moscow 1912, p 15—19, do, *Aban Lahiky*, etc (Russian), Moscow 1913, p 9—11, 47—49, Zaidān, *Taʾrīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-ʿarabiya*, Cairo 1912, ii 174—175; Kračkowskij in *Zapiski*, 1908, xviii 77—78; 1913, xxi 98—115, 0137—0140; Muhammad Bahdjat al-Atharī, *Adab al-Kuttāb Taʾlīf al-Ṣūlī*, Cairo 1341, p 8—18.

On al-Sūlī as a chess-player, see especially the works of Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels*, Berlin 1874, i 97—98, 106—107; *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, Berlin 1881, p 21—24, 333—337, 354—381; *Das erste Jahrtausend der Schachliteratur*, p. 83 and 948; H. J. R Murray,

History of Chess, Oxford 1913, p 169—173, 176, 199—201, 235—240, 271—276, 306—317, 337. (IGN KRATSCHKOVSKY)

SULṬĀN (A.), I. a title which first appears in the fourth (XIth) century in the sense of a powerful ruler, an independent sovereign of a certain territory

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Kur'ān, most often with the meaning of a moral or magical authority supported by proofs or miracles which afford the right to make a statement of religious import. The prophets received this *sulṭān* from Allāh (cf e. g Sūra XIV. 12, 13) and the idolators are often invited to produce a *sulṭān* in support of their beliefs Thus the dictionaries (like the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, V. 159) explain the word as synonymous with *hudjdja* and *burhān* There are also six passages in the Kur'ān where *sulṭān* has the meaning of "power", but it is always the spiritual power which Iblīs exercises over men (Sūra XIV. 26; XV. 42; XVI 101, 102; XVII. 67, XXXIV 20) Now it is this meaning of power or rather of governmental power which is attached to the word *sulṭān* in the early centuries of Islām The word and its meaning were undoubtedly borrowed from the Syriac *shulṭānā*, which has the meaning of power, and, although rarely, also that of the wielder of power (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col 4179; Noldeke, *Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p 39) The Kur'ānic sense of the word may probably also to be derived from the meaning of power (some lexicographers try to explain it as the plural of *salīt*, olive oil) Later an attempt was made to connect the title *sultān* with the meaning of argument, and it was paraphrased as *dhu 'l hudjdja* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, *loc cit*)

In the literature of Hadīth, *sulṭān* has exclusively the sense of power, usually governmental power („the sultān is the *walī* for him who has no other *walī*", al-Tirmidhī, I 204) but the word also means sometimes the power of Allāh The best known tradition, however, is that which begins with the words *al-sulṭān ẓill Allāh fi 'l-ard*, "Governmental power is the shadow of Allāh upon earth" (cf Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II. 61 and *Le sens des expressions ombre de Dieu*, *khalife de Dieu*, in *R H R*, XXX 331 *sqq*) Al-ʿUtbī quotes this tradition at the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* and his commentator al-Manīnī says that it was transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and others as going back to Ibn ʿUmar (*Sharḥ al-Yamīnī*, Cairo 1286, p 21) This tradition later played a part in the theories of the Sultanate because an allusion to the title was wrongly seen in it. Apart from Hadīth, Arabic literature to the end of the fourth century only knows the word *sulṭān* in the sense of governmental power (among the many examples, cf. e g Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 346, 349; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, *Futūh Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p 183, where it is said that in ancient times the residence of the Sultān of Ifrīḳiya was Carthage and Ibn Hawḳal, p. 143 where al-Mawṣil is called the residence of the *sulṭān* and of the *dīwān* of al-Djazīra) or of the person who at a particular time is the personification of the impersonal governmental power, as opposed to *amīr* which is rather in the nature of a title. This last meaning, which is sometimes more completely rendered by *Dhu 'l-Sulṭān* (e. g. in Hadīth), and is totally different from the first is found as early as the Egyptian papyri of the first century (for the governor of Egypt, cf. Becker (*Beitrage zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, p 90, note 6) and in the following centuries sometimes also for the Caliphs (the Caliph al-Manṣūr is called Sultān Allāh in a *khuṭba*, Tabarī, III. 426); the Caliph al-Muwaffaḳ is called Sulṭān (Ṭabarī, III. 1894; and again in 997 the Caliph al-Kādir, al-ʿUtbī, *op. cit*, p. 265). This practice of designating a person by the word which indicates his dignity has parallels in all languages (cf. e g. for the Turkish official language H. Ritter, in *Islamica*, II 475); it even appears that the Assyrian form *siltān* was applied to foreign sovereigns (according to Ravaisse in *Z. D M G.*, LXIII 330) The meaning of power, of government, has been maintained in Arabic literature to the present day.

The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a development, the stages of which are difficult to follow Authorities writing later than this development make statements which can only be accepted with reserve Thus Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolegomena*, II. 8 in *N E* XVII) says that the Barmecide Djaʿfar was called *sulṭān*, because he held the most powerful position in the state and that, later, the great usurpers of the power of the Caliph obtained *lakab* like *Amīr al-umarā'* and *sulṭān* The same thing is recorded of the Būyids (A Mullér, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, I 568) and of the Ghaznawids Ibn al-Athīr (IX. 92) says that Mahmūd of Ghazna obtained the title of *sulṭān* from the Caliph al-Kādir. This statement is not confirmed by al-ʿUtbī who, in giving the various *alkāb* conferred on Maḥmūd by the Caliph (*op cit*, p 317), makes no mention of this title. It is however true that al-ʿUtbī himself always calls Mahmūd al-Sulṭān, giving in explanation the fact that Mahmūd had become an independent sovereign (*op cit*, p. 311), but to al-ʿUtbī *sultān* cannot yet have been an official title since he gives the same epithet to the Caliph (cf. above) The first Ghaznawid on whose coins the title appears is Ibrāhīm (1053—1099) We find the Fātimids using the epithet Sultān al-Islām, Ibn Yūnus, Leyden MS) and in the same period we find the *lakab* of Sultān al-Dawla among the Būyids of Fārs (Sultān al-Dawla Abū Shudjāʿ, 1012—1024) The same *laḳab* was borne by the last Būyid al-Malik al-Rahīm at Baghdād at the time when the usurping Saldjūk Tughril-Beg received from the Caliph in 1051 the *laḳab* al-Sultān Rukn al-Dawla (al-Rāwandi, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, *G M S.*, p 105; cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, ed Popper, p. 233).

Tughrïl-Beg was also the first Muslim ruler whose coins bear the epithet or rather title *Sulṭān* and that in the combination „al-Sulṭān al-Muʿazzam". (S Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins in the Brit Mus*, III 28 *sq*). This fact makes it very probable that the Saldjūks were the first for whom Sulṭān had become a regular title for a ruler, the qualification by *al-Muʿaẓẓam* was necessary to lift the word definitely out of its use as a more or less impersonal common noun; this development would at the same time explain why the word *Sulṭān* immediately became the highest title that a Muslim prince could obtain, while in the centuries preceding any representative of authority could be so designated. The adjective *al-Muʿaẓẓam*, essential for the title, was soon omitted

in unofficial language. Thus, with the Saldjūḳs, *Sulṭān* became a regular sovereign title. Neither the provincial dynasties of the Saldjūḳs (among whom however we find the proper name Sultan-shāh) nor the Atābegs after them bore the title sultān; they were content with titles like *malik* and *shāh* It was only after the end of the Great Saldjūḳs in the middle of the xiiith century that the Khwārizmshāhs assumed it The Caliph al-Nāṣir was however able to take advantage of the weakness of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh to refuse to recognize his claim to this title (Nasawī, *Vie de Djelal-eddin Mankobirti*, ed Houdas, p 247) Soon the Saldjūḳs of Rūm also called themselves *Sulṭān* (on coins from Kïlïdj Arslān II) Almost at the same time the title is applied in literature to the first Ayyūbid Salāh al-Dīn (Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, ed Wright and de Goeje, p 40), although Sultān never appears on the coins of the Ayyūbids, whose official titles were all combined with *al-Malik*. By the literature of the xiiith century *Sulṭān* had become a title indicating the most absolute political independence Ibn al-Athīr (xi 169) speaks of Baghdād and its environs as the territory where the Caliph reigned without a Sultān It is not certain if in the last period of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād, the Caliph was already regarded as the only authority who could confer the title *sulṭān* We see however that after the fall of the Caliphate an increasing number of Muslim potentates arrogated the title to themselves In official use, the title was very often followed by an adjective like al-Aʿẓam, al-ʿĀdil etc (a complete list is given in O Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London 1904, p 81—82) During the xiiith—xvth centuries the Sultāns of Egypt added the greatest lustre to the title of Sultān, after them came the Ottoman Sultāns.

Sultans, having thus become potentates whose absolute independence was generally recognised, jurists and historians set themselves to construct theories to find a justification in law for the existence of such potentates for whom there had been no place in the old conception of the Muslim caliphate (cf KHALĪFA) We find these theories as early as al-Māwardī (who wrote in the time of the Būyids), for whom *sulṭān* had not yet any other meaning than governmental power, as is evident from the title of his book *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya* Al-Māwardī says (ed Enger, Bonn 1853, p 30—31) that the Caliph may remain in office even if he is dominated by one of his subordinates provided that the latter's actions are in conformity with the principles of religion Al-ʿUtbī, who quotes the tradition that the sultān is the shadow of Allāh on earth (cf above) does so very probably to justify the independent position of Mahmūd of Ghazna to whom he always gives the epithet *al-Sulṭān*, but this allusion to the well-known tradition is perhaps rather a play upon words than the theory of a jurist To al Ghazalī the "Sultāns of his age" whom he has a very low opinion (Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Baṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden 1916, p 93) are in general the representatives of temporal power It is only under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt that a definite theory is laid down by Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat kashf al-Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, p. 89—90) who says that it is only the Caliph who has the right to grant the title of *sulṭān* and that in consequence this title only belongs in reality to the Sulṭān of Egypt. The Mamlūks called themselves in their inscriptions *Sulṭān al-Islām wa 'l-Muslimīn* (van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*). About the same time Ibn ʿArabshāh in the biography of Sulṭān Djaḳmaḳ (*JRAS*, 1907, p 295 *sqq.*) calls the Sultān the Khalīfa of Allāh on earth in affairs of government while the ʿulamāʾ are the heirs of the Prophet in matters of religion, this statement contains, like that of al-ʿUtbī, an apt allusion to the tradition (in another form) Lastly al-Suyūṭī (*Husn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 91 *sqq.*) gives a definition of the titles of sultān (he in whose possessions there are maliks) of *al-Sulṭān al-aʿẓam* and of *Sulṭān al-Salāṭin*, which is the highest title In the time of the Mamlūks there were actually quite a number of Muslim potentates who called themselves Sultan, some of these, in keeping with al-Zāhirī's theory, had even asked the permission of the Caliph in Cairo to bear the title.

From the beginning of the use of the title we may say that all the great rulers who have borne it have been Sunnīs, except the Khwārizmshāhs It is therefore not a mere coincidence that this development went parallel with the religious revival in Islām in the period of the Crusades, the great Sultāns became at the same time the defenders of Sunnī Islam and the Mongol rulers, after having embraced this form of Islām, assumed this very title This Sunnī significance of the title is specially noticeable in the Ottoman sultanate It appears that some coins of Orkhān already bear the title *sulṭān* (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat Or. Coins*, viii 41) although the first Ottoman princes were generally regarded as *amīr*'s (Ibn Battūta, ii 321) Bāyazīd I is said to have been the first to obtain from the Caliph in Cairo the right to call himself Sulṭān (von Hammer, *G O R.*, i 235) After the taking of Constantinople, Muhammad II assumed the title of *Sulṭān al-barrain wa 'l-baḥrain* (*G O R*, i 88) but even in the Ottoman empire itself as the title of the sovereign it has never been as popular as those of *Khunkiār* and of *Pādishāh* In the official protocol on the other hand, it occupies an important place, e g in the formula *al-Sulṭān ibn al-Sulṭān*, etc before the names of the rulers. After the extinction of the Mamlūk Sultānate by the conquest of Selīm I, Ottoman rulers had become indisputably the greatest Sultāns in Islām The Safawids of Persia were called *Shāh* and the opposition *Sulṭān-Shāh* henceforth corresponded to that between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs It is true that officially the Safawids also called themselves Sultān, e. g on their coins (R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London 1887 Index, p. 313), s v. سلطان but they were only known by the title of Shāh

In Turkey Sultān has always been an elevated title In addition to rulers, it was borne by princes and one of the causes, why the grand vizier and favourite of Sulaimān I Ibrāhīm Pasha, was disgraced is said to have been that he had taken the title of Serʿasker Sultān (*G O R*, iii 160) In the time of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II the petty chiefs who were appointed *sulṭān* in their own country (e.g. in Hadramawt) were not allowed to use the title when they visited Constantinople (information given me by Prof Snouck Hurgronje) In Turkish the title sulṭān is always placed before the name of the sovereign or of the prince, which shows its foreign origin The real popular use of the word

in Turkish is with the meaning of princess (cf e.g the story, *Soleime Sulṭān* in Jacob, *Hilfsbuch*, ii., p. 59 and the use of the word in erotic poetry and it is by this usage that the practice of placing sultān after the word when it means princess is to be explained (cf. also ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, v 16) For the same reason Sultān is added after the name when it is applied to a mystic (cf. below)

In Persia on the other hand, Sultān was used as a title for officers and governors (ʿĀlī, *loc cit*, *Z D M G*, lxxx. 30) Ewliyā Čelebi, speaks of the Sultāns of Persia as minor governors (*Siyāhat-nāma*, ii. 299—305). The only case in which the sovereign has been given the title Sultān is that of the last Ḳādjār Ahmad I, who received it on his accession, after the revolution of 1908.

In Egypt, the title had disappeared with the last Mamlūks, but was revived for the short period (1914—1922) of the reign of Sultān Husain and the beginning of the reign of Fuʾād (cf the article KHEDIVE).

The number of dynasties, whose rulers have borne or bear the title Sultān is very great, only in North Africa it appears relatively late, in Morocco the dynasty of Filālīya Shurafāʾ (since the second half of the xviiith century) was the first to assume the title sultān

2 Sultān is also a title given to mystic shaikhs. This use of the word is not earlier than the xiiith century and has spread particularly in Asia Minor and the countries influenced by Ottoman civilisation The beginning of the development of the use of the word may have been titles like *Sulṭān al-ʿāshikīn* given to the mystical poet Ibn al-Fārid and *Sultān al-ʿulamāʾ* borne by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad, father of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī But this mystical epithet was no doubt also influenced in its development by the conception frequently expressed in mystical poetry that the mystic obtains the rank and power of a sovereign in the spiritual world It is through the same order of ideas that the title of Khunkiār (cf *Khudāwendigār*) may be explained Ewliyā Čelebi (*Siyāhat-nāma*, iii 367—368) in bracketing the names of Sultān Muhammad II and Bāyazīd III with the names of two mystics says that all were great sultāns This was the origin of names like Dede Sultān and Baba Sultān. The Shaikh Badr al-Dīn, leader of the religious revolutionary movement in Asia Minor in the xvth century was also called Sultān by his adepts, Babinger (*Isl.*, xi. 74) sees in this an indication that he was considered a real sovereign It appears that the surname of Sultān was especially borne by the Baktāshis, it did not however indicate a particularly high rank in the order, thus Babinger (*loc cit*) is probably right, in any case for the latter period, in regarding it as simply a "Kosename" or term of affection

Bibliography Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1848, ii, p 345, A von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig 1868, p. 421 *sqq.*; Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskago nashestviya*, St Petersburg 1900, ii. 285, C F Seybold, *Miszellen*, in *Z D M G*, 1908, lxii, p 563 *sqq*, 714 *sqq*; do, *Nochmals Sulṭān*. in *Z D M G*, 1909, p. 329 *sqq*, C. H. Becker, *Barthold's Studien uber Kalif und Sulṭān*, in *Islam*, vi, esp. p. 356 *sqq*; A Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 133, T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, London 1924, esp. p. 202 *sqq*; Paul Wittek, *Islam und Kalifat*, in *Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, 1925, vol liii., esp. p. 414 *sqq* As it is impossible to study the history of the title Sultān completely without using the wealth of material in the inscriptions, it is to be hoped that the systematic publication of this material will not be long delayed (J H. KRAMERS)

SULṬĀN AL-DAWLA ABŪ SHUDJĀʿ B. BAHĀʾ AL-DAWLA, a Būyid. After the death of Bahāʾ al-Dawla on Djumādā II, 5, 403 (= Dec 22, 1012) in Arradjān, his son Sulṭān al-Dawla succeeded him as amir of Fārs and al-ʿIrāk He at once left Arradjān for Shīrāz and appointed his brother Djalāl al-Dawla [q v.] governor of Basra and his other brother Abu 'l-Fawāris governor of Kirmān. The latter was persuaded by the Dailamī troops to rebel against Sultān al-Dawla; he went to Fārs and entered Shīrāz but was immediately driven out of the town and had to retire to Kirmān He then went to Khurāsān and asked help from Sultān Mahmūd b Subuktegīn, who was then in Bust The latter placed an army under the command of the amīr Abū Saʿīd al-Tāʾī at his disposal Abu 'l-Fawāris occupied Kirman, then turned his attention to Fars and entered Shīrāz while Sultān al-Dawla was in Baghdād On the latter's return a battle was fought in which Abu 'l-Fawāris was defeated, he fled to Kirmān (408 = 1017/18) pursued by Sultān al-Dawla's troops, who soon conquered the province, while Abu 'l-Fawāris sought refuge first with Shams al-Dawla b Fakhr al-Dawla [q v] and then with Muhadhdhib al-Dawla, lord of al-Batīha After long negotiations an agreement was reached in 409 (1018/1019), by which Abu 'l-Fawāris was to retain the governorship of Kirmān while he bound himself to obedience to his brother In the same year Ibn Sahlān was appointed governor of al-ʿIrāk As he made himself much hated by the Turks, the latter complained to Sultān al-Dawla, who endeavoured to appease them and summoned Ibn Sahlān to him Instead of appearing before his overlord he fled to al-Batīha and when Sultān al-Dawla demanded that he should be handed over, the lord of al-Batīha, al-Husain b. Bakr al-Sharābī refused to do so. Sultān al-Dawla then sent an army against him; al-Sharābī was defeated and Ibn Sahlān fled to Basra to Djalāl al-Dawla As the troops were discontented with Sultān al-Dawla and showed themselves inclined to recognise his brother Musharrif al-Dawla as their lord, the two brothers agreed that the latter should receive the governorship of al-ʿIrāḳ and neither should take Ibn Sahlān into his service But after Sultān al-Dawla had gone to Tustar, in spite of the agreement he appointed Ibn Sahlān his vizier, which roused the wrath of Musharrif al-Dawla. Sultān al-Dawla then equipped an army and commissioned Ibn Sahlān to drive Musharrif al-Dawla out of al-ʿIrāḳ But the latter took the field to meet him, Ibn Sahlān was defeated and fled to Wāsit where after a long siege he had to surrender in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 411 (April 1021) After this victory Musharrif al-Dawla took the honorary title of *Shāhānshāh* "king of kings" and in Muharram 412 (May 1021) he dropped his brother's name from the *khuṭba* and replaced it by his own In the same year Ibn Sahlān was seized and blinded by order of Djalāl al-Dawla

and Musharrif al-Dawla In spite of Sultān al-Dawla's defeat a part of the Dailamīs in al-Ahwāz declared for him, so he sent his son Abū Kalidjār [q. v] thither to take possession of this province In 413 (1022/1023) peace was made, the terms being that Fārs and Kirmān should be ruled by Sulṭān al-Dawla and all ʿIrāḳ by Musharrif al-Dawla Sultān al-Dawla, according to the usual statement, died in Shīrāz in Shawwāl 415 (Dec 1024/Jan. 1025) but according to one source he did not die till Shaʿbān 416 (Sept /Oct. 1025).

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, IX, passim, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed Reiske, III 25, 47, 51, 63, 65, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, IV 470—474, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, I 430 *sq* ; Wilken, *Gesch. d Sultane aus d Geschl. Bujeh nach Mirchond*, chap. XIII–XIV , Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, III 52—54; de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p 212 *sqq* (K. V ZETTERSTÉEN)

SULṬĀN ISḤĀḲ (more frequently S Sohāk, S Sohāk), an important personage in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect (popularly known as ʿAlī Ilāhī, q v) The first manifestations of God (Khāwandigār, ʿAlī, Babā Khoshīn) correspond to the stages of *sharīʿa*, *tarīka* and *maʿrifa*, but it is the fourth avatar — Sultān Sohāk — which marks the highest degree of gnosis, the *ḥaḳīka* [q v]

Everything goes to show that Sultān Ishāk was a historical personage The Ahl-i Ḥakḳ put him in the XIVth century He is said to have been a son of a certain Shaikh ʿĪsā and Khātūn Dāyna (Dayarāḳ), daughter of Hasan Beg Djalā By his wife Khātūna-Bashīr he had seven sons who are called *haft-tan* (to distinguish them from another heptad called *haft tawāna*) Like each of the seven fundamental avatars Sultān Sohāk has a retinue of four (five) angels Benyāmīn, Dāwūd, Mustafā, Dawdān, Pīr Mūsī (and Khātūn Dāyira) each of whom has his special duties

An analysis of the proper and geographical names in the religious work known as the *Sarandjām* shows that the area of Sultān Ishāk's activity was the part of Kurdistān between the Zagros (Dālahū) and the river Sirwān (Diyāla) According to the Turkish hymn called *Kuṭb-nāma*, Sultān Ishāk spoke the Gūrānī language which is still that of the inhabitants of this region, who, although Iranian by race, are not true Kurds from the linguistic nor probably from the ethnic point of view The tomb of Sultān Ishāk and his companions is at Pardiwar on the right bank of the Sīrwān in the Awramānī-Luhūn (cf SENNA)

The polemical MS in the O Mann collection (Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Acc MSS 1904, Nº 30, fol 8) calls Sultān Sohāk *djāma-yi Hakk* "incarnation (dress) of God" and *mukannin-i kānūn-i ḥaḳīka* ("legislator of the law of the haḳīḳa") In fact it is to him that the majority of the rites of the sect are traced as for example the "recommendation of the head" [to a *pīr*] (*sar sipurdan*) which symbolises the contract which the divinity (the "King of the World") had made with Benyāmīn before reappearing on earth in the form of Sultān Ishāk Benyāmīn was to assume the role of *pīr* and the "King of the World" that of *ṭālib*, for he declared "the *ṭālib* must obey the orders of his *pīr*; one may execute thy orders but, if I become the *pīr* and thou the *ṭālib*, thou wouldst not be able to execute what I tell thee" This seems to be an echo of Ismāʿīli beliefs, according to which God is without attributes and creation returns to "Universal Intelligence" (*al-Malak al-ʿazīm*, *ʿakl al-kull*), cf Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, Paris 1874, p 43, 162.

Sultān Sohāk is recognised by all branches of the sect, who do not agree regarding later manifestations

Bibliography Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 347; Minorsky, *Materialï dlia izuč sektï L'udi Istinï*, Moskow 1911, p 41—54, Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Ḥakk*, *R M M*, XL, p 17, 37, XLV p. 103, 281, Saeed Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, *The Moslem World*, 1927, XVII, Nº. I, p 31—41 (V. MINORSKY)

SULṬĀN ÖÑÜ, is the ancient name of the part of Phrygia in Asia Minor, situated to the N W of Eski Shehir, which was the birthplace of the Ottoman power The name existed already in the time of the Seldjūḳs, for it is mentioned in the Chronicle of Ibn Bībī (Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, III 217) as a frontier district of the Seldjūk empire, the protection of which was trusted to frontier warders (*uč begleri*) such as Ertoghrul Among the early Ottoman historians Neshrī (ed Noldeke, *Z D M G*, XIII 190) mentions Sultān Oñu as the place where Ertoghrul and his little tribe went, after their stay in the Karadja Dagh near Angora But Neshrī as well as Ibn Bībī write سلطان اوتوكده (dative case) Hence the name is probably to be explained at the Sultān's tumulus (*oyuk* or *oyuk*) and not as the Sultan's front, as was suggested by the later spelling اوكى (comp Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, col 107), moreover Ibn Baṭṭūta (II 324, 342) mentions two persons with the *nisba* السلطانسوكى and J H Mordtmann takes it that the place name In Öñu, which occurs in the same region was originally In Oyuyu, the local name Boz Öyuk is formed in the same way (Taeschner, *Das Anatolische Wegenetz*, I 122, note 1) The story told by von Hammer (*G O R*, I 45) about the reason why Sultān ʿAla al-Dīn called the region Sultān Öñu does not seem to occur in any early historical work In Ertoghrul's time, the towns of this part of the country were still held by Christian lords, but after these towns had been brought under the immediate rule of his successor ʿOthmān, the region was made a *sandjak* under the name of In Oñu and with Karadja Hisār as capital This *sandjak* was given to Orkhān and, afterwards, by Orkhān to his son Murād (ʿĀshīḳ Pasha Zāde, ed Constantinople, p 20, 38, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed Giese, p 7, 13; Oruḍj Beg, ed Babinger, p 15, 87, 89, Neshrī, ed Noldeke, *Z D M G*, XIII 211). It seems that already in these chronicles, even as in later times, the place name In Öñu was often used instead of the regional name Sultan Oñu (the latter name only twice in the *Tawārīkh*, but both times in a poem; comp also Taeschner, *loc cit*) In later centuries the *sandjak* of Sulṭān Öñu bordered according to Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, p 631, to the S E, upon the *sandjak* of Kara Hisār Sāhib, and, to the N W, upon that of Khudāwendigār; it contained, besides, the capital Eski Shehir [q v.],

the *kadā*'s · In Öñü or Boz Öyuk, Bilediḳ, Seidi Ghāzī, Karadja Shehr, Ḳal'edjik, Sultan Öñu and Aḳ Bïyïḳ In the XIXth century the name was no more used and, by the new administrative division, Sultān Öñü was divided over the sandjaks of Kutāhiya [q v] and Ertoghrul A communication about a *wakf defteri* of Sultān Öñü in the time of Muḥammad II was made by Ahmed Refik to *Turk Ta'rīkh Endjumeni Medjmū'asï*, N° 3 (81) of May 1, 1924 (J H KRAMERS)

SULṬĀN WALAD, eldest son of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his second successor as head of the Mawlawī order, was born in Lāranda [cf KARAMĀN] in 623 (1226) before Djalal al-Dīn's family had settled in Konya He was called after Djalāl al-Dīn's father, Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, known as Sultān al-'Ulamā'. He was brought up among the Ṣūfīs who surrounded his father and seems to have been particularly intimate with Shams al-Dīn Tabrizi, while his younger brother Čelebi 'Alā' al-Dīn was rather hostile to the latter's influence. Sultān Walad married the daughter of another of his father's disciples, the goldsmith Salāh al-Dīn Ferīdūn of Konya After the death of Djalal al-Dīn, Sultān Walad did not at once succeed him but insisted on Čelebi Husām al-Dīn, hitherto the *wakīl* of the master, assuming control Eleven years later Husam al-Dīn died and Sultān Walad succeeded and held office till his death on 10th Radjab 712 (Nov 11, 1312) He was followed by his son Djalāl al-Dīn Amīr 'Ārif.

Sultān Walad does not seem to have been a dominating personality like his father Pious traditions about his life reveal him to us as a contemplative mystic, a certain manner of performing the whirling dance has been called after him, *Sultān Walad Dewri* (Brown, *The Dervishes*, ed Rose, Oxford 1927, p 252 *sq*) He was also the author of a large *Mathnawī* called *Walad-nāma* and dedicated to the Mongol Sultān Uldjāitū Khān, in three parts *Ibtidā'-nāma*, *Intihā'-nāma* and *Rabāb-nāma*, a voluminous *Dīwān* and a work in prose called *Ma'ārif* The *Mathnawī* contains many data of importance for the biography of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and may be regarded as a kind of commentary on the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nāwī*.

The works of Sulṭan Walad, none of which have been printed, are written in Persian They have a special interest because they include verses written in Turkish and Greek The Turkish verses are in the *Ibtidā'-nāma*, the *Rabāb-nāma* and the *Dīwān*, their importance lies in the fact that they are the first literary documents in Turkish written in Asia Minor and for this reason the language has been called the language of the *Saldjūk* Turks The 156 *bait*'s in Turkish from the *Rabāb-nāma* are all that have been published and studied so far (from the Vienna MSS, written in 767 [1366] and the St Petersburg one, later in date) by von Hammer, Wickerhauser, Behrnauer, Radloff, Salemann, Kúnos, Smirnoff, Foy and Gibb (cf. *Bibliography*) According to Kopïulu Zāde Fu'ad Bey (*Ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, p. 266 *sqq.*), the influence of Mawlanā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī on western Turkish literature begins with Sultān Walad The latter is said to have been at the same time the first representative of the school of Turkish poetry under Persian influence, while the other category, that of popular mystic poets (*'āshiḳ* as opposed to *shā'ir*), is represented about the same time by Yūnus Emre The Turkish verses of the *Rabāb-nāma* already show an attempt at writing Turkish in the *ramal* metre in which the *Mathnawī* of Mawlānā was written. The language is archaic and represents an old form of the dialect of the Oghuz.

The 13 Greek *bait* of the *Rabāb-nāma* have been published from the MSS in St. Petersburg, Budapest and Oxford (those in Munich and in Gotha do not contain them) by G Meyer, *Die griechischen Verse im Rebâb-nâme*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1895, IV., p 401 *sqq*.

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SULṬĀNĀBĀD, I capital of the Persian province of 'Irāḳ (popularly · 'Arāḳ) The town was founded in 1808 by Yūsuf Khān Gurdji in the S W corner of the plain of Farāhān The town is built very regularly in the shape of a rectangle, its walls (2,000 × 2,666 feet) are each protected by 12 or 18 towers The inhabitants number 25,000 (Stahl)

The province now bearing the name of 'Irāḳ ('Arāḳ) must not be confused with the extensive area to which the geographers of the Mongol period gave the name of 'Irāḳ 'Adjamī (cf Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 185—186) which included Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Rayy, and Isfahān The present province of 'Irāḳ lies almost entirely within the bend formed by the Ḳara-su (Do-āb) south of Sāwa It is bounded on the east by Kum, on the north by Sāwa [q v], on the west by Malāyir (Dawlatābād) and to the south by Borūdjird (canton of Sïlākhor) and the districts of Djāpalāgh and Kamara, mainly in the hands of local landlords of the Bakhtiyārī family of Čahār-lang

The cantons of al-ʿIrāk are as follows 1 Farāhān (Zulfābād and Mushkābād) with 144 villages forms the central plain, the scanty waters of which (Karah-rūd) flow into the salt lake without outlet which in the Mongol period was called Tsaghanna'ur = "the white lake". The old capital of Farāhān is Sārūkh, situated 25 miles N W of Sultānābād Farāhān is an old Shīʿa centre; 2 Sharrāh (Čārrāh), 3 Bozčalu and 4. Wafs with 42, 52 and 12 villages respectively lie W and N W. of Farāhān, 5. Tafrish and 6 Ashtiyān with 16 and 3 villages respectively lie to the north of Farāhān Tafrish is a hollow surrounded by mountains on all sides Ashtiyān and Garakān are noted as the birthplaces of many Persian holy men and statesmen, 7 Rūdbār with 47 villages lies N. W (?) of Farāhān, 8 Khaladjistān with 90 villages lies in the direction of Kum and Sāwa; 9 Kazzāz with 150 villages lies south of Sultanābād on the fan-shaped upper waters of the Kara-su and on those of the Karah-rūd (Kara-Kahrīz) The important canton encroaching on the environs of Sulṭānābād seems to be identical with the Karadj Abī Dūlaf of the Arab geographers (Le Strange, *The Lands*, etc, p 198 and *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 69); the mountain Rāsmand is the modern Rāsband (Rāswand) (although Mustawfī seems to give this name to the Kūh-i Shāh-Zinda which continues the Rāsband range northwards); the stronghold of Farzīn (cf *Dizhān-gushā*, *G M S*, xvi/2, p. 116 Farāzin) must be on the mountain of Farzī (north of Tūla), finally the name of the "spring of Kai-Khusrau" which rises on Rāsmand is explained by the local legend which tells how Kai-Khusrau disappeared on the mountain of Shāh-Zinda (Čirikow, p 186, cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed Mohl, iv, p 266), 10 Sarabband, with 130 villages to the S W of Kazzāz on the Borūdjird road, the canton is watered by the upper waters of the Karkhā (Āb-i Kulān, etc) In addition to the cantons above enumerated, the following have at times formed part of al-ʿIrāk Dardjazīn (Dargazīn) on the left bank of the Kara-su to the north of Wafs and south of the Hamadān-Kazwīn road; Āshmakhor, a dependency of Borūdjird; Kamara (with its capital Khumain) and Nīmwar (on the Anār-rūd) both now merged in the district of Mahallāt The total number of inhabited villages, etc in al-ʿIrāk is 686 Before 1914 it paid to the treasury a *mālīāt* of 80,000 *tomans* and 16,000 *kharwārs* of corn Five regiments of *sarbāz*, each of 800 men, were raised in the province

The province, agriculturally rich, is especially noted for its famous carpets (Sārūkh, Sulṭānābād) exported by the European and Persian houses established in Sultānābād The importance of al-ʿIrāk will increase if the Mohammara–Borūdjird–Ṭeherān railway (still only a proposal) is completed through the province The population for the most part is pure Persian. In Khaladjistān are Khaladj Turks speaking a very curious dialect (cf. the article SĀWA; this region also has a Khaladjistān [near Kūshkak on the Teherān-Hamadān road] where however a central Irānian dialect is also spoken; cf. Brugsch, *Reise d k. preuss. Gesandt*, i. 337—338 and Justi, *Kurdische Gramm*, p. xxv.) In Kazzāz there are 13 Armenian villages the inhabitants of which (564 houses, 2,959 souls in 1916) were settled here by the Ṣafawids At Kamara there are Armenians and Georgians and also Turks repatriated from Syria by Timūr whose language is said to be connected with Čaghatai (?).

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For particulars of Karadj Abī Dulaf, see P Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1925, v, p 574, 82 The position of Faizīn (Farrazīn) settles the site of Karadj on the Kazzāz [according to Yākūt, Farrazīn was at the gate (in the defile) of Karadj] The hypothesis of Houtum-Schindler (*Zeitschr d Gesellsch f Erdk*, 1879, xvi, p 60) who thought Karadj was to be located on the river Kardj which waters Gulpāyagān (= Djarbādhakān) cannot therefore be accepted Burdj also (10 farsakhs east of Karadj) is to be sought west of Gulpāyagān (at Djāpalak or Burburūd)

2 A town founded by the Mongol Īlkhān Uldjāitū in 711 (1312) at Čamčamal at the foot of the hill of Bisutūn D'Ohsson, *Hist des Mongols*, iv 545, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p 107; Rabino, *Kermanchah*, *R M M*, March 1920, p 14

3 Name of several villages in Persia for example the capital of the canton of Turshīz [q v] in Khorāsān (V MINORSKY)

SULṬĀNĪYA, a town in Persian ʿIrāk, about ten miles west of the watershed between the Zandjān [q v], which runs to the Kīzīl-Ūzān and the Abhar, which loses itself in the direction of Teheran The old Persian name of the canton of Sultāniya was Shāhrūyāz It was originally a dependency of Kazwīn The Mongols called this district Kunghur olong ("the prairie of the Alezans" there is still a village called "Olàng" S E of Sultānīya) Sultānīya is about 5,000–5,500 feet above sea-level The coolness of its climate in summer and the richness of the high plateau in pasturage and game must have had a special attraction for the Mongols Arghun began the construction of a town, the wall of which (*bārū*) was 12,000 paces in circumference His successor Uldjāitū, to celebrate the birth of his son Abū Saʿīd, began in 705 to enlarge the new town (up to 30,000 paces in circumference) and made it the capital of his kingdom The sovereign and his ministers vied with one another in embellishing Sultānīya. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn alone built a quarter of 1,000 houses (d'Ohsson, iv 486; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii 184—186) The building of the town was finished in 713 (1313) and was solemnly celebrated After his conversion to the Shīʿa, Uldjāitū thought of bringing to Sultānīya the remains of the Caliph ʿAlī and of the Imām Husain Hamd Allāh Mustawfī says that nowhere except Tabrīz could so many splendid buildings be seen as in Sulṭānīya and he makes the five great roads (*shāh-rāh*) radiate from Sulṭānīya as the centre of Īrān (*miyān-i Īrān-Zamīn*) The exaggeration in the last statement is apparent; the site "so inconvenient" (P. della Valle) of the town was the main cause of its decline. Uldjāitū died in

Sulṭānīya and was buried in the famous mausoleum there The ḳurultai of Abū Saʿīd was held in Sultānīya, but the fact that ʿAlī Shāh, this ruler's minister, began to build a magnificent mosque in Tabrīz seems to indicate that pride of place was returning to the old capital

After the fall of the Mongols, Sulṭānīya often changed hands and its possession was disputed between the Suldūz [q v], the Djalāʾir [q v] and the Muzaffarids A former captain of Shaikh Uwais Djalāʾir called Sarīk ʿĀdil fortified himself in Sulṭānīya in 781 He inflicted a defeat upon the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ but finally submitted to him and kept his position. A little later Sarīḳ ʿĀdil proclaimed Sulṭān Bāyazīd Djalāʾir at Sultānīya, his brother Sultān Aḥmad complained of this to Shāh Shudjāʿ, who removed Sarīk ʿĀdil from Sultānīya Tīmūr's troops took Sultānīya from the sons of Sultān Aḥmad in 786 At the same time Tīmūr re-established Sarīḳ ʿĀdil as governor there and seems to have respected the tomb of Uldjāitū (cf Olearius) Among the villages built by Tīmūr around Samarḳand with the names of celebrated towns, there was one called Sultānīya (Barthold, *Ulugh-beg*, p 32) In 795 Sultānīya formed part of "the fief of Hūlāgū" conferred by Tīmūr on his son Mīrān-shah, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i 388, 399, 623 Clavijo, who visited Sultānīya in 1404, says that Mīrān-shāh (from 798 = 1395, afflicted with madness which showed itself in the destruction of monuments, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii 221), had plundered the town and citadel (*alcazar*) and profaned the tomb of Uldjāitū ("é el Caballeio que yacia enterrado mandólo echar fuera") In spite of this, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile adds that the town had many inhabitants and that its trade was greater than that of Tabrīz Under Tahmāsp I the mausoleum was restored and P della Valle and Olearius found it in good preservation Trade however gradually went back to Tabrīz and the removal of the political centre to Isfahān completed the ruin of the old capital of Uldjāitū and caused it to become forgotten It only experienced a brief revival of favour when, in the reign of Fath ʿAlī Shāh, when the court followed the old custom of moving to a summer residence, a hunting-palace was built near Sultānīya with materials taken from the old city This new Sultānābād was also abandoned after the Russo-Persian war of 1828 The splendid mausoleum now rises from the centre of a wretched little village In 1880 Houtum-Schindler counted 400—500 houses there

Dieulafoy regarded the mausoleum as "the largest and most remarkable of all the buildings erected in Persia since the Muslim conquest", and this opinion is corroborated by Saire's study The mausoleum is in the form of an octagonal prism 85 feet broad and 175 feet high (including 25 feet for the cupola) It is built of brick covered with superb blue faience The inscriptions on the mausoleum do not appear to have been studied Uldjāitū's tomb was in the interior of the mausoleum P della Valle speaks of a chapel the entrance of which was closed by a beautiful grill of damascened iron According to Olearius this grill was forged in India and formed a single piece The mosque seems to have been fortified. According to Mustawfī, the *ḳalʿa* (Clavijo, *alcazar*), Uldjāitū's burial-place (*ḵẖʷāb-gāh*), was of carved stone Olearius saw at Sulṭānīya about 20 cannon which had been used to defend the old fortress in the Ṣafawī period Tavernier saw in Sulṭānīya the remains of other mosques, but now all that exists is one ruined mosque or madrasa near which is situated the tomb of Čelebi-oghlu (xivth century) in the form of an octagonal tower of brick with the ornamentation arranged to form a Kufic design The tomb of the theologian Mullā Ḥasan Shīrāzī (adorned with faience) dates from the xvith century and was built by Ismāʿīl I. Nothing remains of the walls on which Morier saw an inscription in the name of Uldjāitū

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(V. MINORSKY)

SULŪK (A, "journeying") is a term used by Sūfīs to describe the mystic's progress in the Way to God, beginning with his entrance into the *ṭarīḳa* (Way) under the direction of a Shaikh and ending with his attainment of the highest spiritual degree within his capacity *Sulūk* implies a quest deliberately undertaken, methodically pursued; he who prosecutes it (*sālik*) must pass through, and make himself perfect in, each of the "stages" or "stations" (*maḳāmāt*) — *dhikr*, trust in God, poverty, love, knowledge and so on —

before he can become united with God (*wāṣil*) Hence *sulūk* is contrasted with *djadhba* (see art MADJDHĀB)

Bibliography See, in addition to the references given in art MADJDHĀB, Djāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, Calcutta 1859, p. 7 *sq* ; R A Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p 28 *sq* , E H Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, p 65 *sq*

(R A NICHOLSON)

AL-ṢUMAIL B HĀTIM ABŪ DJAWSHAN AL-KILĀBĪ, a famous Arab chief in Spain (The vocalisation of the name *al-Ṣumail* is confirmed by the transcription *Zumahel* used by pseudo-Isodorus of Beja) He was the grandson of Shamir b Dhī Djawshan of Kūfa who killed al-Husain at Kerbelā' (cf above, II, p 339) The family of Shamir had left Kūfa, because of reprisals made on them by the Shī'is, and settled in the district of Ḳinnasrīn (cf above, II, p 1021) and this is how it came about that al-Sumail came to be one of the *djund* of Kinnasrīn in the Syrian army sent to North Africa by the Umaiyad Caliph Hishām b 'Abd al-Malik in 123 (741) He shared the fortunes of his chief Baldj b Bishr al-Kushairī (cf above, I, p 617) and when he had settled in Spain he soon became chief of the Kaisis of the country and lived in Cordova

As a result of a quarrel with the governor of Cordova, Abu 'l-Khattār al Husām b Dirār al-Kalbī, who insulted him, al-Sumail whose Arab amour propre was touched, decided to rebel against him and to get the Lakhmids and Djudhāmids in Spain to join him He offered the command of the rebels to Thawāba b Salama al-Djudhāmī, who after the victory he gained over Abu 'l-Khattār on the banks of the Guadalete became governor of Muslim Spain at Cordova

On the death of Thawāba, al-Sumail intervened to choose a successor to this governor and chose an individual on whom he knew he could exert great influence Yūsuf b 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihrī His choice was at first disputed but after the victory of Secunda (Shakunda, q v) in 130 (747) won by the Ma'addī clan under Yūsuf and al-Sumail over the Yamanī clan commanded by Abu 'l-Khattār, the authority of the new governor was consolidated and the latter offered al-Sumail the command of the district of Saragossa [q v] in 132 (749) He distinguished himself for his great generosity during a severe famine there, but two rebel chiefs finally besieged him in his capital Al-Sumail appealed for assistance to his Kaisī fellow-tribesmen in Spain and his enemies raised the siege of Saragossa

The later history of al-Sumail is closely and regularly connected with that of Yūsuf al-Fihrī and that of the founder of the Umaiyad caliphate of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil He at first promised his support to the latter, then changed his mind, in circumstances of which a picturesque account is preserved in the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār madjmū'a*, and these show the inconsistency and complexity of the character of al-Sumail. 'Abd al-Rahmān however after the return of his emissaries from the peninsula landed at Almuñecar in Rabī' II, 138 (Sept 755) Al-Ṣumail, after forcing his master Yūsuf al-Fihrī to get rid of two important Kaisī chiefs Sulaimān b. Shihāb and al-Husain b al-Dadjn, persuaded him to entrust to the new Umaiyad pretender the government of the two districts occupied by the *djund*'s of Damascus and Jordan and give him in marriage his daughter Umm Mūsā But the negotiations broke down through the inaccuracy of the envoy, hostilities began between Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Rahmān and the former was defeated near Cordova Al-Sumail had a son killed in the battle and his palace at Secunda was looted He tried with Yūsuf to regain the upper hand but both had soon to submit to the new caliph and al-Sumail installed himself in Cordova again Yūsuf having taken to flight, al-Ṣumail was accused of being his accomplice and imprisoned, when Yūsuf after being defeated was killed near Toledo and his head brought to Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān, wishing to be rid of his other enemy, whose submission he suspected was only nominal, had al-Sumail strangled in 142 (759)

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

SUMAISĀṬ, the ancient *Samosate* on the right bank of the Euphrates, now Samsāt (in Cuinet Simsat) The Muslims under 'Iyād conquered it in 18 (639) From its position on the frontier between Arab and Byzantine territory, it was often ravaged by both sides The Byzantines raided it in 245 and 259 and this contributed to the destruction of the old Greek and Roman town It was again the scene of fighting in the Crusades. Saladin took it in 584 (1188)

It is now an unimportant village, but Yākūt called it *madīna* and mentions among its noted inhabitants a certain Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b Muhammad al-Sulamī who died in Damascus on Rabī' I 453.

Under the Ottomans, Sumaisāt was capital of a nāhiya in the kadā of Hisn-i Mansūr, a sandjak in Malātiya in the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz; now it forms part of the wilāyet of Malātiya Cuinet gives it 800 inhabitants, at one time it contained many Armenians but now its population is entirely Kurdish

Bibliography Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, IV 43, Tabarī, ed de Goeje, III 1447, 1880, *Historiens des Croisades* (Orient), III 191, Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, III 151—2, Cuinet, II. 379; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A'lām*, p 2633, Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 108.

(ETTORE ROSSI)

SŪMANĀT, or rather Soma Nāth ("Moon lord") is an ancient town situated in 20° 53′ N. and 70° 28′ E at the eastern extremity of a bay on the south coast of Kāthiāwār On the western headland of the bay stands the port of Verāval, and on the sea-shore, half way between the two towns, is an ancient temple dedicated to Shiva

The town was the object of the most famous of the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī [q. v.] into India, in 1024. The invader reached Somnāth early in 1025, captured the town, desecrated the temple, and destroyed the idol, a *lingam*, two pieces of which were sent to Ghaznī, one to Makka and one to Madīna, to be trodden underfoot by the faithful. Of the history of Sūmanāt before its capture by Mahmūd little is known. In the eighth century it was in the hands of the Ćāwada Rādjpūts, vassals of the Čālūkyas or Solankīs of Kalyāni, but Maḥmūd, on leaving the town in 1025, placed a Muhammadan governor in the district. Muslim rule did not endure, and Kāthiāwār fell into the hands of the Wadjā Rādjpūts, who revived the glories of the ancient fane, but in 1298 it was captured, and again desecrated, by Ulugh Khān, in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī. It was included in the dominions of the Rādjā of Girnār, and when that kingdom was overthrown, in 1470, by Mahmūd Begarha of Gudjarāt it passed into the possession of the Muslim kings of that country. It was afterwards ruled, at different times, by the Shaikh of Mangrol and the Rānā of Porbandar, but was finally conquered by the Nawwābs of Djunāgarh, in whose hands it still remains.

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SUMATRA. Sumatra, with an area of 440,000 square K.M., is the fifth largest island in the world. The distance between its Northern and Southern extremities is ± 1,750 K.M., and its greatest width is ± 400 K.M. The aequator passes through the middle of the island, which lies between lat. 5° 39′ N. and lat. 5° 57′ S. For the geology, hydrography and orography, geography and ethnology, political and economic condition, statistics, administration etc., reference may be made to the great encyclopaedias and to special works, a summary of which is given in the Dutch Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie, s.v. *Sumatra*. The present article, therefore, will be confined to an account of Islām in Sumatra, viz. the history of the coming of this religion into Sumatra, the conversion of its heathen inhabitants, their special religious characteristics etc.

The name Sumatra appears to have originally indicated only a small locality and afterwards to have come to denote the whole island. Later names will be mentioned in the short historical sketch that follows. The first mention of Islām in Sumatra was made in 1292 by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who mentions the spread of Islām in *Ferlac* (i.e. *Perlak*, Ach. *Peureula*), a name well known from Malay chronicles. Since the old Muhammadan tombstones in Acheh have been deciphered, it has been ascertained that the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra-Pasai, on the N.W. coast of Acheh died in 1297. So it is unlikely that the conversion of this country took place between 1270 and 1275, as has been assumed. Northern Sumatra is called by Arabic authors, in the ixth and xth century. *Rami*, *al-Ramni*, *al-Rami*, *Lamari*, al-Idrīsī also calls it. *al-Rami* (xiiith century); al-Ḳazwīnī *Ramni* (xiiith century). Marco Polo mentions, besides *Ferlac*, the countries *Bosma*, *Samara*, *Lambri*, *Fansur*, etc. In the xivth century "Sumoltra" is mentioned as a state at war with Lamori. The son of Sultan Muḥammad of Samudra (died in 1326) was Sulṭān Aḥmad, who probably was still reigning when Ibn Baṭṭūta arrived there in 1345. In 1365 the Javanese poetical chronicle Nagarakertagama mentions Aru, Tamiang, Perlak, Samudra, Lambri, Barat and Barus, as being all subordinate states to the empire of Madjapahit. In 1416 and 1436 the secretaries of the Chinese embassador Cheng Ho described Aru, Samudra, Lampoli etc., as being Muḥammadan countries; according to their records there must have been a Sulṭān Husain at Aru. It may be surmised that the name Samudra was generalised, and so became the name of the whole island. In 1432 Nicolo de' Conti calls it Taprobane "or in the native tongue Sjamuteia". In later periods the Arabic denomination of both Java and Sumatra was *Yāwa*, hence the term Java Major and Java Minor in European sources. The more modern native names are. *pulo percha* (= *merca*, from Sanskrit *mārtya*, mortals, mankind), or *pulo andalas* (a well known tree); this name has occasionally been interchanged with the Arabic term Andalus. After the Portuguese took Malacca (1511), Samudra ceased to be a country of commercial importance and its place was taken by Acheh, and that country soon became the most important in North-Sumatra. As regards the conversion of Acheh the following short notices may suffice. The Malay chronicles may on the whole be regarded as historically trustworthy. The most reliable of them mentions as the first king who embraced Islām ʿAlī Mughāyat Shāh (913—928 H.), the conqueror of Pedir, Samudra etc. During the reign of Sultān ʿAlī Riʿāyat Shāh a learned man came from Mecca to Acheh, and taught metaphysics there. But the introduction of Islām into Acheh was certainly not carried out by Arab preachers. It is most probable that Arab traders carried Islām to Sumatra in the early centuries of the Hidjra. In the 2nd century B.C. the trade with Ceylon seems to have been wholly in their hands, in the viiith century Arab traders were to be found in great numbers in China. So it is quite possible that they also established commercial settlements on some of the islands on the W.-coast of Sumatra. Learned men, however, must also have come to the Archipelago from the South of India, as may be assumed from certain peculiarities of dogma and the Sūfism now prevailing in Muhammadan parts of Sumatra. The South-Indian origin of the Indonesian form of Islām reveals itself in many ways, and theological, literary and linguistic evidence is abundantly available, as examples of the latter class may be adduced the name for "theologian" (*labai*), which is the South-Indian term *labaigem* merchant, and *biyopari* = Sanskrit *vyāpārī* = merchant. There cannot possibly have been any introduction of Islām by compulsion, and the gradual spread of Islām through the eastern islands must have been the result of the settlement of Muhammadan traders, especially Gudjaratis, their intermarriage with native Malay women, the improvement of the status of the natives by their adoption of the religion of the influential strangers, in short a process of peaceful penetration. But from the very beginning of its influence, Islām adapted itself to the native creed, i.e. to the indigenous animism, and made large concessions to Hinduism as is clearly shown

by the remarkable fact that the Sanskrit words for religion (*agama*), Muhammadan fasts (*puwāsa* = *upavāsa*), teacher (*guru*), disciple (*sasiyan* = *śiṣya*) are still in use In the period of its greatest power (xvi^th^ and xvii^th^ century) Acheh was the most important Muhammadan state in Sumatra, and made its influence felt by the heathen inhabitants of the south, so it is probable that proselytising by means of warfare was sometimes carried on among the Bataks and other heathen peoples, but without any permanent success It is a curious fact that the Bataks, who for centuries had offered obstinate resistance to the entrance of Islām into their midst, have in the xix^th^ and xx^th^ century responded with enthusiasm to the efforts made for their conversion Especially the Karo-, and still more the Mandeling-Bataks are fervent Muhammadans The efforts of the Malay subordinate officials of the Dutch Government, the desire to attain the same social level as the educated clerks and tax-collectors, and further the impulse given to Muslim propaganda by the establishment of Christian missions among the Bataks, have all paved the way for Islām On the island of Nias the same process is to be observed, there, just as in the Batak-land, heathendom is breaking down before the two higher religions, Islām and Christianity Of the introduction of Islam in the Minangkabau country (W Sumatra), in early times a Hindu kingdom, there are no historical records It may be surmised that the new religion made its way along the commercial routes from Padir (Pidie) to Priaman and other harbours, and came up from the coast to the uplands in the interior It is probable, judging from some scanty data, that Islām did not come into the Minangkabau country before the middle of the xvi^th^ century No reliance can be placed upon the current tradition that Shaikh Ibrāhim, a man of Minangkabau, who had learnt the tenets of Islām in Java, introduced them into his own country on his return via Priaman and Tiku, but this may be regarded as an indication of the route along which Islām made its way into this part of the island In the Minangkabau country, with its strong matriarchal form of society and its primitive Malay laws of inheritance the success of Islam for a long time hung in the balance, and open conflicts inevitably broke out in the struggle against these unorthodox survivals The most serious of these was the long, bloody warfare of the Padri's, so called after the name Padari or Pidari, i e men from Pedir in Acheh (not from Port *padre*, as was formerly supposed), who tried, in the middle of the xix^th^ century to introduce, by violent means, the orthodoxy of Islām into their native country But their efforts were resisted by the greater part of the population and further the Padri-sect involved the Dutch government in a fierce and long war, which ended by their being defeated after the fall of their last stronghold Bondjol in 1839 A great many Minangkabau men emigrated to the Straits-Settlements, their old place of refuge. At the present time, the people of Acheh and Minangkabau are the most zealous followers of the Prophet, the former being rigidly orthodox, having discarded the numerous Shīʿī and mystical elements that were formerly mixed up with their creed; the latter clinging persistently to their old national social laws, and only slowly accepting the orthodox dogmas. In Palembang, once the classical Malay country under Hindu rule, Islām spread at a comparatively late period, but now it is completely islāmised, like the adjacent country and sultanate Siak on the East coast The southern part of Sumatra, the Lampong-districts, seem to have been islāmised by preachers and influential persons from Banten (W. Java), which country is now the most zealous province in the almost entirely islāmised island of Java The conversion of the less-civilised tribes, the Lubu and Kubu, is only a question of time, the process of peaceable penetration has been begun, and is slowly but inevitably going on

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(PH. S VAN RONKEL)

SUMBAWA, an island in the Malay archipelago, belonging to the Little Sunda group and lying east of Lombok The coast line, especially on the north, is very irregular, the largest bay is that of Saleh which runs deep into the country and almost divides the island into two halves. This division is of more than purely geographical significance The inhabitants of the two parts differ in many respects in manners and customs and the physical type is not exactly the same in both The population of the western part is distinguished by its lighter complexion and higher stature As regards administration, the island belongs to the residency of "Timor en Onderhoorigheden" and politically it consists of four districts ruled by native princes under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies; the western half of the island forms the sultanate of Sumbawa, on the eastern side are the two very small kingdoms of Dompo and Sanggar and in the extreme east the sultanate of Bima The island is very mountainous and there are no rivers large enough to be navigable at all seasons The soil is not unfertile and the population lives mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing, the collection of wheat products is also of some importance The exports include rice, horses, buffaloes and wax The greater part of the native population (many foreigners have settled on the coast Macassars, Buginese, Saleierese and Arabs) belongs to the so-called Young Malays and is considerably mixed with Buginese and Macassars. At the same time an older stratum is clearly discernible to which the people of the interior of W Sumbawa and some tribes in the east belong and from the anthropological point of view shows a great similarity to the Sasakers of Lombok The Dou Donggo (i e "hill-men") on the west coast of Bima Bay may be considered the purest representatives of this group; they live severely isolated from their neighbours and are on a much lower level of civilisation The Dou Donggo and the Bimanese do not intermarry While almost all the rest of the population of Sumbawa has adopted Islām and even observes the prescription of the religion with comparative punctiliousness, the Dou Donggo are still pagans and in their paganism as well as in

their social institutions traces of an original totemism have with great probability been recognised. Bimanese society is remarkable for a sharp division of the people into 26 or (including the nobility) 27 classes (*dari*), which may roughly be described as gilds. These *dari* are under the control of two state-officials (*bumi*) and their functions and other obligations to the state are definitely laid down. Very little is certainly known about the earlier history Some antiquities found on the island suggest Hindu influence at some time; in the later Hindu period Sumbawa belonged to the Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit, in 1357 Dompo was conquered by Madjapahit. At the beginning of the xviith century when the first intercourse of the Dutch with Bima began, the various Sumbawan kingdoms were under Gowa (Macassar); in the second half of the same century they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Dutch East India Co According to a Bimanese court chronicle (the older parts of which are only of mythological interest) there have so far been 50 rulers of Bima and the 38th of these, ʿAbd al-Kāhir, who lived about 1640, was the first Muslim sultān

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SUNAN. [See SUNNA]

AL-**SUNBULA**, the ear (of corn), the usual name for the constellation of the Virgin (*al-ʿAdhrāʾ*) from its most brilliant star, the ear of corn in the hand of the Virgin which is still called Spica According to al-Kazwīnī, the constellation consists of 26 stars with a further six lying outside the figure The head of the Virgin lies south of *al-Ṣarfā* (*β* Leonis); the feet are pointed towards the two pans of the Scales The brightest star is also called either *Sunbula* or *al-Simāk al-aʿzal*, the unarmed Simāk, in contrast to *al-Simāk al-rāmih*, Simāk with the lance (*Aramech* on the star-maps).

Bibliography al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed Wüstenfeld, i. p 36; L. Ideler, *Sternnamen*, p. 168, 172. (J. Ruska)

SUNBULĪYA, a branch of the Khalwatī Order, named after Sunbul Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, whose birth-place is variously given as Bolou and Marsuan His death-date is given in the *Ḳāmūs al-ʿAlām* as 936 (1529/1530); according however to *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīya* (transl. Rescher, 1927, p. 224, 225) he died before 929 (1522/1523); and this author, who was a contemporary, mentions him among the Shaikhs of the reign of Bāyazīd II (died 918 = 1512), wherein he is followed by the author of the *Tādj al-Tawārīkh* (Constantinople 1279, ii 595), who is half a century later On the other hand Hādjdjī Khalīfa attributes to a Sunbul Sinān b. Yaʿḳūb, who died 989 (1581), a treatise in defence of Ṣūfī Dancing, and a Chain of Khalwatī Shaikhs, the former work was dedicated to Sulaimān I (whose reign began 926 = 1520), and stated that Salīm I had asked for a *fatwā* on this subject, merely for the purpose of confirming his prejudice against the practice It is probable that Hādjdjī Khalīfa is mistaken in the date From the brief biography of him which is almost identical in the *Shaḳāʾiḳ* and the *Tādj*, it appears that after being attached to the Mulla Afdal-zāde (died 908 = 1502/1503) he entered the service of Čelebi Khalīfa (Rescher, p. 175 wrongly given as Sunbul's successor in *Muʾāt al-Makāṣid*, quoted by A J Rose, Brown's *Dervishes*, 1927, p 455), whose discipline involved severe exercises, after submitting to these he received permission to enroll disciples He spent some time in Egypt, where he instructed aspirants, and presently came to Constantinople, where he was lodged in the *zāwiya* of Mustafā Pasha, and occupied himself with training disciples The *Tādj* adds that his tomb is in that *zāwiya*

His successor there was Muslih al-Dīn Markaz al-Lādikī (Rescher, p 332), who died 959 (1552) Another disciple, Yaʿḳūb al-Kirmiyānī, who had some doubts about the successor's qualifications, was convinced by a dream, wherein the Prophet with the Companions etc appeared attending one of Markaz's sermons The Prophet's turban was green and black, the former indicating the completion of the Law, the latter that of the Path (Peçewī's *History*, Constantinople 1283, i 465)

Reference has already been made to the severity of the exercises practised and enjoined by Sunbul Sinān; Peçewī (*loc cit.*) mentions that Yaʿḳūb al-Kirmiyānī had to break his fast once only in three days, and drink water once in six months (!) He appears, as has been seen, to have favoured dancing or whirling as a religious exercise Depont and Coppolani (*Confréries*, p 375) state that the Sunbulīya, while maintaining Khalwatī principles, have adopted practices belonging to the Rifāʿīya and Saʿdīya Their work contains a list of Sunbulī *tekye* in or about Constantinople, fifteen in number; a similar list is given by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 1868, p 316, with their respective days of service, it is rearranged in H A Rose's edition of the work (1927, p 480) The order would seem to be confined to that city

(D S Margoliouth)

SUNBULZĀDE WEHBĪ, a Turkish poet and scholar of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Meḥmed b. Rāshid b. Meḥmed Efendi Wehbī was born in Marʿash in the province of Aleppo; he belonged to the prominent local family of Sunbulzāde, which had already produced several

muftīs including the grandfather of our poet, Meḥmed, muftī in Marʿash and author of several works including the *Sherḥ al-Ashbāh al-musammā bi-Tawfīḳ'llāh*, *Nūr al-ʿAyn* and *Kitāb al-Tanzīhāt* His father Rāshid also was a learned man and collaborated in Aleppo with the poet Saiyid Wehbī. As one of the latter's sons died at the same time as a son, our poet, was born to Rāshid, the infant received the poetic name of the father of the dead child Wehbī In his native town Sunbulzāde was *murīd* of Ghalatalı Tıfl (?) Efendi and received the *idjāze* from him He then went to Stambul and lived there by writing chronograms and other vers d'occasion, but later became ḳādi through the influence of distinguished patrons He then entered upon the career of a *Hodja* and was particularly entrusted with the drawing up of the more important state documents, in which he so distinguished himself that Sultān Muṣṭafā III had his attention called to him and bestowed honours upon him In 1190 (1776) at the beginning of the reign of the next Sultān ʿAbd al-Hamīd I he was sent as ambassador to Isfahān to Karīm Khān In the course of his mission a dispute broke out between him and ʿOmai Pasha, governor of Baghdād, Sunbulzāde complained in Stambul of the difficulties the governor had put in his way, ʿOmai Pasha on the other hand accused him of high treason and of unbecoming conduct in Persia Sunbulzāde was condemned to death in Stambul and a courier with the order for his execution sent to meet him, but he was warned in time and kept in concealment in Scutari. ʿOmai Pasha soon fell into disgrace and Sunbulzāde's innocence was established. Sunbulzāde then won complete forgiveness from the Sultan by the "Resonant" (*tannāne*) kasīda In it he describes, after an extravagant eulogy of the Sultān, his Persian journey and continually emphasises the superiority of the Turkish court and of all things Turkish over those Persian.

On his return Sunbulzāde again became a kādī and went in this capacity to Eski Zagra in Eastern Rumelia Here his ketkhudā was the poet Sūrūrī [q v] The two poets became close friends and remained always intimate but they continually used to attack one another in good-humoured but ribald lampoons, which with their grotesque reproaches and their continued efforts to outdo one another are very amusing The Arabic poems of Djarīr and Farazdak have been suggested for comparison Their joint activity in Eski Zagra came to a sudden end, however, when they were both imprisoned because they had aroused the indignation of the populace by their dissolute conduct

Later we find Sunbulzāde again as kādī on the island of Rhodes. In his period of office there took place in Rhodes the execution of the unhappy Krim Khān Shāhīn Girāi who had been betrayed by Russia to Turkey. Sunbulzāde felt he had to celebrate this event in a kaṣīda (called *Taiyāre*, the "Volant", because there is much talk of birds in it), the glorious Stambul Sultān is again extravagantly praised in it, the unfortunate victim abused; the whole is little suited to place our poet in an enviable light

Sulṭān Salīm III was keenly interested in literature and helped poets in every way. Sunbulzāde dedicated his *Dīwān* to him and received rich rewards and honours The *Dīwān* contains, besides ghazels and quatrains, a large number of short occasional poems, especially riddles and chronograms. Sunbulzāde spent the rest of his life in Stambul, versifying and merrymaking. He suffered much from illness in his last years, gout, failing sight, perhaps mental derangement, and he is said to have been bedridden for seven years. He died on 14th Rabīʿ I, 1224 (April 28, 1809) aged over 90 His tomb is in Topdjular before the Adrianople Gate

Sunbulzāde wrote several works in addition to those already mentioned the *Lutfīya*, an imitation of Nābī's *Khairīya*, a rhymed *Akhlāḳ* book for his son Lutfallāh, of advice, about his studies in particular The poem is of interest for social history but its literary value is slight Sunbulzāde himself boasts that he wrote it within a week and in a fever besides It was written in 1205 (1790) and could not have long availed the son as he died of the plague five years later

A *Hikāyat-nāme*, entitled *Shewḳ-Engīz* was probably the most congenial to the poet of all his poems It is a kind of *munāzara* between a debaucher of women and pederast who then ask the Shaikh of Love for his judgment The latter shows how little either knew of pure absolute love, and the whole concludes with the praises of the love of God

The next two poems are primarily an educational effort and as they are still used in Turkey as schoolbooks, they give the modern Turks an acquaintance with Sunbulzāde The *Tuhfa* is a rhymed Persian Turkish vocabulary, written in 1197 (1783) for his son, in imitation of the similar work of Shāhidī (xvith century) It is excellent for the time and a fruit of Sunbulzāde's Persian journey It contains 58 *kiṭʿa*'s in different metres, the last of which is a double rhymed *masnawī* on the *Istilāhāt-i ʿAdjam* The Arabic counterpart to it is the *Nukhba* written in 1214 (1799) There are commentaries on both, notably that of Hayātī Efendi, which also gives valuable details of Sunbulzāde's life

There are other educational works by Sunbulzāde which are now more or less forgotten; thus in 1184 (1770) he made a translation of a part of the *ʿIḳd al-Djumān* of ʿAmī which exists in MS in the Esʿad Efendi Library in Stambul

The Ottoman critics agree that while Sunbulzāde was a master of the language with few rivals, he is not really to be called a great poet He was primarily a lover of life, then a man of learning and next a writer of occasional verse and a very clever one His choice of material is as characteristic as his technique The latter is based on a thorough knowledge of prosody and not on poetical feeling Sunbulzāde can treat poetically the most banal subject and a continual stream of graceful phrases seem to pour forth from him He is therefore always pleasing in spite of a lack of real poetic talent He never has become really popular, Ziyā Pasha compares his poems to wild roses without scent For the history of culture his exact knowledge of Persian acquired in the country itself, is of importance, and it is very interesting to see the impression made by Persia of that day on a highly intelligent Turk References to Persia are exceedingly frequent in all his works

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SUNḲUR (Sonḳor), a canton between Dainawar [q v] and Senna [q v], a dependency of Kirmanshāh Lying on the road between Dainawar and Ādharbāidjān it must correspond approximately to the first *marhala* on the stretch from Dainawai to Sisar, the name of which is read al-Djārbā (Mukaddasī, p 382), Kharbārdjān (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 119, Kudāma, p 212) etc which was 7 farsakhs from Dainawar (the actual distance between the present ruins of Dainawar and Sunkur is however not more than 15 miles) Sunḳur might therefore correspond to the canton of Māibahradj (Balādhurī, p 310) which was detached from Dainawar under the Caliph al-Mahdī and joined to Sīsar [q v], cf Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, p 477—479 If however we are to recognise in the name of the Kurd tribe Pairawand (Pahrawand) a reminiscence of the old name Pahradj ("custodia, vigilia") this tribe must have been driven westwards for it now occupies the west face of Mount Parrau (= Bīsutūn), lying S W of Dainawar (cf Rabino, *Kermanchah*, *R M M*, xxxviii, p 36)

The easy pass of Mele-mās on the line of heights from Dālakhānī to Amiula separates Sunkur from Dainawar. On the north-east Sunkur is bordered by mount Pandja-ʿAlī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 217 Pandj-Angusht), behind which runs the direct road from Hamadān to Senna Sunkur is watered by the upper tributaries of the river of Dainawar, which ultimately joins the Gamas-āb (Kaikha) Sunkur in the strict sense is adjoined by the more northern canton of Kulyāʾī on the upper course of the Gāwa-rūd (cf SENNA) the western dependencies of which are Bīlawar and Niyābat (on the Kirmānshah–Senna road, cf Rabino, *loc cit*, p 12, 35) The importance of Sunkur lies in the fact that it is on the road followed by Muslim pilgrims from Tabrīz to Kirmānshāh, to avoid the Kurdish territory of Senna the road now makes a detour by Bīdjār (Garrūs) and Sunkur, from which Kirmānshāh is reached in a day's march

The population of the district is made up of two distinct elements The town (about 2,000 houses) is peopled by Turks who are said to have come there in the Mongol period (in the cemetery there are Kufic inscriptions) Their chief Sunkur was a vassal of the Mongols of Shīrāz (?) The language of the townspeople (a Turcoman dialect?) is remarkable for its peculiarities and the decadence of its forms To the Ottoman-Turkish forms *geliyorum/gelirim* correspond the local forms *g'alowram/g'alıram ma g'alowıam, sa g'alowsà, o g'alowra, b'z g'alowrakh, siz g'alowsız, olar g'alowla* "Come" — *g'a*, "go" — *g'ı*; I wish to go" — *ısıyowram g'iyam*, "he also" *o-ıa* (= *o-da*), "since the day before yesterday" — *esı agonnan bālu*, etc

The district (165 villages) on the other hand is inhabited by Kurd agriculturists whose chiefs belong to the Kurd tribe of Kulyāʾī The present Khāns are said to be the descendants in the eighth generation from Ṣafī-Khān who lived in the time of the latter Ṣafawids In 1213 (1798) ʿAlī Himmat Khān and his brother Bābā Khān (of the Nānakalī tribe) supported the pretender Sulaimān Khān and were executed by Fath ʿAlī Shāh (H J. Bridges, *History of the Kajars*, London 1833, p 58—59, 67). The Kulyāʾī speak a Kurd dialect resembling *Kirmānshāhī* and are suspected of *Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ* (= *ʿAlī-ilāhī*, q v) tendencies (V. Minorsky)

SUNNA (a), custom, use and wont, statute The word is used in many connections Here only the following will be dealt with In the Kurʾān sunna usually occurs in two connections. *sunnat al-awwalīn*, "the sunna of those of old" (viii 39, xv. 13; xviii. 53; xxxv 41) and *sunnat Allāh*, "the sunna of Allāh" (xvii 79; xxxiii 62, xxxv 42; xlviii 23) The two expressions are synonymous in so far as they refer to Allāh's punishment of earlier generations, who met the preaching of prophets sent to them with unbelief or scorn The expressions are therefore found mainly in the Meccan sūras of which the main subjects are stories of the Prophets. In Sūra, iii 131, the plural *sunan* occurs meaning judgments *Sunnat Allāh* is found in Sūra, xxxiii 38, where it means the privileges which Allāh granted to earlier prophets

In Ḥadīth by sunna is usually understood Muhammad's sunna; Allāh is connected with the community by his Book and Muhammad by his sunna (cf Muslim, *Īmān*, trad 246 "Allāh's book and your Prophet's sunna")

According to the usual explanation Muhammad's sunna comprises his deeds, utterances and his unspoken approval (*fiʿl*, *kawl*, *takrīr*) Observance of the sunna might in a way be called "Imitatio Muhammadis"

In itself however the word is colourless One speaks of good and bad sunna's, e g of the bad sunna of the *Djāhilīya* (Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, bāb 9). Muhammed prophesies "Verily ye shall imitate the sunan of those who were before you, inch for inch, ell for ell, span for span, if they were to crawl into a lizard's hole, you should follow after them" (Ahmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii 327)

The contrast between good and bad sunnas finds its classical expression in the following hadīth "He who institutes a fair sunna in Islām, so that it is practised after his death, to him a reward shall be given equal to that of all who have practised it, without anything being deducted from their reward But he who institutes a bad sunna in Islām, so that it is practised after his death, against him a sin shall be debited, like that of all who have practised it without anything being subtracted from their sins" (Muslim, *ʿIlm*, trad 15).

Al-Sunna has however become the characteristic term for the theory and practice of the catholic Muhammadan community, *Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*, the Sunna "The people of the sunna and of the community", are those who refrain from deviating from dogma and practice The expression is particularly used in this sense in opposition to Shīʿa [q. v]; the division of Islām into Sunna and Shīʿa is generally known in the west. Great stress is therefore put upon following Muḥammad's sunna. "He who tires of my sunna, does not belong to me" (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 1). "The prescribed *ṣalāt*, Friday and Ramaḍān are an atonement for the period till the next *ṣalāt*, the next Friday and

he next Ramaḍān, except in the case of polytheism, breach of agreement and neglect of the sunna .. , and neglect of the sunna is secession from the community" (*Djamāʿa*: Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, II. 229). Among the six categories of those who are cursed by Allāh, Muḥammad and all the prophets are those who have abandoned Muḥammad's sunna (Tirmidhī, *Ḳadar*, bāb 17) Knowledge of the sunna is one of the criteria in deciding who will act as imām at the ṣalāt (Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 60, Nasāʾī, *Imāma*, bāb 3)

The companions are the propagators of the sunna (Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 80), the word is occasionally referred to the example of the companions and the oldest generations of Islām, in Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, bāb 43, the sunna of Allāh, his prophet and the two khalīfas is mentioned, in Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 16, there is a reference to the sunna of Muḥammad and the rightly guided caliphs

The word thus acquires the meaning of standard; it is recorded that Muḥammad said when drawing up such prescriptions, "at discretion lest any sunna burdensome to the community) arise" (Bukhārī, *Tahadjdjud*, bāb 35)

The opposite of sunna in the sense of the theory or practice consecrated by Muḥammad's example or the tradition of the community is *bidʿa* [q v] cf e g Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 16)

Muḥammad's sunna in the sense of his words, actions and silent approval is fixed orally and in writing in the Ḥadīth [q v] In theory the conceptions of sunna and ḥadīth are separate but in practice they often coincide, which may be due to the fact that some of the collections of ḥadīth have the title *Sunan* (e g the collections of Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mādja and al-Nasaʾī)

If we are to understand the theoretical and practical significance of the sunna in Islām we must remember that while the Kurʾān was a source from which a considerable part of the practice was deduced, on the other hand Muḥammad had settled many questions, not by revelation but by decision from case to case and that the words and deeds of the Prophet even in his lifetime were recognised as a "fine example" and as a result of this recognition the sunna of the Prophet was drawn up and fixed in writing, although not in a form equally canonical with the Kurʾān. The Ḥadīth itself illuminates this side of Muḥammad's sunna in traditions People came to the Prophet and asked him "Send us men to teach us the Kurʾān and Sunna" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad 147) "The faith has settled in the depths of the hearts of men They have thus learned Kurʾān and Sunna" (Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 35) Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said "People will come to dispute with you over doubtful points in the Kurʾān. Answer them with the sunan, for the people of the Sunan are best able to decide about the Ḳurʾān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 16).

In the Kurʾān itself references to the importance of Muḥammad's sunna are found, like the command to believe in Allāh and Muḥammad (Sūra II 158, lxiv 8) and Ibrāhīm's prayer, when he founded the temple at Mecca "O Lord send to them a prophet from their midst, to read out to them thy verses and to teach them the book and wisdom and to purify them" (Sūra II. 123 and similar passages).

It is clear then that in the system of Islām the Sunna became a standard of conduct alongside of the Ḳurʾān, and that the representatives of the system also sought to answer the question of the mutual relation of the two elements. This question is also discussed in traditions At first Ḳurʾān and Sunna appear as of equal authority Khālid b Usaid said to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar: "We find the *ṣalāt al-ḥadar* and the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in the Kurʾān but not however the *ṣalāt al-safar*". Ibn ʿUmai answered. "My cousin, Allāh sent us Muḥammad when we were in complete ignorance, therefore we do as we saw Muḥammad do" (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, II. 94). Another tradition is still more definite "a prohibition by the prophet of Allāh is equal to a prohibition by Allāh" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). Ranking the Sunna equal to the Kurʾān led to the idea that the Sunna also was revealed "Djibrīl used to come down with the Sunna to Muḥammad just as he used to come down with the Kurʾān" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 48). They even went further and said "the highest standard is not the Kurʾān but the Sunna" (l c *al-sunna ḳāḍiya ʿala ʾl-Ḳurʾān, wa-laisa ʾl-Ḳurʾān bi-ḳāḍin ʿala ʾl-sunna*).

The question of the relation between Kurʾān and Sunna is fully discussed in the Uṣūl books Shāfiʿī in his *Risāla* explains that there are prescriptions in the Kurʾān, the general form of which was only made precise in the Sunna (p 12), e g the punishment of the thief punished in the Kurʾān (Sūra v 42) by the tradition that the punishment is not to be applied when it is a question of the theft of an insignificant amount (see e g. Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 13) It is known that Muḥammad punished *zinā'* of a *thaiyib* with stoning (cf. e g Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 61), while Sūra xxiv 2 prescribes 100 lashes as the punishment for the *zānī* and the *zāniya*

The Sunna's relation to the Kurʾān may be of three kinds. (1) in entire agreement with the Kurʾān, (2) an explanation of the sacred text, (3) not directly connected with the sacred text (*Risāla*, p 16) — The last named is however not recognised by those who always give the Sunna a direct connection with the sacred text.

The relation between Kurʾān and Sunna is illustrated by the doctrine of *nāsiḵh wa ʾl-mansūḵh*, "the abrogating and the abrogated", and by other examples relating to Kurʾānic commands and prohibitions Here we shall only point out that al-Shāfiʿī in contrast to other scholars does not agree that the Kurʾān can be abrogated by Sunna In his view, Kurʾān can only be abrogated by Kurʾān and Sunna by Sunna (p. 16 *sq*) But there are verses of the Ḳurʾān the abrogating character of which is only made clear by Sunna (p. 18—21) or by Sunna and *Idjmāʿ* (p 21 *sq*.).

The *uṣūl al fiḳh* are of course not confined to Ḳurʾān and Sunna, nevertheless in wide circles protests were made against any attempt to add to the two historical objective norms such subjective elements as *idjmāʿ* [q v] or *ḳiyās* [q v] In Ḥadīth we find traces of this opposition "When Ibn Masʿūd and Ḥudhaifa one day were together, a man propounded a question to them Then Ibn Masʿūd said to Ḥudhaifa Why do you think that people ask us about these things? He replied. As soon as they are told they neglect it Then Ibn Masʿūd said to the questioner. If you ask us about a Ḳurʾānic matter, which we know, we will give you information, likewise about a sunna of Muḥammad, but we have no advice to give

about your innovations" (Dārimī, *Introductio*, bāb 16) Bukhārī has significantly given a chapter of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* the title "On the observance of Ḳur'ān and Sunna"

This attitude is however abandoned by the four *madhāhib*, *idjmā'* and *ḳiyās* have obtained their place among the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. The four roots were never recognised by the Khāridjīs and Wahhābīs, in addition to the Shī'a

With the term Sunna in the theory of the Usūl must not be confused the second of the five categories, under which actions are considered from the legal point of view and which is also called Sunna. On this see the article SHARĪ'A

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(A J WENSINCK)

SUNNITES. [See SUNNA]

ṢŪR (TYRE), the island city of Phoenicia From the Amarna period it was one of the richest commercial centres of the Syrian coast and gradually developed into a powerful rival of the adjoining Sidon [q v] for dominion over the Phoenician colonies in the west Its conquest and destruction by Alexander the Great only deprived the flourishing metropolis of its importance for a brief period, but it had one permanent important result, namely that the island city was henceforth connected with the mainland by the Alexander dam, which was gradually widened into an isthmus by the material swept up by the southwestern coast currents, from very early times Palaityros (Aṣsyr *Ushū*) had lain opposite the island town on the mainland Under the Roman empire Tyre was the secular and ecclesiastical capital of the eparchy Φοινίκη Πάραλος

After the occupation of Damascus, Shurahbīl b. Hasana captured Sūr and Saffūrīya among other towns of the region (al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 116; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, II/II., § 321; III, § 107) According to Pseudo-Wāḳidī (*Futūh al-Shām*, Cairo 1278, II 58 *sqq*), Sūr was taken through the treachery of the former commander of Halab, 'Abdallāh Yūkenā. Al-Wākidī and the Tyrian Hishām b. al-Laith say that Mu'āwiya restored 'Akkā and Ṣūr at the time of his expedition against Cyprus (27) and in 42 transplanted Persian colonists from Ba'albakk, Hims and Anṭākiya to the cities of al-Urdunn, namely Ṣūr, 'Akkā, etc (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit*, p 117). The authorities of the above mentioned Tyrian said "When we settled in Sūr and the cities of the coasts there were Arab troops there and still many Greeks; later, people came from other regions and settled alongside of us just as happened in all the other cities of the coast of Syria" In 49 the Greek fleet raided the Syrian coast-towns which had not yet arsenals (Balādhurī, *op cit*; Maḥbūb of Manbidj, *Kitāb al-'Unwān*, ed A Vasilev, in *Patrol Orient.*, VIII 492) Mu'āwiya thereupon built dockyards in 'Akkā for the district of al-Urdunn. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān restored Ṣūr, Ḳaisārīya, and the suburbs of 'Akkā, which had again fallen into ruins (al-Balādhurī, *op cit.*, p 117, 143) When at a later date Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik wished to purchase mills and storehouses from one of the descendants of Abū Mu'aiṭ, and the latter refused to sell them, he had the arsenal removed to Sūr and built magazines and docks there (al-Balādhurī, p 117) According to al-Wāḳidī also, Ṣūr replaced 'Akkā under the Marwānids as a naval station and remained one henceforth (al-Balādhurī, p 118; Ibn Djubair, ed Wright, p 305) The Caliph al-Mutawakkil later (247/248 A H) distributed the fleet and naval forces among all the Syrian coast-towns.

The Arab geographers describe Ṣūr as a city on the sea-coast (*al-sawāḥil*) of al-Urdunn (the Jordan province) which was strongly fortified and thickly populated and had fertile country round it. The island city was only accessible from the mainland through a gate to which a bridge led, and was fortified by walls which rose straight out of the sea, almost all the way round it; as in ancient times, a second part of the city lay opposite it on the mainland The bridge which is mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī also, is described by al-Kazwīnī (ed Wustenfeld, II 366, l 5 from below, under Tulaitila) as the largest arch in the world (confusion with the Sandja bridge?) The ancient aqueduct which led from Σινδή (now Rās al-'Ain or al-Rāshīdīya) via Tell al-Ma'shūḳ to the city still provided it with water in the middle ages (al-Muḳaddasī, *B G A*, III 163; Nāsir-i Khusraw, ed Schefer, p 11) Nāsir-i Khusraw, who visited Sūr in 1047 mentions the five to six storied houses there and a richly decorated Mashhad at the city-gate, the inhabitants were then for the most part Shī'a, only the ḳādī was Sunnī In the Crusading period al-Idrīsī (1154 A D) records the flourishing glass industry, the pottery and the weaving of valuable stuffs in Ṣūr Kudāma mentions the wharves of the town

From the Tūlūnid period, Syria was almost continuously under Egyptian suzerainty, which became still more firmly established under the Fatimids. The Tyrians rose against the Caliph al-Hākim in 388 (998) under a peasant named 'Alāḳa ('Ulāḳa) at the same time as al-Ramla rebelled and the citadel of Fāmiya was besieged by the Byzantine General Ducas The governor of Syria, Djaish b Muhammad b Samsām, sent the Hamdānid Husain b 'Abd Allāh b Nāsir al-Dawla and the eunuch Fātiḳ (var Fā'iḳ) al-Barraz against the city. When they attacked Ṣūr by land and water, 'Alāḳa appealed for help to the Byzantine emperor The latter sent several ships but these were completely defeated in a naval battle The town, the inhabitants of which thereupon lost all heart for a stubborn resistance, was taken and sacked, its inhabitants massacred and 'Alāḳa tortured and executed in Egypt.

But the risings continued; the vizier Badr al-Djamālī in 1089 A D. was forced to take Ṣūr, 'Akkā and Djubail from the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Tutush and his successor al-Afḍal Shāhānshāh in 490 (1097/1098) punished a new rising with a terrible massacre, in which even the governor of the city

was executed This took place in the same year as the Crusaders left Constantinople Coins were struck in Sūr in the name of the Caliph al-Mustaʿlī (1094—1101)

Although the city at first (1100—1101) sought to win Baldwin's good graces by gifts, it soon (1103) joined in the defence of ʿAkkā and Tarābulus. By arrangement with Tughtakīn the amīr ʿIzz al-Mulk of Sūr in 500 (1106—1107) attacked the Crusader's stronghold at Tibnīn (Toron), plundered a suburb and massacred the inhabitants, but fled quickly away when Baldwin advanced on Sūr from Tabarīya The king appeared next year before its walls, built a fort on Tell al-Maʿshūka and besieged the city for a month; its wālī had to purchase his withdrawal by a payment of 7,000 dīnārs

A week after the fall of Tarābulus, the Egyptian fleet with soldiers, money and supplies for a year appeared before this city, but on hearing that the fortress had been taken by the Franks, they returned to Sūr and the supplies and soldiers were distributed between Sūr, Saidā' (Sidon) and Bairūt

Baldwin laid siege to Sūr once more on the 25th or 27th Djumādā I (November 27 or 29, 1111); he built two wooden towers 10 ells high, put 1,000 soldiers in each and had them pushed up to the walls of the city On the appeal of the Tyrians, Tughtakīn came from Damascus to Bāniyās and sent reinforcements from there, who cut off the Franks' supplies while he himself marched on Saidā' Baldwin had already stormed two walls when the governor of Sūr, ʿIzz al-Mulk al-Aʿazz held a council of war in which a shaikh, who had taken part in the defence of Tarābulus offered to destroy the siege-towers of the Franks He actually succeeded in setting both on fire The Franks gained no success worth mentioning up to the spring of 1112 In the meanwhile Tughtakīn, after taking the fortress of al-Djaish in the Damascene came up with 20,000 men and cut off supplies from the Franks When they received their supplies by sea, he laid waste the country round Saidā' On the 10th Shawwāl (April 21) Baldwin raised the siege and retired to ʿAkkā The people of Sūr welcomed Tughtakīn with rich gifts and restored the injured walls and ditches of their town On his departure Tughtakīn handed over Ṣūr to the Caliph again, but in the very next year the people and their governor ʿIzz al-Mulk Anushtakīn al-Afdalī, fearing another attack from the Franks, decided to hand over the city to him again Tughtakīn at their request sent them the amīr Masʿūd with forces for its defence, but the caliph continued to be prayed for in the mosques and coins were still struck in his name

The vizier al-Maʾmūn, al-Afdal's successor, in 516 (1122/1123) sent a well equipped fleet of 40 galleys under Masʿūd b Sallār to Ṣūr; when the commander Masʿūd came on board to greet them he was put in chains and brought to Egypt There however he was shown great honour and sent to Damascus, where diplomatic apologies were offered and the incident explained away; Tughtakīn replied courteously and promised his further assistance in the defence against the common enemy

The Franks however saw in the removal of the valiant Masʿūd a good omen and prepared for a further siege with renewed hopes The Egyptian commander recognised the feebleness of the garrison and the insufficiency of the city's supplies and appealed for help to the Caliph Al-Āmir replied that he would put the defence in the hands of Zahīr al-Dīn (Ṭughtakīn) The latter thereupon occupied the city again and put it in a satisfactory condition for defence. In the month of Rabīʿ I (April) 1124 the second siege of Ṣūr began Venetian ships blockaded the harbour while on land the armed troops attacked the walls with a siege-tower Damascus troops distinguished themselves by particular bravery in the defence The besiegers sent a portion of their army against Tughtakīn while the Venetians were to ward off the Egyptian fleet After various vicissitudes the Tyrians decided, after famine had broken out in the city, to surrender under favourable conditions After Ṭughtakīn had conducted negotiations for surrender with the Frank commanders, they were allowed to leave the city with their possessions or to remain there on paying ransom On 23th (or 28th) Djumādā I (July 9 or 14) 1124, the inhabitants marched out of the city between the troops of Ṭughtakīn and the Frankish army, they were settled partly in Damascus and partly in Ghazza After this surrender, which marked the zenith of the power of the Crusaders in Syria, Tyre remained till 1291 in the hands of the Franks Ibn al-Athīr laments its fall as a great misfortune for the Muslim world, as it was one of the finest and strongest of cities, and adds "Let us hope that God the Almighty will restore it to the rule of Islām"

Shams al-Mulūk (Būrī) of Damascus in 528 (1133/1134) after a raid of the Franks into the Hawrān laid waste the region of Tabarīya, Sūr and the rest of the coast-lands and returned via al Shaʿrā' with a great booty An Egyptian fleet appeared in 550 (1155/1156) in the harbour of Sūr, sank ships which belonged to Christian pilgrims and others, and returned with numerous prisoners and rich plunder In 552 (1157) Sūr, Saidā', Bairūt, Tarābulus and other towns suffered from an earthquake

From the Crusading period we have the descriptions of the city by Idrīsī and Ibn Djubair The former admires the glassworks and potteries and the manufacture of an extraordinarily finely woven cloth Ibn Djubair who spent 11 days in Sūr gives a full description of the town and of a ceremonial procession that took place during his visit On the land side the city had 3—4 successive gates The entrance from the sea was through two high towers, between which one entered a harbour (the old "Sidonian"), the finest of all the harbours of the coast-cities On three sides the walls surrounded the harbour, on the fourth a wall with an entrance through an arch below which the ships anchored This inner harbour could be shut off by a huge chain which was stretched between the two towers

Salāh al-Dīn after the capture of Jerusalem and most of the coast-towns proceeded to besiege Ṣūr and pitched his camp before the city (on 5th; according to others, on the 9th Ramaḍān 583 = Nov 8 or 12, 1187). He had at first to wait for the impedimenta of the army and summoned his son Malik al-Zāhir from Halab and his brother Malik al-ʿĀdil from Jerusalem to his side; his second son al-Afdal and his nephew Taḳī al-Dīn were with him. As soon as the siege artillery arrived, they began to bombard the town from movable towers with catapults etc. Ten ships

brought from ʿAkkā blockaded the harbour; but they were surprised by the Frankish fleet and some destroyed, some sunk An attack on the walls was repulsed A council of war summoned by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn decided, on account of the approach of winter, to raise the siege till next year On the 2nd Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 584 (= Jan. 3, 1188, according to Bahāʾ al-Dīn, Ibn al-Athīr gives the last day of Shawwāl = Jan 1, 1188), Salāḥ al-Dīn began to withdraw his army Hardly was the city freed from its besiegers than a fight for its possession broke out between king Guy de Lusignan who had just returned from captivity and its valiant defender Conrad of Montferrat

The failure of the siege of this strong seaport marked a reverse in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fortunes With Shakīf Arnūn (Belfort) it was the only fortress of Syria to remain in the hands of the Franks In the harbour of Tyre assembled the powerful forces for the Third Crusade; into it poured the garrisons of the towns taken by Salāh al-Dīn whom he always chivalrously released, from it the siege of ʿAkka was launched, which completely distracted the Caliph's attention from Sūr

On the 15th Rabīʿ II, 588 (April 29, 1192) the Marquis Conrad who now lived in Tyre as titular king of Jerusalem was murdered by Ismāʿīlīs His successor Henri de Champagne concluded the peace of Ramla with Salāh al-Dīn (Sept 1192) by which the coast from Jaffa to Tyre was left to the Franks

When the garrison of Tibnin undertook a campaign against Sūr and laid waste the surrounding country, the Crusaders began to besiege this fortress on 1 Safar 594 (= Dec 13, 1197) On a rumour of the approach of a large army under al-Malik al-ʿĀdil however they retired without achieving anything In Shaʿbān 597 (May–June, 1201) Sūr was visited by an earthquake, and in 600 (1203/1204) by another in which the walls of the fortress collapsed By the peace between Frederick II and al-Kāmil of Egypt (1229) Sūr, ʿAkkā, and several coast-towns of Syria were left in the hands of the Christians, in addition to Jerusalem In the next few decades the power of the Franks was further weakened by the ceaseless fighting between the coast-towns, and the Venetian and Genoese fleet.

The powerful Baibars in May 1266 and in 1269 attacked Sūr, on the second occasion, it is said, in anger at the murder in Sūr of a merchant, whose mother had laid her complaint before him in Khutbat al-Lusūs But he agreed to a treaty in 669 (1270/1271) with the prince of the city by which ten districts of Tyrian land were allotted to the latter, 5 to the Caliph to be chosen by him while the rest were to be jointly administered In August 1285, Margaret of Tyre purchased from Ḳalāʾūn a ten years' peace by paying him half her revenues and promising not to restore the defences of the city. But after the fall of ʿAkkā (1291), Ṣūr and the few remaining Frankish towns could no longer hold out After the taking of Sūr, Khalīl had the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery and the city itself was destroyed

It was still completely in ruins in the time of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (1321), al-Ḳalḳashandī (c. 1400) and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (c. 1450). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1355) could only find a few traces of the old walls and harbour. Henceforth Ṣūr was an unimportant place The Druse chief Fakhr al-Dīn (1595—1634) did not succeed in improving the situation of the town; nor did the Shaikh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar of ʿAkkā and his successor Djezzār Pāshā in the second half of the xviiith century An earthquake in 1837 brought further misfortune to Ṣūr The town has now 6,500 inhabitants (1840: 3,000; 1880· 5000; 1900. 6,000) of these about half are Muslims and rather less Roman and Greek Catholics, the remainder Jews

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SŪR, a clan of Afghāns to which Shīr Shāh, the conqueror of Humāyūn the Tīmūrid, and founder of the short-lived Sūr dynasty of Dihlī and Āgra, belonged Firishtā, following earlier authorities, describes the Sūr as a tribe of Afghāns of Roh, the hill-country which is now the abode of frontier tribes over whom the British Government exercises little authority, and the Afghān Government less According to the same authority the Sūr tribe traces its descent from the Shansabānī dynasty of Ghūr, but this seems to be a fictitious genealogy, fabricated possibly to gratify Shīr Shāh The Sūr are a subdivision of a clan of the Lodī or Lūdī tribe, to which Buhlūl Lodī and his two successors on the throne of Dihlī (1451—1526) belonged According to Surgeon General Bellew the Lodī tribe has three great divisions, Siyānī, Niyāzī and Dotānī, of which the

Siyānī division is divided into two clans, Parangī and Ismāʿīl, the latter having three subdivisions, Sūr, Lohānī and Mahpāl The accession of Buhlūl Lodī to the throne of Dihlī attracted many Afghāns to India, among them a community of the Sūr subdivision of his own tribe, headed by Ibrāhīm Khān Sūī, who was first employed in the Ḥiṣār Fīrūza and Nārnaul districts He had four sons, Hasan, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and Ghāzī Ḥasan and Muhammad accompanied Djamāl Khān to Djawnpūr, where Muḥammad remained, while Hasan received the fiefs of Sahsarām and Khawāṣṣpūr Tānda in Bihār He had four sons, Farīd and Nizām by his wife, an Afghān lady, and Sulaimān and Ahmad by a slave girl 'Farīd eventually became emperor of India under the title of Shīr Shāh [q v] His strength of character and commanding ability suppressed that tendency to internecine strife which he recognized as the besetting sin of the Afghāns and the chief source of their weakness, but after his death there was none to restrain them, and the empire which his valour and ability had won was speedily lost by the dissensions of his successors He was succeeded by his son Djalāl Khān, who took the title of Islām or Salīm Shāh and reigned for nine years (1545—1554), but whose energies were dissipated in a contest with his elder brother, ʿĀdil Khān Salīm Shāh's young son, Fīrūz, was put to death by his maternal uncle, Mubāriz Khān, son of Shīr Shāh's younger brother, Nizām, and Mubāriz ascended the throne under the title of Muḥammad Shāh ʿĀdil, but was contemptuously nicknamed ʿAdalī by his own people, and *Andhalī* ("blind") by the Hindūs During his feeble reign (1554—1556) his cousins Ibrāhīm, son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr of Hindawn, brother of Hasan Khān, and Ahmad, son of Ahmad Khān Sūr, another brother of Hasan, assumed the royal title, and at one time there were three emperors pretending to reign in India (1) Ibrāhīm Shāh, who seized Dihlī and Āgra, (2) Muhammad Shāh ʿĀdil, who retired to Čunār, and (3) Ahmad Sūī, who assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh in the Pandjāb, drove Ibrāhīm from Dihlī and Āgra, and was occupying those districts when Humāyūn returned in 1555 and expelled him He fled into the Siwālik and thence to Bengal, where he died Ibrāhīm Shāh, when driven from Āgra by Sikandar Shāh, fled to Sambhal and thence to Kālpī, where he was defeated by Hemū, the minister of ʿAdalī. Ibrāhīm next fled to his father, Ghāzī Khān, then in Biyāna, and Hemū besieged him there, but was recalled by ʿAdalī to repulse Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, who was marching on Cunār. Ibrāhīm followed him, but was defeated, and again retired to Biyāna, and thence to Patna, where he attacked Rādjā Rāmčandra, who defeated and captured him, but treated him with great honour, enthroned him, and acknowledged him as his sovereign ʿAdalī meanwhile attacked and slew Muhammad Sūr near Kālpī The news of Humāyūn's return and of Sikandar's defeat and flight had now reached Čunār, and was followed by that of Humāyūn's death, on receipt of which ʿAdalī sent Hemū with 50,000 horses and 500 elephants to recover Āgra and Dihlī. He took both cities, for himself, not for his master, but was defeated and slain at Pānīpat by the army of Akbar, for whom both Dihlī and Āgra were recovered. ʿAdalī was defeated and slain by Khiḍr Khān, son of Muhammad Sūr, who had assumed the title of Bahādur Shāh Ibrāhīm Sūr was for some time in Mālwa, and fled thence to Urīsa, where Sulaimān Kaiarānī treacherously put him to death in 1567

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(T. W HAIG)

SŪRA, the name given to the chapters of the Kurʾān In the Kurʾān itself, the word means, in the Meccan as well as the Medinese parts, the separate revelations which were revealed to Muhammad from time to time Thus he challenges his opponents to produce a sūra like his own (ii 21, x 39) or to bring ten sūras like his of their own devising (xi 16) As a superscription we have in xxiv 1 "(this is) a sūra which we have sent down and sanctioned and in it we have revealed clear signs (*āyāt*)" The Munāfiḳūn, we are told (ix 65), fear that a sūra may be sent down that will tell them what is in their hearts, cf ix 87 "when a sūra was sent down which commanded them to believe and to fight etc" In ix. 125, 128, xlvii 22, mention is made of the different effects of a sūra upon believers and unbelievers As far as contents are concerned the word thus coincided with the word "Kurʾān" in its original meaning, but in later usage they became separated, Kurʾān became the name of the collected revelations in book form while sūra was used of the chapters of the sacred book, which consisted originally each of a single revelation but later were formed of the combination of several revelations or fragments

Where Muḥammad got the word is still uncertain in spite of the attempts made to trace its origin Noldeke thinks it is the modern Hebrew *shūrā* "order, series" but even if this could be explained as "line" it would not take us to the original meaning of the word, and against it is the fact that one sūra, according to xxiv. 1, contained several *āyāt* Perhaps the word is in some way connected with Muḥammad's conception of a book in heaven (*al-Kitāb*), the contents of which were revealed to him piecemeal "Piece, section" or a similar meaning would make good enough sense and would also explain the later usage, but linguistically it cannot be proved, for H. Hirschfeld's supposition that it is a corruption of the Hebrew *seder* is not at all probable *Sāra*, to mount, fall upon, overcome (e g. with wine) might possibly yield a meaning like *impetus*, sudden overwhelming inspiration etc, but *sawra* and not *sūra* is the derivative found from it.

The authorised Ḳurʾān contains 114 sūras of which the first (*al-fātiḥa*, q. v) and the two last are conjurations loosely connected as introduction and conclusion to the rest. This agrees with the fact that these three sūras are said to have been lacking in the Ḳurʾān as edited by Ibn Masʿūd. There was a certain amount of freedom at first

in this respect so that Ubaiy for example had two sūras in addition to those usually accepted The order of the sūras also was not definitely fixed, although the same principle of arrangement may be recognised in the different editions The reader may be referred to the article ḲOR'ĀN on this point, as well as on the names of the sūras, their separation in the manuscripts and the letters which are found in the superscriptions to some of them

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(F. Buhl)

ṢŪRA (A.), image, form, shape, e g *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, "the shape of the earth", *ṣūrat ḥimār*, "the form of an ass" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 115) or face, countenance (see below) *Taṣāwīr* are rather pictures *Ṣūra* and *taṣwīra* are therefore in the same relation to one another as the Hebrew *demūt* and *ṣelem* The Biblical idea according to which man was created in God's *ṣelem* (Gen, i 27) has most probably passed into Hadīth It occurs, so far as I am aware, in three passages in classical Hadīth, the exegesis is uncertain and in general unwilling to adopt interpretations such as Christian theology has always readily associated with this Biblical passage In Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, bāb 1 (cf Muslim, *Djanna*, trad 28) it is said. "Allāh created man after (*ʿalā*) his sūra his length was 60 ells" On this Ḳastallānī (ix 144) says "the suffix 'his' refers to Ādam, the meaning therefore is — Allāh created Ādam according to his i e Ādam's form, that is perfect and well-proportioned" (cf also, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi 143 *sq*) But there are also other explanations Another tradition says "One should not say 'may Allāh make thy face hateful and the faces of those who are like thee', for Allāh created Ādam after his sūra' In this tradition the suffix obviously refers to the person addressed Others say The suffix refers to Allāh, for in one version the tradition runs Allāh created Ādam in the shape of al-Raḥmān, i e as regards his qualities, knowledge, life, hearing, sight, etc although Allāh's qualities are incomparable — The theologians are divided into two groups on the exposition of this tradition, the one refrains from any interpretation through dread of anthropomorphism, the other explains the expression as an indication of Ādam's beauty and perfection, an *iḍāfat takrīm wa-tashrīf* (like *nākat Allāh*, *Bait Allāh*, says al-Nawawī, see below)" — So far Kastallānī

The second passage in which the tradition occurs is Muslim, *Birr*, trad 115 "If a man fights with his brother, he ought to spare his face, for Allāh created man after his sūra" Al-Nawawī's commentary on this tradition coincides in part with the already quoted section in Kastallānī, we need only quote the following here al-Māzarī says· "Ibn Ḳutaiba has interpreted this tradition wrongly by taking it literally" He says "Allāh has a ṣūra, but not like other *ṣuwar*" This interpretation is obviously wrong for the conception sūra involves composition and what is put together is created (*muḥdaṯ*); but Allāh is not created therefore is not composed, therefore he is not *muṣawwar* Ibn Ḳutaiba's interpretation is like that of the anthropomorphists, who say: "Allāh has a body, but not like other bodies" They quote in support the orthodox pronouncement "The Creator is thing (*shaʾ*) but not like other things" This is however reasoning by false analogy for *shaʾ* does not involve the conception of coming into existence (*ḥudūṯ*) and what is associated with it Body and *ṣūra* on the other hand involve joining together and composition and therefore also *ḥudūṯ*", etc

We have further to deal with the conception ṣūra in connection with the prohibition of images, which, in so far as it is known in the west, is traced to the Kurʾān like most Muslim institutions Although this idea is one of the numerous popular errors about Islām, we cannot deny that the prohibition of images is based on a view which finds expression in the Ḳurʾān In Ḳurʾānic linguistic usage *sawwara* "to fashion" or "form" is synonymous with *baraʾa* "to create" Sūra, vii. 10, "and we have created you, then we have fashioned you, then we have said to the angels, etc" Sūra, iii 4 "It is he who forms you in the mother's womb as he will" Sūra, xl 66 "It is Allāh who has made the earth for a home for you and the heavens for a vault above you, shaped you and formed you beautiful" (cf Sūra, lxiv 3) Sūra, lix 24 Allāh is called *al-ḵẖāliḳ*, *al-bāriʾ*, *al-muṣawwir*, i e according to Baiḍāwī "He who takes the resolution to create things according to His wisdom, who creates them without error, who calls their forms and qualities into existence, according to His will"

This linguistic usage shows complete synonymity between the concepts "to fashion, to shape", and "to make, to create" In the older Hebrew literature also Yahve as creator is called *Yoṣer*, i e the potter The roots *ṣ-r* and *y-ṣ-r* are also ultimately connected

If then Allāh according to the Kurʾān is the great fashioner, it follows in Hadīth that all human fashioners are imitators of Allāh and as such deserving of punishment "Whosoever makes an image him will Allāh give as a punishment the task of blowing the breath of life into it, but he is not able to do this" (Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 104; Muslim, *Libās*, trad 100) "Those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Judgment by being told Make alive what you have created" (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 56) "These whom Allāh will punish most severely on the Day of Judgment are those who imitate Allāh's work of creation" (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, vi. 36). Such are called the worst of creatures (Nasāʾī, *Maḍāḥid*, bab 13), cursed by Muhammad (Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 25), compared to polytheists (Tirmidhī, *Djahannam*, bāb 1) Houses which contain images, dogs and ritually impure people are avoided by the angels of mercy (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-Ḵẖalḳ*, bāb 17, etc) The latter statement is illuminated by the story of how ʿĀʾisha once purchased a cushion (*numruka*) on which were pictures, when Muhammad saw it from outside the house, he stood at the door without coming in When ʿĀʾisha saw repugnance expressed on his countenance, she said "O Apostle of Allāh, I turn full of penitence to Allāh and his Apostle, but what law have I broken?" He replied "What is the meaning of this cushion?" She said. "I purchased it for thee to sit upon and use as a cushion" Then the Apostle of Allāh answered· "The makers of these images will be punished and they will be told: Make

alive what you have created". And further he said "A house which contains images is not entered by the angels" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad 96, cf. 85, 87, 91—99, Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 92, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi 172) Muhammad is said to have removed the images and statues out of the Kaʿba (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 48) There are also references to this in the *Sīra*. Here we need only quote one more remarkable tradition, which has some resemblance to the Christophorus legend ʿAlī relates "I and the Prophet walked till we came to the Kaʿba Then the Prophet of Allāh said to me "Sit down". Then he stood on my shoulders and I arose But when he saw that I could not support him, he came down, sat down and said "Stand on my shoulders". Then I climbed on his shoulders and he stood up and it seemed to me as if I could have touched the sky, had I wished Then I climbed on the roof of the Kaʿba on which there was an image of copper and iron Then I began to loosen it at its right and left side, in front and behind until it was in my power Then the Prophet of Allāh called to me "Throw it down" Then I threw it down so that it broke into pieces like a bottle I then climbed down from the Kaʿba and hurried away with the Prophet, till we hid ourselves in the houses for fear some one might meet us" (Aḥmad b Hanbal, i 84, cf 151)

According to the law it is forbidden to copy living beings, those that have a *rūḥ* Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to *Libās*, trad 81 (Cairo 1283, iv. 443) gives the following summary "The learned men of our school and other *ʿulamāʾ* say The copying of living beings is strictly forbidden and is one of the great sins, because it is threatened with the severe punishment, mentioned in the traditions It does not matter whether the maker has made the copies from things used in little esteem or from other things, for the making of them is in itself *harām*, because it is an imitation of Allāh's creative activity From this point of view it makes no difference whether the image is put upon a cloth, carpet, coin, vessel or wall, etc "

The copying of trees, camel-saddles, and other things apart from living creatures is not forbidden — So far the legal prescriptions affecting the copying itself

As regards the use of articles which have on them images of living creatures, if these are hung on a wall or are on a garment which is worn or on a turban or other article which is not treated lightly, they are *ḥarām* If the reproductions however are on carpets which are walked upon, on cushions and pillows etc, which are in use, they are not *ḥarām* Whether the angels of mercy avoid houses which contain such articles will be discussed immediately, as God will

In all these cases it makes no difference whether the reproductions have a shadow or not. Some of the older jurists say Only what has a shadow is forbidden; there are no objections to other reproductions But this is an erroneous view. For the reproduction on the curtain was condemned by the Prophet and it certainly had no shadow The other traditions should be remembered which forbid all images of whatever nature

Al-Zuhrī says. Images are without exception forbidden as well as the use of articles on which there are images or the entering of a house in which there are images, whether embroidered on a cloth or not embroidered whether they are put on a wall, on a cloth or carpet, to be trodden upon or not, on the authority of the literal interpretation of the tradition about the *numruḳa* (pillow) which Muslim records (cf above). This is a very strict point of view Others say · What is embroidered on a cloth whether for humble use or not, whether hung on a wall or not is permitted. They regard as *makrūh* images which have shadows, or reproductions on walls, whether embroidered or not They rely for this view on Muhammad's words in several traditions in the *Bāb* concerned "except what is embroidered on cloth" This is the attitude of Kāsim b Muḥammad

The *iḏjmāʿ* forbids all representations which have shadows and declares their defacement *wāḏjib* The Kādī (Iyād) says "Apart from little girls playing with dolls and the permission for this" Mālik however declares it *makrūh* for a man to buy his daughter a doll And some say that the permission to play with dolls was abolished by the traditions (p 447 *sq*) These traditions lay it down without any ambiguity that the representation of living creatures is strictly forbidden As regards representations of trees and such like without *rūḥ* neither their making nor purchase is thereby forbidden Fruit-trees in this respect are the same as other trees This is the view of all the *ʿulamāʾ* except Muḏjāhid, who considers the representation of fruit-trees *makrūh*. The Kādī (Iyad) says Muḏjāhid is alone in this view He relies on the tradition "Who is more unrighteous, than he who imitates my creation?" (Muslim, *Libās*, trad 101, Bukhārī, *Tawhīd*, bab 56), while all the others quote the tradition "Then it shall be said to them, put life (*aḥyū*) into that which ye have made, for *aḥyū* means make living creatures (*ḥayawān*) with a *rūḥ*" — So far al-Nawawī.

In spite of the opinions of theologians and jurists, breaches are not rare as in the case of the prohibition of wine, as for example, the frescoes in the bath-house of ʿAmra [q v], the miniatures in Persian and Turkish manuscripts, Turkish and Egyptian stamps There have even been pictures of Muhammad in recent times But this does not affect the fact that among Muslim peoples there has been neither painting nor sculpture to any considerable extent Arabesques and calligraphy may be regarded as a substitute for it Strzygowsky has tried to explain the absence of human figures from Muslim art by the latter's being influenced by a school of art in which there were no human figures for some other reasons

Objections were for long made to photography (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 432 *sq*); now these seem, in certain circles at least, no longer to be so strong or even to have been quite overcome In Cairo there is an illustrated weekly *al-Muṣawwar*, which is produced entirely on western lines This does not however mean that the old opinions have entirely disappeared Chauvin gives examples of the horror of being copied, examples which still have their counterparts in the modern western world. Here also we find people objecting to being photographed because they feel as if something were being stolen from their persons

We also find the second commandment quoted literally in the west against pictures although the usual interpretation regards it only as prohibiting

the worship of idols. It may be asked whether the Muslim interdiction of images was influenced by the Jewish interpretation of the second commandment From the literature (Flavius Josephus) on the one hand and the coins on the other, it is evident that the Jewish extension of the prohibition of images was exactly the same as the Muslim no living creatures, only plants and other objects On the one hand we may assume Jewish influence on the Muslim prohibition of images, on the other hand recognise that the foundations for this transference can already be found in the Kur'ān The Biblical idea of the creation of man by the making of an image and breathing the breath of life into it as found in the story of the creation is also found in the Kur'ān (Sūra, xv 29; xxxviii 72) and it is this very idea which has had great influence on traditions and legal literature — For the philosophical meaning of the conception sūra see MĀDDA

Bibliography Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*, Leyden 1925, p 157 *sqq* , V Chauvin, *La defense des images chez les Musulmans* in *Annales de l'Acad. d'arch de Belgique*, series 4, viii 229 *sqq* , ix. 403 *sqq* , Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr Geschriften*, ii 88, do , *Kuṣejr ʿAmra und das Bilderverbot*, in *Z D M G* , lxi 186 *sqq* = *Verspr Geschr* , ii 449 *sqq* , do , *Mekka*, ii 219 and note 3, A J Wensinck, *The Second Commandment* in *Med Ak Amst*, vol lix, series A, N⁰ 6, the material of classical Hadīth in do , *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, under IMAGES; Legal: Abū Ishāk al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed A W T Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p 206, Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, iii 215, Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Wadjiz*, Cairo 1317, ii 36

(A J WENSINCK)

SURAKARTA, or SURAKĔRTA, name of a kingdom on the island of Java and of its capital, ruled by two Javanese princes, the Susuhunan and Mangku-Nĕgara, under Dutch suzerainty It arose along with the kingdom of (A)yogyakarta (-kĕrta), likewise ruled by two chiefs, out of the older kingdom of Mataram, which on the decline of the kingdom of Dĕmak and Padjang appeared as a third Muhammadan state in Java proper The Muslim character of Mataram, although rather superficial and only nominal, was the result of the official recognition of the Susuhunan as Muslim ruler by the authorities in Mecca and found expression in the title *Panata-gama*, "Arranger of the religion (of Islām)" Although the population was quite consciously Muḥammadan, the kingdom nevertheless remained in many ways, e g in political organisation, Hindu-Javanese The same holds of the states, which succeeded it, and particularly perhaps of Surakarta, where especially of recent years an active interest in the older culture has arisen in educated circles under the influence of studies by Europeans

The kingdom of Mataram founded by Senapati about 1575 reached its greatest prosperity under Agung (1613—1645) Under his successors the influence of the suzerain Dutch Trading Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) rapidly increased, which, founded at the beginning of the xviiith century was the *de facto* ruler of Java by 1725 Disputes about the succession brought about (1755) the already mentioned partition of the kingdom into the states of Surakarta and Yogyakarta The Susuhunan, who still ranks higher than the Sulṭān, had already founded a little state by 1744 in the village of Sala (often written Solo), the name of which, Surakarta, as usual in Java, took the place of that of the previous state, Kartasura (from Sanskrit *kṛta* = flourishing etc. and *ṣūra* = hero, heroic, brave) The state and the village of Sala were officially called Surakarta after the state, although the present town is still also called Sala (pronounced Solo by Europeans) Very soon after the partition, one of the rival princes received an important fief from the Susuhunan, this gradually developed into an independent principality the ruler of which the Mangku-Nĕgara is still however formally subordinate to the Susuhunan

The history of the kingdom is, like that of Yogyakarta, rather confusing on account of the continual alterations in its boundaries It passed more and more under Dutch influence and is of no special importance for the world of Islām On account of the impossibility of giving a brief sketch of it here, the reader must be referred to the fuller studies by Dutch scholars quoted below

The present town which has now about 130,000 inhabitants, of whom only a few thousands are Europeans, has remained the centre of Javanese culture Native arts and crafts were always cultivated in the capital but on account of the often keen European competition have lost a good deal of importance for Java itself The Javanese fine arts, especially music and dancing, are however still flourishing and Javanese learning was officially encouraged and this is partly true of the present day Literary life, which seems almost to have disappeared with the death of the last pudjangga, Rangga-Warsita (*pudjangga* was originally a priest, later court-scholar, Sanskrit *bhudjangga* = snake, snake-demon, and it is not quite clear how the present meaning has developed from this), appears to be reviving again to some extent and may still have a future in a more modern form under the influence of the expansion of European education Quite recently (1926) the Dutch authorities have founded a school in Surakarta, on account of its central situation for Javanese culture, the special object of which is to give native scholars a classical oriental training

The buildings of the capital with its old customs and usages, its bĕdaya dances and wayang plays, with its many remarkable features, its reflection of former Javanese splendour, form the greater attraction of the town The princes have their own officials for various services, who live with their families in the palaces and are estimated to number 15,000 But actually the power is exercised by the Dutch resident who is equal in authority to the prince, an arrangement which has repeatedly caused friction

Bibliography· Exceedingly valuable for our knowledge of the two native states is G P Rouffaer's article VORSTENLANDEN in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*[1], iv 587*a*—653*b*, with a valuable bibliography P. J Veth, *Java*[2], ii 165 *sqq* , is more general

(C C. BERG)

SŪRAT, a city situated in 21° 12′ N. and 72° 50′ E. on the south bank of the Taptī and ten miles from its mouth The geographer Ptolemy (A. D 150), speaks of the trade

of Pulipula, perhaps Phulpāda, the sacred part of Sūrat city Early references to Sūrat by Muslim historians must be scrutinized, owing to the confusion of the name with Sorath (Saurāshtra), but in 1373 Fīrūz Tughluk built a fort to protect the place against the Bhils The foundation of the modern city is traditionally assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its prosperity was restored by Gopī, a rich Hindū merchant, and in 1514 it was already an important seaport The Portuguese burnt the town in 1512, 1530, and 1531, and the present fort was founded in 1540 by Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish officer in the service of Mahmūd III of Gudjarāt In 1572 it fell into the hands of the Mīrzās, then in rebellion against Akbar, who besieged and took the place in the following year. For 160 years the city, known as "the Gate of Makka" and "the Blessed Port" from its being the port of departure for pilgrims, enjoyed peace and prosperity under the Timūrids An English ship first arrived at "Swally Hole" (Suwālī) the anchorage near the mouth of the Taptī, in 1608, but the English encountered great difficulty in founding a factory, owing to the hostility of the Portuguese They succeeded, and their position was secured by the treaty brought back from Agra by Sir Thomas Roe in 1618 In 1664 Shiwadjī plundered the town for three days, but could not touch the English and Dutch factories, which were bravely defended by their inmates From 1669 an annual Marātha raid was almost a matter of course, but the foreigners defended themselves In 1687 Bombay superseded Sūrat as the principal English settlement on the western coast, and in 1733 the Muslim governor proclaimed his independence, but in 1759 the English, with the approval of the Marāthas, charged themselves with the administration of the town, which became a British possession in 1800 The English and Dutch graveyards contain interesting memorials of European trade and adventure in India

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(T W Haig)

SURAIDJĪYA (Mas'ala) This is one of the classical "questions" in the theory of law (*usūl*), one of the few that have a special name (cf. akdarīya) derived from one of the first to propound it It refers to the legal fiction (*dawr ḥukmī*) invented by some Shāfi'īs (Muzanī, Ibn Suraidj, and Ghazālī, who later recanted) to cancel, by bringing it into a vicious circle (*yamīn bi-dā'ira*), the solemn declaration (*ta'līk*) pledging the contracting party to divorce his favourite wife if he breaks his oath (*ṭalāk mu'allak*, employed in the Karmatian initiation, cf ḳarmaṭians) Snouck Hurgronje has shown the use made by the Shāfi'īs of the *ta'līk* to stabilise marriages in Java.

Bibliography: Sha'rānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo, ii. 115; Ibn Hadjar, *Tuḥfat al-minhādj* (with gloss by Shirwānī), Cairo, vii. 112—113; Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinīyya-Sekte*, 1916, p 78—79, Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, p 586, 716, 787

SURŪRĪ, the name of several Ottoman poets of whom the most notable are the two following

I Muṣlih al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Efendi, called Surūrī, a distinguished philologist and expositor born in Gallipoli where his father Sha'bān was a merchant or a teacher. After the conclusion of his studies he became an assistant ḳādī in Stambul, in 944 (1537). When the medrese founded by Kāsim Pasha [q. v] was finished, he was appointed its first *mudarris*, but resigned a year later and by the desire of his patron Ḳāsim Pasha began to lecture on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* as a Nakshbandī dervish In 950 (1543) he became tutor to prince Muṣtafā [q.v], the ill-starred son of Sulaimān [q v] the Magnificent. After the prince's execution in 960 (1553) he retired into private life and died on 7th Djumādā I 969 (Jan 13, 1562) in Stambul at the age of 72 His tomb was at the little mosque which has now disappeared built by him in the Kāsim Pasha quarter (cf. Hāfiz Husain, *Ḥadīkat al-Djawāmi'*, ii 4 *sq* and J. v. Hammer, *G O R*, ix 106, N° 593). In this mosque at one time were preserved the manuscripts of all his works On his tomb cf also Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāhetnāme*, i 426, Surūri was one of the greatest philologists of his day and probably the greatest authority on Persian language and literature that Turkey has ever produced In his capacity as tutor to the prince he prepared several of his famous commentaries e g those on the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* Towards the end of his life (968) he published the commentary on Hāfiz which is probably the best of its kind, his text book of prosody and rhyme *Bahr al-Ma'ānī* prepared for prince Muṣtafā in 956 (1549) and his *'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūkāt* a synopsis of the *Cosmography* of Ḳazwīnī are also famous Less well known is his commentary on the very popular introduction (*Isāghūdjī*, Gr εἰσαγωγή) of Shaikh Athīr al-Dīn Mufaddal His other works are almost all expositions of Arabic or Persian works, or translations He had a command of Turkish, Persian and Arabic such as is rarely found.

Bibliography J v Hammer, *G. O. R*, iii 318, do, *G O D*, ii 287 *sqq* , Brūsalī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānlī Mu'ellifleri*, ii 225 *sq* ; 'Atā'ī, *Dhail* on the *Shakā'ik al-Nu'mānīya*, p. 23 *sq.*, Ḳinalīzāde, *Tadhkira* (MSS.); Brockelmann, *G A L.*, ii 438, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iii. 12; 'Ālī, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, unprinted part (very full).

II Saiyid 'Othmān, called Surūrī, the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms, usually called Surūrī-i Mu'errikh, i.e. Surūrī the writer of *ta'rīkh*'s Saiyid 'Othmān was born in Adana in 1165 (1751) in Southern Anatolia, the son of Hāfiz Mūsā As a youth he came to the capital through his fellow townsman, the ḳādī Tewfīḳ Efendi of Adana, where he mixed with distinguished men of letters and finally became a ḳādī through the influence of Tewfīḳ Efendi, afterwards Shaikh al-Islām. He was for many years on intimate terms with the poet Sunbul-zāde Wehbī Efendi [q v.] whom he voluntarily accompanied into exile at Old Zaghra He later settled in Stambul again where he built a house and died on 11th Ṣafar 1229 (Feb. 2, 1814). 'Othmān Sūrūrī was considered the greatest Ottoman writer of chronograms. His chronological rhymes (*tawārīkh*), which he wrote on every occasion with remarkable readiness are innumerable. He was also distinguished

as a poet but his poems seem to be of less merit and it is only his skill in making chronograms that it is really admirable. He was imitated by ʿIzzet Mollā [q v], his pupil, and Esʿad Efendi, the imperial historian, in this style of composition There is no complete edition of his works, and not all his chronograms are contained in his *Dīwān*. A selection of the latter is given in Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha's *Surūrī Madjmūʿasī*, Stambul 1299, 109 pp 8° and by Abu 'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ, *Surūrī-i Muʾerrikh*, Stambul 1305, 54 pp., small 8°

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-**SŪS**, a ruined site in the Persian district of Khūzistān or ʿArabistān At a very early period (from at least the second millenium B C) it was the capital of the kingdom of Elam Its name in the Bible and in cuneiform inscriptions is *Shūshan*, Greek Σοῦσα, Late Egypt *Susḥ* (see *M V G*, iii 141, *O*, 6); Syriac and Armenian *Shōsh* (not to be confused with the town of the same name, the see of a bishop, in the region of Mōsul; cf e g. G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrisch Akten pers Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p 204, Sachau, *Abh Pr Ak W*, 1905, p 55); modern Pers *Shūsh* When between 642–639 B C Assurbanipal put an end to the kingdom of Elam, its capital Susa was sacked and completely destroyed (cf Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, p CCCXXXIX *sq*) Cyrus raised the town from its ruins again and made it his winter residence In this capacity it experienced a new period of glory under the splendour-loving great kings of the Achaemenid house To the great riches which were again accumulated in Susa in this period, we have eloquent testimony in the vast booty which Alexander the Great carried off from it in 331

In the Sāsānian period, as we know from Syrian, Byzantine and Arab sources (cf Noldeke, *Gesch d Pers und Araber zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leyden 1879, p 58), the vigorous Sapor II (309—379) had the town of Sūs stamped into the ground by 300 elephants as a punishment for a rising there and built a new city beside it, to which he gave — after the fashion of Oriental potentates — a new name alluding to himself, *Īrānshahr-Sābūr* (= probably the abbreviation אראך on Sāsānian coins of Susiana) but this however ultimately disappeared before the older name. Sapor settled Roman prisoners in his new city The latter no doubt strengthened the already not inconsiderable Christian element in the population Sūs was the see of a bishop from 410—605 as we know from Syriac literature; see Guidi, in *Z D M G*, xlii 414; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p 40.

Sūs fell into the hands of the Arabs in 17 (638) (or not till 639) when Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [q v] carried through the conquest of Khūzistān The forces there, commanded by the Persian governor Hurmuzān, apparently offered little resistance to the Muslim troops (cf the Syriac *Chronicle*, ed by Guidi, *Act du 8e Congrès Intern des Orient*, *J.A.*, 1891, p. 32 and history of the Armenian Sebēos of the viith century; see Hübschmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii. 625). The older historians Balādhurī and Ṭabarī (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit*, p. 364) know nothing of severe fighting with the natives and a destruction of the city by Arab troops, mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (and cf Loftus, *op cit*, p. 344) Under Islām, Sūs remained for several centuries more a populous flourishing city — we have coins struck in it (cf. Loftus, *op cit*, p. 400) — but it was no longer the capital of the whole region of Khūzistān or Ahwāz; this part now fell to the city of Ahwāz (more precisely Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, cf above, i, p. 208; ii, p. 778b) Sūs was now merely the capital of one of the seven (and at times more) divisions of this district To the district of Sūs belonged several smaller towns, notably Karkha (Syriac Karkhā dhe Ledhan) which is well known from Syriac literature Sūs was surpassed in importance not only by the capital Sūḳ al-Ahwāz but soon also by other places in Khūzistān, e g Tustar and ʿAskar(a)-Mukram (cf. i, p 488b, ii, p. 778b) All these three places lay on the river Kārūn [q v] towards which during the caliphate the political and economic centre of gravity of the region moved

The Arab geographers emphasise the busy industries of Sūs, notably weaving which was highly developed Its silk was famous (cf the *Dīwān* of Kais al-Rukaiyāt, ed Rhodokanakis, N⁰ 63, 8 in *S B Ak Wien*, 1909) The lemons grown here were held in particular esteem; in the middle ages a good deal of sugar was grown around the town and still more was refined in the town According to al-Mukaddasī, in his time (end of the tenth century), the town proper had already fallen into ruins, the population lived in a suburb Idrīsī (transl Jaubert, Paris 1836, i 381, 384) makes Sūs still thickly populated at the middle of the xiith century, and Benjamin of Tudela who travelled through Asia a few years later says that there were no less than 7,000 Jews here with 14 synagogues The two banks of the river "Ulai" — the Shāwūr (see below) must be meant — were united by a bridge, on the west bank was the quarter of the poor (cf Ritter, *op cit*, ix 305 *sq*; Loftus, *op cit*, p 320) The Persian geographer Mustawfī, writing in the xivth century, describes Sūs as still a flourishing town But we are justified in doubting whether this is really accurate at this late period and was not simply taken from earlier writers It is certain that Sūs became more and more completely deserted from the xvth century, and this agrees with the results of the French excavations, according to which most of the remains of the Arab period discovered in Sūs belonged to the xivth and xvth century (see de Morgan, *Mém de la Délég en Perse*, viii 32) Dizfūl, 3½ hours N. E. of Sūs, which only appears to have come into prominence since the Mongol period, and is now an important town in Khūzistān (ʿArabistān), may be in a way considered the successor of the mediaeval Sūs

Sūs has a very favourable strategic and commercial situation; for it is at the point where the two principal rivers of the country of Khūzistān, the Kārūn [q v] and the Kerkhā (also written Kerkha), approach nearest to one another. They were at one time connected by canals. The ancient Susa lay between two arms of the Kerkha, the western, i e the modern Kerkhā (Choaspes of classical writers) and an eastern branch which has now disappeared but is still recognisable (cuneiform. Ulai) which was connected with the Kārūn

(Pasitigris, the Ulai proper, Εὐλαῖος) The mounds of ruins of Sūs begin about 12 miles S W. of Dizfūl A short hour's journey east of them, the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Dīz, a tributary of the Kārūn, runs through the plain The western side of the area of the town 100—300 yards from the two western main mounds is washed by the narrow but deep Shāwūr (Shaur) which rises about 2½—3 hours above the ruins of Sūs, and does not flow out of the Kerkha itself as has been assumed (contrary to Schwarz, *op cit*, p 30; cf Rawlinson, *op cit*, ix, p 70 and Layard, xvi 56) A canal, now dried up, leaves the Kerkhā a little above the source of the Shāwūr, runs round the side of the town on the north and east and finally disappears in the S W in the swamps which stretch to the Shāwūr This watercourse is the above mentioned eastern branch of the Kerkhā The Kerkhā proper is about 2 miles from Sūs, while its earlier bed (the old western main arm) now a ditch thickly overgrown with bushes is only 500 yards west of the Shāwūr (cf thereon Loftus, *op cit*, p 346)

The Arab geographers not infrequently call the Kerkhā, like the Shāwūr, the "river of Sūs", see G Le Strange, *op cit*, p 233; Schwarz, *op cit*, p 304—305 and cf above, II, p 778, 857[a]

The system of ruins at Sūs is quite considerable (3—5 miles in circumference) It is only since the beginning of the XIX[th] century that we have reliable accounts from European travellers, namely Kinneir and Monteith (1809), Gordon (1814), H Rawlinson (1836), A H Layard (1840) and notably Loftus (1851—1852) The English excavations conducted by the latter in 1851—1852, and those of the French, first (1885) under M and Mme Dieulafoy, then 1897—1899 and later by de Morgan and others have settled the main topographical and archaeological problems. Four large artificial platforms stand clearly out from the ruins, separated from one another by more or less broad ravines At a short distance from the Shāwūr (100—300 yards, increasing towards the south) stand two hills, the larger to the north, roughly a rectangle, about 60 feet above the bed of the river, which conceals the palace of the Achaemenid kings and a smaller one irregular in shape, but higher (up to 120 feet above the Shāwūr), which formerly bore the citadel mentioned by Greek writers, still called Kal'a-i Shūsh = "the citadel of Shūsh" by the people On the east these two mounds are adjoined by a roughly rectangular area, larger than these in area, which Loftus calls the great or central platform, attaining a height of 65 feet and covering an area of over 60 English acres Next comes on the east an extensive fourth platform, the eastern and northern edges of which are not easy to define as they slope by terraces to the plain Besides these four mounds of ruins, there are a series of smaller ones mainly in the east and northeast When Benjamin of Tudela speaks of a quarter of the town on the west bank of the Shāwūr (cf above), it should be noted that no distinct traces can be found of this suburb where the poorer people dwelled, at least in the form of well marked mounds of rubble In the south or southwest the ruined area is bounded by marshes with a luxurious growth of reeds and trees.

In the northeast mound Loftus found a pillared hall like that in Persepolis, apparently the throne room, the walls of which were adorned by the reliefs of the immortals now in the Louvre This splendid room formed part of the royal palace built by Darius I and restored, after suffering in a fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I, by the latter's grandson, Artaxerxes II Memnon, who was particularly fond of Susa The western pair of mounds near the river, must have been the residence of the court and of the government, while in the third "the central platform", we have probably to locate the town proper Remains of a great wall surrounding the town dating from the Elamite period (before Assurbanipal) have been found during the excavations, the sides not protected by watercourses could easily have been defended by fortifications The town destroyed by Assurbanipal is buried 12—16 feet below the surface, covered by ruins of the later settlements of the Achaemenid, Seleucid and Sāsānian period The English and French excavations recovered a vast quantity of inscriptions and other relics from all periods of Susan history down to the Arab These are now partly in the British Museum and partly in the Louvre For London, cf the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*[3], 1921, esp p 175 *sq*

About 150 yards from the N W corner of the S W hill just on the bank of the Shāwūr is the tomb-mosque of the Prophet Daniel usually called by the Persians *Pīr* (= Arabic *Shaikh*) or *Paighambar* (= Prophet *Dānīyāl*) still visited by numerous pilgrims, Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans (Subbē) The present building is only a few centuries old but in it were used several fragments from the ruins (bricks with cuneiform inscriptions, capitals etc) as *wakf*-pieces (cf. Rawlinson, *op cit*, p 69) The sanctuary has a roomy rectangular court surrounded by a wall, entered by a low doorway from the river side Within, on both sides are arched ways leading into the sanctuary which runs in the west of the court yard The actual tomb is dark and consists of a sarcophagus of smooth cement behind perforated wood lattice Above the mosque, rises out of the centre of the roof terrace, on which the pilgrims sleep in hot weather, a sugar-cone like tower ending in a pointed pyramidal cupola crowned by a crescent This remarkable type of tower found especially in tombs is not rare elsewhere in 'Irāḳ, in Khūzistān (cf e g I 1026[a] and Herzfeld in *Petermann's Geogr Mitteil*, 1907, p 62[a], 75[a]), Lūristān and the Persian Gulf Cf thereon F Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāq*, Dresden 1911, p 115—116 and Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911, I, p. 231, 239, 246, 1919, II, p 177—178, 321

According to the statements of various Arab writers, with whom the above mentioned Syriac chronicle also agrees, the sarcophagus with the bones of Daniel was found after the capture of the town by the Arabs, and, as some say (Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 378, Tabarī, *op cit.*, see below), in a chamber in the citadel By orders of the Caliph 'Omar the river Shāwūr was turned from its course, the sarcophagus placed in its dry bed and the water then led back into its old course (cf the Arab legend of the original tomb of the prophet Joseph in the Nile in Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p 361, note 5, and the burial of Alaric in the Busento). The place of the burial in the river is, as Muḳaddasī (p 407 and cf. p. 417)

and Yāḳūt, iii. 189, remark, not known exactly. But others say that the present mosque of Daniel lies exactly opposite the burial-place in the Shāwūr The burial of Daniel's sarcophagus in the river-bed is also recorded by Iṣṭakhrī, p 92, Ibn Ḥawḳal, p 174 and the Kūfan Ibn Aʿtham (d. 314 = 921) in his *Futūḥ*, which was translated into Persian about 596 (1200) by Muhammad b Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī; see the part of this Persian version given by W Ouseley in Walpole, *op cit.*, p 429 *sq* (repeated in Loftus, *op cit*, p 318) A different tradition (e g Ḳazwīnī, ii 114) however claims that the sarcophagus of Daniel was found not in Sūs, but in Tustar (the modern Shūshtar) We are also told that the two towns constantly disputed the possession of the relic (cf *Z D M G.*, liii 59, and Schwarz, *op cit*, p 357) The relics of the prophet were also held in great estimation for the power attributed to them of averting any misfortune, particularly drought (cf Balādhurī, *op cit*, Mukaddasī, p 417, Ibn Aʿtham, *loc cit*) The Jew Benjamin of Tudela who travelled in this part of the world between 1160 and 1170 gives a version of the story that differs from those in the Arab writers According to him the people of both banks of the Shāwūr in Sūs for long fought for the possession of this blessed palladium until they finally agreed to keep it alternately on the right and left bank When the Seldjūk Sultān Sandjar (q v ; d 1157) heard the story while in Sūs he ordered the sarcophagus to be put in another of crystal and suspended by iron chains in the centre of the bridge joining the two banks The Rabbi Petaḥja from Ratisbon who was here about a decade after Benjamin of Tudela, says he saw it in this position

The present sanctuary of Daniel has been held in veneration from very early times In the Sāsānian period it was held sometimes to be the tomb of Kai-Khusraw [q v], a mythical king of Īrānian legendary history, sometimes as that of the great Darius, cf Hubschmann, in *Z D M G*, xlvii 625, Noldeke, in *Grundriss der iran Phil*, ii 140 (= *Das iran Nationalepos*, p 11, resp 2nd ed, p 18) and Justi, *ibid*, ii 486 There was perhaps on this site at an earlier date an Elamite sanctuary in honour of Athene or Artemis-Anahita or rather a native goddess concealed under that name (Kirirîsha) Artaxerxes II is recorded to have erected several temples in his kingdom to some such deity (cf Justi, *op cit*)

It has already been mentioned that there was a tradition which sought to locate the original burial-place of Daniel in Tustar (Shūshtar, q v), where earlier European scholars wrongly located the Susa of the ancients (cf Ritter, *op cit*, ix 304 and Benjamin of Tudela, ed Asher, ii 152 *sq*, the explanation still found in Reclus, *Nouv Géogr Univers*, 1814, ix, p 191, of the name Shūshtar as "Little Susa" is wrong) There are a number of other places in the east which also claim to possess the bones of this prophet

On the tomb of Daniel in Sūs, cf Tabarī, i 840, 2566; Yāḳūt, ii 533, iii 188, 189; Benjamin of Tudela, *op cit*; Ouseley, *op cit.*; Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 311—323; Th Dombart in *Jahrb des hist Ver fur Nordlingen und Umgeb.*, 1927, vol x, p 172—179. Cf also the *Bibliography* given below (notably Rawlinson and Layard) and the article DĀNIYĀL.

Near the tomb of Daniel stands another ruined tomb of a saint (*imāmzādah*), see Rawlinson, *op cit*, ix 70 and J. Dieulafoy, *A Suse*, p 83 East of the ruins of Sūs towards Dizfūl, are two other similar sanctuaries, one of which is considered to to the tomb of ʿAbbās and the other that of Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, see Loftus, *op cit.*, p 345—346, Jéquier in de Morgan, *Mémoir de la Délég en Perse*, viii 31, 32 (speaks of the tomb of two brothers and of one of a Shaikh). Bricks and capitals from the Achaemenid period are also built into these saints' tombs One Muslim tradition (Tabarī, i 252, 12) says that Abraham (Ibrāhīm; q.v) was born in Sūs In keeping with this tradition the site of the oven into which Muslim legend says Nimrūd threw Ibrāhīm is also moved to Khūzistān (Mandjanīk, south of Māl-Amīr), see Rawlinson, *op cit*, ix 81 But these associations with Abraham are usually localised in al-ʿIrāḳ (in Kūthā, ʿAḳarḳūf, Birs Nimrūd, etc) It may be further mentioned that the Arabic sources consider Sūs, like Bābil, one of the oldest cities in the world and make them both foundations of one of the mythical Īrānian kings (Ōshang or Tahmūrath, see Tabarī, i 171, and above, i., p 548 *sq*)

The country round Sūs suffers for nine months of the year from the glowing heat of the Īrānian sky In January however a luxurious, almost tropical, vegetation springs up after the winter rains The rich pastures that then cover the soil attract the nomads thither In the spring it is mainly Arabian Beduins that camp here and indeed they are in the majority in Khūzistān generally, so that this district is actually officially called ʿArabistān by the Persians [q. v.] The region of Sūs is particularly visited by the tribes of ʿAlī Kathīr and Banī Lām [q v] On the ʿAlī Kathīr, who migrated hither over three centuries ago from Nadjd in Central Arabia, cf Layard, *op cit*, xvi 33, 56, 90; Loftus, *op cit*, p 327, 331, 356, 358, 381 *sq* and Schwarz, *op cit*, p 417 Of the great tribe of ʿAlī Kathīr we are here mainly concerned with two of its subdivisions, the Kaʿb and Zabla (cf Layard, *op cit*, p 33) The Kaʿb were originally members of the powerful Kaʿb tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower Kārūn, on the latter, cf ii, p 778, also Layard, *op cit*, xvi 8, 37—39, 41—45, and Loftus, *op cit*, p 285 *sq.*, 381, 390 Lūr nomad tribes are often found in the plain of Sūs At the beginning of May all is again as quiet as the grave Even the guardian of the tomb of Daniel leaves the district, which is filled with miasma from the swamps and the heat now becomes unendurable.

On the banks of the Shāwūr covered by luxurious woods (notably acacias, poplars and willows), in the desert that was once the left arm of the Kerkhā and in the undergrowth of the swamps are many beasts of prey, wolves, hyenas and even lions, also wild pigs

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Geogr Memoir of the Persian Empire, London 1813; W Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1819, i 422 *sq.*, iii 564; R Walpole, *Travels in various Countries of the East* (= *Memoirs relative to Turkey*, London 1820, vol ii), p 420—430, H Rawlinson, in *Journ of Roy Geogr Society*, London 1839, ix, p. 68—71, 85—93 and A H Layard, *ibid*, 1846, xvi, p 57, 93—94 and do, in *Early Adventur in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i 418, ii 295 *sq*, C de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii 186—200; W K Loftus, *Travels and Research. in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 314—433, K Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, ix. 294—323, J Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p 659 *sq*, J Dieulafoy's reports in *Globus*, Brunswick 1887, vol lii., p. 305 *sq.*, 321 *sq*, 337 *sq*, 353 *sq*, 369 *sq*, do, *A Suse*, Paris 1889, M Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris 1890 — On the results of French government expeditions directed by de Morgan, see *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1900 *sq*, so far 17 vols, esp vol i., vii—viii., xii—xiii, Henzey in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, Paris 1898, p. 373 *sq*, *Revue Archéologique*, 1899 *sq.* — On ancient Susa, cf Fr Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipzig 1881, p 311—312, F Billerbeck, *Susa*, Leipzig 1893; M Streck, *Assurbanipal* (= *Vorderasiat Bibl*, 1916, vol viii), p cccxxxix *sq*, 809, 813 (Ulai) — Cuneiform inscriptions from Susa are collected mainly in the *Vorderasiat Bibl*, vol i (Sumerisch-akkadische Konigsinschrift by Thureau-Dangin, 1907), vol. iii (Achämeniden-Inschrift by Weissbach, 1913), and in the volumes of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*

(M Streck)

AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ, a district in the south of Morocco, forming a triangular plain about 120 miles long by 25 to 26 miles broad with an area of about 7,500 square miles On the west it is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the last slopes of the Great Atlas and on the south by the Anti-Atlas, gradually narrowing till it reaches the junction of these two ranges. It is watered by the Wādi Sūs and its tributaries The Arab geographers of the middle ages usually distinguish between *al-Sūs al-aḳṣā*, "Farther Sūs" and *al-Sūs al-adnā* "Hither Sūs" *Al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in those days to have meant the whole of northern Morocco with Tangier as its capital and *al-Sūs al-adnā*, the whole of the massif of the two Atlases According to Yāḳūt the distance which separated the two Sūs was two months' journey. The term *al-Sūs al-adnā* seems in any case to have been very early ousted by that of *Gharb* The same geographers praise the excellence of the products of Farther Sūs and describe it as a thickly populated country Al-Idrīsī speaks of the cereals which grew there — wheat, barley and rice, fruits of all kinds in abundance — nuts, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, lemons, peaches, apples and particularly an incomparable sugar-cane When he wrote, a sugar was made in Sūs that was celebrated throughout almost the whole world. Cloth which enjoyed a good reputation was also made there The same author gives some notes on the people who were a mixed race of Masmūda Berbers. He charges them with a lack of urbanity, coarseness and insolence. The dress of the men consisted of a *kisā* of wool which enveloped them entirely, with a *mi'zār* of wool around the waist which they called *āsfākis* They were armed with short spears with steel heads. They drank a liquor made from the must of sweet grapes which they called *anzīz* and considered it a permitted beverage as it did not bring about drunkenness. These notes show clearly that the term *al-Sūs al-adnā* was then applied to a much wider area that at the present day, it included not only the valley of the Wādī Sūs but also the mountainous country towards the Hawz of Marrakesh, the Dra (Dar'a) and the Tāfīlālt.

Farther Sūs, as a province of the Maghrib, has always been closely connected with the history of the whole country and with the histories of the different dynasties which have successively established themselves there. In 117 (735) it was conquered and converted to Islām by Habīb b Abī 'Ubaida, the grandson of 'Uḳba b Nāfi' Under the Idrīsids it passed on the death of Idrīs II in 213 (828) to his son 'Abdallāh, at the same time as the massif of the Great Atlas with the towns Aghmāt and Nafīs It was next one of the main objectives of the Almoravids [q v] when they thrust their way northwards. In 451 (1059) the general Abū Bakr b 'Umar seized the towns of Māssāt and Tārūdānt but the authority of the Almoravids was never very secure in Sūs, in spite of the submission of the province to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 478 (1085).

Sūs played a prominent part in the early days of the Almohad movement in the Maghrib It was, along with the plain of Marrakesh, the centre of Almoravid resistance against the attempts at expansion by the companions of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart beyond the massif of the Grand Atlas where the movement began A son of the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b Yūsuf, Baggū, organized the resistance there and it was only in 535 (1140—1141) that the Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min definitely conquered the whole of Sūs During the whole period of the Almohad dynasty it was one of the most important provinces of the empire On its decline in the reign of al-Murtadā (646-665 = 1248-1266) it was the scene of a rebellion on a great scale fomented by the agitator 'Alī b Yaddar This individual, a former dignitary of the Almohad court, wishing to found a little independent kingdom in Sūs, appealed to the Arab tribes settled between Tlemcen and the Rif, the Dawī Hassān and the Shabbānāt of the Ma'ḳil group He was able to hold out against the Almohad governor of Tārūdānt but his success was not of long duration In 1266 the Almohad prince Abū Dabbūs with the help of Marīnid contingents regained the province from him and seized Tizakht and Tīyūnīwīn. Nevertheless the independent kingdom of Sūs after the final fall of the Almohads was able to maintain some sort of independence in the period of the early Marīnid Sultāns until the reign of Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī who broke it up for ever.

In 1504 the Portuguese gained a footing on the coast of Sūs in the bay of Āgādīr [q. v] and founded the fortress of Santa Cruz; it was a strategic point of great importance, the gateway to a rich hinterland and at the same time an excellent harbour, one of the best on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The people of the country tried

in vain to dislodge the garrison; in order to harass it unceasingly and to blockade it by land they established quite close to the Portuguese station, a *ribāṭ* or concentration camp of the "volunteers of the faith" who used to come there in relays to deliver open attacks on their Christian foes or prepare murderous ambushes for them Between the sea and Tārūdānt, a *zāwiya* was soon formed to take charge of the local *ǧihād*, the *Zāwiya* of Tedsī, the cradle of the Saʿdian [q v] dynasty. It was founded by some Hasanī Shurfā, whose ancestor Aḥmad b Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim, had come in the XIIth century from the Ḥiḏjāz and settled in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa, at Tāgmādart. His descendants then migrated to Sūs near Tedsī, settled there and took up a position in the country which daily increased in importance At the beginning of the XVIth century, the head of the *zāwiya*, Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahman, became the real leader in the holy war in al-Sūs; assisted by his two sons, Aḥmad al-Aʿraǧ and Muhammad al-Shaikh, he displayed great activity and denounced the impotence of the ruling dynasty to the people He was not long in achieving his object, the tribes of al-Sūs proclaimed him their Sultan in 1510 He died soon afterwards, leaving his son to continue his work The eldest, al-Aʿraǧ, who had assumed the title of king of Sūs in the lifetime of his father, established himself as sovereign in Tārūdānt and in 1541 succeeded in driving the Portuguese finally out of Āgadīr

We see from the above what a large part Sūs plays in the history of the first of the two Sharifian dynasties of Morocco The Saʿdian Sultāns also always kept a watchful eye on this vital part of their Empire Muhammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdī was the first to extend the cultivation of sugar in al-Sūs and thus created an important source of revenue for the treasury. It was in the reign of the great prince Ahmad al-Mansūr that this province saw its greatest revival of prosperity A regular army, formed of citizens recruited in Sūs, at this time formed the garrison of Marrakesh and relations between the capital and the province were never closer But after the death of al-Mansūr, when anarchy once more reigned throughout the empire, al-Sūs did not escape the various rebellions which broke out on all sides. Prince Zaidān, a claimant to the throne, made his headquarters there. A few years later al-Sūs fell into the hands of a powerful rebel Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī al-Samlālī called Abū Hassūn who made an alliance with the Filālī Sharīf of Siḏjilmāsa But this alliance was only ephemeral and the early days of the second Sharifian dynasty of Morocco were marked by the struggle between the Abū Hassūn and the ʿAlawid pretenders of Tālīfālt. He was succeeded on his death by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was soon brought to terms by the ʿAlawid Sultān al-Rashīd In 1670 the latter led an expedition to the very heart of al-Sūs and captured the stronghold of Īligh Next year the people of al-Sūs sent a deputation to him at Marrakesh to offer their submission The latter was not of long duration for in 1677 the Sultān Mawlāi Ismāʿīl had to send an expedition to al-Sūs and another in 1682. The country was finally pacified and at the end of his reign when Mawlāi Hasan divided his empire among several of his sons, al-Sūs fell to Muḥammad al-ʿĀlim, with Tārūdānt as his capital. But this prince only went to his domain to set up as a pretender to the throne and from this time on we find each successive ʿAlawid Sultān forced to suppress one or more rebellions in al-Sūs during his reign We may just mention the expeditions to put down rebellions sent by Mawlāi ʿAbd Allāh (1733), Mawlāi Sulaimān (1802) and particularly those of Mawlāi al-Hasan in 1882, 1886 and 1896. Al-Sūs has been definitely at peace since the establishment of the protectorate of the French Republic in Morocco after the expedition of 1917.

These continual rebellions have resulted in the gradual impoverishment of al-Sūs since the XVIth century The enthusiastic descriptions of the geographers and travellers of the middle ages no longer apply to the second period of the history of this reign. At the present day, while modern methods may be expected to raise the value of this country. the only part of al-Sūs that is really rich is the narrow strip of irrigated land which lies along the banks of the Wādī Sūs which is hardly susceptible of extension except to the north of this river The products of al-Sūs are cereals, oil of *argān* and fruits Cattle-rearing is very limited Al-Sūs on the other hand seems certain of an great economic future as a result of the exploitation of its abundant mineral deposits. copper (already worked in a rudimentary fashion by the natives), lead, rock-salt, and lime

The principal town of al-Sūs at the present day is Tārūdānt, the residence of a pasha appointed by the Sultān It has about 7,000 inhabitants of whom 1,000 are Jews who live in a ghetto or *mellāḥ* This town seems to have been founded at a very early period and we already find it playing a part in history in the Almoravid period. In the middle ages al-Sūs had as its capital sometimes Tāīūdānt and sometimes Iglī After the death of Mawlai al-Hasan, at the end of the XIXth century, Tārudānt was the centre of the rebellion of al-Hiba who held out there till the town was taken in 1913 by the Maḥallas of the Makhzen It is surrounded by a great wall of clay which dates from the end of the XVIIth century.

Besides Tarūdānt, there is the little town of Tīznit, 52 miles south of Āgādīr, and 12 miles east of the Atlantic coast, at the foot of the Anti-Atlas It has a population of 4,000 Sultān Mawlāi al-Hasan founded it on his expedition to al-Sūs in 1882. Finally we may mention about 15 miles S E. of Tīznīt the famous *zāwiya* of Sīdī Ahmad-ū-Mūsā, in al-Tāzarwālt It is the mother-*zāwiya* of the Ūlād-ū-Mūsā, who are all acrobats and follow their profession throughout North Africa and also in Europe

On the coast besides Āgādīr [for which see the separate article] we may mention the villages of Āglū and Māssāt, which in the middle ages were comparatively important centres of maritime trade, frequented especially by Genoese sailors, and the terminus for several caravans from the Sahara

The people of al-Sūs still speak a Berber dialect belonging to the *Tāshelḥait* group but the speakers of Arabic are becoming more and more numerous as a result of the emigration of large numbers of natives who go to exercise various trades in the towns of the rest of Morocco

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AL-**SŪSAN**, the common name for the white and yellow-red lily and for the blue iris which is more precisely described by the addition of *asmāndjūnī* and is also called *irisā* by the physicians. The name is a general Semitic one, but whether from *shesh* (six), as Low suggests, seems to me doubtful on account of the *ū* or *ō* always found in it The root of *Iris florentina* L. is still used in medicine

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(J RUSKA)

SŪSAN, a ruined site on the Upper Kārūn in Khūzistān in the territory of the Lūr tribe of the Bakhtiyārīs [q v.], 5 hours' journey from Dizfūl, cf above, II, p 779[a] The place is also called ʿArūdj (or ʿArūh?) and Djābalik by the Persian geographers H Rawlinson discovered these ruins in 1836; Layard then visited them twice (1840, 1841) and made several important corrections in his predecessor's description, which was in part based only on the information of natives No later European traveller seems to have made a thorough examination of the locality

According to Layard the ruins seem to belong to two different epochs, the old Persian and the Sāsānian On the right bank of the Kārūn at a point where the river makes a turn westwards and forms a semicircle can still be seen for a stretch of nearly two miles the ruins of a mass of unknown stones called by the Lūrs Māl i Wirān "possession in ruins" They are said to come from an old, probably Sāsānian, town On both banks of the river very old paved roads can still be traced At a short distance from Māl-i Wirān, N E at the foot of the hill stands the tomb of Daniel, reverenced by the Lūrs of the ʿAlī Ilāhi sect [q v] as the burial place of the Old Testament prophet It is called the tomb of the "Great Daniel" (Dānīyāl-i Akbar) to distinguish it from that of "Little Daniel" (Dānīyāl-i Aṣghar) in Sūs Muslims, Jews and Mandaeans in agreement with the older Christian tradition, believe firmly in the authenticity of the latter as the real tomb of the Biblical prophet (cf further the article AI-SŪS) Rawlinson describes the tomb of Daniel at Sūsan as a building of huge white marble blocks with a large artificial pool in front The latter is fed by a little river which comes down from the hills The many fish in the pool are held sacred by the superstition of the people Layard on the other hand says the building is of earth and denies the existence of any pool or of a general belief in the sacredness of the fish in this stream Even in the middle ages, however as we know from the stories of the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, and the Persian traveller al-Mustawfī (cf Layard, *op. cit*, XVI 61) at the tomb of Daniel in Sūs the fish in this stretch of the Shāwūr stream near this sacred site were considered sacred, probably a relic of the ancient fish cult of Nearer Asia

According to Rawlinson, there were near the tomb of Daniel a large block of marble with a completely preserved cuneiform inscription and many similarly inscribed tablets. Layard saw nothing of these nor could he see anything to indicate the survival of such monuments

The Kārūn is enclosed by fearful ravines a little below the ruins of the Māl-i Wirān. Where the

rocks fall back again there is another mound of ruins of roughly hewn stones called by the Lūrs Masdjid-i Sulaimān (= Mosque of Solomon) apparently a very old but unimportant building There are no inscriptions In the neighbourhood still exist the remains of a very old arch-bridge Layard knows nothing of further ruins in and near Sūsan At some distance above Sūsan we have Sūsan Surkh-Āb = "Red-water Sūsan", which marks the site of an old town.

The mountains which run along the left bank of the Kārūn are called Djildjīr, Djilwīr, Djulwīr, or more accurately Gildjird, Gilgird (see Rawlinson, *op. cit*, ix 87, Layard, *op cit*, xvi 62, 80) At the foot of them lie the remains of a Sāsānian castle, *Kal'a-i Gilgird* This Gilgird chain separates Sūsan from the imposing ruins, about 4—5 hours S E of Idhhadj or Māl-Amīr [q v] In Kal'a-i Gilgird, Rawlinson has rightly recognised the famous state prison of the Sāsānids in which the Armenian king Arsaces III, surrendered to the Persians by the Emperor Jovian, languished for years as a prisoner until he committed suicide in dramatic fashion after a feast The τὸ λήθης φρούριον "the castle of oblivion" which was the scene of the story so vividly told by Procopius (*Bell Pers*, i 5, 12) can only have been on Persian soil The castle is often mentioned by this name in Greek and Armenian writers, the real name *Gilgerda* is preserved only in Theophylaktes Simokatta (iii 5) According to him and to Armenian writers also, the place should be sought in Susiana not far from Djundai-Sābūr [q v] From these data Rawlinson established the identity of Γιλγέρδα with Kal'a-i Gilgeid (East of 50° East Lat and south of 32° N Lat) The Arab geographer Yāḳūt, iii 303, knows the place as Kilīdjird The name means "clay fortress" (lit made of clay), a term analogous to the Toprak-Kal'a = "earth fort", found in Turkish-speaking lands From what has just been said it is evident that Ritter cannot be supported (xi 83—84) in moving "the castle of oblivion" to Northern Mesopotamia, although he has been recently followed by V Chapot and Lehmann-Haupt (see Streck, *op cit*, lxvi 308, note 3) Layard (*op cit*, xvi 64, 96) wrongly sought it in Dizfūl Rawlinson also thought that the tradition of the tomb of Daniel later migrated from Sūsan southwards to the Shāwūr and that the ruins of Sūsan represented the older Susa of the Assyrian period, while the town of Susa of the Persian-Greek period was to be recognised in the ruins of Sūs This hypothesis of two different Susa's, which Ritter also rather favoured, must be definitely rejected it was refuted as early as Layard, *op cit*, p. 93 *sq*

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(M Streck)

SŪSŪ or Sōsō is a name of a people who are thought to have at one time formed the autonomous population of Fūta-Djallon and who have since been driven to the west and particularly the southwest of this province in lower French Guinea; the Sūsū are in part Muslims.

Sūsū is also the Mandingo pronunciation of the name of the Sudanese town of Sōsō [q v]

(Maurice Delafosse)

SUTRA, covering, protection, shelter, especially at the *ṣalāt*, where *sutra* means the object, which the worshipper places in front of him or lays in the direction of the *ḳibla* whereby he shuts himself off in an imaginary area within which he is not disturbed by human or demoniacal influences "The fictitious fencing off of an open place of prayer, the *sutra*, seems to have had among other objects that of warding off demons" (Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 158) In one tradition the man who deliberately penetrates into this imaginary area is actually called a *shaiṭān* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 100; cf Aḥmad b Hanbal, *Musnad*, iv 2, Tayālisī, *Musnad*, Ḥaidarābād 1321, N⁰ 1342)

The word is not found in the Kur'ān In Hadīth it often occurs in the expression *satara* (*tasattara, istatara*) *bi-thawb* in traditions which describe the ritual ablution, in which one conceals one's nakedness or causes it to be concealed by a cloak or curtain (e g Bukhārī, *Ṣaid*, bāb 14, *Ghusl*, bāb 21; Muslim, *Haid*, trad 70, 79, Abū Dā'ūd, *Ṭahāra*, bāb 123, *Manāsik*, bāb 37) Similarly *sitr* is the name given to the curtain by which Muhammad concealed his women from the gaze of the world (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 56, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 67) We are further told that one performs the *ṣalāt* in the direction of an object which isolates him from the multitude (*yastaruhu min al-nās*) so that he is not disturbed by them (e g Bukhārī, *Hadjdj*, bāb 53, Muslim, *Salāt*, trad 259, Abū Dā'ūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 53)

Muhammad is said to have been quite unrestricted in his choice of a *sutra* baggage-camels, horses, trees, saddles (Bukhārī, *Salāt*, bāb 98), a couch (*ibid*, bāb 99), lance (*harba*, bāb 92), stick (*'anaza*, bāb 93), the pillars of the mosque (bāb 95) are mentioned Hadīth has preserved the memory of two opinions regarding the *sutra* one gives minute rules and the other opposes this

The former endeavours to lay down accurately what distance should be preserved between the *sutra* and him who performs the *salāt* (*mamarr al-shāt*, "space to allow a sheep to pass"; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91, Muslim, *Salāt*, trad 263, 264 etc), it makes Muhammad explain that no one is to be allowed to pass between anyone and his *sutra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 100, 101, Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad 258—262 etc), that passers-by, especially dogs, asses and women, intercept the *ṣalāt* the Apostle of God said "If one performs the *ṣalāt* without having in front of him something, such as the end or central part of a saddle, his *ṣalāt* is intercepted by a passing dog, ass or woman" (Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 136, Aḥmad b Hanbal, vi 86)

The other view holds that the *ṣalāt* is never intercepted by passers-by (this is also Shāfi'ī's view according to Tirmidhī's note on *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 135) 'Ā'isha exclaims indignantly. "you place us on the same level as asses and dogs; by Allāh, the Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* while I lay on the couch between him and the *ḳibla*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 105). The same tendency is seen in an anecdote by Ibn 'Abbās: "I was riding behind al-Faḍl on a she-ass; we came up

to the Prophet just as he was performing the *ṣalāt* with his companions in Minā We dismounted and took our places in the row, while the animal ran among the people without intercepting the *ṣalāt*" (Tirmidhī, *Mawāḳīt*, bāb 135, cf Aḥmad b Hanbal, ii. 196)

The Shāfiʿīs call the *sutra sunna* The various views of the jurists are given in al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii 76 *sq.*; cf also Tirmidhī's remarks on bāb 133—136 in his chapter *Mawāḳīt al-Ṣalāt*

Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrāzī, ed Juynboll, p 29, writes as follows "If anyone passes a man who is performing the *ṣalāt* and there is a *sutra* or stick between them of about an arm's length in size, it is not *makrūh*, nor is it *makrūh* if there is no stick but a line which the worshipper has drawn at a distance of 3 ells; if on the contrary there should be nothing of the kind at all then it (passing by) would be *makrūh* The *ṣalāt* would however remain valid"

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the *sutra* of the *imām* at the *ṣalāt* serves for those with whom he performs the *ṣalāt* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90)

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(A J Wensinck)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, Saif al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b ʿAbd Allāh, a theologian who died in 736 (1335/1336) Biographical data do not seem to be known hitherto He contested the tenets of Ibn ʿArabī [q v] in some *kasīda*'s occurring in al-Sakhawī's work *al-Ḳawl al-munabbi' ʿan Tarḏjamat Ibn ʿArabī* (MS in Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, N⁰ 2849, cf N⁰ 7846, 4) and is mentioned (*op cit*, N⁰ 8379, cf N⁰ 3658) as the author of a prayer (*duʿā'*)

Bibliography C Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 9. (C. van Arendonk)

AL-SUʿŪDĪ, Abu 'l-Fadl al-Mālikī, theologian of the xth (xvith) century He wrote a controversial work finished in Shawwāl 942 = April 1536 against the Christians (and the Jews), which has been edited from manuscripts of Leyden and Oxford by F J van den Ham (*Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos*, Leyden 1877—1890) and is in substance an extract from a book by Abu 'l-Baḳā' Ṣāliḥ b Husain al-Ḏjaʿfarī (wrote in 618 = 1221) entitled *Takhḏjīl man harraf al-Inḏjīl* He is probably to be identified with Abu 'l-Fadl al-Mālikī, the servant (*khādim*) of the Sūfī Shaikh Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-Ḏjārihī (died some years after 930 = 1523/1524), cf al-Shaʿrānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Akhyār*, Cairo 1317, iii 113 *sq*), who wrote, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iv 557, N⁰ 9521) a commentary on the *Ḥamzīya* of al-Būsīrī [q v] For al-Suʿūdī refers in his polemic (p 146, 14, 147, 4) to Abu 'l-Suʿūd as his master (*ustādh*) and al-Shaʿrānī (*op. cit*, ii 113, 5 a f) mentions Abu 'l-Fadl al-Mālikī as a devoted adept of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, from whom he probably derives his *nisba* al-Suʿūdī. According to van den Ham (*Praefatio* of his edition, p. 6), his book contains many passages occurring word for word in a manuscript commentary on the *Hamzīya* preserved in Gotha (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschriften .... zu Gotha*, iv. 294, N⁰. 2295), in which the author's name is Fadl Allāh al-Mālikī

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SUʿŪDĪ (or Abu 'l-Suʿūd) b Yaḥyā b. Muhyi 'l-Dīn al-Mutanabbī al-ʿAbbāsī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dimashkī, a man of letters, who died in Damascus in Safar 1127 (Febr. 1715) He studied several branches of Muslim knowledge and one of his preceptors was ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī Al-Murādī mentions his *Dīwān* entitled *Madā'iḥ al-Ḥadarāt bi-Lisān al-Isḥārāt* and gives specimens of his poetry. According to the same author, al-Muḥibbī gives an article on him in his *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-Rashḥat Ṭilā' al-Ḥāna* (cf Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 294) A *muwashshaḥ* in praise of Damascus from his pen is extant in a manuscript of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, N⁰ 6090, We 1120, f 78a, cf N⁰ 8174, 2)

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(C van Arendonk)

ṢUWĀʿ. [See ṣā']

AL-SUWAIDĪYA, the harbour of Antākiya, which lay 12 *mīl* from the Mediterranean The town owed its rise owing to the gradual silting up of the harbour of Seleucia Pieria which lay a little farther north Even in the time of Vespasian an attempt had been made, by making a great tunnel through the rock (which still exists and is called al-Gārīs, i e the Pers Čehrīz or Kāīz) to avert the danger of setting up its port from the great trading centre but without permanent success In the early Muslim period Salūḳīya is still occasionally mentioned (al-Balāḏhurī, ed de Goeje, p 148, 12 *Ḥiṣn Salūḳīya*; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḏj al-Ḏhahab*, ed Barbier de Meynard, ii 199; Yāḳūt, *Muʿḏjam*, iii 126, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii 47) In the historians of the conquest also for *Kalakīya* or *Malaḳīya*, *Salūkīya* (in 21 H) should probably be read (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 506, § 81), and perhaps also later the unknown al-Mālūnīya, since Busaṭ (Ποσιδειον) and al-Ḳuṣair (now Ḳalʿat al-Zaw) are mentioned in its neighbourhood, to which the people of Darkūsh migrated (Quatremère, *Hist d Sult Maml*, i, b, p. 266, van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i 250, 6) But gradually the importance of the ancient seaport passed to its southern neighbour al-Suwaidīya, which took its name from the "Black Rivers" (the δύο **Μέλαντες**, still called Boyuk and Kučük Ḳara-ṣū) and the "Black Mountains" (**Μαῦρον** or **Μελάντιον ὄρος**, Montana Nigra, Syr Ṭūrā Ūkāmā, i e Amanos). In the older Arab geographers (e.g al-Khwārizmī, Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Battānī), the town is not yet mentioned It only seems to have become of some note shortly before the Crusades, if its name is to be recognised in the **Συννέφιον**

of Georgios Kedrenos (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxii, col 97) 1030 A.D. Anna Comnena (Alexias II, Bonn, 87, 21, 126, 22, 239, 8) at a later date calls the town τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίνειον Σουδεί, λιμὴν Σουδί or Σουέτιον It is only with the foundation of the principality of Antioch that its period of great prosperity began According to Yāḳūt the Franks took their goods from there to Antākiya Al-Idrīsī reckons from Ḥiṣn al-Suwaidīya 15 *mīl* to Ḥiṣn al-Huryāda (אלהוריאדה in Estorī ha-Farkḥī, Glorieta of the Italian charts and Portulane) and 20 *mīl* to Djabal Rās al-Khanzīr From the adjoining sanctuary of the younger Symeon Stylites on Djabal Mār Sim'ān (Θαυμαστὸν ὄρος) al-Suwaidiya was called Portus Sancti Symeonis by the Crusaders (Guill Tyr, xiv 5, xv 13, xvii 31) The town is rarely mentioned later In 666 (1267/1268) the Amīr Badr al-Dīn marched via al-Suwaidīya on Antākiya (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist des Sult Maml*, transl Quatremère, I/II 52 and II/I. 226 al-Suwaidiya for al-Suwaidā should perhaps also be read)

The name es-Swēdīye still survives According to M. Hartmann it is however applied "sometimes to the highly cultivated plain between Orontes, the sea, the southern slopes of the Djabal Mūsā and the western slopes of Djabal Mār Sim'ān, sometimes to the largest place in this plain, ez-Zētūnīye"; as in Barker's time "es-Swēdīye is still known north of the Djabal al-Ahmar and south and east of the Orontes almost only as the name of a village, while the inhabitants of the plain itself and its immediate vicinity never use this name for a definite village but understand by it only this plain with its villages which differ very much from one another"

Bibliography al-Makdisī, *B G A*, III 54, al-Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister, *Z D P V*, 1885, VIII, p 23, Yākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wustenfeld, I 385, al-Dimishḳī, ed. Mehren, p 206, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud and de Slane, I 233, II/II 12, al-Maḳrīzī, *op cit*, Ibn al-Shihna, ed Banūt, p 221; al-Kalkashandī, *Ṣubh al-A'shā'*, ed Cairo, III 237, IV 129, Pococke, *Beschreibung des Morgenlandes*, II 272 *sq*; Chesney, *J R G S*, VIII, p 228—234, Barker, *Lares and Penates*, London 1853, p 267, K Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XVII, p 1218 *sq*, 1222 *sqq*, Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie*, Paris 1883, p 201, 353, Chantre, in *Le tour du monde*, 1889, II, p 224, Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels*, Stuttgart 1879, I 180, Rohricht, *Z D P V*, X 273, note 14; do, *Regesta regni Hierosolym*, p. 5, N° 35, note 2, p 148, N° 555; Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, 1891, Abh VIII, p 73; Cumet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1899, II, p 198, M Hartmann, *Zeitschr d Gesellsch. f Erdk Berlin*, 1894, XXIX, p 138, 511 *sq*, Alishan, *Sissouan*, Venice 1899, p 516; Gaudefroy–Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p 94 (E HONIGMANN)

SUYŪṬ. [See ASYŪṬ.]

AL-SUYŪṬĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B ABĪ BAKR B MUḤAMMAD DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-KHUḌAIRĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, the most prolific Egyptian writer in the Mamlūk period and perhaps in Arabic literature, came of a Persian family, formerly living in Baghdād, which for at least nine generations before him had been settled in Suyūṭ and had attained prominent positions in the public life of this town and in the government service. Suyūṭī was born on 1st Radjab 849 (Oct 3, 1445) in Cairo where his father was a teacher of *fiḳh* in the Madrasa al-Shaikhūnīya After the early death of his father in Ṣafar 855 = March 1451 (see his *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 206) a Ṣūfī friend of his adopted the boy He began his studies in 864 (1460) and concluded them on a journey through the cities of Egypt and a pilgrimage to Mecca in 869 (1463). Returning to Cairo, he first set up as a consultant on legal problems, and in 872 (1467) on the recommendation of his teacher al-Bulkīnī he received the professorship at the Shaikhūnīya formerly held by his father. In 891 (1486) he was moved to the more important al-Baibarsīya but in Radjab 906 (Feb. 1501) he lost this office, as he was accused of a breach of trust in the management of the institution's property He then retired to al-Rawda on the Nile island and, when his successor died three years later, would not be induced to take up the office again. He died on 18th Djumādā I, 911 (Oct 17, 1505).

Suyūṭī's literary activity, which he had already begun at the age of 17 was distinguished by an unusual versatility The very long list of his writings compiled by Flugel in the *Wiener Jahrb*, 1832, vols. 58—60, gives 561 works but it includes numerous quite short treatises in addition to substantial works Suyūṭī's ambition was to try his skill in all branches of Muslim learning, and he did make a number of compilations, which are now of great value to us as compensating for lost works of classical literature as well as collections of material From the catalogue of his extant works given in *G A I* II 145 only the best known will be dealt with here, in so far as they have been printed

He collected all traditions referring to the exposition of the Kur'ān in his (apparently lost) *Tarādjumān al-Kur'ān fi 'l-Tafsīr al-musnad* He abbreviated this work by giving only the literary sources instead of the *isnād*'s in his *Kitāb al-Durr al-manthūr fi 'l-Tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, Cairo 1314, 6 vols A number of obscure passages, he discussed in his *Mufhamāt al-Akrān fi Mubhamāt al-Ḳur'ān*, Būlāk 1384, Cairo 1309, 1310 He dealt with the occasions of the separate sūras in his *Lubāb al-Nukūl fi Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, which is based on Wāhidī's work but supplements this material from tradition and exegesis and lays special stress on making his sources clear (printed s l [Stambul], 1290 and several times on the margin of its most popular commentary) This was begun by his teacher al-Mahallī Djalāl al-Dīn (d 864 = 1459) and finished by Suyūṭī in 40 days in 870 (1465) it is therefore usually called *Tafsīr al-Djalālain*, pr Bombay 1869, Lucknow 1869, Calcutta 1257, Dehli 1884, Cairo 1300, 1301, 1305, 1308, 1313, 1328; among the glosses the best known is that of Sulaimān al-Djamal († 1204 = 1790), pr Būlāḳ 1282, Cairo 1302, 1308 Suyūṭī later planned a large commentary entitled *Madjma' al-Bahrain wa-Maṭla' al-Badrain*, but it is not clear whether this is lost or was never completed Only the introduction to it has survived, a survey of all the branches of study relating to the Ḳur'ān, which he published separately in 872 (1367) under the title *al-Takhbīr fi 'Ulūm al-Tafsīr*. He afterwards expanded this work, by using the *K. al-Burhān fi 'Ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* of al-Zarkashī (d. 794 = 1392) into his *Itḳān* which is the most exhaustive presentation of the whole subject (ed.

by Mowlawies Basheerooddeen and Noor -ool Haqq with an analysis by A Sprenger, Calcutta 1852/1854, pr Cairo 1278, 1307, 1317)

Suyūṭī aimed at collecting from Tradition all the sayings of the Prophet in his *Djāmiʿ al-Masānīd*, which is also called *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* or *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* He himself prepared a synopsis of this, *al-Djāmiʿ al-saghīr min Hadīth al-Bashīr al-nadhīr* and added a supplement *al-Ziyāda*, a commentary on this by ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Munāwī (d 1032 = 1623) was printed at Būlāḳ in 1286 The work which had an alphabetical arrangement was re-arranged by al-Muttakī al-Hindī (d 975 = 1567 or 977 = 1569) according to the rubrics of Fikh with the title *Manhadj al-ʿUmmāl fī Sunan al-Akwāl wa 'l-Afʿāl* and added a supplement *al-Ikmāl* He next worked the two books into his *Kʿ Ghayat al-ʿUmmāl fī Sunan al-Akwal* He finally collected together the traditions about the sayings and doings of the Prophet once more and thus arose the *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl fī Thubūt Sunan al-Akwāl wa 'l-Afʿāl* (printed Haidarābād 1312/1313, 8 vols, folio) Of Suyūṭī's numerous works dealing with special points of Tradition we may mention his book on the qualities of the Prophet, *Kifāyat al-Tālib al-labīb fī Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Habīb al-maʿrūfa bi 'l-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā*, Haidarābād 1319/1320, 2 vols He dealt with questions of criticism of Tradition on the lines of Ibn al-Djawzī [q v]; on the latter's *Kʿ al-Mawdūʿāt* he first wrote notes entitled *al-Nukat al-badīʿāt* (see *Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʿarabīya fī 'l-Kutuokhāne al-khedīwīya*, i 445) which is probably identical with the *al-Taʿakkubāt ʿala 'l Mawdūʿāt*, printed in a *Madjmūʿa*, Lucknow 1303 He then edited the work himself again in the *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fī 'l-Ahādīth al-mawdūʿa*, Cairo 1317 Of Suyūṭī's smaller works, very many dealt with eschatalogical questions Al-Kurtubī's (d 672 = 1273) *al-Tadhkira bi-Ahwāl al-Mawtā wa-Ahwāl al-Ākhira*, he edited under the title *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr fī Sharḥ Hāl al-Mawtā fī 'l-Ḳubūr*, also often called simply *Kʿ al-Barzakh* (pr Cairo 1309, 1329, in a Persian translation, Lahore 1871). A synopsis of it *Bushra 'l-Kaʾīb bi-Liḳāʾ al-Habīb* is printed on the margin of the Cairo edition As a supplement he wrote in 884 (1479) *al-Budūr al-sāfira fī Umūr al-Ākhira*, lith in India 1311 On the examination of the dead in the grave he wrote 176 radjaz verses entitled *al-Tathbīt fī Laʾilat al-Mabīt*, pr with a commentary by M ʿAsīya, Fās 1314, by M al-Tihāmī Djannūn, *ibid* 1321 His *Kʿ al-Durar al-hisān fī 'l-Baʿth wa-Naʿīm al-Djinān* has also been several times printed Several of his shorter works, e g six on the question whether the parents of the Prophet are in Paradise, are printed in the *Madjmūʿat al-Masāʾil al-tisʿ*, Ḥaidarābād 1316/1317 and 1334

Suyūṭī discussed the whole field of philology in an extremely full and valuable encyclopaedia entitled *al-Muzhir fī ʿUlūm al-Lugha*, Būlāḳ 1282, Cairo 1323, versified by Mā' al-ʿAinain under the title *Thimār al-Muzhir*, Fās 1324 Following the example of Ibn al-Anbārī [q v] he endeavoured to apply the *uṣūl*, or principles of the science of Fikh to grammar in his *al-Iktirāh fī ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Nahw wa-Djadalihi*, Haidarābād 1310, cf. Sprenger in *Z D M G.*, xxxii 7, A Schmidt in *al-Muẓaffarīya, Sbornik Statei*, St Petersburg 1897, p. 309 *sqq* He also dealt with separate grammatical points on the lines of the discussion of legal points in a work which he called *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Nazāʾir*, a title he had already used for a compendium of Fikh, with the supplement *al-Nahwīya*, printed Haidarābād 1317, 4 vols From 868 (1463) he had originally been collecting the material for this, along with particulars of the lives and works of the philologists; but after 899 (1493) he separated the *Nukat* from his material and on the advice of Madjd al-Dīn b Fahd collected the historical matter under the title *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, pr Cairo 1326 He collected traditions regarding the beginnings of grammar in the *al-Akhbār al-marwīya fī Sabab Wadʿ al-ʿArabīya*, pr in the *al-Tuhfa al-bahīya*, Stambul 1320/1322, p 49—53 He wrote a commentary on the *Alfīya* of Ibn Mālik [q v] called *al-Bahdja al-mardīya*, Cairo 1310 and on Ibn Hishām's [q v] *al-Mughnī* he wrote a *Sharḥ Shawāhid*, Cairo 1322 He wrote an original grammatical study entitled *al-Fariḍa fī 'l-Nahw wa 'l-Taṣrīf wa 'l-Khatt*, on which a commentary by Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Rahmān b Zakrī al-Fāsī was printed at Fas in 1319, and another in the *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* which was printed with notes by al-Shankītī in Cairo 1318 and 1327/1328 in two vols, and a commentary on the verses quoted as examples by the same entitled *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1328

In the field of history Suyūṭī has given us three works one on general world history entitled *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waḳāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, Cairo 1282 etc, a history of the Caliphs, *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed by S Lee and Maulawī Abd al-Haqq, Calcutta 1857, Cairo 1305, 1913, Lahore 1870, 1887, Dehlī 1306, transl by H. S Jarrett (*Bibl. Ind*), Calcutta 1881, and a history of Egypt entitled *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, lith Cairo 1860(?), pr *ibid* 1299, 1321 In biography in addition to the already mentioned history of the grammarians he also wrote a biographical collection on Kurʾān expositors, entitled *Tabakāt al-Mufassirīn*, ed. A Meursinge, Leyden 1839, and a synopsis of al-Dhahabī's (d 748 = 1348) *Tabakāt al-Huffāẓ*, ed F. Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1833/1834

The gift of poetry was denied to Suyūṭī But he experimented in belles-lettres with the composition of *Makāma*'s, which only have the title and the form (rhymed prose) in common with the perfect examples of this genre and collect all kinds of interesting notes about plants etc out of Hadīth and Adab Twelve of them were lithographed in Cairo in 1275 and again in the collection issued at Bhōpāl 1297 and printed at Stambul in 1298; 6 of them have been translated by O Rescher in *Beitrage zur Maqāmen-Literatur*, part 8, Kirchhain N L 1918. Some of these are also quite original, for example *Rashf al-Zuʿāl min al-Sihr al-halāl*, in which he makes 20 representatives of different branches of learning describe their wedding-night in the technical terms of their particular subject, lith. Cairo, n d, pr. Fas 1319 Other works also show that he did not hesitate to treat of sexual and pornographical subjects (cf those detailed in *G. A L*, ii 153, N⁰ 207–213) A synopsis *Djawāhir al-Ḥikāyāt wa 'l-Asila wa 'l-Laṭāʾif wa 'l-Rīwāyāt wa 'l-Amthila*, was made from his *Adab*-book *Anīs al-Djalīs*, by ʿAbd al-Ḳayyim b. Molla ʿAbd al-Nāṣir al-Shirdānī in Tatar (7th ed., Kasan 1905). He was not ashamed to

collect the anecdotes of Djuhā under the title *K man nahā ilā Nawādir Djuḥā*, s *A descriptive List of the Arabic MSS acqu by the Trustees of the Brit Museum since 1894*, p. 62, Or 6646, 2, while in the same MS a satire on Ḳarakush [q v.] by Ibn al-Mammātī (d 606 = 1209) is wrongly ascribed to him. The anthology *al-Mardj al-nadir wa 'l-Aradj al-ʿaṭir* (cf Kosegarten, *Chrest ar.*, p. 151–176; Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthol ar.*, N°. 11, etc) does not belong to him but to an older al-Suyūṭī Muhammad b Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Bakr Yahyā, of the first half of the ixth century, perhaps his grandfather, see Cheikho, *Machriq*, 1906, p 581—598

His versatility, already sufficiently displayed by separate works, was further revealed in an encyclopaedia covering 14 branches of knowledge entitled *al-Uṣūl al-muhimma li-ʿUlūm Djamma* or briefly *al-Nukāya* with the commentary *Itmām al-Dirāya*, pr Bombay 1309, Fās 1317, also on the margin of al-Sakkāki's *Miftāh al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1800

Bibliography Autobiography in *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, i 153, 203, ii 65, printed in Meursinge, *op. cit*, p 4—12, Wustenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p 506, Goldziher in *S B Ak Wien*, 1871, lxix, p 28 *sqq*, Hartmann, *Das Muwaššah*, p 82; *G A L*, ii 143—158

(BROCKELMANN)

SWAḤĪLĪ. [See ZANZIBAR]

SYRIA. [See AI-SHAʾM.]

SYRT, SURT (Idrīsī SURT) on the Gulf of Sidra (*Syrtis Major*) was according to al-Bakrī, a large town (*madīna*) on the sea shore, with a wall, a *djāmiʿ*, a *hammām* and *sūk*'s, it had three gates one of which faced the *ḳibla*, the other inland, and the third the sea; the water there was sweet and the gardens flourishing, but the population had a bad reputation. The people spoke a peculiar dialect among themselves which was neither Arab, Berber nor Coptic The town, lying halfway between Tripoli and Adjdābīya, was on the road for pilgrims from the Maghrib Al-ʿAyāshī, who went through it three times in the xviiith century, speaks of Surt as a well-cultivated land but suffering from the tyranny of its conquerors, there were 3 *ḳaṣr*'s there. The Muslims conquered the region in the first invasion of Africa in 22/23 A H Syrt henceforth shared the fate of Tripoli But the governors and kings of Tripoli were not always able to exercise effective control over this region and its nomad inhabitants Its communications with Fezzān made it an important political centre

Under the Ottomans, Syrt was grouped with Barḳa and after 1847 put in the wilāyet of Tripoli in the sandjak of el-Khoms Now (since 1912) it has been in the Italian province of Tripoli The population, mainly Arab, belongs to the tribes of the Banū Sulaim. The Berbers are Hawāra It is difficult to identify this place exactly with a Roman site It is thought that Madīna al-Sulṭān, near Suit, where there are still ruins and Roman wells, corresponds to *Charax* or *Iscina* of the Antonine *Itinerary*

Bibliography al-Bakrī, ed de Slane, Algiers 1913, p 6, F De Agostini, *Le popolazioni della Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1917, p 193—200, A Fantoli, *Guida della Tripolitania*, Milan 1923, p 261

(ETTORE ROSSI)

T

TĀʾ, third letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 400 For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i 382b, 383b and plate I

ṬĀʾ, sixteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 9 For palaeographical details see ARABIA, i, plate I

TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN, a nickname of the old Arab poet and Bedouin hero, famed in legend, Thābit b Djabir b Sufyān of the tribe of Fahm Various explanations of it are given by the sources "he carried mischief under his arm", namely a sword, a knife (*ḥamāsa*), a ram which proved to be a *ghūl*, or a skin full of poisonous snakes (*Aghānī*) His mother was according to one statement (in Fresnel) a negress, according to the *Aghānī* a woman of the Fahm tribe called Amīna, who afterwards married the Hudhailī Abū Kabīr, who sought to take his step-son's life Taʾabbaṭa Sharrān was throughout his life an enemy of the Banū Hudhail and Banū Badjīla He perished in a fight with the latter on Mount Numār in their territory (Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik*, p 421) According to a statement of Ibn Ḳutaiba quoted by Baur (cf *Bibliography*) he was a contemporary of Nawfal b Muʿāwiya, who is said to have lived for sixty years before and after Islām. But all that is recorded of the life of Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and the poems ascribed to him breathe throughout the spirit of the old Arab Djāhilīya He is pictured as having all the traditional features of the wandering robber knight of the early Arab period He wrote a lament for Shanfara, who was his companion in battle, along with ʿAmr b Barrāḳ (*Aghānī*) The longest and finest of his four longer poems on a fallen relative inspired Goethe to write a poem in the same style

Bibliography Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, p 33 *sqq*, 244 *sqq*, 382 *sqq*. (cf Ruckert's transl); *Aghānī*, xviii 209–218, Kazwīnī, ed Wustenfeld, ii 31, 56—58, 61, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, p 174 *sqq*., 422 *sqq*, 437; al-Ḳarīyūs, *Ghawḍat al-ʿArab*, p 74 *sqq*, Dīwān d Hudhailiten, ed Kosegarten, p 247 *sqq*; de Sacy, *Schol zu Ḥarīrī*, p 416; *Anthol.*, p 344; Fresnel, *Premiere lettre sur l'histoire des Arabes*, p 96 *sq*, Freytag, *Carmen arab.*, Gottingen 1814; Goethe, *Noten zum w o Diwan*, Basset, *La poésie arabe*, p 73; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 25, Lyall, *Four Poems of Taʾabbata Sharrá*, *J R. A S.*, 1918; Gustav Baur, in the *Z D M G.*, x. 74 *sqq*.

(H. H. BRAU)

TABĀLA, a place in the west of northern Yaman, in the interior of ʿAsīr, about seven days' journey S. E. of Mecca. Its fertility was

rbial among the Arabs The basin of Tabāla
'araba is often called *akhḍar* ("green"; cf.
ndānī, *Djazīra*, ed D H Muller, Leiden 1884,
5; Yākūt *Mu'djam*, ed. Wustenfeld, I 164)
tinerary of the pilgrim caravans from Mecca
gh the frontier lands of the Ḥidjāz and
n to San'a' given in Burckhardt, *Travels in*
a, London 1829, I 445 was marked on the
as early as Berghaus, *Arabien und das Nil-*
(Gotha 1835, cf esp p. 69, and see also
's map [1852, ed by H Kiepert]), for the
I from Mecca to Tabāla The latter was the
station on the territory inhabited by the
ān Al-Idrīsī (see Jaubert, *Geographie d'Edrisi*,
1836, I 148) describes it as a fortified place
ing to Mecca, with perennial water, corn-
and palms (similarly Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B*
VI. 135, 188, 192), on the irrigation cf
ıdānī, p 258, 116 (180), on its wealth in
rees, cf. al-Hamdānī, p 258, al-Azrakī (ed
nfeld), p 262, its fertility may also be de-
from Bakrī, ed Wustenfeld, p 191 and
e done to it later by Berbers from al-Ham-
p 258 Al-Idrīsī further (*op cit*) says that
was occupied for the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik
rwān but was considered too insignificant
Ḥadjādj, appointed governor of it, did not
it worth while going to take up the post,
e the proverb "More despicable than Tabāla
adjdjādj" (cf thereon with further information
op cit, I 816, Freytag, *Proverbia* II 981
sān, XIII 80 *sq*, *Tādj*, VII 239 *sq*) According
drīsī, Tabāla lay 4 days' journey from Mecca
from the market of 'Ukāz In the itinerary
by him from Mecca to San'ā' (see Jaubert,
, p 143, N° VI, cf thereon Ritter, *Erd-*
XII, p 168 *sqq*, 197), Tabāla is the sixth
from Mecca and is described as a town
in a depression in a valley This broad
sion beginning at the foot of the hills of
nd Yaman is well watered at its beginning
so contains the towns of Taraba and Bīsha
n, cf Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*
ohammed, III 297) Of the nine stations
ined between Tabāla and Sa'da on this
ry, the next to Tabāla is said to be Bīsha
n) Sprenger proposes the connection B
(also al-Hamdānī, *op cit*, p 118, 127 and
itinerary from Mecca to San'ā' p 178 and
Ibn Khordādhbeh, *op cit*, p 134) in con-
o his earlier spelling (*Z. D M G*, 1888,
21) According to the same authority Tabāla
lies 8 stations north of the (14th) station
ıa, in which stands the tree (*Talḥat al-Malik*)
is regarded as marking the boundary between
ds of Mecca and Yaman (so Ibn Khordādhbeh,
, VI 135). Modern writers mention another
rom Mecca via Tā'if and Taraba to Raniya
l of the latter al-Ruwaitha in al-Idrīsī, al-
a in Burckhardt, Rohe(i)ta in later writers)
ıbāla as a main road (cf Burckhardt, *op*
451, Ritter, *op. cit*, p 200) Its topogra-
position may be clearly seen from the large
the coast of S W Arabia, sheet 7, *Wadi*
compiled for the *Geographical Section General*
from the Survey made in 1917) on which
ıce ("Teballa") is marked at 19° 53,5′ N
° 31′ E Long Greenwich It lies on the
of the same name which forms the northern
ry of the land of the Benī Bu 'l-Karn on
un road from Ṭā'if to S. E. via Bi'r al-Ghazāl, with the road from the S. W. from al-Silme and Halbe which also starts from Ṭā'if in a southerly direction Sprenger's assertion, deduced from a comparison of several mentions of (Wādī) Baish and Bisha in al-Hamdānī in *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 47, that al-Hamdānī thought that the Wādī Bīsha which is often confused with Baish also waters Tardj and Tabāla cannot therefore be accepted nor the assumption of more recent writers that Tabāla lies in the Wādī Bīsha. The Wādī Tabāla (mentioned in a quotation from Tarafa in al-Hamdānī p 173 [not in the *Diwān*, see D H. Muller's edition of Hamdānī, II 183]) flows into the Wādī Bīsha Al-Hamdānī often mentions Tabāla in topographical statements in connection with Bīsha and Tardj (p 27, 49, 84, 127 [on mentions in poetry of the occurrence of the lion at Tabāla, cf. Sprenger, *op. cit*, p. 165, 257, and Yākūt, *op. cit*, I 835, 791, IV 1006, Ibn Hawkal, *B G A*, II 35, Bakrī] in distances (p 187, 189) and in quotations from the poets (p 173, 207, 215, 258) To the land of Tabāla he includes 'Arram (Yākūt, *Mu'djam* II 918) Zabiya, for which some write Raniya, cf Sprenger, *op cit*, p 240 and (p 239) his map of this region constructed from al-Hamdānī's data The latter (p 165) mentions Tabāla along with Raniya (the vocalisation Runiya in D H Muller's edition is not certain, the manuscripts do not give the vowel signs in the passage, Yakūt, *op cit*, II 826, al-Muḳaddasī, *B G A*, III 112 und Bakrī have Ranya, as has al-Hamdānī *op cit*, p 215 and 259, see D H Muller, II 32 and Sprenger, *op. cit*, p 240 and *Z D M G*, *op. cit* and modern geographers)

Sprenger's supposition (*op. cit*, p 156, 253) that Θόυματα in Ptolemy, VI 7, 33, was an error for Θούμαλα and identical with T(h)omala in Pliny, *Nat Hist*, VI 154 and the assertion he bases on it that "Tomala is only a dialectical variant from Tobāla or as highly educated men say, Tabāla" are both incorrect This identification adopted also by M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p 420 is not supported by Sprenger's interpretation of al-Hamdānī's statement, p 188 about the old pilgrim routes from Hadramōt, which according to his construction (*op cit*, p 156, 161) meet in Tabāla Pliny describes Thomala as a city of the Sabaeans (see further Pauly-Wissowa, s v Saba, col 1328) Sprenger's assumption (p 253) that Tabāla lay in what had originally been Minaean territory is also erroneous, his localisation of the Minaeans was completely wrong (see *Realencycl*, col. 1316 *sqq*)

The traditional derivation of the name of the town (Tebalet, in the *Djihān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, p 520) from that of an Amalekite woman Tabāla is of no value, but one may nevertheless assume that the town is a very old foundation (Yākūt, *op cit*, I 816). — In the pre-Muḥammadan period a white stone in Tabāla was worshipped as an idol, called Dhu 'l-Khalasa (Khulas); Muḥammad had it destroyed (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, I. 55 *sq*; the Khath'am, who are mentioned there among the followers of this cult, are also mentioned alone by al-Hamdānī, p. 119, and by Yākūt, *op. cit*, II 461 *sq*, III 608, 850 in connection with Tabāla). The verses given there, in which this oracle of Tabāla, which was consulted by casting lots with arrows, is mentioned are wrongly ascribed to Imru 'l-Kais, according to Ibn Hishām (cf. on the idol the information collected in *Lisān*, VIII.

295; *Tādj*, iv. 389; on Tabāla as the site of a pagan cult, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p. 45 *sqq.*). The Khath'am, whom Ibn Rosta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 316, 320 describes roughly as the inhabitants of Tabāla, are more accurately the people of Turaba and Bīsha and the land behind Tabāla while the inhabitants of Tabāla proper are the Banū Māzin (Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stämme*, xiv. of the *Abhandl. d. kon. Gesellsch. d Wissensch*, Gottingen 1868, p. 84 and 58, following Bakrī). According to Ḳudāma (s. *Bibl.*) there were camping places of the Ḳaisīs around Tabāla (cf Ibn Khordādhbah, *op. cit.*, p. 188). According to Ibn Khaldūn (ed Kay, *Yaman*), p 129 *sq.*, Tabāla is the land of the Banū Nahd. Dhu 'l-Khalasa, about whom see also Bakrī, p. 316, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1332 [1914] (from whom Yāḳūt borrowed; cf. Wellhausen, *op cit*, p. 10 *sqq*) and Yāḳūt, *op cit*, ii 461 *sq*, is boldly explained by D Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen–Paris–Leipzig 1927, p. 231, 234, as an Arabian Venus-deity As the centre of a cult Tabāla was also a market al-Hamdānī mentions the traffic there (p. 258) In the history of Islām Tabāla is known as one of the towns which were among the first to adopt the new religion and thus preserved their independence (Golius, in *Alfraganus*, *Elementa Astronomica*, Amsterdam 1669, p. 85)

Bibliography; The works of Burckhardt, Sprenger, Wellhausen, Ritter and the Arabic geographers and lexicographers (al-Hamdānī, Yāḳūt, Bakrī, al-Idrīsī) mentioned in the article, also J. v Hammer-Purgstall, *Jahrbucher der Litteratur*, Vienna 1840, vol 92, p. 55 (on the itinerary from Ṣan'ā' to Mecca in *Dj.han-numā*), and vol 94, p. 94, Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abhandl f d Kunde des Morgenl*, Leipzig 1864, iii/iii 125 *sq*, 138 *sq* (on the itinerary of al-Hamdānī), 128 *sqq* (on the itineraries of Ḳudāma, Ibn Khordadhbeh and Ibn al-Mudjāwir) (J. TKATSCH)

AL-ṬABARĪ, *nisba* from Tabaristān; most of the bearers of the *nisba* have come from Āmul, the capital of this province This *nisba* is also wrongly referred to Tabarīya (Tiberias) in place of the correct al-Tabarānī (cf Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol 366[b]; *Tādj al-'Arūs*, iii 355)

1 ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB AL-ṬABARĪ, ṬĀHIR B 'ABD ALLĀH B ṬĀHIR, a Shāfi'ī jurist, teacher of Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī and of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; al-Shīrāzī who attended his lectures for over ten years, praises him as his best teacher. Al-Tabarī was born in Āmul in the year 348 (959/960). At the age of 14 he began his studies in *fikh* in his native city and in 371 (981/982) went to Djurdjān to study under Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī but the latter died the day after his arrival there. For four years he studied with Abu 'l-Hasan al-Māsardjisī (d. 383 = 993) and continued his studies in Baghdād with Abū Muḥammad al-Bāfī (d. 398 = 1007/1008), Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāraḳuṭnī (d. 385 = 995), the famous Shāfi'ī Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī (d 406 = 1015/1016) and with Abu 'l-Faradj al-Mu'āfā b. Zakarīya al-Nahrawānī (d. 390 = 1000), a follower of the school of law of the historian al-Tabarī. He then remained in Baghdād engaged in private study. He was victorious in different disputations with Ḥanafīs, e. g. with al-Ḳudūrī (Subkī, iii. 182 *sqq.*). In 422 (1031) he was admitted a notary (*shāhid*) in Baghdād by the *ḳādī 'l-ḳudāt* Abū 'Abd Allah (d. 447 = 1055/1056) (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ix. 287*bis*). When in 429 (1037/1038) the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla wished to assume the title *Malik al-Mulūk* in the khuṭba, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī was one of the *faḳīh*'s who were approached by the caliph for a *fatwā* and who declared this title permissible (Ibn al-Athīr, ix 312). In addition to his judgeship in the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ quarter (Ibn al-Athīr, ix 360) he received that of the al-Karkh quarter in succession to the Hanafī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Saimarī in 436 (1044/1045). He died in this office at the age of 102 in full possession of his intellectual vigour on Saturday, 19th Rabī I, 450 (May, 16, 1058) He was buried in the cemetery at the Bāb Harb, after a funeral service in the Djāmi' al-Mansūr. Up to the day of his death he was present at the receptions in the Caliph's palace According to al-Khaṭīb he was as experienced in *Uṣūl* as in *Furū'*, and had a dignified figure, a noble character and great distinction of language He composed numerous legal works, including a commentary to the *Mukhtaṣar* of Muzanī, which still exists in manuscript in Cairo (Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 180) and a commentary on the *Furū'* of Abū Bakr b al-Haddād al-Misrī (d. 345 = 956/957, Ibn Khallikān, i. 234; Subkī, ii 113, iii 195, cf also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o] 9036), also a *K al-Minhādj* (Subkī, iii 176), a *K al-Ta'līḳa* in ten vols (Subkī, iii 195; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o]. 3120) and a *Mukhtaṣar fī Mawlid al-Shāfi'ī* with biographies of his followers (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv 141)

Bibliography al-Shīrāzī, *Tabaḳāt al-Fuḳahā'*, N[o] 206 (edition in preparation); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, p 735. — The later sources are mainly based on these two al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, *G M S*, xx, fol 367[r]; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed Wustenfeld, p 734—736; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, i. 233 *sq* ; al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iii 176—197; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imam al-Schafi'i*, N[o]. 393 (= *Abh G W. Gott*, xxxvii, 1891).

2 MUHIBB AL-DĪN AL-ṬABARĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AHMAD B 'ABD ALLĀH B MUḤAMMAD B ABŪ BAKR, a traditionist and Shāfi'ī jurist in Mecca, born 615 (1218/1219), d 694 (1294/1295), a pupil of Ibn al-Djummaizī (d. 649 = 1251/1252, Subkī, v 128), of Madjd al-Dīn al-Ḳushairī (d 667 = 1268/1269, Yāfi'ī, iv 166) and others The Rasūlid al-Muzaffar (647–694 = 1250–1295) summoned him to the Yemen to learn traditions from him (al-Khazradjī, *'Ukūd* in *G.M.S.*, iii/iv. 277; cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o]. 11533). Among his pupils may be mentioned Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim b. Muhammad al-Birzālī (d. 739 = 1338/1339), one of the Shaikhs of the Dhahabī. He is the author of the well-known collection of traditions: *Ghāyat al-Aḥkām fi 'l-Ahādīth wa 'l-Aḥkām*, in which he has however included "weak" traditions without marking them as such (Yāfi'ī). In addition to the extant works listed by Brockelmann, the following writings are mentioned in various sources: 1. *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-Ḥadīth* (Subkī); 2. *Kitāb fī Fadl Makka* (Subkī); 3 *Istiḳṣā' al-Bayān fī Mas'ala Shādharwān* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o] 617); 4 *Khair al-Kirā fī Ziyāra Umm al-Ḳurā* (Yāfi'ī; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o] 4823); 5. *Arba'in fi 'l-Ḥadīth* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N[o]. 406); 6. *'Awātif al-Nuṣra fī Tafḍīl al-Tawāf 'ala 'l-'Umra* (Ḥādjdjī Kha-

lifa, N⁰. 8402, 11859); 7 *Ṣifa Ḥadjdj al-Nabī* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 7758, if not identical with Brockelmann, N⁰ 4), 8 *Wadjīzat al-Maʿānī* [*fī*] *Ḳawlihi*: *Man raʾānī fi ʾl-Manām fakad raʾānī* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 14176); 9. *Manthūr li ʾl-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Hādjdjī Khalifa, N⁰ 13142); 10. *al-Simṭ al-thamīn fī Manāḳib Ummahāt al-Muʾminīn* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰. 7250, 13038); 11 *Taḳrīb al-Marām fī Gharīb* (so read for *Ḳarīb*) *al-Ḳāsim b Sallām* (d. 223 = 837), alphabetically arranged selection (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 3465 and iv 325); 12. on the rare words in the *Djāmiʿ al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Athīr (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii 506), 13 Extract from the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif fi ʾl-Taṣawwuf* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, (d 632 = 1234; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 440; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, iv 276); 14 a ten volume commentary on the *Tanbīh* of Shīrāzī (Subkī; Yāfiʿī; Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii 435); 15 Extract from the same *Tanbih* (Yāfiʿī); 16. *Tirāz al-Madhhab fī Talkhīṣ al-Mudhahhab*, two volume synopsis of the *Muhadhdhab* of Shīrāzī (Hādjdjī Khalifa, vi. 275)

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(HEFFENING)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUHAMMAD B DJARĪR, the Arab historian, was born probably in 839 (end of 224 or beg. 225 A H) at Āmul in the province of Ṭabaristān. He began to devote himself to study at a precociously early age, and is said to have known the Kurʾān by heart by the time he was seven After receiving his early education in his native town, he received from his father who was quite well off the necessary means of visiting the centres of the Muslim learned world He thus visited Raiy and its vicinity, then Baghdād, where Ahmad b Hanbal under whom he had intended to study had died shortly before his arrival there. After a brief stay in Basra and Kūfa he again returned to Baghdād where he remained for some time He then set out for Egypt but stopped in the Syrian towns to study *hadīth* When he was in Egypt (according to Ibn ʿAsākir in 876—877, according to Yākūt however for the first time in 867 and after a stay in Syria again in 869—870; in 871—872 according to *Annales*, iii, 1862 he was in Baghdād) he must already have been regarded as a celebrated scholar From there he returned to Baghdād where except for two journeys to Ṭabaristān (the second in 902—903) he lived till his death in 923

Ṭabarī seems to have been of a quiet scholarly disposition but full of character. In his earlier years he devoted his whole energy to acquiring the material of Arab and Muslim tradition; later he spent his time mainly in teaching and writing Although he had only a modest competence, he rejected all financial advantages and even refused lucrative official positions which were offered him. In this way he was able to devote himself to an extremely prolific and versatile literary activity Apart from his main subjects, history, *fikh*, the recitation and exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, he devoted himself also to poetry, lexicography, grammar and ethics and even mathematics and medicine. For ten years after his return from Egypt he followed the Shāfiʿī *Madhhab* and then founded a school of his own, whose followers called themselves *Djarīrīya* after his father's name. But it seems to have differed less in principle than in practice from the Shāfiʿī school and fell comparatively quickly into oblivion. His break with Aḥmad b. Hanbal however was more fundamental. He recognised the latter only as an authority on *hadīth* but not on *fikh*. He thus brought upon himself the hostility of the Hanbalīs. He is said to have attracted the particular hostility of the latter by attacking their interpretation of Sūra xvii 81. He had to shut himself up in his house to protect himself from the anger of the enraged mob and was only left in peace when a strict order by the police was issued for his protection. His enemies also sought to injure him through the law by laying an accusation against him in which he was accused of heretical tendencies, certainly unjustly.

Tabarī's works have not come down to us by any means completely. For example those writings have been completely lost in which he laid down the principles of his new school of law. On the other hand his commentary on the Kurʾān (*Djāmiʿ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Kurʾān* or briefly *Tafsīr*) has survived. In this work Tabarī collected for the first time the ample material of traditional exegesis and thus created a standard work upon which later Kurʾānic commentators drew, it is still a mine of information for historical and critical research by western scholars Tabarī's own position with regard to the traditions collected by him is mainly defined by linguistic (lexicographical and grammatical) criteria. But he also deals with dogmatic and legal deductions which can be obtained from the Kurʾān and sometimes permits himself to express a rather candid opinion without however in any way basing it on historical criticism.

Tabarī's most important work is his history of the world (*Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa ʾl-Mulūk*). The well known Leyden edition gives only an abbreviated text of the huge work which is said to have been ten times as long but even it fills 12½ volumes Even this synopsis is not complete but had to be supplemented in various passages from later writers who had used Tabarī's history of the world.

The work begins after an introduction with the history of the patriarchs, prophets and rulers of the earliest period (i 1). Then comes the history of the Sāsānian period (i 2) and of the period of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs (i. 3—6); the history of the Umaiyads (ii. 1—3); lastly the history of the ʿAbbāsids (iii 1—4, middle). From the beginning of the Muhammadan era the material is arranged annalistically under the years of the Hidjra. The work stops in July 915. It was afterwards continued by other historians. Among such supplements may be mentioned (1) the lost *al-Mudhaiyil* or *Ṣilat al-Taʾrīkh* of Ṭabarī's pupil Abū Muḥammad al-Faighānī, (2) the work of Abu 'l-Hasan Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (d. 1127), which came down to the year 1094 but the only surviving first volume ends with the year 977—978. Later historians like Ibn Miskawaih and Ibn al-Athīr used Ṭabarī's material for their histories but came down beyond his period so that in a sense they continued his history (down to 979—980 or 1225). Ibn al-Athīr made large use of Ṭabarī's work and sought to harmonise different accounts and to supply gaps from other sources. The fragment of the Spanish Arab ʿArīb (covering

903—932) edited by de Goeje also comes from an independent version and continuation of the annals. In 963 Ṭabarī's history was translated into Persian by order of the Sāmānid vizier Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Balʿamī. It was much abbreviated and supplemented from other sources, especially in the older period. This version was also translated into Turkish and Arabic.

Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh al-Riǧāl* gives the most necessary facts about the persons whom he has used as authorities in *hadīth* The work was originally current as an appendix (*dhail*) to Ṭabarī's *Annals* A synopsis, not however complete, was published at the end of the Leyden edition of Tabarī (iii, p 2295—2501)

Ṭabarī procured the material for his history of the world from oral tradition, for the collection of which he had ample opportunity on his wide travels which were mainly devoted to the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, and in studies under celebrated scholars He also used literary sources, namely a book by Abū Mikhnaf, ʿUmar b Shabba's *Kitāb Akhbār Ahl al-Baṣra*, a work on tradition out of which Ziyād b. Ayyūb read to him; Nasr b Muzāhim's history (*Z. S*, iv. 6); and further the *Sīra* of Muḥammad b. Ishāk and the works on the subject by al-Wāḳidī, Ibn Saʿd, Muḥammad and Hishām al-Kalbī, al-Madāʾinī, Saif b. ʿUmar, Ibn Taifūr etc ; for his account of Sāsānian history, he used an Arabic version of the Persian *Book of Kings*, which seems to be based in part on a translation of this work prepared by al-Muḳaffaʿ. Tabarī did not work up the material into a connected account of historical events. He was rather content to collect the available material and to record the different, often contradictory, accounts as they were handed down to him He therefore declined any responsibility for the reliability of the traditions collected by him But it is just in the conscientious unharmonised repetition of the collected material of tradition that the value of Ṭabarī's work for modern historical research lies, especially when it is a question of reconstructing the events of the early period of Islām.

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ṬABARISTĀN (in Pahlavi inscriptions on coins. *Tapuristān*, land of the Ταπυροι), the name applied by the Arabs to Māzandarān, a province of Persia, north of mount Alburz; the name is explained by a popular etymology to mean "land of the *ṭabar*" (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Geography*, text p 432, Mehren, *Cosmography*, p 314) on account of the thick forests which cover the country and the principal industry of the inhabitants (woodcutting) It is bordered on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the chain of the Alburz, on the east by Djurdjān and on the west by Gilān The soil is fertile and well watered, rich in fruits but unhealthy on account of the stagnant waters; the little rivers, Herhaz, Talār and Tedjen run through it The principal towns are Āmol, Sārī, Shalūs, Rūyān and Bārfurūsh The tribes are warlike, undisciplined and inclined to murder and plunder The industries are fishing, catching aquatic birds, cultivating of rice, flax and hemp (Muḳaddasī, p 354)

History At the time of the Muslim conquest this district was ruled by hereditary chiefs who had the title of *ispahbadh* (Persian "head of an army") In 29 (650) in the reign of the Caliph ʿOthmān, Saʿīd b al-ʿĀṣī, governor of Kūfa, undertook an expedition against Tabaristān In the reign of Muʿawiya I, Maskala b Hubaira entered it at the head of 10 or 20,000 men but he perished with the greater part of his army in the passes, crushed by rocks hurled down upon them by the enemy Another unsuccessful attempt was made by Muhammad b al-Ashʿath In the time of Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik, Yazīd b Muhallab invaded it; the *ispahbadh* made peace and promised to pay an annual tribute of 4,700,000 dirhems, 400 ass-loads of saffron, and the sending of 400 men each bearing a shield, a silver cup and a silk saddle cushion The inhabitants rebelled in the time of Marwān b Muḥammad They were subdued but for a short time only by the governor sent by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāh The Caliph al-Mansūr sent against them Khāzim b Khuzaima al-Tamīmī and Rawḥ b Hātim al-Muhallabī. ʿUmar b al-ʿAlāʾ invaded the mountainous country of Dailam His great-grandson Muḥammad b Mūsā b. Hafṣ and Māyazdayār b Ḳarin conquered the wild mountain country of Sharwīn The latter was given the title of *ispahbadh* by al-Maʾmūn. When he rebelled in the sixth year of the reign of al-Muʿtasim, he was defeated by Husain b. Hasan sent by his nephew ʿAbdallāh b Ṭāhir, governor of Khorāsān, captured and sent to Sāmarrā, where he died under the lash (225 = 840) His body was hung beside that of Bābak al-Khurramī. Ṭabaristān thus passed to ʿAbdallāh b Ṭāhir.

In 240 (854) the *ispahbadh* Ḳārin b. Shahriyār who ruled in the mountains became a convert to Islām In 247—248 (861—862) the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. Zaid seized the province and agreed with the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fannā-Khusraw about the propagation of the Shiʿa and the restoration of the mausoleums of the family of ʿAlī.

He was killed by an emissary of Muḥammad b ʿAbdallāh b. Tāhir One of his brothers, Hasan b. Zaid, rebelled in 250 (864); on his death in 270 (884) he was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad who took the title of *al-Dāʿī al-kabīr* "the great missionary" and was killed fighting with Muḥammad b Hārūn, a general of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b Aḥmad (287 = 900), the latter annexed the country. In 297/298 (910/911) the Russians, coming by water laid waste Ābaskūn and Sārī but were finally driven back by the inhabitants, on their way back what remained of their fleet was intercepted and destroyed by the king of the Khazars Another ʿAlid, al-Hasan b ʿAlī, surnamed al Nāsir al-Kabīr, rebelled in Āmul against the Sāmānids (301 = 914) and on his death (304 = 917) left his power to his son-in-law al-Ḥasan b al-Ḳāsim, surnamed al-Dāʿī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, till in 311 (923) he disappeared into the mountains after long fighting with Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b al-Nāsir and with the condottiere Mākān b Kākī; he was killed by Mardāwīdj, then in the service of Asfār b Shīrūya (cf ZIYĀRIDS) with a blow from a mace at ʿAlīābād Thus Asfār became lord of Tabaristān until he perished by the hand of Mardāwīdj in 319 (931) It was the brother of the latter, Wushmgīr, who next ruled, down to the battle of Ishāḳābād in 329 (940) where Mākān b Kākī was killed and the army of Wushmgīr destroyed, the latter having made up his mind to become a vassal of the Sāmānids, settled in Djurdjān and Tabaristān at intervals like his successors Kābūs I and Minūčihr; the latter accepted the suzerainty of the Ghaznawids The province next passed to the Saldjūḳs; but *ispahbadh*'s belonging to the house of Bāwand for long remained practically independent, especially in the mountains ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b Shahriyār b Kārin, contemporary of the Ghaznawid Masʿūd III; Nusrat al-Dīn Rustam; Tādj al-Mulūk ʿAlī b Mardāwīdj, contemporary of the Saldjūk Sandjar; ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Hasan b Rustam b ʿAlī; Husām al-Dawla wa 'l-Dīn Ardashīr b Hasan, contemporary of Toghril II b Arslān

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(CL HUART)

ṬABARĪYA, Tiberias, a town on the western side of the lake of Tiberias (sea of Galilee) (*Buḥairat Ṭabarīya*) through which the Jordan flows to the south, the lake is rich in fishes, is 13 miles long, 6 broad and lies 700 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; the town is long and narrow as it is shut in by the steep hills on the west which come right down to the water, north and south of the town. S.S.W. of the town is the Mount of Herod. Ṭabarīya had probably a predecessor in a little town in this region mentioned in the Old Testament (on account of the hot springs some identify it with Ḥammat, Joshua, xix. 35) but nothing certain has been established on this point. The town only became of importance when Herod Antipas about 26 A. D. founded a city to which he gave the name of Tiberias in honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was built with great splendour on the model of Hellenistic towns with temples, theatres, and other public buildings. The splendid palace of the king, described by Josephus, lay on the Mount of Herod (Kasr bint al-Malik) surrounded by the old city wall, the course of which has been traced by G. Schumacher. The stricter Jews avoided it and the population was therefore very mixed, some forced by Herod to settle there and others tempted thither by various privileges At a later date a remarkable change took place as Tiberias became one of the main centres of purely Jewish life and a centre of Talmudic studies. Here about 200 A. D was edited the collection of laws known as the *Mishna* and later at the beginning of the fourth century the Palestinian *Gemara* (the so-called Jerusalem Talmud) composed and in the viii/ixth century the 'Tiberian' system of notation in general use established The Hebrew teacher of Jerome was a Jew in Tiberias. The Jewish scholars who worked here are recalled by a series of tombs among them those of R Johanan b. Zakkai and R ʿAḳība Another old Jewish cemetery with several sarcophagi has been discovered close to the western gate of the city in laying out a new road

After Constantine the Great, Christianity penetrated, although slowly, into Galilee and in the lists of synods several bishops of Tiberias are mentioned A temple begun by the Emperor Hadrian in this town was turned into a temple.

The destroyed walls of the town were rebuilt by Justinian At the Persian invasion in 614 the Jews there, as was the case elsewhere also, are said to have sided with them In 13 (635) Tiberias passed to the Muslims While a number of towns in the province of Urdunn had to be taken by force, Tabarīya surrendered to the Arab general Shurahbīl who guaranteed the inhabitants their lives and the half of their houses and churches. For each *djarīb* of ground they had to pay annually a *djarīb* of wheat or barley, and a dīnār for each head of cattle, he also reserved for himself a site on which a mosque was to be built. In the caliphate of ʿOthmān the people of Tiberias broke the agreement but were conquered by ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī (according to others by Shurahbīl) and yielded on the old terms. With the Crusaders began a new chapter in the history of Tabarīya. It was granted as a fief to Tancred and ultimately came into the possession of Raymond of Tripoli. On Thursday July 2, 1187 (583 A. H) Saladin surrounded the town and conquered it in a few hours, although it was strongly fortified, and then set it on fire The Christian army encamped at Ṣaffūrīya in spite of the urgent warnings of Raymond was persuaded by the overweening Grand Templar Gerard to set out to the help of the town, which resulted in the disastrous battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [q. v.] which again in turn led to the capture of Jerusalem and the collapse of Frankish power. Later, in 1240 the town again came into the hands of the Christians when Odo of Montbelliard took it, but in 1247 it was lost to

the Khwārizmians and henceforth Tiberias was Muslim right down to the end of Turkish rule in Palestine In the middle of the xviiith century the town belonged to the Shaikh Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr who had it fortified. In 1759 it suffered from an earthquake, but that of 1837 was much worse, as it destroyed most of the town (but not the baths). In 1799 it was occupied for a short time by Napoleon's troops.

There are more or less brief descriptions of Ṭabariya, the capital of the province of Urdunn, in the Arab geographers. Yaʿkūbī (278 = 891–892) mentions the position of the town at the foot of a mountain and on a large lake through which the Jordan flows. Iṣṭakhrī (340 = 951) gives the lake a length of 12 and a breadth of 2—3 miles (its real dimensions are 13 miles long and 6 broad) Muḳaddasī (375 = 985) says "The houses stand between the mountain and the lake, the town is narrow and in summer hot and unhealthy It is about a mile long but of no breadth The market place stretches from one gate to the other and the cemeteries are on a hill The chief mosque on the market place is large and beautiful Around the lake are villages and palm-trees and ships go up and down The lake is full of fishes and the water quite pleasing". The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Tabariya in 438 (1047) puts the length of the lake at 6 and the breadth at 3 miles. "The town is surrounded by walls but not on the lake side; many houses have their foundation on the rocky bottom below the water, besides the chief mosque in the centre of the town there is another on the west side, the Masdjid al-Yāsamīn. Here is the tomb of Joshua son of Nun and of the 70 prophets slain by the Israelites and also the grave of Abū Huraira The inhabitants make mats of rushes, on the hill west of the town is a castle built of hewn stones, with a Hebrew inscription" Idrīsī (1154, during the period of Crusader rule) describes Tabariya as an imposing town on a high hill on a lake with fresh water, 12 miles long and the same in breadth (!) The boats on it bring supplies to the town He also mentions the making of rush-mats which was a very important industry Yāḳūt (623 = 1125) reproduces what is said by several of his predecessors, like the other Arab geographers he makes Ṭabariya be built by Tiberius Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732 = 1331) records that the town was destroyed by Saladin, which shows that it was still in ruins and from Ibn Battūta (725 = 1325) it is evident that this remained the case later

As long as they existed, the hot medicinal baths (*al-Ḥammāmāt*) played an important part in the life of the town They lay about 40 minutes south of it and perhaps influenced Herod in choosing this town for his capital Josephus correctly tells us that they were not far from Tiberias at a village called Ἀμμαδοῦς (i e the native *Ḥammat*) which agrees with the fact that the old city wall discovered by Schumacher ran from the Mount of Herod to the shore of the lake without enclosing them ("in Tiberias", as Josephus, *Vita*, 85, *Bell*, ii. 1614 says therefore means "in the territory of Tiberias") They are mentioned as early as Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, v. 15) and frequently in the *Talmud* and the Arab geographers are never tired of telling that they are warm without fire being kindled there. Yaʿḳūbī says that the hot water is brought into the town in pipes and Iṣṭakhrī adds that the water, although the springs are about 2 parasangs from the town (quite an absurd exaggeration), is still so hot on entering the baths that skins thrown into it have the hair taken off by it, so that the baths cannot be used till cold water is added. Muḳaddasī speaks of a boiling spring, which supplies most of the baths jointly and from which the steam warms the building Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions a spring at the door of the mosque in the centre of the town over which a bath was built, ascribed to King Solomon Idrīsī makes special mention of a large bath called Damākir, in the saltish water of which small goats and fowls could be stewed and eggs boiled, one bath called *al-Lūlū* had hot water which was not salt, while the so-called "little bath" was the only one that was heated by fire, a Muslim prince had built a bath for his family over the latter but later it was presented to the public. There were also many hot springs to the south of it; to these baths there came from all parts paralysed and injured people, or those with diseases of the chest who remained three days in the water and with God's help became healed. These descriptions leave something to be desired in accuracy and clearness, especially as some of them mention in connection with the baths springs at a considerable distance away In 1703 the springs dried up for a period (Reland, *Palaestina*, p 703) When the old bathing establishment fell into ruins, a new one was built at the beginning of the xixth century which is described by Burckhardt; it was however very simple so that Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1833 had a more handsomely equipped one built in 1890 a third was built somewhat more to the South According to Robinson the water comes out of four springs one of which is under the old bath house According to his measurements the water has a temperature of 60° C Frei read the temperature of the new bath where the water enters the basin as 59 5° behind the old one 58°, in a smaller spring near it 63° Frei also gives the result of a chemical analysis of the water

The new political conditions will no doubt bring a revival of prosperity to Tiberias, while before the war its condition formed a striking contrast to its brilliant past (cf the enthusiastic description in Jos., *Bell*, iii. 516 *sq*). Ships and boats were only rarely seen on the lake and the once so intensively cultivated gardens were a wilderness There is an almost complete lack of ancient remains.

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(Fr Buhl)

TABARKA, a town on the Tunisian coast, 75 miles W N W of Tunis and 10 miles E. of the Algerian frontier It is built on a sandy bay surrounded by hills at the mouth of a rather narrow fertile valley watered by the Wād al-Kabīr, which descends from the mountains of Ain-Draham (Khumiria) Three quarters of a mile from the shore lies a rocky islet, 2,000 yards long and 500 broad A roadstead lies between this island and the mainland accessible on the east side to ships of medium tonnage but only possible on the west side, the better sheltered, to small boats The trade is insignificant, but the anchovy and sardine fishery attracts from March to September, 200—300 Italian fishermen The village itself, the capital of a 'contrôle civile', has a thousand inhabitants, half French and half Italian. A few European works have been built on the adjoining plain

The site of Tabarka corresponds to that of Thabraca, a flourishing town in the Roman period and Byzantine period It was the port for the export of 'Numidian marble' from the quarries of Simithu (Chemtou) on the left bank of the Medjerda Ancient ruins were still standing in the time of al-Bakrī (*Description*, transl de Slane, p 121), they have now almost completely disappeared except for a few traces of cisterns and buildings of the Christian period; on the other hand Christian burial-places have been unearthed in the neighbourhood In the time of Bakrī Tabarka had still considerable trade, the ancient harbour however no longer existed and ships moored in the mouth of the Wād al-Kabīr itself The wealth of the coral deposits there later attracted Provençal and Italian sailors thither In 1540 the Lomellini of Genoa obtained for an annual payment the monopoly of the exploitation of the coral and the right to keep a garrison on the island It is without proof however that this has been said to be the ransom paid for Dragut made prisoner by the Genoese Admiral Doria. In any case for two centuries (1540—1741), the island belonged to the Lomellini, they built a strong castle there and established a colony of their compatriots who sometimes numbered as many as a thousand The Turks in their turn becoming lords of Tunisia installed a garrison of Janissaries on the mainland As a result of the presence of the Christians, the island became a market where European merchandise was exchanged for the products of the country (wax, hides, corn) purchased very cheaply (cf Savary de Brèves, *Relation*, p. 254) It was at the same time a kind of depot where the Christian slaves were interned while awaiting the arrival of the sums arranged for their ransoms, a transaction in which the Genoese apparently acted as intermediaries The profits made by the Lomellini no less than the strategic value of the island could not fail to excite the cupidity of the French companies established on the Algerian coast In 1633, Sanson Napollon, governor of "Bastion de France", tried to take the island but was killed as soon as he had made a landing on the island During the second half of the xviith century and the first half of the xviiith negotiations were several times conducted between the French government and the Lomellini to obtain the cession of the island by the latter They were just reaching a settlement when the Bey ʿAlī learning what was going on sent troops to occupy the island (June 12, 1741). The Genoese establishments were destroyed, a section of the inhabitants managed to escape and settle on the island of San Pietro, off the coast of Sardinia. The others were taken to Tunis where their descendants were long known as Tabarkans. War as a result broke out between France and the Regency and a French naval officier M. de Saurins attempted an unsuccessful attack on Tabarka on July 2, 1742, a hundred men were killed and 224, including the leader of the expedition, captured by the Turks. Henceforth the Tunisians remained in possession of the island and refused to yield to the demand for concessions made by France and other foreign powers But although the coral continued to the exploited, Tabarka lost all commercial importance At the beginning of the Tunisian expedition, the French bombarded the Turkish front and landed at Tabarka on 26th April 1881 Since then a European centre has been created here and a road made to connect the coast with the valley of the Medjerda through the massif of Khumiria But as a result of its outlying position, the town has only developed slowly The making of a road and a railway to Mateur and Beja and the exploitation of the mineral deposits discovered in the region will undoubtedly however bring it some elements of prosperity

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(G Yver)

ṬABAS, a town in Persia, in the province of Khurāsān, in reality two towns whence the dual form used by the Arab geographers. *Tabasāni* The first is called Tabas al-ʿUnnāb, "Ṭ of the jujube-trees" (in Persian Tabas-Masīnān), and the second Tabas al-Tamr, "T of the date-palms" (*al-suflā*, Muḳaddasī), in Persian Tabas-Gilakī (Kurī, Kurīn) The first has walls now in ruins and no citadel The second is commanded by a fortress; it has a small market and a graceful mosque ; it gets its water-supply from reservoirs fed by open canals (*ẓāhira*) These two towns are under Kāin, the capital of the district of Kūhistān; they form the southern frontier of Khurāsān. In the reign of the Caliph ʿOthmān, they were the first Muslim conquests in this province, for these two towns are, as it were, the gates of this country They were taken by ʿAbdallāh b Budail b Waraḳa. After the occupation of Alamūt by Hasan Sabbāh, they became centres of the Ismāʿīlīs In the Saldjūḳ conquests, they were allotted to Ḳāwart, son of Čaghrī. They were laid waste by the Uzbeks in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I before 1006 (1597)

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f° 367 v°; Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, *G.M.S.*, p 145; transl p 141, 143; P. M. Sykes, *Journal R. Geogr Soc*, 1905, xxvi, and *History of Persia*, ii 109; E. G Browne, *Literary Hist of Persia*, ii. 172; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 359—361, 362—363

(Cl. Huart)

ṬABĀSHĪR, a drug highly esteemed in the east, consisting of pebble-like accretions, which are formed in the nodes of *Bambusa arundinaria* Wild. The substance is obtained, according to Kazwīnī (ii. 82) or Ibn Muhalhil, by burning the reed and from ancient times it has always been a valuable article of commerce which the Greeks called τάβασις

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(J. Ruska)

TĀBIʿ (A), pl *tābiʿūn*, follower, follower of a prince, disciple of a teacher, adherent of a doctrine; the verbal form is *tābaʿa*, e g *tābaʿa Djālīnūs*, he followed Galen (in medicine)

The word is of special significance in Tradition where the name *tābiʿ* is given to those who came after the Companions of the Prophet, the *Aṣḥāb* The *aṣḥāb* are the people who saw and were directly acquainted with the Prophet; the *tābiʿūn* are those of the next generation or contemporaries of the Prophet, who did not know him personally but who knew one of his Companions The "followers" of the second generation (*tābiʿu 'l-tābiʿīn*) are those who knew one of the first *tābiʿūn* and so on Traditions are of more or less value according as they go back to a "follower" of a more or less early generation and according as the *tābiʿ* who is the first transmitter of it is more or less esteemed and famous Thus the *mashhūr* or wide-spread tradition is that which goes back to a *tābiʿ* of the first generation and which has been disseminated and handed down by several *tābiʿūn* of the second generation and their successors (cf ḤADĪTH) There are in the same way generations of transmitters for traditions regarding the reading of the Ḳurʾān and for those of Sūfism One of the most celebrated "followers" of the first generation is Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

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(B Carra de Vaux)

TAʿBĪR. [See RUʾYĀ]

TABRĪZ, capital of the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān [q. v].

Geographical position The town lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain (measuring about 30 × 20 miles) sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmiya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Adjī-čai ("bitter river") which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawalān runs along the Ḳaradja-dagh which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the town. The left bank tributary of the Adjī-čai, Mihrān-rūd (now the Meidān-čai), runs through the town. The altitude of the different quarters of Tabrīz, according to the Russian map may be put at 4,000—5,000 feet. Immediately to the north-east of the town rise the heights of ʿAinalī-Zainali (the *ziyārat* of ʿAwn b. ʿAlī and Zaid b. ʿAlī) which (6,000 feet) forms a link between the mountain system of the Ḳaradja-dagh (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 30 miles south of the town) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the Ḳaradja-dagh is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabrīz and Marāgha, the site of Tabrīz is the only suitable pass for communications between east (Astārā [on the Caspian]–Ardabīl–Tabrīz and Teherān–Ḳazwīn–Miyāna–Tabrīz), west (Trebizond–Erzerūm–Khoi–Tabrīz) and north(Tiflis–Erīwān–Djulfā–Marand–Tabrīz). Lastly as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of the Lake of Urmiya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, Karadja-dagh) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistān) must also take place via Tabrīz.

This fortunate position had predestined Tabrīz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and Russian (or Soviet) Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Constantinople and India (only Tiflis, Teherān, Isfahān and Baghdād fall into the same category). Tabrīz has now about 200,000 inhabitants

The climate of Tabrīz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy except for epidemics of cholera and typhus which are due rather to the unsanitary state of the town

One feature of Tabrīz is the frequent earthquakes The most formidable took place in 244 (858), in 434 (1042) mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *Safar-nāma* (and predicted by the astronomer Abū Tāhir Shīrāzī), in 1641 (Arakel of Tabrīz, p. 496), in 1727, in 1780 (Ousely, iii. 436, Ritter, ix 854) etc The earthquakes of Sept 22—23, 1854 and of Oct 30, 1856 have been described from personal observation by Khanykow in the *Bull. Hist. Phil. de l'Acad de St. Péterbourg*, 1855, p 251, 1858, p 337—352 Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabrīz, they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand but Khanykow thought they were due rather to a mechanical displacement of the earth's strata

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (*Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, i. 343). The part of the town called the *Ḳalʿa* (the districts of Čār-minār, Surkhāb, Dāwačī, Waidjūya [vulgo Wārdjī], Mihād-mihīn [vulgo. Miyar-miyar], Nawbar, Maḳṣūdiya etc.) is therefore no longer separated from the former part *extra muros* (the districts of Ahrāb, Lailābād [vulgo Leilava], Čarandāb, Khiyābān, Bāgh-mēsha etc). The town has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the town (Amīr-khīz, Čūst-dūzān, Hukmābād [vulgo. Hukmawar], Ḳara-malik, Ḳara-aghadj, Akhūnī, Kūča-bāgh, Khaṭīb) and the south-east (Maralān) The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west.

Tabrīz is the administrative and economic centre of the vast province of Ādharbāidjān, the present

sub-divisions of which are. Ardabīl (with Astārā, Mughān etc), Karadja-Dagh (capital Ahar), Marand (with Djulfā and Gaigar), Khoi, Mākū, Salmās, Urmia (with Ushnū), the region of Mukrī (capital Sawdj-bulāk), Sa'in-ḳal'a, Marāgha, Hashtarūd and Garmarūd (capital Miyāna), Sarāb and the central district of Tabrīz

In the xivth century, Hamdullāh (cf Ewliyā, ii 257) gave the divisions of this last district (*tuman*) as. Mihrān-rūd, to the east of the town, Sardairūd, to the south-west of the town; Bawīl-rūd (?), to the south of the preceding (with the villages of Khusraw-shāh, Uskūya, Milān), Airwanak, to the north-east of the Lake of Urmiya with the villages of Shabistar, Sofiyān etc.; Rūdḳāb (?), Khānum-ābād (?) and Badūstān (?), all three to the north of the town The boundaries of the old central *tuman* were unchanged down to the xxth century

The name According to Yākūt, i 822, the name of the town is pronounced Tibrīz Yāḳūt gives as his authority Abū Zakarīyā al-Tabrīzī (a pupil of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, 363—449) of whom we know that he spoke the local Iranian dialect (cf al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, s v. Tanūkhī, and Saiyid Ahmad Kisiawī Tabrīzī, *Ādharī yā zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehrān 1304, p 11). The pronunciation Tibrīz must be one of the peculiarities of this dialect which is related to those called "Caspian" The modern pronunciation is exclusively Tabrīz (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Ādharbāidjān Tarbīz) The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with *a*. Faustus of Byzantium (fourth century) has Thavrēž and Thavrēsh, Asoḷik (xith century) Thavrēž Vardan (xivth century) has Thavrēž and Davrēž, this last form evidently adopted to a popular Armenian etymology *da i vrēž*, "that is for vengeance", cf Čamčan, *History of Armenia*, Venice 1784, i 365, Hubschmann, *Armen Gramm*, i 42. do., *Pers Stud.*, p 179 For the fifth (fourth) century of the Christian era the form of the name attested in Armenian is therefore Thavrēž < Pers Tavrēž (Hubschmann) The popular Persian etymology explains *Tabrīz* as "making fever run" (= disappear). (Ewliyā Čelebi *sītma dokudjū*), but it is possible that the name rather means "that which makes the heat disappear", in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand (cf. also the name of the pass between Bayazīd and Vān: Taparīz) The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pehlevi (*taw* < *tap* and especially *rēž* for **rēč*) and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sāsānian and perhaps pre-Arsakid (on the linguistic changes that have taken place in Ādharbāidjān as a result of the Turkish invasions cf. the article TĀT)

History. The identification of Tabrīz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion (cf. the resumé in Ritter, ix. 770—779). The possibility that Tabrīz = Γάβρις in Ptolemy vi, Ch. 2 (from *Τάβρις) is made less probable by the analysis of the Armenian form quoted above. Rawlinson, *Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, *J.R.G S*, 1840, x, p 107—111, has definitely cleared up the confusion between Tabrīz and Ganza = al-Shīz (in Armenian Gandzak Shahastan distinguished from Thavrēž by Faustus of Byzantium).

According to the Armenian historian Vardan (xivth century), Tabrīz was founded on Persian territory by the Arshakid Armenian Khosrow (217—233) as an act of revenge against the first Sāsānian king Ardashīr (224—241) who had killed the last Parthian king Artabanus; cf. St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, 423 This story is not found in any ancient source and is probably explained by the popular etymology given above. In Faustus of Byzantium, transl. Lauer, iv., Ch. 25 and 39 and v, Ch. 2. we only find that in the reign of Arshak II of Armenia (351—367) the Armenian general Wasak attacked the Sāsānian Shāpūr II (309—379) who was encamped at Thavrēž. Wasak later slew the Persian general Boyekan there, burned the royal palace and shot an arrow into the statue of the king there. Later Mushegh, son of Wasak, defeated the Persian troops at Tabrīz

It remains to be seen whether the name Thebarmais, where in 614 the emperor Heraclius after laying waste Ganzaka, burnt the town and fire-temple (Theophanus, p. 474. ἀπάρας ἀπὸ Γαζακῶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν Θηβαρμαΐς) does not show some confusion with Thavrēž

Arab rule. During the conquest of Ādharbāidjān by the Arabs (c 22 = 642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabīl. Tabrīz is not mentioned among the towns from which the Persian Marzubān had levied his troops (Balādhurī, p 326) After the devastation mentioned by Faustus, Tabrīz must have become a mere village (cf Yākūt) The later legend (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, 730 = 1340) of the "building" of Tabrīz in 175 (791) by Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umaiyad estates Zubaida had received Warthān (in Ādharbāidjān on the Araxes). According to Balādhurī, p 331 and Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 285 (cf also Yākūt, i 822) the rebuilding of Tabrīz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdī and particularly of the latter's sons, al-Wadjnā and others who built the walls round the town Tabarī (iii. 1171 = Ibn al Athīr, vi. 315) speaking of the rebellion of Babak (201—220) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muhammad b Ba'ith, owner of two castles Shāhī which he had taken from al-Wadjnā and Tabrīz (no details given) Shāhī which was 2 farsakhs (?) in extent was stronger than Tabrīz [cf. the name of the peninsula of Shāhū or Shāhī on Lake Urmiya to the south-west of Tabrīz; but according to Balādhurī, p. 330 the fief of Ba'ith was Marand]

When Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 119 wrote (232 = 840), Tabrīz belonged to Muhammad b. al-Rawwād. In 244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232—247) Tabrīz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (c 340), p. 181, the strip of territory which included Tabrīz, Djabrawān (or Dih-Kharaḳān?) and Ushnūh [*q. v.*] bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudainī, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Hawḳal (c. 367), p 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence for the history of the Sādjids (lords of Ādharbāidjān from 276—317) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabrīz. cf. Defrémery, *Mém. sur la famille des Sadjides*, *J. A.*, 1847 (the capital of this dynasty was first Marāgha and later Ardabīl; *ibid*, reprint, p. 25, 41, 47, 57, 77).

After the disappearance of the Sādjids, Ādharbāidjān became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj, Lashkarī b. Mardī, had seized the province in 326. He was driven out by the Kurd Daisam (cf KURDS) who soon came into conflict with the Dailamī Musāfirids [q v] The people of Tabrīz invited Daisam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marzubān. Daisam left Tabrīz and the rule of al-Marzubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Ādharbāidjān (c. 330).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear Huart, *Les Musāfirides de l'Adharbaidjan*, in *Volume presented to E G Browne*, Cambridge 1922, gives 438 as the last mention of their rule at Tārom but Sir E. D. Ross, *On 3 Muhamm dynasties*, *Asia Major*, 1925, II, p 212—215 connects with the Musāfirids the family of the Rawwādī which can be traced at Tabrīz down to 446. It is however possible that these Rawwādī were descendants of al-Rawwād al-Azdī, father of the rebuilder of Tabrīz, and had nothing to do with the Dailamī Musāfirids (apart from intermarriage) The following events are connected with these Rawwādī in 420, Wahsūdān b Mahlān (Mamlān?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabrīz (Ibn al-Athīr, IX 279), in 434 an earthquake destroyed Tabrīz and the amīr (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of al-Ghuzz al-Saldjukīya (*ibid*, p 351); in 438 Nāsir-i Khusraw found in Tabrīz a king Saif al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Mansūr Wahsūdān b Muhammad (Mamlān?) Mawlā Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn; in 446 Toghrīl received the submission of the lord of Tabrīz al-Amīr Abū Mansūr b Muhammad al-Rawwādī (*ibid*, IX 410)

Tabrīz in the early centuries of the Hidjra While Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 119, Balādhuri, p. 331, Tabarī, III 1171, Ibn al-Fakīh, p 285 and even al-Istakhrī, p. 181 simply mention Tabrīz among the little towns of Ādharbāidjān, al-Mukaddasī already sings the praises of Tabriz and his contemporary Ibn Hawkal (c 367 = 978) considers it the most prosperous town in Ādharbāidjān with a busy trade and manufactures of *armanī*. Ibn Miskawaih (d 421 = 1030) calls Tabrīz a "noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens", and calls its inhabitants "brave, martial and rich" According to Nāsir-i Khusraw the area occupied by the town in 438 was 1,400 × 1,400 paces which is only about a third of a square mile

Saldjūk period Tabrīz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saldjūks In the vicinity of the town Toghrīl celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter (*Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 111) During his struggle with his brother Muhammad, Sultān Barkiyaruk retired in 494 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabrīz but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabrīz fell to Muhammad who appointed Sa'd al-Mulk as wazīr there (498). In 505 we find al-Amīr Sukmān al-Kutbī mentioned as lord of Tabrīz i. e the founder of the dynasty of Shāhs of Armenia (*shāh-arman*) which ruled at Akhlāt from 493 to 604

Under the branch of the Saldjūks of the 'Irāk whose capital was at Hamadān, Ādharbāidjān played a more important part. In 514 Sultān Mahmūd spent some time at Tabrīz to calm the inhabitants who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the atābeg of Ādharbāidjān at this period was Kun-toghdi After his death (515) the Amīr of Marāgha Ak-Sunkur Ahmadīlī endeavoured to get Tabrīz out of the hands of Toghrīl (brother of the Sultān) but these intrigues came to nought Mahmūd appointed to Ādharbāidjān the Amīr Djuyūsh of Mawsil who was killed at the gate of Tabrīz in 516 After the death of Mahmūd (525), his brother Mas'ūd occupied Tabrīz and was besieged there by Dāwūd, son of Mahmūd Finally Dāwūd established himself in Tabrīz and from this town ruled (526—533) a great fief composed of Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia Ādharbāidjān and Arrān were later entrusted to Toghrīl I's old slave, the Atābeg Kara-Sunkur, whose capital seems to have been at Ardabīl (Ibn al-Athīr, XI. 52) After his death in 535 the Amīr Djā'ūli (Čawli) al-Toghrīlī succeeded him but we soon find Ildigīz, the founder of the dynasty of Atābegs which ruled the province till 622, established in Ādharbāidjān The centre of Ildigīzid power was at first to the north-west of Ādharbāidjān while Tabrīz became part of the possessions of the Ahmadilī Amīrs of Maragha for it was not till 570 that the Atābeg Pahlawān b Ildigiz took Tabrīz from Falak al-Dīn, grandson of Ak-Sunkur b Ahmadīl, and gave it to his brother Kīzīl Arslān. It was during the period that Kīzīl Arslān was Atābeg (582—587) that Tabrīz definitely took its place as the capital of Ādharbāidjān.

In 602 the Amīr Kara-Sunkur 'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmadilī in alliance with the Atābeg of Ardabīl made an attempt to retake Tabrīz from Kīzīl Arslān's successor, the bon-vivant Abū Bakr The attempt failed and Kara-Sunkur lost Marāgha.

The Ildigīzids lived in great style as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Nizāmī and Khākānī but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhčuwān [q v] The political weakness of their epigones is confirmed by the episode mentioned in the Georgian chronicle which took place between 1208 and 1210 (605—607 A. H.). Iwane and Zakhare, generals of queen Thamar, in the course of a hazardous marauding expedition traversed the whole of northern Persia to Djūrdjān. The Georgian troops coming from Marand levied a ransom from the people of Tabrīz (Thawrēž) but otherwise did not disturb the peace of the country. A little garrison left in the town awaited the return of the troops. The episode is not mentioned in the Muslim sources but by its detail the story inspires a certain confidence. Cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I 470.

The Mongols. The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabrīz in the winter of 617. The incapable Atābeg Ozbeg b. Pahlawān obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year the Mongols came back again The Atābeg fled to Nakhčuwān but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams al-Dīn al-Tughrā'ī and the Mongols departed with a new ransom after which Özbek returned to Tabrīz. In 621 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Özbek the surrender of all the Khwārizmians in Tabrīz. Özbek hastened to yield to this demand.

Djalāl al-Dīn. The Khwārizm-shāh soon arrived from Marāgha and on 27th Radjab 622 gained admittance to the town which Özbek had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender especially as Djalāl al-Dīn

was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Turkomans of the tribe of Aiwā (al-Aiwā'iya). Djalāl al-Dīn having married the *malika*, the former wife of Özbeg, held Tabrīz for six years but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 323). As early as 627 a Turkoman chief of the tribe of Kush-yalwa (?), a chief of Rūyīn-diz (near Marāgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabrīz In 628 Djalāl al-Dīn left Ādharbāidjān and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabrīz which is the very heart (*aṣl*) of the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 328) The "malik" of the Mongols (Djurmaghun-noin) sent for the notables (Shams al-Dīn al-Tughrā'ī alone did not stir), levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khatā'ī* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ugedei) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Guyūk the effective rule of Airān and Ādharbāidjān was in the hands of Malik Sadr al-Dīn, a Persian ally of the Mongols. Cf. *Djahān-Gushā*, ed M Kazwīnī, *G M S*, ii, 255

The Mongol Īlkhāns After the taking of Baghdad in 654 (1256) Hūlāgū went to Ādharbāidjān and settled at Marāgha [q. v] In 661 (1263) after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berkai's troops, Hūlāgū returned to Tabrīz and massacred the merchants there of Kīpčak origin In 662 (1264) at the re-distribution of the fiefs Hūlāgū confirmed Malik Sadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabrīz

Tabrīz became the official capital under Abaḳā (663—680) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Ūldjaitū In 688 (1289) under Arghūn the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Mansūr to Tabrīz Under Kai-Khatu the revenues of the province of Tabrīz were estimated at 80 *tumāns* In 693 (1294) Tabrīz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*čao*) It was in the reign of Ghazān-Khān that Tabrīz attained its greatest splendour This monarch entered Tabrīz in 694 (1295) and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghūn in the village of Shām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Adjī-čai (the old form of this Persian name is *shanb*, "cupola" [Quatremère, *N E*, xiv, p 31 "building surmounted by a cupola"], but the name was already pronounced Shām in the xivth century, cf *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*) Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum In 699 (1299) on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghazān began a whole series of buildings He intended Shām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest A building was erected there higher than the *gunbad* of the Sultān Sandjar at Marw, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two madrasas (one Shāfi'ī and the other Hanafī), a hostel for Saiyids (*dār al-siyādat*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water and baths with hot water. *Wakf*s, the revenues from which amounted to 100 tumāns of gold (Waṣṣāf), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanserai, a market and baths. Fruit-trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabrīz itself great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*bārū*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces", *Dictionnaire-numā. ḳulaḏ* "fathom"). Ghazān gave it a new wall 25,000 *gām* in length (4½ farsakhs) All the gardens and the Kūh-i Waliyān and Sandjarān quarters were incorporated in the town Within the wall on the slopes of the Kūh-i Waliyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Ainali-Zainali) a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashīd al-Dīn and the quarter was therefore known as *Rab'-i Rashīdī* (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 76) We have a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers Liter*, iii. 82.

As if to emphasise the fact that Tabrīz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*kīla, gaz*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabrīz (D'Ohsson, iv 144; 271—277, 350, 466—469).

In 703 (1304) Ghazān-Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Shām In 705 (1307) his successor Ūldjaitū conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sultānīya [q v] It was however not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715 (1315) we still find the ambassador from the Ozbegs of Ḳīpčaḳ following the route by Tabrīz instead of the shorter Mughān–Ardabīl–Sultānīya It is also noteworthy that Tādj al-Dīn 'Alī-Shāh (vizier from 711 = 1312) had begun the construction of a magnificient mosque at Tabrīz (outside the Mihād-mihīn quarter)

In 717 (1317) under Abū Sa'īd the retiring vizier Rashīd al-Dīn went to Tabrīz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rab'-i Rashīdī sacked (Browne, iii 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was called to power by Abū Sa'īd himself continued to enlarge Rab'-i Rashīdī. The capital continued to be Sultānīya judging from the fact that Abū Sa'īd was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built (d'Ohsson, iv. 720).

When in 736 (1336) his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu) his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror 'Alī Pādshāh Oirat. The property of the family of Rashīd al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabrīz and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

The Djalā'irs and the Čobanids· In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Djalā'ir (Ilkhānī) dynasty whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabrīz In 736 (1336) Ḥasan Buzurg Djalā'ir established on the throne of Tabrīz his candidate Sultān Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital The Čobanid Ḥasan Kučik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Hasan Buzurg retired to Baghdād and Hasan Kučik (740 = 1340) put on the throne Sulaimān Khān with rule over 'Irāḳ 'Adjam, Ādharbāidjān,

Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Ḥasan Kūčik, his brother Ashraf, in 744 (1344) proclaimed a new puppet Anūshirwān whom he relegated to Sultānīya while he himself remained in Tabrīz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an "intervention in the cause of humanity" by Djānī-beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Ḳïpčak) Ashraf was defeated at Khoi and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabrīz (756 = 1355) The vizier Akhidjūk whom Djānī-beg had left in Ādharbāidjān found his authority disputed on several sides Tabrīz was temporarily occupied by the Djalā'ir Uwais b Ḥasan Buzurg who came from Baghdād Hardly had he been driven out by Akhidjūk than the Muẓaffarid of Fārs, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muhammad, quarrelling with Djānī-beg who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty arrived from Shīrāz, defeated Akhidjūk at Miyāna and seized Tabrīz in 758 (1357). After two years he retired before Uwais (cf. *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, *G M S*, p 677—679, 715—717) who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabrīz and slew Akhidjūk

When the news of the death of Sultān Uwais (776 = 1377) reached Fārs, Shāh Shudjā' who had succeeded Mubāriz al-Dīn set out from Shīrāz to take Tabrīz Husain, son of Uwais, was defeated and Tabrīz occupied but after a few months a rebellion having broken out at Ūdjān forced Shudjā' to evacuate the town which Husain reoccupied without striking a blow. Sultānīya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muẓaffarids in the north-west (*Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, p 723—725) In 784 (1382), Husain Djalā'ir was slain at Tabrīz and his brother Sultān Aḥmad succeeded him in Ādharbāidjān but his rule was to be brief for Tīmūr soon after appeared on the scene

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule the Djalā'irs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabrīz Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shīrwān and the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Among their buildings in Tabrīz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishkīya and a large building by Sultān Uwais, which, according to Clavijo, ed Sreznewski, p 169, contained 20,000 chambers ("camaras apartadas é apartamientos") and was called Dawlat-Khāna ("Tolbatgana . la casa de la ventura"); cf Markow, *Katalog Djalair monet*, St Petersburg 1897, p. i—xliv. · history of the Djalā'irs — Coins of the following years struck by the Djalā'irs at Tabrīz are known. Ḥasan Buzurg — 757, Uwais — 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 769, 770, Husain — 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, Aḥmad — 785, 810

Period of Tīmūr During his first invasion of Persia (786) Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand after taking Sulṭānīya His great rival Toḳtamïsh-Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Ādharbāidjān by Darband in 787 (1385)· The invaders took Tabrīz which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Djurdjān [cf TUGHA-TIMŪR] driven out by Tīmūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khudjandī) and returned to Darband (*Zafar-nāma*, i. 392, Browne, *Hist. Pers. Lit*, iii. 321).

Hardly had Sulṭān Aḥmad Djalā'ir recovered Tabrīz than he was driven out again by Tīmūr (788) who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Tīmūr encamped at Shām-Ghazān and levied an indemnity (*māl-i amūn*) on the people of Tabrīz; cf. *Ẓafar-nama*, i. 326; al-'Aīnī is much severer on Tīmūr, cf Markov, *Catalogue*, p xxvii)

In 795 (1392) the "fief of Hūlāgū" (*takht-i Hūlāgū*), consisting of Ādharbāidjān, al-Raiy, Gīlān, Shīrwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mīrān-shāh (*ibid*, ii 623) and Tabrīz became the capital of this territory Three years later this prince became insane and committed a series of insensate actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings, *ibid*, ii. 200, 213, and Browne, *op cit.*, iii. 71) Tīmūr immediately on his return from India set out for Ādharbāidjān in 802 and executed those who shared in Mīrān-shāh's debauches.

In 806, Mīrzā 'Omar, son of Mīrān-Shāh, was placed at the head of the "fief of Hūlāgū" and the lands conquered by Tīmūr in the west. His father Mīrān-shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in Mesopotamia) were placed under the authority of Mīrzā 'Omar. After the death of Tīmūr a long struggle began between 'Omar and Abū Bakr In 808, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabrīz a tribute of 200 'Irākī tumāns 'Omar returned to Tabrīz but his Turkomans harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabrīz than the Turkoman rebel Bistām Djāgīr entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān [q v] In 809 the latter handed over Tabrīz to Sultān Aḥmad Djalā'ir as to its true ṣovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion; cf *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, transl. Quatremère, *N E*, xiv, p 109. On Rabī' I, 8, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Ghazān but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabrīz (June 11—20, 1404 and with intervals Febr 28—Aug 22, 1405, i e from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A H) In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade Clavijo talks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabrīz

The Kara-Koyunlu On the 1st Djumādā I, 809, Kara Yūsuf, the Kara-Koyunlu Turkoman on the Araxes, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr who in his retreat handed Tabrīz over to plunder „and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army" (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, p 110). Kara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sulṭānīya and carried off the population of this town to Tabrīz, Ardabīl and Marāgha Abū Bakr soon returned to Ādharbāidjān but Kara Yūsuf assisted by Bistām defeated him at Sardarūd (5 miles south of Tabrīz). Mīrān Shah fell in this battle and was buried at Tabrīz in the cemetery of Surkhāb.

Kara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sulṭān Aḥmad at the time when both were in exile in Egypt had recourse to a stratagem With great ceremony he put on the throne of Tabrīz his son Pīr-Budāgh who was regarded as the adopted son of Sulṭān Aḥmad (according to the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, Ḳara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pīr-Budāgh till 814) Aḥmad to outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Kara Yūsuf was absent in Amenia, he occupied Tabrīz. In the battle of Asad (?) two farsakhs from Tabrīz, Sulṭān Aḥmad was finally defeated (28th

Rabīʿ II, 813 = 1410) He was executed by Ḳara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimishḳīya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabrīz were with the last Djalāʾir king, cf. Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilkhanïens*, *Journ As*, Oct. 1876, p 316—362.

Tabrīz is regularly mentioned as the centre from which Ḳara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Tīmūrid Shāhrukh fearing the influence of Ḳara-Yūsuf in 817 undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond al-Raiy (*Matlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, p 238, 250). When in 823 (1420) he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Kara Yūsuf (on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 7, 823 = November 12, 1420) Anarchy broke out in the Turkoman camp and a week later Mīrzā Baisunghur occupied Tabrīz; cf Price, *Chronological Retrospect of the Events of Mahom. History*, London 1821, iii 541, following the *Rawdat al-Safā* and the *Ḵẖulāṣat al-Aḵẖbār* Shāhrukh arrived there in the summer of 824 (1421) after defeating in Armenia the sons of Kara Yūsuf In 832 Iskandar, son of Kara Yūsuf, seized Sultānīya. Shāhrukh again arrived at Shām-Ghazān at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Kara-Ḳoyunlu at Salmās In the winter of 833 Ādharbāidjān was given to Abū Saʿīd b Kara Yūsuf who had come to pay homage to Shāhrukh In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar In the winter of 838 (1434) Shāhrukh came to Ādharbāidjān for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him but his brother Djahānshāh hastened to join Shāhrukh The latter spent the summer of 839 (1436) in Tabrīz and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Djahān-shāh

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabrīz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Herāt. The most remarkable building in Tabrīz "the Blue Mosque" (Gok-masdjid) is the work of Djahān-shāh (according to Berezin, of his wife Begum-Khātūn) It is possible that the presence in Tabrīz in the Surkhāb and Čarandāb quarters of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect (cf. SULṬĀN-ISHĀḲ) dates from the time of Djahān-shāh on whose heretical views cf Munedjdjim-bashī, iii 154

The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu On the 12th Rabīʿ II, 872 (10th November 1467) Djahān-shāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Uzun Ḥasan Bayandurī, chief of the Aḳ-Koyunlu Turkomans. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabrīz their dervish brother Husain ʿAlī but Begum Khātūn, widow of Djahān-shāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabrīz was however occupied by Husain Alī, the mad son of Djahān-shāh (by another wife) who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives (Munedjdjim-bashī)

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, Ḥasan ʿAlī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to death of Abū Saʿīd himself In 873 (1468) Uzun Ḥasan seized Tabrīz which he made his capital he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman Sulṭān, Fērīdūn-bey, *Munsha'āt*)

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Uzun Hasan [The first Venetian consul at Tabrīz was Marco da Molino in 1324]. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabrīz to which embassies came from all parts Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls "Aptisti" (*Haft* + ?). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabrīz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan "who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia" Uzun Hasan died in 852 (1477) and was buried in the Nasrīya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Yaʿḳūb During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (883—896) the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idrīs was his secretary) and in 888 built in the garden of Sāhib-ābād the Hasht-bihisht palace (cf the history of Yaʿḳūb by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, a unique MS of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, ancien fonds pers 101, fol. 105r). This palace (*Astibisti*) has also been described by the Venetian merchant, on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc Beside the Hasht-bihisht there was a ḥarem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast *maidān*, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients (cf also Ewliyā, ii 249).

The Ṣafawīs and the Turco-Persian wars. Ismāʿīl I occupied Tabrīz in 906 (1500) after his victory at Shaiūr over Mīrzā Alwand Ak-Koyunlu Of the 200—300,000 inhabitants of the town two-thirds were reported to be Sunnī but the new ruler was not long in imposing the Shiʿa upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 31) In his hatred of the Aḳ-Koyunlu Ismāʿīl had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (the historian of Yaʿḳūb, fol. 206v; G. M Angiolello). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismāʿīl set out for Arzindjān after Alwand the latter succeeded in returning to Tabrīz and during his brief stay there "oppressed the rich" (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, p 31)

The battle of Čaldīrān (2nd Radjab 920 = 23rd August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabrīz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghlu and the defterdār Pīrī and on the 6th September Sultān Selīm made his triumphal entry into it In the town the Turks conducted themselves with moderation (Browne, *Pers. Lit in Mod. Times*, p 77) but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Constantinople 1,000 skilled artisans. The Sulṭān only stayed a week in Tabrīz as he had to return to his own lands in consequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*², i. 720).

The events of 1514 were a grave warning to the Persians and under Tahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Ḳazwīn. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Tahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Turkoman tribe of Tekke) the troops of Sulaimān I under the command of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, occupied Tabrīz in 941 (July 13, 1534) and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Saʿīdābād ?) Ibrāhīm Pasha began to build a fortress at Shām-Ghazān. The government of Ādharbāidjān was entrusted to Ulāma who had held the same post under Tahmāsp On September 27, Sulṭān Sulaimān himself arrived in Tabrīz. A little later he made a thrust as far as Sulṭānīya and occupied

Baghdād. On his return to Tabrīz he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Wān. Again in 955 (July 28, 1548) at the instigation of Alḳās Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, Sulaimān occupied Tabrīz but only stayed five days there. The Persian tactics were to destroy all means of subsistence for the invader and famine thus forced the Turks to retreat once more According to the *Haft-Iḳlīm* Sulṭān Sulaimān had bought back from his soldiers their right of plundering the conquered city for 3 days but in spite of this the citizens continued to slay Turks in secret. Sulaimān refused Alḳās Mīrzā's proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d'Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabrīz and testifies to the Sultān's efforts to protect the town (*Voyage*, p. 83) In 962 (May 29, 1555) there was signed at Amasia the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years (v. Hammer, II 112, 120, 269; ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p. 49—59).

In 993 (1585) the grand vizier of Murād III Ozdemir-zāde ʿOthmān-pāshā with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabrīz The governor of Wān, Čighala-zāde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Čaldīrān and Sofiyān the Turks arrived before Shām-Ghazān The Persian governor ʿAlī Kulī-Khān after a bold sortie which cost Čighala-zāde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian prime minister Hamza Mīrzā operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops To defend Tabrīz, ʿOthmān Pāshā-zāde built a square citadel the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyā, *miʿmār-i mekki ar.hunī*) This citadel which was erected in 36 days was inside the town (ʿ*Ālam-ārā* "on the site of the old dawlat-khāna"; Ewliyā "around the Khiyābān of the Shāh") It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men The eunuch Djaʿfar Pāshā was appointed governor of Tabrīz On October 29, 1585, ʿOthman Pāshā died Čighala-zāde whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops succeeded in defeating the Persians but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Farhād Pāshā definitely relieved the garrison (v. Hammer, II. 354). By the disastrous peace of 998 (1590) Shāh ʿAbbās had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth the Turks took their occupation of Tabrīz seriously Their many buildings, especially those of Djaʿfar Pāshā, are mentioned by Ewliyā in Tabrīz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *sipāhī* at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sulṭān Muḥammad III. In the autumn Shāh ʿAbbās left Isfāhān unexpectedly and entered Tabrīz 12 days later ʿAlī Pāshā was defeated at Ḥādjdjī Ḥarāmī (2 farsakhs from the town) after which the citadel surrendered Shāh ʿAbbās treated the defeated foe with generosity (cf. the evidence of Tectander who was in Tabrīz) but in a revival of Shīʿa fanaticism the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. ʿAbbās I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p. 441, 451).

In 1019 (1610) in the reign of the weak Sulṭān Ahmad III the Turks again tried to resume the offensive The grand vizier Murād Pāshā with an army unexpectedly appeared in front of Tabrīz but ʿAbbās I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pīr-Budaḳ-Khān while the Shāh took up his position to the north of the Surkhāb. No fighting took place but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste Five days later the Turkish army was retracing its steps while Shāh ʿAbbās and Murād Pāshā continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabrīz The site of the old Turkish citadel was thought to be unsuitable as liable to inundation by the Mihrān-rūd The new fortress was built under the shadow of Surkhab in the Rabʿ-i Rashidī quarter. The materials were taken from old ruins particularly at Shām-Ghazān (ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p. 584, 601) On the other hand the unsuccessful invasion by Murād Pāshā led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022 (1612) by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp and Sulṭān Sulaimān (ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p. 600, 611; v Hammer, II 736, 745) The actual demarcation however met with obstacles.

In 1027 (1618) at the instigation of some Tatar Khāns of the Crimea the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Wān suddenly invaded Ādharbāidjān The Persians evacuated Tabrīz and Ardabīl. The Turks who were short of supplies revictualled at Tabrīz and advanced to Saiāb where Ḳarčkai Khān, *sipāhsālār* of Tabrīz, won a brilliant victory over them A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022 (ʿ*Ālam-ārā*, p 656—661; v Hammer, II 773).

After the death of ʿAbbās I the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor Shāh Ṣafī, Sulṭān Murād IV invaded Ādharbāidjān in 1045 (1635) and entered Tabrīz on September 12 The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murād ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabrīz" (Ewliyā, *eyidje orseleyip*) Murād in view of the advance of the season hastened to return to Wān. He only spent 3 days in Tabrīz. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Erīwān and by the treaty of 1049 (1639) secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045, says that after the devastation wrought by Murād IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen" (*Ḏj.hān-numā*, p. 381) Even Shām-Ghazān was not spared; the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan alone was left intact. The soldiers also tried to cut down the fruit-trees but in view of their number only managed to destroy a tenth of them.

Such then was the state of the town when a

series of travellers who visited it a few years later say had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyā Čelebi (in the reign of ʿAbbās II in 1057 [1647]) gives detailed statistics of Tabrīz, its madrasas (47), schools (400), caravanserais (200), houses of notables (1,070), dervish tekīyes (160), gardens (47,000), animated public promenades. In the same period Tavernier says that in spite of the damage done by Murād IV "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin (ii. 328) in 1673 under Shāh Sulaimān I, there were in Tabrīz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops It was "really a large and important town . There is plenty of all the necessaries of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it" There was a hospice of Capucins at Tabrīz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The Begler-begi of Tabrīz had under his authority the Khāns of Ḳarṣ, Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl and 20 "sulṭāns" (= local chiefs)

The end of the Safawids and Nādir The Afghān invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy The heir to the throne, Tahmāsp, who had fled from Isfāhān arrived in Tabrīz where he was proclaimed king in 1135 (1722). When by the treaty of September 12, 1723, Tahmāsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabrīz and Eriwān After the fall of Eriwān, Nakhčuwān and Marand, the Turks under the ser-ʿasker Abdullāh Pāshā Koprulu arrived before Tabrīz in the autumn of 1137 (1724) They occupied the Deweči and Surkhāb quarters (where Selīm I had once pitched his camp) The Persians who made Shām-Ghazān their base held out The Turks had some success but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month In the following spring Koprulu returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000 The survivors of the Persian garrison to the number of 7,000 withdrew without hindrance to Ardabil (ʿAlī Ḥazīn, ed Balfour, p 153; Hanway, ii, p. 229)

The treaty of 1140 (1727) concluded with the Afghān Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of N. W Persia as far as Sultānīya and Abhar. Two years later Nādir defeated Mustafā Pāshā's army at Suhailān (*vulgo* Sawalān or Sīnīkh-koprū) near Tabrīz. He entered this city on the 8th Muḥarram 1142 (1729) and made prisoner Rustam Pāshā, governor of Hashtarūd

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shāh Tahmāsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Ḳurdjān (near Hamadān) and the ser-ʿasker ʿAlī Pāshā returned to Tabrīz in the winter of 1144 (1731) and even built a mosque and madrasa there. By the treaty concluded a little later (January 16, 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabrīz and the western provinces. As Tabrīz had actually been occupied by ʿAlī Pāshā, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty resulted in the dismissal of the grand vizier (v. Hammer, iv. 281). On the other hand the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nādir an excuse for deposing Tahmāsp II. After checking Nādir near Baghdād the governor of Wān Rustam Pāshā re-occupied Tabrīz. In 1734, Nādir set out for Tabrīz and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia the treaty of 1149 (1736) re-established the status quo of 1049 (1639)

Towards the end of the reign of Nādir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabrīz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sām Mīrzā. The death of Nādir in 1160 (1747) might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs especially as Ridā Khān, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, *diwān-begi* of Tabrīz, had come to Erzerūm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne (a Nādirid; v. Hammer, iv. 474) but Turkey maintained complete neutrality

Nādir Shāh had entrusted Ādharbāidjān to his valiant cousin Amīr Arslān Khān who had 30,000 men under him. After Nādir's death, this general aided Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān to defeat his brother ʿĀdil Shāh (Sulṭān ʿAlī Shāh) but Ibrāhīm at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabrīz where (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 7, 1161) he had himself proclaimed king (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd-Nādirīya*, ed. O. Mann, p. 36—37). He was soon killed by Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir

The history of Ādhaibāidjān during the rule of the dynasty of Karīm Khān Zand is still little known The Afghān Āzād Khān was at first lord of the province. In 1170 (1756) it was taken from him by Muhammad Husain Khān Ḳādjār. Next year Karīm Khān defeated Fath ʿAlī Khān Afshar of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Ādharbāidjān (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*) In 1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabrīz.

The Ḳādjārs. Towards the end of 1205 (1790) Āḳā Muhammad, founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, set out to occupy Ādharbāidjān. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoi, Husain Khān Dumbulī (cf KURDS, ii, p 1145) Āḳā Muḥammad added Tabrīz to his fief After the assassination in 1211 (1796) of the first Ḳādjār Shāh, troubles broke out in Ādharbāidjān. Sādiḳ Khān of the Shiḳāḳī tribe [q. v] attempted to seize the supreme power and appointed his brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Sulṭān to Tabrīz. The Dumbulī Khāns took an active part in suppressing the rising and in return Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh confirmed Djaʿfar Kulī Khān Dumbulī in the governorship of Tabrīz. The latter as soon as he arrived in Tabrīz in 1213 (1798) formed a coalition with Ṣādiḳ Khān who had re-established himself in Sarāb and the Afshār Khān of Urmiya and shaking off "the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence" drove out the Shāh's representatives. Troops were sent against Djaʿfar Khān who with the help of the Kurds held out for some time in Khoi; cf. H. J. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, p 50, 84 etc. In 1214 (1799) the heir to the throne of Persia ʿAbbās Mīrzā established himself in Tabrīz with Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam (of Marāgha) as his beglerbegi. Djaʿfar Khān sought refuge in Russia (cf. SHEKKI) but for some time other members of the Dumbulī family continued to rule in Tabrīz. In 1224 (1809) Nadjaf Ḳulī Khān Dumbulī rebuilt the citadel of Tabrīz (*Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, i. 343; S. Wilson, p. 325) around which ʿAbbās Mīrzā dug ditches in 1241 (1825).

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801) complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabrīz became the principal centre of Persian activities. ʿAbbās Mīrzā set himself the task of europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission including a number of very notable explorers in Persia (Ouseley, iii 399; Ritter, ix. 876—880) made its headquarters in Tabrīz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov) also came to the court of ʿAbbās Mīrzā The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was however but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50—60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families Kinneir gives Tabrīz ("one of the most wretched cities") only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants, in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabrīz has only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it has no public buildings of note

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828 During the operations of 1827 the General Prince Eristow with the help of certain discontented Khāns entered Tabrīz with 3,000 soldiers on 3rd Rabiʿ II, 1243. ʿAbbās Mirzā was away and opinions in the town were divided Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle but an important ecclesiastic the Imām Mīrzā Fattāḥ insisted on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace Mīrzā Fattāh had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia). The commander-in-chief Count Paskewič then came to Tabrīz and met ʿAbbās Mīrzā at Dih-Khairaḳān An armistice was signed but the court of Teherān, did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Maiāgha and Ardabīl The peace of Turkman-čai (5th Shaʿbān, 1243 = Feb 22, 1828) which fixed the frontier on the Araxes finally put an end to the Russian occupation (*uruslukh*) On these events cf the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i. 404—410; Mansarov, *Bibliographia caucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874—1876, p 743—747; *Détails sur ce qui s'est passé à Tauris du 24 octobre au 5 novembre 1827*, in *Nouv. Annales de Voyages*, Paris 1828, i 38, p. 325; P. Zubow, *Kartinï voynï s Persiyei 1826—1827*, St Petersburg 1834; do., *Persidskaya vcina*, St. Petersburg 1837; Osten-Saken, *Administration de l'Ādharbāidjān pendant la guerre persane de 1827—1828* (in Russian), in *Russki Inwalid*, 1861, N°. 79.

Since the time of ʿAbbās Mīrzā, Tabrīz has been the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muḥammad Shāh in 1250 (1834) the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabrīz (Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii. 247). Their transfer to Ṭeherān marked the definite transference by the Ḳādjārs of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the xixth century little of general importance marked the life of Tabrīz. On Shaʿbān 27 1286 (July 8, 1850) the Bāb [q. v.] was executed in Tabrīz at the entrance to the arsenal (*djaba-khāna*); cf. this correction in Wilson, *Persian Life*, p. 62. In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shaikh ʿUbaidallāh (cf. SHAMDĪNĀN) greatly disturbed the people of Tabrīz Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them better if necessary but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb

The consolidation of Ḳādjār power secured peace for Ādharbāidjān and Tabrīz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830—1831 the census made in Tabrīz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100—120,000 people (Berezin) In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150—200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (Wilson, *op cit.*, p. 53). Twenty years later the population was certainly over 200,000 and in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation the town showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabrīz after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports produced a great crisis in 1837 The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti–Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond–Tabrīz. In 1883 the Russian government closed the route through Transcaucasia and Russian trade was thereby encouraged in Northern Persian markets but the movement of goods via Trebizond–Tabrīz (the only route to the west) also increased

Twentieth century. The history of Tabrīz since 1904 has been very stirring The Turks of Tabrīz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Ghuzz, Mongols, Turkomans etc.) with their energetic and passionate character played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement Open rebellion broke out in Tabrīz on June 23, 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Teherān. The names of Sattār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amīr Khīz quarter and his companion Bākir Khān are closely associated with the brave defence of Tabrīz but darker sides of their activity have not escaped even E G Browne, *The Pers Revolution*, p 491—492. The government troops under Prince ʿAin al-Dawla, surrounded the town and at the beginning of February 1909, blockaded it completely On April 20 the Cabinets of London and St Petersburg agreed to send to Tabrīz a Russian force "to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town". The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabrīz on April 30, 1909 (Browne, *op. cit.*, p 274). The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911 when the Russian ultimatum presented at Ṭeherān on November 29 provoked a new agitation in the country On December 21 the *fidā'ī* of Tabrīz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabrīz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thiḳat al-Islām, an important member of the Shaikhī sect). In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the "disputed" districts west of Ādharbāidjān were recalled but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier [cf. KURDS] remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore re-

mained in Ādharbāidjān till 1914 when the world war broke out.

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawdj-bulāk towards Marāgha and Tabrīz. At the same time Enver Pasha's raid on Sarī-ḳamīsh (south of Ḳarṣ) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Ādharbāidjān. Between December 17, 1914 and January 6, 1915, the Russian troops and following them the bulk of the local Christian population had left Tabrīz. On January 8 Ahmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhal at a head of a body of Kurds entered the town. The situation changed suddenly and on January 31 the Russians returning in force re-occupied Tabrīz (cf. the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabrīz. W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, p. 8—127).

Since 1906 a paved road connecting Tabrīz with the Russian frontier (Djulfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company which had obtained the concession from the Persian government The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofiyan to Lake Urmiya 25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory.

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the revolution of 1917. Ādharbāidjān was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government and even the Crown Prince had remained all this time at their places but when the last Russian detachment left Tabrīz on February 28, 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the democratic party and its head Ismāʿīl Nawbarī.

Meanwhile the Turks emerging from their inactivity quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On June 18, 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabrīz On July 8 General ʿAlī Iḥsān Pāshā arrived and on August 25 Kāzim Ḳara-bekr Pāshā who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbarī and supported the appointment of Madjd al-Sultāna as governor of Ādharbāidjān. This troubled situation lasted for a year and only with the arrival in Tabrīz of the new governor-general Sipah-sālār (June 1919) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Riḍā Khān, who became first of all minister of war and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of February 26, 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persa and the railway from Tabrīz to Djulfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Antiquities. The oldest monuments in Tabrīz date from the Mongol epoch (beginning of the xivth century) but no systematic study has yet been made of this field. The earthquakes and the indifference of the Shīʿīs to the buildings of their Sunnī predecessors or rivals are the two main causes of the disappearance of the monuments, interesting traces of which however still remain.

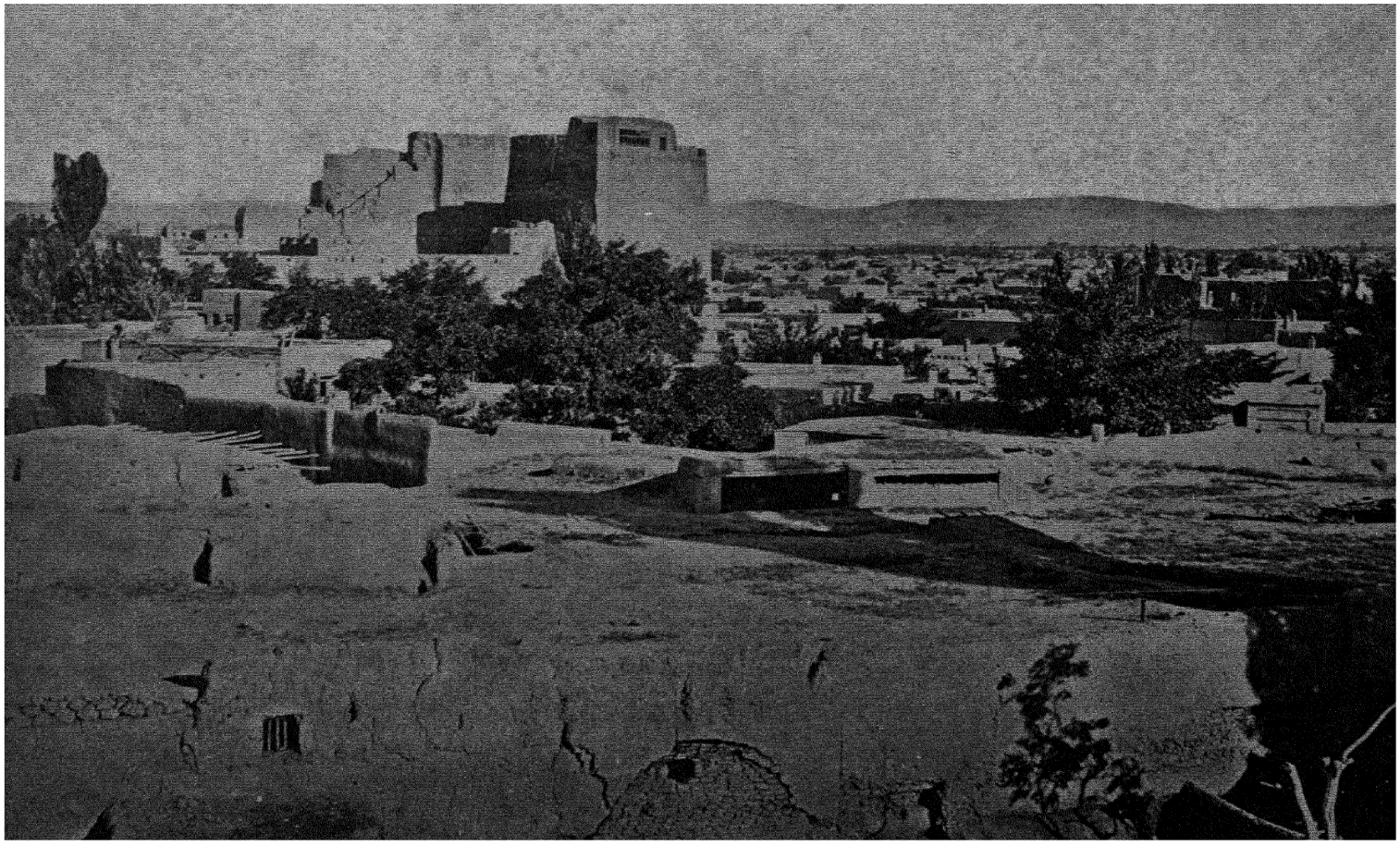
The magnificent buildings of Ghazān Khān in the village of Shanb/Shām (now the suburb of Ḳara-malik) have completely disappeared. As early as 1611 we find Shāh ʿAbbās using the material of the ruins of Shām-Ghazān to build a fortress. The earthquake of Feb. 5, 1641 caused further destruction (Arakel of Tabrīz, p. 496). Ewliyā Čelebi (ii. 265) still found the ruins of the sepulchral tower standing which reminded him of the tower of Galata (the same remark is made in the *Djihān-numā*). Mme. Dieulafoy and Sarre also visited the mound which is all that remains of Shām-Ghazān and faiences were still found there.

A detailed description of this marvellous building is given in the *ʿIḳd al-Djumān* of Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 835 = 1431) who made use of the account of the embassy from the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Nāṣir in the time of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd (the text was translated by Baron Tiesenhausen, *Zap.*, i 1886, p. 114—118) The mosque was said to rival the vault of the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon According to Ḥamdullāh (1340) the mosque was built too rapidly, which caused it to collapse (*furūd āmad*). The Venetian merchant (in 1514) speaks with enthusiasm of its ruins but Chardin (ii. 323) only found the lower part (restored) and the "tower". The name Ṭāḳ-i ʿAlī Shāh ("vault of ʿA.") is at the present day given to the enormous dilapidated brick building which stands in the centre of the town at the entrance to the old Miḥād-Miḥīn quarter (vulgo. Miyar-miyar; cf Berezin) It is probable that there is some confusion between the old mosque which has now disappeared and the neighbouring citadel which in no way agrees with the description which we have of the mosque. Nothing is definitely known of the date of the *ark* It may be the vast *dawlat-khāna* ("Tolbatgana") of which Clavijo speaks and which is mentioned in the *ʿĀlam-ārā* (cf above) The *ark* was turned into an arsenal by ʿAbbās Mīrzā and is still the most imposing building in Tabrīz.

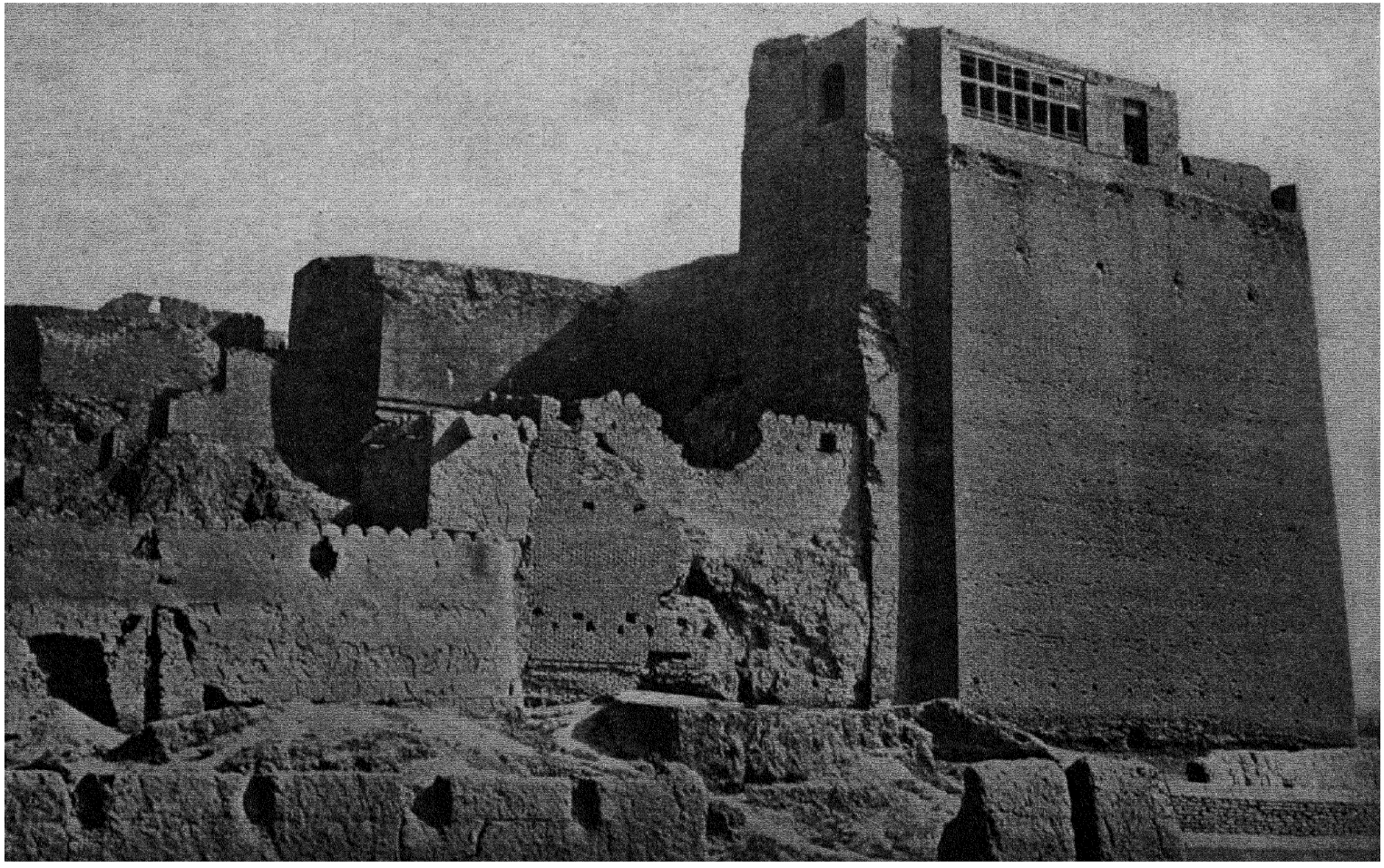
The beautiful mosque of Djahān Shāh (the Blue Mosque) described by Tavernier and Chardin has been exhaustively studied by Texier, Mme. Dieulafoy and Prof. Sarre. It is in a state of collapse. It is possible that its abandonment was the result of the heretical views of which its builder was accused by the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Ewliyā Čelebi is enthusiastic about "the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan" adorned with stones from Nadjaf and inscriptions traced by the hand of the calligrapher Yāḳūt-i Mustaʿsimī On either side of the *miḥrāb* were two pillars of a rare stone, like amber. This mosque known as Ustād-Shāgird ("master apprentice") was the work of Ḥasan Kūčik Čobanī (d. 741 = 1340) (*Zīnat al-Madjālis*, in the *Mirʾāt al-Buldān*, p. 341, Chardin). According to S. Wilson, the new mosque of this name (built on the site of the old one) is situated near the wool-market. This mosque seems to be different from the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan, of which very little is known.

Ewliyā says that the mosque of Shāh ʿAbbās was opposite the Ustād-Shāgird. To the Ṣafawī period also belongs the "allée" (*Khiyābān*) of Shāh Ṣafī (cf. Ewliyā). To the Ḳādjār period belong the residence of the governor-general Ala-Ḳapī ("the red gate"), the beautiful gardens of Bāgh-i Shimāl ("north garden's" which lie however on the south of the town), the pavilion of Shāh-göli ("the Lake of the Shāh"), 5 miles S. of the town (Berezin, p. 80) etc.

A detailed list of the monuments of Tabrīz will be found in the *Travels* of Ewliyā Čelebi. The view of Tabrīz by Chardin (*Atlas*, Pl. XI) which



View of Tabrīz from the West.



Tabu[illegible] The *ark*.

shows the public buildings is valuable for the study of the topography. The *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, i. 346—348 and the book by the American missionary Wilson also contain useful details. A plan of the town prepared in 1880 by the students of the military school of Tabrīz on a scale of 1 .8,820 was published in 1894; cf. Houtum-Schindler, *Geogr Journ*, 1895, p. 104. Berezin, p. 52 gives a sketch of the quarters of the town. There is a little Persian plan reproduced in Browne, *The Pers Revolution*, p. 284. A very detailed plan of Tabrīz was also published in Tiflīs in 1912.

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R*, viii. 525, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, p 237), Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī, *Hadā'ik al-Siyāhat*, MS Bib Nat Paris, Supp Pers fol. 1305, f. 86 r ; idem, *Bustān al-Siyāhat* (written 1247), more complete version of the preceding, Tihrān 1315, p 186—188, Muhammad Hasan Khān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, Tihrān 1294, i 337—419 (compilation completed from unpublished data), Marco Polo, Chap xxvi. Toris, Tauris, Taurīz, Thoris etc (the monastery of Barsamo mentioned by Ramusio in the region of Tabrīz is perhaps that of St Barthelemy at Mākū, q. v); Clavijo (1405—1406), *Vida y hazañas del gran Tamorlan*, Sevilla 1582, Chap. lxxxii., cxliv etc (ed Sreznewski, St Petersburg 1881, p 167—172, 358—376), the reports of the Venetian travellers (Barbaro Contarini, C Zeno, Angiolello, the anonymous merchant V. 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TABŪK, a town on the pilgrim road and on the railway from Damascus to Medīna (according to Yāḳūt four days' journey from al-Ḥidjr and 12 from Medīna). It lies on a slight undulation of the sandy plain and has a very good well, probably the one mentioned in Arab legend.

The most important building is the pilgrim's fort built according to the inscription in 1064 (1654), the oldest parts of which can easily be distinguished from the later restorations Beside it is a modern mosque built of beautifully hewn stones. Euting found the place empty except for a garrison of five men. Jaussen and Savignac speak of about 40 houses with walls of sundried bricks and roofs of branches covered with rubble. The fruit-trees were in a very neglected condition.

In the time of the Prophet, Tabūk was on the northern frontier of Arabia beyond which Byzantine territory began The place became historic when Muḥammad's great campaign against the north began in the year 9 The population, Greeks, ʿĀmila, Laḫm and Djudhām, fled on his approach He had however to abandon his objective which was evidently the lands farther north inhabited by Arabs, as the great heat caused his followers to become dispirited. He therefore only stayed ten days before beginning his retreat but made use of this time for negotiations with the people of Aila, Adhruh and Maḳna, which led to their submission

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TABULA SMARAGDINA, the revelation of secret alchemistic teaching ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos Known in a later version in the west since the middle of the xiiᵗʰ century, the origin of the text was until recently an unsolved problem in the history of chemistry Since R Steele in his edition of Bacon (1920) showed that the text of the *Tabula* existed in Arabic and Latin in the *Sirr al-Asrār* of Pseudo-Aristotle, and E J Holmyard in 1923 discovered a more primitive form of the text in the *Kitāb al-Uṣtukuss al-thānī* of Djābir b. Ḥayyān, J Ruska has been able to show that the original source of the still in many passages puzzling document is to be found at the end of the *Sirr al-khalīka*, composed by Hermes, said to have been found by Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) in the tomb of Hermes and to throw light on many points of the history of the *Tabula* from the time of Hugo Santelliensis to the present day. He was finally able to show that Djābir b Ḥayyān already was acquainted with the book of Apollonius, so that it is fairly certain that the work originated in gnostic circles

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ṬABŪR (T.) (Eastern Turkī. *tapḳūr*, a palisade formed of wagons arranged in a circle or square; a body of men sent out to reconnoitre), a battalion, a corps of about a thousand men, commanded by a *bīn-bashī* (chief of a thousand).

Bibliography: Radlof, *Opyt*, iii 953, 978; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict turk-oriental*, p 192; Sulaimān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Djaghatai*, p. 97; Ahmad Wafīḳ-Pasha, *Lehdjè-i ʿothmānī*, ii. 739; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict turc-français*, ii 250; Vámbéry, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, p. 253 (Cl Huart)

TADALLĪS, Tedellès (Dellys), a town on the Algerian coast, 70 miles east of Algiers and 4 miles E of the mouth of the Sebau, the principal river of Kabylia, from which it is separated by the mountainous mass which ends in Cape Beugut. — It lies in 55° 20′ N. Lat. and 3° 55′ E Long (Greenwich). — The town consists of two distinct quarters the native quarter with its narrow streets and the European quarter regularly built on a plateau about 175 feet above sea-level Below, the harbour, sheltered against the winds from the west and northwest, offers a fairly secure anchorage but is frequented only by a few small trading vessels The country round is covered with tall trees and well-tilled gardens and offers a pleasing picture. The total population is 3,884 of whom 2,508 are natives. The latter are of Kabyl origin but like the majority of the tribes of the district speak only Arabic

The site of Dellys was occupied in the Roman period by the town of Rusucurru a few traces of which have been discovered (remains of walls, cisterns, etc.). This town must have been destroyed at the Arab conquest and for long the site remained uninhabited Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl de Slane, p 135) does mention a port situated to the east of Mersa 'l-Hadjadj which he calls the town of the Benī Djennad but this place seems to correspond to Cape Djinet rather than to Dellys.

The name itself under the form Thadellast, Thadellisth ("the cottages") does not appear till the period when the Hammādid sovereigns (cf. HAMMĀDIDS) established their capital in Bougie. Owing to its position which enabled relations to be easily established with the people of the valley of the Sebau, this little town acquired a certain commercial and military importance, it even had a Hammādid governor. (In 496 [1102—3] the Sulṭān al-Mansūr gave this office to a prince of Almeria who had taken refuge in Africa) Idrīsī (p. 104) describes Tadā'llīs as a town on an eminence and surrounded by a strong wall. He mentions the fertility of the country round, the low cost of living, and the abundance of cattle which were exported to the adjacent regions. After the fall of the Hammādid kingdom, Dellys passed under the rule of the Almohads, was taken by Yaḥyā b Ghaniya (622 = 1226—1227), then its possession was disputed among the Almohads, Zayanids, Hafsids and the Marīnids who took it in 1394 In the xvᵗʰ century according to Leo Africanus (Bk. iv , transl. Schefer iii., 69), Dellys shared the fate of Algiers Like all the towns on the coast, it received a number of refugees from Spain who must have contributed to the economic and intellectual life of the town Leo (*loc. cit.*) says that the inhabitants engaged in dyeing, traded successfully and were noted for their skill in playing the lute. As to their fashion of dress, he says it is like that of the people of Djazā'ir. When the Algerians had submitted to Spain (1570), the people of Dellys followed their example but in 1517 it was retaken by Arūdj [q. v.]. The Turks

put a garrison there and made the town a base of operations against the tribes of the valley of Sebau. Although the inhabitants kept up a constant intercourse by sea with Algiers, Dellys only vegetated under Turkish rule. It was a wretched village when the French occupied it on May 7, 1844 A European quarter was established there two years later The conquest of Kabylia, which was followed by the transfer of the military establishment to Teizi Uzon and Fort National, arrested its development. In the course of the insurrection of 1871, Dellys was blockaded on the land side by the Kabyls (April-May) but maintained its own communication by sea so that it could not be taken by the rebels. Since then its peace has not been disturbed but owing to its outlying position and the difficulties of its communications the town has remained stationary and colonization by Europeans has not developed around it.

Bibliography S A Boulifa, *Le Djurjura à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925, Robin, *Notes sur l'organisation militaire des Turcs dans la Grande Kabylie* (*R Afr*, 1873) Cf. also the Bibliography to the articles ALGERIA, KABYLIA.

(G. YVER)

TADBĪR (A), *Masdar* of the second stem of the root *d-b-r*

1. With the meaning „direction, administration". The Arabic lexicographers explain *dabbara* as a verb from the noun *dubur* "the hindmost, the end" (opposite *kubul*), thus we read in the *Lisān*, v 358 *an tanzura ilā mā ta'ūlu ilaihi ʿākibatahu*, "to heed what one attains at the end of a matter", or *yanzuru fī ʿawākibihi*, "to heed the end of a matter" This verb has now a double application *a.* in the sense of government, administration (e g in the title of a work by Ibn Abī 'l-Rabīʿ, *Sulūk al-Mālik fī Tadbīr 'l-Mamālik* [cf SIYĀSA]) and *b* which concerns us here, in the sense of guidance, management of a household, *tadbīr al-manzil* = οἰκονομία Thus for example, Ibn Khaldūn says in his *Mukaddima* (ed Quatremère in *N E*, xvi. 62, transl de Slane in *N E.*, xix 78) *al-siyāsat al-madanīya hiya tadbīr al-manzil aw al-madīna* . "The *Siyāsat al-madanīya* is the management of a household or of a state in keeping with the demands of ethics (*akhlāk*) and wisdom, so that the whole may be led on a path on which regularity (*nawʿ*) is maintained"

The Tadbīr al-Manzil is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy, which was taken over by the Muslims from Hellenism with these divisions; the latter are ethics (*ʿilm al-akhlāk*), economics (*ʿilm tadbīr al-manzil*) and politics with *ʿilm al-siyāsa* (cf e g. Ibn Sīnā, *Aksām al-ʿUlūm al-aklīya*, in *Madjmūʿat al-Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1328, p. 229 *sq.*, al-Ḳiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-Hukamāʾ*, ed Lippert, p. 52 and many others). As Ritter was the first to show, the whole economic literature of Islām can be traced to the *Economics* (of which the Greek original is now lost) of the Neopythagorean Bryson, which survives in an Arabic translation (ed Cheikho in *Machriq*, xix [1921], 161—181, mentioned as early as *Fihrist*, p 315), from which again came a Hebrew (Munich, Cod Hebr 263, Ritter in *Isl*, vii [1917], 12 *sq.*) and a Latin (Dresden MS of Galen to which Plessner has called attention) translation. The latter has edited and studied all the material. According to his results the main lines of development of economics in Islām are as follows apart from copyists and imitators (al-Dimashkī, *Isḥāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*, ed. by Ritter in *Isl*, vii. 1 *sqq.*; Ibn Abī 'l-Rabīʿ, *Sulūk al-Mālik*; the *Encyclopaedia* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Ibn al-Fanārī) the *Economics* of Bryson was independently edited by Nāṣir al-Dīn in his *Akhlāḳ* and extended by the incorporation of Muslim and Persian ideas. Tūsī's Economics was regarded for all time in Islām as the final model On it were based the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī* and for the most part the later authors also who deal with economics, like al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrazūrī, al-Āmulī (inserts a chapter on attitude to relations) and al-Īdjī.

The contents of these economic writings deal with the following subjects. acquisition, preservation and utilisation of property (*māl*), attitude to slaves, women and children, everything is regarded from the point of view of acquiring and retaining the greatest possible good fortune.

The *Fihrist*, p 263, further mentions a second work on Economics apparently dating from the Hellenistic period and translated into Arabic. The *Kitāb Rūfūs fī Tadbīr al-Manzil li-ʿLWSWS* (for ʿ one should probably read *gh*, *f* or *ḳ*): "The book of Rūfūs on the Economics of. .(?)". The name of this ancient author cannot be ascertained with certainty, especially as the names of very few ancient economists have come down to us One might imagine it to be some name like Philodemus.

There is also an Arabic translation (or synopsis) of the first book of the *Economics* wrongly attributed to Aristotle (now usually attributed to Theophrastus) in a manuscript of varied contents in the Escorial (Casiri, N⁰ 883) entitled *Kitāb Arisṭū fī Tadbīr al-Manāzil* and in a manuscript containing several different works in a private collection in Bairūt entitled *Thimār Maḳāla Arisṭū fī Tadbīr al-Manzil* (cf Maʿlūf in *Mach*, xix [1921], p 257—262) These two manuscripts have however not yet been closely studied In the *Fihrist*, in Abī Usaibiʿa and al-Ḳiftī this *Economics* is not mentioned (cf thereon Baumstark, *Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1900, p. 53 *sqq.*), while Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ṣāʿid b. Ahmad al-Andalusī (d 462 = 1069—1070), *Tabaḳāt al-Umam*, Cairo, n. d, p 39 or his authority seems to have been acquainted with an *Economics* (*Siyāsat al-Manzil*) of Aristotle. The way in which this translation has been handed down in MS. seems to indicate that it originated in Christian Arab circles. Maʿlūf suggests without any authority that the translator was Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd Allāh b al-Ṭayib (d 435 = 1043—1044) The writer is preparing an edition and study of this book on Economics

Bibliography Djurdjī Zaidān, *Taʾrīkh Adāb al-Lughat al-ʿarabīya*, Cairo 1912, ii. 232 *sq* , Ritter, *Ein arab Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl*, vii. (1917), 4—14; Plessner, *Der οἰκονομικὸς des Neupythagoraers Bryson und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, Breslau, phil. Diss 1925 (synopsis only; the complete work will appear shortly)

2 With the meaning "Manumission of a slave, which however only becomes operative after the death of the master". *Dabbara* is in this case a verb formed from the noun *dubur*, "(life's) end", i e death. Cf *Lisān*, v. 358; Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s. v For particulars cf. the article ʿABD. The fullest treatment of the subject in Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i 122.

(HEFFENING)

TADHKIRA (A), memorial, memorandum, from *dhakara* "to record". The word appears in the titles of many famous works the *Memorandum of Astronomy* of Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī, the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ*, "Memorial of the Saints" of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, the *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, "memorial of the poets", a biography of the poets, popular in Persia

In administrative language it means ticket, memorandum, permit It is the name given to travellers' passports, *yol tadhkirèsi*, to the custom house office's *exeat murūr tadhkirèsi* It is also more especially applied to the diplomas of investiture given to *kādīs* on taking up their office, the general name for these diplomas for ministers of religion being *barāʾa* Under the old Turkish government system there were two *tadhkirédjīs*, a major and a minor, entrusted with the delivery of *tadhkira*'s, they were important officials directly under the orders of the *kāʾim-ʿaskeri* [q v] and admitted to the table of the grand vizier

Bibliography. The dictionaries and M d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1791, iv 539, 597

(B CARRA DE VAUX)

TĀDJ (A), Crown A Persian loanword in Arabic going back to the Old Persian **tag*; cf Armenian *ʿtag*, Aramaic *taga* From it are formed in Arabic the broken plural *tīdjān* and the corresponding verb *t-w-dj* II "to crown", V "to be crowned", and *tāʾidj*, "crowned" (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p 81; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Gottingen 1919, p 74, 84, Fraenkel, *Die aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leyden 1886, p 62) Like the name, the thing itself comes from old Persia The form of the crowns of the old Persian kings, which we know best from their coins, was not unknown in Arabic literature. Masʿūdī, for example, tells us he had seen an old book with coloured pictures of Persian kings wearing their crowns, which was translated into Arabic for the Omayyad Hishām b ʿAbd al-Malik b Marwān (*B G A*, viii, p 106) A whole series of books now lost with titles like *Kitāb Siyar al-Mulūk*, *Kitāb al-Tādj* seem to have been of similar content. On the latter, cf Zeki Pasha in the introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Tādj* of Djāhiẓ (Cairo 1332 [1914]) It is presumably on such sources that are based the statements on the Persian crown in Hamza Isfahānī, *Kitāb Taʾrīkh Sanī Mulūk al-Ard wa ʾl-Anbiyāʾ* (Berlin, Kaviani Press, p 17, 24 *sq*, 32, 35 *sqq*), and the Persian *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh* which utilises him and the statements in Tabarī's also (on the relation of their sources cf Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, Introduction; on the crown among the Persians cf. especially p. 95, 221, 304, 385, 453, A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p 14, 89 *sqq*, 106; do., *Le Règne du Roi Kawadh I et le Communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen 1925, p. 22 *sqq*.). In the Arabic *Awāʾil* literature we are told that the first to wear a crown was Dahḥāk (see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ*, Cairo 1331 [1913], i. 415)

On Muḥammadan miniatures which depict the old Persian kings, the latter wear regular crowns but their form is of course in no way authentic On the miniatures, crowns are also worn by the angels, and notably by the Prophet Muhammad and Burāḳ in the *Miʿrādj* (see the miniature in the edition of the Uigur *Miʿrādj-nāme*, ed by Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1882)

The Arabs made their first acquaintance with crowns before Islām, for the Persian kings occasionally gave their Arab vassal kings crowns as a token of their rank, e g. to the Lakhmid Imraʾ al-Ḳais (d 328 A D, cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol Or*, vi 307 *Le trône de „tous les Arabes"* and vii 176 *sqq Le Tâdj-dâr Imrou 'l-Qais et la royauté générale des Arabes*; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 35, 375 also on the difference between *iklīl* and *tādj*; the latter seems to mean a simple chaplet only), and to the Lakhmid Nuʿmān III (s Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥîra*, Berlin 1899, p 128) and to the *Dhū Tādj* Hawdha b ʿAlī, the Christian ruler of the Yemāma in the time of Muhammad, to whom the Prophet is said also to have sent a demand to become converted to Islām (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wustenfeld, p 971, Kalḳashandī, vi 379, Fraenkel, p 62, Tabarī, i 985; Noldeke, *Gesch d. Perser u Araber*, p 258) Crowns and bearers of crowns were often celebrated by the poets (see Siddiqi, p. 84, Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p 289 *sq*, where the crown is said to be a peculiarity of the Yemen, possibly a reminiscence of the old relations between Yemen and the Abyssinians, on the crown of the latter cf Noldeke, *Geschichte*, p 225 and 233)

The celebrated crown of Khusraw II was among the booty which the Arabs took at Ctesiphon (Christensen, *L'Empire*, p. 106) But the crown continued to be something foreign and rare among the Arabs. There is a hadīth which says *al-ʿamāʾim tīdjān al-ʿArab*, "the turbans are the crowns of the Arabs", i e according to the usual explanation in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and elsewhere turbans are as rare amongst them as crowns, for most Beduins do not wear turbans but only *kalānis* (caps cf. the article KALANSUWA) or no headdress at all

Islām knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers etc The *tādj al-Bābā* is the tiara of the Pope, *tādj al-uskuf* the mitre of a bishop Only in the case of the so-called *tādj al-khalīfa* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*ālāt al-mulūkīya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the ʿAbbāsid period and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Omayyads (Noldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 453) The Caliph wore this *tādj* on ceremonial occasions (*mawākib*) on the great feast-days Kalḳashandī (iii 472 and 484 = Wustenfeld, *Calcaschandi*, p. 172 and 182) describes the *tādj* of the Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt It is evident from him that it was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems, including a particularly large one called *al-yatīma*, weighing seven dirhams, of the colour of the Fāṭimids, namely white, for the elaborate winding of which (*shadd al-tādj al-sharīf*) a special official (the *shādd*, later called *laffāf*) was appointed (cf Inostrancev, *The ceremonial procession of the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, in Russian, St Petersburg 1905, p. 64, Ibn al-Sairafī, *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, ed Bahgat, p 27[1]). — The Hafṣid Sulṭān too wore a *tādj* on his *mawākibs* (cf Ibn Fadl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, extract *Waṣf Ifrīḳīya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed Ḥasan

Hasanī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis [ca. 1922], p 23, N⁰. 2)

Among the robes of honour which the Caliph or the Sultān used to send to governors, ambassadors etc there was usually a *tādj*, as is often expressly mentioned Thus according to Kalḳashandī, viii 375 *sq* on his accession the Caliph presents a gilt crown (*tādj muraṣṣaʿ*; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iii 38) A similar *tādj* seems also to appear as an emblem on the arms of emirs of the Mamlūk period.

The name *tādj* was also given to the headdress of the Ottoman sultāns. Even ʿOthmān I is said to have worn a *tādj-i Khorāsānī* (d'Ohsson, ii 135). We know exactly the kind of headdress worn by the conqueror of Constantinople from the pictures by Bellini He wears a large turban, and the *tādj*, the inner cap of this turban is in the shape of a truncated cone, is usually red and rippled (? stitched) Round this is wound the turban proper (*ṣarīḳ*) of thin cloth The form of the turban of the Fātih found on his pictures is also shown on the medals When we find on the reverse of a medal three regular crowns, which are believed to represent the three kingdoms of Asia, Greece and Trebizond united under Ottoman rule, the explanation probably is simply that the medal was designed and executed by a European artist (cf. G. F. Hill, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, p 287—298 and Pl xiv) Karabacek has dealt fully with the *tādj* of the Ottoman Sultāns According to him the Perso-Turkish *tādj* corresponds to the *tartūr* of Arabic-speaking lands, a rather high cap which is found represented as early as a papyrus of the viith century A. D. and assumed many varying forms in the course of time. In remarkable agreement with these forms are the headdresses (hen[n]in) of the xivth—xvith centuries of ladies in France and Spain, which according to Karabacek came direct from the east (the name Arabic *hanīnī* as well as the thing itself) Particular forms of this headdress have survived on women to the present day e. g among the Druses of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis In modern Egypt there has developed from this the *kurṣ* as a woman's headdress This is a plate-like ornament of gold and gems, which is sewn on the crown of a rather high cap and is sometimes of considerable weight This *kurs* is put on the top (*shāhid*) of the bier of dead women, as is done with the turban in the case of men (cf Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Appendix A; Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 218, 234) The use of a special crown for brides, which is found all over the world, is also sometimes found in the Muslim world (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, i. 424; Lagarde, *Arabes mitrati, Nachrichten . . . . Gottingen*, 1891, p 160 *sqq* and the title of the well-known *Tādj al-ʿArūs*; cf for Eastern Turkestan Brockelmann, in *Asia Major*, ii 122)

The *tādj* has been given a special religious significance as a headdress among the dervishes The assumption of the *tādj* is an essential part of the *shadd* [q. v] The different dervish orders have each their *tādj* of distinct form and colour, frequently with 12 seams (*terk*) from the number of the Imāms, or with 9, 7 etc , and there are numerous names and symbolical interpretations associated with them (see Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Miṣbāḥ al-Makāṣid*, Stambul 1293, p 212—215; Brown, *The Darvishes*, p 148 *sqq* ; pictures in d'Ohsson, ii 292; there is also a large coloured table of the 14 most important dervish orders with pictures of their *tādj* and accounts of the *silsile* of their founders, printed in the Stambul press of Maḥmūd Bey, publ by the *Sanāʾiʿ-i nefise Resim-Khānesi* of Ẓiyā Bey, dated 15th Shaʿbān 1314). In Persia under Shaikh Haidar (q v , whence *Tādj-i Ḥaidarī*) and Shāh Ismāʿīl [q v] we find the Ṣūfī *tādj* as a kind of official headdress for the king, the court, the army and the officials, granted with a special ceremonial, but it probably existed before them (see Karabacek, *op cit*, p 87, Babinger, *Islām*, xi. 84[1], on the Kizilbash)

We find *tādj* used in many ways with a metaphorical application Names of honour (*alḳāb*) combined with *tādj* are very common in later times and were probably most popular in the Mamlūk period At first they were content with simple epithets like *Tādj al-Dīn* for soldiers (Ḳalḳashandī, v 488) or *Tādj al-Dawla* for Christian secretaries (Kalkashandī, v 487), then we get double epithets like *ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa Tādj al-Milla* (v. 492), *Tādj al-ʿUlamāʾ wa 'l-Ḥukkām* for *ḳāḍis* (vi. 41 *sqq*) and many others. For infidel kings forms of address like *Bakiyat Abnā al-Tukhūt wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi 85), *Mukhawwil al-Tukhūt wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi. 175), *Wāriṯh al-Asirra wa 'l-Tidjān* (vi 177) were used Perhaps the custom of which there are countless examples of giving books titles in the form of *Tādj* with a genitive is connected with this

In astronomy *Tādj-i Saʿdān* = Saturn, *Tādj al-Djabbār* a star near Orion. *Tādj ʿAmūd* is the capital of a column (see Saire-Herzfeld, *Archaeol Reise*, ii 185), *tādj* is also the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds. *Tādj* is also the Arabic name of the Tagus — A famous palace of the Caliph was called *Ḳaṣr al-Tādj* It was built under the caliphs Muʿtadid and Muktafī out of the ruins of a palace in Madāʾin, one of the seven wonders of the world, burned down in 549 after being struck by lightning, rebuilt but not finished, and completely destroyed in 574 (Yāḳūt, i 806—809, transl *Z D M G.*, xviii. 403—406, Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i. 74; v Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii 54, Sarre-Herzfeld, i 92; ii. 63, 148) Among the pleasure houses (*Manāẓir*) of the caliphs in Cairo there was one called *Manzarat al-Tādj*, built by Badr al-Djamālī [q. v.], which was in ruins by the time of Maḳrīzī (Maḳrīzī, i 481, ii 129, Yāḳūt, suppl , v 15; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i 224 and 228).

Bibliography In addition to the particular works mentioned in the text cf in general· Dozy, *Dictonnaire des vêtements*, s v *Tādj*, *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s v *Crown*, Karabacek, *Abendlandische Kunstler in Konstantinopel im 15 u. 16 Jahrhundert*, I. *Italienische Kunstler am Hofe Muhammeds II des Eroberers 1451—1481*, *Denkschriften d k Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, lxii , vol i , 1918 (W Bjorkman)

TĀDJ MAḤALL, the beautiful mausoleum erected at Āgra by the emperor Shāh Djahān [q v] for his dearly loved wife, Adjumand Bānū Begum, of whose title, Mumtāz Maḥall, the name is a corruption She was the daughter of Āsaf Khān, brother of the famous Nūr Djahān [q v], and was married to Shāh Djahān on May 10, 1612, at the age of nineteen She bore him

fourteen children, and died in June, 1631, at Burhānpūr, after giving birth to a daughter She was buried temporarily at Zainābād, a suburb of Burhānpūr, but her husband, who mourned her deeply, resolved to commemorate their love by a tomb worthy of it, and her body was removed to Āgra, and again temporarily buried on a site which he acquired from Rādjā Djai Singh, and on which the Tādj was erected The structure, with its subsidiary buildings was not completed for twenty-two years, during which period 20,000 workmen were continuously employed on it A council of the best architects in the empire was held, and designs were submitted, that finally chosen being the work of Ustādh ʿĪsā, a native either of Turkey or of Shīrāz. The tradition that the architect was the Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo, based on a statement made by the Italian Augustinian Friar, Father Manrique, finds no corroboration either in native annals or in the writings of the travellers Tavernier, Bernier, and Thévenot, who regarded the building as a purely Oriental work It is, moreover, improbable The tomb, of white marble from Djodhpūr, stands on a raised plinth, also faced with white marble, 18 feet high and 313 feet square At each corner of this stands a beautifully proportioned minaret, 133 feet high, girt with three galleries and finished with an open, domed *čatrī* In the centre of this platform stands the mausoleum, "a square of 186 feet with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches, the façade rising 92 feet 3 inches from the platform The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter, and rising 74 feet above the roof, or 191 from the platform" In each face of the building is a high arched porch, and in each a small domical apartment of two stories in height Each is surmounted by a domed *čatrī*, and each has, in its three outer faces, six arched recesses, arranged in two stories and admitting light to latticed windows These recesses, and the great porches, are vaulted Beneath the dome, in the centre, is the cenotaph of Mumtāz Mahall, and beside it that of her husband, both adorned with inscriptions Immediately beneath these, in the crypt, which is on the ground level, are the true tombs, less ornamented than the cenotaphs. The cenotaphs are enclosed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble, "a chef d'oeuvre of elegance in Indian art" The porches are framed in ornamental inscriptions in the Arabic character, and the beauty of the whole is enhanced by copious and graceful ornamentation in *pietra dura*, all the spandrels, angles, and important architectural details, being inlaid with precious stones, agates, jaspers, bloodstones, cornelians, and the like, combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets, as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour Light is admitted only "through double screens of white marble trellis work of the most exquisite design, one on the outer, and the other on the inner face of the walls" Beyond the mausoleum and its platform are the two wings, one of which is a beautiful mosque. "This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court, 880 feet square, and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth" Pedants in art have endeavoured to judge the Tādj by the canons of Greek and Gothic architecture, but such comparisons are merely impertinent As Fergusson truly says "the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinated to the other make up a whole which the world cannot match"

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TĀDJ AL-DAWLA [See Tutush.]

TĀDJ AL-DĪN [See al-Subkī]

TĀDJ AL-MULŪK [See Būrī]

TĀDJĪK, older form TĀZĪK or TĀŽĪK (in Mahmūd Kāshghaīī, 1, 324· Težik), the name of a people originally used with the meaning "Arab" (later this meaning became confined to the form Tāzī), afterwards "Iranian" in contrast to "Turk". The word is derived from the Arab tribal name of Taiy. The nearest Arab tribe to the Iranians was the Taiy, hence the name of this tribe came to be applied to the whole Arab people The Taiy are "mentioned as early as the beginning of the third century by an Edessene along with the Saracens as representatives of all the Beduins" (Cureton, *Spicil Syr*, p 16 ult. in Noldeke, *Z D.M.G.*, lxix, 713) The corresponding word with the meaning "Arab" is in Pahlawi Tāčīk, in Armenian Tačik (cf *Grundr d. iran. Phil* 1, 2, 187), in Chinese Tashi The Muslim conquerors seem to have been known by the same name to the Iranian population of Central Asia, as, in the view then prevailing, an Iranian convert to Islām became an Arab (cf. Tabarī II, 1508, 13), the word reached the Turks with the meaning "Muhammadan, a man from the land of Islām", as the majority of the Muslims known to the Turks were Iranians, the word "Tedjik" came to mean Iranian in Turkī Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*op cit.*) explains the word "Težik" as "Persian" (*al-Fārisī*), in the contemporary *Kutadghu Bilik* (esp. 8, 1) the "Tedjik" are distinguished from the Arabs as Persians (cf Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches der Turk-Dialecte*, III, 1096) The Iranians themselves even at this date already called themselves "Tāzīk" in contrast to their Turkish rulers; cf e g Baihakī, ed Morley, p 746 at the top. The difference between Turk and Tādjīk is frequently emphasised, it was asserted that relations between a Turk and a Tādjīk always ended badly and that a Tādjīk could never rely on a Turk (Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, ed Dorn, p. 248 and 253 *sqq.*) On the relation of the word Tādjīk to the word "Sart" cf the article SART. In the use of the two words the importance of the Iranians as a race of traders is apparent. The word "Sart" is first found in Turkī as a noun meaning "merchant" and later became the ethnic of the Iranians who were principally regarded as a race of traders; *vice versa*, the name Tādjik (Tezik) later, at least among the Tatars on the Volga, came to be used as a word meaning "merchant". According to one of the original sources for the conquest of Kazan by the Russians in 1552 (Prince Kurbskiy's account) the citadel of Kazan was surrounded by the "ditch of the Tezik" ("*tezickiy*" or "*teshickiy*" *rov*) and the work Tezik is explained as "merchant" (cf. Karamzin, *Ist. gos. Ross.*, VIII, 110, P Zarinskiy, *Otčerk. drevney Kazani*, 1877, p 8).

At the present day the name Tādjīk is sometimes

given to the Eastern Iranians in contrast to the Persians proper, the strip between Astarābād [q.v.] and Yezd is said to be the western limit of the dwellings of the Tādjīk. In Turkestan the Tādjīk, especially under Özbeg rule have been gradually driven from the plains into the mountains. The Russians include under the name "Tādjīk" all the Iranian peoples in Turkestan, both the Tādjīk proper, i. e. the people who speak "Tādjīkī" and the highlanders on the Pandj (cf. ĀMŪ-DARYĀ) and the upper Zarafshan, who occupy a special linguistic position. In keeping with the use of the name, the autonomous republic of Tadjikistan was founded in 1924 with its capital Dushambe (on the upper Kāfir-Nihān) According to a census of the same year, the number of Tādjīk was 871,532 The people themselves use Tādjīk in different ways. The inhabitants of several mountainous districts like Shughnān and Roshan call themselves Tādjīk while they describe their Tādjīkī-speaking neighbours in Darwāz as "Persian-speaking" (*pārsī gūy*), in contrast to this, the people of the upper Zarafshan, who speak a Persian dialect, apply the name Tādjīk to themselves and call the people on the river Yaghnob, who speak a peculiar dialect "Galča"; the latter people seem also to distinguish their "Yaghnobī" from the language of the Tādjik

The old derivation (still given in *Grundr.* II., 402) of the ethnic Tādjīk from the head-dress *tādj* may be absolutely rejected on both linguistic and historical grounds

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TĀDJĪKĪ, the language of the Tādjīk [q v] As a literary language Tādjikī seems to be "more or less remote from modern Persian according to the degree of education of the person writing or speaking it" In this sense (aiming at the elegance of the "Persian literati" but without "denying a dialectical colouring"), the Tādjīkī was the official and business language under the rule of the Ozbegs of Bukhārā [q v] and remained so after the revolution of 1920, since 1924 however Tādjīkī has been limited to the area of the new autonomous republic of Tādjīkistān founded in that year As a spoken language Tādjikī has lost a portion of its area to Turkish in the last few centuries; on the other hand in the mountains it has extended its territory at the expense of other dialects (like the Yaghnobī). On the linguistic position and peculiarities of Tādjīkī cf *Grundr d ir Phil.*, I/II. 407 *sq*, and the observations thereon by A. Freiman on M. Andreyev in *Tadžikistan*, Tashkent 1925, p. 162 (W. BARTHOLD)

TADJNĪS or DJINĀS (A), paronomasia, play upon words, is a figure of rhetoric (*badī'*) which consists in using in the same phrase two words of a similar or almost similar sound but of different meanings, e g. *amantes sunt amentes*

I. 1. The tadjnīs is complete (*tāmm*) when the two words resemble one another in kind, number, vocalisation (or form) and in the order of the consonants.

a. If the two words are of the same kind (e g two substantives, two verbs or two particles), it is called identical (*mumāthil*), e. g. "The day and the Hour (*al-sā'a*) will dawn, the guilty will swear that they have only been an hour (*sā'a*) in their graves" (Sūra xxx 54, 55).

b If the two words are of different kinds (e. g a noun and a verb, a noun and a particle, a verb and a particle), it is called "sufficient" or "imperfect" (*mustawfā*), e.g *man māta min hadathi 'l-zamāni fa-innahu — yahyā ladā Yahyā b. 'Abdallāhi*, "he who dies of the sudden changes of fate, lives (*yahyā*) with Yahyā b 'Abdallāh, for he is generous and will revive the name of generosity" (Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Bairūt 1905, p. 341)

2 If one of the two words is a compound and the other simple, it is called a compound paronomasia (*djinās al-tarkīb*)

a. If the two words, the simple and the compound, are similar in writing, it is called "resembling" (*mutashābih*) on account of the resemblance or conformity of the two words in writing. e. g. *idhā malika lam yakun dhā hiba — fa-da'hu fadawlatuhu dhāhiba*, "when a king is not generous (*dhā hiba*), leave him, for his kingdom — power — will not be long in disappearing" (*dhāhiba*) (Abu 'l-Fath al-Bustī)

b If there is no conformity in writing between the two words, it is called separated, divided, cut (*mafrūk*), e g. *kullukum kad akhadha'l djāma wa-lā djāma lanā — ma'lladhi darra mudīr al-djāmi law djāmalanā*. "You have all taken the cup and we have no cup (*wa-lā djāma lanā*). what would have harmed him who made the cup circulate if he had been kind to us" (*law djāmalanā*) (Abu 'l-Fath al-Bustī)

II. 1 If the two words are not similar in form or even vocalisation, it is called "transposed" (*muharraf*) on account of the transposition found in one compared with the other (*inhirāf*), e g. *burd* and *bard*, in *djubbat al-burd, djunnat al-bard*, "a cloak of striped material (*burd*) is a cuirass against cold" (*bard*), *mufrit* and *mufarrit* in *al-djāhil immā mufrit aw mufarrit*, "the ignorant man either goes beyond the limits (*mufrit*) or remains far below them" (*mufarrit*) (one may note that in this example no notice is taken of the *tashdīd*); *al-bid'a sharak al-shirk*, "innovation is the lace (*sharak*) of polytheism" (*shirk*).

2 If the two words do not agree in the number of consonants so that one has one or more consonants more than the other, it is called "imperfect" (*nākis*).

a Either the extra consonant is at the beginning of the word e g *wa 'l-taffati 'l-sāka bi 'l-sāki ilā rabbika yawmi'idhin il-masāk*, "when one leg (*al-sāk*) shall be twisted over the other (*bi 'l-sāk*) (on account of the terror which will seize man on the approach of the last judgment), it is to thy Lord that the driving (*al-masāk*) of men shall take place on that day" (Sūra lxxv 29); or it may be

b in the centre as in *djaddī djahdī*, "my fortune (*djaddī*) depends on my efforts" (*djahdī*),

c. or it may be at the end as in the verse of Abū Tammām (*Dīwān*, p 42) *yamuddūna min aidin 'awāsin 'awāsimin, tasūlū bi-asyāfin kawādin kawādibī* "they stretch out their hands, strong as rods ('*awāsin*) and protecting ('*awāsimin*); they attack with their swords which deal death (*kawādin*) and which are cutting (*kawādibī*) (they stretch out

ıands which strike their enemies, defend their ollowers, attack their adversaries with swords vhich deal death and which cut)" Sometimes this ast variety is called *mutarraf*, "rhymed",

d. or the addition is more than one consonant is in this verse of al-Khansā' (*Dīwān*, ed Beyrouth, 896, p. 25) *inna 'l-bukā'a huwa 'l-shifā'u min 'l-djawā baina 'l-djawānih*, "tears are the cure of he fire (*al-djawā*) which is in my loins" (*al-djawānih*) This variety is sometimes called *mudhayyal* (prolonged)

3 If the two words do not agree in the nature of the consonants, it is necessary that they do not liffer in more than one consonant.

A If the two different consonants are of pro ıunciations adjacent to one another, the djinās is alled *mudārī'* (similar) and comprises three varieties

a The different consonant is at the beginning of the words e g. *bainī wa-baina kunnī laylun 'āmisun wa tarīkun tāmisun*, "between the place where I am and my dwelling there is a dark night (*dāmis*) and an obliterated path (*tāmis*)" (Harīrī, d de Sacy, *Séance*, xvi., p 185)

b It is in the middle e g *wa-hum yanhawna ınhu wa-yan'awna 'anhu*, "they forbid it to them nd (themselves) avoid it" (Sūra vi 26)

c. It is at the end; e g *al-khaılu ma'kūdun fī awāsıha 'l-khaıru*, "good fortune (*al-khaır*) is ssociated with the forelocks of horses (*al-khaıl*)" a hadīth quoted by Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī, Ibn Mādja)

B If the two consonants have no analogy in ronunciation, it is called *lāhik* (approximate) and s of three kinds

a The different consonant is at the beginning g. *waylun li-kulli humazatin lumazatin*, "curses n each detractor and defamer" (Sūra civ 1)

b It is in the middle. e g *lastu 'an tharwatin alaghtu madāhā — ghaıra annī 'mru'un kafānī afāfī*, "it is not by good fortune that I have ttained my end, but that I am a man what is ufficient for me to live (*kafāfī*) is sufficient for ne (*kafānī*)" (Buhturī, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1329 [1911], ı 108)

c It is at the end e g *wa-ıdhā djā'ahum mrun mın al-amnı awı 'l-khawfi*, „when news *amr*) inspiring confidence (*amn*) or fear arrives ɔı them" (Sūra ıv 85)

4 If the two words do not agree in the order f the consonants, it is called *tadjnīs al-kalb* "palindrome" or "inversion"), e g *husāmuhu fathun -awliyā'ihi hatfun li-a'dā'ihi*, "his sword is victory *fath*) for his friends and death (*hatf*) to his nemies"

a It is called "complete inversion" (*kalb kull*) vhen the order of all the consonants is inverted; g *allāhumma 'stur 'awrātinā wa-āmin raw'ātinā*, O God, conceal one faults ('*awrātinā*) and as-uage one fears (*raw'ātinā*)"

b It is called "partial inversion" (*kalb ba'd*) vhen inversion only takes places with respect to ome of the consonants And in this case, if one of he two words in this variety is at the beginning f a line and the second at the end of a line, it s called "winged inversion" (*maklūb mudjannah*) g *lāha anwāru 'l-hudā mın — kaffihi fī kulli ıālı*, "the lights of the good path shone (*lāh*) from ıs hand in every circumstance (*hāl*)".

III. When one of the two similar words follows he other, it is called, *muzdawidj*, *muraddad*, *mukarrar* (joined, repeated), e g. *djı'tu-ka mın Saba' bi-naba'*, "I have brought news (*naba'*) from Saba'" (Sūra xxvii 22)

IV. Djinās is conditional on two things:

1 The two words must be derived from the same root; e g. *fa-akım wadjhaka li'l-dīni 'l-kaıyımi*, "raise thy face towards the immutable religion" (Sūra xxx. 42). in which the words *akım* and *al-kaıyım* are derived from *kāma*, *yakūmu*

2 There is an "appearance of derivation" (*shibh ıshtikāk*) between the two words, i e the two words which resemble one another, belong to different roots e g *Kāla ınnī li-'amalikum mın al-kālin*, "he says I am for your action among the reprovers" (Sūra xxvi 168) where *kāla* and *kālin* do not belong to the same root

Abu 'l-Fath al-Bustī composed *al-Tadjnīs al-anīs al-badī' al-ta'sīs*, which is a collection of maxims or sentences containing words similar or almost similar but having a different meaning, extracts from it are given in Tāshkopruzāde, *Miftāh al-Sa'āda*, ii 229

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TADJWĪD (A.) is the art of reciting the Kur'ān, giving each consonant its full value, as much as it requires to be well pronounced without difficulty or exaggeration strength, weakness, tonality, softness, emphasis, simplicity (*tarkīk*) There are three kinds of *tadjwīd* 1 *tartīl*, slow recitation; 2 *ḥadr*, rapid recitation; 3 *tadwīr*, medium recitation — Tadjwīd, "the adornment of recitation", has for its object to prevent the tongue making any mistake in the recitation of the divine words Besides the study of the articulation of consonants it deals with the knowledge of the laws which regulate the pause, the *imāla* or inclination of the vowel *ā* to the sound *ī* and contraction The consonants fall into two groups

1. *Mustaʿlīya* "elevated" so called because in pronouncing them, the tongue is raised to the palate These are خ, ص, ض, ط, ظ, غ and ق. They are all emphatic and ط ظ ص ض more so than the others

2 *mustafila* "depressed", so called because the tongue is below the palate when they are pronounced They are called simple, i e they are not emphatic, except *rā'* and *lām* in the following cases *rā'* is emphatic when it is vocalised with a *damma* or a *fatha* The *rā'* is not emphasised if it is vocalised with an original or accidental *kesra*, if it is quiescent and preceded by an original *kesra*, and lastly if the *rā'* and the *kesra* belong to the same word, provided the *rā'* is not followed by an elevated consonant *Lām* is only emphatic in اللهّ and اللهمّ when they are only preceded by a consonant modified by a *fatha* or a *damma* *kāla 'llāh*, *kāla 'llāhumma*, *yakūlu 'llāh*, *yakūlu 'llāhumma* At the end of a word the *nūn* and *tanwīn* retain their natural pronunciation when they are followed by one of the six guttural letters ح خ ع غ ه ء. The quiescent *nūn* and *tanwīn* are assimilated to the letter which follows them if the latter is ن و ل م ر ى. The assimilation takes place with nasalisation except for the ر. When the word that they affect ends in another consonant the *nūn* and *tanwīn* have not their natural pronunciation, they are assimilated but not completely It is the same with the quiescent *mīm* which is contracted with the *mīm* which follows it It is modified when it is followed by a vocalised *bā'* In other cases it retains its ordinary pronunciation

There are two kinds of contractions

1. Great, when the consonants are both vocalised like مَا سَلَكَكُمْ (Sūra lxxiv. 43) to be pronounced مَا سَلَكْتُمْ.

2. Little, when the first of the consonants is quiescent and the second vocalised

It should also not be forgotten that the *lām* of the article is only assimilated if the consonant following is solar; the sound should be prolonged when the word contains an *alif*, a *wāw* or a *yā'* preceded by a vowel of the same nature. If the *wāw* or *yā'* are preceded by a *fatḥa* they become softening letters The *hamza* may be retained or suppressed, in the latter case, its vowel is carried back to the preceding quiescent consonant If the *hamza* is quiescent, not by apocope, it may be changed into a letter of prolongation of the same nature as its support. The pronunciation of *hamza* is incompletely softened when it is not preceded by a vocalised and non-quiescent *hamza*, the vowel of the second *hamza* then resembles a *sukūn*, a *wāw* when the *hamza* is preceded by a *damma* أُولَئِكَ, a *yā'* when it is preceded by a *kesra* إِيذَا, an *alif* when it is preceded by a *fatha* آأَنْتَ. The second *hamza* "falls" when the two *hamza* are affected by the same vowel and belong to two words جَاءَ أَحَدَكُمْ which follow them.

The verses of the Kur'ān, although separated by a sign, are not to be recited with a stop at the end of each of them. The pause is only to be made if the sense of the verse or verses is complete and forms a homogeneous whole. As a rule in good copies of the Kur'ān, the places where the pause is not allowed are indicated by an لا (= no pause) If a pause is made after words like عَمَّ, مِمَّ, هُنَّ, a quiescent ه should be added (called silent ه). Some readers restore the suppressed final ى in the middle of the discourse like هَادٍ, وَافٍ etc ., other drop the *sukūn* and its vowel and say هَادٍ, وَافٍ etc . When a word ends in a *hamza* preceded by a *yā'* or a *wāw*, the *hamza* is assimilated to the letter which precedes and one says مَرِّى for مَرِئ, especially after *hamza* The ـا of the accusative is changed to *alif* The final ه of feminine singular nouns is changed to quiescent ه. A vocalised final consonant loses its vowel, this vowel is sometimes only weakened (by *rawm*) or rather it is pronounced like a final French *e* (*ishmām*) However this last method of pronunciation is not allowed in words ending in *kesra*; some even say that *rawm* and *ishmām* only affect *damma*

Bibliography Suyūṭī, *al-Itkān*, Cairo 1306, i 87—105, Tahanāwī, *Kashshāf al-Iṣṭilāḥāt*, Constantinople, i 216, ʿAlī b Sultān al-Kārī', *al-Minah al-fikrīya ʿalā Matn al-Djazarīya*, and in the margin Zakarīyā' al-Ansārī, *al-Dakākī'ik al-muhkama fī Sharh al-Mukaddama[t al-Djazarīya]*, Cairo 1344, Sulaimān al-Djamzūrī, *Fath al-Akfāl bi-Sharh Tuhfat al-Aṭfāl*, and following it anonyme, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān fī Tadjwīd al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1343, Shaikh Tāhir al-Djazā'irī, *Tadrīb al-Lisān ʿalā Tadjwīd al-Bayān*, finished in 1321, Beyrouth n d.; Shaikh Mutawallī, *Fath al-Muʿṭī wa-Ghunyat al-Mukrī fī Sharh Muḳaddimat Warsh al-Miṣrī*, Cairo 1309, Abū Rīma, *Hidāyat al-Mustafīd fī Aḥkām al-Tadjwīd*, Cairo 1344, Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s v *tartīl*, Bustānī, *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ*, s v, i 314, ʿAbd al-Nabī b ʿAbd al-Rasūl, *Dj̲āmiʿ al-ʿUlūm*, Haidarābād 1329, i. 274, Ibn al-Kasīh *Sirādj al-Ḳārī' al-mubtadī wa-Tadkār al-Ḳārī' al-muntahī*, *Sharḥ Hirz al-Amānī wa-Wadjh al-Tahānī li 'l-Shāṭibī*, Cairo 1341, especially p 36—120

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TĀDLĀ (or TĀDILĀ), the *Tedle* of Leo Africanus, a district of Morocco comprising the plateaus which stretch to the west of the high valley of

the Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ, as well as the western slopes of the Central Atlas, from Wadī 'l-ʿAbīd to the sources of the Moluya The classical ethnic Tādlī is no longer used except for the *Shorfā* of the district, the popular ethnic is Tādlāwī

The region of the plateaus is occupied by six semi-nomad tribes of Arab origin· Urdīgha, Bnī Khīrān, Bnī Zemmūr, Smaʿla, Bnī ʿĀmer, Bnī Mūsa, whose centres are Wād Zem, Bujad (= Bedjdjaʿd for the classical Abu 'l-Djaʿd) and Dār Uld Zīdūḥ

In the central region of the high valley of the Umm al-Rabīʿ (the old Wādī Wansīfan) is settled the group known as Āit Rbōʿ, made up of tribes almost entirely sedentary and of mixed Arab and Berber origin. These are the Gtaya, the Semget, the Bnī Maʾdān and Bnī Mellāl The two principal centres are Kasba Tādlā and the *kasba* of the Bnī Mellāl

On the western slopes of the Central Atlas we have from north to south the following Berber tribes Āit Srī, Āit ʿAṭṭā, Āit Bū-zīd, Āit ʿAiyāt and Āit ʿAttāb

The Berber peoples of the mountains belong to the Zanāga group (= Ṣanhādja) In the plains there were at first Zanata, Berbers who led a nomadic life between Meknās and the Umm al-Rabīʿ and the Lawāta (Zanāra) The earliest Arab tribes here were the Djusham (B Djābir, Zirāra) then the Khult, it was the Saʿdians who introduced tribes of the Maʿkil group

At a remote period, Tādlā seems to have been inhabited by people more or less professing Christianity or Judaism When Idrīs II conquered it in 172 (789), he found — according to the author of the *Rawdat al-Ḳirṭās* — very few Muslims, but many Christians and Jews Leo Africanus who was in Tādlā at the beginning of the xvi^th^ century mentions the large Jewish colonies there, at Tāfza, the capital of the country in his time, there were about 200 houses of Jews, all merchants and rich artisans At the present day there are still many Jews at Bujad and in the *kaṣba* of the Bnī Mellāl This last place corresponds to old Madīnat Udāi, an Arabic-Berber name which seems to mean "town of the Jews". Tādlā was one of the provinces which the sons of Idrīs II divided among themselves According to the author of the *Rawdat al-Ḳirṭās*, it went to Ahmad, but al-Bakrī says that Dāi, the capital of the region, belonged to Yahyā

In time Tādlā became incorporated in the empire of the Banū Yafran of Shālla [q v.] (x^th^—xi^th^ centuries) In 449 (1057—1058) the Almoravids having taken Aghmāt, the Maghrāwid Laggūt b. Yūsuf, who reigned there, managed to escape and took refuge with the Banū Yafran of Tādlā, ʿAbd Allāh b Yāsīn, leader of the Almoravids, followed him there and conquered the province A local legend says that the town of Dāi was destroyed by the Almoravid Sultān Yūsuf b Tāshfīn, who built Tāgrāret to replace it, the ruins of which may still be seen in the immediate vicinity. This incident, which does not seem to be recorded in history, may perhaps be located in the period of Yūsuf b Tāshfīn's war on the fortresses of Fazāz, a region adjoining Tādlā on the north

In 526 (1131—1132) the Almohad Sultān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seized Tādlā and henceforth the province lying halfway between Fās and Marrākesh on the direct road between them, became the battleground of the rival dynasties Its history is that of these struggles and of the constant risings of the Arab or Berber tribes who live in it

In 660 (1261—1262), the Marīnid chief Yaʿḳūb b ʿAbd al-Ḥakḳ having come to attack Marrākesh, the Almohad Sultān al-Murtadā sent his cousin Abū Dabbūs against him. The Marīnid troops drawn up on the Umm al-Rabīʿ were defeated at the place called Umm al-Rdjlain, which perhaps corresponds to the ford now called Umm al-Rdjīlāt

In 666 (1267—1268), the Marīnid Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb invaded and laid waste Tādla, having raided the Khult, an Arab tribe of Djusham stock, allies of the Almohads, the latter came to their assistance but were defeated as they were deserted in the course of the battle by their Arab allies, the Banū Djābir In 761 (1359—1360), the *Wazīr* al-Ḥasan b ʿUmar, governor of Marrākesh for the Marīnid Sultān Sālim Ibrāhīm, rebelled against his master and sought refuge in Tādlā, where he was welcomed by the Banū Djābir, but, when hard pressed by the Marīnid troops, he had to flee to the Zanāga of the mountains who finally handed him over to his pursuers.

On the coming of the Saʿdians, it was once more in Tādla at the ford of Abū ʿAkaba on the Wādī 'l-ʿAbīd, that was fought the decisive battle in which the Marīnids were routed in Ṣafar 943 (July 1536) In the reign of al-Mansūr, in the xvii^th^ century, Tadlā was governed by Zaidān, son of this Sulṭān In the middle of the same century, Tādlā threw off the authority of the Saʿdians and became part of the principality of Zanāga Berbers of the zāwiya of Dilāʾ, and one of them, Muhammad b al-Ḥādjdj, defeated the Saʿdian Sulṭān Muhammad al-Shaikh at the ford of Abū ʿAkaba in 1050 (1640—1641). The sovereignty of the Dilaʾīs was exercised over this region until the ʿAlawī Sultān al-Rashīd destroyed their zāwiya in 1079 (1668—1669) In 1084 (1673—1674), the ʿAlawī Sultān Ismāʿīl defeated at Abū ʿAkaba his nephew Ahmad b Muhriz, who had rebelled against him

In 1088 (1677—1678), Mawlāy Ismāʿīl had to put down a serious rising of the Zanāga of Tādlā, who had rebelled at the instigation of a Dilāʾī, Ahmad b ʿAbd Allāh In 1099 (1687—1688), he had to make another expedition, which resulted in the building of *ḳaṣba*'s at Adakhsān (near Khnīfra), Tādlā and Dilāʾ. At the division of the provinces of Morocco in 1111 (1699—1790), Tādlā fell to the son of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, Mawlāy Ahmad, who lived in the *ḳaṣba* built by his father and called Kasba Tādlā on the Umm al-Rabīʿ.

In 1142 (1729—1730), Sulṭān Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had to take the field once again in the Tādlā against the Āit Yemmūr who were routed In 1179 (1765—1766), Sultān S Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was forced to deport them for a time to the Djebel Selfāṭ near Fās. They were replaced provisionally by the Gṭāya, Semget and Mejjāṭ, who were later sent back to the Gharb. In 1199 (1784—1785), the same ruler had to destroy the Zāwiya of Bujad and imprisoned its head, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Sharḳāwī. In 1222 (1807—1808), Sulṭān Mawlāy Sulaimān sent a punitive expedition against the Bnī Mūsā, the Āit ʿAttāb, the Rfāla and the Bnī ʿAiyāṭ In 1224 (1809—1810), there was a

new expedition against the Berbers of Tādlā (Āit Srī) and one against the Urdīgha Arabs It was Mawlāy Sulaimān who built the mosque of Bujad and the bridge over the Umm al-Rabīᶜ

In 1269 (1852—1853), Sultān ᶜAbd al-Rahmān b Hishām punished the Bnī Mūsā who had slain their governor Ahmad b Zidūh. In 1289 (1872—1873), Sulṭān S. Muhammad b ᶜAbd al-Rahmān sent an expedition against the Arab tribes of Tadlā and Bnī Mūsā, who had rebelled against their governor (Smāᶜla, Bnī Zemmūr, Bnī ᶜUmair)

In 1295 (1878—1879), Sultān Mawlāy al-Hasan to pacify the region had to raid the Bnī ᶜUmair and Bnī Mūsa Next year he returned to punish the Āit ᶜAttāb It was at Tādlā, on the Umm al-Rabīᶜ that he died in 1311 (June 1894)

The great religious centre of the district is the zāwiya of Bujad founded in the xvith century among the Bnī Zemmūr by Muhammad al-Sharkī His descendants form the important Marabout group of the Sharḳāwa [q. v]

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TADMUR [See Palmyra]

TAFḌĪL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of *fadala*, it "exceeded", or "was", or "became redundant", or "superfluous" In grammar it is applied to the comparison of adjectives *Ism al-tafdīl*, "the noun of the attribution of excess, or excellence", is the noun adjective in the comparative and superlative, or, as it is now usually called, the elative degree This is also called *afᶜal al-tafḍīl* because it is regularly of the measure *afᶜal*

Bibliography The standard Arabic lexica; Wright–de Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1896—1898, i 140–141, de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, Paris 1831 (T W Haig)

al-ṬAFF, the desert region that lies west of Kūfa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. According to the authorities quoted by Yāḳūt (iii 359), *al-ṭaff* means an area raised above the surrounding country, the name is not found after the xiiith century The district contains a number of springs, the waters of which run southwest (cf Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 187). The best known of these wells was al-ᶜUdhair From its geographical position al-Ṭaff was the scene of the first encounter between the Arabs and Persians (Tabarī i 2210, 2247, Ibn al-Athīr, iii 345, 351) The Sāsānian kings had stationed there feudal guardians of the frontier which was defended by forts (*maṣlaha*) and a great ditch (*khandaḳ*) which began at Hīt (Ibn Rosta, p 107). On al-Taff lay al-Ḳādisīya [q. v] and also Karbalāʾ famous as the scene of the death of al-Husain (Yāḳūt, *loc cit* and Bakrī, *Muᶜdjam*, ii. 456). The latter is also referred to as *al-Maḳtūl bi'l-Ṭaff* (cf al-Mukhtār, Ibn al-Athīr iv 140, cf also the poem quoted by Yāḳūt, *loc cit* and Ibn al-Athīr, iv 267). In later centuries al-Taff is rarely mentioned (e g Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 379 in connection with the Ḳarmaṭian troubles), and the majority of the Arab geographers make no mention of it. (J. H. Kramers)

TĀFĪLĀLT, ethnic Fīlālī, the name of a district in S.E. Morocco, formed by the broadening of the valley of the Wādī Zīz It consists of an alluvial plain 12 miles long and 10 broad, over which are scattered 200 *ḳṣūr* (or fortified dwellings of clay) surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields Where irrigation from wells is possible, the soil is wonderfully fertile The chief product of Tāfīlālt is the palm-tree and the most developed industry is the preparation of goat-skins by the use of the bark of the mimosa which yields a tanning gall Fīlālī leather is famous and sought after throughout all north Africa The population is dense, in the *ḳṣūr* of Tāfīlālt it was estimated in 1920 at 150—200,000. The historical capital of Tāfīlālt was Sidjilmāsa (q. v for the political history of Tāfīlālt) Here we may simply state that the district was the cradle of the dynasty of the ᶜAlid Sharīfs of Morocco, also called Fīlālī Sharīfs and still the ruling family. Many of these Sharīfs after the accession of their family to the throne remained in or returned to settle in Tāfīlālt where they may be counted by thousands A *khalīfa* of the Moroccan Sultān represents the authority of the *makhzen* among them and in the valley of the Zīz In addition to Sidjilmāsa of which only the ruins remain we may mention as small towns in Tāfīlālt the *ksar* of Būᶜām, the business centre of the district, and that of Tīghmart with defences built at the end of the xixth century by order of Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Hasan

Bibliography cf the article Sidjilmāsa. A general description with a map will be found in P Ricard, *Les Guides Bleus Maroc*, Paris 1919, p 285—288. (E. Levi-Provençal)

TAFSĪR (a), pl *tafāsīr*, explanation, commentary, verbal form *fassara* to explain The name is applied to commentaries on scientific and philosophical works and is an alternative to *sharh*, it is regularly applied to the Greek and Arabic commentaries on Aristotle the following are examples taken from Ibn al-Kiftī's *History of Scholars*. Banas al-Rūmī wrote a *Tafsīr* on the *Almagesta* and another on the tenth book of Euclid, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Buzdjānī, the famous astronomer, wrote a *tafsīr* on the works of Diophantes and of al-Khwārizmī on Algebra, Muhammad b Zakariyā al-Rāzī, the famous physician, wrote a commentary on the commentary (*tafsīr al-tafsīr*) of Plutarch on the Timaeus of Plato The Christian scholar Hunain b. Ishāḳ excelled in translations and *tafāsīr* The majority of the famous works of Greek science and some of Arab science have had commentaries made on them, translated into or written in Arabic

In Islām the word *tafsīr* means particularly the commentaries on the Kurʾān and the science of interpreting the sacred book This branch of learning entitled "Knowledge of Kurʾān and of the commentary" is a special and important branch of Hadīth, it is taught in the madrasas and the universities. There are in *Tafsīr* a few general works on the Kurʾān not written in the regular style, but the majority are continuous commentaries, in which the text of the sacred book is explained in regular order, phrase by phrase and sometimes even word by word. These commentaries are numerous the most famous are those of Tabarī, Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī

Ṭabarī (d. 310) is the great historian; his com-

mentary, a very extensive work, contains a large number of traditions handed down by authoritative chains of transmitters (*isnād*) Zamakhsharī (d. 538) is a very keen brain, a moralist of delicate sensibility and a philologist of consummate skill His commentary (*al-Kashshāf*) is much valued and has in turn been commented upon by important theologians like Taftazānī (d. 792) and Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī (d 816) The commentary of al-Baidāwī (d 685) is the most popular and is the one taught in the schools it has fixed the beliefs of the pious Muslim as regards the interpretation of the sacred book and has been several times annotated Among the other commentaries we may mention that of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d 606) which is called the great *Tafsīr* and that of Ismāʿīl Hakkī of Brusa, an author much esteemed by the Turks (d 1127) It is worth noting that the majority of these learned men belong to the Persian region

The science of *tafsīr* is old and seems to date from the beginnings of Islām Ibn ʿAbbās for example (d. 68 A H) is said to have been an authority on the subject and a *tafsīr* is attributed to him (Hamīdīya Library in Stambul) Recent criticism (Goldziher, Lammens etc) has raised the question of the real value of the traditions contained in these enormous compilations. The answer so far has not been very favourable, the majority of the traditions seem to have been invented, either to settle a point of law or with some theological object or with a simple desire to explain or even merely as an amusement. There is, these critics say, no hope of finding much exact information in these commentaries about the circumstances under which the Kurʾān was composed and made public, they are nevertheless important for the minute study of Muslim law and theology as well as for the legends and philology In our own day a learned Egyptian Shaikh Tantawī has sought to rejuvenate the study of *tafsīr*, he is publishing a commentary into which he introduces many ideas borrowed from philosophy and modern science [cf. also TAʾWĪL].

Bibliography The Catalogues of Arabic Books and Manuscripts under *tafsīr* Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1890, ii. 206, do , *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leyden 1920, index, Carra de Vaux, *Les Penseurs de l'Islam*, vol iii , Paris 1923, chap. xi (B CARRA DE VAUX)

TĀFTA (p. "twisted"), a kind of silk, affeta Clavijo, ambassador of Henry III of Castile, found in the markets of Tabrīz, of Sulṭānīya and of Samarḳand, *tafetanes* woven in the country itself This material spread more and more in the West towards the end of the Middle Ages

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AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ (SAʿD AL-DĪN MASʿŪD B. ʿUMAR), a celebrated authority on rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, theology, law and other subjects and the author of several text-books used to this day in the *madrasas* of the East, was born in Ṣafar 722 (Feb.–March 1322) at Taftāzān, a large village near Nasā in Khurāsān He is said to have been a pupil of ʿAdud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (see above, ii. 447 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii 208) and of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn [al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī presumably, see Brockelmann, ii. 209] Lists of his chief works, giving, with variations, their dates and places of composition, are extant (*Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* under the year 787; *Rawdāt al-Djannāt*, p 309 [considerable variations in the dates], *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiya*, p 137, Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, N⁰ 1959), and provide some information concerning his migrations. His earliest work, the *Sharḥ al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī*, was written by him at the age of sixteen, it is said, in Shaʿbān 738 (1338) at Faryūmad The *Muṭawwal*, the *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿānī* and the *Talwīh* were completed in 748, 756 and 758 at Harāt, Ghudjduwān and Gulistān According to Ibn ʿArabshāh al-Taftāzānī, like Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, was one of the scholars attracted to the court of the Mongols of Western Ḳīpčāḳ, and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿānī*, completed at Ghudjduwān in 756, is in fact dedicated to Mahmūd Djānī Bēg Khwāndamīr's statement that he settled at Khwārizm is borne out by the fact that works completed by him in 768, 770 and 778 are said to have been written there Khwāndamīr tells us that in 779 (1377—1378) he presented al-Djurdjānī [see above, i 1066 and Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii 216] to the Muzaffarid ruler of Fārs, Shāh Shudjāʿ. The same author states that when Tīmūr invaded Khwārizm [in 780—781 (1379) presumably] Malik Muhammad Sarakhsī, son of Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Husain Kurt, asked his nephew, Pīr Muhammad b Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, who was then in the suite of Tīmūr, to obtain Tīmūr's consent and send al-Taftāzānī to Sarakhs. Tīmūr agreed, but subsequently on learning how eminent a scholar al-Taftāzānī was, he sent to Sarakhs a request that he should come to Samarkand Al-Taftāzānī at first declined on the plea that he was about to visit the Ḥidjāz, but on receiving a second summons he transferred himself to Samarḳand, where Tīmūr treated him with great honour. The conquest of Shīrāz by Tīmūr in 789 (1387) was followed by the arrival in Samarkand of his old acquaintance al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī The rivalry between them led to controversies and to an estrangement, which is reflected in the criticisms of al-Taftāzānī's views to be found in some of al-Djurdjānī's works Al-Taftāzānī died at Samarḳand in 791 (1389) (*Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*) or on the 22nd of al-Muharram 792 (Jan. 10, 1390) (*al-Fawāʾid al-bahīya*, p 135), or on the 22nd of al-Muharram 793 (Dec 30, 1390) (according to a chronogram ascribed to al-Djurdjānī, see the Khedivial Library Catalogue, ii 242), or in 797 (1394—1395) (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*) The date 787 given by Fasīḥī is inconsistent with the alleged dates of some of his works and with the statement that he and al-Djurdjānī forgathered after the capture of Shīrāz in 789. He was buried at Sarakhs

Al-Taftāzānī seems to have had no pupils of great distinction The two mentioned in the *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt* are Husām al-Dīn al-Hasan b ʿAlī al-Abīwardī, the author of a work entitled *Rabīʿ al-Djinān fī 'l-Maʿānī wa 'l-Bayān*, and Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaidar (see Tāshkopruzāda, *al-Shakāʾik al-Nuʿmānīya*, transl. Reschei, p. 33 and *Isl*, xi 61)

Al-Taftāzānī's merits impressed Ibn Khaldūn, who came across some of his works in Egypt and mentions him in his *Muḳaddima* (transl. de Slane, iii. 129). He wrote both on Shāfiʿī and on Ḥanafī law and has been described as a Shāfiʿī by some authors (e g al-Kaffawī and Ḥasan Čelebī)

and as a Ḥanafī by others (e g Ibn Nudjaim and ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muhammad al-Kārī[2])

Among his works are the following (the dates assigned to these works in the *Rawdāt al-Djannāt*, which in many cases differ considerably from those given elsewhere, are not always mentioned For fuller information concerning the manuscripts, supercommentaries etc , Brockelmann, *G. A L*, should be consulted)

I. Grammar

1. *Sharḥ al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* (in India often called the *Saʿdīya*), a commentary on the Arabic accidence of al-Zandjānī (ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b Ibrāhīm, see Brockelmann, *G A.L*, 1 283) completed at Faryūmad in Shaʿbān 738 (1338) when the author was sixteen years of age MSS at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 6617—6618), Turin (Nallino, N⁰ 39) and elsewhere Editions. Constantinople 1253, Tihrān 1270, 1884 (in a *madjmūʿa*), Delhi 1289, 1295 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdīya* of Ahmad b Shah Gul), 1886 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdīya*), 1319 (with the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdīya*), Bombay 1292, Lucknow 1306, Cairo 1307 Of the supercommentaries, in addition to the *Miftāḥ al-Saʿdīya* mentioned above, that of Dede Khalifa has been printed (Būlāk 1255)

2 *al-Irshād*, or [*al-*]*Irshād al-hādī*, as Hādjdjī Khalīfa calls it, an Arabic syntax written for his son and completed at Khwārizm in 774 or 778 or 787 A manuscript exists at Vienna (Flugel, N⁰. 206) Several commentaries are mentioned by Hādjdjī Khalīfa, including those of Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (a son of al-Saiyid al-Sharīf) and Shāms al-Dīn Muhammad b Muhammad al-Bukhārī, which are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N⁰. 6754—6755) and the Escurial (Derenbourg, N⁰ 181) respectively

II Rhetoric

Al-Taftāzānī's three works on rhetoric are all connected directly or indirectly with the classical exposition of the subject contained in the third part (*ḳism*) of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* of al-Sakkākī (see below under al-Sakkākī and Brockelmann, *G A L*., 1 294). Two of them are interwoven commentaries on the abridgment, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, written by al-Kazwīnī (Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Raḥman called the Khatīb Dimashḳ, see Brockelmann, II 22)

1. *al-Muṭawwal*, as it is usually called, or *al-Sharḥ al-Mutawwal*, or *Sharḥ al Talkhīṣ al-Muṭawwal*, completed in Safar 748 (1347) at Harāt.

Editions Constantinople 1260, 1289 (with al-Djurdjanī's glosses), Lucknow 1265 (first part only), 1287 (first part only), 1878, 1300, 1889 (with Turāb ʿAlī's *Iṣālat al-ʿUḍal*, a commentary on the verses quoted), Ṭihrān[?] 1270, Delhi 1326 (with *al-Muʿawwal*, a commentary by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) A Persian edition of 1274 (with commentaries by al-Fanārī, al-Djurdjānī, al-Samarḳandī, and Muḥammad Riḍā Gulpāyagānī) is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library, IV. 153

The glosses of al-Djurdjānī have moreover been published at Lucknow in 1312 and those of ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōtī at Constantinople in 1266.

2 *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿānī*, as it is now commonly called, or *Mukhtaṣar Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, or *Ikhtiṣār Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, or *al-Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*, or simply *al-Mukhtaṣar* (the author having given it no formal title), a shorter interwoven commentary, completed in 756 (1355—1356) at Ghudjduwan and dedicated to Mahmūd Djānī Bēg Like the *Mutawwal* this work is still studied in Eastern madrasas Manuscripts are common and there are several supercommentaries.

Editions Calcutta 1813, Lucknow 1261, 1312 (with al-Bunānī's supercommentary), Būlāḳ 1271 (with al-Dasūkī's supercommentary) [1860?], 1285 (with al-Bunānī's supercommentary), Cawnpore 1285—1286 (with al-Khaṭā'ī's [al-Khuttā'ī's?] supercommentary), 1296 (with the same supercommentary), Meerut 1285, Constantinople 1301, 1301 (with al-Dasūkī's supercommentary). Lahore 1306—1307, Delhi 1286, 1324.

Extracts from this work have been published by Mehren in *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhague and Vienna 1853)

3 Al-Taftazānī's third rhetorical work, *Sharḥ al-Ḳism al-thālith min al-Miftāḥ*, is a commentary on the third part of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* itself It is one of his latest works, having been completed at Samarkand in Shawwāl 787 (1385) or 789 (1387), and it has not enjoyed the same popularity as the *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿānī* and the *Mutawwal* Manuscripts are preserved at the Escurial (Derenbourg, **N⁰** 26), the India Office (Loth, N⁰ 847—848), Leyden (de Goeje and Houtsma, N⁰ 298), Trinity College, Cambridge (Palmer, N⁰ 18) and elsewhere

III Logic

1 *Sharḥ al-Risalat al-Shamsīya*, or *Sharḥ al-Shamsīya* (in India this work, like the *Sharḥ al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī*, is often called *Saʿdīya*), a commentary on the logical manual of al-Kātibī (Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAlī b ʿUmar al-Kazwīnī, see Brockelmann, *G A L*, 1 466) completed at Djām in Djumādā II 752 (1351) (*Mudjmal*) or 757 (1356) (*al-Fawā'id al-bahīya*) or 762 (1361) (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 1959) or 772 (1370—1371) (*Rawdāt al-Djannāt*) MSS are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 5266—5268) and elsewhere Editions Lucknow 1905 (1326)

2. *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiḳ wa 'l-Kalām*, at it is usually called, or *Ghāyat Tahdhīb al-Kalām fī Taḥrīr al-Manṭiḳ wa 'l-Kalām*, as the author calls it in his preface, a manual of logic and scholastic theology completed in Radjab 789 (1387) Whereas the second part of this work, described by Hādjdjī Khalīfa as an abridgment of the *Maḳāṣid*, was evidently copied but rarely (and indeed no copies seem to be definitely recorded in the existing catalogues of manuscripts) the first part, on logic, became a favourite text-book and has often been published

Editions Calcutta 1243 (with al-Yazdī's commentary), 1328 (with an Urdū translation), 1333 (with the same Urdū translation), [Lucknow?] 1260 (preceded by the *Īsāghūdjī*), Lucknow 1869 (in a *Madjmūʿa-i Manṭiḳ*), 1288 (the introductory portion only with the commentary of al-Dawwānī and glosses by Mīr Zāhid and ʿAbd al-Hayy Lakhnawī), 1293 (with the same), 1321 (with the same), 1290 (with al-Yazdī's commentary and glosses thereon by ʿAbd al-Hayy Lakhnawī), 1292 (with the same commentary and glosses), 1311 (with the same), 1877 (with Muhammad b Maḥmūd al-Shahristānī's Persian commentary), 1884 (with the same Persian commentary), 1323 (in a *Madjmūʿa i bist Rasā'il-i Manṭiḳ*), Delhi 1264, 1276, 1283—1284, [1869], 1286 (all these Delhi editions with

l-Yazdī's commentary), Cawnpore 1278—1279 in a *Madjmūʿa-i Mantiḳ*), 1291 (with al-Yazdī's ommentary and glosses entitled *Tuhfah-i Shāh Djahānī* by Ilāhī Bakhsh Faidābādī), 1296 (with he same commentary and glosses), 1881 (in a *Madjmūʿa-i Mantiḳ*), 1915 (with al-Shahristānī's 'ersian commentary), Benares [1899] (with an Urdū ranslation).

IV. Metaphysics and Theology

1. *al-Maḳāṣid*, a compendium of metaphysics nd theology, completed with the author's own ommentary at Samarḳand in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 784 1383) (in 774 according to the *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*). A Constantinople edition of 1277 is mentioned in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library ii 26) and there are manuscripts in the British luseum (Ellis–Edwards, p. 9), the India Office Loth, Nº. 461—464) and elsewhere. As has been aid above, the second part (*kism*) of the *Tahḏhīb l-Manṭiḳ wa 'l-Kalām* is described by Hādjdjī halīfa as an abridgment of this work

2. *Tahḏhīb al-Mantiḳ wa 'l-Kalām* See above nder Logic.

3. *Sharh al-ʿAḳāʾid al-Nasafīya*, completed in haʿbān 768 (1367) at Khwārizm, a commentary n the extremely brief statement of Muḥammadan elief written by ʿUmar b Muhammad al-Nasafī l. 537 = 1142—1143, see Brockelmann, i 427) his work also is a favourite text-book and several upercommentaries have been written on it.

Editions. Calcutta 1244, Delhi [1870], 1904, ucknow 1876, [1888], 1890, [1894], Constantiople 1297 (with the supercommentaries of al-astalī and al-Khayālī and the glosses of Bihishtī n the latter), Cairo 1297 (with al-Khayālī's super-ommentary and Ḳara Khalīl's glosses thereon), awnpore 1903, 1330. Extracts are translated into rench in d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire)thoman*, vol i. and there is a German translaion in J. T. Plant's *Birgilu Risale* [sic], *oder Elenentarbuch der Muhammedanischen Glaubenslehre* Istambul and Geneva 1790).

Of the supercommentaries that of al-Khayālī as been published at Delhi in 1870[?] and 1329 with ʿAbd al-Hakīm Siyālkōtī's glosses), at Lucknow in 1876, 1313 (with ʿAbd al-Hakīm Siyālkōtī's glosses), 1326 (with the same glosses), at Constantinople in 1297 (with al-Kastalī and Bihishtī) and at Cairo in 1297 (with Kara Khalīl's losses) that of Ḥasan Shahīd (Abu 'l-Hasan b. l-Afḍal) at Bihār in 1328, and that of Ramaḍān Efendī at Delhi in 1327

4 An attack on the heresies of Ibn ʿArabī's *Fusūs al-Hikam* preserved in a Berlin manuscript Ahlwardt, Nº. 2891), which bears on fol. 1b the oubtful title *Fāḍiḥat al-Mulḥidīn*

V Principles of Jurisprudence

1. *al-Talwīḥ ilā Kashf Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-Tanḳīḥ* ompleted 29th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 758 (1357) at Gulistān, commentary on the *Tanḳīḥ al-Uṣūl* of Ṣadr al-harīʿa the Younger (ʿUbaid Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Mahbūbī, d. 747 [1346—1347]; see Brockelmann, . 214)

Editions have been published at Delhi in 1267 1851) (with Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa's own commentary *al-Tawḍīḥ*), at Lucknow in 1281 (1864) (with the *Tawḍīḥ*), 1871 (with the *Tawḍīḥ*) and 1292 (1876) with the *Tawḍīḥ*, and supercommentaries on the *Talwīḥ* by Hasan Čelebī, Mullā Khusraw and Zakarīyāʾ al-Anṣārī), and at Kazan in 1301 (1884) (with the *Tawḍīḥ*)

2. *Sharh Sharh al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-Uṣūl*, or *Sharh al-Sharh*, completed in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 770 (1369) at Khwārizm, a supercommentary on the commentary of al-Īdjī [see above] on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā*, an abridgment of his own *Muntahā 'l-Suʾāl wa 'l-Amal fī ʿIlmai al-Uṣūl wa 'l-Djadal* A Būlāk edition of 1316—1319 is mentioned by Moh. Ben Cheneb in the article IBN AL-ḤĀDJIL MSS. are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, Nº 4376), the India Office (Loth, Nº 302—4) and elsewhere

VI Law

1. *al-Miftāḥ*, on Shāfiʿī *Furūʿ* A manuscript is preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, Nº 4604).

In addition to this work a collection of Hanafī *Fatāwā* is mentioned by his biographers, but no copies seem to be recorded.

2 *Ikhtiṣār Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, an unfinished abridgment of the commentary of Masʿūd b Muhammad al-Ghudjduwānī on al-Khilātī's abridgment of al-Shaibānī's treatise on Hanafī *Furūʿ* entitled *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (see Brockelmann, *G A L.*, i 172 and H Kh, ii. 401). According to the *Rawdāt al-Djannāt* this work was begun at Sarakhs in 785 A manuscript is preserved in the Yeñī Djāmiʿ (Nº. 428 *bis*)

At Delhi in 1870[?] was published an edition of the *Mukaddimat al-Salāt* or *Khulāsa*, a treatise on the ritual prayers ascribed by some to al-Kardānī (see Hādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, p 83), with commentaries alleged to be by al-Djurdjānī and al-Taftāzānī, but it is not certain that the *Khulāsa* existed in al-Taftāzānī's time.

VII Ḳurʾānic Exegesis

1. *Kashf al-Asrār wa-ʿUddat al-Abrār*, a Persian commentary on the Kurʾān (cf H Kh v, Nº 10674) A manuscript appears to be preserved in the Yeñī Djāmiʿ (see the catalogue, p 80, Nº. 43)

2 *Sharḥ* (or *Ḥāshiya ʿalā*) *al-Kashshāf*, H. Kh., v, Nº 1872, annotations on the commentary of al-Zamakhsharī (see Brockelmann, *G A L.*, i 290), said to have been begun at Samarḳand in Rabīʿ, ii, 789 and left unfinished. These annotations embrace Sūras i.—x 58 and xxxviii.—liv. Manuscripts are preserved at Berlin (Ahlwardt, Nº 793), the British Museum (Ellis-Edwards, p. 3), the India Office and elsewhere

VIII Philology

1 *al-Niʿam al-sawābiġh fī Sharh al-Kilam al-nawābiġh*, a commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's collection of *sententiae* entitled *al-Kilam al-nawābiġh* Selections from this commentary were published by H. A. Schultens in his *Anthologia sententiarum arabicarum* (Leyden 1772) and it was printed at Cairo in 1287.

2. A Turkish versified translation of Saʿdī's *Būstān* made in 755 (see E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i 202).

Bibliography. Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Maḳdūr*, ed. Golius, iii 422, Faṣīḥī, *Mudjmal* (under the year 787; see E G. Browne, in *Le Muséon*, series iii., vol. i., p. 57); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 391, Sulṭān Husain b. Manṣūr, *Madjālis al-ʿUshshāḳ*, p. 287, al-Kaffawī, *Iʿlām al-Akhyār*, Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 87, Muḥammad Bāḳir Khwānsārī,

Rawḍāt al-Djannāt, p. 309; ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy, Lakhnawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiya*, p. 128—130, 134—137, Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 215, Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 353—354, Hidāyat Ḥusain, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Būhār Library*, p. 436–438. (C. A. Storey)

TAGHLAḲ, or, more properly, Tughluḳ, the correct vocalization being given by Ibn Battūṭa, is the name of a dynasty which reigned at Dihlī from 1320 until 1413, and is taken from the personal name of its founder, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, a Ḳaiawniya Turk, that is to say, the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian mother When Mubārak, the last of the Khaldjīs [q v], was murdered by his vile favourite, Khusraw, Tughluḳ, who was employed on the north-western frontier, where his numerous successes against the Mughuls had earned for him the title of Ghāzī Malik, marched on Dihlī, defeated and slew the usurper in the neighbourhood of the city, and on September 8, 1320, ascended the throne Early in 1325 the aged Tughluk, returning from an expedition to Bangāl, was murdered by Muhammad, the ablest of his sons, who had already rebelled once, in the Dakan, and now contrived that a temporary pavilion, in which he welcomed his father, should be brought down on the old man's head Muhammad b Tughluk [q v] was one of the greatest of the Muslim monarchs of India, but was eccentric to the verge of lunacy Having extended his sway over the whole of India, he provoked his subjects to rebellion in almost every province, and when he died in Sind, in March, 1351, while endeavouring to suppress a rebellion in that province, the Dakan, Bangāl, and Sind had severed themselves from the empire He was succeeded by his cousin Fīrūz b Radjab [q v] who succeeded in recovering Sind, but failed to recover Bangāl, and did not even attempt to recover the Dakan, which became an independent and powerful kingdom Fīrūz grew indolent towards the end of his reign and his kingdom fell into disorder Before his death he associated his son Muḥammad with him on the throne, but the prince abused his authority, and when Fīrūz died, in 1388, he was succeeded by his grandson, Tughluḳ II, who, in attempting to remove possible rivals, alarmed his cousin, Abū Bakr Abū Bakr rose in rebellion, and Tughluḳ fled, but was captured and put to death, and early in 1389 Abū Bakr ascended the throne His uncle Muhammad, who had been lurking in Sirmūr since the death of Fīrūz, invaded the kingdom, and in August 31, 1389, entered Dihlī, where he was acknowledged as king after the flight of Abū Bakr Muḥammad died at Djalesar on January 20, 1394, and was succeeded by his son, Humāyūn Khān, who took the title of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sikandar, but died within two months of his accession The nobles raised to the throne his brother, Maḥmūd, who was at first entirely under the influence of Malik Sarwar [q v], a eunuch whom he appointed to the government of Djawnpūr. Here Malik Sarwar founded the Sharkī dynasty of kings, and Maḥmūd fell under the influence of Mallū, entitled Iḳbāl Khān A party among the nobles raised Nuṣrat, a cousin of Maḥmūd, to the throne, and for some time there were two puppet kings in Dihlī and its neighbourhood, each supported by his own faction This was the state of affairs when the Amīr Timūr [q v] invaded India in 1398, but before he reached Dihlī Nuṣiat Shāh had been driven from the capital, and Maḥmūd and Mallū were left to face the conqueror They were defeated and fled, Mahmūd to Gudjarāt and Mallū to Baran, but returned after Timūr's departure. Maḥmūd retained the royal title, but was for the rest of his life a state prisoner, at first in the hands of Mallū, and, after Mallū's death in 1405, in those of Dawlat Khān Lodī, who succeeded Mallū as virtual ruler of the kingdom Mahmūd died at Kaithal in February, 1413, and with him ended the Tughluḳ dynasty Within sixteen months of his death Dawlat Khān was overthrown by Khidr Khān [q. v] who on May 28, 1414, entered Dihlī and founded the Saiyid dynasty

Bibliography Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862, Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, text, and translation by G S A Ranking, Calcutta 1869; Muhammad Kāsim Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832 (T W Haig)

TAGHLIB [See Wāʾil]

TAGUS, Arabic Wādī Tādjoh, Latin *Tagus*, Spanish *Tajo*, Portuguese *Tejo*, the longest river in the Iberian Peninsula, rises in the Serrania de Cuenca at about 6,000 ft. Its length to its estuary at Lisbon is 550 miles (of which 190 are in Portuguese terrytory). Among the numerous places on its banks one may mention going down stream Aranjuez, Algodor, Toledo and Talavera de la Reina, in Spain; Abrantès, Santarem and Lisbon, in Portugal

The Arab geographers describe the Tagus as an important river and mention it especially in their descriptions of Toledo and Lisbon. They also mention the famous Roman bridge built of granite in 105 A D. by order of the Emperor Trajan on the Tagus at Alcantara, the ancient "Kanṭarat al-Saif" of the Arabs Cf above, i, p 251. See also the articles on Lisbon and Toledo

Bibliography al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, p. 187 of the text and 228 of the transl; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index. (E Lévi-Provençal)

TAHADJDJUD (A.), infinitive V from the root *h-dj-d* which is one of the roots with opposed meanings (*addād*), as it signifies "sleep" and also "to be awake", "to keep a vigil", "to perform the night salāt or the nightly recitation of the Kurʾān". The latter two meanings have become the usual ones in Islām The word occurs only once in the Ḳurʾān, Sūra xvii 81. "And in a part of the night, perform a salāt as a voluntary effort" etc., but the thing itself is often referred to We are told of the pious (li. 17) that they sleep little by night and pray to Allāh for forgiveness at dawn In Sūra xxv 65, there is a reference to those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing before their Lord.

From the Kurʾān it may be deduced that the old practice in Mecca was to observe two ṣalāts, by day and one by night (Sūra, xvii. 80 *sq.*); Sūra, lxxvi. 25 "And mention the name of thy Lord in the morning and in the evening [26] and in the night prostrate thyself before Him and praise Him the livelong night"; Sūra, xi. 116: "And perform the salāt at both ends of the day and in the last part of the night". Tradition is able to tell us — and there is no real reason for scepticism — that

for a shorter or longer period (mention is actually made of a "period of ten years", Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxix. 68), vigils were so ardently observed that Muḥammad and his companions began to suffer from swollen feet The old practice is said to be based on Sūra lxxiii, 1 "O thou enfolded one, 2 stand up during the night, except a small portion of it, 3 the half or rather less, 4. or rather more and recite the Ḳur'ān with accuracy", but its origin cannot be dissociated from the example of Christian ascetics. In the end however, this form of asceticism became too much for Muhammad's companions The revelation of verses 20 ff of Sūra lxxiii. brought an alleviation "See, thy Lord knoweth that thou standest praying about two thirds, or the half or a third of the night, thou and a part of thy companions But Allāh measureth the night and the day, he knoweth that ye are not able for this, therefore he turneth mercifully to you with permission to recite as much of the Ḳur'ān as is convenient for you" By the institution of the five daily ṣalāts the obligatory character of the tahadjdjud was then abolished (cf Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, B 17 and Baiḍāwī on Sūra, lxxiii 20)

Nevertheless Muhammad is said not to have abandoned the vigils (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, B. 18b), in Ḥadīth and Fiḳh this is considered blameworthy for those who were wont to perform these ṣalāts (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad 185, Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, B. 59, Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya*, i 165) The performance is in general regarded as *sunna*. David is said to have spent a third of the night in these exercises (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 189, Abū Dāwūd, *Sawm*, B 67), another reason given in justification of it is that the *tahadjdjud* loosens one of the knots which Satan ties in the hair of a sleeper (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, B 18) The *tahadjdjud* is particularly meritorious in Ramaḍān and in the night before each of the two feasts (Ibn Mādja, *Ṣiyām*, B, 68 Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, B. 17 where the term *iḥyā' al-lail* is used [see also TARĀWĪḤ])

Even at the present day the *muʿadhdhin* in some lands summons to a night ṣalāt (consisting of an even number of *rakʿas* and therefore called *ṣhafʿ*, cf. WITR) shortly after midnight by an *aḏhān* to which special formulae are added (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chapter iii "Religion and Laws", cf Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p 74)

Bibliography Besides the works quoted cf Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i 321 *sqq* ; M. Th Houtsma, *Iets over den dagelykschen ṣalât der Mohammedanen*, in *Theol. Tydschrift*, 1890, p 137 *sqq* , R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London 1926, p. 143.

For the views of the different law schools cf also I. Guidi, *Il "Muḫtaṣar" di Ḫalil ibn Isḥāḳ*, Milan 1919, i. 97, Abū Ishāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed A W. T. Juynboll, p 27, al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtāḏ*, i 488 *sqq.*; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuḥfa*. i. 201 *sqq.*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, i. 27, A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i 52 *sq* , Niẓām, *al-Fatāwa' l-ʿĀlamgīziya*, Calcutta 1243, i. 157. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ṬAHĀRA (A.), grammatically *ṭahāra* is a *maṣdar* and means purity, it has also the technical sense of ceremonial, levitical purity and purification It holds an important place in Islām, for "purity is half the faith", a saying attributed to Muhammad. Theologians divide defilements into material and mental; lawyers divide them into actual (*ḥakīkī*) and religious (*ḥukmī*) *Fiḳh* deals with bodily, material impurity only Sexual intercourse, menstruation, and child-birth are religious impurities Actual impurities (*naḏjis*, q v) have a perceptible body They are wine, pigs and dogs and what is begotten of them, dead bodies (except those of men, animals used for food, fish, and creatures that have no blood, i e insects), and certain discharges from the body There are five things that are not unclean any dirt left after defecation, dust or mud on the roads, the soles of shoes, the blood squashed out of a full-fed flea, and the blood or pus from a boil or pimple or from cupping Tears, sweat, spittle and mucus are clean The laws of purity are not meant to be burdensome The usual means of purification is cold water but after defecation stones are also used Water is pure if running, if from a pool above 100 sq cubits (*dhirāʿ*) in area, or from smaller quantities so long as the colour, taste and smell are not changed Elaborate rules are laid down for the various cases After micturition or defecation there is a preliminary cleansing with stones or earth (*istiḏjmār*) and one with water (*istinḏjā'*) On ablutions and baths, see WUDŪ', GHUSL When no water is to be had or, by reason of illness or some other cause, the use of it is feared, sand or dust may be employed [see TAYAMMUM] The rules of the Shīʿa differ in detail from those of the Sunnis After helping to carry a corpse to the grave an ablution is necessary, not merely approved, and according to them a quantity of water amounting to two *ḳulla* (the meaning is uncertain, but it is generally taken to be a large jar) is clean

Popular practices do not always agree with canonical rules; it is said that round ʿAden the defilement of micturition can be removed by helping to carry a bier on its way to the cemetery

These processes must not be just mechanical, purpose (*nīya*) must come first, and they must be accompanied by the thought of God and special prayers, which vary at different times and places The theologians develop this side of the idea and say that purification consists of four stages purification of the body from physical dirt; of the members from offences, of the heart from evil desires, of the spirit (*sirr*) from all that is not God

Ṭahāra has become the common name for circumcision and the ceremonies that accompany it [see KHITĀN]

Bibliography The chapters *Ṭahāra* and *Naḏjāsa* in the books of *Fiḳh*, Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol i, book 3, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, vol 2, p 91; Th W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh wet*, Leyden 1925, p 165 *sqq* , A J Wensinck, *Der Ursprung der musl. Reinheitsgesetzgebung*, in *Isl*, v. 62; do , *Handbook of early Muḥammadan Tradition*, s v Purity (A S TRITTON)

ṬAḤĀWĪ, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SALĀMA B ʿABD AL-MALIK AL-AZDĪ AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ AL-ḤADJRĪ His *nisba* Ṭaḥāwī is derived from the name of a village in Upper Egypt named Ṭaḥā. He is considered the greatest Ḥanafī lawyer which Egypt has produced. His ancestors had settled in Upper Egypt and his grandfather Salāma when the news of the rebellion

of Ibrāhīm b al-Mahdī reached Egypt threw off, with others, the allegiance to the caliph al-Ma'mūn The rebels appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Azdī in place of al-Sarī b al-Hakam, who fled at first, but finally returned and captured ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Salāma offered resistance in Upper Egypt, but after fighting he was captured and sent to Fusṭāṭ After being released he fled and joined al-Djarawī in Alexandria, the rebels being successful there, Salāma returned to Upper Egypt, collected many troops and drove out the governors Finally in 203 (818) an army was sent against Salama, and after fighting he and his son Ibrāhīm were captured, sent to Fustat and executed From this we may conclude that Ṭahāwī belonged to one of the leading families of Egypt He himself was born according to his own statement in the year 239 (853/854) and received his first instruction under his maternal uncle Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl al-Muzanī, who was one of the most celebrated pupils of al-Shafiʿī. Tahāwī however did not advance in his studies to the satisfaction of his uncle, who said to him one day that he would never make a name The nephew left his uncle and took up the study of Hanafī law under Abū Djaʿfar b Abī ʿImrān (Ahmad b. Musā b ʿĪsā, he came to Egypt when Ayyūb was made Finance Minister and stayed there) Muzanī died 264 (878) and it is from him that Tahāwī received the *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿī, which by Brockelmann is erroneously enumerated as a *Musnad* of Tahawī This work Ṭahāwī heard in 252 and read to his pupils again in 317, according to the *isnād*'s found in the best manuscripts. In 268 (881/882) he went to Syria and met there the Hanafī chief kādi Abū Khāzim ʿAbd al-Hamīd b Djaʿfar, and others in Jerusalem, Ghazza and Askalon, but returned the following year to Egypt He was in his early years very poor, but found a protector in Muhammad b ʿAbda, who was chief judge of Egypt from 277 to 283 The biographers record how the latter bestowed favours upon him and on one occasion caused Ṭahāwī to receive the rewards intended for the Ḳādī and the ten witnesses in addition to the share of Tahāwī himself The latter in return, with his natural tendency for legal precision, did everything to impress upon persons coming to court the importance of the office of his master He came into prominence when Abu 'l-Djaish, son of Aḥmad b Tūlūn, required a document to be witnessed All witnesses signed after the customary form "The Amīr Abu 'l-Djaish etc made me witness " When it came to Tahāwī's turn he wrote "I witness that the Amīr Abu 'l-Djaish agrees to everything in this deed " The Amir was surprised and made Tahāwī a suitable present to the envy of all other witnesses The result was that his antagonists found some cause for accusing him of mismanagement of the properties held in mortmain (*awḳāf*) and he was sent to prison How long he was there we are not told, but we get another glimpse from a statement of Maslama b Ḳāsim al-Andalusī, that a friend of his returning from Egypt to Spain in 300 A H told him that the people of Egypt were very excited about the legal mismanagements of Ṭahāwī, especially in regard to a legal decision he had given concerning black slaves in favour of the Amīr Abu 'l-Djaish Though never gaining the office of Ḳādī he was continuously employed by the chief judges, and it was in this capacity that he served also under Abū ʿUbaid ʿAlī b. Ḥusain b. Harb, who was chief judge from 293 to 311 He had the habit of saying to Abū ʿUbaid in cases of differences, that Ibn Abī ʿImrān used to say so and so. The judge finally got tired of it and said that he had known Ibn Abī ʿImrān well, but sparrows become eagles in Tahāwī's country. This stopped Ṭahawī, and made the saying proverbial In his later years he devoted himself, besides the composition of his numerous works, to the giving of legal decisions (*fatwā*), but he had always the courtesy, if the questions were brought forward in the presence of the judge, to state that it was the opinion of the judge, unless he was given special licence by the judge to give the decision upon his own authority He died according to the historian Ibn Yūnus on the 6th of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 321 A H (Oct 31, 933) Ibn Khallikān says, in the night of Thursday the 1st of the same month, and that he was buried in the Karāfa cemetery The *Fihrist* has wrongly the year 322

Tahāwī was in the first place a lawyer, and is unanimously praised for his skill in the art of drawing up valid contracts, but he also is counted among the traditionists and as such transmitted the *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿī, but more than one authority states that *ḥadīth* was really not his business However his larger works abound in citations of traditions, but these are always cited with a legal aim in view His works are many and several have been preserved in manuscript and printed Those mentioned by his biographers are 1) *Maʿānī 'l-Athār*, his first work, printed with glosses in Lucknow in a large 4° volume, 2) *Ikhtilāf al-ʿUlamāʾ* (MS at Cairo); 3) *Aḥkām al-Kurʾān* in 20 *kurrāsa*'s, 4) *Mukhtasar fi 'l-Fiḳh*, a work which gave the author much pleasure and has been the subject of many commentaries the earliest of which is by Ahmad b ʿAlī al-Djassas (MS at Cairo), 5) *Sharh al-Djāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*; 6) *al-Shurūt al-Kabīr*, which is preserved in an incomplete MS at Cairo from which Schacht has published a portion (Heidelberg 1926), 7) *al-Shurūt al-Awsaṭ*, 8) *al-Shurūt al-Ṣaghīr* , 9) *Mahādir*, *Siḏjillāt*, *Waṣāyā* and *Farāʾiḍ*, these are perhaps several treatises as the *Waṣāyā* are mentioned by some biographers separately, 10) *Sharh al-Djāmiʿ al-Kabīr*, 11) *Nakd Kitāb al-Mudlisīn* against al-Karābīsī, 12) *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, probably a kind of biographical dictionary of lawyers, 13) *Manāḳib Abi Hanīfa* in one volume, 14) a book on the Kurʾān mentioned by the Ḳādī Iyād in his work *al-Ikmāl*; it contained about a thousand leaves and is perhaps identical with the *Mushkil al-Athār*, 15) *al-Nawādir al-Fikhīya* in over 20 *Nuṣāṣa*'s, 16) *Hukm Arāḍī Makka wa-Ḳism al-Faʾ wa 'l-Ghanāʾim*, 17) *al-Radd ʿalā ʿĪsā b Abān*, against the latter's book called *Khaṭaʾ al-Kuttāb*, 18) *al-Radd ʿalā Abī ʿUbaid fī-mā akhṭaʾa fī Kitāb al-Nasab*, 19) *Ikhtilāf al-Riwāyāt ʿalā Madhhab al-Kūfiyīn*, 20) *Mushkil al-Athār*, his last work; it is the final deposit of his studies and has been printed in Haidarābād in four large 4° volumes, 1333 A H ; this book has been abbreviated by the Mālikī lawyer Ibn Rushd; 21) *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (also called *ʿAḳīda Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa* or *Bayān al-Sunna wa 'l-Djamāʿa*) printed in Kāzan 1893 and in India, it is a short pamphlet of about ten leaves, setting out the Sunnī con-

fession of faith in clear legal language. This little book has also found a number of commentators (cf. Brockelmann), 22) *al-Nawādir wa 'l-Ḥikāyāt* in 20 *kurrāsa*'s; 23) some biographers attribute to him two books with the title of *Mukhtaṣar* distinguished as *al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr*, but it appears that it is the smaller one which is the one generally commented; 24) in the *Djawāhir al-Muḍī'a* is mentioned also a book, the basis of which are the books on dismissal from office (*Kutub al-ʿAzl*), but I am not clear if I understand this correctly

In books on Ḥanafī law Tahāwī is cited continually and the number of his pupils or such who came to Egypt to gain information from him is very great, and many are enumerated in the biographies, especially in the *Djawāhir* and the *Lisān al-Mīzān*, among them are mentioned ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who became later Ḳāḍī of Egypt and superior to Tahawī, Maslama b al-Ḳāsim al-Kurtubī; ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAlī al-Dā'ūdī, who was considered the head of the Zāhirī's in his time; the celebrated Kādī Ibn Abī 'l-ʿAwwām; Sulaimān b Aḥmad al-Tabarānī, the author of the *Muʿdjam* and many others

Bibliography *Fihrist*, ed Flügel, p. 207; Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N⁰ 24; ed Cairo 1310, i. 19, Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, *G. M S.*, p 368ᵛ ult —369ʳ; *Djawāhir al-Muḍī'a*, ed Haidarābād, i 102—105, Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, iii 29, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i 274—282, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādara*, i 161; Ibn Kutlubugha, N⁰ 15, Lakhnawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bahīya*, Cairo 1324, p 31—34, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Juynboll, ii. 255 *sqq*, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iii 516, Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt*, ii 281, al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, passim; and Introduction, p 18; Flugel, *Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, 1861, p 296 *sqq*; Brockelmann, *G A L*, i 173; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, passim, cf. N⁰ 4131 — He is cited in almost all books on Ḥanafī law (F KREMKOW)

TĀHERT (we also have TIHERT), a mediaeval town of Algeria, on the eastern border of the present departement of Oran. According to Idrīsī there used to be two large towns of this name. the one, Old Tāhert, an old Roman site, perhaps the capital of a native dynasty, vassals or allies of the Byzantines (Gsell), rose from its ruins in the modern period and became the capital of Tiaret; the other, New Tāhert, lies 6 miles w s w. of Tiaret, not far from Tagdempt which was one of the strongholds of the amīr ʿAbd al-Kādir [q. v.]. It no longer has more than a few almost obliterated traces of its past grandeur.

New Tāhert was the capital of the Abādī Imāms (or Ibāḍī, q. v.) of the Rustamid family for 147 years ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rustam fled from Ḳairawān after the return of the Arab armies commanded by Ibn al-Ashʿath and sought refuge in this part of the central Maghrib where the Khāridjīs were numerous. He founded Tāhert in 144 (761) The site was well chosen The climate is severe (al-Bakrī tells us stories of the cold that prevails in Tāhert) but the land around could be irrigated and produced excellent fruit. Tāhert owed its wealth mainly to its trade. Placed at the foot of the Djabal Gezzūl, at the end of the Tell on the northern border of the steppes in touch with the country of the nomads and settled lands, it was destined to become a great market like modern Tiaret. The nomads flocked to it; the hope of making a fortune as well as attachment to Khāridjī doctrines brought many foreigners there, especially Persians They had fine dwellings and sūḳs and Tāhert was known as "Little ʿIrāḳ". We also know how intense was the religious life of this capital of a theocratic kingdom and are told of the intellectual life of the Imāms and their entourage. It is no longer possible to know what the town and its buildings looked like, probably the latter were quite simple. Al-Bakrī speaks of four of its gates and its citadel commanding the marketplace

Tāhert taken in 296 (908) by the Shīʿī propagandist Abū ʿAbd Allāh was utterly ruined. Henceforth it only plays a very minor role in the history of the Berbers. Tiaret inherited part of the economic prosperity of Tāhert This prosperity, which the Algerian centre, like the ixth century town, owes to its situation as the port of the steppes has increased again, since the plateau of Sersū, which adjoins it, has become an important centre of colonisation.

Bibliography al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Descriptio al-maghribi*, ed. de Goeje, p 14, transl, p 100—107; al-Bakrī, Algiers 1911, p. 66—69; transl. de Slane, 1913, p. 138—141, al-Idrīsī, ed Dozy and de Goeje, p. 87, transl, p 100—101, Ibn ʿAdhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i 203 *sqq*, transl. Fagnan, i 283 *sqq*, Ibn Saghīr, *Chronique*, ed and transl C Motylinski, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1908, Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, f. 33, N⁰. 14. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

ṬĀHIR B AL-ḤUSAIN, founder of the Tāhirid dynasty [q v] in Khorāsān [q v], born in 159 (775—776), died in Djumādā I (Tabarī, iii. 1065, 13) or Djumādā II (Ibn Khallikān) 207 (822) Tāhir belonged to a family of Persian descent and also to the Arab tribe of Khuzāʿa [q v] His ancestor Razīḳ was a client of the governor of Sīstān, Abū Muhammad Talha b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī; Razīḳ's son Muṣʿab took part in the fighting against the Umaiyads under Abū Muslim as secretary (*kātib*) to the general Sulaiman b Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī The town of Būshandj [q. v] in the district of Herāt [q v] was held by Muṣʿab and afterwards by his son al-Ḥusain (d 199 = 814—815). Ṭāhir himself took part in the fighting against the rebel Rāfiʿ b Laith in Samarkand in the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (c. 193 = 808—809) In 194 (810), Ma'mūn's minister Faḍl b Sahl [q v] gave him command of the army sent against al-Amīn [q v]. In Shaʿbān 195 (May 811) the enemy under ʿAlī b ʿIsā was defeated; Ṭāhir is said to have used his sword with both hands during the battle and for this to have been given the name Dhu 'l-Yamīnain (ambidextrous) by Ma'mūn. After the taking of Baghdād (198 = 813) Ṭāhir was appointed governor of al-Djazīra [q v] with the supreme command over Syria and the west When Ma'mūn went in 819 (203—204) from Khorāsān to the ʿIrāḳ, Ṭāhir was ordered to leave Raḳḳa and come to meet the Caliph at Nahrawān In 205 (820—821) Ṭāhir was given the governorship of all the lands east of Baghdād, especially of Khorāsān. There he died suddenly in his capital Merw, shortly after he had omitted the mention of the Caliph in prayer one Friday, and thus committed an act of open rebellion. The details are variously recorded

in the sources cf. M. J. de Goeje in *Travaux de la 3ème Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à St. Pétersbourg*, 1876, ii. 163 *sqq*

Although his mother-tongue was Persian (cf the utterances in Persian ascribed to him in Ibn al-Ṭāhir, ed. Keller, p. 130 and Ṭabarī, iii 1063 infra), Tāhir is said, like his descendants, to have been well versed in the Arabic language and culture. His letter written in 206 (821—822) to his son ʿAbd Allāh on his appointment as governor of Diyār Rabīʿa [q v] became celebrated even among his contemporaries; cf *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Keller, p. 36 *sqq*. (German transl., p. 17 *sqq*), Ṭabarī, iii 1046 *sqq*; Ibn al-Athīr, vi 258 *sqq*, Russian transl by A Schmidt, *Bulletin de l'Univ de l'Asie Centrale*, viii, 1925, p 129 *sqq*

Bibliography esp Ibn Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld, N° 308; ed de Slane, text, p 331 *sqq*, transl., i 649 *sq*

(W. BARTHOLD)

ṬĀHIR ʿOMAR [See ẒĀHIR ʿOMAR]

ṬĀHIR WAḤĪD, MUḤAMMAD, ʿIMĀD AL-DAWLA, a Persian poet of Ḳazwīn, who was the secretary of the two Prime Ministers Mīrzā Taḳī al-Dīn Muhammad and Khalīfa Sultān, in 1055 (1645—6) appointed historiographer to Shah ʿAbbās II, he became minister in 1101 (1689—90) in the reign of Sulaimān, afterwards he retired into private life and died most probably in 1110 (1698—99) aged 90. The British Museum has five MSS. of his historical works. The *Ātash-kedè* (Bombay 1277, not paginated) says that his poems were mainly admired because of the rank of the author

Bibliography· Hammer, *Gesch. Redek Pers*, p 380 (fragments transl); Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss* ..., p. 189—190; E. G Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times* (Cambridge 1924), 258, 264, Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat As. Soc. Bengal* (Calcutta 1924), p 371, Ethé, *Grundriss d iran Philologie*, ii 312, 342 (CL HUART)

BĀBĀ ṬĀHIR, a mystic and poet who wrote in a Persian dialect. According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (xixth century), who does not give his source, Bābā Tāhir lived in the period of Dailamī rule and died in 401 (1010) Among his quatrains there is an enigmatical one "I am that sea (*bahr*) which entered into a vase, that point which entered into the letter In each *alf* ("thousand", i e. of years?) arises an *alif-kadd* (a man upright in stature like the letter *alif*). I am the *alif-ḳadd* who has come in this *alf*" Mahdī Khān in the *J A S Bengal* has given an extremely curious interpretation of this quatrain the letters *alf-kd* have the value 215, the same as the letters of the word *daryā* (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *bahr* "sea") and those of the name of the poet *Ṭāhir*. If we add *alf-ḳd* (215) to *alf* (111) we get 326 (the same value by the way as the Persian word *hazār*, "thousand", if we spell it *hā, zā, alif, rā*) In this way the phrase "an *alif-ḳadd* come into the *alif*" would give the date (326) of the birth of Bābā Ṭāhir who may well have lived till 401.

In spite of the ingenuity of this explanation, it is nevertheless true that the only historical evidence that we possess about Bābā Ṭāhir is that of the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (c 601 [1204], *G M S*, p. 98—99), the author of which "had heard" that when the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Tughrīl entered Hamadān (in 447 = 1055), Bābā Ṭāhir addressed an admonition to him ("O Turk, how you going to act towards the Muslims"?) which much impressed the conqueror. The anecdote suggests for the death of Bābā Ṭāhir a date later than 447 but is in no way contradictory to the statement that Bābā Tāhir flourished under the Dailamīs, i e under the Būyids and their relatives, the Kākōyids, whose rule in Hamadān lasted till the expedition of Ibrāhīm Yanāl in 435 Bābā Ṭāhir may well have been the contemporary of Avicenna (Abū Sīnā) who died at Hamadān in 428 (1037), but the legends which make him a witness of the execution of the mystic ʿAin al-Ḳudāt of Hamadān in 533 and the contemporary of Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī (d 672) are pure inventions

The sources sometimes call Bābā Tāhir Hamadānī (cf the Arabic MS 1903 of the Bibl Nat Paris, the *Sarandjām*, etc), sometimes Lurī (Lūrī) This latter form — in place of Lur [q v] — is somewhat puzzling does it mean some other connection than of origin between Bābā Ṭāhir and Luristān? It is certainly well to remember that in the xith century there were very close links between Hamadān and Luristan and the poet may have spent his life between the two places. In Khurramabād there is a quarter bearing the name of Bābā Ṭāhir (cf Edmonds, *Geogr Journ*, June 1922, p 443) The association of Bābā Tāhir with Luristān in the beliefs of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [see below] is also significant In the quatrains of Bābā Tāhir (cf nos 102, 200, 274 of the *Dīwān*), Mount Alwand [q v.] overshadowing Hamadān is frequently mentioned The tomb of Bābā Tāhir lies on a little hill to the northwest of the town in the Bun-i bāzār quarter, beside the tomb of Bāba Tāhir are those of his faithful Fāṭima [see below] and Mīrzā ʿAlī Nakī Kawthari (xixth century), the building is a humble one and of no interest The tomb is mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (740 = 1340), *Gibb Mem Ser*, p 75, cf the photograph in Minorsky, *Matériaux*, Moscow 1911, p xi and Williams Jackson, *A visit to the Tomb of Bābā Tāhir at Hamadān*, in *A Volume presented to E G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p 257—260

The stories one hears in Māzandarān about B Tāhir's connection with that province have no foundation and may have been brought by immigrants from Luristān (the Lāk) Besides, all the nomads of Persia like to claim B Ṭāhir as a compatriot.

The language of Bābā Tāhir Since all the facts and traditions connect the poet with Hamadān and Luristān, it is reasonable to expect to find in his dialect traces of a dialect of this region of Persia But as this dialect was very close to Persian and as so many different mouths have been trying to render more comprehensible the verses transmitted orally, there is little hope of reestablishing the text in its dialectic purity It is not an improbable suggestion that B Ṭāhir simply wanted to imitate the dialects of these adepts In our own day a Kurd Christian claims to have made verses in the Gūrānī dialect, quite distinct from his own in order to "transmit the message" to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Dr. Saʿīd Khān, in the *Moslem World*, Jan. 1927, p 40)

The country between Hamadān and Khurramābād still has many dialects, but that of Bābā Ṭāhir is not connected with any definite one and seems to borrow from all. The closeness of the present

text of B. Ṭāhir to literary Persian is undeniable; on the other hand changes like *nām* > *nūm* "name", *dastam* > *dastum* ("my hand"), *raftam* > *raftum* ("I have gone"), *dūr* > *dīr* (cf Huart, XIV = *Dīwān*, N°. 82) are typical of the Lur dialects, the stems *vāḏ* "to speak", *kar* "to do" are common to the Kurdish and central dialects, the forms *mī-kar-ū* "he does" and *āy-ū* "he comes" recall particularly the Gūrānī spoken much farther to the west For certain peculiarities (*dāram* > **dārom*) we only find analogies at Kāzrūn (near Shīrāz)

Hadank's detailed analysis has plainly proved this mixture of dialects (*Dialektgemisch*) in the quatrains, at least as we know them now. The term "Muḥammadan Pahlavī" proposed by Huart (1885) for the language of Bābā Ṭāhir has not been accepted by scholars.

The metre of the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir and of his ghazals is almost exclusively *hazaḏ musaddas mahḏūf* ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – which has made the new editor call the quatrains *do-beitī* (distichs) instead of *rubāʿī*, the last term being too closely associated with the metre *hazaḏ makfūf maḳṣūr* – – ⏑⏑ | – – ⏑⏑ | – – ⏑⏑ | – The authenticity of some regular *rubāʿī* attributed to B Tāhir seems doubtful The metre of B Ṭāhir is also found in popular songs (Mīrzā Ḏjaʿfar [Korsch], *Gramm Pers Yayîka*, Moscow 1901, p 308)

Bābā Ṭāhir — poet. Down to 1927, all that was known of his poems was a rather small number found for the most part in anthologies of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. Huart's researches produced in 1885, 59 quatrains and in 1908, another 28 and one *ġhazal* E. Heron Allen only found 3 new quatrains (they are moreover very doubtful) Leszczynski (who used the Berlin manuscripts) has translated 80 quatrains and one *ġhazal* (a different one from Huart's). Finally Ḥusain Waḥīd Dastgirdī Iṣfahānī, editor of the Persian review *Armaġhān*, published in 1306 (1927) at Tihrān a *Dīwān* of B Tāhir containing 296 *do-beitī* and 4 *ġhazals* of this poet; as an appendix the editor gives 62 *do-beitī* found in the "different collections" and the 3 *rubāʿī* added by Heron Allen. The quatrains of the *Dīwān* are arranged in the alphabetical order of the rhymes. The editor unfortunately gives no details of the manuscript of the *Dīwān* reproduced in his edition. The new quatrains several of which mention Tāhir's name, the mountains of Alwand and Meymand (?) etc., confirm the characteristics already known of Bābā Ṭāhir, while making them a little more banal by the inevitable repetitions The dialectic flavour of most of the quatrains is in favour of their authenticity, although the imitation of the peculiarities of the language of B. Tāhir would really not be a very difficult matter The question of the authenticity of the quatrains of B. Ṭāhir certainly arises, as it did in the case of those of ʿOmar Khayyām Żukowski says that the quatrains of B. Ṭāhir are found in the *Dīwān* of Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī (XIth cent. A. H.). A certain Shāṭir Beg Muḥammad, a modern poet of Hamadān, claimed to be the author of several "Kurdī (Pahlawī)" quatrains attributed to B. Ṭāhir; cf *Dīwān*, p. 21.

The choice of subjects in Bābā Ṭāhir is very restricted, but the poet's work bears the stamp of a distinct personality. We give an analysis of the 59 quatrains published by Huart to enable the reader to judge As usual it is difficult to draw a rigid distinction between the expression of mystical and that of profane love; 34 quatrains are almost equally divided between two categories of lyric poetry Two quatrains are simple hymns to God The rest is more individual and characteristic. B. Ṭāhir often refers to his life as a wandering dervīshkalandar, without a roof above his head, sleeping with a stone for a pillow, continually harassed by spiritual anxieties (Nos 6, 7, 14, 28) Cares and melancholy torment him; the "flower of grief" alone flourishes in his heart, even the charms of spring leave him still unhappy (34, 35, 47, 54) B Tāhir professes the philosophy of the true Ṣūfī, confesses his sins, implores pardon for them, preaches humility, invokes nirvana (*fanāʾ*) as the only remedy for his misfortunes (1, 13, 45, 50, 58) One human failing is especially characteristic of Bābā Tāhir his eyes and his heart do not readily detach themselves from the things of this world, his rebellious heart burns within him, leaves him no rest for a moment and the poet cries in anguish "Art thou a lion, a panther, O my Heart, thou who art continually struggling with me If thou fallest into my hands, I shall spill thy blood to see what colour thou art, O my heart" (3, 8, 9, 26, 36, 42)

Bābā Ṭāhir's psychology shows striking contrast to that of ʿOmar Khayyām Bābā Tāhir shows no trace of the hedonism of the latter (d. 517 [1123 ?]) nor of his serenity in face of the changes brought by death, while ʿOmar Khayyām lacks the mystic fire of Bābā Tāhir (cf. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubāʿiyāt of ʿUmar-i Khayyām*, Copenhague 1917, p. 44).

What pleases in Bābā Tāhir is the freshness of his sentiments which Sūfī routine had not yet stereotyped, the spontaneity of his images, the naiveté of his language, when expressing terror A new Fitzgerald might make of Bābā Ṭāhir a worthy rival to ʿOmar Khayyām

Bābā Tāhir — mystic The Persian dervishes with whom Żukowski talked about Bābā Tāhir knew that he was the author of 22 metaphysical treatises (cf also Riḍā Kulī Khān) but it is only from Ethé and Blochet that we have learned in Europe of the existence in Oxford and Paris of commentaries on the maxims of B Tāhir. The complete treatise [*al-*]*Kalimāt* [*al*]*-kiṣār* ("The brief sayings") has now been published in the edition of the *Armaġhān* This treatise consists of 368 Arabic maxims divided into 23 *bāb* dealing with the following subjects knowledge (*ʿilm*), gnosis (*maʿrifa*); inspiration and penetration (*ilhām, firāsa*); reason and the soul (*ʿakl, nafs*); this world and the beyond (*dunyā, ʿukbā*); the musical performance (*samāʿ*) and the *ḏhikr*; sincerity and spiritual retreat (*ikhlāṣ, iʿtikāf*) etc.

Here are a few specimens of these maxims N°. 86· "Real knowledge is the intuition after which the knowledge of certainty has been acquired" (*al-ḥaḳīḳatu'l-mushāhidatu baʿda ʿilmi 'l-yaḳīni*); N° 96. "Ecstacy (*waḏd*) is the loss (of the knowledge) of existing things and is the existence of lost things", N°. 368. "he who has been the witness of predestination (coming) from God remains without movement and without volition"; N°. 300: "he whom ignorance has slain has never lived, he whom the *ḏhikr* has killed will never die".

The "Brief Sayings" seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity among the Ṣūfīs. The Persian editor mentions the following commentaries

on this treatise: the Arabic commentary attributed to ʿAin al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. in 533 but often associated in legends with Bābā Tāhir); another Arabic commentary by an unknown author, the Arabic and Persian commentaries by Mullā Sulṭān ʿAlī Gunābādī. the Persian commentary was printed in 1326 (1906) but is very rare. The editor of the *Amarghān* expresses the hope of being one day able to publish the "Brief Sayings" accompanied by one of the commentaries

The Arabic manuscript 1903 of the Bibl. Nat contains the first 8 chapters of the maxims of Bābā Ṭāhir in an abridged form (fol 100b—105b), as well as a commentary on them (fol 74a—100a) entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-rabbāniya fī Iṣhārāt al-Hamadāniya.*

The manuscript seems to be in the hand of the author of the commentary, Djānī Beg al-ʿAzīzī, who began his work in Shawwāl 889 and ended it on 20th Shaʿbān 890 (1485). The commentary was written at the request of a certain Shaikh Abu 'l-Bakā who had possessed the *Iṣhārāt* of Bābā Tāhir since 853 He had let them fall into the well of Zamzam at Mecca but the manuscript was miraculously recovered. The ʿulamāʾ had dissuaded Abu 'l-Baḳā from writing a commentary on the text on account of its profundity and obscurity Finally Abu 'l-Bakā engaged Djānī Beg to accomplish this task. The commentary deals with the text of the maxims of Bābā Tāhir word by word

Bābā Ṭāhir — a saint. As is the case with the majority of the mystical poets (ʿAṭṭār, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Hāfiz), there are numerous legends of the life and miracles of Bābā Tāhir It is related that when Bābā Tāhir had asked the students of the madrasa of Hamadān to show him the way to acquire knowledge, the students as a joke told him to spend a winter night in the frozen water of a tank Bābā Tāhir carried out the advice and next morning found himself enlightened and exclaimed· *Amsaitu Kurdīyan wa-asbahtu ʿArabīyan* ("last night I was a Kurd and this morning I have become an Arab") This story was heard by Żukowski in Teherān and by Heron Allen's informant at Būshir, it is widely current in Hamadān (cf. the preface to the *Dīwān*, p 17 and the manuscripts from Hamadān) This Arabic utterance is found in the preface to the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, where however it is referred to an unknown (mystic?) ancestor of Ibn Akhī, a Turk of Urmiya In the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* of Djāmī, ed Nassau Lees, p 362—363, the phrase is attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Bābūnī

Other pious legends represent Bābā Tāhir as making the snow on Mount Alwand melt by the ardour of his spiritual fire, tracing with the point of his great toe the solution of an astronomical problem which had been put him, etc. (Żukowski, Heron Allen, Leszczynski, preface to the *Dīwān*, manuscripts from Hamadān)

Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p. 344, already knew that the adepts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect were in the habit of "praising exceedingly and giving pride of place to the names of famous Ṣūfīs, notably of Bābā Ṭāhir whose poems in the Lur dialect are highly esteemed, and of his sister Bibi Fatima" etc. The discovery of the religious work *Sarandjām* has enabled us to locate Bābā Ṭāhir in the theogony of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ believed in 7 manifestations of the divinity (the first, that of Khāwandigār was in pre-eternity, the second is that of ʿAlī, the third that of Bābā Khoshīn, the fourth that of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ [q. v.]). Each of these manifestations was accompanied by a retinue of 4 angels, each of whom had special duties. Bābā Tāhir is regarded as one of the angels of Bābā Khoshīn and the incarnation of Azrāʾīl and Nusair. The mystic stage to which the period of Bābā Khoshīn generally corresponds is the *marʿifa*. The events of this cycle take place in Luristān and Hamadān. The manuscript of the *Sarandjām* recounts the visit of the "King of the World" to Bābā Tāhir in Hamadān. Bābā Khoshīn is meant by the "King of the World" but the legend seems to be inspired by memories of the episode of Tughrīl, related in the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*. Bābā Tāhir and Fātima Lāra ("the thin") of the tribe of Bāra Shāhī (living in the Gūrān country?), who was in his service, fed the whole army of the King with a *čāi-yak* of rice The latter tempts Bābā Ṭāhir with all the treasures of the world but he only desires the "beauty of the King". Fāṭima wants to follow the king of the World; she lays her head on her knees and gives up the ghost. The King consoles Bābā Tāhir for his loss and promises that on the day of the Last Judgement he will reunite him to Fātima so that they shall be like Lailā and Madjnūn. 13 poetical fragments (mutilated but in the style of Bābā Tāhir) are so scattered through the text (cf *Minorsky*, p. 29—33, 99—103, these facts have been utilized by Leszczynski, *op cit*, p. 18-25) Fāṭima Lara, who is mentioned in the text is buried beside Bābā Ṭāhir. According to the custodians of the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir, she is not to be confused with another Fātima also buried in the same *Buḳʿa* (?). Gobineau and A V. W Jackson mention the sister of Bābā Ṭāhir, Bibi Fātima or Fātima Lailā. Āzād-i Hamadānī (*Dīwān*, p. 16—21) speaks of the tomb of the *dāya* "nurse" of Bābā Ṭāhir everyone seems to endeavour to translate into the language of everyday life the mystic relations of Bābā Tāhir to Fātima.

The quatrain already quoted at the beginning of this article (*alf*, *alif-ḳadd*) may reflect some high aspiration of Bābā Ṭāhir.

Bibliography The manuscripts containing the quatrains of Bābā Tāhir are as follows: Asiat Soc Bengal, pers. N° 923, Catal Ivanow, p 424 (a *madjmūʿa* of 1000 [1592]), Preuss Staatsbibl, Catal. Pertsch, p 727, N°. 697 (written in 1820 and used by Leszczynski) 56 quatrains, Bibl Nat de Paris, pers. 174, Cat. Blochet, ii 290—292 (collection made by Bakhsh ʿAlī Ḳarabāghī, dated 1260 [1844]). 174 quatrains and a *ghazal* In the library of the mosque of Sipāhsālār in Ṭihrān, Żukowski found a manuscript, *Ḥālāt-i Bābā Ṭāhir bā inḍimām-i aṣhʿārash*, but the title did not correspond to the contents of the manuscript. The manuscripts of the mystical treatises of Bābā Tāhir are as follows: Bibl. Nat. de Paris, Arab 1903 (Blochet, *o. l.*, ii. 291) and the Oxford MS Ethé, *Cat Pers. Mss Bodleian Lib.*, N° 1298, fol. 302b—343. The anthologies which mention the poet are. ʿAlī Kuli Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, 1161 (1748), cf. Leszczynski, p 10; Luṭf ʿAlī beg, *Ātashkada*, 1193 (1779), Bombay 1277, p. 247 (25 quatrains); ʿAlī Ibrāhīm-shāh, *Ṣuḥuf-i Ibrāhīm*, 1205 (1791), unique MS. in the PreussStaatsbibl., Pertsch, p. 627, N°. 663 (utilised by Żukowski and

Leszczynski); Riḍā Ḳuli Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, Ṭihrān 1295, i 326 (10 quatrains); Riḍā Ḳuli Khān, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Ṭihrān 1303, p. 102 (24 quatrains); 57 quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir were published at Bombay in 1297 and 1308 (with those of ʿOmar Khayyām); 32 quatrains (with the *Munādjāt* of Ansārī) at Bombay 1301; 27 quatrains (with those of Khayyām) at Tihrān 1274; the *ghazal* of Bābā Ṭāhir is given in the appendix to the *Dīwān* of Shams-i Maghribī, Ṭihrān 1298, p. 158, in the appendix to the *Munādjāt* of Ansārī etc The *Dīwān* of Bābā Tāhir (cf text) with the *Kalimāt-i ḳiṣār*, a preface by the editor, a biography by Maḥmūd ʿIrfān, a description of the tomb of Bābā Tāhir by Āzād-i Hamadānī etc were published as a supplement to the 8th year of the magazine *Armaghān*, Ṭihrān 1306 (1927), p 1—124 — Huart, *Les quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān en pehlévi musulman*, *J A.*, series viii, vol vi., Nov.–Dec. 1885, p. 502—545; Żukowski, *Koye čto o B Ṭāhirě Golǐshě Zap.*, 1900, xiii, p. 104—108 (bibliography, 3 anecdotes, 2 new quatrains one of which = N°. 146 of the *Dīwān*), cf. also *Zap.*, ii p 12; E Heron Allen, *The Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir*, London 1902 (text of 62 quatrains, transl by the editor and a verse transl. by Elisabeth Curtis Brenton); E G Browne, *A Liter Hist. of Persia*, i 83—87, ii 259—261; Mīrzā Mahdī Khan (Kaukab), *The quatrains of B Tahir*, *J A.S Bengal*, 1904, N°. 1, p 1—29 (new edition of the quatrains of Heron Allen [+ 1 quatrain] with important corrections and a very interesting commentary); Huart, *Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, ed J. J. Modi, Bombay 1908, p 290—302 (28 quatrains and 1 ghazal) completing the collection of 1885 recently discovered in an extract from the *Kaṣhkūl al-fukarā'* of which the original is in the Muḥammadīya mosque (Fātiḥ) of Constantinople, in the *Dīwān* of Maghribī and in an album (*djung*) This second collection of quatrains published by Huart contains very irregular pieces, the translation of which is not certain; Minorsky, *Materialǐ* ("Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les Ahl-i Haqq ou ʿAlī-Illāhī"), vol. xxxiii. of the *Trudǐ Lazarew Instituta*, Moscow 1911, p. 29—33 (transl. of the passages from the *Saranḍjām*), p 99—103 (Persian text of the intercalated poems and notes); G. L Leszczynski, *Die Rubāʿiyāt des Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān oder Die Gottestranen des Herzens, aus d. west-medischen* [*sic !*] *Originale*, Munich 1920 (biographical and bibliographical, verse transl.); K Hadank, *Die Mundarten v. Khunsār* etc, in *Kurd.-pers. Forsch. v. O. Mann*, series iii., vol. i., Leipzig 1926, introduction, p xxxvii.—lv. (complete study of the question of the language of Bābā Ṭāhir, bibliography).

(V. MINORSKY)

ṬĀHIRIDS, a dynasty in Khorāsān, founded by Tāhir b al-Husain [q. v.]. The foundation of the rule of the Ṭāhirids was later considered to date from the appointment of Ṭāhir as commander of the army of the Caliph Maʾmūn in 194 (810) and therefore the duration of their rule was put at 65 years (till the deposition of Muḥammad b Ṭāhir in 259 [873]; cf. the biography of Fadl b. Sahl [q v.] in Ibn Khallikān N°. 540, ed. de Slane, p. 577; transl., ii. 473 [where we have wrongly "six and fifty"]). Ṭāhir was succeeded in Khorāsān by his son Ṭalḥa, d. 213 (828); after him reigned ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.] till 230 (844) and Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh till Radjab 248 (862), both of whom are described as able rulers. The capital of the dynasty was Nīshāpūr (Arabic: Naisābūr); from the time of ʿAbd Allāh their territory comprised Rayy and Kirmān, in addition to Khorāsān proper and the lands east of it as far as the Indian frontier and northward to the boundary of the Caliph's empire Although the Tāhirids were nominally only governors for the caliphs, their authority was so firmly established in Khorāsān that the province could not be given to any other After the death of ʿAbd Allāh the Caliph al-Wāthik appointed Ishāḳ b Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī governor of Khorāsān, but this appointment was cancelled before the departure of the new governor and Tāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed in office in succession to his father (Sūlī, MS in the Publ Libr. in St Petersburg, f 18b *sqq*) At the same time from 237 to 253 (851—867) another of ʿAbd Allāh's sons, Muhammad, held the office of military commandant (*ṣāḥib shurṭa*) and deputy of the Caliph in Baghdād. He declined an offer to go to Khorāsān on the death of his brother Tāhir, as he knew that the later had intended his son Muhammad to succeed him, Muḥammad b Tāhir was therefore appointed governor of Khorāsān by the Caliph Mustaʿīn (Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 604). Muhammad b Tāhir, in contrast to his predecessors, is described as a frivolous and pleasure-loving prince, his lands gradually passed to the Ṣaffārid [q. v.] Yaʿḳūb b Laith to whom Muḥammad himself had to surrender in his capital in 259 (873). Muhammad b Tāhir, who lived till 296 (908—909) (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 42) does not seem to have returned to Khorāsān, although he was liberated after the defeat of Yaʿḳūb at Dair al-ʿAḳūl in 262 (876) and thereupon and once again in 271 (885) appointed governor of Khorāsān His brother Husain b Tāhir continued the struggle with the Ṣaffārids without much success. The last military commandant of Baghdād of the Tāhirid family was ʿUbaid Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh who died in Shawwāl 300 (May 913); according to ʿArīb, p 40, he was 81 years of age but Ibn al-Athīr says he was only born in 223 (838); until his death he was regarded as Shaikh of the Khuzāʿa tribe (Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, ii. 80, not in the text p 382, nor in Wüstenfeld's edition N° 366) His son Muhammad b ʿUbaid Allāh was for a period commandant of the eastern half of Baghdād and was dismissed from office in 301 (913—914); cf. ʿArīb, p. 45

The Tāhirids seem to have occupied a unique position among the rulers of their time on account of their high education and literary activities (in Arabic) In the *Fihrist* (p. 117) a special chapter (*Āl Tāhir*) is devoted to the Tāhirids· many of them, from Tāhir b al-Husain to ʿUbaid Allāh b ʿAbd Allāh are celebrated as poets and authors. According to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir the "wisdom" (*Ḥukm*) of the Ṭāhirids was particularly manifested in his nephew Manṣūr b. Ṭalḥa, the governor of Merw, Āmul and Khwārizm, and author of several works. According to a statement of little credibility in Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p 30), ʿAbdallāh is said to have disapproved of Persian literature and to have ordered Persian books to be burned and destroyed.

Bibliography: *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii. 559 *sq* ; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, G M. S.*, 1928, p. 207—222.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TAHMĀN B ʿAMR AL-KILĀBĪ was a minor Arabic poet whose collected poems have by accident been preserved, while more important collections have been irretrievably lost. The time when he lived is fairly accurately known, as he was captured by the Ḥarūrī leader Nadjda b ʿAmr al-Ḥanafī on one of his expeditions and employed as a guide. During the night he tried to escape, took one of the best camels and went away. He was however pursued on horses and recaptured As a punishment for theft the Ḥarūrī imposed the punishment of having the right hand cut off When he later came to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik he recited to him his most celebrated poem, in which he deplores the loss of his hand and asks the caliph for the payment of the ransom as he had acted only as a loyal subject and had not deserved the punishment imposed upon common criminals. However, according to another account, he did not lose his hand at all and the poem was made solely for the purpose to save his hand when he deserved such punishment. He had been at a wineshop and when drunk had robbed the owner of the money taken by this illegal traffic by breaking open the box in which he kept the money In this account he is brought before the caliph al-Walīd and not ʿAbd al-Malik That he lived to the time of al-Walīd is confirmed by another poem (p. 82, 2) where he praises this ruler and the Banū Umaiya in general As also other accounts and verses make allusion to the loss of his hand, the second account appears to be due to an interpolator who was not acquainted with these verses. Tahmān was sensitive about the loss of his hand and he always kept it wrapped up. One day a man of the clan of Abū Rabīʿa b ʿAbd, as he was at the watering trough, threw the garment covering his hand back. Tahmān bore the grudge till he surprised the man kneeling at some work and struck him with his sword thinking he had killed him, though he had only wounded him He fled to the Yaman to the tribe of al-Ḥāriṯh b Kaʿb and found asylum among the Banū ʿAbd al-Madān, one of the noblest Yamanite clans, and sent from there some verses expressing his delight at having avenged the insult. He also had another quarrel in which he killed a man of the tribe of Ghanī on account of a woman, then he ran away and stayed two years in the South of the Yamāma, hiding during the day, robbing the people during the night. His plight however was so wretched that when some of his clansmen of Kilāb passed he asked them in some verses to obtain pardon for him from the governor of al-Madīna. A man named Ṣudaiy b Ḳais went to al-Madīna and obtained the pardon and paid the blood-money to the relations of the slain Ghanawī. From all these scattered accounts we may arrive at the conclusion that he lived in the second half of the first century of the Hidjra Several of the fragmentary poems are simply love poems, several upon Ḥāriṯhī, i. e South-Arabian women, composed during his stay in the Yaman The short *dīwān* probably formed part of the collection of poems made by Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī under the title: *Kitāb Luṣūṣ al-ʿArab*, "Book of the Arab Robbers". A German translation exists by O. Rescher, but as it is privately printed; I do not know the date of publication. The Arabic text is published in W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, Leyden 1859, p. 76—89. Verses of Tahmān are cited occasionally in other works, sometimes only as being by one of the "Robbers". In the *Lisān al-ʿArab* he is cited only four times (iii. 492; ii 132; xi. 298; xiii. 43, 432); Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 413; Yāḳūt and al-Ḳālī in places to be found from the indices.

Bibliography: cited above.

(F. KRENKOW)

ṬAHMĀSP I, second ruler of Persia of the Ṣafawī dynasty, eldest son of Shāh Ismāʿīl I born in 919 (1514); he ascended the throne at the age of ten years (930 = 1524) and was of course the plaything of the Ḳizilbash chiefs. He defeated the Uzbegs in 934 (1527) near Turbet-i Shaikh Djam. Summoned to Baghdād by the rebellion of Dhu 'l-Faḳār of the Kurd tribe of the Mūṣlū, who was supported by the Kalhur Kurds and claimed to be under Turkish suzerainty (936 = 1530), he found him murdered by his brothers. He next went to Herāt which the Uzbegs had been besieging for 18 months, but the latter withdrew on his approach. In 940 (1534) the Ottomans occupied Mesopotamia and Tabrīz. Sulṭān Sulaimān went to Sulṭānīya, then crossed the mountains to the south to occupy Baghdād, four years later he occupied Wān. The Persians had all the time been on the defensive. In 1541 the great Moghul Humāyūn, son of Bābur, driven from his throne by a rebellion, took refuge with Tahmāsp. The magnificent festivities held on this occasion are commemorated in a wall-painting in the pavilion of Čihil-Sutūr in Iṣfahān, but Humāyūn was worried by the Shāh's insisting on his adoption of the Shīʿa.

A rebellion of his brother Ilkhās-Mīrzā in 954 (1547) who was supported by the Turks gave Ṭahmāsp no rest; an Ottoman army occupied Ādharbāidjān and Iṣfahān; Ilkhās however quarrelled with his allies, the campaign led to nothing and the pretender was later captured and put to death. In 961 (1554) an armistice was concluded with the Turks and the peace signed the following year Bāyazīd, son of Sulṭān Sulaimān, took refuge in Persia after his rebellion (963 = 1556) but he was handed over after two years' negotiations and Ṭahmāsp ordered or allowed him to be put to death for a sum of 400,000 pieces of gold.

The last years of his reign were marked by Uzbeg invasions of Khorāsān and a famine followed by plague (919 = 1571). Ṭahmāsp died in 984 (1576), poisoned by the mother of a certain Ḥaidar, chief of the Ustādjlū tribe. His reign had lasted 52 and a half years He wrote his autobiography, publ. by P. Horn, *Denkwurdigkeiten*, *Z.D M.G.*, xliv., 1890, p. 563—649, transl. Strassburg 1891; it stops at the year 969 (1561) when Bāyazīd was handed over to the Turks. Copies of official letters addressed by him to contemporary sovereigns are found in various MSS. of the British Museum (Rieu, *Catalogue*, N°. 390, 530, 809, 984). In his reign Persia was visited by Anthony Jenkinson, English Ambassador (1562) and Vincentio d'Alessandri, Venetian Ambassador (1571).

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Persia, ii. 35; Cl. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes*, Paris 1901, p 34—36; P. Horn, *Geschichte Irans in islamitischer Zeit*, in *Grundriss d iran. Philologie*, ii 582; L. Teufel, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1883, xxxvii, p 113—125, Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, i. 505—511.

Ṭahmāsp II, third son of Shāh Ḥusain, proclaimed heir-presumptive during the siege of Iṣfahān by the Afghāns (1135 = 1722), escaped at the head of 600 men and tried without success to raise troops in Ḳazwīn He made a treaty with Peter the Great who had just occupied Resht and Bākū (the treaty led to nothing), held out at Farahābād in Māzandarān, with the support of Fath ʿAlī Khān, chief of the Kādjār, and was joined there by the future Nādir Shāh, who then took the name Ṭahmāsp Kulī Khān (the Khān, servant of Tahmāsp) and brought him 5,000 men, Afshār and Kurds. After the assassination of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān near Meshhed by Nādir, the latter was appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, took Meshhed and Herāt, won a signal victory over the Afghāns at Mihmān-Dūst, near Dāmghān in 1141 (1729). Leaving Tahmāsp at Dāmghān, Nādir won a further success at Murče-Khurt, entered Isfahān where Tahmāsp, whose father had been massacred by the Afghāns before their departure, followed him and found his mother there, where she had lived seven years disguised as a slave without being recognised Ṭahmāsp rewarded his general for his services by giving him the governorship of Khorāsān, Sidjistān, Kirmān and Māzandarān with the title Sultān. Nādir struck coins in his own name and paid his troops with them Fired by the victories of his lieutenant, Tahmāsp wished to take command of the army, undertook unsuccessfully the siege of Eriwān and was defeated by the Turks at Koredjān, near Hamadān in 1144 (1731); in the following year he concluded peace by ceding Transcaucasia, but retained Tabrīz and the country S E of it Nādir protested against the conclusion of the treaty, marched on Isfahān, seized Ṭahmāsp and sent him to be imprisoned in Khorāsān putting on the throne a son of the Shāh, aged eight months, under the name of Shāh ʿAbbās III; this son dying, Nādir [q. v.] had himself proclaimed ruler of Persia in 1148 (1736). In the course of the campaign in India, the son of Nādir, Riḍā Kūlī, put Tahmāsp to death along with the greater part of his family at Sebzawār (1151 = 1739)

Bibliography Mīrzā Mahdi Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-gushā-i Nādirī*, Bombay 1265, p. 9—114, Tibrīz 1266, p. 6—67, Riḍā Kūlī Khān, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ-i Nāṣirī*, Teheran 1274, viii., not paged; P. M Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii 317—344; E. G Browne, *Hist of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 129—136, Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, London 1815, i. 636—637; ii. 21—96 (Cl Huart)

ṬAHMŪRATH, the second king of the Pīshdādī dynasty in the Persian epic cycle.

The name Takhmō-urupa (*Avesta*), Takhmōrup (*Bundahiš*) is compounded of *takhma* ("strong, courageous") (cf. Rustam < Rustahm) + *urupa* (or *urupi*) (cf Christensen, p. 140), "a certain animal of the dog family", cf Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört*, p. 1532, who, however, expresses doubts as to the real meaning of the name (Darmesteter, *Avesta*, ii., p. 583, interprets it "of sturdy shape"; cf. Sanskrit *rūpa*?) Later forms are Takhmūraf, Tahmūras. The transcription into Arabic characters Tahmūrath (sometimes Ṭahūmrath) reflects an intermediate stage in the evolution of the final *p* > *f* > *th* > *s*; the emphatic Arabic *ṭ* seems to show retroactive influence of the *h*; cf. the forms Tahmāsp, and Tihrān. In the *Sidrā Rabbā* the Mandaean Tahmūrath appears under the name Zardanayaṭa Tahmūrāṭ

As Windischmann points out, Tahmūrath is one of the most puzzling characters in the Iranian epic. Syncretistic imagination has been very much at work on the person of this king and each period has added some new features to his character. According to the majority of the sources, Ṭahmūrath is the son of Wiwandjhān (Avestan Vivahvant, Pahl. Vīvanghān, who is the grandson or the great grandson of Hūshang) The brothers of Ṭahmūrath are his successors Yim = Djam[shēd], Spitūr (Spityura) and Nars. The *Shāh-nāma* alone makes the order of reigns the same as the order of generations, by making Tahmūrath the son of Hūshang and the father of Djamshēd The Muslim sources mention a son of Tahmūrath who according to Ibn al-Faḳīh was called Fāris (eponym of the Persians), according to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (ed Le Strange, p 112) Lashkar, according to Herbelot's sources Kahramān.

In the Avesta Tahmūrath has the epithet *azinavant* (*zaēnahvant*), usually explained (cf Ḥamza and the *Muḏmil*, p 166) as "armed" but according to Bartholomae, *Altir. Wort*, p. 228 and 1651, having the sense of "watchful", "wide awake" Firdawsī does not mention this epithet unless he alludes to it when he says that Tahmūrath saddled (*zīn*) Ahriman to serve as a steed for him.

According to the *Avesta*, *Yašt*, 19, 28, Takhmō Urupa "subdued all the demons and rode Añra-Mainyu whom he transformed into a horse, for 30 years, from one end of the earth to the other" (transl Darmesteter) The victory of Tahmūrath over Ahriman was won on the day Khurdād of the month of Farvardīn and this event is celebrated each year by the faithful who should make a special cake for the occasion (according to a Pahlavi treatise in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, iv., p 314). The Persian *Riwāyat* (Spiegel, *Einleitung*) which gives Mōbad-i Dihlawī as its authority is full of curious details (absent in Firdawsī and elsewhere) Every day Tahmūrath, mounted on Ahriman, went three times round the world and three times covered the road from Mt Alburz to the bridge Činvad Ahriman felled by mace blows from Tahmūrath lived only on the sins of men By promises of honey and silk garments (on these impure things, cf Spiegel, *Einleitung*, ii. 153, 158) Ahriman persuaded the wife of Tahmūrath to ask her husband if in the course of his rounds he was ever afraid Tahmūrath confessed that he was always afraid that Ahriman might throw himself from the summit of Alburz to the foot Learning Ṭahmūrath's weak spot, Ahriman threw him and swallowed him. The angel Surōsh announced the disappearance of Ṭahmūrath to Djamshēd and tells him what two things delight Ahriman, praises (or song) and sodomy (cf Marquart in *Handes Amsorya*, Vienna 1916, p. 100). Djam played on these passions and when Ahriman prepared to accede to his proposals, Djam slipped his hand into his entrails and pulled out his brother's body. Ahriman pursues Djam but the latter on the advice

of Surōsh abstains from looking him in the face and Ahriman thus impotent returns to hell. Djam purifies Ṭahmūrath and builds an [*a*]*stōdān* for him The hand of Djam which had touched Ahriman became covered with leprosy. During a dream he learns that his malady can be cured. Hence the institution of the *dakhma* and the use of the *gōmēz*, are connected in the *Riwāyat* with the death of Tahmūrath. The *Mudjmil* expressly says that Ṭahmūrath died a natural death.

The exploits of Ṭahmūrath also earned him the epithet of *dēvband*, cf. the *Shāhnāma*, the *Mudjmil* and the Persian *Riwāyat*. According to the Aogemaidē (*Avesta*, tr Darmesteter, iii 165), Ṭahmūrath made a steed of Ganā-Mainyō, the demon of demons, and extorted from him the 7 kinds of writing. The *Mīnōkhirad* (tr West, Ch. xxi 32) explains that it was the seven alphabets hidden by Ahriman that were brought to light Firdawsī does not seem to be aware of the ambiguity of his language, which here suggests the demoniacal origin of the alphabets, while, according to him, they were taught to Tahmūrath by the *dēv* whom he had subdued after their rebellion Firdawsī speaks of "about 30 alphabets" (*nazdīk-i sī*) but only mentions six by name, the *rūmī*, the *tāzī*, the *pārsī*, the *soghdī*, the *čīnī* and the *pahlawī*.

On this tradition there was in time superimposed the legend of the measures taken by Tahmūrath to save the books at the Deluge. As Windischmann has already pointed out, this act of Tahmūrath's connects him with the Babylonian Xisouthros (Berosius, *Frag Hist Graec*, ed Muller, ii 501) Hamza, ed. Gottwaldt, p 197, says that in 350 (961) there was found at Djai (Isfahān) in the building called Sārwaih or Sārōya a hoard of 50 bales of skins covered with unknown writings (Ibn Rusta transcribes the name Sāiūk, this is also the name of the citadel of Hamadān, of the capital of Farāhān, of the tributary of the Djaghatu and of the town of Sarūdj near Biredjik) In this connection Ḥamza under 357 (962) quotes the story of the astronomer Abū Maʿshar (d 272 = 885), according to which a similar find of manuscripts written on the *tōz* of the white poplar (*khadank*) had previously been made at Sārōya. On this occasion one of the manuscripts written "in old Persian script" could be deciphered. One of the old kings of Persia in it related that 231 years and 300 days before the Deluge, Tahmūrath had known the date of its happening. As a true friend of knowledge and of scholars, he ordered his engineers to find the safest place to erect a building which was called Sārōya. Scientific works of different kinds including astronomical tables were put in it (but the Deluge, cf al-Bīrūnī, did not come beyond the frontier of Ḥulwān)

There are several other traditions connected with Ṭahmūrath The reference is very old in the *Bundahish*, ch. xvii. 4, according to which in the time of Ṭahmūrath "the people regularly passed on the back of the bull Sarsaok from (*Karshvar* [mod. Pers. Kashvar] central) Khvanīras to the other regions" One night in the middle of the sea, the wind blew into the water the sacred fire which had also been placed on the back of Sarsaok, but the fire broke into three parts which shone so brightly that the people were able to cross the sea. This myth is symbolical of the peopling of the 6 *karshvar* of the periphery and of the origin of the three great pyres.

To Ṭahmūrath (Ḥamza, p. 29—30) is attributed the building of Babylon, of the citadel (*kuhandiz*) of Marw, of Kardīndād (one of the 7 cities of Madāʾin; another reading has · Kurdābād, in the *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh*: *Girdābād-i buzurgtarīn*), of the two suburbs of Iṣfahān. Mihrīn (Marbīn ?, cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 265) and Sārōya (formerly Kūk) According to Ṭabarī, Ṭahmūrath founded the town of Sābūr, and Masʿūdī places there the residence of Tahmūrath To this list Herbelot's sources add Nineveh and Āmid

In the *Shāh-nāma*, Tahmūrath is represented as the great initiator in the exploitation of the animal kingdom. from him dates the weaving of wool, the domestication of wild animals, of birds of prey, the rearing of horses and other animals for riding, of watch-dogs and of cocks and hens (cf. also the *Mudjmil* and Thaʿālibī)

Along with Ṭahmūrath the *Shāh-nāma* mentions his wise and pious minister (*dastūr*) Shēdāsp, whose name looks like a wrong reading for Būdāsp (Boddhisatva, Buddha) Blochet (*Études sur le Gnosticisme*, p 28) has endeavoured to show from the system of writing Pahlavī the possibility of the substitution of *shēdā*, in place of *būt* in the sense of demon. Tabarī, i 175 says that in the first year of the reign of Ṭahmūrath, Būdhāsf appeared who preached the doctrine of the Sābiʾa [q v] and almost all the Muslim historians repeat this (cf Windischmann and Christensen) Some writers (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *B G A*, viii, 90) even suggest that before Zaidusht the Persians professed the Sabaean religion preached by Būdāsf According to Ḥamza, Yūdāsf (read Būdāsf) instituted fasting on the occasion of a famine in the time of Tahmūrath The same writer says that Tahmūrath was tolerant in religious matters and in his reign idolatry had increased This legend is exactly contrary to what the *Dēnkart* (vii 1, 19) says, that Tahmūrath put down idolatry and caused the worship and adoration of the Creator to increase

Ṭahmūrath has no equivalent in Indian mythology Windischmann and Spiegel have sought to unravel the Indo-European (Iranian ?) from the Semitic elements in this complex character. To the former belong the genealogy of Tahmūrath, his struggle with Ahriman etc Are the elements dealing with the deluge, the saving of the books etc Semitic ? Windischmann, relying on the second element of the name Tahmūrath (*urupa*), even suspected an animal origin for him (*Tiergestalt*) connecting him with certain Babylonian mythological figures

An original theory has been advanced by Christensen, *op. cit*, p. 136, 142 · he says that it was after the separation of the Iranians from the Indians that Hūshang and Ṭahmūrath, both keeping traces of the type of the "first man" and the "first king", were inserted in the mythological framework where they took a place before Yim, the Indo-Iranian type of the first man, and after Gayōmard, the pre-anthropic giant, who became the prototype of the human race. Christensen then proposes to assimilate Hūshang and Tahmūrath to the personages of Scythian legend (Herodotos, iv. 5—7). Targitaos, the first man and his son Arpoxais, "eponym of the Scythian tribe Ṛpa" (*Arpu > Urupa, Christensen thinks he recognises this element in the toponymy of many places in nearer Asia which were the scene of Scythian migrations). Hence the genealogy, Ṭahmūrath, son of Hūshāng,

given by Firdawsī is perhaps in keeping with the tradition, while the three generations introduced between Ṭahmūrath and Hūshang would only be misreadings of the name Vīvanghān.

Later sources rationalised the legend, according to a Pārsī priest (Darmesteter, *Ét iran.*, ii. 74), the victory of Ṭahmūrath over Ahriman simply means his victory "over the impure desires of the flesh". Mirkhond seems to wish to substitute for the revolt of the *dēv*, one of the nobles of the kingdom.

The later evolution of the story of Tahmūrath in Muslim lands is very curious. According to E. Blochet the mare with a woman's head, al-Burāḳ, [q. v], on whom at the *miʿrādj* Muhammad traversed the world, is derived from Ahriman in the legend of Tahmūrath The name of Burāḳ is, he says, connected with the Persian word *bāra/bāragī* which are actually used in the *Riwāyat* and Firdawsī. On a Sāsānian vase in Vienna (cf. Arneth, *Monumente d K R. Munz- und Antiken-Cabinette in Wien*, 1850, *Die antiken Gold- und Silbermonumente*, pl vi—vii) are figures of a man mounted on a monster with a bearded human head having some resemblance to the winged Assyrian bulls. Blochet thinks he recognises in these figures different phases in the exploit of Ṭahmūrath On the other hand, the same scholar has shown how Ṭahmūrath, having passed through the avatar of the Muslim *djinn* Samhūras or Shamhūrash (metathesis of *h* and *m*[2]) has come to be confused with the complex figure of St. George. The figure of Samhūras is found in an old manuscript *Dakāʾiḳ al-hakāʾik* (Bibl Nat Paris, Pers fonds, N[o] 174); in the accompanying text we are told that this spirit is the "great spirit of the atmosphere" and that his residence (*maḳām*) is in the island (sic !) of Baʿalbak He is represented as a warrior fully equipped (*mubāriz*) killing a dragon with a blow from a sword in such a way that the dragon (*aždahā*) is cut in two while seizing with his teeth the chest of the horse Wherever two armies meet ready for battle, God orders this spirit to go to the space between them and it is he who gives his aid to the side which God desires to assist"

The name Tahmūrath, frequent in the modern period among Pārsīs, seems to be unknown in Muḥammadan Persia. Since the xvi[th] century it has been very popular among the Christian princes of Georgia (in the form Theimurazi) This curious fate of the name may be explained by the influence of the Shīrwānshāhs [q v.] who were related to the Georgians and often bear names from the Iranian epics.

Bibliography: The principal sources mentioning Ṭahmūrath are. *Avesta*, *Yasht*, Chap. 15, 11 and 19, 28, *Afrīn-i Zartusht*, § 2, *Bundahish* (West, *Pahlavi texts*, i., Oxford 1880), Chap. 17, 4; 31, 2—3; 34, 4; *Dīnā-ī Maīnōg-ī Khiradh* (West, *ibid.*, iii., 1885), Chap 27, 21; *Riwāyat pārsī* on Ṭahmūrath is found in Spiegel, *Einleit. in die traditionellen Schriften d. Parsen*, ii, Vienna 1860, p 158—150 and 317—326 (197 Persian distichs; there is a prose version in a MS. of Munich; cf. Bartholomae, *Cat.*, p 141); *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, p. 40—46; ed Vullers, i., p. 202; Ṭabarī, i. 174—175; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii. 111; iii. 252; iv. 44, 49; Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 13, 25, 29—30, 197 (transl p. 9, 17, 20, 151); Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed Sachau, p. 24; *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh*, *J. A.*, 1841, xi. 154, 166[1] 279, 292, 390, 413; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs* (before 412), ed. Zotenberg, p. 7—9. For the minor sources cf Windischmann and Christensen, p. 192—203 D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, "réduite et augmentée" ed. of 1783, v., p. 451—456, s v. Thahamurath, where are quoted the later additions from poems like *Ṭahmūrath-nāma* and *Ḳahramān-nāma* [MS. Turkish of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, N[o] 321, 343 and 344, Ḳahramān is the son of Ṭahmūrath], cf. Mohl, introd. to his edition of the *Shāh-nāma*, i., p 74—76 there is no article Tahmūrath in the original edition of d'Herbelot, Paris 1697, although the *Ṭahmūrath-nāma* is quoted there s. v. Malik-al-bahr à propos of the steed of Siyāmak, son of Kayūmarth Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, Berlin 1863. *Takhmō-urupis*, p. 196—212; Spiegel, *Ērânische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, p. 516—522; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p 320—321; Darmesteter, *Etudes iraniennes*, 1883, ii 24, 51, 74—75, 178; E. Blochet, *L'ascension au ciel du prophète Mohammed*, *R. H R*, 1899, vol. xi, p. 1—25, 203—236; do., *Études sur le gnosticisme musulman*, *R S O*, vol ii, iii., iv., vi, tirage à part, Rome 1913, p 1—193, esp p 1—17, 28, A Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, *Arch. d'études orient.*, vol xiv, Upsala 1918, p. 131—218. Hōšang and Taχmōruw (complete analyse of all the sources) (V Minorsky)

TAḤRĪF (a), corruption of a document, whereby the original sense is altered It may happen in various ways, by direct alteration of the written text, by arbitrary alterations in reading aloud the text which is itself correct, by omitting parts of it or by interpolations or by a wrong exposition of the true sense The Muslims found occasion to deal with this conception in connection with those passages in the Kurʾān where Muhammad accused the Jews of falsifying the books of revelation given them, i e the Thora, *harrafū* [cf ḲORʾĀN, vol. ii. 1066[a]] This accusation was really the only way of escape for Muḥammad out of a dangerous situation, when he came into closer contact with the Jews in Medina He had from the beginning appealed to the evidence of the "peoples of a scripture", i. e. the Jews and the Christians, as he was firmly convinced that the contents of the Old and New Testament coincided with what he preached on the basis of his revelations But his ideas of incidents and laws in the Old Testament contained such misunderstandings that they naturally provoked criticism and ridicule from the Jews and thus he was put in a false position If his expositions were contradictory to the old revealed scriptures, his claim to have received them by divine revelation was at stake But as his consciousness of his prophetic inspiration was unassailable, there was only one thing for him to do, namely to declare that the Jews had maliciously corrupted their sacred books while he himself had given their true content. It was a bold assertion but was made easier for him by the fact that these scriptures were sealed books to his followers, while they believed firmly in the truth of his words. In this connection Muḥammad uses the expression *ḥarrafa* (Sūra ii. 70; iv 48; v 16, 45), more rarely the synonym *lawā* (iii. 72; iv. 48) or *baddala* the meaning of which is

narrower, "to exchange", "to put in the place of something" (ii 56; vii. 16). How he pictured this alteration to himself is not clear from his words and perhaps he had no very definite idea of it· he was more concerned with the fact itself than with how it was done. There is a direct charge of having falsified the text in Sūra ii. 73 "Woe to them, who write the Scripture with their hands and say: this comes from Allāh." On the other hand in iii 72 there seems to be a reference to an alteration in the text while it is being read: "A part of them twist their tongue in the scripture so that you think that it is out of the scripture, but it is not out of the scripture; they say: it comes from Allāh, but it does not come from Allāh"; cf. iv. 48. "they twist with their tongue". In other passages he is content with the accusation that the Jews conceal and suppress all sorts of things in their scripture (Sūra ii. 154, 169). This is expressed in a peculiar fashion in vi. 91 where it is said "you make the scripture of Moses into leaves which you read out and suppress much of it"; which can only mean that in his opinion they removed the passages attesting the truth of his mission from the copies which they used in the disputations. He gives in ii 156; vii 16 a specimen of their alterations which is unfortunately not clear; he says that they used another word instead of the word *ḥitta* which brought a heavy punishment upon them. The examples quoted in ii. 98, iv 48 are hardly meant as quotations from scripture. Among the suppressed passages, th scriptures make special mention of the law which punishes incontinence with stoning (Ibn Hishām p. 394 *sq.*) and the descriptions of Muhammad as the expected Prophet (*ibid*, p 353) Muhammad naturally extended this charge of tahrīf to the Christians, of whom he also asserted that they likewise concealed the passages in their holy scriptures which contained evidence of the truth of his mission; cf the appeal to the "possessors of a scripture" in Sūra ii 141; iii 64 and with reference to prophecy of Muhammad's coming, Ibn Hishām, p. 388, although he probably means that Jesus's refusal of the name God and the doctrine of the Trinity (e g. v 116) were based on falsifications of the scripture His whole attitude was so peculiar that his opponents were able with justice to direct a charge of *tabdīl* against the Prophet's revelations. It is true that in Sūra x 16 he vigorously defends himself against the charge brought by his opponents that he had substituted another revelation in place of the one given him, but the not rare abrogations of earlier legal prescriptions [cf. ḲOR'ĀN] caused him no misgiving and in xvi 103, Allāh clearly refers to his having occasionally substituted one verse for another, a thing with which his enemies did not forget to reproach the Prophet.

The vague way in which Muḥammad in the Ḳur'ān speaks of falsifications of scriptures by the "possessors of a scripture" resulted in the Muḥammadan scholars who gradually became better acquainted with the "Old and New Testaments" and were fond of dealing in their polemical works with the charge of *taḥrīf*, *tabdīl* and *taghyīr*, coming to hold very divergent views in their opinions of the facts lying at the basis of the charge. Some continued to hold the opinion usual in the early centuries after Muḥammad that the Jews had actually altered the text. A vigorous champion of this view was the Spanish Arab Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064). Diametrically opposed to this was the view held by others that the texts of the "possessors of a scripture" were intact and that the divergent opinions of Jews and Christians were simply due to erroneous interpretations of the passages concerned. One of the earliest representatives of this view was the Zaidī of the Yemen, al-Ḳāsim b Ibrāhīm (d 246 = 860), in his polemical treatise directed against the Christians; among his later followers, special mention may be made of the great historian Ibn Khaldūn. As is usual in such controversies there was also a middle school, for some conceded the actual falsifications of the text by the "peoples of a scripture" but limited them to a minimum Of these different opinions, the first was decidedly the simplest and most logical, for it was based on the first impression which the words of the Ḳur'ān naturally made and had made in the early days of Islām, but it led to rather serious consequences which gradually came to be appreciated When one had always to deal with the possibility that the texts of the earlier books of revelation had been falsified, they lost considerably in value and indeed the holders of this theory frequently speake slightingly of it and warn against its use But in this way one came up against a question of apologetics, to which the theologians were devoting themselves with ardour, namely the prophecy of Muhammad's coming as the Prophet to be expected from the Bible (e .g Deut., xviii 15), for this naturally presupposed the authenticity of the passage in question. This factor had such an influence that only a minority took seriously the charge of *tahrīf* in its strictest form But in its milder form it continued to play a principal part in Muslim polemics against Jews and Christians, as may be seen for example from Doughty's statement that in his conversations with Arabs he frequently heard this accusation made (*Travels in Arabia*, i. 298; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 204).

In the disputations between the different Muslim sects the charge of *taḥrīf* is also made, as the Shiʿīs have often insisted that in the orthodox Ḳur'ān all sorts of things have been omitted or inserted with the object of disposing of or refuting evidence of the truth of their doctrine The orthodox also naturally reply by making the same charge against the Shiʿīs.

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(Fr. Buhl)

TAḤṢĪL is the *nomen actionis* of the second formation of the verb *ḥaṣala*, and signifies originally, "collection", "obtaining" or "acquiring". In India the use of the word is restricted to the collection of the revenue, and it is applied, in the United Provinces and Madras to a subdivision of a district (called *taʿalluḳa*, or, cor-

ruptly, *tālūkā*, in the Bombay Presidency) with an area of from 400 to 600 square miles, or less in the United Provinces, forming an administrative and fiscal unit In size the *taḥṣīl* comes between the *pargana* and the *sarkār* of the Mughul empire, and the official in charge of it is designated *taḥṣīldār* (holder of a *taḥṣīl*) and exercises administrative and, except in Madras, magisterial powers He is immediately subordinate either to a superior officer in charge of a sub-division comprising two or more *taḥṣīl*'s, or to the District Magistrate and Collector.

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TAḤSĪN, Mīr Muhammad Husain ʿAtāʾ Khān, with the *takhallus* Taḥsīn, also known by the title Muraṣṣaʿ Raḳm, an Indian author, as it seems, from Itāwā, son of Mīr Bāḳir Khān, whose *takhallus* was Shawk The son of Taḥsīn, named Kāsim ʿAlī Khān, was not only an author, but also a musician The exact dates of Tahsīn's birth and death cannot be fixed; the date of the completion of his most important work, the *Nawṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ*, is ± 1195 (1780) The author was in the service of General Smith, whom he accompanied from Lakhnaw to Calcutta Later on, Tahsīn lived at Patna, then, after his father's death, at Faizābād His patrons, in the last named place, were successively the Nawwāb Shudjāʿ al-Dawla († 1189 = 1775) — in whose service he continued the composition of his *Nawṭarz*, which he seems to have begun at Patna — and the following Nawwāb, Āsaf al-Dawla (1189—1212 = 1775—1797), under whose reign the work was completed The author has added, to the preface of the *Nawṭarz*, a *ḳaṣīda* in honour of Āṣaf al-Dawla It is said, that the reading of the works of the famous Hindūstānī poet Mīrzā Muhammad Rafīʿ Sawdā [† 1195 (1780) at Lakhnaw], induced Tahsīn to devote himself to in Hindūstānī literature also

Works. (1) *Nawṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ*. a Hindūstānī translation, in verse and prose, of a Persian original (named *Ḳiṣṣa-i čahār Darwīsh*) This original is ascribed to Amīr Khusraw, but sometimes also to Andjab or to Muhammad ʿAlī Maʿsūm The *Nawṭarz* exhibits an elaborate literary style. This was the reason, why, for didactic purposes, another translation of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i čahār Darwīsh* was begun in 1215 (1801) by Mīr Amman of Dihlī and completed in 1217 (1803); this translation is the well-known *Bāgh u-Bahār* Editions of Tahsīn's *Nawṭarz* appeared at Bombay (1846), Lakhnaw (1869) and Cawnpore (1874) The *Nawṭarz* itself has had a literary influence upon another Hindūstānī author, ʿAẓmat Allāh, who, as he himself states in the preface of his romantic work *Ḳiṣṣa-i rangīn Guftār*, has imitated in that book the style of Taḥsīn's composition. On the other hand, we find in a manuscript of the India Office (N⁰. 132 of Blumhardt's Catalogue), the Introduction and the tale of the first darwīsh in Taḥsīn's translation combined with a Hindūstānī rendering of the stories resp. of the third darwīsh and the king Āzādbakht by another literate, Muḥammad Hādī.

(2) Besides the *Nawṭarz*, Taḥsīn wrote in Persian an English grammar, called *Ḍawābiṭ-i Angrizī*, and a work, which seems to be historical, named *Tawārīkh-i Ḳāsimī*

It may be added, that, according to the *Tadhkira* of Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān, Taḥsīn was also renowned as a calligrapher Besides this Taḥsīn, there is also another author of that name, likewise called Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, of whom a cycle of poems in the praise of the prophet, partly in Persian and partly in Hindūstānī, was lithographed at Dihlī, under the name *Guldasta-i Naʿt* (1873) There is also a collection of stanzas on Muḥammad, compiled from various sources by one Muḥammad Husain Khān Taḥsīn (the same?), named *Čaman-i Madḥ-i Nabī*, edited at Dihlī 1854.

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(V F. Büchner)

al-Ṭāʾiʿ li-Amr Allāh (or li 'llāh) ʿAbd al-Karīm b al-Faḍl, ʿAbbāsid Caliph, born in 317 (929—930). His father was the caliph al-Muṭīʿ after whose deposition on 13th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 363 (Aug 5, 974) he was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His mother, who survived him, was called ʿUtb As Ibn al-Athīr justly observes (ix 56), al-Ṭāʾiʿ during his reign had not sufficient authority to be able to associate himself with any enterprises worthy of mention He is only mentioned in history, one may safely say, in connection with certificates of appointment to office, letters of condolence and such like formalities, and his most remarkable feature seems to have been his extraordinary physical strength The real rulers were at first the Būyids [q v.] but after the most important of them, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] who was the caliph's father-in-law, had died in Shawwāl 372 (March 983) his sons began to quarrel among themselves In Shaʿbān 381 (Oct /Nov 991) Bahāʾ al-Dawla [q v] who was in financial difficulties and could not pay his troops was persuaded by his influential adviser Abu 'l-Ḥasan b al-Muʿallim to overthrow the caliph and seize his treasure At an audience at which the Būyid appeared with a large retinue the unsuspecting Ṭāʾiʿ was torn from his throne by Bahāʾ al-Dawla's orders and taken to the latter's house where he was kept a prisoner He was succeeded as caliph by his cousin Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who took the name al-Ḳādir [q v] In Radjab 382 (Sept 992) the ex-caliph was allowed to come to al-Ḳādir's palace. Here he was well treated. He died on 1st Shawwāl 393 (Aug 3, 1003).

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(K. V. Zetterstéen)

ṬAIBA [See al-Madīna.]

ṬĀ'IF, a town in Arabia. It lies 75 miles S. E of Mecca about 5,000 feet above sea level in the mountains of Sarāt. Of the country round with its walled gardens Burckhardt says that it is "the most attractive that he had seen since his departure for Lebanon in Syria". The Beduins also describe it as a corner of Syria transported and placed under the inclement sky of the Ḥiḏjāz and say this marvel is due to the all powerful intercession of Abraham, the friend of Allāh This healthy and windy site — water sometimes freezes there — was not without attraction for the rich merchants of Mecca. They all aimed at possessing an estate or at least a pied-à-terre there in which to recuperate from the strain of the relaxing climate of Mecca, as their successors do to this day.

Ṭā'if was the capital of the tribe of Ṯaḳīf [q. v]. The Ḳur'ānic (xliii. 30) phrase *al-ḳaryatān* classes Mecca with Ṭā'if and suggests a link of importance between them. Ṭā'if is nowhere else mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. But it may be said that on the eve of the Hiḏra, it was regarded as the second city of Western Arabia and ranked next to Mecca It had an advantage over the latter in the possession of fertile lands The surrounding valleys supplied its export trade with ample materials, particularly easy to market in a region so unfavoured by nature as the Ḥiḏjāz· wine, wheat and wood. The special industry of Ṭā'if was the manufacture of leather in its tanneries, which were so numerous, we are told, as to render the air around foul It had a girdle of walls built to take machines of war. At the entrance and exit to the sea of sand, Ṭā'if offered the ships of the desert provisions in the varied produce of its soil and loads in the products of its industry. Tā'if seems to have had particularly close relations with the Yemen, for which it was able to save 3 or 4 stages as compared with its redoubtable rival Mecca. The people of the town were divided into two main groups, in reality, two adverse factions Their struggles for supremacy paralysed the economic development of the town. The "Aḥlāf" were the younger, less aristocratic section They nevertheless succeeded in securing control of the national sanctuary of al-Lāt. Inferior to their rivals the Banū Mālik in wealth and in territorial possessions, they made up for their disadvantages by a very skilful diplomacy and by a more serious military organization The best poets, the most respected leaders in Ṭā'if came from the Ahlāf

To their habit of living on wheat, the Beduins attributed the cunning and finesse of the Tā'ifīs which were proverbial. There was a kind of entente cordiale between Mecca and Ṭā'if, an entente cemented by matrimonial alliances between Ḳuraish and Aḥlāf Many Meccans lived, as we have seen, in Ṭā'if and had estates there. Hardly less numerous were the Ṭā'ifīs in Mecca, *ḥalīf* of the great families notably of the Umaiyads, the latter almost all landlords in the region of Ṭā'if. This explains the preponderating part taken by the Ṯaḳafis in the Syrian caliphate.

On the eve of the Hiḏra, Ṭā'if was therefore unique among the towns of the Ḥiḏjāz Its bracing climate, its fruits, its grapes, the famous *zabīb* of Ṭā'if and other products of the soil suggested Syria rather than the bare landscapes of western Arabia. As to intellectual development, the people of Ṭā'if seem "to have been notoriously above the average of Beduins and settled tribes". This is how the acute encyclopaedist al-Ḏjāḥiẓ speaking of Ḥaḏjḏjāḏj summed up the fellow-citizens of the great Ṯaḳafī It is no wonder then that Muhammad after the check to his mission in Mecca thought of winning over the intelligent citizens of Ṭā'if Repulsed again here, the only course left him was to turn to the Anṣārs. In their wars with Muḥammad the Ḳuraish had the military support of the Aḥlāf of Tā'if After the *fatḥ* of Mecca in 8 A. H. immediately after the defeat of the Hawāzin at Ḥunain, Muḥammad laid siege to Ṭā'if, but without success It was not till a year later that a deputation of Tā'ifīs came to discuss at great length in Medīna the adhesion of their compatriots to the new religion, which they adopted without enthusiasm.

The expansion of Islām beyond the bounds of Arabia no more benefited their town than it did Mecca The latter declined while Medīna prospered; the latter was at first the residence of the caliph and later under the Umaiyads that of the governor general of the Ḥiḏjāz, under whom Tā'if usually was now reduced to the rank of a sub-prefecture. This decline was at first checked by the initiative of the inhabitants They succeeded in keeping in their bracing mountains the country resorts not only of the Meccans but also of the new Muslim aristocracy in Medīna. Under the Umaiyads they gave a further proof of their ability to adapt themselves to new circumstances The economic decline of Ta'if and the loss of its autonomy coincided with the zenith of the political influence of the Ṯaḳafīs. They succeeded in pushing themselves, into the highest offices and displayed the most varied talents in them. From the time of Mu'āwiya we regularly find Ṯaḳafī lieutenants beside the Caliph For a brief period with Ziyād b Abīhi, they were almost expected to get the throne. Under Walīd I, when the Arab empire attained its apogee, the greatest man of the reign was not the Ḳuraish ruler but the Ṯakafī Ḥaḏjḏjāḏj. They were all able to exploit the historical relations, the intimacy between Ṭā'if and Mecca, their old connections with the principal Kuraish families, especially with the Umaiyads. They discovered in the past an indication of the proper orientation of their political activity.

The 'Abbāsids and 'Alids took care not to forget this. Tradition records their hatred of them and associates the Ṯaḳafīs with the disfavour that surrounds the Umaiyads From Kerbelā' and the failure of the attempted restoration of the 'Alids they are represented as having been cursed by the Prophet. Combining hatred of the Shī'īs with the political feuds of the 'Irāḳ, the 'Abbāsid reaction vented itself with particular bitterness on the memory of the great Ṯaḳafī officers of the Umaiyad period. It endeavoured to put the town of Tā'if and its doughty citizens under a ban in history The plot succeeded marvellously and to this day among the Beduins, the name of the Ṯaḳafī is treated with scorn.

'Abbāsid rule showed itself frankly hostile to the Ḥiḏjāz, where continued 'Alid risings were fomented (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 94) Ṭā'if contained the tomb of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, the ancestor of the dynasty who became the patron saint of the town. The possession of this sanctuary, a much frequented object of pilgrimage, did not disarm the hostility of the 'Abbāsids who never forgave the population its former Umaiyad sympathies and

left the town to decline gradually. It was the exception when we find ʿAbbāsid princesses taking an interest in Ṭā'if. The mother of the Caliph Muḳtadir and before her the celebrated Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, acquired estates there; the latter no doubt in connection with the waterworks which she built at Mecca. Along with the adjoining districts of the Sarāt, Ṭā'if has remained to the present day the fruit and corn market of Mecca.

From the fourth (tenth) century all the geographers who mention Ṭā'if describe it as *bulaida*, "little town", and even add the epithet "little". Its environs became depopulated and the encyclopaedists like Yāḳūt and Bakrī could not find there the sites of the estates and villages mentioned in the time of the Umaiyads Since the establishment of the Hasanid amīrate in Mecca, Ṭā'if has as a rule been under the Grand Sharīfs. With its walls and its modest citadel, it was intended to defend Mecca against invaders from Nadjd It only imperfectly played this role, especially in the wars between the Grand Sharīfs and the Wahhābīs under Ibn Saʿūd. These sectarians captured and sacked it in 1802. It was taken from them in 1813 by Egyptian troops under Tūsūn-Pāshā. Burckhardt, who visited it in the following year, found it half in ruins In it he ate "very large grapes of most delicious flavour, figs, pomegranates and quinces". The bulk of the inhabitants consisted of Arabs of Thaḳīf "The majority of the rich Meccans had houses there, but most of the foreigners who have chosen it as a place of residence are of Indian origin".

Such still is the composition of its population According to Philby, who was there at the end of 1918, its population is not over 5,000 but rises to 20,000 during the summer season In April 1924, Ṭā'if fell again into the hands of the Wahhābis in the course of their campaign against Husain b ʿAlī, ex-king of the Ḥidjāz

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(H. LAMMENS)

TAIM B. MURRA, a clan of the Meccan tribe of Ḳuraish. Its name, which is born by several other Arab tribes, means "servant" and must therefore be an abbreviation of an ancient theophoric name such as we find in Taimallāh-Taimallāt [q. v.] and in the inscriptions, Taim Manāt, Taim Ruḍā, Θαιμηλος etc. (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 7; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 385) The Taim b. Murra belonged to the Ḳuraish al-Baṭā'iḥ i. e. to the clans which were dominant in Mecca: but in spite of that they do not seem to have possessed any political influence, while their real relatives, the Makhzūm [q. v.] b. Yaḳaẓa b Murra, rivalled in influence the descendants of Ḳusaiy. The pre-Islāmic history of Mecca makes almost no reference to them (cf. the scanty references in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Index vol. i.—ii., p. 1506). The only person of note that they appear to have numbered among them on the eve of Islām is ʿAbdallāh b. Djudʿān, celebrated for his generosity, it was in his house which was still pointed out in the days of Islām that the Kuraish clans formed their alliance (*ḥilf al-fuḍūl*; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, Introduction, § 147), and he was the patron of the poet Ūmaiya b Abi'l-Ṣalt (*Aghānī*, viii. 2—5; c f. Schulthess, *Orientalische Studien, Th Noldeke .. gewidmet*, i 73 *sq.*; Goldziher, *al-Ḥuṭai'a*, *Z D. M G.*, xlvi 7).

The fame of the Taim b. Murra rests entirely on the fact that two of the most celebrated heroes of Islām came from them: — Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaidallāh

A brief description of the quarter inhabited by the Taim b Murra in Mecca is given by al-Azraḳī (*Chron. d Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 468).

Bibliography Wustenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, R 16 (*Register*, p. 447) Ibn Duraid, *K al-Ishtikāk*, ed Wustenfeld, p. 59 *sq*

(G. LEVI DEI LA VIDA)

TAIMĀ', an old settlement in a well-watered oasis in northern Arabia, four days' journey south of Dūmat al-Djandal, according to Muḳaddasī, three from Ḥidjr and four from Wādi 'l-Kurā It lies in a depression the length of which Jaussen and Savignac put at 2 miles with a breadth of 500 yards. The subterranean waters collect and burst forth into a well 40—45 feet deep and about 60 feet in diameter, according to the two travellers just named Taimā' is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions and in the Old Testament as an important caravan station (Isaiah, xxi 14, Jeremiah, xxv. 23; Job, vi 19) To the Persian period belongs the old Aramaic inscription found by Euting, which throws a light on the important culture of the place. It is mentioned by the old Arabic poets e g Imru 'l-Ḳais, *Muʿallaḳa*, verse 76 "it (the rain storm) does not leave a palm-tree in Taimā' nor a house unless it is built of stone" Like other oases in North Arabia, it was settled by immigrant Jews or Jewish proselytes. Among them was Samaw'al [q v.], the lord of the citadel of Ablaḳ al-Fard, mentioned by Aʿshā and other poets. The Jewish inhabitants were not inclined to be friendly to Muḥammad, but when they learned how their co-religionists in Wādi 'l-Ḳurā had been treated, they voluntarily submitted and were thus allowed to retain their lands on payment of a yearly tribute, but they were expelled from the land, like the other Jews in Arabia, by ʿOmar. In the tenth century, Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as more thickly populated than Tabūk. Muḳaddasī gives a more detailed picture of its situation in a well-watered wide depression with a spring, many wells, some of which have fallen in, fine gardens, and many palm trees with excellent dates; on the other hand he censures the avarice of the inhabitants and laments the lack of distinguished scholars from this town. In the next century al-Bakrī refers to its wealth in dates, figs and grapes. The densely populated town had a wall, a parasang in length running along a brook. Of modern travellers

Euting gives a good description of the town with its narrow streets and houses surrounded by orchards Of antiquities he found the ruins of temples and a quadrangular building with towers at the corners. Of the citadel of Ablaḳ, the ruins of which, according to Yāḳūt, were still visible in his time [see ABLAḲ], he could find no traces; Jaussen and Savignac describe some peculiar round tumuli, the sides of which in the form of stairs led up to a small square building.

Taimā' at the present day shows signs of decay everywhere.

Bibliography. Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p 34 *sq.*, *B G.A*, ed. de Goeje, i 22; ii 29; iii. 107, 250, 252; vii 177; viii. 584, Bakrī, *Geogr. Worterb.*, ed Wüstenfeld, i 208 *sq.*; Yāḳūt, *Geogr Worterb.*, ed. Wüstenfeld. i. 907 *sq.*, Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 285, 533, 549 *sq.*; Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii. 148 *sqq.*, 199 *sqq* ; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, ii, Texte, p 133—163, Tafel lxi—lxiv (FR. BUHL)

TAIMALLĀH B. THA'LABA, an Arab tribe belonging to the branch of the Rabī'a b. Nizār (tribes of the 'Adnān) and forming part of the great ethnical group of the Bakr b. Wā'il. Genealogy Taimallāh b Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba b. Ṣa'b b 'Alī b. Bakr b Wā'il. We also find it mentioned under the form Taimallāt, which may be the correct name, for a Muslim (or Christian) alteration of the name al-Lāt to that of Allāh is not at all unlikely while the opposite is hardly conceivable This tribe as usual with so many other tribes of Arabia formed an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the sister tribe of the Banū Ḳais b. Tha'laba, and each of them was closely associated with the Banū 'Idjl and the Banū 'Anaza. This confederation bore the name *al-Lahāzim* (the word *lihzima*, according to the lexicographers signifies the mastoid bone and similar expressions are not unusual to indicate the solidity of an alliance); it was afterwards extended to the Banū Māzin b. Sa'b and even, it appears, to the two great Bakrī subdivisions, the Banū Dhuhl and the Banū Shaibān. After Islām the Banū Hanīfa, another Bakrī tribe, also entered the alliance (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed Wright, p 276, 1—2; *Naḳā'id*, ed Bevan, p. 47, 10, 305, 9, 764, 9 and especially 725, 15. Wustenfeld, mislead probably by the statement in Ibn Ḳutaiba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 48, thought that the name *al-Lahāzīm* referred only to the Taimallāh, cf. also Reiske, *Primae Lineae*, p. 253 note *f*, 255 note *h*). The Taimallāh took part with their allies in the wars of the Bakr b. Wā'il against the Tamīmīs and we find them specially concerned with the battles of Zubāla, Nibādj, Taithal, Djadūd and al-Waḳīt (the last two fall within the Muslim period) It does not appear, however, that they distinguished themselves by any particular exploits or that they numbered among their leaders any person of note. In the two latter expeditions, the command was held by al-Ḥawfazān b. Sharīḳ and by Abdjai b Djābir, both of the Banū 'Idjl. At a more remote period, the Taimallāh had fought with the rest of the Bakrīs against the Laḳhmid tribes of al-Ḥīra: they are mentioned in the stories of the *Yawm Uwāra*.

The Taimallāh were Christians, like almost all the Bakr b. Wā'il (cf Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 2032 ult.) but they were early converted to Islām and we find them fighting in the wars of conquest and the civil wars; one of them for example, Iyās b. 'Abla, took part in the murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān (*Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, p 918 *sqq*) But it was mainly in the history of the eastern provinces that the Taimallāh played a part in the first two centuries of the Hidjra: among the members of this tribe who have made a mark in history the best known is 'Aws b. Tha'laba b Zufar b Wadī'a, who is also known as a poet (notice in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i 82, quoted from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shu'arā'* of Di'bil and the *Mu'djam al-Shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī; verses in Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wüstenfeld, i. 830, with reference to two ancient statues at Palmyra) and was governor of Khorāsān; during the civil war of 65 A H. he valiantly defended Herāt against the troops of Mus'āb b. al-Zubair, commanded by 'Abdallāh b Khāzim and held out for a whole year, with the support of all the Bakr b. Wā'il of Khorāsān, until he fell (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii 484—490, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 414—415). Another poet of the Taimallāh, Nahār b. Tawsi'a (who was called the best poet of the Bakr in Khorāsān) took part in the campaigns of Ḳutaiba b. Muslim, whom he had once satirised but finally joined (Cf Ibn Kutaiba, *K al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p 342 *sq.*; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 431 *sq* , *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, p. 359 *sq* , 364 *sq* , 368; Tabari, *Annales*, ii , *passim*, al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii 201 *sq* , etc)

There were several other tribes, especially in the south, called Taimallāh or Taimallāt; Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the following T. b. Asad b. Wabara, T. b Zahw(?) b Murr b al-Ghawth b Taiy, T. b. Hiḳāl... b. Māzin b al-Azd; T. b Rufaida b. Thawr b. Kalb; T. b. 'Āmir al-Adjdār . b. Kalb, T. b. al-Namir b. Ḳāsit; T b. Wadm b. Wahballāt... b. Kalb.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*, B 17 (*Register*, p. 447); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, MS. Brit. Mus Add , 23, 297, fol. 270b—229b, Ibn Duraid, *K Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 212 *sq.* (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

ṬAIY, a tribe in early Arabia of Yamanite origin According to the genealogists its ancestor, Djulhuma b Udad, with the surname of Ṭaiy, was a descendant of Ḳaḥṭān and a brother of Madhḥidj and Murra, the ancestor of the large tribe of Kinda. Originally they were at home in that part of the South-Arabian Djōf in which Hunaḳa was situated, on the way between Ṣan'ā' and Mecca. Ṭaiy, as well as Azd and other South-arabian tribes, joined the migration which tradition connects with the break of the dam of Ma'rib They settled in the Northern part of the Peninsula, near the Shammar-mountain [q. v] to the South of the desert Nefūd. Mounts Adja' and Salmā, S. and S. E. of Ḥā'il, were even called "the mounts of Ṭaiy", which proves that for centuries the tribe had a claim on that territory. The Djabal 'Awdja', about half way between Ḥā'il and Taimā', as well as Taimā' [q. v] itself, belonged to Ṭaiy.

Through the immigration of Ṭaiy the Muḍar-tribe of the Banū Asad lost a part of its territory; nevertheless the two tribes fraternised in later times; it is related that they joined their forces and defeated the Banū Yarbū', who belonged to Tamīm, at Ridjla al-Tais.

Sub-tribes or clans of Ṭaiy were: Thu'al, Djadīla, Djarm, 'Adī, Ghawth, Ma'n, Nabhān, as well as the three "Tha'ālib Ṭaiy", which by this denomi-

nation were distinguished from the Bakrite Tha'laba, viz. Tha'laba b Djuhl, b Rūmān and b. Djad'ā'.

In the time of the Djahilīya, Ṭayy worshiped a God called Fils, who possessed a sanctuary on Mount Adja', which was destroyed, on Muhammad's order, by 'Alī b Abī Tālib aided by 150 Ansār; the expedition captured one of Ḥātim al-Tā'ī's daughters. Another deity of Ṭayy was Ruḍā.

At least for some time Ṭayy was on friendly terms with their relatives the Lakhmids of al-Hīra, as may be concluded from the fact that the last Phylarch, al-Nu'mān IV, had two wives belonging to Ṭayy, viz Far'a bint Sa'd and Zainab bint Aws, both of them from the family Hāritha b Lām. When, however, al-Nu'mān fled before the Persian king and sought refuge with the Ṭayyites, they refused him hospitality, probably, with a view to their friendly relations with the Persians, which apparently were not of an altogether ephemeral nature For after al-Nu'mān's death the Ṭayyite Iyās b Ḳabīṣa was appointed as Regent in al-Hīra (602—611), he commanded the Persian and Arabian army against the Banū Bakr in the battle of Dhū Ḳār Tabarī and other authors call Iyās one of the *'Ibād*, because he was a Christian

In 9 A.H. the Ṭayyites sent an embassy to Muhammad, to which belonged Ḳais b Djaḥdar who, it is said, was the first to embrace Islām and is reckoned as one of the *Ṣaḥāba* (cf *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv. 210).

The *nisba* of Ṭayy is Ṭā'ī It is especially the poet Ḥātim who became famous under the *nisba* al-Ṭā'ī (his *Dīwān* was edited by Schulthess), his proverbial liberality is the subject of numerous anecdoctes and tales. Other Ṭayyite poets were 'Ārik al-Ṭā'ī, Zaid al-Khail, Abū Zubaid, a Christian, 'Amr b Milḳaṭ, 'Amr b. Saiyār b Ḳirwāsh, and, after the rise of Islām, the Khāridjī al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose *Dīwān* was edited by Krenkow (*G. M S*, xxv, 1928) Lexicon and *Diwāns* have preserved specimens of the dialact of Ṭayy *baḳā* and *fanā* for *bakiya* and *faniya*; *madjaḥa* for *badjaha*; *ṣaltu* for *ṣaliltu*, *'aiyin* for *djadid*.

In Syriac "Ṭayyites" became a name for "Arabs" and Muslims.

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(H H. Brau)

TA'IZZ, an important town in South Arabia, formerly the capital of the Turkish sandjaḳ of Ta'izzīya, which according to the provincial law regarding the general administration of wilāyets *Takwim-i Wekā'i'* (March 15, 1913) included the ḳadās of 'Udain, Ibb, Mukhā, Ḳamā'ira, Ḳa'taba, Hudjarīya, and, according to R Manzoni, also Makhādir, Dhī Sufāl, Māwiya, i e the whole country between al-Ḥudaida and the independent lands northeast of 'Aden. The town, which lies in 44° 6′ 45″ East. Long (Greenw) and 13° 36′ 55″ North Lat., at 4,500 feet above sea-level, is built on the northern slope of the Djebel Ṣabr (in al-Hamdānī· Ṣabir) and has 2—3,000 inhabitants The Portuguese called the town Teis, the Italians (Ludovico di Barthema and Andrea Corsati) Taesa. It is surrounded by a wall 25—30 feet broad and 9—12 feet high which, like that of Ṣan'ā', is flanked by towers which stand a further 6—8 feet above the wall and is built of large sundried bricks and covered with an outer layer of baked tiles. The town wall forms an irregular quadrangle, which stretches from east to west. On the western side of this quadrangle is a polygonal spur of the hill in the south-eastern corner of which rises a steep rock 450 feet high, on the top of which is the citadel al-Ḳāhira, which is however now in a very ruinous state but was at one time regarded as a strong fortress Corresponding to this in the north east angle of the wall is a sharp spur, the top of which is a steep mound. There are five gateways in the town wall; in the east the Bāb al-Kabīr leads out to the Māwiya—'Aden and Ka'taba—Ibb—Yarīm—Ṣan'ā' roads, in the west the Bāb Shēkh Mūsā opens on to the road to Mukhā and Ḥais The Bāb al-Emdāgher on the southwest is the gateway to the Hudjarīya and Benī 'Alwān, in the south the Bāb 'Ain Dumma leads to the Djabal Sabr and connects the hill with the fort of al-Ḳāhira, and lastly in the south-east we have the Bāb al-Khudaira, which is still surrounded by a wall, also leading to the Djabal Sabr These gates, which are not far from one another, are built in the Arabian style and flanked by two towers which rise above the town-wall and are surmounted by a third which defends the entrance. The town is provided with excellent drinking-water by subterranean pipes from the Djabal Sabr and has a large market Since the troubles of the xixth century it has had a very neglected appearance. The once beautiful houses of stone which, as a rule, have only one storey above ground are for the most part in ruins. Barely 20 are still standing and others have been replaced by wretched huts The southern quarter of the city has suffered particularly and ruins are scattered all over it. A number of beautiful mosques still testify to the past glory of the capital of the Rasūlids. One of these is the Ashrafīya founded by the Rasūlid al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās (1377—1400 A. D), a quadrilateral in plan with two minarets and two rows of pillars with 3 domes richly decorated with coloured ornamentation; in the south of the mosque are the tombs of its founder and of his son 'Alī and of two slaves. Behind a grill of fretworked wood lie the three marble sarcophagi which contain the remains of the seven wives of the founder of the mosque, opposite them is a sarcophagus of limestone and brick surrounded by carved woodwork in which lies another of his slaves The large and splendid mosque of the al-Muẓaffarīya lies on the slope of the Djabal Ṣabr and is also a quadrilateral in shape with three rows of pillars and three great domes and two minarets Its whitewashed walls make it stand out in striking fashion against the dark volcanic rocks of the hill. The front is pierced by a series of windows with grilles in front and adorned with vaultings which are supported by slender pillars. The surface is decorated with scrolls and interlacings. The well-preserved building, which is still the principal mosque, was not unjustly compared with the St Maria Rotonda in Rome by the Bolognese traveller Ludovico di Barthema, who visited the town in 1508. Other mosques are the still well-preserved mosque of 'Abd al-Hādī and in the west outside the town wall the mosque of Shēkh Mūsā, in the east the well preserved and splendid mosque of Shēkh Afḍal and his family of the first period of the Turkish conquest, from which period also dates the Makhdabīya mosque in the south, the high

lying part of Ta'izz, which was built by an Abyssinian slave of Husain Pasha. It is a quadrangular building without a minaret, with a large court in the centre, in a peculiar mixture of Byzantine and Arabic style, richly ornamented with inscriptions, which are written on the doors of inlaid wood and on the walls and pillars. On the left side are large water-basins which were made for the ritual ablutions, but are now used for the hospital laundry. The mosque of Sharaf al-Dīn is destroyed except for the minaret; it was founded by the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn b. Imām Muṭahhar and like the Ashrafīya stands in the high-lying southern part of Ta'izz

Ta'izz is richly provided with gardens, fields and meadows The most beautiful, in the centre of the town, belongs to Sulaimān Pasha and is called Birkat Husainīya In its midst stands a kiosk which contains a fine large room, before it is a large oval basin with a spring In the garden also is the high *ḳubba* (mausoleum) of Ḥusain Pasha, who is buried here. The gardens are amply supplied with water by aqueducts from the Djabal Ṣabr. The same plants and trees are grown here as in San'ā' and Rawda except the nut-tree. the date-palm does not do very well. Bananas flourish exceedingly. The plain around Ta'izz is well tilled, the slopes of the Djabal Sabr north-east of Ta'izz are covered with little groves of tamarisk and carob trees, with many little hamlets near them The Djabal Ṣabr itself is like a botanical garden, on the lower slopes of which grow almost all kinds of fruits, tamarinds, quinces, citrons, vines and on the higher slopes all kinds of aromatic plants in addition to the usual trees and shrubs. Cultivation is carried up to the highest points of the hill and barley and *ḵhardal* flourish especially. The true wealth of the country however lies in the extensive plantations of *ḳat* [q. v] (*celastrus edulis* Forsk), the aphrodisiac of which the people of Yemen are so fond Glaser says the site of Ta'izz is exceedingly unhealthy and the climate malarial Ta'izz has good caravan connections with Zabīd, Yarīm, Ibb and Ṣan'ā', as well as with 'Aden and under Turkish rule used to have a weekly postal connection with al-Hudaida The railway planned in 1912 to connect al-Hudaida with Ṣan'ā' and the interior was intended to include a line al-Ḥudaida-Zabīd-Ta'izz-Ibb-Yarīm-Ṣan'ā' but has never been constructed as a result of the Italo-Turkish war and the Great War.

Local tradition says that Ta'izz was founded in the pre-Muḥammadan period. It connects the Djabal Ḍarbat 'Alī N. E. of Ta'izz with the son-in-law of the Prophet, afterwards Caliph. The mountain which now has two peaks is said to have once been a solid mass. When 'Alī, engaged in the conquest and conversion of the Yemen, came to Ta'izz, its inhabitants showed themselves extremely hostile to him and the teaching of the Ḳur'ān 'Alī laid siege to the town and took up his quarters on the summit of the hill which bears his name. The siege dragged on on account of the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants; 'Alī's envoys to the heads of the town talked to deaf ears and only received abuse, indeed, one embassy was ill treated and beaten by the inhabitants. 'Alī was so enraged at this that he took his celebrated sword and struck the summit of the hill such a blow that he made the long deep cleft which is still to be seen. Although not a tent was shaken in 'Alī's camp and no man was injured, the houses in Ta'izz were all overthrown and even the most solid collapsed. Ambassadors thereupon came to 'Alī from Ta'izz who declared 'Alī a prophet and adopted Islām.

This story is of course quite unhistorical. The peculiar form of the hill has given rise to the legend Several other places are also connected with 'Alī, for whom the people of Yemen have a particular fondness. For example, according to Glaser, on the Djabal al-Dār (near Rubāṭ on the road to Dhamār) on the roadside (probably at the highest point) 'Alī's footprint (*riḍjl 'Alī*) is shown on a rock and close beside it, but to the left of the road, is a rock which seems to have been perforated, called *darbat 'Alī* Another legend is connected with the vicinity of Ta'izz, namely that of the Seven Sleepers, the scene of whose sleep Ibn al-Mudjāwir puts in a grotto of the Djabal Ṣabr The South Arabian version of this legend says that the seven sons of a king were taken to king Dokiyānūs al Ghaddār as hostages When the king went to war, the hostages escaped and went into Mā Ḥumaid (near Tha'bad) and did not reappear till they came out on the top of the Ḳaryat al-Mi'ḳāb on the Djabal Ṣabr where they lived Dokiyānūs sought them without being able to discover them They lived there for 310 years and slept the whole time They then awakened and it seemed to them as if only a single day had passed. They found some of the money that they had had with them and sent one of their number into the town to buy food Wicked men seized him and found the money in his possession. They thought that he had found a hidden treasure and took him before the authorities, no one knew him in the place and as he had no home in the town he was thought to be mad and released. He returned to the cave and remains there still. Winds are now said to blow out of the cave Glaser visited the spot on November 20, 1887. The Mosque of the Seven Sleepers (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf*) is a very fine one, has wonderful wooden columns and a very good roof The sanctuary proper is in the north-west corner of the mosque and is a simple walled space in the shape of a prism, on the right side of which there is a hole which the Arabs call Maghāra (cave) Glaser investigated it very closely without tracing a current of air or any considerable orifice He thought it probable however that the rocks were not close together so that a slight current of air blows through them. Saiyids live near the Masdjid. The place which Botta erroneously calls *Ahl al-Kahf* was visited by him in 1837. At the foot of the Djabal Ṣabr near Ta'izz there was pointed out to him the entrance to the cave, from which the Seven Sleepers had made their way through the whole hill. It is not probable that Ta'izz was in existence in the pre-Muḥammadan period. The capital of this area was Sawwā and later Djabā, neither of which is far from Ta'izz According to the *Dhikrān-numā* of Hādjdjī Khalīfa, Ta'izz was founded by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-'Azīz Saif al-Islām Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Tughtekīn who came to the Yemen in 578 (1182—1183). According to Glaser, Ta'izz was built for the most part out of the material of the adjoining little town of Tha'bad on the left bank of the Wādī Ṣāla. Ta'izz, according to his investigations, was called 'Udaina 5—600 years ago, but only the foundations of the walls of this

date survive; the walls themselves are of recent erection. The village of ʿUdaina lies 3—4 miles almost due east of Taʿizz on the slopes of the Djabal Ṣabr like Taʿizz itself. It is said to have been originally the residence of the kings until Ismāʿīl Mulk, a celebrated Sunnī saint, to whom many miracles are ascribed as patron of Taʿizz, built a mosque and his tomb on the mound of al-Ḳāhira, where the citadel later arose and the town grew up, so that the latter also like Mukhā, Bēt al-Faḳih, Luhaiya etc. owes its origin to a saint On the other hand as a result of enquiries made in 1887 of Ḳāḍī Yaḥyā in Taʿizz, Glaser says that Taʿizz is older than Thaʿbad, which was only founded under the Rasūlids or even later in the seventh century A. H Taʿizz, he was told, existed under the name ʿUdaina as early as 133 (750—751 A. D.) and the town used to be much larger How far this is true cannot be definitely ascertained Yāḳūt (d. 1229) already describes Taʿizz as a large and famous Yemen fortress and ʿUdaina as a suburb of Taʿizz Ibn al-Muḏjāwir (wrote about 630 = 1232—1233) calls Taʿizz a strong fortress and residence of the king of the country Ibn Baṭṭūta who visited Taʿizz in 1332 A D describes this residence of the Yemen rulers as one of the finest and largest towns in the country and its inhabitants as arrogant, proud and uncultured. Of its three quarters one was inhabited by the ruler and his servants and Mamlūks and nobles, the second called ʿUdaina was occupied by the military and officers, the third by private citizens; in the last was the great bazaar called al-Muhālib. The town prospered exceedingly as the capital of the Rasūlids. Five educational buildings were founded by them in Taʿizz, viz. two by al-Malik al-Mansūr ʿUmar (1229—1250 A D), a third by his successor al-Malik al-Faḍl Muḏjāhid (called the Muḏjāhidīya), a fourth by al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl (1377—1400 A D the Ashrafīya) and a fifth by al-Malik al-Muʾaiyad Dāwūd (1296—1321 A D.) who left a library of 100,000 volumes and is buried in the madrasa The fortress does not seem to have been very strongly built, for in 1392 A D a part of the castle collapsed and killed two people In 1516 Taʿizz was taken by Husain al-Kurdī, the admiral and general of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭān Ḳansūh al-Ghūrī, in 1545 by the Turks and in 1567 it passed to the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ. The French physician De la Grélaudière, who passed through Taʿizz in 1712 describes it as a famous old town with fine walls built by the Turks. The citadel had 30 cannons and was used as a state prison. Under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ who succeeded the Turks in 1635 the town had therefore recovered from all the blows it had suffered.

Later Taʿizz passed to the powerful tribe of Dhū Muhammad who held it till Ibrāhīm Pasha took it from them and it was under Egyptian rule from 1835 to 1840. When the Turks began to reconquer the Yemen in 1871 Taʿizz fell to them on October 28 and they were able to hold it till the great general rising of the Yemenis under the Imām Aḥmad al-Dīn in 1892. The fortress was only temporarily in Zaidī hands, for the Turks reconquered it in 1893 and held it till the conclusion of peace in 1918. With the withdrawal of the Turks from the Yemen, Taʿizz has again passed under the rule of the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ.

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(A. Grohmann)

TAKASH (Turkish pronunciation. Tekesh) b. Il-Arslān, king of Khwārizm [q. v] 567—596 (1172—1200), of the fourth and most glorious dynasty of Khwārizmshāhs [q v.], was, before his accession governor of Djand on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā [q. v.]; he had to fight for his throne with his younger brother Sulṭān Shāh, and in the struggle at first Takash and then his brother received the support of the Ḳara-Khitai [q v.].

When the fight was finally decided in favour of Takash, Sulṭān Shāh succeeded with the help of the Ḳara Khitai in establishing himself in Merw. Sarakhs and Ṭūs and held this territory till his death in 589 (1193), being sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with his brother. The capital of Khorāsān, Nīshāpūr, had already been taken by Takash in Rabīʿ I or Rabīʿ II 583 (1187); Takash's eldest son Malik Shāh was governor there. After the death of Sulṭān Shāh, Malik Shāh was transferred to Merw and his brother Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad appointed his successor in Nīshāpūr. Of greater importance was the destruction of Saldjūḳ rule in Persian ʿIrāḳ (ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī) by the victory over Sulṭān Tughrīl II in 590 (1194). This victory raised Takash from the status of a local dynast to a ruler of a great power and henceforth he called himself on his coins no longer Khwārizmshāh but "Sulṭān, son of the Khwārizmshāh". Persian ʿIrāḳ with al-Raiy and

Hamadhān passed into the possession of Takash, who appointed his son Yūnus governor of Hamadhān; later he handed over Hamadhān to the ruler of Ādharbāidjān, Abū Bakr, as his vassal, who sent his brother and ultimate successor Özbeg thither. In 592 (1196) an army of the Caliph Nāṣir was defeated at Hamadhān; the Caliph had demanded that Takash should vacate the conquered territory and retire to the east but Takash wanted not only to retain his conquests but to get Khūzistān also from the Caliph. Takash, like the Saldjūks before him, including Tughrīl II, is said to have demanded that the Caliph should hand over to him the secular power in Baghdād itself and be content with a nominal sovereignty over the Muslim world This dispute was not decided on this occasion, but was continued under Takash's successor, Muḥammad.

We know still less about the fighting between Takash and the Ḳara Khitai. The most important event in these wars, the capture of Bukhārā by Takash, is placed by Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii 88 *sqq*) in the events of the year 594 (1198), there is however a document relating to it in the collection of state-papers made by Muḥammad b. Mu'aiyad al-Baghdādī of the years 576—579 In any case, the success was but a transitory one and in spite of his position of great power in the Muslim world Takash remained a vassal of the Ḳara-Khitai till his death.

Bibliography Cf especially *G. M. S*, xiv/i. (Hamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī), p. 491—493, xvi/ii (Djuwainī), p 17—46, New Series, ii, (Rāwandī), p. 375—399, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, index; W Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, ii. 361–374, do, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Conquest*, *G M S*, New Series, v, p 337–349 — On the collection of state-papers mentioned above cf. *Catal Lugd*, i. 169 *sqq* ; excerpts in Barthold, *op. cit*, i. 73 *sqq* (W. Barthold)

TAKBĪR (A), infinitive II from the root *k-b-r* in the denominative sense to pronounce the formula *Allāh akbar*. It is already used in this sense in the Ḳur'ān (e g. Sūra lxxiv 3; xvii, 111 with Allāh as the object) On the different explanations of the elative *akbar* in this formula cf *Lisān*, s. v. and the Ḳur'ānic elative *akram* also applied to Allāh (Sūra xcvi. 3) and *a'lā* (Sūra xcii 20; lxxxvii. 1)

The formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of Allāh, his greatness and goodness is suggested. When Muḥammad had learned by supernatural means of the death of Nadjāshī in Abyssinia, he proclaimed the news to those around him, arranged them in rows on the Muṣallā and had a *takbīr* pronounced four times (Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 4, 55, 61) On other occasions also Muḥammad is said to have called the *takbīr* four or five times over a funeral bier (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trad. 72). The fourfold *takbīr* remained or became usual at the ṣalāt for the dead (Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A. W T. Juynboll, p 47 *sq.*). The *Adhān* [q. v] is also opened with a fourfold *takbīr*.

The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbīr* during the Hadjdj, at the beginning of (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 144), during (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 132, 133; but not too loudly, *op. cit.*, bāb 131) and at the end of the journey (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 5), at the sight of the Ka'ba (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 320), at the Black Stone (Ibn Hanbal, i. 264), between Minā and 'Arafa (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, bāb 86), on Ṣafā and Marwa (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 320) etc.

The *takbīr* is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the ṣalāt (the so-called *takbīrat al-iḥrām*), during the ṣalāt it is five times repeated.

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TAḲDĪR. [See Ḳadar].

TAKHTADJI, lit. "woodcutter", the name of an Anatolian sect with Shī'a tendencies. The Takhtadji, like the Čepni or Četni (cf. F. Babinger in *Z D M. G.*, lxxvi [1922], 141 and F. Taeschner, *ibid.*, p. 282 *sqq.*) who are mentioned as early as the end of the xiv^th century, the Zeibeks [q. v.] and all the sub-sects comprised under the name Kïzïlbash, form a separate element in the population of Anatolia, as regards ethnography and religious history, the origin of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. As to the Takhtadji, they are mainly found in Western Asia Minor, they are settled in villages and engage in cattle-rearing, agriculture, wood-cutting etc. They seem to have got their name *takhtadji* from their activities as woodmen. The origin of the Takhtadji is obscure While F. von Luschan in his *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, Vienna 1889, ch xiii, thinks, mainly as a result of cranial measurements, that they are remnants of the original inhabitants of the country, G. Jacob has suggested (cf. *Islam*, ii 232 *sqq*) that the Takhtadji are the remnants of the brotherhood of the δενδροφόροι (cf F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa s v Dendrophori, also H C. Maué, *Die Vereine der Fabri, Centenarii und Dendrophori im Romischen Reich*, Frankfurt a M. 1896, Programm) These two views have little in their favour, the Takhtadji are rather Persian settlers from Persia at the end of the xvi^th century to western Anatolia, who were adherents of the Ṣafawid sect [q. v.]. Of them we know that they were widely dispersed over Asia Minor even before the rise of Shāh Ismā'īl (cf. F Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Dīn*, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, p. 91 *sqq.*) In favour of this view is the striking similarity in customs and practices of the Takhtadji and of the Ṣafawīye in the time of Shāh Ismā'īl. They are said to drink wine, eat pork and have ceremonies which recall baptism and communion. The women go, and have always gone unveiled, among them Persians and Christians, but not Turks, are welcome guests among them and the Shī'ī names 'Alī and Ismā'īl are especially popular among them; cf W Heffening, in *Der Neue Orient*, iv., Berlin 1919, p. 264 *sqq* It is also noteworthy that the Takhtadji, according to the report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul of Adalia, Tibor v Pozl (cf. *Österr. Monnatsschrift fur den Orient*, xli, Vienna 1915, p 506 and F Babinger in *Isl*, xii. [1921], 103), lived outside the authority of the Turkish government, and "until quite lately were regarded as Persian subjects according to old tradition." All these indications suggest a former very close connection with the Ṣafawid kingdom. According to the same authority, the Takhtadji are specially numerous in the sandjak of Teke (around Adalia), spend the winter on the coast and in summer go with their

herds back to the mountains, where they dwell in tents and wretched huts and live by cattle-rearing.

Bibliography In addition to the sources quoted above cf J H Mordtmann, *Vier Vortrage uber Vorderasien und die heutige Turkei*, Berlin 1917, p. 100 *sq.*, F. v. Luschan, in *Archiv fur Anthropologie*, xix., Braunschweig 1891, p. 31 *sqq*, and the literature given by F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Dīn*, p. 99 *sqq.* (cf. also *Isl*, xii. [1921], 103).

(Franz Babinger)

TAḲĪ KĀSHĪ, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad b Sharaf al-Dīn Husainī Kāshānī, a Persian biographer, a native of the town of Kāshān, died in 1016 (1607) He wrote in 985 (1577—78) the *Khulāṣat al-Ash*ʿ*ār wa-Zubdat al-Afkār*, and wrote the preface to the *Dīwān* of Muhtasham, who was a poet of the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl I and of Tahmāsp I

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(Cl. Huart)

TAḲĪ AL-DĪN. [See al-Muzaffar]

TAḲĪYA (a.), caution, fear (see *Glossarium* to Ṭabarī, s.v *t-ḳ-a*) or *kettmān*, "disguise", is the technical term for dispensation from the requirements of religion under compulsion or threat of injury.

Muḥammad himself avoided suffering in the cause of religion in dogmatics by docetism (Sūra iv. 156) and in everyday life by the *hidjra* and by allowing in case of need the denial of the faith (Sūra xvi 108), friendship with unbelievers (iii 27) and the eating of forbidden foods (vi. 119; v. 5). This point of view is general in Islam. But, as he at the same time asserted the proclamation of his mission to be a duty and held up the heroic example of the old saints and prophets as a model (lxxiv 7; v. 71; iii 40 etc), no definite general rule came to be laid down, not even with the separate sects Minor questions, which are very fully discussed, are whether taḳīya is a simple permitted alleviation (*rukhṣa*) or a duty, whether it is valid in private interest or in that of the community.

The taḳīya was not rejected even by the extreme wing of the strict Khāridjīs [q v] although among the Azraḳīs in the related question of divine worship when danger threatens (*ṣalāt al-khawf*), it is often given as an example that one should not interrupt the ṣalāt even if his horse or his money be stolen from him during it. The advice is quite old: "God gave the believers freedom of movement (*wassaʿa*) by the taḳīya; therefore conceal thyself!" The principle adopted by the Ibāḍīs however was that "the taḳīya is a cloak for the believer: he has no religion who has no taḳīya" (Djumaiyil, see *Bibl.*, xiii. 127 *sq.*).

Among the Sunnī authorities the question was not such a burning one. Nevertheless Ṭabarī says on Sūra xvi. 108 (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323 *sqq.*, xxiv. 122). "If any one is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue, while his heart contradicts him, to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe". The reason for this verse is unanimously said to have been the case of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, whose conscience was set at rest by this revelation when he was worried about his forced worshipping of idols and objurgation of the Prophet. It is more in the nature of theoretical speculation, when in this connection the question of *hidjra* is minutely investigated, that in certain circumstances e. g. threat of death, a Muslim who cannot live openly professing his faith may have to migrate "as God's earth is wide". Women, children, invalids and one who is tied by considerations for them, are permitted *muwāfaḳa* ("connivance"); but an independent individual is not justified in *taḳīya* nor bound to *hidjra*, if the compulsion remains within endurable limits, as in the case of temporary imprisonment or flogging which does not result in death The endeavour, however, to represent the *taḳīya* as only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory, as even some Sunnīs endeavour to hold on the basis of Sūra ii 191, has resulted in the invention of admonitory traditions, e g. *raʾs al-fiʿl al-mudārāt* "to be good friends with unbelievers is the beginning of actual unbelief". To prove that steadfast martyrdom is a noble thing, the story is told of the two Muslim prisoners of Musailima, one of whom allowed himself to be forced to acknowledge the anti-prophet, while the other died for the Prophet. The latter is reported to have said. "The dead man has departed in his righteousness and certainty of belief and has attained his glory, peace be with him! But God has given the other an alleviation, no punishment shall fall upon him".

The *taḳīya* is of special significance for the Shīʿa. Indeed it is considered their distinguishing feature, not however always with justice, as Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī in the *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* protests against Rāzī (see at the foot of his *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaḳaddimīn wa'l-Mutaʾaḵḵhirīn*, Cairo 1305, p. 182, on 1). The peculiar fate of the Shīʿa, that of a suppressed minority with occasional open not always unheroic rebellions, gave them even more than the Khāridjīs occasions and examples for extreme taḳīya and its very opposite; even the Ismāʿīlīs, usually masters in the art of disguising their creed, made the challenge to their leaders. "He who has 40 men at his disposal and does not seek his rights is no Imām" The Zaidīs give as the number of helpers which removes the necessity of taḳīya from the Imām, that of those who fought at Badr. It is a common polemical charge of the Sunnīs, quoted from the writings of the Shīʿīs themselves, that the latter, as followers of fighting martyrs, are not justified in taḳīya, while the Twelvers in particular, while representing the Imāms as examples compelling one to resoluteness, appeal on the other hand to the conduct of ʿAlī during the reign of the three first Caliph and to the *Ghaiba* of the Mahdī as the typical taḳīya. Belief is expressed by heart, tongue and hand; a theory of probabilities developed with considerable dialectic skill calculates under what real or expected injuries, "the permitting of what is pleasing to God and the forbidding of what is displeasing to God" is permitted. Observance with the heart is absolutely necessary. But if it is probable to any one (*law ghalaba ʿalā ẓannihi*) or if he is certain that an injury will befall him, his property or one of his co-religionists, then he is released from the obligation to intercede for the faith with hand or tongue.

In Shīʿī biographies concealment is a regular feature; we are told that the hero broke the laws

of religion like the prohibition of wine under compulsion and not at all in an excusable way. But since for them also Muḥammad is the Prophet, and since as among the Sunnīs a Prophet may not practice taḳīya in matters of his office, because otherwise one could not be certain of the revelation, we have, in view of the double example of the Imāms, in the code of morals for the ordinary pious men of the Shīʿa, the following sayings of ʿAlī in juxtaposition. "It is the mark of belief to prefer justice if it injures you, and injustice if it is of use to you"; and as an explanation of Sūra xlix. 13 "He among you who is most honoured before God is the most fearful (of God)", that is he who uses the taḳīya most (*aṯḳākum* = *aktharukum taḳiyatan*); and it is also said "The *kitmān* is our *djihād*", but at the same time the *djihād* chapters are to be read with the implied understanding that the fighting is primarily against other Muslims. It is also to be noted that the taḳīya of the Shīʿīs is not a voluntary ideal (cf Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, Ṭeherān 1306, iv. 66 *sq*), but one should avoid a martyrdom that seems unnecessary and useless and preserve oneself for the faith and one's co-religionists

Latterly the taḳīya is based on the intention and so we continually find the appeal made to the nīya in this connection The validity of the profession of faith as an act of worship is not only settled by the correct formulation of the intention to do it, but this is the essential of it, so that it alone counts, if under compulsion a profession of unbelief is made with the lips or worship performed along with unbelievers. God's rights alone can be injured by the taḳīya He has the power to punish the constrainer, and only in certain circumstances will a slight portion of the punishment fall upon the constrained The wiles used in this connection especially in oaths with mental reservations give however ample opportunities to injure one's fellow-creatures

The moral dangers of takīya are considerable, but it may be compared with similar phenomena in other religions and even among mystics. The ethical question whether such forced lies are not still lies, such a forced denial of the faith not still a denial, is not put at all by the one "who conceals himself", as he is not in a state of confidence which would be broken by lies or denial

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TAḲLĪD (A.), "to hang something around the neck or on the shoulders", used as a technical term in the following three meanings:

1. *Taḳlīd* is the name of the custom originating in Arab paganism and surviving in the ancient practice of Islām and in Fiḳh, of hanging certain objects around the neck of the animals to be slain (*hady*) as a sacrifice in the sacred territory of Mecca (*haram*) (as *ḳilāda*, plur. *ḳalāʾid*). The *ḳalāʾid* are mentioned along with the *hady* in Kurʾān v. 2 and 98 among the customs of the pilgrimage instituted by Allāh The object of this rite was, along with the *ishʿār* (branding by an incision in the skin), to mark the animal for sacrifice in the *haram* and to give it a kind of *iḥrām* [q. v] which may be supposed to be analogous to that of the pilgrim. Connected with this, although not identical, is the custom of the pilgrim having round his neck and that of his steed on the return journey from Mecca the bark of certain plants, which is also called *ḳilāda* (an isolated form of the tradition regarding it gives this for the journey thither and mentions hair as the necklet for the return journey), this custom is still found in Islām but is usually opposed or ignored in the Fiḳh The *ḳilāda* on the sacrificial animal is quite unlike this, for it consists of one or both shoes of the pilgrim or in default of them of a piece of leather, the animal so marked goes through all the essential ceremonies of the *Ḥadjdj* along with the pilgrims including the sojourn in ʿArafa and is slain in Minā. One tradition records this with all details of the Prophet, although it is quite possible that Muḥammad did do so, the tradition as well as those still to be mentioned can at most only be regarded as evidence of the practice of early Islām The latter was not unanimous as to what consequences the sending of a sacrificial animal to Mecca and its taḳlīd, without the person concerned at the same time performing the *ḥadjdj*, had for him, a practice which may be specifically Muslim and foreign to Arab paganism There is a group of traditions which — usually claiming to be based on a corresponding practice of the Prophet — impose upon the sender the obligations of the *iḥrām* from the time of the assumption of the *taḳlīd* by himself or down to the time of slaying the animal, but the traditions are far more numerous which — some with an obvious polemical intention — say that the Prophet did not assume the *iḥrām* in this case (thus the superscription and the bias of the tradition in al-Bukharī, *Aḍāhi*, bāb 15, is strongly against the practice of observing the *iḥrām*, the existence of which term is quite evident from the text of the tradition), finally there is also an intermediate ḥadīth which leaves the assumption of the *iḥrām* to the choice of the individual (al-Nasāʾī, *Ḥadjdj*, bāb 70). In the fully developed *fiḳh* there is no longer any place for this *iḥrām* and it is ignored (al-Shāfiʿī simply rejects it without troubling to refute it: *Kitāb al-Amm*, ii. 183), it must have dropped out of use quite early; besides ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās who — without historical authority — appears as the great authority for the assumption of this *iḥrām*, ʿUmar and ʿAlī, also wrongly given in

this connection, and ʿAbd Allāh b ʿUmar who is also quoted in support of the opposite view, this opinion is only ascribed to Ḳais b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, ʿAṭāʾ and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn; the brief reference to "others" does not mean much In Said b. al-Musaiyib we have the essential alleviation but it still retains a main feature of the *iḥrām*, that one thing only, sexual intercourse, is forbidden on the Friday night. A further proof of the close connection between *iḥrām* and *taḳlīd* is the view reported of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Isḥāḳ and others, that the pilgrim to Mecca becomes *muḥrim* by putting on the *taklīd* alone, and the allied view that the *taḳlīd* put on by a pilgrim binds him to adopt the *iḥrām*; Mālik b. Anas says that it is at least undesirable for the Mecca pilgrim to separate the *taklīd* from the assumption of the *iḥrām*. The *Fiḳh* regards the hanging on of a *kilāda* (two sandals, one sandal or a piece of leather) as desirable (*mustaḥabb*) in the case of camels or cattle or according to the Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanbalīs and Abū Thawr and Dāwūd in the case of smaller beasts also; of the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs who do not allow it, the Mālikīs entirely refuse to allow small animals to be used for sacrifices (*hady*) After the animal is slaughtered the *kilāda* is dipped in its blood. When the pilgrims no longer brought the sacrificial animals with them from home and the market for them was instituted in Minā, the *taḳlīd* fell with oblivion

In conclusion, we may note that a leather neck band, also called *ḳilāda*, on the camel to avert the evil eye, especially if a bell hang from it, is suggested in one tradition

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab-Engl Lexicon*, s. v.; for the traditions Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Victims; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* in both recensions, al-Zurḳānī, *Kommentar zum al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* and al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ Maʿānī al-Āthār*, lithogr. 1300, i. 439, the *Fiḳh*-works, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, p 279—285 (a very thorough treatment of the custom in paganism and Islām, although differing in minor points from the sketch given above).

2. *Taklīd* also means installation in a military office, which was done by girding on a sword, it then comes to mean investiture with any administrative office, including that of *kādī*

Bibliography: Lane, *Arab-Engl Lexicon*, s. v.; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 1178.

3. *Taḳlīd* lastly means "clothing with authority" in matters of religion, the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating reasons (the derivation of the technical use from *ḳilāda* is wrong). In this sense *taḳlīd* is the opposite of *iǧtihād* [q v.]. The historical beginnings of the *taklīd* coincide with the formation of the juristic *Maḏhāhib* (cf MADHHAB), which in part at least arose through adhesion to particularly notable jurists. Al-Shāfiʿī in his *Risāla*, 8, 18, uses the word in a sense very close to the later technical use, but al-Ṭaḥāwī still uses it of the recognition of traditions or their use for the deduction of precepts of fiḳh. When definite conceptions had been formed recognising the *muǧtahid* i e the person qualified for independent derivation of fiḳh rules from the sources, and at the same time the conviction of the cessation of unlimited *iǧtihād* from the third century on, and of the other kinds of *iǧtihād* correspondingly later, all later scholars or laymen were at once bound to acknowledge *taḳlīd* as regards earlier authorities. According to the general orthodox Muslim view, everyone is now and has been for centuries bound to what has been authoritatively laid down by his predecessor, no one may any longer consider himself qualified to give a verdict of his own in the field of fiḳh, independent of that of the earlier *muǧtahid*. All later persons are called *muḳallid*s i. e those who have to exercise *taḳlīd*. This obligation to *taklīd* is defended by saying that the *faḳih*s only in the early centuries of Islām had possessed the real perspicuity and sufficient learning to deduce *fiḳh* from sources and to form an opinion of their own about it, while this was quite beyond the powers of later generations, a view which is only a part of certain aspects of the history of the philosophy in orthodox Islām.

The *taḳlīd* has contributed to maintain the differences between the separate *maḏhāhib* but is not to be held responsible for the deadening of the stimulus to the development of *fiḳh* in later times

While it is the unanimous view that the layman as well as the scholar is bound to *taḳlīd*, it is occasionally demanded of the scholar that he should be aware of the correctness of the *iǧtihād* of his *muǧtahid* If there are several *muǧtahid*s, as is actually the case, the *mukallid* may follow any one of these he pleases (presuming of course that he remains within the bounds of the *iǧmāʿ* i. e. does not choose a *muǧtahid* whose teachings are no longer recognised by the *iǧmāʿ*, the obligation to *taklīd* is also based on the *iǧmāʿ*), according to Ahmad b Hanbal and Ibn Shuraih, he has to decide to whom the preference is to be given and to follow him (this divergence of opinion is really confined to terminology) In theory the *mukallid* can make a new choice of a *muǧtahid* with each question that arises for him, but in practice he usually joins once and for all the *maḏhhab* of one of the four recognised *muǧtahid*s There are a fair number of cases of transference from one *maḏhhab* to another (cf Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islām*, p. 25, 2nd ed, p 48—50), opinions are divided as to whether such a transfer is admissible in theory (cf Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed, p 22) It very often happens that on a particular question the more convenient rules of another *maḏhhab* are followed; the fiḳh books themselves occasionally hint at the possibility of *taḳlīd*, but in such a case it is demanded that the business should be carried through to its conclusion, in keeping with the laws of the particular *maḏhhab* once it has been chosen.

This all holds of *taklīd* in questions of *fiḳh*; with regard to the *ʿaḳlīyāt*, the fundamental questions of dogma, e. g. the existence of Allāh, besides the opinion that *taḳlīd* is obligatory or that it is admissible, we also have the view that it is inadmissible, as on these questions knowledge is demanded which cannot be obtained by *taḳlīd* alone. It was the school of the Ashʿarīs which gave this originally Muʿtazilī view wide dissemination in Islām (cf Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 123 and 136, note 10; 2nd edition, p. 121 *sq.* and 327, note 72)

The principle of *taḳlīd* in law has not been enforced in orthodox Islām without opposition; even

in later generations there have been scholars who held that there must always be a *mudjtahid*, like Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (d 702 = 1302) or al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 = 1505) or some who were inclined to claim for themselves unlimited *idjtihād*, like al-Djuwainī (d 478 = 1085) and the already mentioned al-Suyūṭī, and even some who held that *idjtihād* was obligatory for later scholars and condemned the system of *taklīd*, like Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, Ibn Hazm and other authorities of the Ẓāhirīs, and some Ḥanbalīs like Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawzīya, who are already on the border of orthodoxy The Wahhābīs, whose views go back to these Ḥanbalīs, beginning with their founder Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb reject *taklīd* (cf the Hanbalī-Wahhābī works and propagandist pamphlets printed at the Manār press in Cairo and al-Shawkānī's brochure entitled *al-Kawl al-mufīd fī Adillat al-Idjtihād wa 'l-Taḳlīd*, which deals particularly with the *idjtihād- taklīd* question) Like the Ḥanbalīs, their extreme opposites, the modernists in Islām, for whom the Hanbalīs, it is true, paved the way, reject *taklīd* and demand and exercise a new *idjtihād* which in its lack of restrictions far surpasses even the most liberal of the early period of legal development (cf Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, and the writings of the different modernist schools, some of the most important of which are quoted in the article SHARĪʿA) For reasons similar to those of the Hanbalī-Wahhābīs the Ibādīs also rejected *taḳlīd*. Lastly the Shīʿīs reject the orthodox doctrine of *taklīd*, according to the Twelvers, during the period when the "hidden Imām" is concealed, there are *mudjtahids* who have to guide the faithful as his agents, as these have thus living teachers always in view in religious matters, *taklīd* towards a dead man is forbidden (cf C Frank, in *Islamica*, II 171 *sqq*)

Bibliography in addition to the works quoted above. Lane, *Arab-Engl. Lexicon*, s v. and Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (Bibliotheca Indica), p 1178 (not wholly reliable), on the terminology, the *Uṣūl*-works, Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 3rd ed, p. 23 *sqq* and note 13, Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, II, passim (J SCHACHT)

TAKLĪF is imposing a requisition or constraint upon any one; it requires an action in which there is difficulty and trouble (Lane, *Suppl*, p 3002*c*; *Lisān*, XI. 218: *amarahu bi-mā yashukku ʿalaihi*) The verb is used in several forms seven times in the Ḳurʾān (II 233, 286, IV 86, VI 153, VII. 40; XXIII 64; LXV 7) to express that Allāh does not require of any one what is beyond his capacity (*wusʿ*) Technically it means the necessity which lies on the creatures of Allāh to believe and act as He has revealed to them It is therefore defined legally by the majority of canonists as the requiring (*ilzām*) of an action in which is difficulty and trouble On this definition, it applies only to things necessarily required and to things forbidden (*al-wādjib*, *al-ḥarām*) But some canonists define it as an assertion of a belief that the action is one of the legal rulings (*al-aḥkām al-sharʿīya*) On this definition, *taklīf* applies also to the recommended (*al-mandūb*), the disliked (*al-makrūh*) and the permitted (*al-mubāh*) Further, there is dispute as to who is *mukallaf*, i e under this divine requirement. It is accepted that every sane, human adult (*ʿāḳil*, *insī*, *bālig*) is thus *mukallaf* (Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 69). But the *djinn* are also under this *taklīf* so far as the prophetship of Muḥammad is concerned; he was sent to the *djinn* and the other prophets were not. Similarly of the angels, although this applies only to their acts of obedience, as faith (*imān*) exists of necessity (*ḍarūrī*) in them. Yet some assert that as their created nature is obedience, the prophetic mission of Muḥammad to them was only to glorify them (*li-tashrīfihim*; cf. al-Baidjūrī on the *Kifāya* of al-Faḍālī, ed. Cairo 1315, p 13) Some further extend this *taklīf* of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad even to inanimate things (*al-djumādāt*), on the ground that in some of the miracles (*muʿdjizāt*) of Muḥammad reason was created in some inanimate things to the point that these believed in him. Another matter of controversy as to *taklīf* is the allowability of Allāh's requiring of a creature that which the creature has not power to do (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*). The Māturīdites asserted, in the language of the Ḳurʾān as above, that the creature is not required to do what is not in his capacity (*mā laisa fī wusʿihi*; *ʿAḳāʾid* of al-Nasafī, ed Cairo 1321 with commentary of al-Taftāzānī, p 103) Al-Īdjī in his *Mawāḳif* (ed Būlāḳ 1266, p 535 middle, 537 middle), as an Ashʿarite, brings the question back under the general ruling that Allāh's will and action cannot be limited in any way; nothing is incumbent upon him and nothing is evil that proceeds from him It is a general agreement of the Muslim people (*al-Umma*) that Allāh does not do an evil thing (*kabīh*) and does not leave undone a necessary thing (*wādjib*). He adds that the Ashʿarites put it that the *ḳabīḥ* and the *wādjib* have no relationship to Allāh at all, while the Muʿtazilites hold that what would be *kabīh* from Him he does not do and what is incumbent on Him he does. See, further, in the passages cited above, long scholastic discussions of these points by al-Taftāzānī and al-Īdjī.

Bibliography Add to passages cited above the general discussion in *Dictionary of technical terms*, under "Taklīf", p 1255

(D. B MACDONALD)

TĀKORONNĀ, a name given in Muslim Spain to the mountain massif of the south of Andalusia, now called *Serrania de Ronda* This is undoubtedly a double of the Berber word which is frequently found in North African names, *tākrūna* Different writers have given different vocalisations of Tākoronnā they may be found collected with references in a valuable note by W Marçais and Abderrahmân Guîga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna* [in Tunisia], I., Paris 1925, p VIII, note 1 Cf. also Yākūt, *Muʿdjām*, s v SHĪRĀZ; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, ed Codera, *B. A H*, p 185 and 302, Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, s v — Dozy, after thinking of explaining this name by a combination of the Berber prefix *tā-* and the Latin *corona*, wisely abandoned this etymology, which could hardly be defended (*Hist des Mus. d'Esp*, I, p 343, note 2, and IV, p 339; cf also *Recherches*[3], II 43, note 1) In any case, according to the same authorities none of the proposed etymologies is satisfactory

The capital of the district of Tākoronnā, later the capital of the little independent kingdom of the Banū Ifrān till its annexation to the kingdom of Seville, was Ronda; cf. the article RONDA for a resumé of the history of the region during the Muslim occupation

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAKRĪT (popular pronunciation TIKRĪT, cf. Yāḳūt), a town on the right bank of the Tigris to the north of Sāmarrā (according to Streck the distance is a day's journey) and at the foot of the range of the Djabal Ḥamrīn. Geographically this is the northern frontier district of the ʿIrāḳ. The land is still somewhat undulating, the old town was built on a group of hills, on one of which beside the river, stands the modern town. To the north is a sandstone cliff 200 feet above the level of the river, on which still stand the ruins of the old citadel. The traces of the old town stretch to the west of these two hills in a large circle, which shows that Takrīt was once of considerable extent

It has been suggested that the name may be recognised in a tablet of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmeyer, quoted by Streck, II., p XIII) but the first certain mention is that of Ptolemy (V. 18, 19) who calls it Birtha (Yāḳūt, I. 861, in giving the latitude and longitude also refers to Ptolemy) Ammianus Marcellinus calls it Virta Indeed the hill of the citadel is still known as Burtha In Syriac literature the town is called Teghrīth. From the fourth century it was the see of a Jacobite bishop until, in 1155,| the diocese was combined with that of al-Mawṣil (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I 174, 465) The Arab writers attribute its foundation to the Sāsānian king Sābūr, son of Ardashīr, the town is said to have been called after a Christian woman named Takrīt bint Wā'il, several legends are connected with its foundation (Yāḳūt, *loc cit*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, II. 288). Before Islām the town was temporarily occupied by the Arab Christian tribe of the Iyād (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, I. 46), they were driven from it, but the Iyād remained for a long time afterwards in the neighbourhood (Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, p. 180) and in the period of the conquest the soldiers of the Iyād in the garrison of Takrīt secretly assisted the Arabs [cf. IYĀD] The first Muslim capture of the town seems to have been affected in the year 16 by ʿAbd Allāh b al-Muʿtam who was sent out by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās Then in 20 A.H., the town again surrendered by agreement; tradition ascribes this second occupation to al-Nusair b. Daisam or to his deputy ʿUḳba b Furḳad or to Masʿūd b. Ḥuraith b. al-Abdjar The last named was the first governor and built the djāmiʿ mosque there (Yāḳūt, *loc cit*; al-Balādhurī, p. 248—249).

Down to the middle of the tenth century, the Arab geographers reckoned Takrīt as belonging administratively to al-Djazīra (Ibn Khordādhbeh, p. 94; Ibn Rusta, p 106, Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 129, Ḳudāma, p 245, 250; Istakhrī, p 72, 77; Ibn Ḥawḳal. p 156, Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p 36), but from the time of al-Maḳdisī (p. 54, 115) the town is more often regarded as belonging to the ʿIrāḳ (excepting by Idrīsī and Dimashḳī). In the early centuries of Islām the town was almost exclusively Christian. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Masʿūdī (*op. cit.*, p 155) mention the al-Khaḍrā' church there, and there is still a ruin of this name in the south of the town. There were also other Christian buildings (like the monastery of Saʿāba on the opposite bank [Yāḳūt, II. 673] and the Dair Mār Yuhannā, Yāḳūt, II 701) The name of the great Muslim sanctuary al-Arbaʿīn, a quarter of an hour west of the old town, seems to indicate that it was formerly the site of a Christian building Two vaulted chambers decorated with stucco are still standing; the building goes back to the XIIIth century. Takrīt was celebrated for its manufactures of woollen goods (Maḳdisī). In the XIIIth and XIVth centuries it is described as a large town (Ibn Djubair, p 223; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II. 133) Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says it is a town of average size Idrīsī (transl Jaubert, II. 147) mentions the al-Dudjail canal which ran from the Tigris near Takrīt and went on to Baghdād, this is probably identical with the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, dug, according to Abu 'l-Fidā', in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (cf also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dj̲ihān-numā*, p. 434) Traces of this canal, which according to Ewliyā Čelebi was cleaned out by Murtaḍā Pasha in 1654 (quoted by von Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbucher*, 1821, vol. XIII. 235), are still visible

Takrīt never played an important part in history. In the eleventh century it belonged to almost independent lords until the Saldjūḳ Ṭughrīl Beg took advantage of the death of its lord to seize it (Ibn al-Athīr, IX 448) From 1149 the town was part of the territory of the Begtegīnids and in 1190 it passed to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. It was the birth-place of Saladin, whose father Nadjm al-Dīn Aiyūb had been appointed commandant of the town under the Saldjūḳs When the conqueror Timūr took it, it was in the possession of Arab brigands (Sharaf al-Dīn, transl. Pétis de la Croix, II. 141—154) In the following centuries it remained a small place, Christians are mentioned in it for the last time by Tavernier (*Voyages*, II. 87) Under Turkish rule, Takrīt was a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Raḳḳa (*Dj̲ihān-numā*, p. 434), but after the reforms of the XIXth century it was reduced to a *nāhiya* of the *kaḍā* of Sāmairā (in the *wilāyat* of Baghdād) In the XIXth century the population was probably never more than 4,000–5,000 souls. All travellers have been poorly impressed by it, the majority of the inhabitants of the present day make their living by navigating keleks, which change crews there From the archaeological point of view Takrīt seems to be promising Herzfeld found there pottery of an interesting type belonging to the Sāsānian period and to the early centuries of Islām.

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(J. H. KRAMERS)

TAKRŪR, Tuculor (French Toucouleur), is the name given to the population of negro stock which inhabits the greater part of the lowlands of Senegalese Fūta and the larger part of Bundu. The first of these countries lying on either side of the river Senegal but more on the left bank, includes from west to east the provinces of Dimār, Tōro. Lāo, Yirlābe or Irlābe, Bōseya, Ngenār or Ganār and Damga. Bundu lies west of the lower Faleme. Tuculor colonies are also found in different parts of West Africa, especially at Kayes (on the upper Senegal), at Nyōro (in Sudanese Sahel), at Sēgu (on

the Niger), at Pandjagara (eastern Māsīna), at Dingirai (east of Fūta Djallon); these colonies were founded in the middle of the XIXth century by natives of Senegalese Fūta who had followed the fortunes of the conqueror al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar They are also found between the Niger and Chad, particularly at Sokoto [q v]; these last are descended from other natives of Senegalese Fūta who had accompanied ʿUthmān Fōdjo on the conquest of the Hausa country at the beginning of the XIXth century.

The word "Tuculor" is a slight corruption of the pronunciation among the Wolof of the Lower Congo of the name of the people in question. Among them the word assumes the form *Tokoror* or *Tokolor*. We find it in the narratives of the early travellers and on old maps with the spelling "Toucourol" or "Toucourogne". The Arabs wrote it *Takrūr* and have made the ethnic *Takrūrī* from it, plural *Takārīr*, which is applied by the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal to the Tuculors It seems that at one time Tokoror or Takrūr was the name of a town near the river Senegal, as well as the name of the kingdom of which it was capital, which corresponded practically to Senegalese Fūta and lastly it was the name of the people of this kingdom. There is still a place called by this name (Tokoror) not far from Gede in the Tōro or district of Podōr near the arm of the Senegal which is called the "marigot de Doué", this corresponds to the position assigned by al-Bakrī, Idrīsī and other Arab geographers of the middle ages to the town of Takrūr In time Arab writers and following them the Sudanese chroniclers who wrote in Arabic extended the application of the word Takrūr to the whole of the Muslim Sūdān, from the Atlantic up to (but not including) the valley of the Nile and have made *Takrūrī* a synonym of Sudanese. This is why the European atlases have for long borne south of the Sahara, the inscription "Tekrur or Sudan". But this extension of the name is not in keeping with the facts, and Takrūr or Tokoror strictly means the true home of the Tuculors, i. e Senegalese Fūta.

There is not absolute certainty about the origin of the present Tuculors, who seem to form a very mixed population. They are probably in part the descendants of the old autochthons of Senegalese Fūta, who are probably of the same stock as the Wolof and the Sērer, in part the descendants of the old negro autochthons of modern Mauritania and the Hodh (Hawd) who must have been of the same stock and migrated southwards when the southern Sahara began to dry up, partly the descendants of the Sarakolle (or Soninke) and of the Mandingoes (or Malinke) who came at a remote epoch and settled round the commercial centres of ancient Takrūr, and partly, descendants of negro serfs called Rimāibe, belonging to the Fula of Termes (in the N. E. of Nyōro) who came with their masters to Senegalese Fūta before the XIth century; these Fula remained shepherds and settled in the highlands, while their negro serfs devoted themselves to agriculture in the valley of the river.

Whatever may be the origin of the Tuculor, they cannot, as has been said, be regarded as Fula half-breeds. Of course such half-breeds are found among them but as a whole the Tuculors are negroes of pure stock. The only thing they have in common with the Fula is the language which is clearly a negro idiom related to the Wolof and very closely to the Sērer, probably borrowed by the Fula from the old negro autochthons of Termes and the adjoining districts The Tuculors give to the Fula dialect which they speak the name of *Pulār*, and sometimes describe themselves as *Hālpulāren*, i e those who speak Pulār. The Fula has certainly been the mother-tongue of the Tuculors for a long time, although we cannot tell whether they already spoke it before the arrival of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta. In any case we know from a reference in al-Bakrī that in the XIth century the hippopotamus was known by its Fula name (*ngābu*) to the people on the banks of the Senegal in the country of Fūta.

The Tuculors are in general agriculturists, but they have a natural fondness for fighting In the XVIIIth century, they successfully resisted the domination of the Fula in Senegalese Fūta, who from 1559 to 1775 exercised supremacy there under the leadership of the *satigi* or *saltigi* or *silatigi* (the "siratiques" of the early travellers) belonging to the Fula dynasty of Denianke At the later period they for long resisted the French conquest. They played a considerable part in ʿUthmān Fōdjo's conquests in the Hausa country in 1800 and in those of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar in the Mandingo country, the Bambara lands and the Māsina, from 1848 to 1864, furnishing these conquerors, both natives of Tōro, with their best officers and finest troops. Since then they have enlisted in large numbers in the Senegal tirailleurs and have contributed to the black army of France a very large number of soldiers of great bravery and N C O.'s of a high order

They include within their ranks professional castes which are perhaps of a different origin from the rest of the population, but are now at any rate completely incorporated with the rest and speak the same language. Such are for example the *Subalbe* (sg *Tyuballo*) fishermen and sailors, the *Lawbe* (sg *Labbo*) joiners and basket-makers, the *Burnābe* (sg *Burnādyo*) potters, the *Wailube* (sg. *Bailo*) smiths, the *Walabbe* (sg. *Galābo*) shoemakers, the *Mābube* (sg *Mabbo*) weavers, the *Wambābe* (sg. *Bambādyo*) musicians, the *Wawlube* (sg. *Gawlo*) bards or troubadours, the *Wosube* (sg *Goso*) and the *Dyāwambe* (sg *Dyāwando*) courtiers etc.

The Tuculors are all Muhammadans and were among the earliest peoples of the Sūdān to be converted to Islām This religion penetrated to Senegalese Fūta towards the end of the first half of the XIth century, at the beginning of the Almoravid movement and under its influence. Al-Bakrī says that the first ruler of this region to embrace Islām and spread it around him was a certain Wāi-Dyābī or Wāi-Dyābē or a third form Wār-Ndyāi (the variants in the manuscripts give these different forms), who died in 1041—1042 A D ; his son Lebbi in 1056 supplied a contingent to the Almoravid leader Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, of the Berber tribe of Lamtuna, in his war with the Berber tribe of the Goddāla Local tradition on the other hand gives the name of the first to spread Islām in Senegalese Fūta as *Abū Dardai*, who is sometimes confused with *Ndyadyan-Ndyāi*, the missionary of Djolof. In any case the Tuculors have never ceased to profess Islām since their conversion. In the period of domination of the pagan Fula, religious was added to nationalist

sentiment to stimulate the Tuculors to cast off the yoke of the Denianke kings Tuculor was synonymous with Muslim as Fula was with pagan.

It was the *Tōrodbe* section (sg. *Tōrōdo*) among the Tuculors that always showed itself the most devoted and ardent Muslims Sulaimān Bāl, who succeeded in casting off the suzerainty of the Fula kings, and in establishing in Senegalese Fūta in 1775—1776 shortly before his death, a Tuculor theocratic monarchy, belonged to this section. ʿUthmān Fōdjo and al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar were also Tōrodbe

Politically Takrūr or Senegalese Fūta has successively consisted of: 1, a series of provinces more or less independent of one another (before the ninth century of our era); 2, a kind of kingdom ruled by princes who came from Hodh (Hawd) via Tagant and were known as Dyā'ōgo (ixth–xith century), 3, a more or less direct dependency of the Sarakolle kingdom of Dyāra (Sāhel) under the government of Tuculor princes or Sarakolle governors (xith—xiiith centuries; this is the period of the Fula immigrations from Termes and the conversion of the Tuculors to Islām), 4, a dependency of the same Sarakolle kingdom, which was now in turn a vassal of the Mali or Mandingo empire (xiii—xvith century), 5, still a dependency of this same kingdom, but the latter was now under the suzerainty of the empire of Gao or of the Songoi (beginning of the xvith century to 1558); 6, an independent kingdom ruled by the Fūla dynasty of Denianke who were pagans, i e Koli Tengella and his successors (1559—1775), 7, an independent theocratic Muslim federation, the power being in the hands of Tuculors (1776—1858), 8, a series of Tuculor principalities separated from one another and gradually coming under French protectorate (1858—1890), 9, a series of provinces annexed to the colony of Senegal (1890 onwards)

The theocratic Tuculor state of Senegalese Fūta, founded in 1776, was ruled by a chief of a religious character, called *almāmi* (from the Arabic *al-imām*), elected by the notables and frequently destined by them to a very brief reign The first almāmi of Fūta was ʿAbd al-Kādir (1776—1805) He had 33 successors, some of whom had several reigns, like Yūsufu who had nine. The almāmi Muhammadu Birān, elected for the first time in July 1841 signed a treaty of friendship with France on Oct. 7 of the same year In the reign of Sībawaihi (1854—1856) a fort was built at Podōr in Tōro by the governor of Senegal, Faidherbe, who now set himself the task of leading the separate provinces of Fūta to leave the confederation and acknowledge French suzerainty. Under the almāmi Mustafā (1858—1859), the French protectorate was accepted by the Dimār who became independent of Fūta In 1859 the almāmi Muḥammadu Birān, who was then reigning for the fifth time, abandoned his rights over Tōro and Damga, which were next year placed under French protectorate and the confederation of Fūta now comprised only the Lāo, Yirlābe, Bōseya and Ngenār. On Oct. 24 1877, the almāmi Muḥammadu Aḥmadu ceded to France the provinces of Lāo and Yirlābe and finally in 1881, the governor Brière de l'Isle obtained from the almāmi Sire Bāba Lih, the recognition of French suzerainty over what remained of the Fūta federation: the Bōseya and Ngenār This was the last almāmi. He died in 1890 and on his death the seven provinces which had composed the Tuculor state of Senegalese Fūta were annexed to the French colony of Senegal.

The Tuculors of Bundu had formed in their country a similar state, which made an alliance with France in the middle of the xixth century. The almāmi Būbakar Saʿada who was then reigning in Bundu vigorously supported the governor Faidherbe in his struggle against al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar especially in 1857 and 1859

It was in 1801 that a Tuculoi, a native of Tōro, ʿUthmān, son of a certain Muḥammadu called Fōdjo, i.e the "learned", having raised an army among his compatriots of Senegalese Fūta and strengthening it with soldiers recruited in Māsīna, Liptāko and Songoi, taking as an excuse the exactions of the king of the province of which the shepherds of Gōber had complained, preached a holy war against the Hausa, seized Tesāwa, capital of Gōber, then Sokoto, Katsēna, Zinder, Kāno, Zaria and other Hausa towns and founded between the Niger and Chad an empire the capital of which he made at Wurno, near Sokoto, and whose boundaries he extended to Nupe in the southwest and Adamāwa in the southeast. He even invaded Bornu but was driven out again by the celebrated Kānemī, in 1810 He died in 1815 as a result of a kind of fit of mystic mania. His brother ʿAbdullāhi assumed the government of the western part of the empire with Gando as capital, and his son Muhammadu Bello, that of the central part, called the kingdom of Sokoto; as to Adamāwa, it became practically independent. Muhammadu Bello, who reigned from 1815 to 1837, had to fight against the greater part of his subjects who rebelled against Tuculor domination and returned to paganism; he had also to fight against Bornu He was a notable scholar and wrote in Arabic a number of historical and religious works In 1828 he received with consideration the explorer Clapperton He was succeeded by his brother ʿĀṭiku (1837—1843) who was distinguished by his rigid puritanism and forbade dancing and music in his kingdom ʿAlī (1843—1855) who received Baith was the son of Muhammadu Bello; he allowed the royal power to slip from his hands into those of the governors of the various provinces, and the five last Tuculor kings of Sokoto never succeeded in recovering it Ahmadu (1855—1866), ʿAliyun Karami (1866—1867), Aḥmadu, second of the name (1867—1872), Abūbakari (1872—1877) and Moyāsu (1877—1904) The last named offered no resistance to the British troops under Sir Frederick Lugard who occupied Sokoto in 1904 and put an end to Tuculoi rule in the Hausa country by re-establishing the authority of the native princes

The other Tuculor empire of the xixth century founded by al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar had a shorter duration. Born at Alo'ār, in Tōro about 1797, ʿUmar Tal in 1820 went to Mecca where he performed the rites of the pilgrimage and acquired the title of *al-Ḥādjdj* (the pilgrim) and received investiture as khalīfa for the Sūdān of the Tidjānīya brotherhood On his return he spent a considerable time in Sokoto with his compatriot Muḥammadu Bello, who gave him a daughter in marriage. In 1838 he established himself in Fūta Djallon, then in view of the hostility of the chiefs of this region took up his residence in the south of the Mandingo country at Dingirai where he built a fortress and raised an army, the principal con-

tingents of which he brought from Senegalese Fūta. Preaching the holy war against the infidels, he conquered Mandingo and Bambuk, marched against the Bambara and Kaarta, destroyed their kingdom and victoriously entered Nyōro in 1854 Then turning against Khāso, which had placed itself under French protection and had a French post established at Medīna, the capital, by the governor Faidherbe, he laid siege in 1857 to the capital and the French garrison. Paul Holle who commanded the fort of Medīna with a handful of men held out for three months Just when, having neither food nor ammunition left, Paul Holle was going to blow up the fort with its defenders, Faidherbe, who had been waiting for the waters of the Senegal to fall, appeared with his troops before Medīna, and routed the army of al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar. The latter went to Bundu where he had to fight the almāmi Būbakar Sa'ada, then went to Senegalese Fūta, a part of whose population he forced to follow him to Nyōro. Having thus reconstituted his army, he marched against the Bambara of Sēgu and took this town in 1861. He then turned his attention to the Fula of Māsīna, who although Muslims had assisted the pagan Bambara, took their capital Hamdallāhi and seized their king Ahmadu-Ahmadu, whom he beheaded in 1862 He then proceeded to sack Timbuktu, after which besieged by the rebel Fula he was brought to bay in a cave, where he was smoked to death in 1864

One of his sons, Ahmadu, whom he had left in Sēgu wished to succeed him, but he found rivals in his brothers and other relations installed at Dingirai, Nyōro and Bandyagara (Māsīna) The empire founded by his father was divided into four kingdoms, all at variance with one another Ahmadu tried to get rid of his brothers and of several of his brother's lieutenants by having them assassinated but he did not succeed either in gaining absolute power or in putting down the continual rebellions which his cruelty and cupidity provoked among the Bambara and Fula After professing a desire to negotiate with France, he committed acts of deliberate hostility and the French authorities decided to put an end to a tyranny which all the natives hated. 'Agību, brother of Aḥmadu and king of Dingirai, had joined the French Colonel (later General) Archinard took Sēgu on 6th April 1890, Nyōro on Jan 1, 1891 and Bandyagara on April 26, 1893,' thus destroying the Tuculor empire of the Western Sūdān and putting to flight Aḥmadu, he sought refuge with Moyāsu, king of Sokoto and died in Hausaland in 1898

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(M Delafosse)

ṬALĀ'I' b Ruzzīk al-Malik al-Sā'ih, Fāṭimid wazīr (495—556 = 1101—1161). The events immediately attendant on the treacherous murder of the 12th Fāṭimid caliph al-Ẓāfir (1154) called him forth, at the request of the ladies of the royal household, from his governorship at Ushmūnain to play the rôle of strong man essential in the circumstances. Success crowned his march on Cairo with his followers from Upper Egypt Then, following the deposition of 'Abbās, he was appointed wazīr to the child caliph al-Fā'iz in 549 (1154) with the title of *al-Ṣāliḥ bi 'llāh*. His traitorous predecessor in office, 'Abbās, had fled with his wealth to Palestine and had there fallen into the hands of the Crusaders. Ṭalā'i' treated with the latter for the surrender of their prisoner, paying it is said about 10,000 dīnārs (Ibn Iyās, i 66) The exchange was affected and 'Abbās and his son Nasr were cruelly tortured and crucified in Cairo Talā'i', as might have been expected of such a general, maintained a rigorous control of affairs In his leisure hours he manifested a penchant for versification, which even obtruded itself in the style of his military despatches Specimens of his poetry are quoted by Ibn Khallikān (i 658) He seems to have been a liberal patron of Art and Letters, although he was not above grinding the peasantry with his taxes The ruins of the mosque which he built may still be seen near the Bāb al-Zawīla in Cairo, bearing witness to his zeal for the faith He was ever a strong supporter of the Ismā'ilians On the death of the little caliph in his eleventh year (1160), and the accession of another child, his cousin al-'Āḍid, the last of the Fāṭimids, Talā'i' continued as wazīr and married his daughter to the caliph Although virtually ruler of the country, it was only a question of time before his political enemies undermined his power The restrictions he put on the royal ḥarem, for one thing, earned for him the hatred of the caliph's aunt, whose intrigues led to the wazīr's assassination Even as he lay dying his dominating spirit manifested itself in his ordering the lady to be put to death before his eyes. His death took place on the 19th Ramaḍān 556 (Sept 1161) He was ultimately buried in the cemetery of the Karāfa There is a story in Abū Ṣāliḥ's Chronicle (fol 89b) that an aged Christian monk in Upper Egypt had foretold to Ṭalā'i', when he was still a provincial governor, that he would attain the highest rank in the state When the prophecy was fulfilled the wazīr is said to have made a grant of land to the monastery Whatever else he may have been, he was certainly a valiant warrior He did his utmost by diplomacy, bribery and attack to drive the Crusaders from Palestine, but without success, chiefly due to the collapse of his negotiations with the orthodox Muslim ruler of Damascus. With his dying breath he is said to have regretted his failure to re-capture Jerusalem from the Franks. Amalric is said to have invaded Egypt during his wazīrate

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl de Slane, i 657—661; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, iv 56; v. 45; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, transl Evetts,

index; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, i 66—67; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 294; H Derenbourg, *Oumāra du Yemen*, index, do, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p 177; Kay, *Omārah's Hist of Yaman*, vi 78; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādirah*, Cairo 1327, ii 17; S Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, index; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, index; W B Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p 186 (J WALKER)

ṬALĀḲ (A), repudiation of a wife by a husband, a form of divorce, effected by his pronouncing the words *anti ṭāliḳ*. The root idea of the verb *ṭalaka* is to be freed from a tether etc. (of a camel), to be repudiated by a man (of a wife, in this sense also *ṭaluka*), hence *ṭallaḳa*, to release (a camel) from a tether, to repudiate (a wife), *ṭāliḳ* means a camel untethered or a woman repudiated by a man (cf Lane, *Arab Eyl Lexicon s.v*)

I The right to a one-sided dissolution of a marriage belonged to the man exclusively, among the pre-Muhammadan Arabs Long before Muḥammad this *ṭalāḳ* was in general use among the Arabs and meant the immediate definite abandonment by the man of all rights over his wife, which he could insist upon as a result of his marriage. Cf. Th. W Juynboll, *De mohammedaansche bruidsgave* (Diss. Leyden), p. 42—64, who corrects the view held by W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 2nd ed, p 112 *sqq* and J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (*Nachrichten v. d. Konigl Ges. d Wiss*, Gottingen 1893), p. 452 *sqq*.

II. The Ḳur'ān lays down regulations which go into the *ṭalāḳ* with comparative thoroughness. From their fullness, and still more from the many admonitions to observe them exactly, it is evident that Muhammad was here introducing new rules which had been previously quite unknown to his contemporaries. Muhammad found particularly repulsive the apparently not uncommon exploitation in his milieu of the wife by the *walī* as well as by the husband, which took place especially in connection with the *ṭalāḳ* The first Muslim regulation about the *ṭalāḳ* seems to be the prohibition to use it for extortions from the woman. Sūra iv. 24 (of the years 3—5, on the whole chronology, which is here given in further detail, cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*; the preceding verse 23 is directed against encroachments by the relatives of the deceased and by the *walī*): "If ye be desirous of exchanging one wife for another and have given one of them a certain sum (as *mahr*, or bridal gift) make no deduction from it; would ye take it by manifest slander and sin? (25) How could ye take it when ye have had intercourse together and they (the wives) have received a binding promise from you?" (Here Muhammad recognises the *talāḳ* as such as legitimate). The next passage which deals with the *ṭalāḳ* introduces an important innovation by the Prophet, namely the period of waiting (*'idda*), which is on the one hand intended to leave no doubt about the real paternity of a child born from the divorced woman and on the other to give the man an opportunity of atoning for a too hurried pronunciation of the *ṭalāḳ* by withdrawing it; thus it is laid down in Sūra ii. 228· "The women who have been given the *ṭalāḳ* shall wait three *ḳurū'* (this expression which is variously explained means in any case phenomena connected with menstruation), it is not permitted to them to conceal what Allāh creates in their bodies, if they believe in Allāh and the last day; their husbands have the full right to take them back during this period, if they desire to make atonement; they have to demand the same good treatment to which they were bound but the men are a step above them; and Allāh is powerful and wise" (the man is here given the right to take back the wife during the period of waiting even against her will) But this right now given to the man for the first time was very soon abused; the wife was taken back near the end of the period of waiting and a new *talāḳ* at once pronounced over her so that she was permanently in a state of waiting, in order to induce her to purchase her freedom by giving back the *mahr* or making some other financial sacrifice, verse 229 was therefore revealed "If the man has twice pronounced the *ṭalāḳ*, he may still keep his wife if he treat her kindly or let her go in a seemly fashion; it is not permitted to you to take away anything of what ye have given them ... (in an interpolation the *khul'*, the amicable purchase of her freedom by the woman in contrast to the extortions condemned above, is declared permitted). 230 If he pronounces the *ṭalāḳ* over her for the third time, it is not permitted for him to take her again unless she has married another husband; if the latter pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over her, it is no sin for the two to return to one another if they think they can observe Allāh's commands, these are the commands of Allāh which make clear to those who have knowledge" (it is probable that the second part of verse 230 was induced by a concrete case in which a thrice divorced woman who had married another husband and received the *talāḳ* from him also, desired to marry her first husband again) A further extension made necessary by the practice, which was intended to prevent abuses of the right of taking back the wife during the period of waiting, is given in verse 231 "If ye give women the *ṭalāḳ* and they reach their time, retain them with you kindly or let them go kindly, but do not keep them to harm them with hostile intent, he who does so only injures himself, make not a jest of Allāh's words!" (here it is forbidden to take back the wife under a show of reconciliation, and to keep her simply with the object of making her life uncomfortable and forcing her to purchase her release by the payment of a sum of money; the perhaps contemporary verse 232 contains warning admonitions to the *walī's* of divorced women) Later than Sūra ii 228, which is presupposed, but still before the year 5 are the regulations of Sūra lxv 1 "O Prophet, when ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over women, do it with regard to their period of waiting (the meaning, not quite clear, of the Arabic expression seems to be that the *ṭalāḳ* is to be pronounced in such a way that the period of waiting can be easily calculated i e. not during menstruation), and calculate the time exactly and fear Allāh your Lord, put them not out of your houses and they are not to depart of their own accord, unless they have manifestly done something shameful (i. e. committed adultery); these are the commands of Allāh and whoso transgresseth them injures himself alone; thou knowest not whether Allāh after this may not bring about a change (in the attitude of the man to the woman so that he may take her back). 2 When they have reached their time, then either help them

with kindness or separate from them with good feeling, and take upright people from among you as witnesses and bear witness before Allāh. This is a caution for him who believes in Allāh and the last day 3. (further exhortations to observe the precepts). 4. If your wives can no longer expect a menstruation or have not yet had one and ye are in doubt (as a result, about the period of their waiting) their period of waiting shall last three months and if they are pregnant, the period shall be until they are delivered; Allāh will make his commands easy to him that feareth him 5. (further exhortations). 6. Let them live where ye live, in keeping with your means and oppress them not by making their lives unpleasant, if they are pregnant, maintain them till they are delivered . ." (here follow rules for the divorced woman while she is nursing), (in these verses certain obligations are laid upon men regarding the housing and maintainance of their wives during the period of waiting, this completes the work of protecting the woman against financial exploitation by the man in connection with the *ṭalāḳ*, which Sūra iv. 24 had begun). Sūra xxxiii 48 belongs to the end of the year 5. "O believers! when ye marry believing women and then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, ye have not to make them wait a period, provide for them and dismiss them in a suitable fashion." The general rule here given is stated more fully in Sūra ii. 237 "It is no sin for you if ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over your wives before ye have consummated the marriage or made a settlement (as bridal gift) upon them; provide fairly what is needful for them, the well-to-do according to his fortune and the impoverished according to his means, this is a duty for those who do what is right 238. If ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage and have already made a settlement upon them (as *mahr*) ye shall give them half of what ye have settled unless they withdraw their claim, or he withdraws who has to decide about the contract of marriage (i e. the husband); that you should withdraw your claim is nearer to the fear of God; forget not generosity to one another, Allāh sees what ye do" (this rule also seems to owe its origin to a concrete case in which doubts had arisen; on the legal significance of the withdrawal from the promise of marriage, which here appears as a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation, cf Juynboll, *op. cit.* p. 73).

In addition there are Sūrā xxxiii. 28 (of the end of the year 5) and Sūra lxvi 5 (of the late Medīna period in which Muḥammad threatens his own wives with the *ṭalāḳ* as well as Sūra ii. 226 *sq.*, where the *ṭalāḳ*, is mentioned in connection with the *īlā'*).

III. The *ṭalāḳ* is treated hardly less fully in the Ḥadīth than in the Ḳur'ān. Besides numerous traditions which simply repeat the well-known precepts of the Ḳur'ān and therefore need not be dealt with here, there are also some which further develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ*. A group of ḥadīths which endeavour to limit as much as possible the *ṭalāḳ*, deserves particular attention. "Among permitted things the *ṭalāḳ* is the most hated by Allāh"; two arbiters appear who are to negotiate between husband and wife; the wife cannot demand from the husband that he should pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over another wife on her account; Allāh punishes the woman who seeks the *ṭalāḳ* from her husband without sufficient reason Sūra lxv 1 is unanimously interpreted to mean that it is forbidden to pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* during the woman's period of menstruation; such a *ṭalāḳ* is regarded as a sin and error (*ḵẖaṭa'*, contrary *ṣawāb*) but its validity is not disputed; the man who has pronounced it should however withdraw it and if he insists on a divorce should pronounce a *ṭalāḳ* in keeping with the rules A question not yet conceived in the Ḳur'ān is that of the effect of a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced three successive times; the traditions are divided regarding this, alongside of the approval of such a thing, there is the strongest disapproval, sometimes it is even held to be invalid; in the same direction points the ḥadīth that down to the caliphate of ʿOmar such a *ṭalāḳ* was considered to be a single one and that ʿOmar was the first to introduce into jurisprudence his view that it was a threefold one, in order to restrain people by the fear of the undesirable consequences of this abuse. The traditions further mention as a third requirement for the *ṭalāḳ* which is to be *sunna* i e. in keeping with the prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān and of the Prophet, that the man in the period of purity in which he pronounces it, must have had no intercourse with the woman. The so-called *taḥlīl* which consists in marrying a thrice divorced woman and at once pronouncing the *ṭalāḳ* over her, simply with the object of enabling her to remarry her first husband (cf Sūra ii. 230) is strongly disapproved of and even cursed. In general the woman is only considered "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) for the first husband when the second marriage is actually completed. To check frivolous pronunciation of the *talāḳ*, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest is considered legal and binding. As, on the other hand, the *ṭalāḳ* means the dissolution of the marriage, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the conclusion of the marriage is of no importance. Whether a woman who has thrice received the *ṭalāḳ* has a claim during the period of waiting on her husband for lodging and maintenance is not evident from the Ḳur'ān; the earliest differences of opinion are enshrined in a group of traditions, some of which completely deny any such claim, some of which recognise it only for lodging and some for maintenance also.

Ṭalāḳ between slaves is not regulated in the Ḳo'rān; the ḥadīth gives the slave also the right to the ṭalāḳ but (in analogy with other legal enactments) only twice and similarly puts the period of waiting of a slave-woman at two *ḳur'*-periods. Anyone who becomes a convert to Islām and has more than four wives is bound to keep four and pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on the others. If he has married two sisters, he must pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on one of them. Finally it should be mentioned that according to tradition, Muḥammad at once gave the *ṭalāḳ* to women who took their refuge with Allāh before him and is said to have induced ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOmar to separate from his wife by a *ṭalāḳ* out of consideration for his father's dislike of her.

IV. The oldest jurists (down to the beginning of the formation of the *maḏẖhab's*), some of whom go back to the time of the origin of the traditions, develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ* on the lines indicated above; the most important views to be mentioned here are the following. The doctrine of ṭalāḳ al-

unna and its three requirements is further deve-
oped; it is ascribed among others to ʿAbd Allāh
. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿsūd, ʿAbd Allāh b.
Omar, al-Daḥḥāk, Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī,
Ikrima, Mudjāhid and Muḥammad b Sīrīn (such
ttributions to the oldest authorities must be
egarded as unhistorical; they only become cer-
ainly historic with Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī; this is
lso true of what follows), it is even applied to
he case when a woman is pregnant; for this ʿAbd
Allāh b. Maʿsūd, Djabīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, Ḥammād,
l-Hasan al-Basrī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī are given
s authorities The *ṭalāḳ* pronounced three times
n immediate succession is considered a sin but
s thrice valid, by the overwhelming majority,
ncluding ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b.
Maʿsūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOmar, Hammād, al-Ḥasan
l-Basrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, al-Zuhrī, sometimes
ie view is even described as the only prevailing
ne, against which no contradictory opinion exists,
ut at a somewhat later date there were never-
eless champions of the view that the *ṭalāḳ* of
is kind is to be considered as only once valid.
While according to the view of the majority,
mong whom are mentioned ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās
nd al-Dahḥāk, the wife becomes *ḥarām* for the
an after a threefold *ṭalāḳ* and can only marry
im again after completing and dissolving a marriage
ith another man, these consequences, according
) a view recorded of Mudjāhid (among others),
ho follows Ṭabarī, and which goes back to a
ivergent interpretation of Sūra II, 229 f), come
ito force after a twofold talāḳ, if the man does
ot withdraw it, but "allows the woman to go". That
ie second marriage must be actually consummated
the woman is to be *ḥalāl* again to the first man,
unanimously demanded e. g by ʿAbd Allāh b.
Abbās, ʿAbd Allāh b al-Mubārak, ʿAbd Allāh b
Omar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyib, al-
uhrī. The validity of the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest,
expressly affirmed by ʿAbd Allāh b Masʿūd,
Hammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī and is regarded as
enerally recognised The principle is unanimously
ffirmed that in ambiguous expressions the opinion
f the speaker decides, but there is much differ-
nce of opinion as to whether certain expressions
re to be considered ambiguous or not, and also
hether the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced under pressure or
nder the influence of intoxication is valid or not.
Here it is a question of the application of prin-
iples, important in other cases also, in a field,
hich on account of its practical importance had
great influence on its development. The validity
f the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the consummation
f the marriage is denied in agreement with the
adition of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, ʿAlī, ʿIkrima,
Mudjāhid, Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyib etc. The *ṭalāḳ*
ronounced on condition the marriage is con-
mmated (if I marry thee, thou art divorced) is
n the other hand recognised as valid by ʿAbd
llāh b. Masʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Ibrāhīm
-Nakhaʿī, al-Zuhrī while others deny it. Any
lāḳ pronounced before the consummation of
ie marriage is irrevocable (cf. Sūra xi. 238;
xxiii. 48); authorities for this are ʿAbd Allāh b.
Abbās, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, al-Zuhrī etc.
his rule is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Ḳurʾān;
. Sūra xxxiii. 48). The different views found in
ie *Ḥadīth* regarding the claims of the thrice
ivorced woman to lodging and maintenance are
so found here: according to ʿAbd Allāh b.
ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and ʿIkrima she has no
claim at all, according to al-Zuhrī (who however
also appears among the advocates of the first
view but probably wrongly) only to lodging. Ac-
cording to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Ḥammād, Ibrā-
hīm and ʿUmar to lodging and maintenance. ʿAbd
Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyib and al-Zuhrī
allow the slave only the possibility of the twofold
ṭalāḳ, whether in respect of a female slave or a
free woman.

According to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ibrāhīm
al-Nakhaʿī on the other hand the deciding factor
is the status of the woman as a slave, so that
every husband of a slave, whether slave or free-
man, has only the possibility of a twofold *ṭalāḳ*.
The Ḳorʾānic expression *ḳurūʾ* (Sūra, ii. 228 *sq.*)
is sometimes interpreted as menstruation and so-
metimes as the period of purity, among the re-
presentatives of this former view are ʿAbd Allāh
b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, al-Daḥḥāk, Ham-
mād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, ʿIkrima, ʿUmar and the
ʿIrāḳīs; as adherents of the latter view ʿAbd Allāh
b. ʿUmar, al-Zuhrī (the first view is also wrongly
attributed to him) and the Medīnese are mentioned,
ʿAlī and Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyib appear in both groups.
Less important differences of opinion are associated
with the interpretation of different Kurʾānic ex-
pressions in Sūra ii 228 and lxv. 1, 2, 4. There
is unanimity on the point that the man has the
right to withdraw the *ṭalāḳ* even against the will
of the woman This is expressly stated, for example
by ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAbbās, al-Daḥḥāk, al-Ḥasan al-
Basrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, ʿIkrima and Mudjāhid.

V. The teachings of the *Fiḳh* on *ṭalāḳ*, which
can be briefly summarised as follows, are based on
the above The husband has the right to pronounce
the *ṭalāḳ* on his wife even without giving the
reasons, but his pronouncing it without good grounds
is considered *makrūh* (reprehensible) and by the
Ḥanafīs even as *ḥarām* (forbidden), the *ṭalāḳ al-
bidʿa* also, i. e. one in which the requirements of
the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna* (cf above) are not observed
is regarded as *ḥarām*, the validity of the *ṭalāḳ*
is not in any way affected thereby To be able to
pronounce the *talāḳ* the husband must have attained
his majority and be *compos mentis*, the *ṭalāḳ* of
a minor is regarded as valid only by one tradition
of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, the guardian acts for the
legally disqualified husband. The *ṭalāḳ* is a personal
right which the husband must exercise in person
or through a mandatory specially appointed by
him; he may even entrust this mandate to his
wife, who can then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on herself.
The *ṭalāḳ* presupposes a valid marriage; the *ṭalāḳ*
pronounced on condition that the marriage is carried
through (cf above) is invalid according to the
Shāfiʿīs and Hanbalīs but valid according to the
Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs (according to the latter
however, not if it is expressed in quite general
terms, e. g "every woman that I marry, is divorced.")

The *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in delirium or by a lunatic
is invalid. The *ṭalāḳ* of an intoxicated man has
given rise to lively discussions in all the *madhāhib*;
in the case of culpable intoxication it is regarded
as valid by the majority. The *ṭalāḳ* pronounced
under pressure is valid according to the Hanafīs,
but not according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and
Ḥanbalīs.

Words referring unambiguously and directly to
the *ṭalāḳ* bring it into operation, whatever may
have been the intention of the speaker who uttered

them: if the speaker uses unambiguous circumlocutions, the Ḥanbalīs, Hanafīs and Shāfiʿīs demand also a corresponding intention, while the Mālikīs pay no heed to the intention. In the case of ambiguous expressions or gestures the intention of the speaker is the only deciding factor. There is a great difference of opinion among the *maḏhāhib* on all these questions, when it comes to the individual case. The question of the validity of a conditionally pronounced *ṭalāḳ* (apart from the above mentioned case) is also much disputed; the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs make such a *ṭalāḳ* come into operation on the fulfilment of the condition; the Mālikīs regard it, according to the nature of the condition, as sometimes at once effective and sometimes void.

The woman's period of waiting begins at once after the *ṭalāḳ* unless it is a question of a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation of the marriage, which is always definite. In this case the woman does not need to have a period of waiting and has only a claim to half the bridal gift, if it was already fixed (if it was already paid, she has to pay back half of it) or to a gift at the discretion of the man, the so-called *mutʿa* (cf. Sūra, ii. 237). A distinction has further to be made between a revocable and a definite *ṭalāḳ*. In the first case the marriage is still considered legally in existence with all its consequences and the woman has a claim upon the man for lodging and maintenance for the whole period of waiting; on the other hand the man has the right to revoke the *talāḳ* throughout the period of waiting If he allows the period to pass without exercising this right, the marriage is definitely dissolved at its expiry. If the bridal gift was not yet paid, it is now due unless some later date was agreed upon for its payment. If a reconciliation then takes place between the two parties and they wish to marry again, they must draw up a new contract of marriage with a new bridal gift.

With a definite *ṭalāḳ* on the other hand, the marriage is at once finally dissolved (with the single exception that a definite *ṭalāḳ* pronounced by a man during his mortal illness does not abolish the wife's rights of inheritance: so the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Hanbalīs with *iḵhtilāf* on details, while the Shāfiʿīs consider the opposite view the better) The woman has however in this case also to pass the period of waiting, during which she cannot conclude a new marriage; during this period she has a claim on the husband for lodging, but for maintenance only if she is pregnant. The husband's payment of the bridal gift is the same as in a revocable *ṭalāḳ* The conclusion of a new contract of marriage between the former partners is impossible, unless the woman has in the meanwhile lived with another man in a regularly completed marriage (cf. Sūra ii. 230); but even this way out is only open to them twice.

The third *ṭalāḳ* is considered definite among freemen (cf. Sūra ii. 229 *sq.*) and the second among slaves, it is a matter of indifference whether the separate repudiations were announced in one marriage or in several, not separated by *tahlīl*. In mixed marriages between freemen and slaves the status of the man is decisive according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, and of the woman according to the Ḥanafīs.

The period of waiting for a woman is three *ḳurūʾ* (cf. Sūra ii. 228) i. e. according to the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs three periods of purity, and according to the Ḥanafīs three menstruations, if she is pregnant, the period lasts till her confinement (cf. *ibid.*). For a slave woman the period of waiting is in the first case two *ḳurʾ* and in the second a month and a half; if she is pregnant, the period of waiting again lasts till her confinement.

Sexual intercourse with a not definitely divorced woman during the period of waiting is not permitted according to the Ḥanafīs and the better known view of the Mālikīs; according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and the other Ḥanbalī view, it is forbidden. In keeping with the views of the first class, it is regarded by them as revoking the *ṭalāḳ* in every case, according to the Mālikīs only if the man intends to do so, while the Shāfiʿīs only regard an utterance by the man as revoking the *ṭalāḳ*.

VI. The Shiʿa rules concerning *ṭalāḳ* only differ in unimportant details from the Sunnī with which we have so far dealt. In a more strict interpretation of Sūra lxv. 2 the production of two legal witnesses is regarded as absolutely necessary for the validity of a *ṭalāḳ*, while the Sunnīs dispense with them All circumlocutions, ambiguous expressions and gestures are neglected, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker.

VII. As an institution of family law, the *ṭalāḳ* has in practice to follow lines strongly dictated by the principles of Muslim law. The very frequent pronunciation of the *ṭalāḳ*, often on the most worthless grounds and three times in succession has brought about the following usage. if the couple wish to marry one another again after the third *ṭalāḳ*, they seek a suitable individual who is ready for a certain reward to go through the ceremony of marriage with the woman and at once repudiate her, the woman is then again *halāl* for her first husband and he who undertakes this *taḥlīl* is therefore called *muḥallil* For this purpose a minor or a slave is used by preference. Nothing can be urged against the validity of such a procedure providing that at the conclusion of the intervening marriage the word *tahlīl* is not used; its permissibility is defended by the Ḥanafīs but disputed by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs; the Hanbalī Ibn Taimīya regarded the *tahlīl* in general as invalid and attacked it in a special work (cf. Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii 155, 38) but he seems to be practically alone in this view.

The conditional pronunciation (*taʿlīḳ*) of the *ṭalāḳ* may have different objects a man may pronounce such a *ṭalāḳ*, for example, to drive his wife or himself to something or to refrain from something by threatened separation, or to give force to some statement made by him In India, the Straits Settlements and a large portion of the Dutch East Indies, this *taʿlīḳ* of the *ṭalāḳ* has has become a regular custom at the conclusion of a marriage; it is hardly ever omitted and serves to impose upon the man certain obligations towards his wife, on the non-fulfilment of which the marriage is dissolved by the *ṭalāḳ*. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, i. 382 *sqq.*; *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/i 300 *sq* ; iv/ii. 370; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*[3], p. 207 *sqq*.

On the practice of the *ṭalāḳ* as it has developed in different countries under the influence of the Sharīʿa and under native customary law, cf. for example, for North Africa. Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, p. 37, 97, 194,

277, 379; for Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chap. iii. and iv.; for Transjordania: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, § 3, for Northwest-arabia: do., *Coutumes des Fuquarâ*, § 4, for the Dutch East Indies the literature quoted by Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 207, note 3; and ethnological works and travels in general

Turkey with the introduction of the Swiss civil code in 1926 is so far the only Muḥammadan state that has abolished the *ṭalāḳ*.

Bibliography. In addition to the works already mentioned and the Arabic works on *Ḥadīth* and *Fiḳh*, cf Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qorân*, p 18 *sqq* ; Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Divorce; Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, i 920, ii. 921, Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], p 203 *sqq* , Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Book i ; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i 201 *sqq* , Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s v Divorce.

(J Schacht)

ṬĀLAḲĀN (ṬĀLḲĀN, Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f 363[b]), name of two towns in Persia

1. A town in Ṭukhāristān, between Balkh and Merw al-Rūdh, three days' march from the latter Situated in a plain, but quite close to the mountains (an arrow-shot, *ghalwa*), it was the largest town of the province and had a large market; it was divided into several parts by two rivers Khuttal-āb (correction of de Goeje) and Bar-āb It was destroyed in 617 (1220) by Čingiz-Khān, ruins near Čāčaktū.

2 A town in Dailam, between Ḳazwīn and Abhar, capital of a district of the same name including several small towns The birthplace of the famous minister, *ṣāḥib* Ismāʿīl b ʿAbbād, whose father Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās, had the ethnic name of Ṭālaḳānī The inhabitants were suspected of sharing in the heresies of the Ismāʿīlīs. Near it there is one of the two sources of the river Shāh Rūdh, tributary of the Safīd-Rūdh, as well as the source of two streams, the Karah-Rūdh and the Būh-Rūdh

Bibliography Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 491 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict de la Perse*, p 376, Istakhrī, *B G A* , i 278; Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii 303; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, *G. M S.*, London 1915, p 65, 156, 217, 220, 222 = transl , p 70, 153, 210, 213, 214, Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl de Slane, Paris 1842, i. 216; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 225, 423, 432; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Géographie* (ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840), p. 420, 458; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i 278, note.

(Cl Huart)

TALAVERA, the name of several places in Spain; the Arabic form is *Ṭalabīra* They are the following: 1. Talavera de la Reina, a town of 10,600 inhabitants, the *Caesarobriga* of the Romans, on a fertile plain on the banks of the Tagus about 100 miles below Toledo, at the entrance to the Sierra de Gredos: Towers dating from the period of Arab occupations may still be seen there. "the Torres Albarranas". The Arab geographers boast of the solidity of the *ḥiṣn* of this town; 2. ca. 20 miles south of the latter: Talavera la Vieja, the ancient *Augustobriga*; 3. Talavera la Real, a little village on the south bank of the Guadiana, 12 miles above Badajoz.

Bibliography. al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 187, transl , p. 227; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s. v.; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 92.

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

TALBIYA (a), infinitive of form II of the verb *labbā*, which is formed from the term *labbaika* to mean "to pronounce the formula *labbaika*" etc. *Labbaika* is connected — and probably rightly — by the Arab lexicographers with *labbun* which means "offering devoted service" as *labbaika* does "at your service". According to the native grammarians *labbai* is a „frequentative" dual It is difficult to say what is the significance of the element *ai* in this and similar forms like *saʿdaika*. The explanation from the Hebrew proposed by Dozy (*De Israelïten te Mekka*, Haarlem 1864, p 120) may be said to be now generally abandoned.

The formula is used in various forms and on different occasions The talbiya of the Prophet is said to have been. *Labbaika allāhumma labbaika labbaika lā sharīka laka inna 'l-ḥamda wa 'l-niʿmata laka wa 'l-mulka la sharīka laka* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, B 26), but shorter forms are given like: *labbaika allāhumma*, *labbaika wa-saʿdaika* etc It is usually referred to Allāh, in Hadīth also to Muḥammad, or to his helpers but only its briefest form *labbaika* (e. g Bukhārī, *Khusūmāt*, B 4; Muslim, *Zakāt*, Tr 32; Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-Ḳiyāma*, B. 36) and *yā labbaika* (Muslim, *Djihād*, Tr. 76). It is also placed in the mouths of pious men of the past like Ādam and Nūḥ. According to a tradition in Muslim (*Ḥadjdj*, Tr. 22) the heathen in Muḥammad's time used it in a false form. The talbiya is especially pronounced on the *hadjdj* [q v.], at an early stage at the *iḥrām* which Muḥammad and others assumed with the formula *labbaika bi-hadjdjatin wa-ʿumratin* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, B. 34) or *labbaika bi-ʿumratin wa-hadjdjatin* (Tirmidhī, *Ḥadjdj*, B. 11) or with the exclusive mention of the *ḥadjdj* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, B. 35). At the beginning of the *ʿumra* ʿĀʾisha is said to have used the formula *labbaika bi 'l-ʿumrat* (Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, B 23)

The talbiya is continually pronounced during the *ḥadjdj* up to the lapidation (e g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i 114) and in a loud voice (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, v 192).

On the question whether the talbiya is obligatory or sunna, see al-Nawawī on Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, Tr. 22. (A. J. Wensinck)

ṬALḤA b. ʿUbaidallāh, companion of the Prophet, one of the ten *mubashshara*, i. e. those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He belonged to the Ḳuraish clan of the Banū Taim b Murra [q v.]; his genealogy was: Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaidallāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taim b. Murra and his *kunya*, Abū Muḥammad, from his son, celebrated for his piety and one of the first readers of the Ḳurʾān ; both father and son were killed in the battle of the camel in 36 A.H Ṭalḥa was one of the earliest converts to Islām. According to tradition he had suffered along with Abū Bakr the threats and ill-treatment of the Ḳuraish. He went with Muḥammad on the Hidjra and was henceforth one of his councillors and most intimate friends. At the battle of Badr, having been sent out to spy the movements of the Meccan caravan,

he was unable to return in time to take active part in the battle but was allowed to share the spoil equally with the other *muhādjirūn* In the unfortunate battle of Uhud, Ṭalḥa particularly distinguished himself by his bravery; using his body as a shield to defend the Prophet in the retreat, he received numerous wounds and one blow cut the tendons of two fingers which remained paralysed This exploit gained him a prestige during the lifetime of the Prophet and after his death and a place in the veneration of Muslims which the blots on his later career never destroyed Ṭalḥa also took part in the other expeditions organised by Muhammad; on the death of the latter his relations with the first two Caliphs seem to have been rather cool; he is said to have hesitated for a long time before recognising Abū Bakr and ʿOmar The latter in the turn were careful not to give high office to the powerful Companion whose ambition they had probably reason to fear. This did not prevent him from amassing immense wealth as a result of the Muslim conquests, in estates in Arabia and the ʿIrāḳ and in specie tradition tells us that his generosity was in keeping with his fortune. His prestige and his financial position made him a person of the first importance in the caliphate of ʿOmar That he along with al-Zubair and ʿAlī was one of the instigators of the murder of this Caliph, as Caetani has held (*Annali dell' Islām*, v. 42—46), cannot be proved and it seems all the less likely as Talha was away when the murder took place in Medīna (cf. *R. S O.*, iv. 1060—1061); in any case he was a candidate for the succession and was bitterly disappointed when it fell to ʿUthmān Thrown into opposition, Ṭalḥa took advantage of the discontent soon aroused by ʿUthmān's rule to try once more to get the caliphate The real character of the movement which cost ʿUthman his life is difficult to understand at the present day, since the records of it are obscure and biassed, but it seems certain that Ṭalḥa was one of the chief actors in the drama, especially in its last days when the long discussions between ʿUthmān on the one hand and Ṭalha, al-Zubair and ʿAlī on the other, were abruptly broken off and the Caliph killed in his house by the mob. Talḥa thought his dream was about to be realised and it even seems that he was near being proclaimed Caliph when ʿAlī was proclaimed in his stead. Here again tradition in spite of the mass of details which encumber it is not at all clear. ʿAlī probably relied on the more turbulent elements which gained the upper hand in these troubled times while Ṭalḥa (and al-Zubair who was working in accord with him, although for his own ends) seeking to take a middle course was thrust aside In any case he found himself forced to recognise the new master; but immediately afterwards he fled from Medīna with al-Zubair and reached Mecca where he joined ʿĀ'isha — she being the enemy of ʿAlī as she had been of ʿUthmān — who seems to have urged Ṭalḥa's claims to the caliphate (perhaps on account of their ties of blood: they both belonged to the Taim b. Murra) The three allies went to Baṣra where they — Ṭalḥa especially — relied on finding many partisans; they announced that they wished to avenge ʿAlī's murder of ʿUthmān for which they disclaimed any responsibility. We know the unfortunate end of their enterprise; the defeat in the battle of the Camel (*yawm al-djamal*, Djumādā II, 36) in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubair lost their lives and ʿAlī won the ʿIrāḳ, which however he could only hold for a few years. Ṭalḥa's family however did not suffer by the fall of their head, his heirs entered into possession of his fortune and continued to enjoy a high position; many of them are known as traditionists, but they completely abandoned politics.

Talha was a brave warrior and a noble and generous character, so far as we can judge from the statements of tradition; he was ruined most likely by the fault, which is common to parvenus, of not being able to moderate his ambition. The unexpected successes of his career made him see no bounds to its possibilities, the qualities necessary to enable him to realise them were apparently lacking to him.

The judgment that should be passed on the conduct of Talha (as well as on that of al-Zubair and ʿĀ'isha) has always been a very delicate question for Muslim orthodoxy. They decided it in the conciliating spirit that has always characterized them. Talḥa and his allies are sinners of good faith and their previous merits are sufficient to wipe out their faults. Many traditions even say that Talḥa repented before his death and that ʿAlī for his part declared himself reconciled to his adversary It is only the extreme Shīʿīs who have not renounced "cursing those lacking in faith" (*laʿnat al-nākiṯhīn*).

Bibliography. Ibn Saʿd, III/1. 152—161, and the other sources for the biography of the companions The texts relative to Ṭalḥa are collected and translated in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix 380—399 (cf also in the same work the indexes to vols. i.—ii., iii —v. and to vols. viii. and ix., the years 35 and 36 A. H.); cf. also G. Levi Della Vida, *R S.O.*, vi. 434—449 (for the rebellion against ʿAlī).

(G. Levi Della Vida)

TAʿLĪḲ. [See Arabia, i. 387a.]

TALĪSH, a district and people in the north of the Persian province of Gīlān [q v], which since the peace of Gulistān (12/24th Oct 1813) has belonged to Russia The name according to Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzuge*, Leipzig 1903, p 278 *sq*, is first found in the form T'alish in the Armenian translation of the romance of Alexander, Ch. 194 = ii 19, p 76 (ed C. Müller) In the history of the Arab conquest (Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 327; al-Tabarī, i 2805) the country is called al-Ṭailasān; according to al-Aṣmaʿī in Yāḳūt, iii 571, 19, the Persian pronunciation was Tālishān (apparently a plural form). According to i. 812, 18, Tālashān (so vocalised) was a district (*ʿamal*) of the province of Gīlān. According to the itinerary given by Muḳaddasī (*B G A.*, iii. 373) from Sālūs (on the frontier between Ṭabaristān and Gīlān) to Shemākha [cf. SHIRWĀN], the last town belonging to Gīlān was Kuhan-rūdh, 4 days' journey south of the Kur [q. v.]. Ḥamd Allāh Kazwīnī (*G M S*, xxiii 180 ult.) mentions a village Tālish on the road between Sulṭānīya and Ardabīl, 6 farsakhs from the latter town; the corresponding district (*wilāyet*) was called Ṭawālish (p. 162, 12) Before the wars between Russia and Persia, Talish seems to have been of no particular importance; under Persian rule it was governed by a special Khān and the capital was, as it still is, the town of Lenkoran. The narrow strip of land between the hills or "alps"

of Talîsh and the Caspian Sea has a very much moister climate than the plain lying to the north of it (the rainfall in Lenkoran is 52 inches, in Baku 10), belongs geographically to Gīlān, is equally fertile and unhealthy and has a more varied fauna (including the tiger) The people, called by the Russians "Talîshi" or "Talîshinci", call themselves "Tolîsh"; they are found to the north as far as the Mughan steppes, where the Talîsh lead a nomadic life and to the south up to about 30 miles south of the Russian frontier The number of Talîsh living on Russian territory is 75,824 according to the last census (1922). Like the people of Gīlan, the Talîsh are Shīʿīs; their dialect differs very little from that of Gīlān.

Bibliography. Bibliography in the *Gr. Iran. Phil*, I/II 345, N. Marr, *Talîshi*, Petrograd 1922, p 24 — G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 173 *sq* ; E. Weidenbaum, *Putevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888, index; *Spisok narodnostei S S.S R., pod redakciei I I. Zarubina*, Leningrad 1927, p 9 (W. BARTHOLD)

TALISMAN [See ZAMĀʾIL.]

TALKHĪṢ, an Arabic *maṣdar* meaning to make a précis, means in the official language of Turkey a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the Sulṭān. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the Sultān were the grand vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām. On account of its change of significance, *talkhīṣ* is included among the *ghalaṭāt-i mashhūra*, cf Muḥammad Hafîd, *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manthūra fī Iṣlāh al-Ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra* (1221 A H., p 115) (J. H KRAMERS)

TALKHĪṢDJI, or in the official style, TALKHĪṢI, was the individual appointed to prepare the précis called *talkhīṣ* [q. v.] and to take it to the palace where it was handed over to the chief of the eunuchs The Talkhîsdji was therefore an official of the grand vizier's department, in addition to preparing the *talkhīṣ*, he took part in several official ceremonies. The talkhîsdji of the Shaikh al-Islām was not — at least in the later period — in direct communication with the palace; documents presented by him had to pass first of all through the hands of the Reʾîs Efendi and of the grand vizier.

Bibliography· d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, II. 260; III. 343; von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung*, I 31, 475 (J. H KRAMERS)

ṬĀLŪT is the name of king Saul of the Bible in the Kurʾān (II 248, 250) The name is explained as early as Thaʿlabī from the height (*ṭūl*) of Ṭālūt. Tālūt recalls Djālūt (Goliath), an assonance of pairs of names, like Hārūt-Mārūt, Hābil-Ḳābil, Yādjūdj-Mādjūdj (Goldziher) Djālūt itself is explained from the Hebrew גלות (Horovitz)

In the Kurʾān (II 247—253) the following is told of Ṭālūt After the time of Moses Israel demanded a king God appointed Ṭālūt king but the people did not find him worthy of the throne Ṭālūt was distinguished for the greatness of his knowledge and for his great physique also; it was a sign of his fitness to rule that angels brought back the ark (*tābūt*) with the *sakīna* and with what remained of the people of Moses and Aaron Ṭālūt tested his people at a river; whoever drank from it did not follow him. Israel took the field against Djālūt; David slew Djālūt and became king

The more or less confused memories of the Biblical story in this version are obvious. The first book of Samuel relates that Israel demanded a king (VIII.) but no respect was shown to the new king (x 27; xi 12) The sacred ark which Muhammad regards as a token of Saul's worth was recaptured in the Bible before his accession. The test by drinking water is made in the Bible, not by Saul but by Gideon (Judges, VII. 5—7).

Noldeke sees in this Ḳurʾānic story an effort by Muḥammad to arouse the Muslims to courage and obedience by examples from Jewish history. Later Muslim tradition (Tabarī, Thaʿlabī; al-Kisāʾī) often mentions that the number of the faithful who fought by Muḥammad's side in the battle of Badr was that of those who passed Ṭālūt's test by water

Muslim legend has more to say, explains every feature of the Kurʾān story, and adds many new details. Later writers (Tabarī, Thaʿlabī, Ibn al-Athīr) also know the name Saul, son of Ḳīsh, (شاول بن قيس). In explanation of the name Tālūt, we are told that at this time the future king of Israel was to be recognised by his height (Thaʿlabī), Samuel set up a measure, but no one in Israel reached its height, except Tālūt. As a miracle which took place to show the rightness of their choice, we are told that when Tālūt went to consult Samuel (Shamwīl) about his lost she-asses, the coronation oil began to boil. Tabarī's *Tafsīr* mentions inspiration as another token In explanation of the story in the Kurʾān, that Tālūt appeared unworthy to the people, it is said that Saul was descended from Benjamin, that is neither from Judah, the tribe of kings, nor from Levi, the tribe of priests (Thaʿlabī) On the ark, the token of Tālūt's worthiness, Muslim legend has much that is marvellous to tell. This sacred ark had been handed down from the time of Adam from generation to generation through Ismāʿīl to Kejdar. Kejdar gave it to Jacob Within the ark were kept the *sakina*, the hearts of the prophets, the tables of the law, the rod of Moses, Aaron's turban and rod (Thaʿlabī) This ark had fallen into the hands of Djālūt, the king of the Amalekites When plagues fell upon the Amalekites, they sent back the ark on the advice of a captured Jew. Two cattle led by angels brought the ark to Tālūt and returned. According to another legend, the angels themselves brought it to Ṭālūt between heaven and earth. The people were then convinced of Ṭālūt's worthiness

Ṭālūt's relations with Dāʾūd are fully described. Tālūt promised his daughter and one third of the kingdom to whoever should kill Djālūt. Nevertheless he next demanded a nuptial gift of 200 slain giants. When the affections of the people turned to Dāʾūd, Ṭālūt wanted to slay his son-in-law. Warned by his wife, Dāʾūd put a wine-skin in his bed and Tālūt stabbed it. Dāʾūd on one occasion was saved by a spider spinning a web at the entrance to a cave. Dāʾūd showed his magnanimity by once leaving four (in Ibn al-Athīr: two) arrows besides Tālūt; on another occasion he took from Ṭālūt, his cup, his jar, his arms, a piece of his garment and hair from his beard.

Saul's raising of the dead (I Sam. XXVIII) is completely transformed in Muslim legend. Some-

times it is Joshua and sometimes Samuel that is called up. Ṭālūt learns that there is only atonement for him, he must fight with all his family and die for Allāh. Tālūt abdicates and suffers with his sons the "death on the path of Allāh".

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

TAMATTU'. [See IḤRĀM, MUTA'.]

TAMGRŪT, the principal town in the Wādī Dar'a (Dra [q v]), in the south of Morocco and the site of the mother-*zāwiya* of the religious brotherhood of the Nāṣirīya [q v]. It is a fair-sized town with houses of red clay, surrounded by groves of palm and fruit trees, on the left bank of the Wādī Dar'a, which is here 120 to 250 feet broad but of no depth and runs between hills about 300 yards apart Tamgrūt is surrounded by low walls pierced by 4 gates in the north, Fumm (class. *fam* = mouth) al-Sūk, in the N E., Fumm Tā'urīt, in the S. W., Bāb al-Rizḳ and to the east, Fumm al-Sūr. An important market is held there on Saturdays.

The zāwiya of Tamgrūt, which owes all its importance to the Shaikh Muhammad b Nāṣir, was founded in 983 (1575—1576) by a member of a Marabout family of the Wādī Dar'a, Abū Ḥafs 'Umar b Aḥmad al-Ansārī from the *zāwiya* of Saiyid al-Nās. It was the fame as mystics of two holy men who lived in the zāwiya of Tamgrūt, Saiyidī 'Abd Allāh b Husain and Saiyidī Aḥmad b Ibrāhīm, that incited the Ṣūfī novice Muhammad b Nāṣir, born at Ighlān in 1015 (1603), to settle there. On the death of Saiyidī Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm, he became head of the zāwiya, and founded his order there, directly based on the teaching of al-Shādhilī [q v] He died here in Ṣafar 1085 (May 1674) and his descendants from father to son without interruption have since been heads of the zāwiya of Tamgrūt. The latter contains the tombs of Muḥammad b Nāṣir and his successors together in a mausoleum, rebuilt in 1869 after a fire and surmounted by a pyramidal cupola of green tiles, with a *ḳubbat al-mīzān* with three golden balls on top. It is also said to contain a very fine library, but it is unfortunately still impossible to attempt to catalogue it.

The zāwiya of Tamgrūt and the holy men who lived in it have formed the subject of a monograph by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Slāwī [q. v.], author of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, entitled *Ṭal'at al-mushtarī fī 'l-Nasab al-ḏja'farī* (2 vols., lith. Fās n d [1309]). Tamgrūt was the birthplace of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamgrūtī, a noted official of the Sa'dian court.

Bibliography: De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, p. 293; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, p. 467; H. de Castries, *Notice sur la région de l'Oued-Draa*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vol xx., 1880, p 497 *sqq.*; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910, p. 89—98; M. Bodin, *La zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, Paris 1918, p. 259—295; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVI^ème^ au XX^ème^ siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 99 note 1 and 354.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-TAMGRŪTĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, a Moroccan writer, a native of Tamgrūt [q. v.], died at Marrākush in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in the sanctuary of Kādī 'Iyād He held an official position at the court of the Sa'dian Sulṭān Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (986—1012 = 1578—1602) He was placed by this ruler in charge of the embassy to Sultān Murād III in Constantinople along with another court dignitary Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b 'Alī al-Fishtālī, d. 1021 (1612—1613). Al-Tamgrūtī prepared an account of his journey (*riḥla*) which he called *al-Nafahat al-miskīya fī 'l-Sifārat al-turkīya*· it was afterwards used as one of his sources by the author of the *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, al Ifrānī (or Ufrānī, [q. v]). It contains interesting information about the court of Marrākush at the end of the xvi^th^ century An edition, with a translation, of al-Tamgrūtī's work had been announced by H. de Castries, before his death in 1927

Bibliography al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, Fās n d., p. 106; al-Kādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310, i. 31 (transl in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. xxi., Paris 1913, p 70), reproduced exactly by Ibn al-Muwakḳit, *al-Sa'ādat al-abadīya*, Fās 1336, i. 90—91; E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVI^ème^ au XX^ème^ siècle*, p 98—99.

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAMĪM B. MURR, an Arab tribe, their genealogy (Wustenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*, K. L) Tamīm b Murr b Udd b. Tābikha b. al-Yās b. Mudar, puts them among the Muḍarī tribes where they take first place; indeed their name is often used as a synonym of the whole Mudarī branch in contrast to the Ḳais and the Rabī'a. Of the two latter, the Rabī'a are most closely related to them, which is not apparent in the systematic genealogies (where on the contrary the Ḳais are descended from the Mudar while the Rabī'a are not), but from expressions like the dual *al-Ḏjuffān* (*Lisān al-'Arab*, x. 373) meaning the Tamīm and the Bakr b. Wā'il together (the latter being the principal group of the Rabī'a) In any case, the Tamīm are much nearer geographically as well as historically to the Kais and Rabī'a than the Kināna [q v.] with whom the traditional genealogy closely connects them.

The Greek and Latin writers, who describe the Arabian Peninsula, having left no reference to the Tamīm, we are dependent on native tradition for their early history, the beginnings of which are as usual related with a number of legendary details (the tomb of the eponymous Tamīm at Marrān, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 37; Yākūt, *Mu'ḏjam*, iv. 479; birth and ad-

ventures of his sons Zaidmanāt, ʿĀmr and al-Ḥārith, Ibn Duraid, *Kit. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 5 etc) the true character of which it is impossible to ascertain, nor to distinguish what is fantastic fiction from what might be a mythical travesty of historical events. At the period when their history becomes better known to us, i. e from the sixth century A. D., the Tamīm appear as a very large tribe, whose vast territory occupies a great part of the eastern coast of Arabia nearly all Nadjd, a part of Baḥrain and a part of al-Yamāma. To the south their lands stretched as far as the steppes of al-Dahnāʾ and to the northeast to the banks of the Euphrates; their neighbours in the north were the Asad, the Bāhila and Ghatafān [q v] on the southwest; within their own territory they were much mixed with parts of the tribes of the ʿAbd al-Ḳais and the Ḥanīfa (especially on the east and south coast) and with Bakr and Taghlib in the north Essentially nomads, they never had any towns in the proper sense. Hadjar, al-Ahsāʾ and al-Djarʿāʾ (is the last the *Gerra* of classical authors? Cf Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 132) are mentioned by the sources as places which they frequented on the occasions of markets and fairs but they were not their owners (cf Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, p 136; Noldeke, *Gesch d Perser und Araber*, p. 56) although they are said to have occasionally seized and held them for a time (cf. the *Ṣāḥib Hadjar*, Mundhir b. Sāwā who negotiated with Muhammad belonged to the Tamīmī group of the Banū Dārim not, as the sources allege, to the ʿAbd al-Kais, cf. Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, vii 135, who quotes Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus MS, p. 65a), their relation with these towns was probably that of Beduins harassing and holding to ransom the settled population, alternately at peace and at feud with them. The very imperfect development of the culture of the Tamīm is seen in their forms of worship, about which our information is extremely meagre. We know of the general Arabian worship of al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-ʿUzzā among the Tamīm only from the occurrence of the names of these deities in proper names and in oaths, that of the sun, Shams (in the dialectic variant *shums*) from a brief note in Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii 19), the worship of Shams is said to have been common to the tribes descended from Udd: Tamīm, Ḍabb, ʿUkl, Taim ʿAdī, Thawr under the leadership (*sadana*) of the Tamīmī tribe of the Ibn Aws b Mukhāshin). The fact that they lived beside the Christian tribes of Bakr and Taghlib ought to have favoured the spread of Christianity among the Tamīm (cf Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* A H. 9, § 3), but it does not actually seem to have met with much success. The only Tamīmī group known to have been completely converted to Christianity is a part of the ʿIbād of al-Ḥīra, the best known member of which is the poet ʿAdī b. Zaid [q. v], but these were a clan who had abandoned their native territory and completely altered their manner of life and their relations with the rest of the tribe.

The extent of the territory inhabited by the Tamīm early accelerated their division into numerous groups and subdivisions, each of which finally attained the importance of an autonomous tribe. This is what explains how the tribe never had a very strong feeling of solidarity so that the two Tamīmī poets Djarīr and Farazdaḳ, members of different clans, were able in their poetical duels to insult in the most atrocious manner each other's clans. Indeed we find sometimes one and sometimes another of the Tamīmī groups involved in wars and alliances in which the other groups took no part or even were on the other side. On the other hand events of special importance often induced these groups to combine their forces but always in the form of an alliance (*ḥilf*), in which each kept its autonomous character (e. g. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, p 699, 752, for the alliance between the B. Yarbūʿ and the B Nahshal) The famous genealogist Abu 'l-Yaḳzān Suḥaim b. Djafs (d. 190 A.H.) seems to have devoted a special work to the alliances of the Tamīm among themselves (if, as seems certain, one should read in the *Fihrist*, p. 94, 24, *Kitāb ḥilf Tamīm baʾḍiha baʿḍan* instead of *halk*, an absurd reading which the commentary on the text p. 44 explains in an even more absurd fashion) The principal branches of the Tamīm are the Zaidmanāt and ʿAmr, the principal sub-group of the latter being the ʿAnbar, while the former is divided into Saʿd and Malik; to the Saʿd belong the Minḳar and ʿUtārid, to the Ḥanẓala and Dārim, who are again subdivided, from the Ḥanzala are descended the Yarbūʿ, one of the most important clans, including among others the Riyāḥ and the Kulaib (Djarīr's clan); from the Dārim the Nahshal and the Mudjāshiʿ (al-Farazdaḳ's clan).

It is of course impossible here to follow out the vicissitudes of the various Tamīmī clans, whose doings make up the history of the tribe in the pre-Islāmic period The information which we possess on this subject is very full and surpasses in quantity all that we have about the other Arab tribes This is due in the first place to the large number of celebrated poets among the Tamīm whose verses formed, as usual, the nucleus around which historical traditions gathered as they were collected in later times by the philologists commenting on them It is particularly to the zeal and erudition of Abū ʿUbaida [q v] and cf. also AIYĀM AL-ʿARAB that we owe the preservation of the greater part of the historical references to the Tamīmī *aiyām*. Others are due to Ibn al-Kalbī [q v]. We owe this historical matter mainly to the great commentary on the *Naḳāʾiḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ (ed by A A Bevan, Leyden 1905—1912.)

The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and to a less extent the sections relating to the *Aiyām al-ʿArab* in the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (vol iii) and the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr (vol i) also preserved a certain amount of early Tamīmī history which can be supplemented from other historical and philological texts It would be difficult and would take too much time to try to arrange the chronological and historical sequence of the battles of the Tamīm from the confused mass of details supplied by tradition (for the difficulties of the chronology of the *aiyām* cf. above ii., p. 654)· an exhaustive study of this subject, which has not been made since Caussin de Perceval, might however succeed in getting some kind of order, starting from those happenings in which the kings of Persia and al-Ḥīra take part, whose chronology is known and comparing the results thus obtained with the series of genealogies which for this period are sufficiently reliable. Two facts may be gathered from all the stories· on the one hand the continual rivalry between the Tamīm and their neighbours Bakr b. Wāʾil (and especially their subdivision ʿĀmir b.

Ṣaᶜṣaᶜa)· on the other their relations with the kings of Persia who, having brought the Bakr and Taghlib under their influence, endeavoured to extend their authority over the Tamīm also whose presence was a continual threat to their communications by land with the east coast of Arabia and Yemen. Tradition retained the memory of two episodes in the relations of the Sāsānians with the Tamīm. Shapūr II's expedition to Hadjar Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, p. 56) and the sanguinary punishment inflicted on the Tamīm by the representative of Khusraw II Parwēz, when they attacked a Persian caravan which was crossing their land from the Yemen to Ctesiphon (*Yawm al-Mushakkar*; Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 256 ff) These are episodes of little importance, inevitable incidents in the colonial policy of the Sāsānians which no doubt were frequently repeated in the course of centuries They alternated with periods of peace during which the kings of Persia and their vassals the Lakhmids of al-Hīra endeavoured to attach the Bedum tribes to themselves by means of concessions, one of which at least is recorded by tradition, the *ridāfa*, a group of privileges of a military and fiscal nature. The Yarbūᶜ were granted it in the time of Mundhir III (d 544 A. D) and it was he who, wanting to deprive them of it to give it to the other Tamīm clan of the Dārim, was the cause of the battle of Tikhfa (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden*, p. 112—113, 133, *Nakāʾid*, p 66, 299)

The list of battles which follows, taken from the index to the *Nakāʾid* (in the edition of which will also be found parallel passages from other authors), is only intended to refer the reader to the sources and to show the tribes with which the Tamīm were on friendly or hostile relations.

Irāb (Yarbūᶜ against Taghlib), Aḳrun (Dārim against ᶜAbs); Uwāra (Dārim against the king of al-Hīra ᶜAmr b. Mundhir), Iyād (Yarbūᶜ against Shaibān), Tiyās (Saᶜd b Tamīm against ᶜAmr b Tamīm), Djabala (Tamīm and Dhubyān against ᶜĀmir and ᶜAbs), Ḥawmal (Yarbūᶜ against Shaibān, commanded by Bisṭām b. Ḳais); Dhū Ṭulūh (Yarbūᶜ against Lahāzim and Shaibān), Dhū Nadjab (Yarbūᶜ against ᶜĀmir), Rahrahān (Dārim against ᶜĀmir); Raghām (Yarbūᶜ against Kilāb), Zubālā (Tamīm against Bakr), Shaiyiṭān (id), Sarāʾim (Yarbūᶜ against ᶜAbs), Ṭikhfa (cf above) Ghabīt (Mālik and Yarbūᶜ against Shaibān), Ghawl (Yarbūᶜ against Ghassān), Farūḳ (Saᶜd against ᶜAbs), Kushāwa (Yarbūᶜ against Shaibān); Kulāb 2nd (Saᶜd and Ribāb against Madhhidj); Marrūt (Yarbūᶜ against Kushair); Mulzik (Saᶜd against ᶜĀmir); Nibādj (Minḳar against Bakr); Nisār (Tamīm and ᶜĀmir against Ribāb and Asad), Watīdāt (Nahshal against Hilāl), Waḳīt (Dārim against Lahāzim)

Islām found the Tamīm, like the other eastern tribes outside the range of direct influence. It was only after Muhammad's victory over the neighbouring tribes and after the supremacy of the Medinese theocracy had been imposed on Central Arabia that the Tamīm saw the advantage of an alliance with Islām. They sent an embassy to Medīna in the year 8 and made a treaty of friendship with Muḥammad but, it seems, without becoming converts. They were therefore the first to reassert their complete independence on the death of the Prophet. The part which the Tamīm played in the *ridda* is notable for the share in it taken by the prophetess Sadjāḥ [q. v] whose true character is unfortunately unknown, distorted as it is by a biassed tradition. In any case the vigorous campaign of Khālid b. al-Walīd brought the Tamīm back to the bosom of Islām and the conquests which followed immediately afforded an outlet for their warlike tendencies (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols 1—11.). The bulk of the Tamīmī warriors naturally went in the direction of Persia and, settling at first in the two great camps of Kūfa and Baṣra, later went to Khorāsān where in the ᶜAbbāsid period they formed the majority of the Arab population. In spite of the fact that the historical record of the conquests goes back for the most part to Saif b ᶜOmar [q. v], himself a Tamīmī, and liable to exaggerate the exploits of the Tamīm in the conquests (cf *Annali dell' Islām*, 12 A.H , § 356, note 2), it cannot be denied that the latter continued to display as Muslims the same warlike spirit that had distinguished them during the Djāhilīya It was no doubt also to their character as true Bedums, — rebels against all authority by nature — that was due their active participation in all the rebellious movements of the Omayyad period. If they only played a small part in the struggle between Ḳais and Kalb, which was really quite foreign to them they distinguished themselves all the more as Khāridjīs [q v], it is among the Tamīm that we find the most fanatical of these rebels at the beginning of the movement. The chief of the Azāriḳa, Katarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [q.v.] and the most of his followers were Tamīm. We find them equally numerous among the followers of the ᶜAbbāsid *daᶜwa* in Khorāsān. Finally we may note the success at a later period of one of the tribe, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, a descendant of the Saᶜd b. Zaidmanāt, who founded the African dynasty of the Aghlabids [q v.]

The grammarians and lexicographers have preserved for us a number of peculiarities of the Tamīm dialect which will be found in the works quoted in the article ḲAIS ᶜAILĀN and also in Vollers *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* p 8—23, Aḥmad b Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī*, Cairo, 1328, p 24 *sqq* Many of these peculiarities are also found in the dialects of other tribes, e g, the *kashkasha* which other texts attribute to the Rabiᶜa, the *ᶜanaᶜna* which is also recorded of the Ḳais, the use of *i* for *a* in the prefix of the imperfect, etc Other peculiarities are the *ī* of the *nisba* pronounced like *dj*, "the letter between *ḳāf* and *kāf* etc". It would be imprudent to try to found on these statements, which are due merely to casual and sporadic observations and not the result of a systematic study of the different dialects, any generalisations about the character of the Tamīmī dialect What is certain is that it formed with the dialect of the Ḳais and Bakr the eastern group of dialects of ancient Arabia, clearly differentiated from the dialects of the west (cf. Vollers, *op. cit.*, p 4 *sq*) The Tamīm were further reputed to be in poetry and eloquence the depository of the true *ᶜArabīya*. we find among them, as has already been mentioned, some of the most illustrious poets of all old Arabic literature Aws b Hadjar Salāma b. Djandal, Sulaik b. Sulaka, ᶜAbda b Tabīb, ᶜAdī b Zaid, Mālik et Mutammim b. Nuwaira, al-Mukhallab; in the Omayyad period besides Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, al-Baᶜīth, Kuthaiyir, Thābit Ḳuṭna, Aws b. Maghrāʾ, al-ᶜAdjdjādj, Ruᶜba, etc

Bibliography. Wustenfeld, *Register*, p 442—443; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed

Wüstenfeld, p. 123—160; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p 37—38; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat al-Ansāb* (MS. British Museum Add., 23,297) f 62r—96v; *Naḳāʾiḍ Ǧarīr wa ʾl-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, *passim*, Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii. 461—484, 569—604.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

TAMĪM b al-Muʿizz, brother of the fifth Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz, is said to have been born c 337 (948—949) He was noted in his day for his liberality and interest in *belles lettres* A prince of culture and elegance with a reputation amongst his contemporaries as a poet of refinement and skill He missed nomination as heir apparent, his brother al-ʿAzīz being preferred to him Al-ʿAzīz seems to have been very fond of him, judging from his grief at the latter's death, which is stated to have taken place at Cairo in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 374 (April 985) After the funeral prayers in the Karāfa Cemetery, his body was laid in the palace vault. But opinion differs as to the precise year of his demise Ibn Taghrībirdī dates this event in 368 A H. Specimens of his verse are supplied by Ibn Khallikān in his Biographical Dictionary

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl de Slane, i. 279 *sqq* , Ibn Dukmāk, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, iv 85, Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches ana Monasteries of Egypt*, transl Evetts, fol 41a, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Annals*, ed Popper, p 23, 8, Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, transl Tallquist, i 91 *sqq* ; Yāḳūt, *Geogr* , ed Wustenfeld, iv 865

(J Walker)

TAMĪM b al-**Muʿizz**, fifth ruler of the Ṣanhāǧa family of the Banū Zīrī, who reigned in eastern Barbary from 454–501 (1062—1108) He was born at Sabra-Man-Sūrīya near al-Ḳairawān. Ibn ʿIdhārī described him as a man of tall stature and handsome appearance, and gives some curious details about his way of living. He was a very highly cultured man and reckoned among the most distinguished poets who have occupied a throne.

He was 23 in 445 (1053) when al-Muʿizz, his father, appointed him governor of al-Mahdīya [q v] It was just after the appearance of the Banū Hilāl Arabs, who had already inflicted one or two severe defeats on the troops of al-Muʿizz and occupied a considerable part of Ifrīḳīya Four years later, in 449 (1057), al-Muʿizz left Kairawān, his capital, where his position was untenable and took refuge in al-Mahdīya with Tamīm who received him with deference Tamīm henceforth conducted the business of the state alone and on the death of al-Muʿizz (454 = 1602), he was officially recognized as sovereign. In the very difficult circumstances under which he came to power, Tamīm showed very remarkable energy and ability From the town of al-Mahdīya, which was practically all his dominion, he set himself to regain all the cities of Ifrīḳīya which former governors, Arab emirs, or mere adventurers had made into independent principalities He had to fight against his relatives, the Banū Ḥammād of the Ḳalʿa who were endeavouring to take advantage of the difficulties of the old kingdom of al-Ḳairawān. To this end he availed himself of the rivalries among the different groups of Arabs and gained the assistance of the most powerful, the Banū Riyāḥ. With the help of this alliance which was not without its dangers, he was able to foil the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir's plans against al-Mahdīya.

His activities, otherwise, seem to have been mainly directed against the towns of the coast. He sent many expeditions against them, the success of which could at best be ephemeral. He was able to retake Sūs, forced the Banū Khuiāsān of Tunis to submit, failed before Gabes, then took it, laid waste the suburbs of Sfax and then entered it. His base al-Mahdīya was itself much threatened. The Arabs besieged it closely in 1084.

Tamīm's effort against the coast-towns is explained by the aims which sent him to the sea while the land was slipping from him Following his father in this respect, he tried to prevent the conquest of Sicily by the Normans Having failed, he intensified his piratical raids On the Christian side, this produced an alliance of Genoese and Pisans who on Aug 6, 1087 succeeded in occupying al-Mahdīya and sacked it In 1104 the Romans (?) made another attack on the town which ended disastrously for them.

Four years later (1108), Tamīm died at the age of 78 and was buried in the Kasr al-Saiyida at Monastir.

Bibliography Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl de Slane (*Biographical Dictionary*), i. 281—284; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i 307—313, transl F Fagnan, i. 444–454; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbères*, ed de Slane, i 206—207; transl., ii. 22—24; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, ix. 389, x. 10, 19, 30, 105, 109—110, 119, 132—133, 175, 314—315, transl F Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb*), p. 460, 470 *sqq* , 486 *sqq* , 490, 501, 509—510, 515—517; Ibn Abī Dīnār (El-Kairawānī), *Mūʾnis*, transl. Pellissier and Rémusat, p. 145–147; al-Tdjānī, *Riḥla*, transl. Rousseau, in *J. As*, 1852, ii, p 130 *sqq.*, 1853, i., p 370 *sqq* , Mas Latrie, *Traités des paix*, i 29—30, Hasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhabāt al-Tūnisīya*, Tunis 1337, p. 101—104; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p 124–125, 134–139, 142—143

(G. Marçais)

TAMĪM al-DĀRĪ, a companion of the Prophet. His *nisba* al-Dārī is said to be derived from the clan of the Banu 'l-Dār (for ʿAbd al-Dār, according to Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 108, note 4), a section of the tribe of Lakhm [q v] Al-Nawawī however (*Tahḏhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed Wustenfeld, p 178) gives him the *nisba* of al-Dairī, said to be derived from the convent (*dair*) in which he was a monk before his conversion to Islām His genealogy was Tamīm b. Aws b. Khārid̲ja b. Sawād (var. Sūd) b. Ḏjadhīma b Darāʿ (var Dhirāʿ, Widāʿ) b ʿAdī b. al-Dār b. Hānīʾ b Ḥabīb b Numāra b Lakhm (Wustenfeld, *Gen Tabellen*, 5—25; cf Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 2542, 2545; Ibn Saʿd, vii/ii 129—130 etc.) From Palestine, where he lived with his tribe, Tamīm came to Muhammad at the head of ten of his relatives after the Khaibar campaign in 7 A. H (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p. 777) or, what is more probable, after the Tabūk campaign in 9 A H. which brought the Muslim army up to the frontiers of Syria (Ibn Saʿd, i/ii. 75, following al-Wāḳidī and Ibn al-Kalbī). the first statement may be due to some confusion that has arisen from the fact that Muḥammad allotted to the Banu 'l-Dār the revenue from part of the lands taken at Khaibar (Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 287) Tamīm embraced Islām and settled in Madīna. The fact that he had been a Christian, like most of the Arabs of Syria, enabled him to advise the

Prophet on details of public worship which were adopted by him from the Christians, among them the use of oil-lamps in the mosque (cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *R H R*, lxxxi [1920], 247 *sqq* = *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii. 216 *sqq*. *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*) He is said to have been the first narrator of religious stories (*ḳāṣṣ*. cf Goldziher, *Muh. Stud*, ii 161 infra, Nawawī, *Tahḏhīb al-Asmā'*, p 178) and it is really to this literary genre of the *ḳiṣṣa* [q. v.] that belong the stories of the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist (*al-Daḏjdjāl* [q v]) and of the Beast (*al-Djassāsa*), which Tamīm communicated to Muhammad and the latter published on his authority Tamīm is said to have seen the two apocalyptic monsters with his own eyes and spoken with them in an island situated at the end of the world, where the tempest had thrown him on a voyage on the Syrian seas On this island al-Daḏjdjāl and al-al-Djassāsa are kept to await the day when they will be let loose on the world This legend of Tamīm must have arisen at quite a remote period for it is already found with all its details in the earliest collections of hadīth. Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmiḏhī, Ibn Māḏja, Aḥmad b. Hanbal (see the references by Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 50 s.v *Daḏjdjāl*) At a later period, the legend is located after the death of Muhammad and put in a different setting it is no longer as a result of a shipwreck that Tamīm comes to learn the mysteries of the other world, he is carried during the night from his house by a djinnī and passes through a series of unknown countries, peopled with all kinds of fantastic beings, and after experiencing a number of weird and perilous adventures in which the meeting with al-Daḏjdjāl and al-Djassasa is only an episode, he is taken by an angel on a cloud and brought back to his home His wife who had thought him dead and married again is in a most difficult position The question laid before the Caliph ʿOmar was referred by him to ʿAlī who said that the Prophet had foreseen all that would happen to Tamīm and left the wife free to choose between the two husbands, she prefers to go back to Tamīm This form of the legend which combines the two common motives of a journey to the realms of fable and the supposed dead man returning, was very widely diffused and it is known in Turkish, Malay and Spanish versions A recension of the Arabic text to which these versions go back was published by R Basset (*Les aventures merveilleuses de Temim el Dâri*, in the *Giornale della Società Italiana*, v [1891], 3–26) from a manuscript in Algiers (to the MSS which he mentions in Paris, Oxford, Leyden and Tunis may be added those of the India Office, N⁰ 1044 viii., and Berlin, 9069, 9070, 9105—9122 The text has also been printed in Cairo in a popular form). It is of course impossible to fix the date at which the legend took shape. Basset notes that al-Dimashḳī (d 727) gives a resumé of it in a form very like that of our texts (*ʿAḏjā'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Baḥr*, ed. Mehren, p. 149)

Another incident of quite a different kind has contributed to the fame of Tamīm al-Dārī. When he met Muḥammad he is said to have asked him to give him as a fief (*ḳaṭiʿa*, cf IṬḴĀʿ) for himself and his descendants the district in which he lived with his family at Hebron al-Khalīl [q. v.]. The Prophet granted the request, although Palestine was still under the Byzantines, and the grant was confirmed by a document which Tamīm produced at the Arab conquest of Palestine which secured him and the heirs of his brother Nuʿaim (Tamīm had only a daughter) the possession of the districts of Ḥabrūn (var. Ḥibrā), al-Marṭūm (var. Maṭlūn, Maiṭlūn, al-Ruṭūm, Marṭūn: perhaps the last is the correct form and in it should be recognised the word *al-marṭūl* = *μαρτύριον* with the usual substitution of *n* for *l* as in Djibrīl, Djibrīn etc.), Bait ʿAinūn and Bait Ibrāhīm; this estate remained in the family till quite a recent period and at the present day the keepers of the *ḥaram al-Khalīl* claim to be descended from Tamīm al-Dārī. The significance of this gift is a double one. In the first place it is evidence of the supernatural powers of the Prophet and on the other, it is the earliest reference to a regular grant of an *iḳṭāʿ*. The text of the deed which was drawn up by ʿAlī (although some sources say Muʿāwiya b Abī Ṣufyān) was handed down in two versions of which the first, the shorter one, only mentions Ḥibrā and ʿAinūn and is signed only by ʿAlī (Ibn Saʿd, I/ii. 21, 27—22, 3, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāḏj*, Būlāḳ 1302, p. 132), while the other, a longer one, begins with the formula. *hāḏhā mā antā* (var. *aḳṭaʿa*) *Muhammad* . , gives the four places mentioned above and is signed by the three first Caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿOmar and ʿUthmān, as witnesses It is the latter text which was in the possession of the Dārīyūn, who guarded it jealously and always produced it when threatened with spoliation by the local authorities. When Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmarī saw it on the occasion of a visit which he paid to the sanctuary of Hebron in 745 (*Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, Cairo 1342, i. 172—175), it was written on an old piece of skin which had been a part of one of ʿAlī's shoes, the letters, in old Cufic characters, which were almost entirely obliterated and only a few faint traces left, but a certificate (*shahāda*) of the Caliph al-Mustadī' (566—575) confirmed its authenticity and gave a copy of the text, the document was wrapped in a rich covering of silk and kept in an ebony casket Muḏjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaimī who saw the document about 150 years later (cf al-ʿUmarī, *al-Uns al-ḏjalīl*, Cairo 1283, p 428—429· the book was written in 900—901) gives practically the same information but the *shahāda* according to him was from the caliph al-Mustanḏjid (555—566) Later, under Ottoman rule, the Dārī Taḳī al-Dīn gave the document to Sultān Murād who put it in his library and as a reward gave the Taḳī al-Dīn a post as ḳādī in Cairo The Murād in question can only be Murād III (982—1003 = 1574—1595) or Murād IV (1032—1049 = 1623—1640) for the incident is recorded by one of the scholiasts of the *Kitāb al-Iṣhṭiḳāk* of Ibn Duraid (ed. Wustenfeld, p 226*b*), a certain Muḥammad b. ʿOmar who (p 211*b*) says he was a descendant of the historian Muḥibb al-Dīn b. al-Shiḥna (d 890 = 1485) (cf the preface, p. v.; Wüstenfeld is wrong in thinking he was his grandson) The longer version is also given in Yāḳūt, *Muʿḏjam al-Buldān*, ed Wüstenfeld, ii 195; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, Damascus 1331, iii. 344–357, who also gives the shorter version in the very full and detailed biography which he devotes to Tamīm on which al-Kalḳashandī relies entirely (*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā'*, Cairo 1337, xiii. 118—122).

The apocryphal character of the document scarcely needs to be proved (cf. Caetani, *Annali*

dell' Islām, II. 288—291 [9 A H, § 69, note 1, § 70, note 2]; Krenkow, *Islamica*, i [1925], 529—532). the existence of the two versions is sufficient to show that the text is a complete fabrication. But the fraud must be old; not only is the document given in Abū Yūsuf, al-Wākidī, Ibn al-Kalbī (cf. above) which takes us to the end of the second century A H. but we could take it back to the end of the first century if we can believe the anecdote recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed de Goeje, p 129, 13—14) from Ibn al-Kalbī (it is given also in the *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Escorial MS., f. 70 *a b*), according to which the Caliph Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik, when passing by the fiefs of the Dārīyūn was careful not to stop there "for fear of bringing God's curse upon him". This is clearly an allusion to the document, which in the shorter version threatens with the curse of God any one who in any way infringes the *kaṭīʿa* granted by the Prophet. Besides, there is another tradition according to which Muḥammad had only promised to Tamīm to grant his family the *kaṭīʿa* of Hebron and the document was only drawn up after the conquest in the name of Abū Bakr (Ibn Saʿd, I/II 75, following Ibn al-Kalbī. the story of course naturally passed into later writers) Although Wellhausen (*Skizzen u Vorarbeiten*, IV 126, note 1) considers this tradition to be a "spätere Korrektur", it seems on the contrary to be the older. It is easy to believe that the Muslims at their conquest of Palestine found the sanctuary of Abraham at Hebron occupied by a section of the Christian tribe of Lakhm, who perhaps exploited it by making charges to pilgrims who came to visit it; the *nisba* al-Dārī would not be an ethnic especially as, except for the family of Tamīm and other individuals mentioned in the story of the embassy to Muhammad, we have no knowledge of a tribe of al-Dār, it could very well refer to the Dār "the sanctuary" (on this meaning of the word *dār* cf the article ḲUṢAIY) These Lakhmids, converted to Islām, were probably able to keep the guardianship of the *haram Ibrāhīm*, which became sacred to the Muslims as it had previously been for Jews and Christians, and based their claim on an alleged grant made by Muhammad to their chief Tamīm whose fame was gradually extended until he was made one of the inspirers of the eschatological beliefs and liturgical institutions of the young faith of Islām It might even be asked if the traditions associated with the figure of Tamīm al-Dārī are based on any historical figure or if his personality is not completely legendary. Clermont-Ganneau in his article quoted above refers to his *Archaeological Researches*, II 463—464 (which are not accessible to me) for the "analogies which the grant of Hebron made to Tamīm al-Dārī presents with that of the same town made in similar conditions to the Caleb of the Bible". But the Calebites received Hebron (Joshua, xv 13; cf Judges, I 10) on the occasion of the general distribution of southern Palestine among the families of the tribe of Judah of which they were clients, there is then no analogy with the grant made to Tamīm in quite special circumstances.

Tradition knows practically nothing of the life of Tamīm after the death of Muḥammad· it only narrates that he left Madīna after the murder of ʿUthmān in 35 and that he returned to his native land where he died at the end of the caliphate of ʿAlī (40 A.H.).

Bibliography. Besides the sources and the authors quoted in the course of the article cf the biographies of the companions; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 441—442; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, I 408, 460; iii 13 note, 432, Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, x 544—546 (40 A.H, §§ 400—404).

(G LEVI DELLA VIDA)

TAMMŪZ, the tenth month in the Syriac calender. Its name is derived from that of the fourth Jewish month with which it roughly coincides It corresponds to July in the Roman calendar and like it has 31 days According to al-Bīrūnī, in Tammūz the lunar stations 8 and 9 rise and 22 and 23 set; the days on which one rose and the other, 14 days apart from it, set were the 10th and 23rd According to al-Ḳazwīnī on the other hand, stations 7 and 8 rise, 21 and 22 set, on the 4th and 17th respectively In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A. D.) according to al-Bīrūnī the stars of the stations mentioned by al-Kazwīnī rose and set on the 9th and 23rd.

Bibliography al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p 60, 70, 347—350 (in the English translation the pagination of the Arabic text is given at the side), al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed Wüstenfeld, I 44 *sq*, 49, 78 *sq* (German transl. Ethé, p 93 *sq*, 101 *sq*, 160 f.), Ginzel, *Handbuch d' meth u techn Chron*, i, 1906, p 263 *sqq*

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-**TANASĪ**, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B ʿABD AL-DJALĪL ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, Maghribī author of the xvth century, lived at the court of the Zaiyānid rulers of Tlemcen whose historiographer he became and died in Djumādā II 899 (Feb. 1494) Besides several small works now lost and *fatwās* given by al-Wansharīshī in his *Miʿyār*, we have from the pen of al-Tanasī a history of his patrons, *Naẓm al-Durr wa 'l-ʿIkyān fī Sharaf Banī Zaiyān*, ed. and partly transl by Bargès, *Histoire des Beni Zayan, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1852 and *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyan, rois de Tlemcen, ouvrage du cheîkh al-Tenesy*, Paris 1887. It is, in the fashion of the period, not only a chronicle but also an anthology of poetry, literature, moral sayings and anecdotes.

Bibliography. Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, p 353, Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1326 (1908), p 248 *sq*, Brockelmann, *G A L.*, II 241, Ben Cheneb, *Idjaza*, Paris 1907, p 154, § 105 (E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANĀSUKH, transmigration, metempsychosis, a belief widespread in India and among several sects of the Muslim world. Muhammadan authors who deal with it attribute it to the Indians rather than to the Pythagoreans

Shahrastānī in his article on the "people of metempsychosis" takes the word in a wide sense: to him it means the doctrine of the successive lives and rebirths of the world. The Indians, he says, are of all nations that which believes most in metempsychosis They tell the story of the phoenix and then say it is the same with the universe; after a certain number of revolutions, the celestial spheres, the stars, all come back to the same point and the life of the universe is repeated The length of this period of revolution is 30,000 years according to some and 360,000 according to others. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, I 163) also talks of this great revolution and gives the cycle a duration of 70,000 years: This idea was known

to the Greek astronomers who called it the "great year"

In another sense *tanāsukh* means the diffusion and distribution of the divine spirit among the beings of our world The Ghulāt, who were extreme Shīʿīs admitted, says Shahrastānī, *tanāsukh* and the descent or incarnation (*ḥulūl*) of all or part of the divine principle in certain men Belief in this kind of *tanāsukh* is found among many peoples, who received it from the Mazdakī Magi, Brahmans of Indian, philosophers and Sabaeans Hudjwīrī is acquainted with a sect of Ṣūfīs whom he calls Hulūlīs, they assert that there is only a single spirit, eternal and divine, which is diffused and passes into different bodies This view, says Hudjwīrī, is that of many Christians, although they do not confess it, of the generality of Indians, Tibetans, Chinese, and it is found among the Shīʿīs, Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīlīs There are four degrees of metempsychosis *naskh*, *maskh*, *faskh* and *raskh*

In the popular sense, of passing from one body to another, the belief in metempsychosis is held by several Shīʿī sects Among the Muʿtazilīs, according to Shahrastānī, the disciples of Ahmad b Hāʾit taught that God first created beings in a kind of Paradise; then those who were guilty of some disobedience were sent by Him into our world in the form of men or animals according to the gravity of their sins; they then migrate from form to form until the effects of their sins have ceased

The Ismāʿīlīs did not admit the passage of the soul into the bodies of animals; but they did admit successive lives in which the souls are active in the world of birth and death until they have recognised the *Imām*, they then rise to the world of light

The Nuṣairīs believe that the sinner of their religion will return to the world as a Jew, Sunnī Muslim or Christian, the infidels who have not known ʿAlī become camels, mules, asses, dogs or other similar animals There are seven degrees of metempsychosis, according to the Nusairīs, the faithful soul which has passed through the seven degrees rises into the stars from which in the beginning it had descended. Anz and Dussaud have connected this theory with the doctrine of the ascension of the soul through the seven heavens which originating on the Babylonian soil spread into Persian beliefs and then into those of the Neo-Platonists and the Gnostics The Druses have taken some of their popular beliefs from the Nusairīs, although their founder Hamza was opposed to them, they believe that the souls of the enemies of ʿAlī will enter the bodies of dogs, monkeys and swine. The Kurds and the Yazīdīs believe in transmigration into the bodies of men and animals and in successive existences separated by an interval of 72 years According to Saiyid Sharīf Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*) the *tanāsukh* is the passing of the soul to a new body without intervals on account of the inclination of the spirit for the body.

Al-Samaʿkandī quotes curious legends about *maskh* (a variant of *naskh*), according to which the monkey, the pig and other animals are descended from people who have been metamorphosed The star Suhail and the planet Zuhra (Venus) are in the same way said to have been a king and a princess punished by God for their crimes and placed — somewhat illogically — among the stars Finally we may mention the stories of metamorphosis found in the *1001 Nights* and other tales

Bibliography Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, London 1842, ii 297 and *passim*; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, transl. R A Nicholson, in *G. M. S*, Leyden and London 1911, p 260 *sqq.*, R Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Noṣairîs*, Paris 1900, p 120 *sqq*; W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* by v. Gebhardt und Harnack, xv, Leipzig 1897, St Guyard, *Un grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *J A*, Paris 1877 (tales), Shaikh Nasr b Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarḳandī, *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn*, Mecca 1300, p 240; J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1892, p. 87. (B. CARRA DE VAUX)

AL-TANĀWUTĪ, the *nisba* of many spiritual shaikhs of the Abādīs [q v]. To the fifth (eleventh) century belongs

Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Muhammad al-Tanāwutī who often appears in later tradition. His son Ismāʿīl but still more his grandson Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b Ismāʿīl had the reputation of being very devout and miraculously gifted The most important bearer of the name is the last-named's son·

Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwutī, fellow-pupil and friend of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Wārdjalanī. He came of a wealthy family and had an allowance of 1,000 dīnārs a year for his studies in Tunis, of which he gave half to his teachers His interest in learning, particularly in Arabic philology, was so keen that he did not even stop to read the letters that accompanied the paternal remittances When he opened them, as he was about to return home, he read in one of the death of his father and in another of the death of his mother. His principal teacher in theology was Abū Zakaīya Yahyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjalānī [q v] who also taught Abū Yaʿḳūb Abū ʿAmmār lived principally in Wargla (Wārdjalān). In the spring he roamed with his herds far to the south among the oases of Mzab His co-religionists revere him as one of the renewers of their religion (*muḥyī al-dīn*) On the question of the verdict on the Caliph ʿAlī, always a fundamental one with the Abādīs, he inclined to leniency On the other hand he shared the general bitterness of the Berbers against the immigrant Arab Beduins [cf HILĀL] He declared that the property they had acquired in the Maghrib was loot (*ghaṣb*) and, like his friend Abū Yaʿḳūb, he received a painful impression of the Beduins of the Ḥidjāz on a pilgrimage to Mecca so that their consciences troubled them as to whether they who in the Maghrib carefully avoided any, even business, intercourse with the Arabs, could purchase from them in the Ḥidjāz, they consoled themselves with the reflection that the Ḥidjāz had belonged to the Arabs from the very beginning — Among the writings of Abū ʿAmmār are noted *al-Mūdjiz fī Taḥṣīl al-Suʾāl*, a "Refutation of all enemies of truth", i. e one of those *farḳ* books in which the Abādīs used carefully to show that they were distinct from all other schools; also *Sharḥ al-Djahālāt*, but particularly the *Sīra* in which Masqueray recognised "le règle des clercs", a fundamental work for the spiritual organisation of the *ʿazzāb* leaders and their *ḥalḳa* disciples A long illness prevented

Abū ʿAmmār from ever answering a list of queries from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muhammad b. Ghālib b. Numair al-Ansārī regarding the Abāḍīs teaching regarding their differences from other sects A reply was only given after his and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's deaths by Abū Yaʿkūb al-Wārdjalānī and is contained in the latter's *Kitāb al-Dalīl*. According to this Abū ʿAmmāi died before 570 (1174). — His teaching was continued, notably by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b Muhammad al-Tanāwutī, the younger, whose name is identical with that of the individual first named in this article.

ʿAdl b. al-Luʾluʾ al-Tanāwutī, who lived for a time on the island of Djerba, is said to have been the first man in Wargla to be killed by the invading Arabs His brother was the father of Umm al-Muʾmin, a woman revered for her miracles As in the cases above named, the brothers Yahyā and Abu 'l-Rabīʿ Sulaimān b Aiyūb b Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAmr al-Tanāwutī are of interest to the biographers on account of their piety and miracles upon which they love to dilate.

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TANGA (or Tangča), the name of the small silver coin which formed the main currency of the Mongol world from the end of the viiith/xivth to the beginning of the xth/xvith century It varied in weight from 20 to 35 grains (1 3—1 95 grammes) and was struck by the later Ilkhāns, the Khāns of the Golden Horde, the earlier Khāns of the Crimea and the early Timūrids The Russians borrowed the denomination and the name in the form *denga* at the end of the xivth century from the Mongols dengas, latterly of copper, were struck in Russia down to the first half of the xviiith century The word *tanga* has survived in Central Asia as the name of a small silver coin of about 50 grains (3 25 grammes) which was struck till last century by the Shāhs of Persia, the Khāns of Khoḳand and the Emirs of Bukhārā Tanga is to be connected with the Turkī word *tamghā*, an official mark, a die (cf. SIKKA) and not with the Indian *tanka* [q v] (J Allan)

TANGIER, the ancient *Tingis*, Arabic Tandja (old ethnic Tandjī; modern ethnic Tandjāwī), a town in Morocco, situated on the Strait of Gibraltar, 7 miles to the east of Cape Spartel [q v] at the point where the Atlantic coast begins The town dominates a magnificent bay terminated on the East by Cape Malabata (Rās al-Manār) and on the West by the citadel (*ḳaṣba*) and it slopes, at times fairly steeply, towards the sea The town is divided into a number of quarters within the walls and others without The former, fourteen in number, form the town properly speaking (*Madīna*, popularly *Mdīna*). Amongst the principal extramural quarters are those of Sidi Bū-Ḳnādel (Saiyidī Abū Ḳanādīl), Marshān (a large plateau 1,300 yards long, situated to the West of the town along the sea), ed-Drādeb (al-Darādib, that is "the slopes"), Hasnūna, Sūḳ al-Barrā, Sfāṣef (al-Ṣafāṣif, "the poplars", or San Francisco), al-Mṣallā (al-Muṣallā), es-Suwānī (al-Suwānī, the norias) etc In the immediate vicinity of Tangier are the villages of Sharf and Tandja al-Bālīya, peopled by rustics of the tribe of Fahṣ of Tangier There are a comparatively small number of mosques in the town; there are seven Khuṭba mosques and six of less importance The chief one, which had been transformed into a church at the time of the Portuguese occupation was the object of several restorations after being won back for the faith in 1684. The town in the strict sense is surrounded by a rampart more than 2,000 yards in length, built in stone, which dates in large measure from the time of the Portuguese occupation (1471—1661); it was later restored at different times. Several gates are pierced in it, most of them are recent On either side of the rampart towers (*burdj*) are still standing; amongst them may be mentioned the *burdj al-naʿām*, Irish tower, the *burdj dār al-bārūd* (the York Castle of the English period), the *burdj al-salām*, with 29 bronze cannon of European origin The principal monument of the town is the Sharīfian palace, which is situated in the East part of the citadel. It is here that the government of the town has been located for several centuries. The English during their occupation called it the Upper Castle. The present palace was built on the ruins of this Upper Castle by the Pasha Ahmad b ʿAlī b ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsāmanī al-Rifī before the year 1743, in which he was killed in a battle near al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazar quivir, q. v)

Tangier has now a rather mixed population amounting to about 50,000 inhabitants of whom 30,000 are Muslims, 12,000 Jews and a European colony in which the Spanish element was the dominant one until quite recently From the nineteenth century, the town was the residence of the representatives of foreign countries at the court of the Sultāns of Morocco This role of diplomatic capital of the Sharifian Empire has given Tangier a character of its own It is now the capital of the international zone which bears its name, the status of this zone has been recently defined.

The most varied legends are told about the origin and foundation of Tangier There is not space to recall them here The site was known to and first inhabited by the Phoenicians, and after that by Punic colonists Tangier figures in the *Periplus* of Hanno (530 B C.). It seems that the town was the capital of different petty native kings of whom the chief one was Bokkus I (c 105 B C) In the reign of Bokkus III (in 38 B.C.) it was formed into a republic and was declared by Rome a free city until in the reign of Claudius (42 B.C) it was raised to the rank of *Colonia*, with the name of *Julia Traducta* and became the capital of the province of *Mauretania Tingitania*. In the year 291 at the time of the administrative reform of Diocletian, when Mauretania Tingitania was joined to the diocese of Baetica, Tangier became the residence of a *Comes*, and of a *Praeses* for civil administration. Tangier passed thereafter under Byzantine rule, but the residence of the representative of the Emperor of Constantinople was at Ceuta

It was at the beginning of the eighth century that Tangier became Muslim; it was captured by

the celebrated Mūsā b. Nuṣair, who entrusted its government to one of his lieutenants, Tārik̲ b Zīyād al-Laiṯī, who concentrated close to the town the forces which were to carry out from Ceuta the first Muslim landing in Spain in the year 711. During the period of the governors nominated by the Caliphs of the East, Tangier became the capital of Morocco as far as the Grand Atlas, whence the expression *al-Sūs al-Adnā*, in opposition to *al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā* [q. v.] The first governor who thus had Tangier as his residence was ʿUmar b ʿUbaid Allāh al-Murādī in the year 732 Soon afterwards, in the very suburbs of Tangier the revolt of Maisara broke out Maisara was a Berber who, under cover of the Kh̲āridj̲ī movement, desiring to rid Morocco of the Arab yoke, managed to win over to his cause a great number of followers and marched upon Tangier which he seized in the year 740 The troubles which he fomented lasted until 785

It is at Tangier that the historians make the fugitive Idrīs I, who was to become master of all the country, land on his arrival from the East Finding the position of this town not sufficiently central, he seems never to have thought of making it his capital and Tangier now lost its rank as the first town in Morocco, which it never regained It fell at the time of the Idrīsid partition of 829 to al-Ḳāsim, soon displaced by his brother ʿUmar, who died in 835. All the North-West of Morocco had passed into the hands of this prince, and his descendants kept it from father to son in an almost independent manner for more than a century It was not until 949, that Tangier was annexed to the possessions of the Umaiyad Caliphs of Spain who appointed a governor, charged at the same time with the administration of Morocco, which had been reduced to the state of a vassal province of Cordova It was thus that at the beginning of the xiᵗʰ century the Idrīsid ʿAlī b Ḥammūd was appointed governor of Tangier by the Caliph Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh, before fomenting the rebellion which brought him to the throne of Cordova in 1016. All the revolts at the end of the Umaiyad Caliphate thus had their repercussions on Tangier and also on the neighbouring Ceuta and the Berbers of the country, ever on the alert to what was taking place on the other side of the Strait, placed at their head two governors of the tribe of the Barg̲hawāta [q v.], Rizḳ Allāh at Tangier and Suḳḳūt at Ceuta, under the quite nominal suzerainty of the Hammūdids of Spain

Tangier was taken by the Almoravids in the year 470 (1077) It was there that the celebrated al-Muʿtamid [q. v] disembarked in the year 1090. He was the last ʿAbbādid of Seville, and had been exiled to Morocco by Yūsuf b Tāsh̲fīn On the fall of the Almoravid dynasty the town passed at once under the Almohad domination The first Caliph, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b ʿAlī [q. v], seized it in the year 542 (1147) During the whole of the period of the dynasty it remained a flourishing town, and a port which was much frequented on account of its proximity to Spain.

Tangier, like the rest of North-West Morocco, did not at once recognize the new Marīnid dynasty, on the fall of the Almohad dynasty. While Ceuta passed under the rule of the local princes of the family of the Banu 'l-ʿAzafī, Tangier took as its chief Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Amīr al-Ḥamdānī who was killed in the year 665 (1266—1267) after having declared himself first the vassal of the Ḥafṣids of Ifrik̲iya, then of the ʿAbbāsids of the East. In 672 (1274) Tangier was taken by assault by the Marīnid Sultān Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ after a three months' siege. During the following century the town passed once more through an obscure period, and became involved in different rebellions, which mark the last period of the Marīnid Empire.

It was in the first half of the xvᵗʰ century that Tangier attracted, for the first time since its conversion to Islām, the covetousness of the Christian states of Europe The Portuguese, masters of Ceuta since 1415, attempted by land to seize Tangier in 841 (1437) But this attempt remained without result as did those of 1458 and 1464 Finally they occupied the town on the 28ᵗʰ August 1471, during the reign of Alphonso V

The occupation of Tangier by the Portuguese extended from 1471 to 1661, almost two centuries. Like the other Portuguese possessions in Morocco, Tangier passed nominally to Spain in 1581 under Philip II after the union of Portugal to the crown of Spain but it kept its own administration and its Portuguese garrison This state of affairs lasted until 1643 After a revolution, Tangier again accepted the authority of the new Portuguese sovereign of the House of Braganza John IV.

In the year 1661, Tangier passed from the hands of the Portuguese into those of the English on the occasion of the marriage of Charles II to the Infanta Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese possession being part of the dowry of the princess. An English squadron, commanded by the Lord Sandwich, came to take possession of the town and a garrison disembarked there at the end of November of the same year while the garrison and almost all the Portuguese population returned to their native land.

Before the passage of the town of Tangier to the Crown of England, the Portuguese had only been able to maintain themselves in the place with difficulties of all kinds Numerous skirmishes with *Mud̲j̲āhidūn*, under the stimulus of a leader of a holy war, a member of the tribe of the Banū Gurfat, al-Kh̲adir (the Moroccan form of al-Kh̲idr) Gh̲ailān b ʿAlī, had harassed them without cessation on the outskirts of the town, and they were almost forced on many occasions to abandon their possession of it It continued to be the same under English rule The governor, the Earl of Peterborough, tried at first to conclude a truce with the *Mud̲j̲āhidūn* by paying a sum of money but this truce was only respected during the years 1663—1664, after a check that the Muslims had suffered under the rampaits of the town Hereafter the pact was broken and on the 3ʳᵈ of May 1664, the new governor, the Earl of Teviot, fell into an ambuscade near Tangier and was killed with more than 400 of his soldiers

The English, however, managed later to win over to their cause the chief Gh̲ailān, who had set up as a pretender against the new ʿAlawid Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Rash̲īd [q. v]. An alliance was signed in 1666 between him and the governor Baron Bellasyse, but after being held in check by the troops of al-Rash̲īd, Gh̲ailān was forced to cease all activity in the north of Morocco Up to the death of this chief in 1673, the English enjoyed a respite in Tangier and they made use of it to carry out a great scheme of fortification and the con-

struction of a mole. But the expense which these works necessitated along with other causes helped to make the occupation of Tangier very unpopular in England. Thus it was under very favourable conditions that the ʿAlawid Sulṭān Mawlāy Ismāʿīl decided to lay siege to the town. This siege lasted not less than six years An army was gathered together to blockade Tangier and the attacks on the advanced position of the system of defences were successful from the year 1678 As the siege became more and more severe, the English decided to evacuate the town after blowing up the mole and the most important fortifications. On February 6th, 1684 the garrison and the English population embarked with the last governor, Lord Dartmouth, and Tangier became once more a Muslim town

The Moroccan governor, who was appointed to the command of Tangier, named Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī b ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsāmānī al-Rīfī, at once proceeded to rebuild the town which had been left in ruins by the English He, and after him his son, became sufficiently powerful throughout the district to be able soon to withstand Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, the successor of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, and to give an asylum to the pretenders to the dynasty In later times also, the governors of Tangier who nearly all belonged to the same family had no hesitation in occasionally throwing off the authority of the sultāns. The history of the relations of these governors with the makhzen is the history of Tangier until the xixth century

On August 6th, 1844 Tangier was bombarded by a French squadron under the command of the Prince de Joinville Eight days afterwards the Moroccan forces were routed at the battle of Isly.

It is unnecessary to quote here the successive agreements come to between the European powers and Morocco which ended in the elaboration and adoption of the statute under which Tangier and its zone are at present ruled, along with the zone of Spanish influence and the zone of French influence in Morocco A railway from Tangier to Fās and to Rabāt has been open since the year 1927.

Bibliography A good monograph on Tangier with documents, statistics, illustrations and maps has been published under the title of "*Tanger et sa zone*" being volume vii. of the collection "*Villes et tribus du Maroc*", Documents et renseignements publiés par la Section Sociologique de la Résidence Générale de la République Française au Maroc, Paris 1921 The "*Archives Marocaines*", Paris 1904—1920 also contain a number of documents on Tangier For the Portuguese occupation the principal contemporary source is the "*Historia de Tangere*" of D. Fernando de Menezes, Lisbon 1732 Tangier has been the subject of many descriptions by travellers (chiefly English) in the xixth century. A list of them can be found in Playfair's *Bibliography of Morocco*, London 1892 In conclusion, the Arabic dialect spoken by the citizens of Tangier has been the subject of a masterly study by William Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, based on the works of Lüderitz, Meissner, Blanc, Marchand and Kampffmeyer These texts besides their linguistic interest contain valuable information about society and native life in Tangier.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TANKA, (Sanskrit *ṭaṅka*, a weight of silver = 4 māsas)· an Indian coin. When Maḥmūd Ghazna conquered northwestern India and struc bilingual coins for the convenience of his Hinc subjects, taṅka was used in the Nāgarī legend the translation of *dirham* in the Arabic legen Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, Sulṭān of Dehlī (1210-1235 = 607—633) introduced a heavy silver co of 175 grains (= 11 3 grammes) and gave it tl name of tanka (although *tola* would have bee more accurate), a gold tanka of the same weig was first introduced by Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmū (1246—1265 = 646—664). These two coins we henceforth to be the standard coins of India Tl gold tanka was last struck by Muʿizz al-Dīn M bārak (1421—1433 = 824—837) except for a fe rare pieces of the Sūrīs The coin itself was aga struck by Akbar but was now known as tl *muhr* [q. v.] The silver tanka became gradual debased after the reign of Muhammad b. Tughla being practically copper ("black tanka") und the Lōdīs. In the great reform of the coinage b Sher Shāh (1539—1545 = 946—952) it was r stored to its original fineness and weight but w now called the rupee (*rūpiya*) As the rupee, tl denomination was taken over by Akbar and h continued the monetary unit of India to the pr sent day Akbar transferred the name tanka copper coinage, his tanka was a piece of 2 dān (640 grains = 41.5 grammes), he also struck copper coin called the *tankī* which was $^1/_{10}$ of tanka (64 grains = 4 15 grammes)

Silver and more rarely gold tankas were al the currency of the various contemporaries of th Sultāns of Dehlī, in Bengal, Gudjarat, Malwa an the Deccan. The word still survives in Benga in the form *ṭakā* and is the regular Bengalī wor for the rupee; in Southern India the name still in use on the Portuguese coins of Goa whe it is the equivalent of anna.

Bibliography. E. Thomas, *Chronicles the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, London 1871; Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins of the Sultan of Dehli in the British Museum*, London 188 p xix—xxvii. (J ALLAN)

TAÑRÎ (T), Heaven; God. In the easter dialects the vocalisation is usually palatal Čaghatā *tangri* (written تبنكرى) and similar forms in th other dialects. The trisyllabic forms in Telet (*tañara*) and in the Altai dialect (*tañarï*) ar worthy of note, the Kasan dialect has alongsid of *tangri* (god) a word *tari* = image of a sain ikon (we may here mention the proper nam *Tari-birdi*, where *tari* of course means God). Ott man Turkish has a non-palatal vocalisation (*tañr* as has Yakutic which has also in addition a trisy labic form (*tañara*).

For the lexicographical material cf. Pavet d Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, s v.; W Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches der Turk dialekte*, iii. 823, 1043 *sq.*, 1047 *sq.*, 1065; C Bohtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten*: *Jakutisch deutsches Worterbuch*, p. 90; H. Vámbéry, *Ety mologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarische Sprachen*, p. 168 *sq* , and lastly al-Kāshghar (*Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, Constantinople 1333-1335, iii. 278 *sq.*), who says: "*tangri* means God the infidels however call heaven *tängri* and like wise everything that impresses them, e. g. a hig mountain or a large tree. They worship such thing

and they call a wise man *tängrikan*". This word *täŋgrikän* appears also as an old Turkī title (cf Radloff, *Worterbuch*, iii. 1048; F W K Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 47: *täŋgrikän* = ruler). With the meaning "God" (in the Manichaean system) we find *tangrikàn* for example in the Manichaean confession of sins (*Chuastuanift*, ed. A. von le Coq, 1911, p. 10). The word *tangrim* (i e. *täŋgri* with the pronominal suffix of the first person) seems to be used in the Turfan texts in the titles of princesses or queens (cf F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, p. 48, who compares the modern usage of *khanîm* and *bēgam*). We may here give a few derivatives of *tangri tangrili* (in the Manichaean confession of sins, cf. *J R A.S*, 1912, p 289, 299) = preacher, chosen one (lit. man of God), Kuman, *teñrilik* = "divine"; Uigur, *tengrilik* = "pious". The Mongol *tagri* (God) is a loanword from the Turkish (for this form cf. *Bibl Buddhica*, xii. 51).

The etymologies proposed for the Turkish word (e. g. by Vámbery and Barbier de Meynard, s v.) are of no value. In most modern Central Asian dialects of Turkish *tangri* has the two meanings "God" and "Heaven"; in Ottoman Turkish on the other hand the (rather obsolete) word has apparently only the meaning "God" For idiomatic combinations of *tañri*, e g. *tañri dewedjeyi* = thousand-footed, cf the Dictionaries of Radloff and Barbier de Meynard (s v).

To define the conceptions implied by the word *tangri* so far as the beliefs of Turkish paganism is concerned, it will be advisable to deal first with the old Turkish inscriptions and then with the material collected in modern times from Teleut and Altai shamanism

In the inscriptions *tañri* almost always appears as a divine power it is by his will that the king attains to power; the king himself is "like tänri" and "born of tañri" (*täñritag tañrida bolmîsh*) and installed by *tañrî* (*tañri yaratmîsh*). Täñri protects the Turkish people, secures their continuance as a nation and gives the Turkish chiefs victory over their foes: in this quality of special protector of the Turks he is described as *Turk täñrisi* Alongside of the God of Heaven we find a certain power over the fate of the people and the individual conceded to the spirits of earth and water (*yir-sub*); the highest deity however is *Tañri*.

There are however some passages where the term *täñri* does not imply any real personality. The "blue heaven above" (*ozâ kok tañri*) is created like the "dark earth below" (*asra yaghiz yir*) and mankind. Who created them is not stated An important passage (V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 112) records that a rising of the Oghuz took place "because heaven and earth were in confusion". Here we have clearly the influence of Chinese ideas of the nature of the universe, the theory which de Groot called "Universismus". This need not surprise us because the Turkish chiefs who had the Orkhon inscriptions prepared lived within the area of Chinese cultural influences.

On the conception of *täñri* in modern Turkish shamanism (i. e. mainly among the Teleut and Altai Turks) cf H. Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, 1879, p. 150 *sqq.*; W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 1884, ii. 1 *sqq.* and the texts collected by Radloff in the first volume of his *Proben der Volksliteratur der turkischen Stämme Sud-Sibiriens*. This paganism as might be expected, did not remain entirely free from foreign, e g Christian and Buddhist influences, when, for example, in a shaman's conjuration we find the expressions *Pyrkan Tengre* and *Pyrkan Kan* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 33, 44), it is natural to recognise in *Pyrkan* the Mongol (also old Turkish) word *Burkhan* = Buddha. That the pagan Turkish creation myth shows traces of Jewish, Christian and Buddhist influences was noted by Radloff himself (*op. cit.*, ii 5 *sq.*) When it is said that the evil spirit Erlik created a heaven for himself, like the god of heaven, one is tempted to think of Zoroastrian influence (the "counter-creations" of Ahriman).

According to Turkish shamanism the most powerful god, Tengere Kaira Kan, created the heavens and also the evil spirit Erlik, the good spirits, mankind and the earth. The form *tengere* (following the orthography in Radloff) corresponds to the Teleut *Tandra* and Altai *Tanära*. Kaira Kan must be identical with the Altai *Kairakkan* (cf Radloff, *Worterbuch*, ii. 22), a word used to describe gods and spirits; Tengere Kaira Kan is therefore the "god of heaven".

There are seventeen different regions in heaven arranged in succession one above the other, there the good spirits live The highest of these minor deities are Bai Ülgon, Kysagan Tengere and Mergen Tengere The gods of heaven are not directly appealed to like the spirits of earth and of water but through the intermediary of the spirits of ancestors, i e. a shaman (*kam*) is required for the purpose. In a Teleut shaman's prayer (Radloff, *Volksliteratur*, i. 238) the heavens above are appealed to as the Creator. In an Altaic myth (Radloff, *ibid*, i. 61 *sqq.*) a hero seeks the hand of the daughter of the god of heaven, Taman Öko.

When it is said of the thunderstorm in the dialect of Kasan "The old man of the heavens (*tañri babai*) is thundering", this is a relic of old pagan ideas (cf. Radloff, *Worterbuch*, ii. 1425; iii 1047, iv. 1564).

Speaking generally one may say that, apart from foreign influences, so far as they can be eliminated, in the Turkish conception Täñri is regarded as the heavens as an element and also as the spirit ruling in heaven. This spirit was probably originally conceived as a kind of force, a something which would be called *mana* in modern ethnology. The conception of a personal god of heaven must have developed out of this.

When Turkish tribes took over other religions the word *tangri* became the name for the god or higher beings of these religions The meaning "heaven" was naturally driven into the background To convey the conception of heaven the word *kok* (Ottoman *gok*) was used, which is originally the name of a colour (cf. Radloff, *Worterbuch*, ii. 1220). In old Turkish we also find *kok kalik*, the blue ether (*Uigurica*, p. 8, 18; Radloff, *Worterbuch*, ii. 240).

In Buddhist old Turkish texts *tangri* corresponds to the Sanskrit *deva* "god"; in Buddhist mythology, a conception which is better conveyed by the word "angel" because this being lacks several qualities which to us are necessarily associated with the idea of "god". The feminine equivalent *devī* is given by *tängri khatun*; *tängri kiz* is Turkish for *devakanyā* (divine maiden, apsaras). The king of the gods (*devarādja*) Indra

is *tangrilar ilıkı Khormuzda*; Brahmā is called *Azrua tängri* These beings have thus Iranian names, Ōhrmazd and (perhaps) Zarwān The goddess Çrī is called *Kut Tängri Khatunî* or (without *Khatun*) *Kut Tangrisi*. The name *Kut Tängrisi* seems also to be given to Kubera (e. g. Muller, *Uigurica*, p. 45) In a collection of dhāraṇīs for travellers, the *Ṭıšastvustık* (ed. by W. Radloff and A. v. Stael-Holstein, St. Petersburg 1910 = *Bibl Buddhica*, xii), we find a *deva* named *Tangrıdäm*, whom Radloff takes for Kubera so that the latter has therefore another Turkish name But this is doubtful, for in one passage (p 22) of this work, Kubera (*Kupıri*) is mentioned by name and *Tangrıdam* is mentioned soon after as a different deity, but it must be allowed that in the text there are elsewhere illogicalities (cf. e. g. Turkish text, p 23 *sq.*) For Kubera in this work cf also p 97, note 2, Buddha himself is often called *Tangrı Tangrisi*. The god of heaven (*devaloka*) is called in Turkish *Tangrı Yır* and the *Vaimānika* gods, as a rule peculiar to Jaina mythology, but also found e g in the *Ṭıšastvastıle*, are called *Waimanuki-tängrılar*

The Manichaean Turkish terminology which is influenced by Buddhist (cf *Chuastuanift*, ed A. v. Le Coq, Berlin 1911, p. 5; *J. R. A S*, 1911, p. 278) shows the word in the following use Tängri corresponds here to the Iranian *Yazd* (or *Bag*); in the first place this means the highest principle of the Manichaean system and secondly the subordinate spirits of light or gods (*yaruk tangrılar*) in contrast to the demons (*yaklar*). The first man is called *bish tangrı*, five-god (from his five components known from the Manichaean myth ether, wind, light, water and fire). The name *tangri* is also given to the five elements, e. g *oot tangrı* = god of fire Tängri is found with the meaning "heaven" (e g. *Chuastuanift*, p 16 = *J R A S*, 1911, p. 291, l. 167) Paradise is called *Tangrı Yır* This Manichaean terminology corresponds pretty well to the Buddhist One or two peculiarities may still be pointed out the occurrence of the already mentioned term, *tängrıkan* (*Chuastuanift*, p 10, *J. R A S*, 1911, p. 281, l. 22), in the name of a deity (*Azrua Tangrıkan*) translated by von le Coq (*J R A S*, *loc. cit*) "Azrua the Lord" and the peculiar combination *Arkhon Yir Tangri*, the "archon earth-god", in which perhaps the word *tangrı* is used for one of the powers of darkness (cf *J. R A. S*, 1911, p. 303, note 31).

In Christian Turkish usage is *Tangri* = God; *Tängrı-Oghlî* = "Son of God" and *Mshikha Tangrı* = the God Messiah. In the Christian fragments published by F. W. K Muller in *Uigurica* we also have the word *Tangrıdam*, which we frequently find in Buddhist Turkish; it occurs twice in these Christian texts and seems here to mean simply "God". The Kuman usage gives nothing worthy of special remark.

As regards the earlier Muslim Eastern Turkish texts, the Arabic and Persian terms (*Allāh*, *Khudā*) naturally begin to compete with the Turkish *Tangrı*. In the *Kudatku Bilik*, so far as I am aware the Arabic name for God is of rare occurrence (practically only in Arabic quotations). The conception of God is however not exclusively conveyed by Tangrı in this text but other Turkish words e. g. *Bayat* are used The word *Tängri* occurs here also with the addition of *taʿālā*. In the *Bābar-nāma* Tangrı seems to be the usual word for the Deity, except in quotations; here also, following the Arabic usage, we sometimes find *Tängri taʿālā* (e. g p. 408, ed. Ilminsky). That the word *Tangri* is disappearing in Eastern Turkish also before Arabic and Persian terms is perhaps to be deduced from Shaw's remark (*A Sketch of the Turkish Language*, ii. 69).

Proper names like *Tangribirdi*, *Tangrikulî* may be modelled on Persian names like *Khudādāa* and *Khadābanda*. (V. F. Büchner).

TĀNSĪN, of whom Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl said: "A singer like him has not been in India for a thousand years", was a native of Gwāliyār, and was at first in the service of Rām Čand the Baghela, Rādjā of Pannā, who is said to have given him on one occasion ten million *tankas*. Ibrāhīm Sūr vainly endeavoured to entice him to Āgra, but Akbar, in 1562, sent a mission to Rām Čand at Kālindjar to induce Tānsīn to come to his court, and Rām Čand, not daring to refuse the request, sent him with his musical instruments and many presents to the imperial court On the first occasion of his performing there Akbar gave him 200,000 rupees Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are still popular in Hindūstān He had two sons, Tāntarang Khān, also a singer at Akbar's court, and Bilās, whose son-in-law, Lāl Khān, was one of the best singers at the court of Shāh Djahān. Gwāliyār was famous for its musicians, and produced no fewer than eleven of the eighteen singers at Akbar's court

Bibliography Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, text and translation by H Beveridge; *Āʾin-i Akbarī*, text and translation by Blochmann and Jarrett; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-nāma*, text; all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(T W Haig)

ṬANṬĀ, an important town in the Egyptian Delta between the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, capital of the Gharbīya province, and a busy railway junction, of unprepossessing appearance, about 75 miles from Alexandria. Its Coptic name of ⲦⲀⲚⲦⲀⲰ has assumed in Arabic the forms Tandiṭā, Ṭantā and Ṭanṭā. Formerly it was an episcopal city. Nowadays the place is famous for the tomb and mosque of the most celebrated of the Muslim saints in Egypt, Ahmad al-Badawī [q. v] Throughout the year no fewer than three *Mawālid* or birthdays of this Saint are made the occasion of great fairs to which pilgrims flock from all parts The presence of a large native population and the extreme veneration with which the spot is regarded have made it a centre of fanaticism. Tanṭā is one of those places where the worship of a Muslim Saint had displaced that of an earlier Coptic one.

The present town is built on one of those numerous mounds of accumulated mud-hut débris so characteristic a feature of the Egyptian landscape The Aḥmadīya mosque, which was rebuilt under ʿAbbās I, is the principal building of any historic importance. It is now the second largest religious establishment in the country. A library, begun in 1898, contains about 9,000 volumes including over 1,000 MSS. The number of professors attached to the Ṭanṭā institute is over 100; the

students numbering about 2,600. Besides large Government Schools, there is a well-equipped American Mission Hospital. But the health of the people is not improved by the existence of an evil-smelling, muddy canal flowing through the town.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djī'an, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya*, p. 85; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, v 94, also 82; Ibn Hawḳal, *B G A*, ii. 92; E L Butcher, *The Church of Egypt*, i. 269; van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 684, Amélineau, *Geographie de l'Égypte*, p. 480; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i. 356 *sqq*; Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p 517; Baedeker, *Egypt*, index; *Egyptian Government Almanac*; *Moslem World*, July 1917, Jan 1914; Napoleon, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed Panckoucke, xv. 215 *sqq*; Blanchard, in *Harvard African Studies*, 1917, i. — Other references will be found under AḤMAD AL-BADAWĪ

(J WALKER)

AL-ṬANṬĀWĪ, MUḤAMMAD 'AIYĀD (with his full name: AL-SHAIḴH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'D B. SULAIMĀN 'AIYĀD AL-MARḤŪMĪ AL-TANDITĀ'Ī AL-SHĀFI'Ī), an Arabic scholar of the xixth century, born in 1225 (1810) at Nidjrīd (a small village near Ṭanṭā in Egypt), died Oct 29, 1861 in St. Peterburg His father, a travelling merchant, was born in Maḥallat Marḥūm, hence his *nisba al-Marḥūmī* At the age of six he went to a *maktab* in Tantā At 13, he moved to his uncle in Cairo and studied at al-Azhar Of his teachers the celebrated Ibrāhīm al-Bādjurī (d. c. 1276; Brockelmann, *G. A L*, ii 487) had a particular influence on him (see the ode dedicated by Tantāwī to him, *Z. D M G.*, iv 245—246) He also studied with the poet Hasan al-'Attār (d c 1250; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, ii 473, N⁰ 1) Many of his fellow-students later became famous. His friend Rifā'a al-Tantāwī (Brockelmann, ii 481, N⁰ 6) sent to Paris as Imām of the first scientific mission (1825–1831) by Muhammad 'Alī was one of the founders of the new literary movement Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī (1811—1883) was Lane's first tutor (Brockelmann, ii 478, N⁰. 4) After his father's death in 1243 (1827) al-Tanṭāwī had to stay two years in Tantā, where he continued his studies and gave lectures Returning to Cairo he joined the teaching staff of the Azhar mosque; here he was one of the first to discuss literary and poetical texts. He had been a teacher for a time in an English school F. Fresnel was the first to make his fame known in Europe (cf *J A*, 3rd Ser., v., 1828, p 60 *sq.*) Many young scholars after him studied with al-Ṭanṭāwī (G. Weil, Dr. Pruner, A. Perron, R. Frahn, son of the founder and first director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg). The latter brought his reputation to Russia and in 1840 (1256) al-Ṭanṭāwī was summoned to St Petersburg as teacher of Arabic in the "Institut des Langues Orientales". In 1848 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor in the University and in 1854 ordinary His teaching had hardly any permanent influence in Russia; his method was not adapted to the European University system. Of his pupils (1840–1842) the most noted was the Finn G. A Wallin (1811—1852), the noted Arabian traveller, afterwards Professor in Helsingfors, who corresponded with him regularly till his death (see K. Tallquist, *Bref och Dagboksanteckningar af G. A. Wallin*, Helsingfors 1905). A severe illness forced al-Ṭanṭāwī to go on leave in 1861 and in the same year he died. His tomb with inscriptions in Russian and Arabic still exists in the Tatar cemetery in Leningrad

His literary activity before he moved to St. Petersburg was almost exclusively confined to the old fashioned scholarship. He composed many *nazm*, *sharḥ*, *ḥāshiya* and *khatm* which exist in MS. in Cairo and Leningrad (University Library). Among his original productions of the same kind were his *Ladhīdh al-Ṭarab fī Nazm Buḥūr al-'Arab* (in private hands in Cairo) and his *Urdjūza* with his own commentary, *Mushtaha 'l-Albāb 'alā Muntaha 'l-Ārāb fī 'Ulūm al-Irth wa 'l-Diabr wa 'l-Ḥisāb* (Leningrad, MS. Or., 820). To the Russian period belongs his useful *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, Leipzig 1848, which, besides the exercises, contains many letters and verses from his own pen (cf Fleischer's observations, *Z. D. M G.*, i., 1847, p. 212—213, iii, 1849, p. 474—475). His acquaintance with European literature and his command of French enabled him to make interesting critical observations (cf. *J.A.*, 4rd Ser., ix., 1847, p 351—354; *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, i., 1851, p 474—495, ii, 1855, p. 466—486). Many articles in Arabic from his pen are in the manuscripts left by him (e g on the Egyptian festivals, MS Or, 838, ff 50—60, a collection of stories and anecdotes in the popular Arabic of Egypt, MS Or., 745; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1926, p. 23–26, an Arabic translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* begun by him, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, p 102 *sqq*); an autograph copy of his work *Tuḥfat al-Adhkiyā' bi-Akhbār Bilād Rūsiyā* of 1266 (1850) has been found in Constantinople (see Rescher, *Z S.*, iii., 1924, p 252; *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1927, p 181 *sqq*)

His inestimable claim to fame is his large collection of manuscripts (c 150) which passed after his death to the University Library (cf C Salemann and V. Rosen, *Indices alphabetici codicum manuscriptorum persicorum turcicorum arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca Imperialis Litterarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur*, St. Petersburg 1888) Many manuscripts were copied or collated and corrected by him (cf. *Zapiski*, vi 384—388). The collection contains few old manuscripts but has many unique and valuable copies, almost all from Egypt (s e. g *Zapiski*, xxii 283 *sqq*; *Zapiski*², i. 291 *sqq.*, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1924, p. 101 *sq*)

Bibliography al-Ṭanṭāwī's autobiography (to his settlement in Russia) was published by Kosegarten with a German translation, *W.Z.K. M*, viii., 1850, p 43—63, 197—200; important corrections to it are given by G. Gottwaldt, in *Z.D.M G*, iv., 1850, p. 243—248. The European articles are too scanty and inaccurate (Brockelmann, *G.A L*, ii 479; Huart, *Littérature arabe*², p. 420; Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, ii. 59), more important are the recent Arabic biographies by Aḥmad Tīmūr, in *Madjallat al-Madjma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī*, iv, 1924, p. 388—391 (corrections by Ign. Kratschkovsky, *ibid.*, iv. 562—564) and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, in *al-Zahrā*, i, 1343, p. 417—428 (with picture), p. 554 — A description of his manuscripts in Leningrad and his biography is being prepared by Ign Kratschkovsky. (IGN. KRATSCHKOVSKY)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-MUḤASSIN, an Arab writer, was born in 939 or (according to Yāḳūt) in 940—941 A. D., the son of a learned ḳāḍī in Baṣra, and received his early education

there, from al-Ṣūlī [q. v] and Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.] and others He chose a judicial career and rose to be ḳāḍī, first in Baghdād and then in Ahwāz; as a result of a change in the vizierate in Baghdād his office was taken from him in 969—970 and his property confiscated. He was not allowed to follow his profession for three years. During this period he seems to have lived mainly in Baghdād but also made a journey to Egypt Then he was restored to office but fell into disfavour with the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [q. v] (981—982) and is even said to have spent some time in prison because he had poured contempt on al-Shāfiʿī and his followers. He suffered many more hardships and much persecution before he died in Baghdād in 994.

The following are given as Tanūkhī's works A Dīwān which no longer survives, and three collections of anecdotes. *Kitāb Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara wa-Akhbār al-Mudhākara*, *al-Mustaṭrāf min Faʿalāt al-Aḍwād* and, by far his best known book, *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda* (not composed before 984). This is a collection of proverbs, anecdotes and sayings on the theme "joy follows sorrow" Madāʾinī [q. v] a century and a half before had written a work similar in title and substance and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and the ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Husain after him had published similar collections. Tanūkhī used these works and other literary sources but also drew upon oral traditions for his new compilation. He owed many a story to his father and his teachers, and was also able to draw upon his own experiences, but the bulk of the contributions not taken from literary sources were given him by secretaries and judges The work begins with a brief introduction dealing with literary history in which Tanūkhī discusses critically the works of his predecessors. Then come the separate stories, most of which are introduced by a brief reference to their sources, divided into 14 chapters from the point of view of matter or form. While Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā's work was intended to be edifying in tone, Tanūkhī's collection was lighter and wittier It found a wide welcome, was much read and copied and in later times played a part in Persian, Turkish and Jewish literature.

Bibliography A. Wiener, *Die Faraǧ baʿd aš-Šidda-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, iv, 1913, p 270—298, 387—420, esp. 393—413 (full bibliography. p 393, note 2 and p 398, note 1; also Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vol vi, p. 251—267); *al-Faraj baʿd al-Shidda*, 2 parts, Cairo 1903—1904 (R. PARET)

TANZĪL. [See WAḤY.]

TANẒĪMĀT, or rather TANẒĪMĀT-I KHAIRĪYE ("beneficent legislation" from the expression *ḳānūn tanẓīm etmek* = "to draft a law") is the term used to denote the reforms introduced into the government and administration of the Ottoman empire from the beginning of the reign of Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Maǧīd and inaugurated by the charter generally called the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gulkhāne. The expression *tanẓīmāt khairīye* is first found in the latter years of the reign of Maḥmūd II. The other end of the period of the *tanẓīmāt* is put about 1880, when the absolute rule of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II began.

The *tanẓīmāt* are the continuation of the work of Sulṭāns Selīm III and Maḥmūd II, undertaken to save the Ottoman state which had become enfeebled internally and externally. Maḥmūd II had succeeded, by getting rid of the feudal system at home and the reactionary element of the janissaries, in centralising and consolidating his power in home affairs but he had been unable to avoid the loss of Greece and Egypt. His work however was not yet constructive This was reserved for his successors or rather for the great statesmen of his successors, for, since the sulṭāns themselves proved incapable of directing the reforms, the task of carrying them through became more and more the work of a reform party among the Turkish officials themselves. In the period from 1839 to the end of the Crimean War, the soul of the reforms was Mustafā Rashīd Pasha (*q. v*, d. 1858), who was six times grand vizier; in the second period inaugurated by the charter called *khaṭṭ-i humāyūn* from Feb 1856 the activities of the reformers were directed by ʿAlī Pasha (*q.v.*, d. in 1871) and Fuʾād Pasha (*q v*, d 1869); the great figure in the third period (from 1871) was Midhat Pasha (*q v*, d. 1883).

The *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of Gülkhāne was not distinguished by any new ideas, in it the Sulṭān announced that henceforth he wished the honour and property of all his subjects to be secure, that the farming out of the taxes (*iltizām*) should be abolished and that recruiting for the army should be done in a more regular fashion; all criminals were to be tried in public and it was expressly laid down that all subjects, to whatever religion they belonged (*ehl-i islām we-milel-i sāʾire*) should be equal before the law, without exception. To draw up the necessary legal enactments, the council of reform already in existence (*meǧlis-i aḥkām-i ʿadlīye*) was to be increased by a certain number of members Although, in the preamble to the document, it was said that the former prosperity of the Ottoman state was due to respect for the Ḳurʾān, at the end it is stated that the new measures mean a complete change in ancient principles (*uṣūl-i ʿatīḳa*) In fact the aim of Rashīd Pasha in drawing up the *khaṭṭ* had been as much to give satisfaction to the European powers, whose intervention in the domestic affairs of Turkey had become more and more serious (solution of the Greek crisis. agreement with Muḥammad ʿAlī), as to re-establish confidence in the home government For the moment this double aim was achieved But as soon as the attempt was made to carry out the reforms, numerous difficulties were met with. This was in the nature of things. The new institutions were based on the administrative systems of European states, notably France, and in introducing them problems and distinctions were created in the state which, under the old system, had never presented themselves in so threatening a form. Four groups of interests had to be dealt with: 1. the civilian officials and military officers who in the old order had been the slaves of the Sulṭān; 2 the free Muslim subjects of whom the *ʿulamāʾ* were the most notable section; 3. the non-Muslim subjects, the rayas (*raʿīya*) and 4. the foreign interests. The consolidation of the first two groups offered least difficulty; religion united them and Maḥmūd II and ʿAbd al-Maǧīd had renounced their rights as sovereign over the lives and property of the officials; the ending of the feudal system by Maḥmūd II had also been favourable to the combination of the Muslim elements. But to give the Christian and Jewish subjects equal rights to the Muslims

threatened to deprive the former of the considerable autonomy which they had enjoyed since the time of Muhammad the Conqueror; the attempts to deprive the Muslim ecclesiastics of their rights of jurisdiction and administration and the problems raised by the enrolment of non-Muslims in the army soon showed that the latter themselves did not regard the granting of equal rights as an unmitigated benefit and at the same time accentuated the hostilities and differences already existing between the different non-Muslim communities, differences often more serious than those between them and the Muslims. Lastly the foreign group, although numerically weak, with the liberties and privileges granted by the capitulations occupied a position which was all the stronger because foreign powers took advantage of it, not only for their own profit but also to make themselves the protectors of non-Muslim subjects in their struggles to keep their privileges (France by virtue of the capitulations, Russia by virtue of the treaty of Kučuk Ḳaynardjı). The realisation of the reforms was bound to be in great part illusory so long as the privileged position of the foreigners, known as extra-territoriality, continued to exist in striking opposition to the centralisation of power which was the aim of the reforms It is for this reason that the great difficulties of the tanzīmāt centred round the problem of the rayas (insurrections in Crete, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Lebanon and Bulgaria) and the intervention of the Powers (among them the Holy See) which was always the result. It was for this reason also that there was formed in Turkey itself a considerable party which regarded the tanzīmāt as dangerous to the empire But the path once taken by Rashīd Pasha could not be abandoned, because the old institutions themselves no longer offered guarantees It was rare however, to hear serious objections from the religious point of view; the Shaikh al-Islām was present at the reading of the *khaṭṭ-ı sherīf*, although it does not appear that he sanctioned by a *fetwā* the different laws which were promulgated as a result of it The reforming ministers themselves always refused on the other hand to repeal definite sections of the *sharī'a* such as that of capital punishment for apostasy from Islām or the non-validity of the evidence of a non-Muslim before a tribunal, although they were quite ready to pass any measures to which the *sharī'a* did not refer.

The tanzīmāt were thus carried through in a very troubled atmosphere A grand vizier could hardly ever carry through a programme peacefully; there were sudden falls from power often followed by equal unexpected returns to office Thus Rashīd Pasha was no less than six times grand vizier between 1846 and 1858 although the Sultān 'Abd al-Madjīd was rather in favour of the reforms. The same changes in office took place under 'Abd al-'Azīz, much more capricious than his predecessor; Midḥat Pasha was grand vizier for three weeks in 1873 and for the second time for seven weeks (Dec 19, 1876–Feb. 5, 1877). There were also periods when foreign intervention suddenly called for new efforts; this was notably the case during the deliberations which preceded the peace conference in Paris Turkey's allies then wanted the Sultān to bind himself by an international agreement to carry out the reforms which were still in abeyance. The result was the *khaṭṭ-ı humāyūn* of February 1856, which was nominally a spontaneous act of the Sultān In article 9 of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856 the contracting Powers take note of the declaration by expressly stipulating that it would not give them the right of interfering in the interior administration of the empire Now the *khaṭṭ-ı humāyūn* is simply a more detailed confirmation of the promises made in 1839 regarding the equality of treatment of non-Muslim subjects, in it is particularly laid down that mixed tribunals shall be instituted for lawsuits between Muslims and non-Muslims and that the laws relating to them shall be codified as soon as possible One further important point in this act is the right conceded to foreign powers to possess landed property in Turkey The intervention of European powers did not cease, however, after 1856; thus in 1859 they demanded an enquiry into the European provinces In 1867 the Ottoman government was again taken to task by the Powers, but they were not agreed among themselves as to the steps to be taken· while Russia demanded an extreme system of decentralisation, France encouraged the Porte to try a policy of fusing together the different categories of subjects It was the latter view that prevailed for the moment, the opening of the lycée of Ghalata Serāy for teaching French was one of the consequences After 1870, foreign pressure became weaker on account of events in Europe (Franco-Prussian War), it is just this period that is marked by a strong tendency to decentralisation in Turkey, but of a kind which pleased neither the Powers nor the rayas This policy had a certain amount of success, as for example the strengthening of Ottoman power in Tripolitania and Tunisia. The reaction was not long in being felt The insurrections of 1875 in the Slav provinces resulted in "a European conference" at Constantinople in 1876 and in the following year came the disastrous war with Russia which separated Rumania and Serbia from the Ottoman Empire and created an almost independent Bulgaria (Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1879) The act by which Turkey had tried to anticipate this intervention was the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution on December 23, 1876, the day of the first meeting of the European Conference But this remedy, already regarded very suspiciously by the new Sulṭān 'Abd al-Hamīd, did not gain the success anticipated, the author of the constitution, Midḥat Pasha, was banished two months later and soon the constitution was completely ignored by the Sultān In the long "Hamīdian" period which followed the War with Russia, the reforms were not, however, completely suspended, the laws of 1879 affecting the judiciary in particular in a way completed the legislation of the tanzīmāt

We now give a rapid survey of the different reforms The grand Council of Justice, also called the council of the Tanzīmāt, underwent several transformations in 1854, 1861 and lastly in 1868, when its activities were definitely divided into administrative and judicial functions — i e. into a Council of State (*shūrā-yı-dewlet*) which retained its form till 1918 and a High Court of Justice (*dīwān-ı ahkām-ı 'adliye*) Immediately after 1839, Rashīd Pasha had introduced a new system of administration in the provinces on the French model and abolished the *iltizām*. This proved to be too much centralised and in 1852 the powers of the governors had to be again extended; the

farming out of the taxes had again to be introduced because levying them directly did not bring enough into the treasury The law relating to the wilāyets of 1864, completed in 1871 by another law, completed the system of provincial administration which lasted till 1918 This law of 1864 was further remarkable because it provided for each province new tribunals, different from the courts of the ḳādīs, although the judges were very often *ʿulamāʾ*

Even before 1864 there had been created at Constantinople and several large provincial towns a commercial court and a mixed court (for lawsuits between Ottomans and strangers), these two courts were amalgamated in 1860, but it was not till the legislation of 1875 and 1879 that all the non-religious tribunals were put under the Ministry of Justice. The first common law was the Commercial Code of 1850, based for the most part on French law, as were the Penal Code of 1858, the Code of Maritime Commercial Law of 1863, and the Code of Commercial Procedure of 1861. The Civil Code or Medjelle of 1869 on the other hand is an attempt at codification of the law of property and the law of guarantees according to the Ḥanafī *Maḏhhab* This codification carried out by a council under the presidency of Ahmed Djewdet Pasha is not to be considered however as being obligatory in use; it is rather a manual for judges who have not studied Muslim law. The law regarding the execution of judgments and the Code of Civil Procedure, both of 1879, were not recognised by the foreign missions, so that they were never applied in mixed suits

Legislation for the different non-Muslim communities was an extremely complicated task. The "Organic regulations" which in 1860 were published for the large communities had the tendency to give more power to the lay element in the administration, to the detriment of ecclesiastical authority. The communities in general kept their judicial autonomy. The Porte had frequently to deal with disputes within the communities and differences between the Roman Catholics and the Eastern sects "united" with the Holy See Here again the European Powers had every opportunity to intervene, especially Russia in the question of the primacy of the Gregorian Armenian Church in Turkey and in that of the schism of the orthodox Bulgars who were recognised as an autonomous community in 1870 The enrolment of non-Muslims in the army, decided upon in 1855, when the *ḵharāḏj* was officially abolished, remained a dead letter during the tanẓīmāt. It was replaced by an exemption tax (*bedel*)

In foreign relations all the attempts to obtain the abolition of the capitulations which had been begun at the Paris Congress remained fruitless. A slight change in principle was effected on the occasion of the law of 1873, which granted foreigners the right to possess real estate

From 1845 a council had been instituted to elaborate reforms in education (*meḏjlis-i meʿārif*). The President was Fuʾād Pasha and later Djewdet Pasha In this field the tradition of religious instruction had to be combatted. The creation of a university, in 1845, could not at first have any direct consequences and the creation of the secondary (*rushdiye*) school and primary (*ibtidāiye*) presented considerable difficulties Lastly the opening of the Lycée of Ghalata Sarāy in 1868 where French was to be the language of instruction, meant the introduction of a foreign culture and was vigorously opposed It was not till towards the end of the nineteenth century that these measures began to bear fruit

The period of the tanzīmāt was comparatively poor in measures of an economic nature The finances of the state were all the time in a deplorable condition, aggravated more and more by the foreign loans (from 1854) and by Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's extravagance. The international control of the national debt which was the result was not, however, taken in hand till after the financial catastrophe of 1879. The decree of 28th Muharram 1299 (Dec 20, 1881, cf Young, v 69) established the International Council of the Ottoman Debt

The following table of the more important legislative measures of the tanzīmāt gives the sources as far as possible The references to the collection of laws, *Dustūr*, which contains the legislation down to 1886 are taken from Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman* (Oxford 1905—1906), which gives most of the texts in a French translation Where the text is not given the reference has been put in brackets. Most of the other references have been taken from Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, Paris 1884 Although the statements in this book are not very accurate, they may help to complete the general survey of the reforms especially in the first period.

The period of the tanzīmāt also saw an intellectual effort in the Turkish Muslim element, which laid the foundations for the new Turkish culture. It was in this period that Shināsī, Nāmik Kemal and Aḥmad Wefīḳ worked, who created a new Turkish literary language To it also belongs Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha, famous as an historian, man of letters and legislator (cf Fātime ʿAliye, *Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha we-Zemānī*, Constantinople 1332) Ziyā Gok Alp, the theorist of the modern Turkish nationalism, also recognises the high importance which the period had for the development of Turkish thought (cf *Turk-djuluyñ Esāslarī*, Angora 1339, p. 6, and Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p 238 *sq*)

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The Turkish historical sources on the tanzīmāt are not abundant. Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Taʾrīḵh* (Constantinople 1290—1328), vol. vi.–viii, covering the years 1255—1265; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ṯhānī we-Dewr-i Saltanatī*, vol. i., Constantinople 1327, there is no monograph on the tanzīmāt. — European works. Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et les tanzimat*, vol. i—ii., Paris 1884; Chertier, *Les réformes en Turquie*, Paris 1868; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1855; do., *La constitution ottoman*, Paris 1879; Millingen, *La Turquie sous le règne d'Abdul Aziz*, Paris 1868; Rosen, *Geschichte*

3 Nov. 1839	26 Shaʿb.	1255	Khaṭṭ-ı sherīf of Gulkhāne	D., ı 608; Y, ı 29; Luṭfī, vı. 61
8 March 1840	1 Muḥ.	1256	Reorganisation of the Grand Council (*meḏjlıs-i aḥkām-i ʿadlıye*)	Luṭfī, vı 92
1840		1256	Promulgation of a code of penal laws.	(Engelhardt, i. 40)
1840		1256	Institution of a tribunal of commerce (*tidjāret meḏjlısı*) in the Ministry of Commerce.	(Luṭfī, vı. 102)
6 Sept. 1843		1259	Law relating to the formation of the contingents of the army.	(Luṭfī, vıı 74; Engelhardt, ı. 71)
1845		1261	Assembly of provincial delegates in the capital	(Engelhardt, ı. 76)
1845		1261	Creation of a university and of establishments for secondary education.	(Engelhardt, ı. 77; ıı. 7)
1846		1262	Publication of an administrative code	(Engelhardt, ı. 82)
1847		1263	Creation of civil and criminal mixed tribunals	(Engelhardt, ı. 83)
1847		1263	Creation of a Ministry of Public Education (*nezāret-ı maʿārıf-ı ʿumūmıye*)	(Luṭfī, vıı 132)
24 May 1850		1266	Firman in favour of non-Muslims	Y, p 108
28 July 1850	18 Ram.	1266	Promulgation of a Code of Commerce	D, ı. 375, Y., vıı 55
28 Nov 1852		1268	Firman on the administration of the provinces	(Engelhardt, p 105)
1854		1270	Division of the Grand Council into a Council for Reforms and a High Council of Justice	(Y., ı. 2)
7 May 1855		1271	Abolition of *kharādj* for the rayas and decision to enroll them in the army.	
18 Feb 1856	11 Djam II	1272	*khaṭṭ-ı humāyūn*	Noradounghian, iii. 83
30 March 1856	23 Radj.	1272	Peace Treaty of Paris	
1856		1272	Foundation of an Ottoman Bank.	(Y., v. 25)
21 April 1858	7 Ram.	1274	Promulgation of a Code of Lands	D., ı 165; Y., vı. 45
9 Aug 1858	28 Dhu 'l-Ḥ	1274	Promulgation of a Penal Code.	D, ı. 527; Y., vıı. 1
30 April 1860	9 Shaw.	1276	Appendix to the Code of Commerce, regulating the Tribunals of Commerce, which are amalgamated with the mixed tribunals	D, ı. 445; Y, i. 226
24 May 1860		1276	Regulations regarding the Armenian Gregorian Community (ratified in 1863)	D, ıı. 938; Y., ıı. 79
1861		1277	The two High Councils joined into one with three sections (administrative, legislative and financial)	(Y, ı. 2, 27; Engelhardt, ıı. 18)
1 May 1861		1277	New regulations for Lebanon	(Y, ı 139)
14 Nov. 1861		1277	Code of commercial procedure.	D., ı 780, Y, vıı. 155
1862		1279	Organic regulation of the Oecumenical Patriarchate	D, ıı. 922, Y, ıı. 21
4 Feb 1863	16 Shaʿb	1279	Concession of the Imperial Ottoman Bank.	D, ıı. 976, Y, v. 30
20 Aug 1863	6 Rab. I	1280	Code of maritime commerce	D, ı 466, Y, vıı 103
1 April 1864		1280	Regulations for the Jewish Community	D., ıı 962; Y, ıı 148
6 Sept 1864		1281	Organic regulation for Lebanon.	D, vı 695, Y, ıı. 140
8 Nov. 1864	7 Djam I	1281	Law of the wilāyets	D, ı. 4; Y, ı 29
16 June 1867	13 Safar	1284	Law granting foreigners the right to own property.	D., ıı 230; Y., ı. 337
2 April 1868	18 Dhu 'l-Ḥ.	1284	Creation of a Council of State (*shūrā-yı dewlet*) and of a High Court of Justice (*dīwān-ı aḥkām-ı ʿadlīye*)	D., ı 703, Y, i. 3, 159
		1285	Opening of the Lycée of Ghalata Serāy	(Engelhardt, ıı. 10)
1 Sept. 1868		1285	Law on the Ottoman nationality.	D, ı 16; Y., ıı. 226
19 Jan. 1869		1285	Law on the competence of the *niẓāmıye* tribunals.	(Y, ı 197, Engelhardt, ıı 27)
4 April 1869	18 Dhu 'l-Ḥ.	1285	Elaboration of the Civil Code (*meḏjelle—aḥkām-ı ʿadlıye*), the 16 books of the code were promulgated between 1869 and 1876.	Y, p 170; published with commentary in 1311 (1893)
1869		1286	Firman on the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate.	(Y, ıı 61)
10 March 1870	29 Shaw.	1287	Law on the administration of the wilāyets	D, ı 625; Y., ı 47
21 Jan. 1871		1290	Law on the secularisation of the Ewḳāf (never put into execution).	(Engelhardt, ıı. 127)
1873				
1875		1292	Firman reorganising justice; the commercial tribunals transferred to the Ministry of Justice.	(Y, ı. 159)
23 Dec. 1876	7 Dhu 'l-Ḥ.	1293	Promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution (*kānūn-i esāsī*)	text in the *Sāl-nāme*
20 May 1879	29 Djam. I	1296	Organic Regulation of the Ministery of Justice and Public Worship.	D., iv. 129; Y., i. 160
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II	1296	Regulation of the *niẓāmıye* tribunals	D., iv. 235; Y., i. 166
17 June 1879	27 Djam. II	1296	Law on the execution of judgments	D., iv. 225; Y., ı. 198
22 June 1879	2 Radjab	1296	Code of civil procedure.	D., iv. 257; Y, p. 171

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ṬARAB. [See MŪSĪḲĪ]

ṬARĀBULUS or AṬRĀBULUS, the Greek Tripolis, a town in Syria near the coast of the Mediterranean, north of Djubail It lies partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Ḳadīsha (Arabic Abū ʿAlī) West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the port of al-Mīnā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall. The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown, its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. The old town lay on the site of the present port It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking-water This was shown when Muʿāwiya in the caliphate of ʿUthmān sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Azdī named Ṣufyān b. Mudjib thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped To populate the empty town, Muʿāwiya made a considerable number of Jews (Balādhurī; Yaʿḳūbī says Persians) settle there Muʿāwiya is said to have sent thither annually some troops under an *ʿāmil*, who, when navigation stopped, withdrew again except for the *ʿāmil* and a handful of men The geographer Yaʿḳūbī (278 = 891) mentions the wonderful harbour which could hold one thousand ships Fifty years later, Istakhrī calls Ṭarābulus the harbour of Damascus and speaks of the extraordinary fertility of the district with its palms and sugar-cane fields and speaks approvingly of the high standards of the people An excellent description is given by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438 = 1047) of the town under the Fātimids The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants of whom the majority were Shīʿīs and many villages belonged to it The garrison of the Sultān was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there while he himself had ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there.

In the Crusading period a county of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493 (1101) and to isolate the town more effectively built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Ḳadīsha, called Mons Peregrinus (by the Arabs Sandjīl i. e. St. Giles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499 (1105) in this fortress without having attained his goal and it was not till July 12, 503 (1109) that the beleaguered town capitulated Idrīsī, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sindjīl", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Tarābulus and of the rocky islets off the harbour In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 Tarābulus held out for another century as an important base for the Christians until in 688 (1289) the army of the Mamlūk Sultān al-Manṣūr Kalāʾūn appeared before it and it had to surrender on April 26 This proved a turning point in its history for the Sulṭan, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripolis on the Pilgrims' Hill while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Mīnā (from the Greek λιμήν) Dimishkī who wrote about it c 1300 A D. describes the plentiful supply of water in the town — in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long, 70 ells high was built — and the gardens with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Tarābulus including Botrys, Bukaʿa and the Nuṣairian hills. Among the kingdoms (*mamlakāt*) divided among the descendants of Saladin was a kingdom of Tarābulus but this division was soon replaced by a division into five provinces, and Tarābulus was put under Damascus as its port. The town is now in a comparatively prosperous condition owing to the remarkable fertility of the surrounding country, the not inconsiderable shipping and the silk industry. Of non-Muslim inhabitants the orthodox Greeks are the most numerous A series of towers along the seashore recalls the warlike past of the town.

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ṬARABZUN, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Trebizond, in Greek Τραπεζοῦς Situated at the southeast corner of the Black Sea on a very hilly coast which is separated from the rest of Asia Minor and Armenia by a high range of mountains, this town, like the population of the country immediately around it, has always led a more or less isolated existence, from which it only emerged in those periods when

its geographical position made it become an important point on the great trade-routes Trebizond is mentioned for the first time by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, iv. 8) and is said to have been a very early colony of the town of Sinope In the early centuries of our era it was a frontier town of considerable importance for the Roman Empire but from the time of Justinian it was the town of Neo-Caesarea (Nīksār) that became the most important centre in this region After the Arab conquests had deprived Byzantium of large parts of Armenia, Trebizond became the capital of a theme under military government (Thema Chaldia Const Porphyr, *De Thematibus*, i 30) which it remained till the foundation of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond in 1204 During these centuries the town again acquired great commercial importance and it is in this connection that it became so well known to the Arab authors of the period. They call it Aṭrābazund or Ṭarābazunda and they called the Black Sea Bahr Ṭarābazunda (cf e.g Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 195) To the lands of Islām, Trebizond was an important seaport through which the products of the lands of the Rūm, especially rich cloths, were imported into the northern parts of the Muslim empire, this brought in an enormous revenue to the Byzantine governor of the town (Istakhrī, *B G A*, i. 188; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B G. A*, ii. 132). Muslim merchants lived in Trebizond and dealt there with Armenians, Greeks and Caucasians (Maᶜsūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ii 3, 46, Makdisi, *B G A*, iii 148) Very probably the Muhammadan trade-route went by Kālikalā, later Erzerūm, and then through Ādharbaidjān and Transoxania, because the natural ports of the Muhammadan empire were the coast-towns of the Mediterranean. The conquest of the interior of Asia Minor by the Saldjūḳs again isolated Trebizond and its communications with Constantinople became more and more difficult, while the new masters of Anatolia had not for the moment any great interest in commerce, they had however possessed a part of the port of Ṣamsūn since 1194 But the foundation of the empire of the Comneni in 1204 by Alexius Commenus secured for Trebizond as the capital of the new empire a predominant position The empire stretched at first over almost all the south coast of the Black Sea but soon suffered considerable losses to the empire of Nicaea and by the capture of Sinope in 1214 by the Sulṭān ᶜIzz al-Dīn Kaikobād [cf. SINŪB]. Soon afterwards the Mongol conquests had their effect on Trebizond, Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārizm Shāh after founding his new empire at Tabrīz was attacked by the other Muslim rulers and in 627 (1230) was fought the battle of Khilāṭ in which the Khʷārizmians were completely defeated by the forces of Rūm and Syria The remains of their army took refuge in the territory of Trebizond (Abu 'l-Faraj Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, Bairūt 1890, p 429 and *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed Bedjan, p. 467), it appears doubtful whether there was actually an alliance between Djalāl al-Dīn and Trebizond as Fallmerayer (p. 108) says. In any case the emperor of Trebizond very soon afterwards had to recognise the suzerainty of the Sulṭān ᶜAlā al-Dīn Kaiḳobād, whom he had to assist with troops in his struggle against the Aiyūbids (Chalcocondylas Bk. ix.: Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil de Textes*, etc., in 134 *sqq.* alike reveal this state of dependence) In 1240, the Mongols put an end to the hegemony of the Saldjūḳs. Trebizond was spared their invasion but the emperor Manuel had to declare himself a vassal of the Mongol empire (cf. e. g. William of Rubruck, ed. de Bacher, Paris 1877, p 6, Hakluyt Society edition, London 1900, p 46). In this period the Arabic sources change the orthography of the town to Ṭarābazūn or Aṭrābazūn (cf especially Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, p. 106, 145, 228 and Abu 'l-Faraj, *Mukhtaṣar* who writes Tarābizūn: Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, p. 392—393; Yāḳūt, i. 306 keeps the old orthography) After the Mongol conquest the city experienced a new commercial revival; the centre of political power having shifted ro Tabrīz, Trebizond became the corridor to Asia Minor, through which ran the great trade-route to the Far East which the Mongols had opened. The people of the town did not themselves take part directly in this traffic which was in the hands of Genoese and Venetians but they profited greatly by it, because it, for example, gave them an opportunity to export the products of the city itself (especially linen, silk and woollen goods and the minerals of the adjoining mountains) The Genoese colony in particular, with their own consul at the head, from the second half of the xiiith century occupied premier place among the foreigners and, supported by its mother city, was sufficiently powerful to obtain extraordinary concessions from the emperors. The centre of their activities was the quarter called Leontocastrum. In proportion as the Mongol power declined (after 1320) the territory of the emperor of Trebizond suffered more and more from the attacks of the Turkomans of Asia Minor, who took possession of the strongholds in the mountains, at the same time civil wars were weakening the empire, while the trade-routes became impracticable. Its neighbours were now the little Turkish states which had replaced the empire of the Saldjūḳs, Ḳasṭamūni in the west [q. v.] with Sinope, to the south, the dynasty of the Dhu 'l-Kadr and the south-east the Ak-Koyunlu Turkomans The emperors of Trebizond in this period endeavoured to strengthen their position by marrying princesses of their house to Turkoman princes. This state of affairs lasted until the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd I after the capture of Samsūn in 1396 and his victory over the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu became a redoubtable neighbour Tīmūr's advance saved Trebizond for the moment, in 1392 the emperor Manuel came to submit to the conqueror and a few years later had to assist him in his preparations against Bāyazīd; the fleet demanded by Tīmūr was not however required, as, before it was equipped, the battle of Angora took place (1402), a body of soldiers from the city seems however to have taken part in the battle against Bāyazīd (Fallmerayer, p 229). Tīmūr's armies withdrew, going to the south of the mountains of Trebizond, this territory with the towns of Armenia and the Caucasus now passed to Khalīl Sulṭān, nephew of Tīmūr. It was during the period of Tīmūr's invasion of Asia Minor that the Spanish envoy Clavijo passed through Trebizond The revival of Ottoman power once more became dangerous and resulted in the decline of Genoese influence and the rise of that of Venice. Under Murād II, Turkish ships in vain tried to seize Trebizond but after the fall of Constantinople the town was doomed The emperor Kalo-Johannes then concluded

an alliance with Uzun Ḥasan to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. David, the successor of Kalo-Johannes endeavoured to extend this alliance to the Christian rulers of the Caucasus and the Muḥammadan lords of Ḳasṭamūnī and Karamān [q v]. But all these efforts were in vain. In 864 (1460) the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad II set out on his great campaign in Asia Minor which gained him Kastamūnī and Sinope without a blow being struck He then turned against Uzun Hasan, took from him the frontier fort of Ḳoilu Ḥiṣār or Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār and concluded a peace with him. He then marched on Trebizond in spite of the attempts of Sara Khā'ūn (Sara Khātūn in ʿĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde), mother of Uzun Hasan, to persuade him to abandon his designs on the town The Turkish fleet commanded by the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha had already gone to Sinope. The emperor David was quite ready to capitulate when Mahmūd Pasha [q v.] appeared with the vanguard of the Turkish army. The Sulṭān with some difficulty was persuaded to approve of the capitulation, by the terms of which David and all his family were taken to Adrianople, a few years later he was put to death by order of the Sultān The Turks immediately installed themselves in the town and citadel and only allowed a third of the population to remain in the suburbs. The majority of the rest were carried off to Constantinople. The church of the citadel was converted into a mosque (Orta Djāmiʿ) and also the church of St. Eugenius which was henceforth known as the Yeni Djāmiʿ; all the country conquered was granted as fiefs to Muslims Trebizond never again became a town of great importance under the Ottoman empire; it became the capital of an eyālet to which also belonged the town of Bātum (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dj̲ihān-nūma*, p 429 *sq*) For some time it was the residence of Selīm I as crown prince, the mother of the Sultān is buried in the Khātūniye Djāmiʿ Trade was conducted mainly by sea, Ewliyā Celebi, for example, only visited it from the sea, the road to the interior, to Erzerūm, continued to exist but it had no longer the commercial importance it once had In 1834 this road was improved by Rashīd Pasha, after the route through the Caucasus had been closed by the Russians (Rosen, *Gesch. der Turkei*, i 214). After the introduction of the wilāyets in the xix^th^ century the wilāyet of Ṭarabzun included the sandjaḳs of Tarabzun, Samsūn, Lazistān and Gümush-Khāne (Cuinet, i. 41), the present wilāyet, as reorganised since the war, is much smaller in area, with 6 ḳadā's and 356,259 inhabitants (cf. *Turkiye Sālnāmesi*, 1926, p. 682) In the Great War, Trebizond was occupied by the Russians in April 1916, but as a result of the Russian revolution and the negotiations at Brest-Litowsk, the Turks had no difficulty in reoccupying the town on Feb. 24, 1918

The centre of the town of Trebizond has been built on a plateau in the form of a table (hence the name) which runs down to the sea on the north side and terminates on the south in an elevation on which stands an acropolis (Orta Hisār). Above the acropolis again rises the citadel (*Ḳal'a*). The latter, called by the Turks Boz Tepe, is bounded on the east and on the west by ditches which have to be crossed by bridges to reach the suburbs. The country all round is mountainous and covered with vegetation. The suburbs, lying along the coast to the west and east of the old town, have a mainly Christian population while since the Turkish conquest the centre has been Muslim. The eastern suburb is the centre of trade and navigation, the ships moor in the roads and one can hardly speak of a harbour The population put at 35,000 by Cuinet, has always been very mixed. The Lazes (cf. LAZ), as the principal inhabitants of all the surrounding coast, form a considerable section of it and are mainly boatmen and fishermen Ewliyā Čelebi found other aboriginal inhabitants there whom he declares to be the least agreeable section of the populace. The Turkish spoken there shows in its sounds considerable influence of local dialects. The Greeks (8,200 according to Cuinet) and Armenians (6000) form the Christian element After the Turkish defeat in 1918 and in spite of the recent reoccupation, there arose in all the lands of the Pontus with Trebizond as centre, quite a strong movement, which aimed at reviving the old empire, but the victory of the Angora government put an end to these attempts at independence (cf in particular, the government publication, *Pontos Mes'elesi*, Angora, 1338 (1922) A section of the converted Greek population has preserved to the present day certain customs and rites of Christianity (cf F. W Hasluck, *The Crypto-Christians of Trebizond*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli. 199 ff).

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ṬARAFA B ʿABD AL-BAKRĪ is unanimously considered by Arab critics one of the foremost poets of the period before Islām and is the author of the longest of the poems known by the name of *Muʿallaḳāt* He is at the same time one of the earliest poets of that period of whom poems are preserved. The editors of the *Muʿallaḳa* and of his collected poems generally give a full genealogy from which however we can gain with certainty only that he belonged to the section of Bakr of the Wā'il tribes His father's name is given as al-ʿAbd b. Sufyān, the name ʿAbd being probably only an Islāmic abbreviation of some theophoric name like ʿAbd Manāt. The

biographies given in Arabic authors are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and generally attempts are made to draw conclusions from his verses. This much seems certain, that he had relations with the court of the kings of al-Hīra, especially with king ʿAmr b. Hind, who reigned approximately from 554 to 568 of the Christian era. The lands of the poet's tribe lay in South-eastern Arabia, in Baḥrain and the Yamāma, which appears also to have been the home of the earliest Arab poets of whom we have any reliable knowledge and it is possible that Arabic poetry, as we know it, spread from this part of the country.

Tarafa is, in a legendary account, brought into contact with the still earlier poet al-Musaiyab b. ʿAlas, whom he is said to have corrected when he made a mistake in one of his poems. Generally Arab antiquarians describe Taiafa as extraordinarily precocious and argue from a poem (Ahlwardt, N⁰. 1)that he was a mere boy, when he composed verses after the death of his father, when his uncles acted unjustly towards his mother Warda He is also stated to have died very young The latter is a conclusion arrived at from some verses of al-Khirniḳ, who is claimed to have been a sister and in the verses in question mentions the age of 26 years As she is said to have been a daughter of a man named Hiffān it is more probable that her elegy, composed upon another unknown person, was assumed to refer to Tarafa, who may have died at a comparatively early age.

We obtain some light by comparing contemporary history. When ʿAmr succeeded his father in 554 A D he gave to his brothers certain commands, but slighted his half-brother ʿAmi b. Umāma. The latter went to South Arabia accompanied by Taiafa to obtain help from the Yamanite princes. Tarafa had left some camels belonging to (or inherited from) his father in the district where Kābūs, a brother of the king, and ʿAmi b Kais al-Shaibānī were in command ʿAmr b. Umāma received the support of the Yamanite tribe Murād, the troops being under the command of Hubaira b ʿAbd Yāghūth When they reached the Yamāma, Hubaira fell ill through drinking from a well and ʿAmr b Umāma sent to him a doctor who applied hot irons clumsily to his stomach in the effort to cure him and almost killed him Believing that the doctor had acted under instructions of ʿAmr, Hubaira had him murdered at a place called Kadib and he and his clansmen returned to the Yaman. The man who had slain ʿAmr went with his family to al-Hīra expecting a suitable reward from king ʿAmr, but instead of this he and his family were burned alive. This event is mentioned by Tarafa in the first poem of his *Dīwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt (not found in Ahlwardt's edition except for a few verses). The poet also claims in the same poem the return of the camels confiscated as being the property of his father who is here called Maʿbad. They were pastured near Tabāla (Ibn al-Sikkīt, N⁰ 2). In this poem which must be considerably later, he gives full vent to his feelings because the property is not restored and accuses also a man named ʿAbd ʿAmi b. Bishr, who was not a relation of the king as is generally assumed by the biographers. The latter seems to have benefited from the confiscation. This poem had not the desired effect and Ṭarafa composed a violent attack upon the king in which he says that it would be preferable to have a sheep to rule than king ʿAmr (this poem has 17 verses in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt, only 9 verses are found in Ahlwardt, N⁰. 7 and App. 17). This appears to have been the climax and from a poem by a sister of Tarafa, whose name Ibn al-Sikkīt does not give, it appears that ʿAbd ʿAmr was to a great extent responsible for Ṭarafa falling into the hands of the governor of Baḥrain (this poem is not in Ahlwardt nor Seligsohn) Ibn al-Sikkīt tells us further that the governor was not willing to kill him and the king sent an official who killed the unwilling governor as well as Tarafa

Against this we must set the tale of the letter King ʿAmr in a celebrated legend is stated to have given to Taiafa and his kinsman al-Mutalammis, after a visit to his court where he treated them with honour, a letter each containing a recommendation for suitable reward by the governor of Bahrain upon their arrival Such a course of bestowing favours, though unusual, was plausible as the reward might consist of cattle, but al-Mutalammis, becoming suspicious, broke the seal and asked a youth at al-Hīra to read the contents. Reading that the letter contained a command for their execution and afraid of his life, he decided to go to Syria and advised Tarafa to open his letter also, but the latter refused to do so, thinking it impossible that the king would dare to have him murdered among his own people While al-Mutalammis fled to Syria and from there sent his Hidjā'-poems to the king, Taiafa went to Bahrain and met with a cruel death, being buried alive after having been maimed I believe that this account has been invented by ancient antiquarians who knew from the poems of al-Mutalammis that he made mention of a letter in his poems, the contents of which are not even known and may have been of an entirely different nature.

Ibn al-Anbārī in the introduction to his commentary on the *Muʿallaka* claims an uninterrupted chain of authorities down to al-Mutalammis himself, a chain which has every semblance of being genuine, unless we cast suspicion upon Hammād al-Rāwiya (ed Rescher, p 1) From the same commentary we learn that Tarafa had already received discourtesy from king ʿAmr and his brother Kābūs when he visited the court during the reign of their father (*loc. cit*, p. 5) I am inclined in consequence to believe that Ṭarafa never visited the court of king ʿAmr at all during his reign, but took sides with his half-brother, ʿAmr b. Umāma, went with him to the Yaman, where they stayed for some years, because ʿAmr b. Umāma married there and had several children, before he undertook his expedition to the Yamāma (Commentary of Ibn al-Sikkīt). This also makes it impossible that Tarafa died at a very early age; he had been at the court of al-Hīra before the accession of ʿAmr, probably as one of the notables of his tribe and spent several years in South Arabia. Young he may have been in comparison with other Shaikhs, but it would be rash to make any definite statements. As regards his religious views we can only say that from his poems we can glean nothing that would point to anything else than the customary pagan fatalism.

As regards his value as a poet we can only repeat the opinion of native critics who are

only undecided whether he is one of the greatest poets of the time of paganism or the greatest of all. His description of the camel in his *Muʿallaka* is justly celebrated and hardly surpassed by any other Arab poet As regards the genuineness of his poems I must refer the readers to the conclusions of Ahlwardt and Geiger, though I should like to suggest that perhaps more is genuine than these two authorities will admit. If al-Mutalammis, al-Aʿshā, ʿUbaid, the *rāwī* of the latter, Simāk b Harb, Hammād al-Rāwiya and al-Haitham b ʿAdī really handed down his poems we may expect that his poems did come down to the time when they were finally commented by grammarians and are preserved with a certain amount of accuracy The best accounts we have of the poet are contained in the *Dīwān* in the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt, where unfortunately the editor has mixed the latter's notes with those of al-Aʿlam and in the introduction to the *Muʿallaka* by Ibn al-Anbārī

Bibliography. *Dīwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed W Ahlwardt, London 1870; *Dīwān de Ṭarafa*, ed M. Seligsohn with the commentary of al-Aʿlam, Paris 1901, *Sharh Dīwān Ṭarafa*, ed. Ahmad b Amīn al-Shinkītī, Kazan 1909 (contains the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt); L Cheikho, *Poètes chrétiens*, Bairūt 1890; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1888 (and new edition 1924), *Tharaphae Moallakah*, ed Reiske, Leyden 1742; Jones, *The Moallakat*, London 1783, A Th Hartmann, *Die hellstrahlenden Pleyaden*, Munster 1802; J. Vullers, *Tarafae Moallaca cum Zuzenii scholiis*, Bonn 1829; P. Wolff, *Die sieben Preisgedichte*, Rotweil 1857; F. A. Arnold, *Septem Moʿallacat*, Leipzig 1850, Abel, *Die sieben Muʿallakāt*, Berlin 1891, C. J. Lyall, *The ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894 (with the commentary of Tibrīzī); *Djamharat Ashʿār al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1890; O. Rescher, *Ṭarafa's Moʿallaqa mit dem Kommentar des Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī*, Stambul 1329; B Vandenhoff, *Nonnulla Tarafae poetae carmina*, etc., Berlin 1895; B Geiger, *Die Muʿallaqa des Ṭarafa übersetzt und erklärt*, *W.Z K.M*, vol xix. and xx ; W. Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen uber die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872; G Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, Berlin 1893 — Verses and fragments of Tarafa are cited in innumerable works, in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* he is quoted 264 times according to my index to that work

(F. KRENKOW)

TARANČI, Eastern Turkī word for agriculturists, as the name of a people, applied to the colonists transported by the Chinese government in the middle of the xviiith century from Kāshgharia to the Ili valley, cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv 841. The Taranči are said however, even in the Ili valley, to have described themselves as the native population (*Yarlik*, cf. Radloff, ii 343) They numbered 6,000 families of whom 4,100 were settled on the right and 1,900 on the left bank of the Ili; for further particulars see Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii. 331 *sq*. According to a census of the year 1834 the number of families had increased to 8,000. Down to the beginning of the rebellions of the Muslims in Kāshgharia the lot of the Taranči is said to have been quite tolerable, but their prosperity was henceforth undermined by frequent requisitions for military purposes. After 1863 the Ili valley also became involved in the rebel movement; after hard fighting an independent principality of the Taranči arose under Sulṭān Abu 'l-ʿAlā or Aʿlā Khān [see article ḲULDJA]. In 1871 this was conquered by the Russians and remained under Russian rule till 1882. The Taranči then numbered 51,000 of whom 45,373 went over to Russian territory, when the Ili valley was returned to the Chinese (treaty of St Petersburg, Feb 24, 1881). They were settled in the district of Semiryečye (*Semiryenčenskaya Oblast'*); the leader of these emigrants was a wealthy merchant, Walī Akhūn Yuldashev The Taranči formed the majority of the population of the town of Djārkent which was founded at this time (in 1911 16,000 of 25,000). Up to 1887 the lands allotted to the Taranči were several times taken from them for Russian Cossacks and the Taranči moved to other places. The Taranči are valued not only as agriculturists and gardeners but also as artisans and labourers; they are said to be unrivalled in building with clay. According to the census of 1897 they numbered 55,999, for a later date, larger numbers (up to 83,000) are given; the census of 1920 gave 62,303 The prosperity of the Taranči suffered severely with the rising of the Karā-Kīghīz in 1916 and the events of the revolution; in 1917 the number of Taranči living in towns in the administrative district of Djārkent was only 6,736 — compared with the previous figure of 16,000 in the town of Djārkent alone, a considerable reduction In Soviet Russia, the Taranči do not form a political unit, they live in the autonomous republic of Ḳazakistān; there is also a Taranči colony in Bairam-ʿAlī in Turkomenistān The Taranči along with the Turkomans (Kāshgharlik) who later immigrated from Kāshgharia claimed they were Uighurs by race This is due to a misunderstanding as the historical Uighurs never came so far west.

The number of Taranči remaining on Chinese territory was about 8,200 at the beginning of the xxth century. Measures were taken at that time by the Chinese authorities, not without some success, to induce the Taranči who had emigrated to Russia to return to their original homes.

Bibliography: W Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1893, ii 331 *sqq* ; W Masal'skiy, *Turkestankiy Kraĭ*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 403 *sq* , *Aziatskaya Rossiya* (off. publication), St Petersburg 1914, i 174; *Materiali po obsledovaniyu tuzemnago i russkago zemlepol'zovaniya v Semiyečenskoi Oblasti* (off. publication); *T. V. Taranči Cast' I Tekst Cast' II Tablicï*, St. Petersburg 1914; cf. also the *Bibl.* to ḲULDJA. — On present conditions *Spisok narodnostei Soyuza Sov. Soc. Respublik*, *Zpod redakciei I. I. Zarubina*, Leningrad 1927 (publ by the Acad.), p 34 — On language and literature. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stamme*, vol. vi, *Dialect der Tarantschi*, St Petersburg 1886, N. N. Pantusow, *Tarančinskiya pïesni*, St Petersburg 1890 (*Zap. Imp. R. Geogr. Obshč. no otdel. etnogr.*, t. xvii, vïp 1). (W. BARTHOLD)

TARĀWĪḤ (A.), plural of the unusual sing. *tarwīḥa*, the salāts which are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Tradition says that Muḥammad held these *ṣalāts* in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory (Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ*, trad. 3). ʿUmar is said to have

been the first to assemble behind one *ḳārī'*, those who performed their prayers in the mosque of al-Madīna singly or in groups (*loc cit*, trad. 2); he is also said to have preferred the first part of the night for these pious exercises.

Canon law recommends the performance of the ṭarāwīḥ shortly after the *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'*. They consist of 10 *taslīma*'s, each containing 2 *rakʿa*'s, after every four *rakʿa*'s a pause is held; hence the name *tarāwīḥ* "pauses". In the Mālikite rite they consist of 36 *rakʿa*'s. They belong to the *ṣalāt*'s that are *sunna* and are as popular as any rite connected with Ramadān [q v.] Shīʿa *fikh* prefers a thousand supererogatory *rakʿa*'s throughout the month of Ramaḍān.

In Mekka people assemble in groups varying from 10 to 150 persons, behind one *imām* [q v.], who acts in this case unofficially, even if he should be an appointed official. The recitation of the Kur'ān has a prominent place in these *ṣalāt*'s Very busy people may perform even this prayer within a short space of time, other groups abide behind their *imām*'s reciting the Kur'ān once or several times in the nights of Ramadān Even after the tarāwīḥ many people stay for pious exercises.

In Atchin every night large crowds assemble in order to perform the tarāwih Usually, however, it is the *tonku* alone who takes the active part in them, the others limiting their part to a disrespectful joining in with the *āmīn* and the eulogies on the Prophet. The *tonku* receives the *zakāt al-fitr* as a remuneration for his endurance In his *Arabic New-Year* (*Verh Ak Amst.*, new ser., xxv, N⁰ 2) Wensinck traces the rites of Ramadān back to pagan times

Bibliography. Bukhārī, *Tarāwīh* with the commentaries, Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Ṣalāt fī Ramadān* with Zurḳānī's commentary, Abū Ishāḳ al Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed Juynboll, p 27, al-Ramlī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1286, i 503 *sqq.*, Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, i 205 *sq*, Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Hillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, p 51, Caetani, *Annali*, A H. 14, § 229 *sq.*, Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leyden 1925, register, Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii 81_*sqq*, do, *Mekkanische Sprichworter*, N⁰ 49, do, *De Atjèhers*, i. 247 *sqq*, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i 214 *sq* (to be used with caution); Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London and Paisley 1899, p 481

(A. J Wensinck)

ṬARĀZ, Arabic name for Talas, a river in Central Asia and the town on it probably near the modern Awliyā Atā [q.v.] The town was of pre-Muḥammadan, presumably Soghdian origin [cf. SOGHD]; Soghdian and Turkī were spoken in Tarāz and in Balāsāghūn [q.v] as late as the fifth (eleventh) century (Maḥmūd Kāshghaī, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i. 31) As a town (*khōron*) Talas is first mentioned in the report of the embassy of the Greek Zēmarkhos (*Fragm. Hist. Graec*, iv. 228) in 568. About 630 Talas (Chin. Ta-lo-sse) was described by Hiuen-Thsang as an important commercial town (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl. by Stan. Julien, Paris 1857, i. 14. "les marchands des différents pays y habitent pêle-mêle"). Islām was first introduced there by the campaign of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad [q.v.] in Muḥarram 280 (March—April 893); "the emīr and the dihḳāns" had to submit; the principal church (*kilīsā-i buzurg*) was turned into a mosque (Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p 84) This shows that Christianity had gained a footing in Ṭarāz earlier than Islām. In the account of the same campaign in Tabarī, iii 2138, the name of the town is not given. Ismāʿīl captures the town of the "king of the Turks" In Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, viii. 97) a *dihḳān* of the region of Ṭarāz is mentioned under the year 310 (922—923). Under the Sāmānids Tarāz was an important trading centre on the frontiers of the lands of Islām and of the Turks (*B. G A*, ii 391, 9) Coins were first struck in Tarāz under the Ilek-Khāns [q. v.]. In the Mongol period we find alongside of Tarāz the name Yangī first in al-ʿOmarī (*N E*, xiii 234), where Yangī appears as a distinct town from Ṭarāz or Talas Under Tīmūr and his immediate successors (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, i. 229 where it is wrongly given as Nabkī, ii 633 where Tarāz is erroneously placed between Akhsīkant and Kāshghar, Hāfiẓ-i Abrū [q.v.], Cod Bodl Elliot, N⁰. 422, f. 155*b*, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarkandī, Cod Univ Petrop, N⁰ 157, f 190*a*) Yangī is frequently mentioned, sometimes in the combination Yangī-Tarāz (so Mirkhʷand, in Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, St Petersburg 1918, text, p. 8). According to Haidar Mīrzā [q v.] Yangī was the Mongol name for Ṭarāz In Mā warā al-Nahr there were people who came from Yangī originally and were called "Yangīlig" There was no longer a town of Yangī; there were many ruins in the same region but even then it was no longer possible to say with certainty what ruins corresponded to the town of Yangī (or Ṭarāz) (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl E D. Ross, p. 364) At the present day no traces of the town of Tarāz are known. (W Barthold)

TARI, a gold coin, a quarter-dīnār When the Fātimids conquered Sicily in the second decade of the fourth (tenth) century they struck quarter-dīnārs (*ruba*ʿ) there in large numbers This denomination was new to Muhammadan coinage and the fact that it was also introduced into Syria by the Fātimids suggests that it was intended to take the place of the Byzantine *tremissis*. The issue of this denomination was continued by the Norman Dukes who succeeded the Fāṭimids. For the history of the *tari* as an Italian denomination, which does not concern us here, see the article *tareno* in E Martinori, *La Moneta, Vocabolario Generale*, Rome 1915. No satisfactory etymology of the word has yet been given, the one usually given connects it with *dirham* (J. Allan)

ṬARĪF, leader of the first Muslim forces to land in Spain in 91 (710) The Arab historians are not agreed as to the origin of this client of the famous general Mūsā b Nuṣair [q v.]: some say he was a Berber, others an Arab Al-Rāzī calls him. Abū Zurʿa Tarīf b Mālik al-Maʿāfirī and Ibn Khaldūn. Ṭarīf b. Mālik al-Nakhaʿī He has also occasionally been confused with the other client of Mūsā b Nusair, Tārik b. Ziyād [q. v.].

We know that when Mūsā b Nuṣair was urged by Count Julian to cross to Spain with an army he consulted his master, the Caliph al-Walīd, the latter ordered him to explore before any expedition the south of the Iberian peninsula with a small contingent of light troops Mūsā b. Nuṣair therefore sent Ṭarīf with 400 foot and 100 horsemen, all Berbers. Tarīf with this little force crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and landed on the penin-

sula which since has borne his name (*Djazīrat Ṭarīf*, now Tarifa [q.v.]) He raided the vicinity of Algeciras (*al-Djazīrat al-Khadrā'* [q. v.]) and returned to Africa with rich booty and captives. This first reconnaissance was made in Ramaḍān 91 (July 710). It was followed by the great expedition of Ṭārik b. Ziyād; and after this we hear no more of Tarif.

Bibliography: The Arab historians of Muslim Spain, especially the anonymous chronicle called *Akhbār Madjmū'a*, ed. Lafuente y Alcantara (*Ajbar machmuâ*), Madrid 1867, p. 6 of the Arabic text and 20 of the transl., Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii 5—6, transl Fagnan, ii 6—7, al-Maḳkarī, *Analectes*, Index, R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ii 32; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875, i. 240—241, E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TA'RĪF (A), explanation, definition, description, from *'araf*a, to know; e. g *ta'rīf Ayā Ṣūfiyā*, description of St Sophia; *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt*, book of definitions, a well-known treatise of Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī on the explanation of Ṣūfī terms

In administrative language, in the feminine form, *ta'rīfa* or *ta'rifa* with a short *i*, the word has the meaning of tariff, tax, price of food, of transport, etc; e g in Turkish. *gumruk ta'rīfèsi*, customs duties; *démir yol tarifèlèri*, railway charges

In grammar this word means the Arabic definite article *al*, which is called the particle of notification or *lām* of definition *ḥarf al-ta'rīf*, *lām al-ta'rīf* (B CARRA DE VAUX)

TARIFA, in Arabic *Djazīrat Ṭarīf*, "island of Tarīf", from the name of the client of Mūsā b Nuṣair, Abū Zur'a Tarīf [q v.] who landed there with the first Muslim force at the beginning of the conquest of Spain, a small town in Andalusia on the north shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, at the foot of a mountain range called the Sierra de la Luna, and almost the most southern part of the European continent Tarifa, with Algeciras (*al-Djazīrat al-Khadrā'*, cf i., p 277a) and Gibraltar (Djabal Tārik, cf ii., p. 169 *sq.*) under Muslim rule had always considerable trade with the Moroccan ports on the other side of the Straits Al-Idrīsī says that it was surrounded by a dry stone wall A tower (*burdj*) was built in it by orders of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, in 349 (960) as we know from an Arabic inscription above one of the gates of the *castello* of Tarifa. Tarifa was taken from the Muslims in 1292 by the King of Castile, Sancho IV, and it was in vain that they endeavoured to retake it two years later when it was admirably defended by Guzman el Bueno of Leon.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, p 176—212; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī 'Adjā'ib al-aḳṭār* (Spain), edition in preparation, N°. 77.

(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ṬĀRIḲ B. ZIYĀD B. 'ABD ALLĀH, a Berber chief and leader of the Muslim forces in the conquest of al-Andalus. Ibn Idhārī gives a complete genealogy of him and connects him with the tribe of the Nafza Idrīsī says he was a Berber of the Zanāta; Ibn Khaldūn calls him Ṭārik b Ziyād al-Laithī. Others again say he was a Persian, a native of Hamadān.

After the reconnaissance undertaken by Ṭarīf [q. v.] in the south of Spain in Ramaḍān 96 (July 710), Mūsā b. Nuṣair, emboldened by its success, entrusted the command of an expedition on a larger scale to his client Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, then leader of his advance-guard He sent him to the Peninsula at the head of 7,000 men, for the most part Berbers, who crossed the Straits in small contingents in ships supplied by Count Julian. The crossing was probably effected in Radjab 92 (April—May 711) As his troops landed in Europe, Tārik concentrated them on a hill which took his name, the Djabal Ṭārik (Gibraltar, q v.), the ancient *Calpe* on which the Almohad sovereign 'Abd al-Mu'min was later to build the town of *Djabal al-Fatḥ* (555 = 1160). Almost all the Arab chroniclers repeat in connection with Tārik's crossing the story of a vision which he had during the passage which foretold victory. Ṭārik lost no time in taking Carteya and Algeciras. The Goth king Rodeirick collected a considerable army to face the invaders in view of the danger that threatened his country

Tārik then asked Mūsā b. Nuṣair for reinforcements, he sent him 5,000 Berbers in addition to the 7,000 he already had The references in the Muslim and Christian historians are brief but sufficiently precise regarding the course of the conquest after the decisive battle fought between the Muslims and the Goths at the mouth of the Wādī Bekka (*Rio Barbate*) on the shores of the lagoon of the Janda Ṭārik's 12,000 Berbers would not have held out for very long if Mūsā b Nusair, in spite of his reluctance to increase the scale of the conquest, for it was only intended at first to be a simple reconnaissance and razzia, jealous of the bold and triumphant progress of his lieutenant had not decided to go himself to Spain, but this time with a purely Arab force Leaving the government of Africa in the hands of his eldest son 'Abd Allāh, he crossed to Spain in the early summer of 97 (712) His army numbered over 10,000 men, and in it were many Arabs of note with their Yamanī and Kaisī clients This army after taking Madina Sidonia and Carmona laid siege to Seville and some months later to Merida, which did not fall for a year, but a part of the Arab forces had been sent to fight the Goth prince Theodomir in Orihuela. After the surrender of Merida, Mūsā b. Nusair advanced on Toledo and joined Ṭāriḳ on the way The latter after the defeat of the Goths had marched on Ecija, then on Toledo, at the same time sending three columns to take Cordova, Archidona and Elvira. At Toledo, Tārik, the Arab historians say, captured fabulous wealth and wrote to Mūsā b Nuṣair to give him an account of his victory.

The meeting of Ṭārik and his master is a favourite subject with the historians who say that Mūsā inflicted the worst humiliations on his client. The conquest went on and soon the Muslim troops reached Saragossa and the highlands of Aragon, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia. When Mūsā b. Nuṣair with Ṭārik returned to Damascus to report their success to the caliph, Muslim Spain with its little nucleus of Berber and Arab soldiers had already practically attained its extreme geographical limits.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, *Yale Oriental Series*, 1922- index; *Akhbār madjmū'a*, ed. Lafuente y Al, cantara (*Ajbar machmuâ*), Madrid 1867, text,

p. 4 *sqq.*, transl., p. 18 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Ḳūṭīya, *Ta'rīḵh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1926 (*Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobes*, transl. J. Ribera), text, p. 3 *sqq*, transl., p. 1 *sqq*, al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, vol. III., Madrid 1885, N° 864, p. 315; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed Dozy, II. 6 *sqq*, transl. Fagnan, II 8 *sqq* (cf. I. 28 of text), al-Idrīsī, *Descr.*, p. 176, the geographers, s. v. Djabal Ṭārik; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, II. 32 *sqq*; do., *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3rd ed., I. 21 *sqq.*; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875, I. 236 *sqq*; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, Madrid 1892. (E. I. ÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ṬARĪḲA (pl. *ṭuruḳ*). This Arabic term, meaning "road, way, path", has acquired two successive technical meanings in Muslim mysticism.

I. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. it was a method of moral psychology for the practical guidance of individuals who had a mystic call, 2. after the XIth century, it becomes the whole system of rites for spiritual training laid down for the common life in the various Muslim religious orders which began to be founded at this time.

Muslim mysticism itself in its origins, ideas and tendencies will be examined elsewhere [cf. the article TAṢAWWUF], here we only deal with its results on society and the organisations which are the development of its practice by groups of devout Muslims.

In the first sense (cf. texts by Djunaid, Hallādj, Sarrādj, Kushairī, Hudjwīrī), the word *ṭarīḳa* is still vague and means rather a theoretical and ideal method (*ri'āya*, *sulūk* are stronger) to guide each one who has had a call by tracing an *itinerarium mentis ad Deum* leading through various psychological stages (*maḳamāt*, *aḥwāl*) of the literal practice of the revealed law (*sharī'a*) to divine reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*). This bold claim having provoked criticism and even persecution from the canonists, the teachers of mysticism devoted themselves to defining and restraining their activities on more orthodox lines, compiling rules calculated to avert suspicion (*ādāb al-ṣūfiya*), from Sulamī and Makkī to Ibn Ṭāhir Maḳdisī (*ṣafwa*) and Ghazālī. In practice, while keeping as the goal direct access (*fatḥ*) to reality, they gradually abandoned the freedom of musical assemblies (*samā'*) stimulating themselves with the ecstacy of theopathic utterances [cf. SHAṬḤ], often open to criticism, for regular recitations of litanies founded on the Kur'ān (*dhikr*) thus preparing the adept for a state of mental concentration (*tafakkur*) which he experiences in silence by himself, a state in which the successive perception of lights (*anwār*) differently coloured gradually denudes from its covering of words the "clarity" (of the recited litany) and "substantialises" it in the heart; which then participates in the divine essence of its prayer (*dhikr al-dhāt*, *bi-tadjawhur nūr al-dhikr fi 'l-ḳalb*, says Suhrawardī on chap. XXVII. of the *'Awārif*, II. 191).

Thus *ṭarīḳa* comes finally to mean a common life (*mu'āshara*), founded on a series of special rules in addition to the ordinary observances of Islām: to become an adept (*faḳīr*, Pers. *darwīsh*) the novice (*murīd*, *gandūz*) receives initiation (*bai'a*, *talḳīn*, *shadd*) before a hierarchy of witnesses (*shaikh al-sadjdjāda* = Pers. *pīr* = Turk. *bābā*; *murshid*, *muḳaddam*, *naḳīb*, *khalīfa*, *turdjumān*, Pers. *rind*, *rāphar* etc.); even if he is of an order allowing a wandering life (*siyāha*), he has to make periodic retreats (*'uzla*, *khalwa*, *arba'īnīya* = Pers. *čihil*) with them in a monastery (*ribāṭ*, *zāwiya* = Pers. *khanka* = Turk. *tekkiye*) of the order, supported by expiatory alms (*hadya*), generally built near the tomb of a venerated saint whose anniversary (*mawlid*, *'urs*) is celebrated and whose blessing is invoked (*ziyāra*, *baraka*).

In the interior of the monastery the common life of the brethren (*ikhwān* = Turk. *ākhīler*, an Anatolian term of the XIIIth century; there were only attempts to found convents of sisters in Egypt and Syria in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries) is at the same time distinguished by supererogatory exercises, vigils (*sahr*), fasts (*siyām*), invocations (*wird*; e.g. *yā latīf*, repeated 100 or 1,000 times), litanies (*dhikr*, *ḥizb*) especially at certain festivals (a kind of liturgical office for the vigils, *barā'a*, *raghā'ib*, *kadr*), and by dispensations (*rukhaṣ*), like the collections of alms (*kasama*, collected in the *kashkūl*) and private assemblies (*hadra*, *wazīfa*, *zerda*) in which in addition to litanies, platonic glances (*naẓar ila 'l-murd*), jesting (*mizāḥ*) even going as far as horseplay, dancing (*rakṣ*) and the rending of garments are allowed.

The actual ritual initiation, identical to that of initiation into trade-guilds of Karmatian origin, as Kahle has observed, was probably borrowed from them in the XIIth century (Taeschner, *Islām*, VI. 169—172, published a Turkish miniature of the XVIIth. century representing the scene). The diploma of initiation (*idjāza*) in use since 1227 (cf. Ibn Abī Usaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Inbā*, II. 250) reproduces the *isnād* of the traditionists to give the new initiate his double chain of affiliation (*silsila*, *shadjara*). At the same time he is given a double frock (*khirḳat al-wird*, *khirḳat al-tabarruk*) to show his twofold taking of an oath (*'ahd al-yad wa 'l-iḳtidā'* = *talḳīn* and *'ahd al-khirka*), his double adopted genealogy, instruction (oral transmission of the rule) and inspiration (individual illumination), to which his vow of obedience entitles him.

The orthodox canonists (*fuḳahā'*) have constantly attacked the innovations (*bid'a*) propagated by the *ṭarīḳa*'s their supererogatory exercises and their dispensations, their special costumes (characteristic headdresses with strips of colour, *kulāh*, *tādj* etc.), their use of stimulants (coffee, *hashīsh*, opium), their jugglery, their belief in the supernatural efficacy of the *talḳīn* and the *baraka*. They have devoted special attention to the critical history of the *isnād* of initiation, exposing the lacunae and the improbability of their chains [cf. TAṢAWWUF] and they have protested against the *isnād ilhāmī* (spiritual) which bases the privileges of the order on the apparitions of a holy being, mysterious and immortal, al-Khadir [q. v.], whom all the orders revere as the "master of the path" (*ṭarīḳa*), since having been the guide of Moses (Ḳur'ān, XVIII. 64—81) he is superior to the law (*sharī'a*) and the prophets and capable of guiding the soul of the mystic to the supreme reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*).

In Turkey the government has often persecuted the orders on account of their Shī'a associations; and after a brief truce during which the pan-Islām of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd endeavoured to make use of them, they were dissolved in 1925 for reactionary conspiracy. In the other Muslim coun-

tries in spite of some attempts at reform interesting from the moral (India) or intellectual (Algeria) point of view they are in a state of complete decline The acrobatics and juggling practised by certain adepts of the lower classes, and the moral corruption of too many of their leaders has aroused against almost all of them the hostility and contempt of the élite of the modern Muslim world.

The *ṭarīḳa* however cannot be completely neglected and although their average moral level is very far below that of the great examples of the first *Ṣūfiya*, the great part that they have never ceased to play in the everyday life, humble but profound, of the Muslim community, promises important results to those who will undertake a thorough study of their rules and writings Ethnologists like Tremearne and Westermarck have already shown that several of their rites, incorporated in an Islāmic liturgic structure, in which they play an unexpected part, are in reality pre-Islāmic survivals (e g. in the East Indies and in Java) or animistic infiltrations (e g *zār* of the Gulshanīya of Cairo borrowed from the Azande, sacrifices of the ʿĪsawīya of Meknes, modelled on the *bori* of the Hausa, cf. *R M M.*, xliv 1—52). Comparative folklore and psychology will also have something to learn from the hagiografic history of the saints documentation of the great Muslim orders (cf *Mél. R. Basset*, 1923, 1 259—270 and *Journal de Psychologie*, 1927, p. 163—168).

Introduction to the list of the ṬARĪḲA of Islām

To get the data in this list into their proper historical setting let us recall briefly that the isolated attempts at a common life in Islām [cf. TAṢAWWUF] only earned their adepts a generic name in 814 (Alexandria, Kūfa) that of *Ṣūfiya* After 857 (Muḥāsibī) this name begins to be applied in a rather loose way to all who had received a mystic call in the ʿIrāḳ (where some denser nuclei were called Sālimīya, Hallādjīya), this name was then contrasted for over two centuries with the name *Malāmatiya*, applied to the more active and more strict mystics of Khurāsān, who profess "indifference to censure" and reproach the Sūfiya with their aesthetic quietism and their fondness for the *samāʿ*.

For this primitive period, the list below only gives anachronistic names, artificially revived from the xiiith century by Muslim hagiographers with the names of authentic doctrinal schools, incorrectly described as religious orders and names of heresies imagined by the Imāmī theologians.

After the xiith century on the other hand, the list reflects with sufficient accuracy the different foundations of orders the history of which may be briefly summed up as follows birth among the Ṣūfiya-Khafīfiya of a secondary order, the Kāzarūnīya (1304) and among the Ṣūfiya-Djunaidiya of a larger order, directed by regular superiors (Djurdjānī, Fārmadhī, Nassādj, Ahmad Ghazālī) an order finally divided in the xiiith century into three: Khwādjagān (Yūsuf Hamadhānī, d. 1140), the Kubrāwīya (Kubrā, d 1221) and the Kādiriya (although their founder died in 1166, their rule was not organised till half a century later) To these two last orders, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḳādī (*Ḳawāʿid Wafiya*, cf. Lalelī, MS. 1478) adds: the *Rifāʿiya*, *Madanīya* (the future *Shādhilīya*) and *Čishtīya* to form the group of "five primitive *khirḳas*".

Others were soon added in the xiiith century Ḳalandarīya, Aḥmadīya, Mawlawīya; in the xivth century Bektāshiya, Naḳshabandiya, Ṣafawīya, Khalwatīya with their numerous later subdivisions, in the xvth century we have the reformation by Djazūlī in the Maghrib and rise of the Shaṭṭārīya in India and Sumatra; finally in the xixth century in the Maghrib we have with the reformation of the Kādirīya and of the Shādhilīya, the foundation of the Tidjānīya, Darḳāwa and Sanūsīya

None of the great orders is at the present day centralised except the Sanūsīya and the Mawlawīya; the bond which binds the adepts, being neither perpetual nor exclusive, becomes often extremely loose As a rule the number of persons affiliated to the brotherhoods in any particular Muslim country is not over 3% of the population, the most widely disseminated orders at present are the *Ḳādiriya* (ʿIrāḳ, Turkey, India, Turkestān, China, Nubia, Sūdān, Maghrib), *Naḳshabandīya* (Turkestān, China, Turkey, India, Malaya); *Shādhilīya* (Maghrib, Syria); *Bektāshīya* (Turkey, Albania); *Tidjānīya* (Maghrib, A O F , Tchad), *Sanūsīya* (Saharā, Ḥidjāz), *Shaṭṭārīya* (India, Malaya)

Several attempts at the federation of various brotherhoods were made in the Hamīdī period, they took the form of a curious syncretist hierarchy associating a permanent body of four universal intercessors Rifāʿī (president), Djilānī, Badawī and Dasūḳī, with the *abdāl* and the *ḳuṭb* of the present hour.

The Muslim orders not all having special articles in the *Encyclopaedia*, the list below gives in alphabetical order the names of the principal *ṭarīḳa* with a brief note on its origin and its subdivisions, its geographical position and the date (A D) of death of its founder. The principal orders are in small capitals and those that still exist are preceded by an asterisk The capital letters in the list refer to the nine sources used, given below; the numbers given on the right give the number of classification of each *ṭarīḳa* according to each source The symbolic figures of 32 and especially 40 (the number of the *abdāl* who watch over the safety of the world) will be noted

H = Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Mahdjūb*, ed Shukovski, 1926, p 218—340, and transl Nicholson, 1911, p 176—266 (11 names),
U = ʿUdjaimī, *Fahrasa*, MS M. Fasi (40 names);
S = Sanūsī, *Salsabīl muʿīn*, MS in my possession (40 names);
T = Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṭarāʾik al-Ḥaḳāʾik*, lith Teheran 1319, ii. 136 *sqq* (17 names);
O = d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1788, ii. 294—316 [in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p 117, and Brown, *Darwishes*, ed Rose, 1927, p 267—271 (32 names)];
G = Gumüshkhānī, *Djāmiʿ uṣūl*. , Cairo 1319, p. 3 *sqq* (40 names);
R = L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1885 (31 names);
P = Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, ii. 271 (5 names);
M = Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 2nd ed , 1926 (the figures refer to the pages).

U and S, Arabic sources, still unfortunately unedited, are of fundamental importance. H, T, P are Persian O, G, Turkish, have been compared with *R. M. M.*, ii. 513—517; *Isl.*, vi. 149—169; *M. W.*, 1922, p. 52—56. R, of Algerian origin, has been compared with le Châtelier (*Confréries*

musulmanes du Hedjaz, Paris 1887), Depont-Coppolani (*Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897) and Montet (in *E. R. E.*, 1918, p. 719—726) who utilised it.

List

Adhamīya — O[2] — artificial Turco-Syrian isnād of the xv[th] century, referring to a saint († 776)

Aḥmadīya — U[14] S[12] G[5] M[117] — Fgyptian order (Ṭanṭā — Badawī † 1276) Numerous branches. Shinnāwīya, Marāziḳa, Kannāsīya, Anbābīya, Hammūdīya, *Manā'ifīya, Sallāmīya, Halabīya, Zāhidīya, Shuʿaibīya, Taskiyanīya, ʿAiabīya, *Suṭūḥīya, Bundārīya, Muslimīya (= Shurunbulālīya), *Baiyūmīya.

ʿAidarūsīya — U[31] S[33] G[37] — Yemenite branch of the Kubrāwīya (xv[th] century)

Akbarīya — G[7] — = Hātimīya

ʿAlawīya — G[25] — artificial isnād referring to the 4[th] khalīfa [1])

*ʿAllawīya — Algerian branch of the Darḳāwa (Mostaganem — Ben Alioua, since 1919)

*Amīghanīya. — Nubian branch of the Idrīsīya — († 1853)

*ʿAmmārīya — M[90] — Algero-Tunisian branch of the Kādirīya (xix[th] century)

ʿArūsīya. — R[8] — Tripolitan branch of the Ḳādirīya (Zliten, xix[th] century).

ʿĀshiḳīya. — P[2] — heresy

Ashrafīya — O[19] — Turkish branch of the Ḳadirīya (Iznik) — († 1493) — = Wāhidīya

*ʿAwāmirīya — M[97] — Tunisian branch of the ʿIsawīya (xix[th] century).

*ʿAzzūzīya — M[97] — small Tunisian order (xix[th] century).

Bābā'iya. — O[17] — Turkish order (Adrianople) — († 1465)

Badawīya — O[11] — = Ahmadīya

*Bairamīya — O[18] G[20] — Turkish branch of the Safawīya (Angora) — († 1471) Sub-branches Ḥamzāwiya, Shaikhīya, Khwādja-Himmatiya

Baiyūmīya. — G[35] — cf. Ahmadīya.

*Bakkā'īya — R[22] — Sudanese branch of the Kādirīya († 1505) Branches (Kunta) Fadlīya, Āl Sīdīya

Bakrīya — G[22] — cf Siddīkīya.

„ . — name sometimes given to the Bait al-Bakrī (Shuyūkh al-Ṣūfīya of Cairo since the xvi[th] century).

„ . — U[20] S[16] O[20] R[11] — Syro-Fgyptian branch of the Shādhilīya — († 1503)

„ . — Egyptian reformed Khalwatīya († 1709).

*Banāwa. — branch of the Ḳādirīya in the Dekkan (xix[th] century).

*Bekṭāshīya — T[8] O[14] G[12] — Anatolian (since before 1336) and Balkan order (Albanian branch autonomous since 1922; centre at Akče Hisār)

*Bībarīya. — M[324] — small Cicilian order (in 1924).

Bisṭāmīya. — O[3] — artificial Turkish isnād of the xv[th] century (cf Taifūrīya)

*Būʿalīya. — M[97] — Algero-Egyptian branch of the Ḳādirīya (xix[th] century)

Buḥūrīya. — G[20] — not identified

*Būnūḥīya (= Būniyīn). — small order in Southern Morocco (cf. *R. M M*, lvii 141)

*Burhānīya (or Burhamīya). — U[13] S[30] — Egyptian order (Ibr Dasūḳī † 1277). Branches: Shahāwīya, Sharānība.

Dardīrīya. — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatīya († 1786).

*Darḳāwa. — M[90] — Algero-Moroccan branch of the Djazūlīya. — († 1823). Various branches Būzidīya, Kittānīya, Ḥarrāḳīya, ʿAllawīya

Dasūḳīya. — G[1] — = Burhānīya.

Dhahabīya — T[6] — Persian name of the Kubrāwīya.

Djahrīya — U[12] S[29] — Yemenite order (xv[th] century)

* „ . — M[251, 267] — orders authorising the dhikr in public, in China and Turkestān (Ḳādirīya); cf. Khafīya. — (xix[th] century) [2]).

*Djalālīya-Bukhārīya — Hindu branch of the Suhrawardīya (Makhdūm-i-djahānīyān, † 1383).

Djalwatīya — O[25] G[11] — Turkish branch of the Safawīya (Brussa, Pīr Uftada † 1580). Branches: Hāshimīya, Rawshanīya, Fanā'iya, *Hudā'iya

Djamālīya. — T[11] — Persian branch of the Suhrawardīya. — (Ardistānī † xv[th] century).

„ — O[32] — Turkish order — Stambul — († 1750)

*Djarrāhīya — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya — († 1733)

Djazūlīya — R[9] — Moroccan reformed Shādhilīya — († 1465) Its branches are Darkāwa, Hamādisha, ʿIsawīya, Sharḳāwa, Ṭaibīya.

Djibāwīya = Saʿdīya

Djilāla — Moroccan name for the Ḳādirīya

Djumaidīya. — H[4] U[39] S[4] R[3] — doctrinal Baghdād school († 909) which was evolved in the Sūfīya in the xii[th] century —, and gave rise to the Khwādjagān, Kubrāwīya and Ḳādirīya — name revived in the xvi[th] century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr.

Firdawsīya — Hindu name of the Kubrāwīya

*Ghawthīya — U[37] S[26] — Hindu branch of the Shattārīya (Ghawth, † 1562 at Gwalior)

Ghazalīya — G[13] — doctrinal school of Ghazālī († 1111)

*Ghāzīya — R[14] — branch of the Shādhilīya in South Morocco — († 1526)

*Gulshanīya — O[22] G[18] — = Rawshanīya.

*Gurzmai. — Hindu branch of the Ḳādirīya.

*Ḥabībīya. — R[13] — branch of Shādhilīya in Tafilelt († 1752)

Haddādīya — G[31] — not identified

*Haddāwa — wandering Moroccan order at Tagzirt. — (xix[th] century).

*Ḥafnawīya — R[17] — Egyptian branch of the Khalwatīya — († 1749)

Haidarīya. — Persian branch of the Ḳalandarīya (xiii[th] century).

* „ = Khāksār. — Persian artisan brotherhood (xix[th]).

Hakīmīya — H[7] — doctrinal school of Ḥakīm Tirmidhī († 898)

Ḥallādjīya. — H[12] U[38] S[5] — doctrinal school of Husain b. Mansūr Ḥallādj († 922); name revived in the xiii[th] century for the artificial isnād of a dhikr

Hamadhānīya. — U[7] S[21] — Kashmir branch of the Kubrāwīya. — (ʿAlī Hamadhānī † 1385).

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1) Cf. ʿUmarīya (G[23]), ʿUthmānīya (G[24]), ʿAbbāsīya (G[26]), Zainabīya (G[27])

2) Cf. Ghaibīya (G[32]), Ḥadarīya (G[39]).

ʾḤamādiṣha. — Moroccan branch of the Djazūlīya in the Zerhoun (xviiith century) with sub-branches. Daghūghīya, Ṣaddāḳīya, Riyāḥīya, Ḳāsimīya, — at Meknès and at Salé

Ḥamzāwīya — G[19] — mixture of Bairamīya and Malāmīya.

ʾḤanṣalīya. — R[26] — small Orano-Moroccan order. — († 1702)

„ . — Chleuh branch of the Nāṣirīya — (xixth century)

Ḥarīrīya. — Hauranian branch of the Rifāʿīya — († 1247).

Ḥātimīya. — doctrinal school of Ibn ʿArabī († 1240)

Hudāʾīya = Djalwatīya

Hulmānīya. — H[11] — Hulūlīya sect of the xth century.

Hulūlīya — H[11] — heresy.

Hurūfīya. — heresy

Ibāḥīya. — heresy

Idrīsīya — M[44] — branch of the Khādirīya settled in ʿAsīr (xixth century)

Ighit-Bāshiyā. — O[23] — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya († 1544)

Ightishāshīya. — T[7] — Khurāsān branch of the Kubrāwīya (Ishāḳ Khattalānī, † xvth century)

ʿIsawīya. — R[21] G[28] (?) — Moroccan branch of the Djazūlīya at Meknès († 1524).

Ishrāḳīya. — doctrinal school of Suhrawardī Halabī († 1191)

Ismāʿīlīya. — Nubian order in Kurdufān (xixth century).

Ittiḥādīya — heresy.

ḲĀDIRĪYA. — U[26] S[6] T[13] O[5] G[2] R[4] — Baghdād order developed from the school of the Djunaidīya (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī † 1166) — Many branches. in Yemen and Somalia, Yāfiʿīya (xivth century), Mushāriʿīya, ʿUrābīya, in India, Banāwa and Gurzmar, in Anatolia, Ashrafīya, Hindīya, Khulūsīya, Nābulūsīya, Rūmīya and Waṣlatīya, in Egypt, Fāridīya and Kāsimīya (xixth century), in Maghrib, ʿAmmārīya, ʿArūsīya, Būʿalīya and Djilāla; in western Sūdān, Bakkāʾīya

ḲALANDARĪYA — U[3] S[39] — itinerant order founded in Persia (Sāwidjī † 1218), spread to Syria and India (xivth century—xvith century) now extinct.

Karrāʾīya. — M[97] — small Tunisian order (xixth century).

Karzāzīya. — R[23] — Shādhilīya branch in Tafilelt (xixth century)

Ḳaṣṣārīya. — H[2] — doctrinal school of the ixth century = Malāmatīya

Kāzarūnīya. — Persian order descended from the doctrinal school of the Khafīfīya, at Shīrāz — († 1304).

Khādirīya (= Khiḍrīya) — R[27] — Moroccan order (Ibn al-Dabbāgh † 1717) whence are derived the Amīrghanīya, Idrīsīya and Sanūsīya.

Khafīfīya — H[9] U[16] S[31] — doctrinal school of Ibn Khafīf († 982); name revived in the xivth century for an artificial isnād.

Khafīya. — surname of the Naḳshabandīya in China and Turkestān (xixth century), cf. Djahrīya.

Khaliliya. — M[97] — small Tunisian order (xixth century).

KHALWATĪYA. — U[10] S[19] T[17] O[15] G[10] R[20] — branch of the Suhrawardīya which arose in Khurāsān (Ẓahīr al-Dīn † 1397) and spread into Turkey. — Numerous branches in Anatolia, Djarrāḥīya, Ighitbāshīya, ʿUshshāḳiya, Niyāzīya, Sunbulīya, Shamsīya, Gülshanīya and Shudjaʾīya; in Egypt, Daifīya, Hafnawīya, Sabāʿīya, Ṣāwīya-Dardirīya, Maghāzīya, in Nubia, in Ḥidjāz and in Somaliland, Sālihīya; in Kabylia, Raḥmānīya.

*Khammūsīya. — M[97] — Tunisian order (xixth century)

Kharrāzīya. — H[8] U[29] S[36] — doctrinal school of Abū Saʿīd Kharrāz († 899); then artificial Turkish isnād of the xvth century

Khawātiīya. — U[24] S[12] — Ḥidjāzi order of Madanīya (Ibn ʿArrāḳ † 1556)

Khwādjagān — T[15] — Persian order descended from the school of the Djunaidīya and spread in Turkestān (= Yasawīya) — (Yūsuf Hamadhānī † 1140)

KUBRĀWĪYA — U[6] S[20] T[6] O[8] — Khurāsān order descended from the school of the Djunaidīya (Nadjm Kubrā † 1221) Branches. ʿAidarūsīya, Hamadhānīya, Ighiushāshīya, Nūrbakhshīya, Nūrīya, Ruknīya

Ḳūniyāwīya — T[12] — doctrinal school of Ṣadr Rūmī († 1273), descended from the Hātimīya

Kushairīya — U[23] S[35] — artificial isnād of the xvith century, refering to Ḳushairī († 1074)

Madanīya. — U[22] S[7] — first name of the Shādhilīya.

„ — Tripolitan branch of the Darḳāwa at Misurata († 1823).

*MADĀRĪYA — U[33] S[38] — wandering Hindu order (Shāh Madār, † 1438 at Makanpur).

Maghribīya. — G[29] — perhaps to be identified with the disciples of the Persian poet Maghribī († 1406)

Malāmatīya — U[5] S[18] — doctrinal school of Khurāsān (ixth—xith century), opposed to the Sūfiya of the ʿIrāḳ — name revived in the xvith century for an artificial isnād

Malāmīya. — G[36] — (= Hamzāwīya) — branch of the Bairamīya of Turkey († 1553)

Mansūrīya = Hallādjīya.

Marāzika. — branch of the Ahmadīya (xivth century)

Mashīshīya. — disciples of the Moroccan saint Ibn Mashīsh († 1226), at first confused with the Shādhilīya, then regrouped in the xvith century.

*Matbūlīya — G[38] — small Egyptian order († 1475)

*MAWLAWĪYA — U[11] S[28] T[2] G[8] O[10] — Anatolian order (Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, † 1273 at Konīya) Branches. Pūstnishīnīya, Irshādīya.

Miṣrīya = Niyāzīya

Muḥammadīya. — U[1] S[1] — devotional artificial isnād referring to the Prophet without intermediary. utilised in the xvith century by ʿAlī Khawwās and Shaʿrānī, also used in connection with the recitation of *Dalāʾil* of Djazūlī

Muḥāsibīya. — H[1] — doctrinal school of Ḥārith Muḥāsibī († 859)

Murādīya. — O[30] — Turkish order in Stambul. — († 1719).

Mushāriʿīya. — U[30] S[34] — Yemenite branch of the Ḳādirīya (xvth century)

Muṭāwiʿa = Aḥmadīya.

*NAḲSHABANDĪYA. — U[36] S[24] T[10] O[12] G[1] R[19] — order in Turkestān, claiming descent from the school of the

Ṭaifūrīya. — Branches in China, Turkestān, Kazan, Turkey, India and Java. — (Bahā' al-Dīn † 1388).

NAḲSHABANDĪYA = Khālidīya — reformed Turkish (xix^th century)

*Nāṣirīya — R^16 — South Moroccan branch of the Shādhilīya, at Tamghrūt (xvii^th century) with Tunisian sub-branch (Shabbīya).

*Niʿmatallāhīya — T^5 — the only order of the Persian Shīʿa in Kirmān. descended from the Ḳādirīya-Yāfiʿīya. — († 1430).

Niyāzīya. — O^29 — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya († 1693).

Nubuwīya — artisan brotherhood in Syria (xii^th century)

Nūr al-Dīnīya. — O^31 = Djarrāḥīya.

Nūrbakhshīya — T^3 — Khurāsān branch of the Kubrāwīya (Muhammad Nūrbakhsh † 1465)

Nūrīya. — H^5 — doctrinal school of Nūrī († 907).

„ . — U^9 S^23 — dissenting branch of the Ruknīya (xiv^th century).

„ . — heresy.

Pīr-Ḥādjāt. — T^14 — Afghān order professing to be that of Ansārī Harawī († 1088)

*Rahḥālīya — order of Moroccan jugglers (xvi^th century)

*Raḥmanīya. — R^30 — branch of the Khalwatīya in Kabylia. — (1793).

*Rashīdīya — R^13 — small Algerian order formed dissenting from the Yūsufīya (xix^th century).

*Rasūlshāhīya. — M^293 — Hindu order of Gudjarāt (xix^th century).

Rawshanīya. — branch of the Khalwatīya, in Turkey and Cairo (Gulshanī † 1533)

. — Afghān branch of the Suhrawardīya (Bāyazīd Anṣārī, † end of the xvi^th century).

*Rifāʿīya. — U^28 S^8 T^9 O^6 G^4 — South Irāḳ order — († 1175) — spread from its centre in Basra to Damascus and Stambul — Syrian branches Harīrīya, Saʿdīya, Saiyādīya; — Egyptian Bāzīya, Mālikīya, and Ḥabībīya (xix^th century)

Ruknīya — U^8 S^22 — Baghdād branch of Kubrāwīya (ʿAlā al-Dawla Simnānī † 1336)

Rūmīya. — G^14 — = Ashrafīya.

Sabʿīnīya. — doctrinal school and wandering order of Ibn Sabʿīn († 1268).

*Saʿdīya — O^13 G^15 — Syrian branch of the Rifāʿīya (Saʿd al-Dīn Djibāwī † 1335) — Branches ʿAbd al-Salāmīya, Abu 'l-Wafā'īya.

Ṣafawīya. — T^4 — Azéri branch of Suhrawardīya at Ardabīl — († 1334) It gave rise to the sect of the Ḳizilbāshīya, to the Persian dynasty of the Ṣafawids, and to several Turkish orders

Sahlīya. — H^6 U^40 S^40 — doctrinal school (Sahl Tustarī † 896); name revived in the xvi^th century for an artificial isnād.

Saḳaṭīya. — O^4 — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvi^th century. — (Saḳaṭī † 867).

Salāmīya = ʿArūsīya

Sālimīya = Sahlīya (in the first sense)

*Sammānīya. — Egyptian branch of Shādhilīya (xix^th century).

*Sanānīya. — M^97 — minor Tunisian order (xix^th century).

*Sanūsīya. — R^31 — military order, descended from the Khādirīya, at Djagbub then Cufra, in the oriental Ṣaḥarā. — († 1859).

Sāsānīya. — artisan brotherhood in Syria and Anatolia (xii^th—xvi^th century)

Saiyārīya. — I^10 — doctrinal school of the x^th century.

*Shaʿbānīya. — G^17 — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya at Kastamuni — († 1569).

*Shādhilīya — U^17 S^13 T^16 O^9 G^3 R^6 — order founded by Abū Madyan of Tlemcen († 1197) and ʿAlī Shādhilī of Tunis († 1256). — Maghrib branches Ghāzīya, Ḥabībīya, Karzāzīya, Nāṣirīya, Shaikhīya, Suhailīya, Yūsufīya, Zarrūḳīya and Ziyānīya —; Egyptian: Bakrīya, Khawāṭirīya, Wafā'īya, Djawharīya, Makkīya, Hāshimīya, Sammānīya ʿAfīfīya, Ḳāsimīya, ʿArūsīya, Handūshīya, Ḳawūḳdjīya —; there are some at Stambul, in Rumania, in Nubia and in the Comores.

Shāhmadārīya = Malang = Madārīya

*Shaikhīya — R^24 — name given to the Shādhilīya Ūlād Sīdī Shaikh of Orania (xix^th century).

Shamsīya. — O^27 — Turkish branch of Khalwatīya. — († 1601) = Nūrīya-Sīwāsīya

*Sharḳāwa. — Moroccan branch of the Djazūlīya at Bujad (1599)

Sharḳāwīya. — Egyptian order of the Khalwatīya (xviii^th century)

*Shaṭṭārīya. — U^34 S^25 G^34 — Hindu, Sumatra and Javanese order (ʿAbdallāh Shāttār † 1415 or 1428)[1] — Branches. Ghawthīya, ʿUshaiḳīya

Shūdhīya — wandering Spanish order of the xii^th century based on the Sabʿīnīya

Siddīḳīya. — U^4 S^2 R^1 — artificial isnād referring to the second khalīfa (invented by ʿAṭā 'llāh, xiii^th century).

Sinān-Ummīya — O^28 — Turkish order († 1668).

Suhailīya — R^15 — Algerian branch of Shādhilīya (xix^th century)

*Suhrawardīya. — U^15 S^11 T^1 O^7 G^9 R^5 — Baghdād order founded by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir Suhrawardī († 1167) and ʿUmar Suhrawardī († 1234) who were called "Siddīḳīya" = descendants of the second khalīfa; found in Afghānistān and in India — Branches Djalālīya, Djamālīya, Khalwatīya, Rawshanīya, Ṣafawīya and Zainīya

*Sultānīya. — M^251 — order of Turkestān (xix^th century)

*Sunbulīya — O^21 G^39 — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya († 1529).

*Tabbā'īya. — M^97 — Tunisian order (xix^th century).

*Ṭaibīya — R^25 — Moroccan branch of the Djazūlīya at Ouezzan († 1727).

Ṭaifūrīya. — H^3 — doctrinal school of Dāsitānī and Khurḳānī (xi^th century), descended from Abū Yazīd Ṭaifūr Bisṭāmī († 877).

*Ṭālibīya — small Moroccan order at Salé (xix^th century, cf. *R. M. M.*, lviii. 143)

Ṭalḳīnīya. — P^3 — heresy.

*Tidjānīya — R^29 — Algero-Moroccan order († 1815). From Temacin and ʿAin Mahdī, it has spread through Eastern and Western Sūdān.

*Tshishtīya. — U^32 S^37 G^16 — Indo-Afghān order: centre at Adjmīr († 1236).

Tuhāmīya = Ṭaibīya.

ʿUlwānīya. — O^1 — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvi^th century, referring to a saint of Djedda of the viii^th century.

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1) Cf. biogr. in Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Lith. Cawnpore 1893, ii. 306—308.

Ummī-Sinānīya — O[24] — Turkish order — (†1552)
ʿUrābīya. — U[27] S[9] — branch of the Ḳādirīya (xvi[th] century)
ʿUshaiḳīya — U[35] S[27] — Hindu branch of the Shaṭṭārīya (Abū Yazīd ʿIshḳī †xv[th] century).
*ʿUshshāḳīya. — O[26] G[21] — Turkish branch of the Khalwatīya (†1592).
Uwaisīya. — U[2] S[3] G[40] R[2] — Turkish artificial isnād of the xvi[th] century, referring to a Saḥābī.

*Wafā'īya — R[7] — reformed Syro-Egyptian of the Shādhilīya (†1358)
Wahdatīya — P[5] — heresy = Wudjūdīya
*Wārith ʿAlishāhīya. — Hindu order (end of the xix[th] century)
Wusūlīya — P[1] — heresy

Yasawīya — branch of the Khwādjagān in Turkestān (Yasawī †1167).
Yūnusīya — wandering Syrian order (Shaibānī †1222)
*Yūsufīya — R[12] — Maghrib branch of Shādhilīya at Miliana (xvi[th] century)

Zarrūḳīya. — U[19] S[15] R[10] — branch of the Shādhilīya of Fès (†1493)
Zaimīya — O[16] — Turk branch of Suhrawardīya at Brussa (Khwāfī †1435).
*Ziyānīya — R[28] — Maghrib branch of the Shādhilīya (xix[th] century)
Zuraiḳīya — P[1] — heresy not identified (name perhaps wrongly transcribed).

Bibliography The principal sources are enumerated at the head of the table given above One may add those given by G. Pfannmuller, in *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, 1923, p 292—315. — Cf also in the Encyclopaedia the articles BEḲṬĀSH, DERḲĀWA, DERWĪSH, DHIKR, FUTŪWA, GULSHANĪ, ḤALLĀDJ, ʿĪSAWĪYA, KALANDARĪYA, . SAʿDĪYA, SĀLIMĪYA, SANŪSĪYA, SHADD, SHĀDHILĪYA, SHAṬḤ, SHAṬṬĀRĪYA . (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

TA'RĪKH (A), 1. history in general, annals, chronicles It is the title of a great many historical works, like the *Takmilat Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, supplement to the *Annals* of Ṭabarī; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, *Mekka* etc, history of Baghdād, of Mecca etc., *Ta'rīkh al-Andalus*, history of Andalusia The word has also been applied to works of a very different kind, like that of al-Bīrūnī on India, *Ta'rīkh al-Hind*, which is rather a study of the state of learning in India, or to special dictionaries like the *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'* of Ibn al-Ḳiftī, a biographical and bibliographical dictionary of early scholars and Arab continuers of the Greek tradition

2 Era, computation, date Besides their own era of the Hidjra [q v], the Muslims have had several other eras. that of the Creation or of the world (*ta'rīkh al-ʿālam*), a very uncertain computation which shows great variation among Jews, Christians and Magi. Al-Bīrūnī and the Christian historian Abu 'l-Faradj (Bar-Hebraeus) reproach the Jews with having reduced the number of years since the Creation so that the date of the birth of Jesus is no longer in agreement with the prophecies relative to the Messiah; thus they placed the birth of Seth, son of Adam, 100 years too soon and have done the same with the other patriarchs down to Araham so that their computation gives 4,210 years from the Creation to the age of the Messiah instead of 5,586 approximately given by the Torah. The Jews, according to al-Bīrūnī, expected the Messiah at the end of the year 1335 of Alexander, so that Christ was born, in the general opinion, in the year 311 of this era — The Era of the Deluge, which also shows differences between Jews and Christians; the astronomer Abū Maʿshar used it in his *Canon*. — The era of Nebuchadnezzar (the first Bukhtnaṣṣar) used by Ptolemy in the *Almagesta* concurrently with the Cycles of Callipus — That of Philip Arrhidaeus, father of Alexander, used by Theon of Alexandria in his *Canon* — The era of Alexander, with Greek months, or era of the Seleucids, dates from the entry of Seleucus Nicator into Babylon, twelve years after the death of Alexander, in use among the Syrians and Jews (era of the Contracts), the Rūmīs also used it with a slight variation Muhammad was born in the year 812 of the era of Alexander. — An era of Augustus, one of Antonius used by Ptolemy for corrections in the position of the stars — The era of Diocletian or era of the martyrs which dates from the first year of the reign of Diocletian, in 596 of Alexander; it is that which was used by the Copts. — In Persia and among the Zoroastrians, the two eras of Yezdedjird III are dated one from his accession and the other from his death

Under Muslim rule in Persia an interesting reform of the calendar took place when the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid brought the *Nawrūz* or Persian New Year day, which the abolition of the intercalation had advanced too much, back to a date more in keeping with agricultural work The Khānian, the era of the Ilkhāns, was introduced into Persia by Ghāzān Mahmūd on Radjab I, 701 A D.; it is a solar era. Another reform is that of the Seldjūḳ Sultān Malik Shāh who instituted the Djalālī era — On March 1, 1676 (old style) the Ottomans adopted a solar calendar based on the Julian, and called it "The Ottoman fiscal calendar" The Julian year began about 11 days before the lunar year, the dates of the calendar did not keep in agreement with those of the Hidjra The Ilāhī era was established by Akbar in the 30[th] year of his reign. It dated from the 5[th] Rabīʿ II, 963 (Feb. 19, 1556), the date of his accession, the years are solar. In modern times, Mukhtār Pasha Ghāzī has prepared another solar calendar of remarkable accuracy, which would only show an error of 0.28 of a day in a 100 centuries — In 1926 the Kemālist Turks abandoned the Muhammadan lunar calendar and adopted the European system

While talking of dates it may be worth mentioning the system of notation called *djummal* (chronogram) which is sometimes found in texts of a literary character it consists in dating by forming words, the numeral value of the letters of which gives the date Thus the sentence *Nadjāt al-khalḳ min al-kufr bi-Muḥammad*. "Muḥammad saves the world from unbelief' gives, when the total value of its letters is added up, the date 1335 (an example from al-Bīrūnī).

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of ancient nations*, ed. and transl. E. Sachau, London 1879, chap III. and *passim*, Abu 'l-Faradj, *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beyrouth 1890, E Lacoine, *Table de concordance des dates des Calendriers arabe, copte, grégorien, israélite*, etc., Paris 1891.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

TARIM, local (Turkish) pronunciation *Terım*, the principal river of modern Chinese Turkistān (length about 1,200 miles) It is probably the Oikhardēs of Ptolemy (VI. 16) In the first (seventh) century the river is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Čuang (Hiouen-Thsang, *Mémoires*, transl. Stan Julien, II. 220) under the name Si-to (Sanskrit Sītā) In the fifth (XIth) century Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (I 116) mentions the river Usmī Tarım "which flows out of the land of Islām into the land of the Uighurs and loses itself in the sand there" According to the same source (*op. cit*, p 332), Usmī-Tarım was a place near Kučā on the frontier of the land of the Uighurs along which the river flowed The name Tarım then as now was apparently applied to the lower course of the river, in its upper course, often also down to its mouth, it is called after the capital of Chinese Turkistān, Yārkand Daryā The source of the Yārkand-Daryā is the Raskem-Daryā which lies in the mountains of Ḳarakoıum on the frontier of India. In the history of Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887—1888, II 219), a place called Tarım is mentioned not far from Bāı and Kūsan (Kučā) Tarım appears also in the *Ta'rīkh-ı Rashīdī* of Muhammad Haidar (transl E D. Ross, p 67) as the name of a district, along with Turfān, Lob and Katak, the name of the river is not mentioned in these sources According to the *Ta'rīkh-ı Rashīdī* (*op cit*, p 11), the town of Lob-Katak (or the towns of Lob and Katak) was destroyed by a sandstorm in the VIIIth (XIVth) century As Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, London 1898, p 850) has ascertained, legends about the destroyed town of Katak ("*Shahr-ı-Kottek* or else *Shahr-ı-Katak*") have survived to the present day, although no one has seen the ruins of this town An arm of the Tarım in its lower course is called Ketek-Tarım (Kornilow, *Kashgarıya*, Tashkent 1903, p 164). In the time of Mahmūd Kāshgharī, Islām had apparently not yet spread on the lower course of the Tarım. The people of town and desert of Lob on the other hand are described as Muhammadans by Marco Polo (Ch. 57)

The Yārkand-Daryā leaves the mountains and enters the plain at the village of Ḳaıčun and receives on the left bank the Kïzïl-Su or Kāshghar-Daryā, the Aḳsu or Aḳsu-Daryā, the Muzart or Shāh-Yār-Daryā and the Konče-Daryā, on the right the Tıznab, the Khatan-Daryā and the Kerya-Daryā The right hand tributaries only reach the Tarım when they are flooded Below the mouth of the Aksu the Tarım is about 400 yards broad, in this region it is divided into several arms, the principal arm, the Ugen-Daryā, is 170 yards wide at Terek where Sven Hedin crossed it (*Through Asia*, p 847) The separate arms are lost in the basin of the Lob or Lob-nor (Mongol Lake Lob) in which the Čerčen-Daryā also flows, the Su-ho also flows into it from the east. Lop (or Lob), according to Sven Hedin (*Through Asia*, p 871), is now the name applied to the whole region from the mouth of the Ugen-Daryā and the Tarım in the north to the village of Čaıkhlïḳ (south of Čerčen-Daryā) in the south; as Pelliot (*Journ. As.*, Ser XI., vol. VII. 119) suggests, the same word Lop is reproduced at the beginning of our era in Chinese by Leou-lan. As the terms Lop-nor and Tarım-gol (*gol*, Mongol: river, the latter on the map by J. Klaproth of 1829) show, the earliest accounts of the lake basin and lower course of the Tarım reached European scholars from Mongol (or Kalmük) sources. Quite recently the geographical conditions and the archaeological remains on the lower course of the Tarım have been investigated by numerous expeditions and many endeavours have been made to connect modern sites with references in the literary, especially Chinese, sources. According to Sir Aurel Stein's most recent explorations (1914; cf. *Geogr Journ.*, Aug and Sept. 1916), there has probably been a large delta in the now almost completely dried up bed of the Lob, but never a large lake within historic times.

On account of its continental climate, the Tarım in spite of southern situation is covered with ice about three months of the year. On the lower course of the Tarım the natives (*Loplïḳ*) catch fish in special boats Sven Hedin explored the region of Lob-nor in one such boat; there has never been any navigation in the proper sense on the Tarım As in the time of Mahmūd Kāshgharī, the river was swallowed up by the desert before it reached the bed of the lake, the fishing village of Kum-čap ghan is described by Hedin (*op. cit.*, p. 884) as "the entrance to the tomb of the Tarım".

Bibliography A particularly full account of the most important sources is given in Kornilow, *Kashgarıya*, Tāshkent 1903, p 157 *sqq*, from his own researches and the narration of Prževalskı, Hedin, Pievtzow, Kozlow etc.

(W BARTHOLD)

TARĪM, 1. an old town and still one of the most important in northern Ḥaḍramōt, on the left side of the main wādī which traverses the whole of Hadramōt and is called Wādī Masile east of Shibām or Wadī Hadramōt or simply al-Wādī, others distinguish Wādī Masile and Wādī Hadramōt, but are not agreed on the position of the confluence of the two (cf Stieler's map 60 in his *Handatlas*[9] [Gotha 1905] and the *Map of Hadramut* [surveyed by Imam Sharif Khan Bahadur] in Th Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p 70) The statements of the Arab geographers regarding Ḥadramōt, especially the interior (already in part utilised by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, XII [Berlin 1846], passim and brought together in a critical survey based on all texts, so far accessible, by M de Goeje, *Hadhramaut*, *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, II, 1886, p. 101 *sqq*) are exceedingly scanty and do not give the impression of being based on the accounts of eye-witnesses, but contain the same matter as the isolated references in the travellers before Wrede and his own information about districts which he was not able himself to visit. The Arab geographers describe Shibām and Tarīm as two (principal) towns in Ḥaḍramōt, without further defining their situation, e g Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, II. 284, III 247; I 746; al-Idrīsī (see Jaubert, *Géographie d'Édrisi* [Paris 1836], p 149 *sq* and 53) and others (see below) Al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, p. 87, calls Tarīm a large town (as he does the Tarīs northeast of Shibām), Shibām the great capital (p. 86) Of no importance are the mere references as in al-Hamdānī, p. 177 (along with Tarīs) etc, or references in poets in al-Hamdānī, p. 182; al-Bakrī, p 107, 184 etc. K. Niebuhr, as early as 1763 (see his *Beschreibung von Arabien* [Copenhagen 1772], p. 286 *sqq*) received in Ṣanʿā' and Masḳaṭ from Arabs stories of the existence of Tarīm and Shibām (on p. 286 the mention of "these two most prominent towns of Ḥaḍramōt" is quoted from the *Geographia*

Nubiensis [the Latin synopsis of al-Idrīsī, Paris 1619] and Abu 'l-Fidā') Ritter and others have given mistaken accounts of the geographical position of Tarīm; according to the best available map of Ḥaḍramōt (that of L. Hirsch) it is approximately in 49° 55′ E. Long. and 16° 44′ N. Lat

L. W. C. van den Berg, from his official position in Batavia, was able to get very full particulars of their native land from Arabs from Hadramōt, who had migrated to the Dutch East Indies, as their countrymen still do; most of his informants came from the district of the principal Wādī between Shibām and Tarīm. This information he worked up in his *Le Ḥadhramout et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien* (Batavia 1886) (cf C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabie en Oost-Indie* [Leyden 1907, p. 19 *sqq.*, French translation in *Revue de l'Histoire des Rel*, lvii, 1908, p 74 *sqq.*]). Along with much other information we owe to van den Berg the first more accurate details of Tarīm According to him it was the old capital (Maltzan marks Tarīm on the map in his *Reise* as "capital of Hadramaut proper"), Sai'ūn (p. 13), he says, is the modern capital. On p. 26 he describes the wādīs that come from the north from the al-Woṭī mountains On p. 18 *sqq.* he gives distances for the various stations on the road from al Shihr to Tarīm Tarīm is surpassed by Sai'ūn in all respects in which it once had the supremacy in the land, number of inhabitants, trade, industry and it is more advanced generally. Several houses were already uninhabited, streets deserted, a large number of mosques no longer visited or fallen into disrepair The decline of the town is said to have begun as early as the thirties of last century and to have been brought about by the constant feuds between the tribes of the district. According to a not very probable report in the Arabic newspaper *al-Ḏjawā'ib* of 18th Rabī' I 1299 (Feb 8, 1882, Constantinople), Tarīm had about 25,000 inhabitants (cf. Wrede's statement); according to the results of van den Berg's enquiries (p. 52) it had only 10,000 (which coincides with Wellsted's statement) Tarīm was formerly the centre of the textile industry of Ḥaḍramōt, which however was only carried on in private houses and in his time (p 78) was still of importance, although it had begun to decline as a result of European competition. So early a writer as Seetzen (*Zach's Monatl Correspondenz*, 1811, xxviii., p. 240) knew that silk shawls embroidered with gold thread were made in Tarīm The town was at one time also the centre of higher education in the land (grammar, theology and law) Sai'ūn has now taken its place in this respect also (p 88)

In the collection of Ḥaḍramī stories collected by C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, i., *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leyden 1901) from the lips of natives, Tarīm is mentioned (p. 175 [185], 432) (in the last passage there is a reference to the school there, *Rbāṭ Terīm*, further particulars of it on p. 450 *sq.*)

The first European to visit Shibām, Sai'ūn and Tarīm, (July 1893) and to be able to report on the town from his own experiences, was Leo Hirsch (*Reisen in Südarabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leyden 1897). His description of the journey from Shibām to Tarīm (p. 209 *sqq.*) and his account of the latter town are full of information. Tarīm, he says, lies on the left bank of the Wādī Masīle (going from Shibām) on the side of a hill, according to his map on the southern slopes; v. d. Berg's statement: "Terīm (est situé sur le versant) de la chaîne des montagnes septentrionales" (p. 22) should therefore be corrected. On p. 227 *sqq.* Hirsch gives a fuller description of the town and its situation Here we will only mention that whole quarters of the town, especially the southwestern part, present a desolate appearance and among the houses which are mostly in ruins — as v. d. Berg already mentioned — there are very few distinguished for size or good repair The number of mosques, the well kept whitewashed minarets of which rise up among the houses, is not very large according to him (p 229) (according to v d. Berg over 300). With his statement "The medrese, where theology and law are taught, is joined to the Rubāṭ Mosque" we may compare the reference quoted above from Landberg and v d. Berg's note (p 88) that the high school, also a hostel for students, at Sai'ūn, an annexe of the great mosque there, is called *Robāṭ* (cf. *ribāṭ* in the meaning, "hostel for poor Muslim students") According to Landberg's information, the school at Tarīm was closed and its place taken by that at Sai'ūn (see also v. d Berg) Hirsch learned from a sayyid of the town, who was lamenting its increasing decline, that it had consisted from early times of five *bilād* (quarters) and its population was then 3,810 The Sulṭān of the town had only a nominal authority and was in reality in the hands of the great sayyids (p. 231). Tarīm like Sai'ūn belongs to the Kathīrī tribes; it has its own coins of silver and copper (a collection in the Berlin and British Museum, some reproduced at the end of Hirsch's book, see also Sir John A Bucknill, *A Note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia*, in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol iii., part i. [April 1925] with a plate). On account of the hostile attitude of the population, Hirsch had to leave Tarīm after a few hours' stay only and return to Shibām next morning, he had no time for a thorough examination

From a comparison of his statements with the second-hand information of earlier writers, it is evident that, apart from the points of difference already indicated from v d. Berg, in the latter's map the places from Shibām to Tarīm are put too far to the east and that he has also not given correctly the size and population of the three important towns Shibām the largest town — as it was even in al-Hamdānī's time — which has about 6,000 inhabitants (Hirsch, p. 198 and Bent, *op cit*, p 148, on the other hand v d. Berg, p. 42 says only 2,000), is considered an important town and far surpasses Sai'ūn (with c 4,500 inhabitants, according to v d. Berg on the other hand 15,000) and Tarīm as a centre of life and activity (Hirsch, p. 205), is put by him too far below Sai'ūn, whose Sulṭān is said to be recognised in Tarīm also, and even below Tarīm in importance. The opinion of D G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia* (London 1905), p. 222, that "the rivalry of these towns is such, and the changes in them are so frequent, that it is not impossible that Van den Berg was right at the moment, in regarding Sai'ūn as the capital of Hadramawt, with Tarīm for its only peer", is hardly plausible in view of the shortness of the interval. We may note here the reference to the "journey of Mu'allim 'Abūd from Gishin to Terīm" in W. Hein (*Südarabische Itinerarien, M.G.G W.*,

lvii. [1914], p. 37 *sqq.* published by his widow from his literary remains), according to which Sai'ūn is larger than Tarim, and Shibām smaller than these two towns and larger than the others (p. 43), which would rather agree with v. d Berg's estimate. Against this view however are the statements according to which Shibām is 7 to 8 days' journey from Tarīm (p. 42) Here again Hirsch's testimony seems to be preferable.

In January of the year after Hirsch (1894) Bent and his wife succeeded in reaching Shibām; they did not get to Tarīm. Bent also says (*l c*, p 119), in contrast to v. d. Berg and others, that the Sulṭans of Sai'ūn and Tarīm have no authority outside their towns (on the southern Arabian Sulṭānates, cf C Snouck Hurgronje, *L'interdit seculier . en Hadhramôt*, *Revue Africaine*, 1905, p. 92).

Bibliography: the works quoted in the text, especially those of Hirsch, v. d Berg, de Goeje, Hein, Sprenger, Wrede Maltzan, Ritter, and the Arab geographers (al-Hamdānī, Yāḳūt, al-Idrīsī, Bakrī) (J Tkatsch)

TARĪM. 2 According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 490 (cf Hammer-Purgstall, *Über die Geographie Arabiens*, *Jahrbucher der Literatur*, Vienna 1841, xciv, p. 93 and following him Ritter. xii 727), a fortress on the road which runs from the coast-town of Djizān on the Red Sea eastwards via "Newidije and the castle of Feleki" (according to v Hammer's transcription, which seems not quite certain) to Ṣa'da, that is in the Upper Yemen From the mention in the verse of Kuthaiyir referred to by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, p. 182 and quoted by al-Bakrī, p. 184 (cf 107) and 196, the situation of the place cannot be more accurately deduced. Al-Hamdānī, immediately after mentioning Hunain lying between Mecca and Ḳarn, i e a place in the southern Ḥidjāz, mentions Baidah and Tarīm only on the authority of Kuthayir without saying anything about its position Al-Bakrī mentions (p 195) Tiryam, for which he gives references from poets, and (p 196) the Tarim occurring in al-A'shā and Kuthayir, which either has this vocalisation on account of the metre or is another place, and only then proceeds to deal with the town of the same name in Hadramōt (cf. N°. 1) under *Tarīmu* Tarīm is certainly to be distinguished from Tiryam. The verse refers, in a purely poetical simile, to a "desert of Tarim" without any geographical precision, a reference which like so many topographical references in the poets seems to be quite a conventional one, for the poet was not at all concerned with its geographical position As regards Kuthayir it is certain that he is not thinking of either of the two places in Hadramōt of this name (N° 1 and 2) Al-Shu'aiba, mentioned by him in the same verse immediately after Tarīm, is said by al-Bakrī, p. 184 to be a coast-town on the Yemen road, which is in keeping with the order in al-Hamdānī The verse of al-A'shā, which also mentions Tarim without further precision, is quoted by Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 846, as referring to the town in Ḥadramōt, while al-Bakrī quotes it along with Kuthayir's verse without however giving his opinion of the localisation of the Tarīm mentioned by the two poets, p. 196, s. v. *Tiryamu*, and not when discussing the Tarīm in Ḥadramōt. — The *Tādj al-'Arūs* (viii. 211) which gives further places named Tarīm, gives as the first of them in almost the same words as the *Lisān-al-'Arab* (xiv 332) the form Tiryam (on the authority of al-Djawharī, the *Ḳāmūs*, s. v. knows only this form) and then, after others, Taryam (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 195 *sq.*), and records the statement that it is a wādī near al-Naḳī' — which is disputed by many on the ground that al-Naḳī' is a wādī near Madīna — according to the contrary view, a wādī near Yanbu' in the Ḥidjāz (cf al-Hamdanī, p. 181 and Yāḳūt, i. 846; cf thereon al-Bakrī, p. 195 and 548) In any case it is different from the Tiryam mentioned by Yāḳūt (*op cit*) which is in the north near Madyan (the Turiam of the Admiralty Chart; on it cf. Ritter, xiii. 282; Sprenger, *op. cit*, p. 23) According to the *Tādj*, Tiryam is also a place in the desert of Basra. He then goes further than the *Lisān* and, after mentioning the Tarīm in Hadramōt, says, that there is a Tarīm in Syria and then goes on to deal with the "Yemen town" — Wustenfeld, *Yemen im XI. Jahrhundert* (*Abhandl. der Kon Ges d. Wissensch*, xxxii), Gottingen 1885, p. 39, only mentions, in connection with the history of Ḥasan Pasha (from al-Muḥibbī) that Yarīm should be read for Tarīm in the list of fortresses taken by the Emīr Sinān in 1006 (1597—1598) This is correct, but the reason given that "Tarīm is in Hadhramaut" is not There is certainly a Yemen Tarīm also, but the geographical situation of these fortresses, which are in the San'ā' region, shows that it is not the one in question Stieler's *Handatlas*, 9th ed, Gotha 1905, *Karte von Arabien* (ed by Habenicht), marks Tarīm west of Ṣa'da in approx 43° 20′ East long and 16° 57′ N. Lat. which agrees with the statement of the *Djihān-numā*, the English General Staff map of the coast (Sheet 3, *Sanaa*, 1916) does not mark it.

Bibliography given in the text.

(J. Tkatsch)

TARKĪB BAND is a poem composed of stanzas of from five to eleven couplets Each stanza, like a *ghazal*, has its own rhyme, the first two hemistichs and the second hemistich of each succeeding couplet rhyming with one another, but the rhyme of each stanza varies from that of the others, though the metre must be the same throughout the poem. After each stanza occurs a couplet in the same metre as the rest of the poem, but with its own rhyme, the two hemistichs rhyming with one another When the same couplet is repeated after each stanza, as a refrain, the poem is called *Tardjī' Band*, but the older writers on prosody applied this name to all poems in this form, whether the couplet was repeated or varied

Bibliography: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b Ḳais al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'djam fī Ma'āyir Ash'ār al-'Adjam*, edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad and E G Browne, *G M. S*; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Mi'yār al-Ash'ār*, lithographed edition by Muftī Muḥammad Sa'd Allāh Murādābādī, Lucknow 1282, Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1873, 2nd edition. (T. W. Haig)

TĀROM (Tārum), 1° district on the Ḳizil-Uzan [cf Safid-rud]

The name The Arabs call it Ṭarm, Ṭirm (Mutanabbī), Ṭīrm (*B. G. A.*, vi. 404, 405). Yāḳūt mentions it on two occasions, under Ṭarm and Tāram Mustawfī uses the Arabic dual Tārumain. the "two Tārums". The modern Persian pronunciation is Tārōm. Although Tārom is now the name of the district, there is also a little town

named Tārom on the right bank of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan (between Wenisarā and Kalladj); another village of Tārïm (<Tārom) lies to the right of the direct road from Ardabīl to Miyāna outside of the district of Tārom.

Tārom, like Khalkhāl, which adjoins it, is not yet sufficiently explored.

Below Miyāna [q v] the Ḳïzïl-Uzan reaches its most northerly point near the Pardalïs bridge. From there to its junction with the great Shāh-rūd [q. v.], the Ḳïzïl-Uzan — for a distance of about 100 miles — follows the general direction of N W to S. E Tārom roughly speaking lies on the middle section of the river.

To the south the mountains of Čïllä-Khāna etc separate Tārom from Zandjān [q v] To the east the boundary of Tārom is the junction of the great Shāh-Rūd with the Ḳïzïl-Uzan above the Mandjïl bridge. To the N E. the mountains of Gïlān separate the basin of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan from Masūla (Gïlān) To the north and northwest Tārom is contiguous with Khalkhāl To the southwest it is bordered by the districts dependent on Zandjān (notably the old canton of Kāghadh-Kunān)

In its northern bend, the Ḳïzïl-Uzan cuts itself a passage through an impassable defile the depth of which is 2,200—2,700 feet. The villages and arable lands of Khalkhāl are on the high plateaus (5,200—6,000 feet high) above the sides of the defile. The ravine runs for a distance of 60 miles to Miyānsarā where on the left bank the Ḳïzïl-Uzan receives the waters of the little Shāh-Rūd (to be distinguished from the great Shāh-Rūd, which comes from Talaḳān and flows into the Ḳïzïl-Uzan on the right bank to the west of Mandjïl) Below the ravine the valley of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan widens for a distance of 60 miles and there are quite a number of villages on both banks Near Darband the cliffs contract the water-course but afterwards the valley broadens again till just before Mandjïl (12—13 miles)

Tārom properly so-called begins where the Ḳïzïl-Uzan leaves its gorge and the gorge at Darband divides it into two parts, an upper and a lower Details of districts of Tārom are given in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (1340) but the names of the villages are corrupted in the manuscripts.

a The upper district includes the following cantons: 1. Dizābād-i Suflā with 25 villages; its position on either side of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan at the mouth of the defile is indicated by the villages Nimahïl, Gul-čïn and Kalāsar (Klhār?) We may further note that the upper part of the same canton (*Dizābād-i ʿUlyā*, *Nuzhat*, p. 66) used to belong to the town of Kāghadh-Kunān (the old Khūnadj), the exact site of which has not been identified. 2. The canton of Tārom-i ʿUlyā in the strict sense (with 100 villages) lies on both banks of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan. Its position is indicated by the villages (still in existence) of Ḳalāt (cf Yāḳūt Ḳilāt), on the right bank of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan and to the right of the road from Zandjān via Akhgāduk, and Darrām on the left bank The position of the canton of 3. Nsbār(?) Brïdūn(?) is not clear, unless the first name corresponds to Pasbar (?) which the Russian map puts on the left bank near the Ōbar mentioned by Rawlinson. According to the latter, Upper Tārom (which should be called Tārom-i Khalkhāl?) consists only of the narrow strip on the right bank while the left bank bears the name of the Pusht-i Kūh ("the back mountain", with reference to Gïlān'). The evidence of the *Nuzhat al Ḳulūb*, as well as that of Fortescue however suggests that Tārom includes some villages on both banks of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan On the other hand the strip on the right bank is not very narrow; many torrents descend from the mountains which separate Tārom from Zandjān and before reaching the Ḳïzïl-Uzan disappear in the irrigation canals

b. The cantons of the lower district are 4. that which is commanded by the fortress of Shamïrān (50 villages) and which is situated on both banks (on the right bank there is still the village of Kalladj mentioned in the *Nuzhat*; „Alwn" must be Altun-Kush on a little tributary on the right, cf the *Mïrʾāt al-Buldān* and the Russian map); 5 the canton of the fortress of Firdaws (20 villages), the situation of which is indicated by the village of Saïdān (on a right bank tributary above Altun-Kush) Another passage in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 217, adds that the canton of 6 Bara, where the great Shāh-Rūd rejoins the Ḳïzïl-Uzan also belongs to Tārom A passage in the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p 335, shows that in the Ṣafawid period, even Mandjïl and Kharzawïl to the east of the Shāh-Rūd went with Tārom At the present day the important town of Mandjïl which may correspond to the old Harkām (Yāḳūt, iv 963) and which commands the entrance to Gïlān by the valley of the Safïd-Rūd, belongs to Gïlān (Rabino, *R M M*, xxxii 259). Lastly, according to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 67, the revenues of the cantons of 7 Tïrak(?), Mrdjmnān(?) and Andidjan (cf. Yāḳūt. Andïdjan) were divided between Tārom and Ḳazwïn These cantons must be at the source of the Yuz-Bashï-Čaï (the gorge of Mollā ʿAlï) the waters of which flow from the left bank into the Shāh-Rūd [on the Russian map we find here the villages of Marčïn and Anda marked]

Khalkhāl The frontiers of Tārom are little known on the Khalkhāl side Tārom in general was included in the dependencies of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam (cf Schwarz, p 736 and *Nuzhat*, p. 65 *q*) As to Khalkhāl, it formed part of Ādharbāïdjān (or more exactly of its *tuman* Ardabïl, *Nuzhat*, p. 81) The name Khalkhāl is not found before Yāḳūt, ii. 459

The name Khalkhāl of Ādharbāïdjān must be connected with that of the old town of Khalkhāl of the district of Uti in Transcaucasia [cf SHAKKI] which Greek and Armenian authors mention between the second and fifth centuries as the winter-residence of the kings of Armenia and later of those of Albania (Arran), cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 116. It is possible that in the early centuries of Islām, the whole country between Ardabïl and the Ḳïzïl-Uzan was known as al Bahr (he reading is not quite certain, Noldeke, *Geschichte*, p 481). This old term is frequently used alongside of Tailasan = Tālish; cf Balādhurï, p 318, 322, 327; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 57, 119; Ḳudāma, p. 245, 261; Dïnawarï, p. 197; Masʿūdï *Murūdj*, i. 287. The Ḳïzïl-Uzan forms a serious barrier to communication and thus forms a convenient administrative boundary between Ādharbāïdjān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. The name Khalkhāl comes from the town of this name which became the capital after the disappearance of the ancient centre Firūzān (now Ḳabakh). Khalkhāl practically coincides with the valley of the left bank tributary of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan. One of

he arms of this river comes from the north (from he pass of Ḳïzïl-Yoḳush, on the Ardabīl-Pardalīs oad) and runs past the village of Sandjawa Yāḳūt, iii., p. 160: Sindjbadh or Sindjābādh; *Vuzhat*, ed. Le Strange, p. 180, 223. Sandjida tc.; Olearius [1663], p 472. Sengoa) The source of the other arm is to the northeast on the western lopes of the mountains of Tālish (near the present capital of Khalkhāl· Herow < Hīrābād). This rm is called after the village of Kū ī (*Nuzhat*, d. Le Strange, p. 223: Gadīw, Kadpū, but p 4: Kū'ī). The two arms join near the village of abakh, finally the river receives on its left bank he stream from the old town of Khalkhāl (there re now several villages of this name in the valley) nd flows into the Ḳïzïl-Uzän a little below the ridge of Pardalīs (cf. *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 81· Pardalīs, p 180. Barūlāz). The river Kū'ī describes wide curve from east to west To the south of he town of Herow is the high massif of Akhlagh, the ramifications of which separate the valley of the Kū'ī from that of Tārom From the south ace of the Madjara (or Barandaḳ) pass exactly outh of Herow comes the little Shāh-Rūd (*Nuzhat*, p. 223: Shāl-rūd, from the name of the village of Shāl which still exist) which flows into the Ḳïzïl-Uzan from the left side near the Miyān-Sarā where the Ḳïzïl-Uzan leaves the gorge) Among he dependencies of Ardabīl, the *Nuzhat*, p 82, mentions the valley of the little Shāh-Rūd (30 illages) as well as a considerable district of Dārmarzīn (100 villages) which has not been identified. n any case Khalkhāl, Dārmarzīn and Shāh-Rūd eave little room for dependencies of Tārom on he left bank of the Ḳïzïl-Uzän

Communications, Products. The principal route between Ardabīl and Zandjān (by the ld bridge of Pardalis in the middle of the gorge f the Ḳïzïl-Uzan) passes via Khalkhal to the west of Tārom The caravans which take a shorter oute through Tārom (Ardabīl–Herow–Barandak–Kalāt–Akhgäduk–Zandjān) have to cross the Ḳïzïl-Uzan in boats (*ḳalak*). The traffic between Ardabīl and Zandjān is not important; under the Pahlawī regime the question has been raised of joining Fūmen (in Gīlān) to Zandjān by a road through Tārom.

According to Yāḳūt, Tārom is very mountainous nd in spite of that fertile (*ma'a dhālika mu'shiatun* "rich in herbs ?"). The cotton of good quality, he name of which, according to Yāḳūt, was associated with Tārom must have come from the anton of Dizābād for the factories of Kāghadhunān (literally "place where paper is made") ould not have existed without cotton The high lateaux of Khalkhāl were still at the beginning f the xixth century regarded as the granary from which ʿAbbās Mīrzā drew his supplies of wheat Rawlinson saw in Tārom many orchards but in 921 the district made a very poor impression n Fortescue According to the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, Tārom has lead, copper and vitriol (*zādj*) mines.

Towns and Villages According to the *Vuzhat*, p. 65, the capital of Tārom was at rst Firūzābād (in the lower district and quite istinct from Firūzābād of Khalkhāl) In the Mongol eriod Andar (? in the upper district) took its lace According to Rawlinson, Wenisaid (the Russian map: Venisarā) on the right bank was he centre of Tārom; according to Fortescue, this s Banari (left bank). The new centres seem to be gravitating towards the Ardabīl–Herow–Zandjān road

The fortress of Samīrān (Shamīrān) was of much more importance: it was visited by Misʿar b. Muhalhil, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Yāḳūt. The site of Shamīrān has not been discovered but the itinerary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw enables it to be fixed with sufficient accuracy The traveller coming from Ḳazwīn arrived at Kharzawīl (below Mandjil); from there after a descent of 3 farsakhs, he arrived at Brzalkhyr (?), a dependency of Tārom. He then came to a village of Khandān on the Shah-Rūd near its mouth At Khandān a toll for crossing (*bādj*) was levied by the Amīr (of Tārom) From here to Shamīrān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw reckons it 3 farsakhs In reality the distance from Kharzawīl to the Shāh-Rūd in a direct line is not over 5 miles In the more open country to the west of the Shāh-Rūd, 3 farsakhs would be the equivalent of a longer distance in miles According to Yāḳūt, Samīrān was "on a large river"; all these details enable us to locate Shamīrān near Darband. Indeed Rawlinson mentions the ruins there of a "large and very strong fort" (3 miles below Gilwān) and the Russian map shows the "ruins of a fortress" on the cliff on the left bank (c. 7 miles above the mouth of the Shāh-Rūd) The strategic importance of Shamīrān was that it guarded at its narrowest point the entrance to Tārom by the valley of the Ḳïzïl Uzän while the fort of Ḳalāt commanded the entrance from the Zandjān side.

History We do not know who were the early inhabitants of the district of Tārom Rawlinson located in this part of the Ḳïzïl-Uzan, the ancient people of the Cadusii and relied for this on the authority of Djaihānī (*Ashkāl al-ʿĀlam* ?) who still (xiᵗʰ century ?) calls all this district Kādūstān (?). The wild and remote country of Tārom–Khalkhāl only played a part in history in the period of the Musāfirid dynasty [q v] which, with Shamīrān as its capital, ruled Ādharbāidjān, Arrān, Gīlān and the country as far as Ḳazy. As early as 316 (928) we find Sallār b Aswār lord of Shamirān, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii 142. Misʿar b. Muhalhil (c 330) quoted by Yāḳūt speaks of 2.850 large and small buildings in Samirān. From the interesting letter of the Būyid vizier Sāhib b. ʿAbbād Talaḳānī, quoted by Yāḳūt (s v. Samīrān) it seems that Tārom was at first under Ḳazwīn, from which it was detached by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who coveted the district for its fortress. Sāhib pays a high tribute to the importance of Shamirān by calling it "sister of the fortress of Alamūt" (Muḳaddasī, p. 360) and mentions the ornamentation of the fortress of Samīrūm (sic !) in the form of lions in gold, the sun and the moon. In 379 the Būyids acquired Shamirān by a matrimonial alliance, but after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the Musāfirid Ibrāhīm seized Zandjān, Abhar, Sardjahān (a district to the north of Abhar near Saʾin-ḳalʿa = the old Ḳuhūd) and "Shahrizūr" (reading uncertain, but the place must be identified with "Sharzūrlard, Sharūzlar" which the *Nushat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 65 mentions among the dependencies of Lower Tārom). Shamīrān is not explicitly mentioned among these domains but in 438 (1046) Nāṣir-i Khusraw found at Shamīrān (Samīrān) a Musāfirid prince and a garrison of 1,000 men. The traveller says that the fortress on a cliff commanded the town (*ḳaṣaba*); it was surrounded by a triple wall; a subterranean passage (*kārīz*) going

down to the river enabled water to be procured. According to Yāḳūt, the fortress was destroyed by the Ismāʿīlīs in circumstances which are still unknown. Ḳilāṭ in the time of Yāḳūt was occupied by the lord of Alamūt.

Under the Mongols, especially when the capital was transferred to Sulṭānīya [q. v.], Tārom gained in importance and the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (740 = 1340) gives evidence of the exact knowledge then possessed of this district. Under Ūldjāitū, Tārom was ruled by a certain *Shaḥna* Girāy (?) who is mentioned as sending the expedition into Gīlān in 700 (1307) (Dorn, *Auszuge*, p 139) Under the Timūrids the khāns of Khalkhāl (cf TABRĪZ under the year 787 [1385]) and of Tārom (Shaikh Zāhid Tāromī; Dorn, *Auszuge*, p. 229, 231, 234, 382) played a role of some importance. Shamīrān also must have been rebuilt for the historians of the Gīlān tell how after the death of Yaʿḳūb, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (896), the *Kār-kiyā* Mīrzā ʿAlī seized the fortress by a stratagem. Later a certain Mīr Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Tāromī rebelled against Mirzā ʿAlī but without success. In the reign of Rustam-beg, the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu (897—902), his general Dāda-beg with 10.000 men recaptured the "fortress of Tārom" but later during the struggle between the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Alwand and Muhammadī (905—906), the general of *Kār-kiyā* Mirzā ʿAlī "freed Tārom from Turkish rule" (cf *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p. 236)

Under Ismāʿīl I, Tārom was on the most convenient route between the lands of the Kār-kiyā, where the young monarch was in hiding and Ardabīl, the ancestral home of his family The route followed in 905 by Ismāʿīl in his famous march was by Tārom–Barandak–Nasāz–Kūʾī–Hifz-ābād–Abarūḳ–Ardabīl· cf E. D Ross, *The Early Years of Shāh Ismāʿīl*, *J R A S*, 1895, p 332) Tārom is several times mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā* as the place where the Safawid spent the winter of 921 and hunted (1002, 1003) and from where they sent expeditions against Gīlān.

The Turkish elements gradually absorbed the Īrānian (Dailamī and Gīlānī) elements Under Nādir, the Amarlu Kurds were settled in Mandjīl and in the Pusht-i Kūh of Tārom. According to Rawlinson, they were of the Lūlū tribe (Lōlōʾ, traces of which are still found in Upper Syria [Le Coq], near Ṭeherān [Brugsch] etc.), but in his time they had already become turkicised. Rabino however (*R. M M*, xxxii, p. 261) distinguishes between the Rishwand Kurds (of Sulaimānīya) settled near Mandjīl by ʿAbbās I and the ʿAmarlu Turks (?) who came in the time of Nādir In any case Tārom has now a Turkish population; according to Fortescue after Gilwān the peasants do not understand Persian. In the toponymy also a Turkish layer gradually obscures the old Īrānian names (cf. Pardalīs [from **prd*, bridge], Nimahil, Niyāb, Gulčīn etc.). A study of the old Īrānian toponymy in Ādharbāidjān has still to be made, but it is evident that the local dialects belonged to the group called "Northwestern" [cf. TĀT].

According to the *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p. 335, the Ḳādjārs made Tārom a separate domain and gave it as a fief (*iḳṭāʿ wa-tiyūl*) to Muhammad Khān Dawalu, to his son Allah-yār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla etc After the accession of Riḍā Shāh a punitive expedition was sent to Khalkhāl and several local Khāns (Rashīd al-Mamālik etc.) were hanged.

Bibliography: cf. the articles SAFĪD-RŪD and SHĀH-RŪD (in the latter the localisation of the canton of Bara should be corrected); Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 65, 81, 180, 223; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 297; Muḥammad Hasan Khān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, Ṭihrān 1294, i., p. 334—337; Olearius, *Moscowitische und persian. Reisebeschreibungen*, Schleswig 1663, Chap. 28, p. 471—475 (Buzun–Sengoa [= Sandjāwā]–Pardalis); Morier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p. 256—258 (Ardabīl–Herow–Paras–Mamau–Aḳ-kand–Zandjān); Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie*, Paris 1821, p 195. Ardabīl–Hiriz–"Ghendjia"(?)–Khalkhāl–Zandjān, Monteith, *Journal of a Tour through Azerdbiyan* (sic !), *J. R. G S*, 1883, iii, p. 10—12. Miyāna–Mandjīl along the left bank of the Kizil-Uzan (somewhat confused), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii., p 633—639, Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, *J R G S.*, 1840, x (Zandjān–Aḳ-dagh–Kishlak–Dariām–Kawkand –Char–Darband–Mandjil), Sarre, *Reise v Ardabil nach Zendschan, Pet Mitt*, 1899, xlv, p 215–217 (Koraim–Sandjāwā-čai–Foʾadji–Afshar–Pardalīs), de Morgan, *Etudes géographiques*, i, 1894, plates 194, lxi and lvii ("pont de Leis", read Pardalīs !); Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate*, p. 170, 225—226 (with several mistakes); Fortescue, *The Western Elburz and Persian Azerbaijan*, *J R G S*, April 1924, p, 301—318 (Mandjil–Banani–Barandaḳ–Nimahil–Kara-bulaḳ–Kadjal–Pardalīs–Miyāna); Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (vib, 1926), p. 736—739 (for which the Arabic sources have been utilised) — For details on Khalkhāl, cf Khanikov, *Map of Azerbaijan*, in *Zeitschrift d. allgem. Geographie*, 1863, xiv.

2°. A town of Fārs [Yāḳūt Tirm, *Fārs-nāma*, ed Le Strange Tār(u)m] situated at the extreme east of the province of the Kirmān side. The town seems to correspond to Lāravā in the land of the Yautiyā (Behistan, iii. 7) Tārom is now a nāhiya of the bulūk Sabʿa, cf. Hasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣiri*, Ṭihrān 1314, p. 217—218. Cf Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, i 372—376, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, p. 743, Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-Buldān*, p 338, Preece, *Journey from Shiraz to Jashk Supp Papers, Proceed. R Geogr Soc*, 1885, i, part 3, p. 403—437, Le Strange, *The Lands . .*, p 292—295, Schwarz, *Iran*, ii (1910), p. 107—108; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Worterbuch*, col 648, 868, 908, 1854 (MINORSKY)

TARRAGONA (Arabic TARRĀKUNA), a little town in the north-east of Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the province of the same name This town, which now has a population of 23,300, occupies the site of the ancient acropolis of *Tarraco*, which became one of the centres of Roman domination in Spain and from the time of Augustus, the capital of the province of *Hispania Tarraconensis*. The Muslims when they occupied Tarragona retained its old name. They sacked it in 724, then occupied it for the whole of the Umaiyad Caliphate of Cordova, not without having twice to retake it from the Christians, once from Louis of Aquitaine and the second time from the Catalan prince Ramon Béranger. It was taken from the Muslims definitely by Alfonso el Batellador in 1220.

The Arab geographers sometimes call Tarragona (as they do Granada) "the town of the Jews", which shows they formed a notable part of the population. In the cloisters of the Cathedral of Tarragona is preserved a blind arcade in the form

of a niche of marble with commemorative inscription in the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the date 349 (960)

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, p 191—231; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud, ii. 37 and 261; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s. v; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index, Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawd al-miʿṭār fī ʿAdjāʾib al-aḳṭār* (Spain), ed in preparation, N°. 76; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, i., p 260. (E. Lévi-Provençal)

ṬARSŪS, a town on the frontier between Asia Minor and Syria, the birthplace of the apostle Paul. It lies in a very fertile plain through which flows a river (Cydnos, later Nahr Baradīn). Situated at the junction of several important roads and not far from the sea, even in ancient times it played an important part as a trading centre and was distinguished in the Hellenistic period for the activity of its intellectual life Christianity spread early there and bishops and metropolitans of Tarsūs are mentioned in the *Acts* of the Councils When the Arabs had conquered these regions, the Umayyads rebuilt the fortifications of Ṭarsūs and the other towns on the Byzantine frontier These towns which formed a girdle were later called "the protectors" (*al-ʿAwāṣim, q. v*) According to the Arab division, they belonged to the most northerly *djund* but were separated from it by Hārūn al-Rashīd Their situation was very exposed and dangerous and Tarsūs especially, being a rich commercial city, suffered a good deal In the continual fighting between the Muslims and the Byzantines, marauding bodies of troops attacked and plundered it, sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other, and the inhabitants had frequently to save themselves by flight, whereupon the victors sometimes brought a population from other districts and settled them there In 162 (779) the Tayyī Ḥassān b Kahtaba brought the caliph a description of the ruined Ṭarsūs, which in his opinion could hold 100,000 inhabitants, and when Hārūn al-Rashīd at a later date learned that the Byzantines intended to rebuild the town, he gave orders to anticipate them and Tarsūs was restored in 172 (788), populated by Arabs and given a mosque. It must have again been lost by the Muslims soon afterwards, but after a truce between Muslims and Byzantines for a period, the caliph al-Maʾmūn in 215 (830) undertook a campaign against the ʿAwāṣim, which brought Ṭarsūs and Mopsuhestia east of it into his power The Caliph himself was buried in Ṭarsūs, where his tomb was to be seen in later days There is a reference to Muslim judges in Ṭarsūs at this period (Ibn Saʿd, VII, 93, 3). In 269 (882) Ibn Ṭūlūn conquered the frontier country but Ṭūlūnid rule did not last long In the middle of the ivth/xth century Ṭarsūs passed into the hands of the Ḥamdānids, when Saif al-Dawla conquered northern Syria, but shortly afterwards in 354 (965) the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus succeeded in taking Mopsuhestia and Tarsūs with other towns of the ʿAwāṣim and Ṭarsūs now remained for a considerable period in Christian hands Nicephorus had the Ḳurʾāns burned and mosques torn down and gave the Muḥammadan population the choice of adopting Christianity, migrating or remaining on payment of a *djizya* [q. v]. The majority preferred to emigrate but not a few went over to Christianity.

In the period which ended in this way, Ṭarsūs was in a flourishing condition as a result of its industrious exploitation of the fertile country round. The population was continually being increased by immigrants from adjoining lands, who wished in their glowing enthusiasm for Islām to take part in the holy war till they met their death. Particulars of the town towards the end of the period are given by several Arab authors. Masʿūdī says that it had originally a garrison of 8,000 men, and that one of the gates was called *Bāb al-Djihād* because those who set out to fight the infidels left the city by it. Iṣṭakhrī in 340 (951) calls Tarsūs a large town with a double wall and a garrison of 100,000 men, infantry and cavalry. People came thither from all parts of the country and usually settled there. Ibn Ḥawḳal (367 = 978) repeats this description but with some additions: the well built city had a large population, several of whom were distinguished for their wisdom; pious men came thither from all the lands of western Asia, as every nation had there their *dār*, where they lived on the gifts sent thither from all parts until they fell in battle. As Ibn Ḥawḳal wrote after the taking of the town by Nicephorus, his description is not of the town of his time but is taken from an older source, on the other hand the well informed Muḳaddasī says that he will not give a description of Ṭarsūs as the town was in the hands of the Byzantines.

The Crusaders combined the ʿAwāṣim with the principality of Antioch According to Idrīsī's description Tarsūs was then a large town with a double wall in a very fertile region. Yāḳūt expressly remarks that in his time it was in the hands of the Byzantines (beginning of the viith = xiiith century) He also mentions the double wall, the broad ditch surrounding it and the six city gates. Before the Byzantine conquest the town was very prosperous and a series of highly gifted men came out of it. In 1275 the country of Tarsūs and Adhana was plundered by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baibars and later it was conquered by Saif al-Dīn Kalāʾūn In the middle of the ix/xvth century, Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī mentions it as under the jurisdiction of Halab, the town then had a wall and a fine castle and was surrounded by a number of villages.

At the present day Ṭarsūs is a wretched little ruined town without any memorial of its great past The Baradīn now flows at some distance from the town and the overflow has turned the immediate vicinity into a swamp

Bibliography: H. Bohlich, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsus im augustaischen Zeitalter*, 1913, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p 163, 169, 171 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Paris, viii. 72; de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, i. 64, 69; ii. 122; iii 152; vi. 72; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed de Goeje, iii 2; 1103 f, 1440, 1942, 2163, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii 526—528; Rohricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, p. 679, 934, 967. (Fr. Buhl)

ṬARṬŪS, earlier Anṭarṭūs, frequently Anṭarsūs (by analogy with Ṭarsūs), a town on the Syrian coast, the ancient Antarados opposite the island of Arados (Arabic Djazirat Arwād, also written Arwādh; now Ruwād). Under the Roman empire, Antarados was called Constantia but the old name remained alongside of this and in the end drove the latter out again.

The Muslims took the fortress of Ṭarṭūs under

ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit in 17 (638). The town was destroyed and remained for a long time uninhabited. Muʿāwiya rebuilt it, fortified it and settled there and in Marakīya and Bulunyās soldiers to whom he allotted lands. It was only after the conquest of Cyprus that Muʿāwiya was able to take the island of Arwād also from the Greeks (Dimashkī, transl. Mehren, p 186, Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. de Boor, p. 344) The Ḳurʾān of the Caliph ʿOthmān is said to have been kept in Ṭarṭūs Ibn Khurdadhbih includes the district (*kūra*) of Ṭartūs in the territory of Ḥimṣ; according to Yaʿḳūbī (*B G A*., vii 325) the people of the town (here wrongly written *Anṣarṣūs*, cf. M Hartmann, *Z. D. P V*, xxii. 163, N⁰. 28) belonged to the tribe of Kinda.

When in 357—358 (968) the Byzantines under Nicephorus conquered Northern Syria, the strong defences of the town protected it from capture by the enemy according to the evidence of the contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal (*B G. A*., ii 116) On the other hand about a generation later, Yaḥyā b Saʿīd of Antākiya reports that the Emperor took Ṭartūs, Marakīya and Ḥisn Djabala (Yaḥyā, ed. Kračkovskij and Vasiliev, *Patrol. Orient*, xviii. 816) In 386 (995—996) the emperor Basil II took the town (Yaḥyā and Djamāl al-Dīn b Zāfir in Rosen. *Zapiski Imp Akad Nauk*, xliv. 32, 35 *sq*, 241, Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, ii 95 *sq*, who wrongly distinguishes Ṭarṭūs from Tortosa). At the beginning of the year 1099 the Crusaders took Tartūs but soon afterwards lost it It was not till 495 (1102) that they finally attained possession of it under Raimund of Toulouse (Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 33; van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 322) After Raimund's death Count William of Cerdagne was given Tartūs and Djabala as a fief (Weil, *Gesch d Chalifen*, iii 176) By the treaty of Devol (Sept. 1108), Arwād and Ṭartūs among other places were promised to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (Anna Comnena, Ἀλεξιάς, ed Bonn, ii 241 Ἀντάραδος μετὰ τῆς Ἀνταρτοῦς, the first of which refers to the island of Arwād, *insula Antharidus* in Antonin. Placent., ed Geyer, p 159, cf. Dussaud, *Topogr. hist de la Syrie*, p 124) The town later passed into the possession of the Count of Tripoli (references in van Berchem, *Voyage*, *loc cit*) From a poem dedicated to Usāma b. Munḳidh by the Egyptian vizier al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Ghārāt Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk, it is evident that the town must have already been in the hands of the Templars before 1158 (Derenbourg, *Ousâma*, p 293) In July 1188 Saladin advanced on the town, and found it deserted by its defenders, as they had retired into two strong towers on the city walls Saladin occupied the town in less than an hour; one of the towers was stormed by his vassal, the lord of Irbil, and Saladin had it destroyed and the ruins thrown into the sea. The other which was built of large hewn stones and surrounded by a well-watered garden was so bravely defended by the commander of the Templars that Saladin raised the siege and contented himself with destroying the walls and famous Church of the Virgin (van Berchem, *J A*., 1902, p. 424 *sq* ; *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 322 *sq*) The earthquake in May 1202, which devastated the whole Syrian coast, is said also to have affected Ṭarṭūs but to have spared the Church of the Virgin, which had been rebuilt in 1188 (van Berchem, *Voyage*, i 323, 332). This edifice, celebrated for the miracles and cures wrought in it, which contained a valuable image of the Virgin, was considered her oldest sanctuary in Syria (Dimashkī, ed Mehren, p 208); Idrīsī apparently already knew it (he wrote in 1154 or later), cf. Pardi, *Rivista geogr ital.*, xxiv., 1917, p. 308 *sqq*.) although he seems wrongly to transfer it to the island of Arwād (Dussaud, *Rev Archéol.*, 1896, i. 317, note 3; van Berchem, p. 331 *sq*) In the year 611 (1214—1215) Count Raimund of Tripoli, son of Bohemund IV of Antioch, was murdered by Ismāʿīlīs; in revenge, the prince led an expedition against the fortress of Khawābī (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L*., v. 48; Ibn Furāt in Rohricht, *Gesch d Kgr. Jerus*, p. 271, note 1, 715, note 4) The Church of the Virgin lay within the area of the sanctuary of the apostle Andrew, as appears from a letter from Pope Clement IV to Bishop William of Tortosa of April 26, 1265 (Sbaraglia, *Bullar. Francisc*, iii, Rome 1759, p. 4, note 6).

In the treaty of 1229 between the Emperor Frederick and the Sultān, Tarābalus, Ḥisn al-Akrād, Sāfīthā, Markab, Tartūs and Anṭākiya were not included; the Emperor had to pledge himself to remain neutral in case of a war between these lands and the Muslims (Rohricht, *Beitrage z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzuge*, i. 41, 77 *sq* ; do, *Gesch. d. Kgr Jerusalem*, p 785)

When Baibars in 666 (1267/8) was advancing on Antioch via Tarābalus, envoys from the Templars of Sāfīthā and Antarṭūs appeared before him with presents and 300 Muslims, lately prisoners, and thus succeeded in having their territory spared (al-Maḳrīzī in Quatremère, *Hist des Sultans Mamlouks*, i/ii 52, Rohricht, *Gesch d. Kgr Jerus*, p 953) An attack by the Sulṭān on Ṭarṭūs and other towns in 669 (1270/1) met with no success of note (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit*, i/ii 84; Mufaddal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ed Blochet in *Patrol Orient.*, xii. 528). Later however the Templars found themselves forced to conclude a treaty with him by which their territory and that of Marḳab and Bāniyās was divided between them and the Sultān (Makrīzī, *op cit*, i/ii. 151, Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xii 536; xiv 445; Rohricht, p. 953). The Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu (de Bellojoco), in 681 concluded a truce with al-Malik al-Mansūr for Ṭarṭūs and the district around for ten years and ten months (from April 15, 1282) and the possessions of the two parties were accurately delimited. To Tartūs belonged 37 districts of the region round ʿAraima (now Ḳalaʿt ʿAraime) and Miʿār (now Burdj Miʿār) (Maḳrizī, ii/i 177 *sq*., 221—223, Rohricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolym*, p 377, No 1447, do, *Gesch. d. Kgr Jerus*, p 984) After the conquest of ʿAḳkāʾ, Ṭarṭūs was taken from the Franks by Sulṭān Khalīl, being one of the last towns to fall, on 5th Shaʿbān 690 (Aug 3, 1291) (Makrīzī, *Sult. Maml*, ii/i 126, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, v. 98; *Recueil des hist or. d Croix*, i. 164; Weil, *Gesch d. Chalifen*, iv 181, note 1; Rohricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 1026 *sq*., van Berchem, *Voyage*, p 234)

The Templars temporarily succeeded in establishing themselves again in Ṭarṭūs in 1300—1302 from the island of Arwād (A. Trudon des Ormes, *Maisons du Temple en Orient...*, *R. O L*, v 1897, p. 426—428; van Berchem, *a. a O*). The island was not taken till 702 (1302/3) in the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Christians there put to

death or carried into captivity and the defences razed to the ground (Maḳrīzī, *Sulṭ Maml*, II/II. 195; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, v. 180; al-Idrīsī, cod. Bodl, No. 887, *in marg.*, in Le Strange, *Palestine*, p 400, Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal*, IV 256).

Henceforth Ṭarṭūs was a little district under the *nā'ib* of Tarābalus (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā'*, in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 116, 228, ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf*, p. 182 in R. Hartmann, *Z D M. G*, lxx, 1916, p. 36, note 14) The town declined more and more, the castle of the Crusading period serves the few inhabitants of the present Tarṭūs (Tortosa) as a dwelling place. The Church of the Virgin still survives in its later form (for further particulars see van Berchem, *Voyage*, i 329—334; cf. also Enlart, in *Syria*, II, 1921, p 333 and M Pillet, in *Syria*, VII, 1926, p. 420); also the fortifications (*Syria*, III, 1922, p 269 *sq*, for Jusserand's defences).

Bibliography al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G A*, I 61, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G A.*, II. 116, Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A*, VI 76, Ḳudāma, *B. G A*, VI. 230, 255, al-Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister in *Z D P V*, VIII, 1885, p 20—22; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, I 388 (s v. *Anṭarṭūs*); III 529 (s v *Ṭarṭūs*); Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, I 98 (*Anṭ*), II 201 (*Ṭarṭūs*), al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 208, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p 229, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 394 *sq*, 544; G Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, p 69 *sqq*., 211 *sqq*, pl. VIII, XX.; R. Dussaud, *Rev archéol*, 1896, I 315 *sqq*, 1897, I 331 *sqq*, M. van Berchem-E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I 320—334, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 116, 228 note, Dussaud, *Topographie histor de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 121—125 (E Honigmann)

TĀRŪDĀNT, the principal town in the district of Sūs, to the south of Morocco on the right bank of the Wādī Sūs, about 100 miles S. W of Marākush and 45 E of Āgādīr on the Atlantic These two towns may be reached from Tārūdānt by tracks passable by vehicles. It is a little town with about 7,000 inhabitants For further details and the history of the town see the article AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ, especially p. 569b (E Lévi-Provençal)

TARWIYA is the name for the 8th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*yawm al-tarwiya*) The Muslim Ḥadjdj begins on this day; on it the pilgrims go from Mecca to Minā and as a rule after a short stay there go on again to be able to pass the night in ʿArafā In Muhammadan works the term *yawm al-tarwiya* is usually explained from the fact that the pilgrims on this day give their animals a plentiful supply of water in preparation for the ride through the waterless area or from them taking a supply of water with them themselves But as *tarwiya* properly means rather "pouring" than "watering" animals or "taking water with one" it has been suggested that the expression goes back to some kind of sympathetic rain-charm with which the rite of the pilgrimage was introduced in the oldest period. With this one might compare the pouring and sprinkling with the sacred water of Zamzam as observed by Ibn Djubair in Shaʿbān 579 (1183) among the Meccans and by al-Batanūnī among the Bedouins during the pilgrimage in 1909. See also ḤADJDJ.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, XIX 65; *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, X. 159; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, II. 113; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1195; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt*, Leipzig/Haarlem 1864, p. 110—115 (the explanation from the Hebrew proposed here is no longer accepted); Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina* (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklyke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 4. Reeks, 6 Deel, 1904, p. 185—217), p. 211 *sq*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, I. 1 *sqq*), p 126—128; A. J Wensinck, in *Acta Orientalia*, I, 1923, p. 164; do., *Arabic New-Year and the Feast of Tabernacles* (*Verh. A W. Amsterdam*, Letterk., N. R, XXV 2), Amsterdam 1925, p. 28, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 101, 236 and note 4; also p 83—85, 88; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3], 1927, p 231 *sq*; Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 139 *sq*; Muhammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziya*[1], p 104; Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pāshā, *Mirʾāt al-Haramain*, Cairo 1344 (1925), I, p 35, 313. (R. Paret)

TAṢAWWUF. 1. Etymology — *maṣdar* of form V, formed from the root *ṣūf*, meaning "wool" to denote "the practice of wearing the woollen robe (*labs al-ṣūf*)" — hence the act of devoting oneself to the mystic life on becoming what is called in Islām a *sufī*

The other etymologies, ancient and modern, proposed for this name of *ṣūfī* may be rejected· such are *ahl al-ṣuffa* (devotees seated on the "bench" of the mosque at Madīna in the time of the Prophet), *ṣaff awwal* (first row of the faithful at prayer), *banū Sūfa* (a Bedouin tribe), *ṣawfāna* (a kind of vegetable), *ṣafwat al-ḳifā* (a lock of hair on the nape of the neck), *ṣūfiya* (passive of form III, of the root *ṣafā*, to be purified, at a very early date — the eighth century A D —, this passive is found in puns on the word *ṣūfī* "mystic clothed in wool") and the Greek σοφός (the attempt has even been made to derive tasawwuf from theosophia); Noldeke (*Z D. M. G.*, XLVIII, p. 45) refuted this last etymology by showing that the Greek *sigma* regularly became *sin* (and not *ṣād*) in Arabic and that there is no Aramaic intermediary between σοφός and *ṣūfī*.

The individual surname *al-ṣūfī* first appeared in history in the second half of the eighth century with Djābir Ibn Ḥayyān, a Shīʿī alchemist of Kūfa, who professed an ascetic doctrine of his own (cf Khashīsh Nasāʾī, d 253 [867], *Istiḳāma*, s v.) and Abū Hāshim of Kūfa, a celebrated mystic. As to the plural *ṣūfiya* which appears in 199 (814) in connection with a minor rising in Alexandria (al-Kindī, *Ḳuḍāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, p. 162, 440), it means about the same date, according to Muḥāsibī (*Makāṣib*, Pers MS, p. 87) and Djāhiz (*Bayān*, I 194), a semi-Shīʿa school of Muslim mysticism which originated in Kūfa, the last head of which, ʿAbdak al-Ṣūfī, a vegetarian legitimist, died in Baghdād about 210 (825). The name *ṣūfī* is then at first clearly confined to Kūfa.

It was destined to have a remarkable future Within fifty years it denoted all the mystics of the ʿIrāḳ (in contrast to the Malāmatīya mystics of Khurāsān) and two centuries later, *ṣūfiya* was "applied to the whole body of Muslim mystics as

our terms Ṣūfī" and "Ṣūfiism" still are to-day. In the interval the wearing of the *ṣūf* or "cloak of white wool", considered in 100 (719) as a foreign and reprehensible fashion of Christian origin (with which Farḳad Sabakhī, a disciple of Ḥasan Baṣrī, is reproached), had become what it henceforth remained, an eminently orthodox Muslim fashion; numerous ḥadīths (handed down and probably invented by Djawbiyarī) even make it Muḥammad's favourite dress for a religious man

2 Origins. The mystical *tafsīr*'s on the Ḳur'ān and the mystical ḥadīths of the inner life of Muḥammad, about which we know so very little, are comparatively late and therefore suspect. But the tendencies to mystical life, which are of all countries and of all nations, were not lacking in the Islām of Arabia of the first two centuries A.H. and when once the later legends are eliminated, Djāhiz and Ibn al-Djawzī (*kuṣṣāṣ*) have preserved for us the names of over forty authentic ascetics of this period, among whom the "interiorisation" of the rites of worship show distinct features of the mystic life. It cannot, however, be any longer asserted that Muhammad *a priori* excluded mystics from the Muslim community, for it is now known that the famous ḥadīth *Lā rahbāniyata fi 'l-Islām*· "no monasticism in Islām" to which Sprenger had given this meaning, is apocryphal, and that it must have been invented at latest in the third century A H. to encourage and strengthen a new, deprecatory and interdictive interpretation of a famous verse of the Kur'ān (lvii 27) where *rahbāniya* (monastic life, vows of chastity and seclusion) is mentioned. a verse unanimously interpreted in a permissive and laudatory sense by the exegists of the first three centuries, like Mudjāhid and Abū Imāma Bāhilī (cf. my *Essai*, p 123—131) and by the more cautious of the old mystics (cf. Djunaid, *Dawā*) before the opposite interpretation became disseminated and Zamakhsharī made it predominant

Muslim mysticism may claim among the *Ṣaḥābā* two real precursors in Abū Dharr and Ḥudhaifa (the cases of Uwais and Ṣuhaib are not conclusively proved). After them came ascetics (*nussāk*, *zuhhād*), penitents or "weepers" (*bakkā'ūn*) and popular preachers (*ḳuṣṣās*) At first isolated, they gradually tend to fall into two individual schools, like the adepts in other branches of Muslim thought, schools which had their headquarters on the Mesopotamian frontier of the Arabian desert, one at Basra and the other at Kūfa

The Arab colony at Basra, of Tamimī origin, realist and critical by nature, enamoured of logic in grammar, realism in poetry, criticism in ḥadīth, the sunna with Mu'tazilī and Ḳadarī tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Ḥasan Basrī (d. 110 = 728), Mālik b. Dīnār, Faḍl Raḳḳāshī, Rabāḥ b. 'Amr Ḳaisī, Ṣāliḥ Murrī and 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zaid (d 177 = 793), founder of the famous caenobitic group of 'Abbādān.

The Arab colony of Kūfa, of Yemenī origin, idealist and traditionalist by temperament, enamoured of *shawāḏhḏh* in grammar, Platonism in poetry, Ẓāhirism in Ḥadīth, the Shī'a with Murdjī'ī tendencies in dogmatics, had as teachers of mysticism: Rabī' b. Khaitham (d. 67 = 686), Abū Isrā'īl Mulā'ī (d 140 = 757), Djābir b Ḥaiyān, Kulaib Ṣaidāwī, Manṣūr b. 'Ammar, Abu 'l-Atāhiya and 'Abdak. The three last-named spent the latter part of their lives in the capital of the empire, Baghdād, which became the centre of the Muslim mystic movement after 250 (864): the date when the first meeting-places for religious discussions and sacred concerts (*ḥalḳa*) were opened, with the first public lectures on mysticism in the mosques

. This was also the period in which the mystics had their first open encounter with the theologians, the trial of Dhu 'l-Nūn Miṣrī (240 = 854), Nūrī and Abū Hamza (between 262 = 875 and 269 = 882, according to Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs*, p. 183) and Ḥallādj, before the ḳāḍīs of Baghdād

3. The part played by Ṣūfiism in the Muslim community. The early Muslim mystics had not foreseen that they would come into conflict with the administrative authorities of the Muslim community. If they lived rather retired lives in voluntary poverty (*faḳr*) it was in order to be the better able to meditate on the Ḳur'ān (*taḳarra'a* is the old synonym of *taṣawwafa*) by seeking to draw near to God in prayer. The mystic call is as a rule the result of an inner rebellion of the conscience against social injustices, not only those of others but primarily and particularly against one's own faults with a desire intensified by inner purification to find God at any price, this which is already clearly seen in the life, examples and sermons of Ḥasan Basrī (cf. Schaeder, *Isl*, xiv. 1–72, and Massignon, *Essai*, p 152–179), is magnificently expounded in the moving autobiographies of the two great mystics, Muḥāsibī in his *Waṣāyā* (transl in Massignon, p. 216–218) and Ghazālī in his *Munḳiḏh* (transl. Barbier de Meynard), but this does not yet threaten established order, however unrighteous may be the conduct of the ruler But it was the canonists and professional theologians, *fuḳahā'* and *mutakallimūn*, who, very displeased at seeing people speak of searching their consciences and judging one another by this inner tribunal — since the Kur'ānic law had only legislated for an external tribunal and punished public sins and had no weapon against religious hypocrisy (*nifāḳ*) — tried to show that the ultimate results of the life led by the mystics were heterodox, since they held that the intention is more important than the act, that practical example (*sunna*) is better than strict letter of the law (*farḍ*) and that obedience is better than observance.

Among the Muslim schools, the Khāridjīs were the first to display their hostility to Ṣūfiism, in the case of Ḥasan Basrī, then the Imāmīs (Zaidīs, Twelvers and *Ghulāt*) in the third century A D condemned all calls to the mystic life as introducing among believers a kind of unusual life (*ṣūf*, *khanḳa*) finding expression in the search for a state of grace (*riḍā'*) dispensing with devotion to the twelve Imāms and an apostolate, contrary to their custom of *taḳiya*.

The Sunnīs were slower in declaring their attitude and there was never unanimity among them in condemning mysticism The attacks on mysticism came from two sections among them: on the one hand from conservative circles (*ḥashwīya*), Ibn Ḥanbal accuses mysticism of developing meditation at the expense of open prayer and of seeking for the soul a state of personal friendship with God (*khulla*), henceforth freeing it from the observances prescribed by law (*sharī'a*); his immediate disciples, Khashīsh and Abū Zur'a, put it in a special subsection (*rūḥānīya*) of the heresy of the *sanādiḳa*.

On the other hand, the Muʿtazilīs and Ẓāhirīs denounce as absurd the idea of a common life (*ʿishk*) uniting the Creator to his creatures, for it implies in theory anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) and in practice, contact and incarnation (*mulāmasa* and *ḥulūl*)

As a matter of fact, however, moderate Ṣūfīism has never been excommunicated by Sunnī Islām, which has always borrowed its practical morality and its life of prayer, from the popular little books of Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā (d 281 = 894) to masterpieces like the *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib Makkī (d. 386 = 996) and especially the *Iḥyāʾ* of Ghazālī; learned Sunnīs, who were hostile to mysticism, like Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn Taimīya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim, respected the great moral authority of Ghazālī and it was only against the monism of the disciples of Ibn ʿArabī that the fulminations of the late Sunnī canonists were thundered, without much success however. The founder of the Wahhābīs, prejudiced against mysticism as he was, himself wrote a commentary on the *Waṣīya* of the Ṣūfī Shaḳīḳ to Hātim al-ʿAsamm.

4 The history of the evolution of the conception of mystic union. Primitive Ṣūfīism was based on the two following postulates *a* the fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (*fawāʾid*), immaterial and intelligible realities (a postulate rejected by the Hashwīya), *b* the "science of hearts" (*ʿilm al-kulūb*) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (*maʿrifa*), which implies the assent of the will to the graces received (a postulate rejected by the Muʿtazilīs, who are content with a theoretical psychology) The Ṣūfīs assert that there is a dynamic character in the "science of hearts", it traces their itinerary (*safar*) to God, marks it by a dozen stages (*makāmāt*) and steps (*aḥwāl*), some virtues acquired, other graces received, as in the *Scala Sancta* of St John Climacus, their double list varies with different authors (cf Sarrādj, Kushairī, Ghazālī) but contains almost always well known terms like *tawba*, *ṣabr*, *tawaḳkhul*, *riḍāʾ*. Without laying stress on the individual variants of this mystic itinerary the Ṣūfīs aimed especially at defining the ultimate goal when, triumphing over its attachment to the flesh, the soul finds the true God to whom it is aspiring, the Real (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*, a word used as early as the third century A H and perhaps borrowed from the pseudo-theology of Aristotle) But how are we to define in orthodox terms this supreme state in which the soul enters with God into this ecstatic dialogue of which the first revelations are made by Rābiʿa, Muḥāsibī and Yaḥyā Rāzī, a state which raises the difficult question of theopathic conversation (*shath* [q. v])

The mystics are obliged henceforth to have recourse to the theological vocabulary of their time; they borrow from it here and there technical terms of which they twist the sense a little, without giving a fixed meaning to them Thus Shaḳīḳ introduces *tawakkul*, Miṣrī ard Ibn Karrām *maʿrifa*, Miṣrī and Bisṭāmī *fanāʾ* (opp. *bakā* = cf Ḳurʾān lv. 26—27), Kharrāz *ʿain al-djam*, Tirmidhī *wilāya*, etc. In doing this, primitive Muslim mysticism involved itself in the snares of the metaphysics of the first mutakallimūn, atomism, materialism and occasionalism in metaphysics, denying the spirituality and even the immortality of the soul, confounding ontological unity with arithmetical unity, which makes it necessary to classify the attempts at explanation of the first Muslim mystic schools with the heresy of the Ḥululiya. If we take the Karrāmiya who desire to emphasise the actual interest which God has in the souls, Ashʿarism accuses them of inserting accidents into the being of the Eternal; or the Sālimiya who wish to assert that ardent souls became capable of adhering to the divine presence, the Ḥanbalīs say that they introduce God into the tongue of the reciter; finally when the Ḥallādjiya conclude from the ecstatic dialogue, from the intermittent change in subject which is then produced in the depth of the soul, that God has made living testimonies (*shawāhid*) out of the saints, this view is accused of becoming blasphemous and impossible, of implying the usurpation of the divinity by the humanity of a perishable body, since two substances cannot occupy the same place at one and the same time.

In the fourth century A. H. infiltrations from Greek philosophy, which had been continually increasing since the early Ḳarmaṭian gnostics [q v] and the physician Rāzī down to Ibn Sīnā, brought into existence a more correct metaphysical vocabulary implying the immateriality of the spirit (*rūḥ*) and of the soul, the consideration of general ideas, the chain of secondary causes But this vocabulary became amalgamated with the pseudo-theology of Aristotle, with Platonic idealism and the Plotinian doctrine of emanation, which influenced profoundly the further development of Ṣūfīism. The learned mystics of this period hesitate between three explanations of mystic union. *a*. the *ittiḥādiya*, from Ibn Masarra and the Ikhwān al-Safā to Fārābī and Ibn Kasyī, explaining this union as the formation of concepts by an impression of the active intellect, a divine emanation (identified with the *nūr muhammadī* of the Ḳarmaṭians and the Sālimiya) on the passive soul, *b* the *ishrāḳīya* from Suhrawardī, Halabī and Djildakī to Dawwānī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, teaching the essentialisation (*tadjawhur*) of the soul, the divine spark reviving under the illuminations of active intellect, *c*. *wuṣūlīya* from Ibn Sīnā to Ibn Ṭufail and Ibn Sabʿīn confining itself to stating that the soul attains agreement with God, then taking on consciousness of a total undifferentiated existence in which there is no longer number nor discrimination of any sort We may note in passing that Ghazālī (*Maḳṣad*, p 74) refuted the thesis of the *ittiḥādiya*, a thesis which Ibn Sīnā had admitted into his *Nadjāt* (Cairo, p. 402, 481) but rejected in his *Ishārāt* (ch ix, p. 118; cf. Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadjalliyāt*) and that Ibn Sabʿīn, a convinced hylomorphist, sees in God only the form (*ṣūra*) or principle of individuation (*annīya*) of all created beings.

The third and last period in the development of Ṣūfī doctrine begins in the viith (xiiith) century, its predominant school has been justly given by its adversaries the name of *Waḥdatīya* (or *Wudjūdīya*) as professing the doctrines of existentialist monism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) The doctrine of the *Wudjūdīya* claims a long descent: it turns to its advantage the Ḳurʾān verses (ii. 109; xxviii. 88; l. 15), the primitive Ashʿarī *kalām* regarding every spiritual happening as an immediate act of God and extravagances of language of the early mystics like Bisṭāmī and Ḥallādj (in those that ʿAin al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadhānī collected in his *Tamhīdāt*, the word *wudjūd*, derived from *wadjd*, ecstasy, still means the qualification by God of a creature

in opposition to *kawn*, his extension in space). It is however really derived from the identification, proposed as early as the third century A. H., of the *nūr muḥammadī* of Muslim gnosticism with the active intellect of the Hellenistic doctrine of emanation (from which Ibn Rushd himself is not free, since he asserts in the *Tahāfut* that divine prescience is the superior degree of the existence of things and that souls ought to unite in it like a single passive intellect in the active intellect) Ibn ʿArabī (d. 678 = 1240) was the first to formulate the doctrine of existentialist monism; for him at bottom "the existence of created things is nothing but the very essence of the existence of the Creator" (*wuǧūd al-makhlūkāt ʿain wuǧūd al-khāliḳ*, Ibn Taimīya justly remarks) He teaches in fact that things necessarily emanate from divine prescience in which they pre-existed (*thubūt*) as ideas, by a flux evolving in five periods and that the souls by an inverse involution logically constructed re-integrate the divine essence. Farghānī and Djīlī only add a few touches of detail to this main theory, which to this day has remained that of all Muslim mystics. It is the one which the Persian poets have sung interminably in the simplified form which Ḳunīyawī, putting into order the ideas of ʿAṭṭār expresses thus "God is existence in as much as it is general and unconditional"; it is that which flows, like the sea under its waves through the fleeting forms of individual beings, and at the end of the XVIIIth century of our era, Kawrānī and Nābulusī aroused the indignation of orthodox Sunnīs by concluding that this pantheistic monism is the only correct interpretation to give to the monotheistic profession of faith of Islām (cf Massignon, *Ḥallāǧ*, p 784—90); in their eyes, the *shahāda* by which Islām had thought to affirm the pure transcendence of the one God signifies the absolute immanence of God in his creation and that the totality of all beings in all their actions is divinely adorable. This quietism, which established the supremacy of the divine decree over legal precept, led the Ṣūfīs among other paradoxes to the rehabilitation of Iblīs (supported by Djīlī) and of the Pharaoh of the Exodus (the celebrated thesis of Ibn ʿArabī)

5. The other characteristic features of Ṣūfism and the study of its sources: The other doctrinal peculiarities still to be noted are *a* the *isnād* or spiritual genealogy imagined to link up, as is done in the case of hadīths, the chain of teachers of mysticism to the direct teaching of the Prophet The earliest known *isnād* (*Fihrist*, p. 183) is that of Khuldī (d. 348 = 959) which claims to go back to the Prophet by the following links: Djunaid (7), Saḳatī (6), Maʿrūf Karkhī (5), Farḳad (4), Ḥasan Baṣrī (3), and Anas b Mālik (2). Twenty years later Daḳḳāḳ (d. 405 = 1014; cf. Ḳushairī, p. 158) goes back to the same names except that he only gives the name of Dāwūd Ṭā'ī (4), before Karkhī Finally the classic *isnād* fixed in the XIIIth century (Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, *ʿUyūn*, II. 250) and since adopted by all the great religious orders, gives after Djunaid (7), Rūdhbārī (8), Abū ʿAlī Kātib or Zaǧǧādj (9), Maghribī (10) and Gurgānī (11), and, going back before Dāwūd Ṭā'ī (4), Ḥabīb ʿAdjamī (3), Hasan Baṣrī (2), ʿAlī (1). Ibn al-Djawzī and Dhahabī have shown that the four oldest links in this *isnād* are false, since these men never met one another. Some religious orders utilise an *isnād* which goes back (before Maʿrūf Karkhī) to the nine first Shīʿī Imāms and is still more apocryphal.

b. The invisible hierarchy of believing souls in the world (*riǧāl al-ghaib*); the world is supposed to endure, thanks to the intercessions of a concerted hierarchy of "averting" saints, fixed in number, the place of one who dies being immediately filled. These are the 300 *nuḳabā'*, the 40 *abdāl*, the 7 *umanā'*, the 4 *ʿamūd* and their *ḳuṭb* (pole or mystic axis of the world = *ghawth*)

c. The privileges and dispensations (*rukhaṣ*) on which is founded the communal life of the Ṣūfīs, [cf. TARĪḲA]. privileges frequently of an anarchical and unusual character from the distant days of Bisṭāmī, Shiblī and Abū Saʿīd down to the more or less irresponsible and scandalous *Madjdhūbīn* of modern times At their assemblies the Ṣūfīs recite special poems; this literature, which is very characteristic of Islām, has developed everywhere in extreme profusion and as a rule has not escaped either monotony or dullness; it is intended to provoke among listeners a psychic excitement by aesthetic means so as to release a sort of artificial ecstasy.

This literature extols in mystical language wine (*khamr*) interdicted by the law in this world and reserved for the Paradise of the elect, the loving-cup (*kaʾs al-maḥabba*) which the cup-bearer (*sāḳī* = *shammās al-dair* = *tersabeče*) sends round and gives them, detailed allegorical descriptions with an enthusiasm of a frequently dangerous kind which the majority of western translations prudently slur over. Among such poems the following are specially famous in Arabic, those of Ibn Fāriḍ and of Shushtarī; in Persian, the quatrains of Abū Saʿīd, the long *methnewī's* of ʿAttār and Rūmī (cf. his monistic apologue. "Who is there? — It is Thou" etc), the *ghazal* of Ḥāfiẓ and the various poems of Djāmī, in Turkish the works of Nesīmī and Niyāzī. This kind of literature has become naturalised in Urdu and in Malay, where it still survives at the present day although it has now disappeared in the nearer East; the modern Muslim élite are more and more abandoning it

The critical study of the sources of Sufiism is far from being completed Surprised at the profound dogmatic difference which lies between its present monism and strict orthodoxy, the early students of Islām thought Ṣūfiism could be explained as a doctrine of foreign origin, derived either from Syrian monachism (Merx) or Greek Neo-Platonism or Persian Zoroastrianism, or from the Vedānta of India (Jones). Nicholson has shown that in this simple form the hypothesis of borrowing is untenable; indeed from the very beginning of Islām, it can be observed that the formation of the theses peculiar to Muslim mystics went on from within in the course of assiduous recitations of and meditations on the Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth, under the influence of social and individual crises in the very centre of the Muslim community. But if the initial framework of Ṣūfiism was specifically Muslim and Arab, it is not exactly useless to identify the foreign decorative elements which came to be added to this framework and flourished there; in this way it has been possible for recent students to discover several devotional elements derived from Christian monachism (Asin Palacios, Wensinck, T. Andrae) and several Greek philosophical terms translated from the Syriac; the Iranian analogies (suggested by Blochet) have hardly been examined;

as to the Indian elements (Horten's theory) few arguments have been added to the old similar conjectures of al-Bīrūnī and Dārā Shikūh on the parallels between the Upanishāds or the Yōga Sūtra and the ideology of primitive Ṣūfīism. On the other hand, it is probable that the critical student of the material processes producing the *dhikr* of the modern congregations [cf. TARĪKA] would establish the infiltration of certain methods of Hindu asceticism.

Bibliography The list of western sources to be consulted on Ṣūfīism has been prepared with much care by G. Pfannmüller in his *Handbuch der Islam-Litteratur*, Leipzig 1923, p 265–292 From this long list the best general works are those of R. A Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921; and *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge 1923 — On special points may be consulted. on the origins, acute articles by Goldziher (*R H R*, xxxvii 314; *W. Z K M*, xiii 35, *Z A*, xxii 317; *Z. D M G*, lxviii 544; *Isl*, ix 144), Massignon, *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922; and *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922. On Ghazālī Asin Palacios, *Algazel*, Saragossa 1901 and in *Cultura española*, 1906, p 209, and *M. F. O*, 1914, p 67, Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiose Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna 1921 On Ibn al-Fārid Nallino (in reply to Di Matteo, in *R.S O*, 1919—1920). On Ibn ʿArabī Asin Palacios, *El mistico Murciano Abenarabi*, Madrid 1925—1926, 3 vols On Hindu Ṣūfīism of the xviith century, see von Kremer, *J. A.*, 1869, p 105, and on the general psychological methods of Ṣūfīism, the documents of Eflākī (translated by Huart in *Les Saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918) and the remarks by D B Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago 1908 — As to the original texts, we have the fine editions by Nicholson of Sarrādj, ʿAttār, Ibn ʿArabī and Rūmī, the translations by Richard Hartmann (of Kushairī) and Huart (Dārā Shikūh, in *J A*, 1926, p 285), the commentaries of Gairdner on Ghazālī (*Al-Ghazzālīs mishkāt al-anwār*, London 1924), of Horten on Suhrawardī Halabī (*Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Halle 1912), of Kopruluzāde Mehmed Fūʾād on the early Turkish mystics (*Turk Edebiyatenāé ilk mutaṣawwifler*, Stambul 1919), of Nyberg on Ibn ʿArabī (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabi*, Leyden 1919) etc. The fundamental sources in Arabic are the works of Muḥāsibī, Makkī, Ghazālī and Ibn ʿArabī, favourable to Ṣūfīism, and those of its two great opponents. Ibn al-Djawzī (*Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1340) and Ibn Taimīya (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

TASBĪḤ (A), infinitive II from *s-b-ḥ*, saying Subḥān Allāh [q v]

TASHBĪH, assimilating, comparing (God to man), anthropomorphism, and TAʿṬĪL, emptying, divesting (God of all attributes), are the names of two opposite views of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islām; both are regarded as heresies and grave sins in dogma. The fierce dispute over these conceptions, by which even the dogma of the Ḳurʾān is influenced, is explained by the central position of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islām. The formal cause is to be found in the Ḳurʾān, which strongly emphasises the absolute uniqueness of God and yet at the same time naively describes him in the language of anthropomorphism, giving him a face, eyes and hands and talking of his speaking and sitting. The commentaries, such as, for example, Tabarī on the Throne-verse ii. 256 (cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*², Heidelberg 1925, p 102 *sqq.*)enumerate the most diverse interpretations, most of which can no longer be verified, these vary from crude emphasis of the literal meaning to its explanation as allegorical Instead of the name *tashbīh*, which came very early into use and means not merely referring to God in phraseology which is ambiguous because generally used of man, but which had, one might say, the sanction of the Prophet, we find *tamthīl* also used in connection with Sūra, xlii. 9 where the possibility of anything like God is excluded, while the verb *sh-b-h* II is found only in Sūra, iv. 156, applied to the docetic description of the death of Jesus. *Taʾwīl*, the rational interpretation of the anthropomorphic literal meaning, is also found, it is true,as a means and introduction to *taʿṭīl* but not uniformly as the root *ʾ-w-l* II in the Ḳurʾān has not a censorious sense. Here again the Sunna plays its double part. There are ḥadīths which are devoted to the question, not only purely tendencious sayings, which originated in this dispute and were coined for the purpose, but also such as are quite free from dogmatic prejudice, just as in certain Ṣūfī circles the longing aroused in the mystic worship of youth may have found expression in the strongly anthropomorphic visions of God in the form of a noble-looking youth (Ritter in *Isl*, xvii [1928], p 257; cf also his references in earlier pages to manuscripts) Other hadīths again were cited as arguments in the dispute on the strength of a superficial interpretation, e g that of the nightly descent of God to earth, in itself really soteriological and edifying, in which the real point actually lies in the hearing of prayer

It is exceedingly difficult for us to approach the question, since, so far as we can see, none of the Muslim theologians declares frankly for one of the two views of God, but rather every one asserts that he stands for *tanzīh*, keeping (God) pure, against *tashbīh*, and *tathbīt*, positive determination on the basis of *tanzīl*, the recognition of the revealed text, against *taʿṭīl* All the more eagerly however, do they accuse one another of one or even both transgressions. The use of these terms is quite relative and the grouping of their alleged representatives is equally relative There are no definite *muʿaṭṭila* and *mushabbiha* sects; on the contrary, the differences in the teaching about God's nature and attributes do not run parallel with any other statements about God and still less do they coincide with other differences in dogma and religio-political theory. Little is known of Djaʿd b Dirham, said to have been the first *muʿaṭṭilī*, whom even Ibn Taimīya, in *al-Fuṛḳān* (cf. *Madjmūʿat al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1323, i. 137, 14 *sqq*) still makes responsible for the fall of the last Omaiyad, who is definitely called a Djaʿdī and in remarkable contrast also responsible for the Baṭinīya of the Assassins and the Rāfiḍīya of Syria. The exponent of *taʿṭīl* most frequently mentioned, the somewhat younger Djahm b. Ṣafwān al-Kāsibī [q. v.], put to death in 128 (745), was described by the Shīʿī Ibn al-Rawandī as a Muʿtazilī Unitarian (*muʾaḥḥid*) and was re-

jected from the Muʿtazila (as "the *imām* of the *mushabbiha*") by the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusain al-Khaiyāṭ in the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (*Le Livre du triomphe*, ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, p. 133 ult, 134, 4) on the authority of a poem cursing him by Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir and, on account of the one principle in common, — that God's knowledge of things only comes into existence at their creation — classed with the ultra Shīʿī Ibn al-Hakam (see below) (p. 126, 10), the "Shaikh of anthropomorphism"; al-Khaiyāṭ as a rule attributes anthropomorphic views particularly to the Nābita, i e the ʿOthmanic-Omaiyad party (p 145, 9 *sq*); Ibn Hazm (*Fiṣal*, Cairo 1320, iv 205, 15) classes Djahm among the Murdjiʾis along with al-Ashʿarī, Shahrastānī (ed Cureton, p. 61) and the Ibāḍī Abū Setta Muḥammad al-Kaṣbī (on the margin of Djanāwunī, *Kitāb al-Waḍʿ*, Cairo 1335, p 70) put him with the Djabbarīs who believe in predestination Although the description of Djahm as a *muʿaṭṭil* seems to be general, the writers on heresies can only be used as authorities with the greatest caution. While Kashīsh al-Nisāʾī (d 253 = 867, see Massignon, *La passion d'al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, p 635 and note 2) calls the dogmatics of Djahm *takhmīm* (purifying from any attributes of a created being), and Ashʿarī, *Maḳālat al-Islāmīyin* (ed Ritter, p 267, 11 *sq*.) and similarly Baghdādī in *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1328, p 199, 11) only point out that Djahm from fear of *tashbīh* did not teach "God is a something", Ibn Hazm also quotes the negative denial· but also "not a not-anything", which reveals the same anxiety about *taʿṭīl* or its intenser form *iḫtāl*, destruction, annihilation, nihilism Of the numerous pamphlets against Djahm that of Ibn Hanbal is accessible in *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Zanādiḳa wa 'l-Djahmīya* (see *Ilāhiyet Fekultesi Medjmūʿasi*, 1917, p. 313—327). Ibn Hanbal allows his opponent to say very little and the latter's arguments must not be taken as authentic without further evidence; the subject of the dispute and arguments from Kurʾān and Sunna are however clear. Djahm is said to have denied that God can be seen by the blessed in Paradise, that he talked with Moses and that he sits on a throne Here however Ibn Ḥanbal interprets Djahm's fear of fixing God to a definite place in such a literal and anthropomorphic manner that he says the logical consequence for the Djahmīs is to believe that God is in their bodies, in the bellies of swine and in latrines. He himself has however to explain God's being among men in Sūra lviii. 8; xx 48; ix. 40 etc. as metaphorical *taʾwīl*, which shows how little it is possible to draw a dividing line: on the one side Sunnīs with verbal exegesis and on the other Muʿtazilīs with *taʾwīl*! At the same time Ibn Ḥanbal earns from Djahm the grave reproach of hypostasizing after the fashion of the Christian Trinity for his dogma that God is eternal with all his eternal attributes, for which he unhesitatingly uses the metaphor of the palm-tree consisting of root, trunk, branch, twigs, leaves, and sap.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal has become the great orthodox authority against *tashbīh* and *taʿṭīl*. Al-Ashʿarī [q. v.] relies on him for his confession of faith in *Maḳālāt*, p. 277, 5. He gave his views on the subject in many special treatises especially on the possibility of seeing God. The happy mean which he struck by simply recognising the hands, the face and the sitting down of God "without a how" (*bi-lā Kaif*) is continually developed by his followers, as every Muslim of himself states the problem. It has however been brought against him as "the entrance to the doctrine of the anthropomorphists" by Ibn Ḥazm, who at the same time regards Ibn Ḥanbal as an authority (ii 166, 17—19); Ibn Ḥazm for his part attacks the Muʿtazila toning down of the conception with equally colourless *taʾwīl* (cf ii. 166, 16 *sq* to 167, 6 *sqq*.) That the Ashʿarī doctrine of the nature of God was always considered *tashbīh* by the Ibāḍis is shown quite recently by al-Kāsim b Saʿīd al-Shammākhī in *al-Ḳawl al-matīn fi 'l-Radd ʿala 'l-Mukhālifin* (Cairo 1324, cf esp p 67 *sqq*). His verdict is no more lenient than that of the Almohad Ibn Tūmart (see *Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Thumert*, i, ed Goldziher, Algiers 1903, p 261, 3, 232, 8) on the *tashbīh* of the Almoravids.

In the effort to keep as near to Ibn Ḥanbal as possible while averting the suspicion of *tashbīh* the Māturids rather emphasised the negative: God is not bounded, not numbered, not divided, not compounded; e g Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (cf D B Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York 1903, p. 309) This brought upon them, as it had on their fore-runner Bishr al-Māirsī from ʿOthmān b Saʿīd al-Dārimī, and on Ghazālī from strict Hanbalīs like Ibn Taimīya (*op cit*, i 425, 16) the reproach of the "divesting" *taʾwīl* But the Hanbalī school of theologians did not remain at one In *Daf*ʿ *Shubhat al-Tashbīh wa 'l-Radd ʿala 'l-Mudjassima* (ed Husām al-Dīn al-Ḳudsī, Damascus 1342, esp p 5 *sqq*) Ibn al-Djawzī attacks three fellow Hanbalis for lack of purity of conception. On the other hand it is Ibn al-Djawzī's celebrated pupil Ibn Taimīya who is regarded, along with men like Abū ʿĀmir M b Saʿdūn al-Ḳurashī, as a bad anthropomorphist since the too much quoted note of Ibn Baṭṭūta that he said that "God comes down just as I am now coming down (from the pulpit)" More serious than the striking note on this by Husām al-Dīn (in Ibn Djawzī, *op. cit*, p 48, note) may be the attack in his own works on the idea "Look like my look, hand like my hand!" (*Furḳān*, i 119, 13), also his explanation of God's being among men, which may with equal justice be called rationalistic *taʾwīl* (i 456 *sqq*), then the constant endeavour to transfer anthropomorphic expressions applied to God to a sphere *sui generis*, but particularly his opinion on all grossly material ḥadiths of God's coming down to earth as deliberate forgeries of the zindiḳs, invented to make the Sunnīs appear ludicrous (i. 280, 2) and in general his continual attacks on *tashbīh*, and *taʿṭīl* (i 270, 14 *sqq*, 395, 2 *sqq* etc.) which at least reveal his aim and his personal conviction.

The case is worse with Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. al-Hakam (d. c 199 = 814) since we possess none of his writings. Ashʿarī however in *Maḳālāt*, p. 29, 3 *sqq*., reveals the lack of agreement among the notices of him when collected. Among them is a definite testimony that this Hishām was free from actual *tashbīh* and a concise positive indication of the view held, of an affinity and correspondence (*mutashābuh*; in Djurdjānī on Idjī, *Mawāḳif*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p 347 5, 5 and 11· *mushābaha*), which first of all makes possible the relation of God to what is created and only makes his knowledge possible by his emanating penetration, which is only to be conceived in this way. When then in spite of this, Ashʿarī opens his section on

the anthropomorphists with this Hishām "who compared the object of his adoration to a man", we have a glimpse of the origin of this careless labelling such as became common among the later historians of heresies The very full special expositions of the Shī'īs are themselves contradictory Among them another Hishām, Ibn Sālim al Djawālīkī, seems to be the crudest because he talked of God's hair and sides, citing the ḥadīth "God created man in his own image" and referring the "his" to God (Kashshī, *Ma'rifat Akhbār al-Rid̲jāl*, Bombay 1317, p 183; Astarābādī, *Manhad̲j al-Maḳāl fī Taḥḳīḳ al-Rid̲jāl*, Teheran 1306, p 367). Hishām b. al-Ḥakam on the other hand with all his care for *tthbāt* and anxiety about *tbṭāl*, which made him choose the term "body" (*d̲jism*) beside the vague expression "a something" (*shaʾ*), yet tried much to keep his distance from anthropomorphism Generally speaking *tad̲jsīm*, i e attributing to God a body, should not without more ado be ranked with *tashbīh* a sits crudest form, since the very phrase "not like our body" is expressly added, for example even by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam In spite of the efforts of later Shī'īs to clear their ancestors from the stain of heresy, Astarabādī still passes the damning verdict upon him as the pupil of the even more mythical "Daisanī" Abī Shākir Perhaps the most suggestive remark is that of Ash'arī who says that Hishām b al-Ḥakam expressed five different opinions on the nature of God in the space of one year This is quite possible in one who, as Shī'ī sources record, was a highly strung temperament, a member of the circle of the Imām D̲jaʿfar al-Ṣādik at a time when dogmatics were still in a very unsettled state, as is shown by the many polemics of the circle which include some of the two Hishāms against one other The Shī'īs themselves therefore have drifted widely apart The Nuṣairīs under Ibn Ḥamdān al-Khasībī are classed as Mushabbihīs. The Bāṭinis who differ considerably among themselves are usually branded as symbolising nihilists, but one of their leading exponents, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in his *Zād-i Musāfirīn* (Berlin 1923, p. 250 *sqq*) champions a doctrine of the Creator which with its emphasis on the body rather recalls the principles traditionally attributed to Hishām b. al-Hakam, although it cannot be brought into a class of the scheme, with its causal conditionality of God, His unlimitedness in space and its divesting Him of an independent will

The Twelvers have waged a vigorous war on *taʿṭīl* and *tashbīh* with due emphasis, it is true, on *tthbāt*, but with especial Muʿtazila suspicion against degrading *tashbīh* Their views will be found under the rubrics (with reference to God) "denial of a body, of a form and of *tashbīh*" and "denial of time, space, movement, change of place" in the encyclopaedia of Madjlīsī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, book II, Teherān 1306, p 89—105 It is only in the later authors since Kulainī, Ibn Bābūya, and Tūsī that we can verify the statements attributed to them.

The dangers, which Hishām b. al-Hakam sought to avoid in such varied ways, show the immanent dogmatic difficulty felt between "the two limits (*ḥadd*)". The problem is not so simple that it could be clearly defined in general terms as a twofold struggle over the recognition of God as a purely spiritual being on the one hand and over His in some way personal reality on the other. For where in that case would be put Ash'arī, for example? The one thing certain from the history of Muslim dogma is that every Ash'arī would object to the classification of his master in one of two so distinct classes. *Tashbīh* is dreaded as a transition to idolatry and paganism, *taʿṭīl* as a preliminary to atheism and pantheism, but both are felt to be originally related. It was because Djahm imagines God's speaking only as a stomach, coming from a tongue and two lips, i. e anthropomorphically, that, according to Ibn Hanbal, he fell into his "divesting" interpretations of the passages in question in the Ḳurʾān; Ibn Taimīya calls him a "divester of anthropomorphism" (*Muʿaṭṭil Mumaththil*, I. 127, 9)

Bibliography. The sections mentioned in the historians of heresies and anecdotes of theologians are, in view of the relativity of the points of view, not simply to be dismissed as malevolent inventions, at the same time they can only give indications of some value as to what views were considered to be particularly expounded on one side or the other The value of the polemics also as authority for the doctrines of those they attacked is in the same way only preliminary They can only be regarded as authentic sources for the views of the authors of the polemics, just as for any one the only criterion is his own exegesis of the Kurʾān and dogmatics, e g Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, book I 2: *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿAḳāʾid* and book iv., 5 and 6 *al-Tawḥīd wa ʾl-Tawukkul* and *al-Mahabba*, cf H Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Ghazālīs*, Halle 1912, 48 *sqq* , J Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiose Subjektivismus Ghazālī's*, Vienna 1921, 197—200, 127; Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Stambul 1428, I 73—130 (not so much a systematic treatise as an account of *ikhtilāf* on the lines of his above mentioned *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ*)

(R. STROTHMANN)

TĀSHFĪN B ʿALI, one of the Almoravid [q v] Sovereigns

TASHKENT, usually written *Tāshkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of Čirčik, watered by one of the right bank tributaries of the Sîr-Daryā [q. v]

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Čirčik According to the Greek and Roman sources there were only nomads on the other side of the Yaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the second century B. C) mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Čo-či or Čo-shi or simply Shi The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of "stone", and this is connected by A Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p 140) with the later Turkish name (*tash*, "stone" and *kend*, "village" = "stone village") The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Čač, known in the Muḥammadan period; the Arabs here as usual reproduce the sound *č* by *sh* The Arabic form Shāsh gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. If and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the fifth (xith) century, is connected with Čač or Shāsh is still doubtful. The etymology (Tāzkent = town of the Tāzik i. e. the Arabs) proposed by E Polivanov (*Ikd al-Djamān*, for W. Barthold,

Tashkent 1927, p. 395 *sqq.*) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Čāč and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 *li* (less than 3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the third century A. D. In the time of Hüan-Čuang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentaux*, i, 1857, p. 16) there was no ruler in Čāč to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the second (eighth) century there is frequent reference to a "king (*malik*) of Shāsh' ; his capital is given by al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p 421) and al-Ṭabarī, (ii 1517 and 1521) as the town of Ṭārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor (D H Müller) assumes a "forma contracta" for Ṭurārband (*B G A*, iii 61 infra) is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkish Khāns was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 751 the Chinese governor Kau Sién-Čï (Chavannes, *Documents* etc, p 297, F. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, 1897, p. 70) executed the prince of Shāsh and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, sent by Abū Muslim [q v], inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 133 = July 751 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v. 344) on the Talas [q. v.] and Kau Sién-Čï was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islām in Central Asia No further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it

Under the Caliphs, the territory of Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islām against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (*G. M. S.*, N S, v, p 172) Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191 (806—807) A "prince (*ṣāḥib*) of Shāsh with his Turks" is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Laith (al-Tabarī, iii 712). Under al-Maʾmūn, Shāsh again belonged to the Caliph's empire, when in 204 (819) the Sāmānids became governors of various districts in Mā warā al-Nahr, one of them, Yaḥyā b Asad, was granted Shāsh [cf SĀMĀNIDS, in contradiction to what is there stated we know not only the year but also the very day of the death of this Yaḥyā. it was Thursday five days before the end of Rabīʿ II, 241 (Sept. 12, 855); cf. *G.M.S*, xx 286b] In 225 (840) the eldest of the brothers, Nūḥ b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Sāmānids, by conquering Isfidjāb (the modern Sairām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north About the same time a canal in Shāsh was restored, which had become silted up in the early days of Islām. The Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (833–842) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1326).

To the period of the Sāmānids belong almost all the surviving geographical descriptions of Shāsh (and indeed those of most Muslim lands). Shāsh appears in these only as the name of a country. the capital is called Binkath: on coins the mint is always given as "Shāsh", rarely with the addition of "Binkath". The territory was 1 farsakh ($3^1/_2$ miles) in length and breadth. The modern Tashkent is of much greater extent, but the position of Binkath or the distance given by the Arabs geographers corresponded roughly to that of Tashkent (W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G.M.S.*, New Series, v. 711, not to the position of Iski-Tashkent as in Le Strange's *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 480); there is still shown in Tashkent the tomb of the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Bakr al-Ḳaffāl al-Shāshī who died in 365 or 366 (975—977).

Whether the name Tashkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty, the whole Sïr Daryā territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386 [996]) is doubtful. So far as we know the name "Tāshkend" is first found in al-Bīrūnī (*Taʾrīkh al-Hind*, ed. Sachau, p. 149, translation, i. 298), from the etymology of the name al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the *λίθινος πύργος* of Ptolemy (J Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p 155) Maḥmūd Ḳāshgharī (i 369) mentions "Terken" (otherwise unknown) as a "name of Shāsh" in addition to Tāshkend The name Tashkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the fifth (xith) and in the vith (xiith) century coins were struck in Banāket, Fanāket or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Sïr Daryā; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tashkent. In Djuwainī's account of the Mongol campaign (*G. M S*, xvi. 70 *sq.*) Tashkent is not mentioned, only the taking of Banāket is recorded Under Mongol rule Tashkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banāket Tashkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the Khāns [cf BURĀḲ KHĀN]; on the other hand Banāket, although it had offered not resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 1392 that Tīmūr rebuilt it under the new name of Shāhrukhiya

After the decline of the Mongol empire of Čaghatāi [q. v.] Tashkent belonged to the empire of Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids, in 890 (1485) the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Mongol Khān Yūnus who died there in 892(1487)(*Taʾrīkh-i Rashidī*, transl Ross, p 114 *sq*). His tomb is in the mosque of Shaikh Khāwend-i Tuhūr (popularly Shaikhantaur), a local saint; on his period (viiith = xivth century) cf A. Semenov in *Protokoli Turk Kučzka Ljub Arkh*, xx, 1915, p 29 Khān Yūnus was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān, after 1503 Tashkent belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, Shaibānī Khān [q v. and cf SHAIBĀNIDS] During the centuries following, Tashkent was sometimes under the rule of the Özbegs. sometimes under the Ḳazaḳ [q.v. KIRGIZ] and in 1723 it was conquered by the Kalmücks, but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Kazak descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmücks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the Khodjas, the descendants of the local saint (e. g *Z D M G.*, xxxviii. 311)

During these centuries, the possession of Tashkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period The records of the battles of Tashkent in the time of ʿAbd Allāh Khān b. Iskandar [q. v.] clearly show that the town of Tashkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the xiith (xviiith) century that the

division of the town into four quarters (Kukča, Shaikhantaur, Sibzar and Besh-Aghač) with a common bazaar is mentioned. Occasionally each quarter has a chief (*ḥākim*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780 Yūnus Khodja, the chief of the Shaikhantaur quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus Khodja fought successfully against the Ḳazaḳ but suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Özbegs of Khoḳand under ʿĀlim-Khān; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sulṭān-Khodja, shortly before 1810, Tashkent had to submit to the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand. For its history in this period cf KHOḲAND.

On June 15/27 1865, Tashkent was taken by the Russians under Černyaʿev. As capital of the Sīr-Daryā territory and of the governor-generalship of Turkestān, Tashkent attained great prosperity Alongside of the old "Asiatic" town, a new Russian city arose as the residence of the officials, and the two parts together formed one town from 1877 with joint municipal institutions, but the Russian town, although its population was nothing like the size of that of the "Asiatic" town, enjoyed special privileges; little attention was therefore paid to the old town. The Russian part alone had a civic life in the European sense, in it were the government offices, the schools, the scientific and learned societies and associations. The number of the population (of the old and new Russian town together) amounted to 155,673 according to the census of 1897.

As a result of the revolution Russian Tashkent has lost all the privileges it had over the old town Since the recognition of the principle of nationality in Central Asia and the foundation of national republics, Tashkent has lost all political importance. The town belongs to Özbegistān while its northern suburbs are in Ḳazaḳistān; the seat of government of Özbegistān is in Samarḳand [q v]. As the largest town in Central Asia, Tashkent has however retained its importance as a commercial and educational centre. It is the meeting-place of the "Economic Council" (*ekonomičeskiy sovet*) for the whole of Central Asia, has a University founded in 1920, a very large "Central Asiatic" library, the "principal Museum" (*glavnïy muzei*) of Central Asia, the Central Asiatic section of the Russian Geographical Society etc Commerce is declining, as elsewhere, but the number of inhabitants is larger than formerly.

Bibliography. A. J. Dobrosmïslov, *Tashkent v proshlom i nastoyashčem*, Tashkent 1912, Fr. v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg i. Br 1900, p 140 *sqq* (refers to the Tashkent of 1874—1890 and should be used with caution); V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy Kraĭ*, St. Petersburg 1913, p 607 *sqq.*; *Tashkent 1877—1912 K tridcatipyātiletiyu gorodskoyo obshčestvennago upravleniya*; W Barthold, *Istoriya kulturnoĭ žizni Turkestana*, Leningrad 1927, p. 163 *sqq*; *Sredne-aziatskiy gosudarstvennïy universitet K desyatiletnemu yubileyu oktyabrskoĭ revolucii*, Tashkent 1927. — On the principle of Nationality: J. Vareikis i S. Zelenskiy, *Nacional'no-gosudarstvennoe razmeževanie Srednei Azii*, Tashkent 1924. (W. BARTHOLD)

ṬASHKÖPRÜZĀDE, the name of a family of Turkish scholars, taken from the village of Ṭashkoprü near Ḳastamūnī [q. v.] in Anatolia (cf. Köprülüzāde, called after the adjacent village of [Wezīr-]Koprü).

1. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl al-Dīn, born at Ṭashkoprü in 857 (1453), studied at the high schools of Brussa and Stambul, became professor in Brussa, afterwards (901) in Angora, Üsküb and Adrianople, was for a time tutor to the prince, afterwards Sulṭān, Salīm I, then again professor in Amasia and Brussa He never took up the office of judge in Aleppo, which was given to him. He died in 935 (1528) as professor in Brussa. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl was the author of a number of commentaries on books on law but, as a result of his busy life, he was never able to put them into final shape.

2. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl, son of 1, a distinguished Ottoman encyclopaedist and biographer, born on 14th Rabīʿ I 901 (3rd Dec. 1495) at Brussa, studied under his father at Angora and Brussa and later in Stambul and Amasia. At the end of Radjab 931 (May 1525) he became professor in Dimotika, in the beginning of 933 (Oct 1526) in Stambul, at the beginning of Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 936 (July 1531) he went to Üsküb. Five years later he again became professor in Stambul, was transferred on the 4th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 945 (March 25, 1539) to Adrianople, but went back to the capital in the same year in the capacity of "guardian". He again held a teaching post in Adrianople, then reluctantly became ḳāḍī in Brussa, but soon returned to his chair On Shawwāl 27, 958 (29th Oct. 1551) he became judge of Stambul. Three years later his eyes became affected and ultimately he went quite blind He died on the last day of Radjab 968 (April 16, 1561) in Stambul, and was buried there in the ʿĀshīḳ Pasha quarter in the mosque of the ʿĀshīḳ Pasha monastery. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā had an encyclopaedic mind of astonishing versatility. He compiled an encyclopaedia of arts and sciences in Arabic, which was afterwards translated by his son (see 3) into Turkish and in this form it has been printed under the title *Mefātīḥ al-ʿUlūm* (Stambul 1313, 844 and 712 pp.) The number of his other works is considerable. The most important is the *Shaḳāʾik al-Nuʿmānīya* written in Arabic in which he gives biographies of 522 ʿUlamāʾ and shaikhs of orders divided into ten classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) according to the reigns of the ten Ottoman Sulṭāns, ʿOthmān to Sulaimān. At the end he gives his own autobiography. The work, which was finished on Ramaḍān 30, 965 (July 16, 1558) is our main source for the intellectual history of the period It was several times translated into Turkish and has been brought down almost to the present day (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W*, p. 86 under *Fortsetzungen*). While the original work has been printed in the Arabic version, and in the expanded Turkish translation of Meḥmed called Medjdī of Adrianople, and also in the first continuation by ʿAṭāʾī, the important continuations to the present day still exist in manuscript only, an almost incredible neglect of the most important sources for the history of Ottoman scholarship. On the printed editions cf. F. Babinger, *G O.W.*, p. 86 *sq* ; a German translation of the basic work was published in Constantinople in 1927 by O. Rescher (iv. 361 pp., 4⁰).

Bibliography: Autobiography at the end of *Shaḳāʾik*; German translation in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, p. 241 *sqq.*;

Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, ii. 425 *sq.* (with Bibliography); further references in F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 84 *sqq*

3 Kemāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of 2, Turkish historian Kemāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was born in Stambul in 959 (1552), became professor and ḳādī successively in Salonica, Scutari, Aleppo, Damascus, Brussa, Cairo and Galata Later he was ḳādī in Stambul and repeatedly held the post of ḳāḍī ʿasker of Anatolia or Rumelia. In this capacity he took part in the Wallachian campaign, fell ill and died on his way back to Stambul in Isḥāḳče (Isaqči, in Rumania) His body was taken to the capital and buried beside that of his father. As a poet he wrote under the *maḵẖlaṣ* of Kemālī. He was a translator (see under 2) und also an historian Under the title *Taʾrīḵẖ-i ṣāf* or *Tuḥfat al-Aṣḥāb* he composed a history of the Ottoman empire down to Aḥmad I (1603/17), to whom he dedicated the book He is also said to have composed a poetical *Sẖāhnāme*, but no trace of the work seems to have survived; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 149. His *Taʾrīḵẖ-i ṣāf* was printed in three fascicules in Stambul in 1287.

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾī, p 641 *sq.*; Riyāḍī, *Tedẖkire*; *Sidjill-i ʿoṯẖmānī*, iv. 80; J. v Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii 602, 693 *sq.*; *M. O G*, i 164 (F. Babinger), Brūsalı Muḥammad Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯẖmānlı Muʾellifleri*, i. 347; F. Babinger, *G. O. W*, p. 149, where further references are given (FRANZ BABINGER)

TASHRĪḤ (A), general sense opening, exposition It has two special meanings: 1 exposition of a science, commentary on a book, like *sẖarḥ* [q v.]; 2 the science of anatomy which is the "opening" and exposition of the structure of the body The two meanings are found in one sentence in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī. "Galen was the key of medicine, its *bāsiṭ* and its *sẖāriḥ*, that is to say, it was he who expounded it and commented upon it... No one ever surpassed him in the science of *taṣẖrīḥ* and he wrote 17 books upon it" The reference here is to anatomy.

Anatomy was not a very popular science in Islām; the reproduction of the human figure was forbidden and on religious and moral grounds dissection objected to. This was not practised among the Muslims any more than among the ancients, except at Alexandria. Galen took advantage of the opportunities he had to study the anatomy of man, but in general he worked on the monkey. Muslim observers also took advantage of any chance opportunities of advancing this science; we have an example of this in the travels of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. the author, with his friends, having learned that there was at Maks in Egypt a hill formed of human remains went to examine the skeletons and made notes.

In spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured, several Arab scholars studied anatomy, in which they followed the Greeks, notably Galen, Oribases and Aetius. A number of works of Galen were known to the Arabs and translated into their language, for example the *De Anatomia*, the *De Venae Sectione*, the *De Musculorum Dissectione*, the *De Ossibus*, as well as the treatise on the pulse. Books x—xv. of the great work of this scholar, the *De Anatomicis Administrationibus*, were preserved only in Arabic. A German translation has been published by Max Simon.

P. de Koning has published three long extracts from works on anatomy as known to the Arabs, one from Avicenna, another from ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās, a Zoroastrian physician born in Persia (d. 384), and the last from the famous Razes (Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī, d. 320). The chapters from Razes, which are the least advanced, come from his book *al-Manṣūrī*; those of ʿAlī b. Abbās from his "Royal Book" (*al-Malikī*) and those of Avicenna from his *Ḳānūn*. These three works have practically the same arrangement, which is clear and logical and is found already in the classical writers. They begin with osteology: first generalities about the bones, then a detailed study from head to foot of the human frame: bones of the head, the belly, the vertebral column, the thorax, bones of the upper limbs and of the hands, the lower limbs and of the feet The subject of dentistry was not then a separate one. — Next came the study of the muscles, myology they are enumerated and analysed in the same order; — next the nervous system and the arteries: nerves, brain, spinal fluid, arteries and veins, — then the description of the external organs, organs of sight, taste, hearing, the tongue, larynx, lungs, heart, stomach, intestines, liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder and organs of generation.

Opposite the same chapters of Avicenna, de Koning has placed the corresponding passages from Galen and Oribases. they deal among other subjects with the trapezius muscle, the flector muscles of the fingers, the pulmonary artery, the valves of the heart, the iris of the eye and the bone of the heart.

All this anatomy is already quite advanced, and very analytic; it is also quite final. every bone, every organ, every muscle is described from the point of view of its function and object We may note that Arab anatomy has a vocabulary of its own Unlike medicine and botany, it does not use Persian and Greek words, and on the other hand, unlike mathematics, astronomy and alchemy, it has not given us any technical terms. We do find a few in the Latin translations of the middle ages, like "meri" which is Arabic *marīʾ*, oesophagus; "myrach" which is Arabic *marāḳḳ*, "abdomen"; "siphac" which is *sifāk*, peritoneum; but these terms have not come down to our time.

In surgery "Abulcasis" who is Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, physician to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova (ivth = xth century), and Avenzoar (Ibn Zohr, d 595) of Seville are the greatest representatives of science and experiment among the Arabs. The former wrote a book entitled *al-Taṣrīf*, the anatomical and surgical part of which is taken mainly from Paul of Aegina. The latter is a late Byzantine author, a contemporary of the beginnings of Islām, who travelled in Arab lands and was much admired by the Arabs for his skill as an operator. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim deals with operations, describes and gives drawings of instruments We have a number of his works illustrated in this way. This work was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the xiith century and published in 1497 at Venice, and at Basle in 1778 Adapted by Guy de Chauliac (1300—1368) it had a great influence on western science. — As to Avenzoar, a progressive and practical mind of great skill, he cast off to a large extent the authority of Galen and substituted his own experience. He is the main source for Arnaud de Villeneuve. — We may

conclude with a mention of the earliest western translator, Constantine Africanus (1020—1087) who translated ʿAlī b ʿAbbās.

The Arabs also knew ophthalmics as a special subject. To them also we owe observations on the anatomy of animals, on hybrids and on monsters

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(B CARRA DE VAUX)

TASHRĪḴ is a special name for the last three days of the Muḥammadan Ḥadjdj (11th–13th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja *Ayyām al-Tashrīḳ*), during which the pilgrims, having finished their regular rites, stay in Minā and have to throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones there. In the early period of Islām the name *tashrīḳ* was also given to the solemn *salāt* on the morning of the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. The term is probably a survival from the pre-Islāmic period and therefore could no longer be explained by the Muslims with certainty. For example the obvious explanation which derives the term from "cutting into strips and drying" the sacrificial meat left over on the Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja is doubtful. An isolated tradition derives *tashrīḳ* from the recitation of the words *ʿashrīḳ thabīr kaimā nughīr* (cf. *tahlīl*, *talbiya takbīr*). One would therefore have to assume that this formula was originally used not only, as we are told, on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja before sunrise but also at the lapidation on the following days and that as an essential element it later became the name for the whole ceremony. In Islām this lapidation is accompanied by *takbīr* (pronouncing "*Allāhu akbar*") among other exclamations. This is perhaps why Abū Ḥanīfa explains *tashrīḳ* as *takbīr* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, VI 393). Cf. also the article IḤADJDJ

Bibliography *Lisān al-ʿArab*, XII. 42 *sq.*, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, VI 393 *sq.*, Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p 1541, R Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig–Haarlem 1864, p 118–126 (the proposed explanation from the Hebrew is now rejected), Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, I 1 *sqq.*), p. 171—174; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², p. 80, 190, note 1; Th W. Juynboll, *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrīḳ* (*Z A*, XXVII, 1912, p 1—7), Gaudefroy–Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, p. 273, 291, 299, 302 note.

(R. PARET)

ṬASM B LŪDH B SĀM B. NŪḤ, a legendary tribe of the prehistoric period of the Arabs, closely connected by descent, dwelling-place (in al-Yamāma), conditions of life (agriculturists and cattle-breeders) and history with the Djadīs [q v.] (with whom they are always numbered) b. Ḥāthir b. Iram b Sām b. Nūḥ. The story, frequently mentioned in Arabic literature, of the fall of the two sister-tribes is in its main outlines as follows: They were at one time under the tyranny of a Ṭasmī named ʿAmlīḳ (or ʿAmlūḳ). Appealed to in a matrimonial dispute of a Djadīsī woman named Huzaila he gave an arbitrary verdict. Enraged at the opposition of the woman, he claimed the *jus primae noctis* over all the brides of the Djadīs. After exercising this tyranny for 40 (!) years, a highborn Djadīsī woman named ʿAfīra bint ʿIfār who had fallen a victim to it roused her tribe to vengeance and open rebellion. Her brother al-Aswad, however, advised cunning and carried his plan through against her proposal. He invited ʿAmlīḳ and his tribe to his sister's wedding. During the feast the Djadīs fell upon and killed the Tasm with weapons which had been hidden in the sand. Only one escaped, Riyāḥ b Murr, who fled to the Ḥimyarite prince Ḥassān b. Tubbaʿ and persuaded him to undertake a campaign of vengeance against the Djadīs. When the army had come within three days' journey of Djaww, the settlement of the Djadīs, Riyāḥ advised branches to be cut and carried by each rider to conceal him. For in Djadīs there was a wise woman named Yamāma (or Zarkāʾ) who could see anyone approaching at three days' journey distant. She, however, was able to recognise the enemy force in spite of their covering and advised her fellow tribesmen to get ready to defend themselves. They paid no heed to her and were surprised and the men killed and the women, including Yamāma, taken prisoner. Hassān had her eyes torn out and crucified her dead body on the gate of Djaww, which was henceforth called Yamāma. This is the legend. In many of its features it is quite mythical but it may in part relate to a historical event [cf. DJADĪS]. The fragments preserved in the sources of old couplets in the style of a folksong are probably the remains of a ballad form of the legendary material

Bibliography Tabarī, I 771 *sqq.*; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, X 48 *sqq.*, commentary of Nashwān on the Ḥimyar Ḳaṣīda, extracts from which are given in D H Müller's *Sudarab. Studien*, p 67 *sqq.*, also very fully in the commentary on the 17th verse of the 13th poem of Aʿshā Maimūn, ed by R Geyer, *ibid* (p 74, note 12) an exhaustive list of Arabic sources for the Ṭasm-Djadīs-saga (H. H BRAU)

TASMIYA. [See BASMALA].

TASNĪM, 1. name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in the Ḳurʾān, Sūra lxxxiii. 27, where it is said, that its water will be drunk by the *muḳarrabūn*, "those who are admitted to the divine presence", and that it will be mixed with the drink of the mass of the inhabitants of Paradise. The commentaries are uncertain, whether tasnīm is a proper name — which, according to the *Lisān* is inconsistent with its being a diptote — or a derivative from the root *s-n-m*, a root conveying the meaning of "being high". In the latter case the meaning of the verse would be. "and it (viz. the drink of the inhabitants of Paradise) will be mixed with water which is conducted to them from a high place".

Al-Ṭabarī mentions a third explanation, viz. "hidden things gladdening the inhabitants of Paradise"

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxiii.; al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx. 59; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, vi. 502 and the other

commentaries on the Ḳur'ān; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xvi. 199.

2. Infinitive II of *s-n-m* "raising graves above the level of the earth". It is said that Muḥammad's grave was *musannam* (Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, b 96) On the other hand it is said that Muḥammad ordered that graves should be levelled (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad 92, 93; Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi. 18 bis, 21). Al-Shāfiʿī's opinion was that graves should be raised only so much that they could be recognised as such, lest people should sit or walk on them (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanāʾiz*, b. 56) The Mālikites, however, preferred *tasnīm* (al-Nawawī's Commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1283, ii 344) (A. J. WENSINCK)

TASŪDJ (and ṬASSŪDJ), i. Arabicised forms of the Persian word *tasū* (Phl **tasūk*, cf Phl *tasum* "fourth" <**čaθruma*; cf Salemann, *Manich Studien*, i 128; Tedesco, *Dialectologie der west-iranischen Turfantexte*, p. 209) which means the 24th part of certains measures (Vullers, i 445). According to the *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī*, two *djaw* = a *ḥabba*, two *ḥabba* = a *tasūdj*, four *tasūdj* = a *dāng*; six *dāng* = a *dīnār*. In the *Dīwān* of Ḳāsim al-Anwār (Bib. Nat. de Paris, Sup. Pers. 717, fol. 174) is a verse giving to *tasu* some mystic sense. The word is found in Armenien *thasu* and in Aramaic *ṭyswga*, cf. Hubschmann, *Arm Gram*, 1/1, p 266

2. A territorial division. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p 16, contrasts the term *tasūk*, *tassūdj* ("office") meaning a district in the ʿIrāḳ with that of *rustāk* ("parish") a division of a *kūra* (from *χώρα*) in Fārs. The province of the ʿIrāḳ, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih and Kudāma, was divided into 12 *astān* (*ostān*?) each of which contained a certain number of *tassūdj*; the total number of the latter was usually put at 60 (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 79). The term *tasūdj* however (the phonetical form of which actually belongs to the S. W. dialect) is known throughout Persia. The province of Abarshahr in the strict sense (Nishāpūr) was divided into 13 *rustāk* and 4 *tasū* (Ibn Rusta, p 171· *arbaʿat aṭbāʿ*) namely Zīwand, Takāb, Bushta Furūshin(?) and Māzul Ibn Rusta, p 155, mentions a tassūdj of Kūdh among the dependencies of Isfahān. There is also a district of Tassūdj in the province of Fārs (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 102) on the right bank of the Kurr near Lake Bakhtigān; its capital is Khurrama (cf also Stolze, *Persepolis*, 1888, preface) The division into *tasūdj* must have been based on irrigation. The water of a river in theory forms 6 *dāng*; thus the two watercourses into which the Kārūn divides at Shushtar (the Shuṭaiṭ and Gargar) are called in the *Ẓafarnāma*, i. 591 and 599, "the river of 4 *dāng*s" and "the river of two *dāng*s". A tassūdj seems to represent the area irrigated by a quarter *dāng*.

3. Tasūdj is more particularly the name of a small town in Ādharbāidjān, on the north bank of Lake Urmiya to the south of the Mishow range. It is the capital of the district of Guney (in Turkish "exposed to the sun") including the north shore of Lake Urmiya. The old name of the district still used in government documents is Arwanaḳ-wa-Anzāb. Since Arwanaḳ means particularly the eastern part of the district (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 79) Tasūdj seems to be in Anzāb. The town of Tasūč (Taswič) lies about 3 miles from the lake; it is watered by a stream from the Ḳizil-dagh. Near the town which is surrounded by gardens are quarries of rocksalt, gypsum and limestone. The population is not more than 1,000 but the fact that it is divided into 12 quarters and has 50 mosques(?) shows its former importance. The town must date from before Islām. The Armenian historian of the eighth century, Łevond, p 134, mentions it among the places in Ādharbāidjān which king Gagik passed through coming from Thoṙnavan (in Vaspurakan): Zarevand, Zidṙoy(?), Tasuk, Gaznak, Ormi, Surenapat. The importance of Tasūdj in the Mongol period is seen from the fact that in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* Lake Urmiya is regularly called *daryā-yi Shūr-i Tasūdj* The revenues of the district however were not over 5,000 dīnārs. this sum was ear-marked for the maintenance of the pious foundations of the Khān Abū Saʿīd

Clavijo in 1404 who had to pass through Tasūdj on his way from Khoi to Tabrīz seems to call it as Caza ("a populous fine township which lies in a plain and is surrounded by many orchards that are irrigated by numerous streams"; transl Le Strange, London 1928, p. 150 and note on the form Caza–Taza on p 352).

Ewliyā Čelebi (ii 242, iv 319) calls the town Tasūy and its river Iriz(?) According to him, it was a *sulṭānlik* of some importance with about 3,000 soldiers and artillery. The town had 3,000 houses, 7 mosques etc. The people were Shiʿīs; Ewliyā says it was founded by Yezdedjird in honour of his wife Tasūbān(?) It is said to have been destroyed by Timūr(? cf Clavijo) and rebuilt by Djihānshāh (of the Kara Koyunlu) To the east of Tasūdj is the village of Kumla (Khumla) known from the fortifications erected there in 998 by Farhād Pasha at the time of the conquest of Tabrīz [q v.] in the reign of Murād III; cf. Ewliyā, *ibid.*

European travellers have rarely visited Tasūdj; cf E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p 56. (V. MINORSKY)

TAṢWĪR (A.), fashioning, forming; an image, a picture, for the prohibition of images and pictures of living beings by the Muslim jurists, see ṢŪRA, here an account will be given of the artistic activity in the Muslim world that has produced sculptures and pictures, despite the condemnation of the theologians Examples of the former are rare e g in Egypt, Khumārawaih [q v] had statues of himself, his wives and singing-girls made, and in Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [q. v.] set up a statue of his favourite wife al-Zahrāʾ, in the palace he called after her name, while the marble lions supporting the fountain constructed in the Alhambra for Muḥammad V, in the latter part of the xivth century, still exist. The Seldjūḳ princes of Asia Minor employed sculptors to decorate their capital, Ḳonya [q. v.], and several stone figures, both human and animal, of this period are preserved in the museum of that city. The first statues of Muhammadan potentates known to have been erected in public places, are those set up in the city of Cairo by Ismāʿīl Pasha [q. v.]. Under the Fāṭimids in Egypt a large number of bronze ewers and perfume-burners, in the form of birds and animals, were made, and rock crystals of the same period often have animal forms cut upon them. The metal-workers of Mawṣil and their fellow craftsmen who carried the same art into Persia, Syria and Egypt, made lively representations of court life, the monarch drinking among his servants and musicians, hunting, playing polo, or engaged in battle; some of these metal-

workers were certainly Christians, but their patrons were Muslim princes who paid no heed to theological opinion on the matter. A similar disregard of the prescriptions of the *sharīʿa* is found on the pottery of Rayy (xiith and xiiith centuries), with its brilliantly coloured representations of princes, musicians, singing-girls, dancers and knights, as well as animals of various kinds, both real and imaginary. Figures are also found on the pottery from other towns, but not with the same wealth of imagery. Carvings in wood, particularly under the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks in Egypt, often represent figures, human or animal, figures also form part of the decoration of carpets, ivories and glass. Such objects, of these various classes, as have survived the many cataclysms that have swept over the Muḥammadan world, or have escaped destruction at the hands of fanatical iconoclasts, probably form only a small part of the total number that once existed.

More abundant evidence of the existence of representational art and the use of figure-forms, in the Muḥammadan world, is found in paintings, especially in Persia, India and Turkey. The existence of fresco-painting as a decoration of the palaces of Muslim princes is testified, for the Umayyad period, by the pictures of royal personages, dancers, musicians, gymnasts etc. in Kusayr ʿAmra (see ʿAMRA, i. 338), and for the early ʿAbbāsid period, by the pictures of dancing-girls, animals, birds etc at Sāmarrā (see E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927). There is ample literary evidence for the practice in the palaces of later Muslim monarchs, and remains of frescoes executed in the xviith and early xixth centuries for Persian Shāhs still exist.

But the majority of Muslim paintings are to be found as illustrations in MSS and to some extent also on separate sheets of paper. Hardly any examples of paintings on paper have survived, of a date earlier than the xiiith century. Among the earliest books of Arabic literature so illustrated were the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, works on astronomy, medicine and mechanical science, etc. Persian literature has much more abundantly received the attention of the painter, and writings of many different kinds contain pictures. Poetical works are most commonly illustrated, e.g. the *Shah-nāma* of Firdawsī, the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, the *Kulliyāt* of Saʿdī and a large number of other poets. Illustrated MSS of historical contents are less common, but there are MSS of the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, the *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* of Mirkhwānd, the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, and various works on Indian history, with pictures. The illustrations in MSS. of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* by more than one author, and of the *Maḏāhir al-ʿUshshāḳ* by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā (himself a generous patron of painters) are of special interest as providing Muslim representations of the history of the holy personages of Islāmic history. Later, illustrated prose romances became common. Besides Arabic and Persian, MSS. in Čaghatāy Turkī (especially those produced in Harāt in the latter part of the xvth century), Hindūstānī, Pashtū and Ottoman Turkish have been illustrated by Muslim painters.

In addition to the illustrations in manuscripts prepared for royal personages and men of wealth, mention must be made of instances of popular disregard of the prohibition of representations of living beings; most noticeable among these are the figures used in the shadow-plays, popular in Java, Egypt and Turkey. The houses of the poor are often decorated with crude drawings of animals, especially in Egypt, painted to celebrate the return of a pilgrim from Mecca, and cheap pictures of Burāḳ [q. v.] are common.

The sources of Muslim pictorial art are obscure, but influences are traceable from Christian (Jacobite and Nestorian), Manichaean, Sāsānian and Chinese paintings. In Persia, the pre-Muslim artistic traditions re-appear in the later art, and in India Hindu painters worked for Muḥammadan princes and contributed elements characteristic of the country.

Some attempt has been made to distinguish different schools of Muḥammadan painting, but there is little agreement in the suggested divisions. The Primitives of the xiiith century form a group apart, and there are special characteristics that mark the work of the painters in the service of the Mongol rulers of Persia at the beginning of the xivth century, the Tīmūrid princes of the xvth century, the Ṣafawids of the xvith and the Mughals in India during the xvith and xviith centuries.

Of the personality of the painters very little is known, the greater part of their work is anonymous, and it often happens that no biographical material is available in cases where paintings bear a signature. Even of the greatest of Persian painters, Bihzād [q. v.], little is known, except the names of the princely patrons for whom he worked, and critics are not agreed as to which of the pictures that bear his signature, are authentic. Historical material regarding the Persian painters begins to be available in the xvith century, and for Indian and Turkish painters a little later; but the details provided are very meagre and in no instance are they sufficient to render identification of any particular picture possible.

Finally, mention may be made of coins bearing the effigy of a Muslim monarch. The earliest of these are obviously imitations of Byzantine coins, and cease after ʿAbd al-Malik's [q. v.] reform of the coinage about 77 A. H. There are isolated examples of coins bearing the portraits of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs Mutawakkil, Muḳtadir and Muṭīʿ. But coins with human figures become more common under the Seldjūḳs of Asia Minor, the Urtuḳids of Diyārbakr and Zangids of Aleppo; but they are generally imitations of some foreign coinage, and in no instance appear to be portraits of the monarchs whose names and titles they bear. In India, however, Djahāngīr [q. v.] struck coins bearing his own effigy, and even ventured to outrage Muslim sentiment so far as to represent himself as holding a wine-cup in his hand.

Bibliography: The chief sources of information are given in K. A. Inostrantsev and J. I. Smirnov, *Materiali dla bibliographie musulmanskoe archeologie*, St. Petersburg 1904; A. Creswell, *A Provisional bibliography of painting in Muhammadan art*, London 1921; W. Bjorkman and E. Kuhnel, *Kritische Bibliographie*, *Islamische Kunst 1914—1927*, (*Isl.*, xvii.), Berlin 1928. — Later publications are T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928; A. Grohmann and T. W. Arnold, *Denkmäler islamischer Buchkunst*, Munich 1929. — The most comprehensive works are E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin 1925, and E. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2nd ed., Paris 1927. (T. W. ARNOLD)

AL-**TASYĪR** (in the west: atazir, ataçir, athacir, directio, prorogatio, ἄφεσις, théorie aphétique) is a process used in astrology of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used, by converting it into a definite period of time, to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil

The astrological magnitude ascertained by this process played a very prominent part among the ancients as well as among the Arabs and in the west, for on the one hand it made possible a judicium speciale (i. e. definitely laid down the time of fulfilment of statements made in the judicium generale of a nativity about future good or ill fortune and in particular enabled the length of life to be calculated or the choice of particularly auspicious days [*al-ikhtiyār*] for beginning a journey, for holding weddings, for founding a city, for beginning a reign, etc.), and on the other was distinguished by special complexity in the method of its calculation.

The astronomical calculation of the arc of special importance for our task (we call it briefly the *tasyīr* arc) is not particularly difficult if once the limits of the places in the heavens defining the arc, the "advancing" planet or place (*al-mutakaddim*, *al-hailādj*, significator) and the "succeeding" or second (*al-thānī*, promissor) are ascertained In fig. 1 (and 2) A is the significator, B the promissor, P the visible pole of the celestial sphere, N B S (NAS) the circle of the promissor (significator), C the intersection of the circle parallel to the circle of position drawn through A (B). The circles of declination drawn through A (B) and C cut out the *tasyīr* arc ac (bc). The *tasyīr* arc is thus the curve of the equator, which in general does not exceed 90°, which crosses over the circle of position during the period in which the significator (promissor) is transferred by the apparent daily revolution of the celestial sphere on its parallel circle to the circle of position of the promissor (significator) assumed to be fixed within this period (for further information on the conceptions that occur, see the article ASTROLOGY)

According to the respective positions of the significator and promissor, two kinds of *tasyīr* are distinguished:

a. Direct *tasyīr* (directio directa) when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the signs of the zodiac. Here the significator is the place to be "directed", the promissor regarded as fixed (fig. 1).

b. Indirect *tasyīr* (directio conversa) when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the daily motion of the celestial sphere. In this case the promissor is moved to the circle of position of the significator which is assumed to be fixed.

A special form for application of the calculation of the *tasyīr* (a kind of inversion of the process) was developed in choosing days in this way that the position of only one star was given and also a definite time or what is the same thing on account of the conversion of periods of time into degrees of the equator, a definite number of *tasyīr* degrees. The problem is to find the degree which corresponds to the end point (the "goal") of the *tasyīr* arc Judicia could then be deduced from the conjunction of planets occurring at this degree.

The mathematical calculation is a problem in spherical trigonometry and goes back to simple formulae with equinoctial time as the basis. In the equation *taysīr* $a\,c = b\,a - b\,B' - B'\,c$ (fig. 1), the right side is known, for $b\,a$ = right ascension B— right asc. A and the magnitudes $b\,B'$ and $B'\,c$ are found from the formulae.

I $\cos B' = \sin (\sphericalangle\, D\,S\,B') \cos S\,D.$
II. $\sin b\,B' = \operatorname{tg} B\,b \operatorname{cotg} B'.$
III. $\sin B'\,c = \operatorname{tg} c\,C \operatorname{cotg} B'.$

The Arabs however used other approximative methods of calculation based on hours of mean time (*zamānīya*) which are given in the following formulae.

I. (According to al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī etc.).

$$\text{number of } \textit{tasyīr} \text{ degrees} = \left| \alpha \pm (\alpha - \beta) \cdot \frac{\text{dist } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } B} \right|,$$

where

α = right asc. A — right asc B,
β = obl. asc A — obl. asc. B

The signs $\pm$ before the round bracket depend on whether α is greater or less than β, the expression in the square brackets are used when B is below the horizon

Special cases

a B in the meridian *tasyīr* = |right asc. A — right asc B|
b B in the horizon *tasyīr* = |obl asc A — obl asc B|.

II (Second rule of al-Battānī)

Number of *tasyīr* degrees =
= | dist B from upper [lower] culmin point $\times$ half day [night] arc $A \pm$
(right asc. A—right asc. of the upper [lower] culm. point),

where the — before the round bracket is for the case when A and B belong to the same hemisphere, the + when A and B belong to different hemispheres The expressions in the square brackets are used for the western hemisphere or for the case when the lower meridian lies between A and B.

In both cases the total result is positive in direct and negative in indirect *tasyīr* For indirect *tasyīr* B and A in the above formulae are to be interchanged. The number of degrees in the *tasyīr* arc thus obtained was converted into a period of time in this way: if it was a question of length of life for example, 1° was equated to a solar year, 5′ = 1 month, 1′ = 6 days, in other cases 1° = 1 day

The difficulty, continually emphasised by the Arabs, of calculating a *tasyīr* is on the one hand due to the regard paid to astrological demands and on the other particularly to the amount of separate necessary astronomical calculations and measurements, which it would take too much time to detail here fully. The necessary knowledge of the different methods for accurately calculating the time of birth and the astronomical significance of the different times of being born, of the different houses of the heavens of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets and their aspects, of the most important fixed stars, first in themselves,

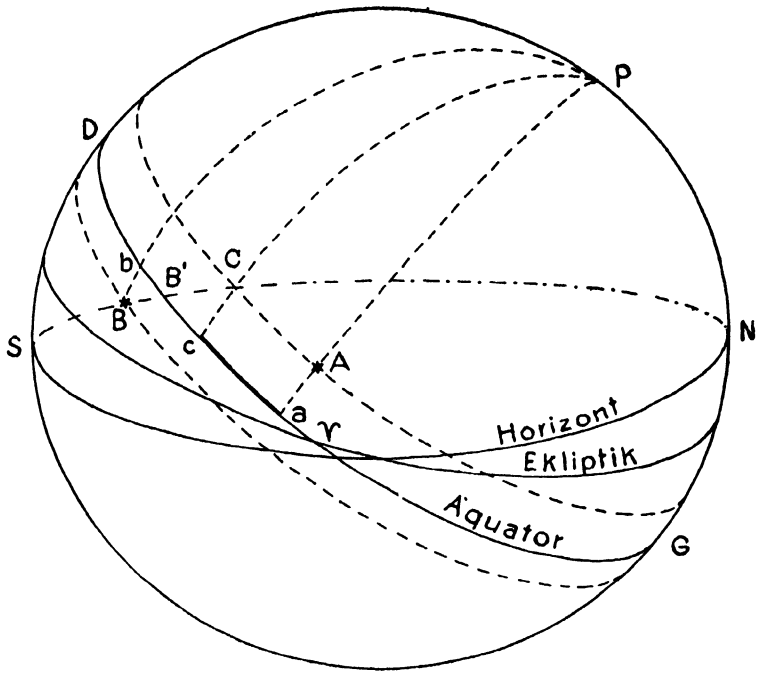

P
D
b
B'
C
B
S
c
N
A
a
γ
Horizont
Ekliptik
Äquator
G

Fig. 1

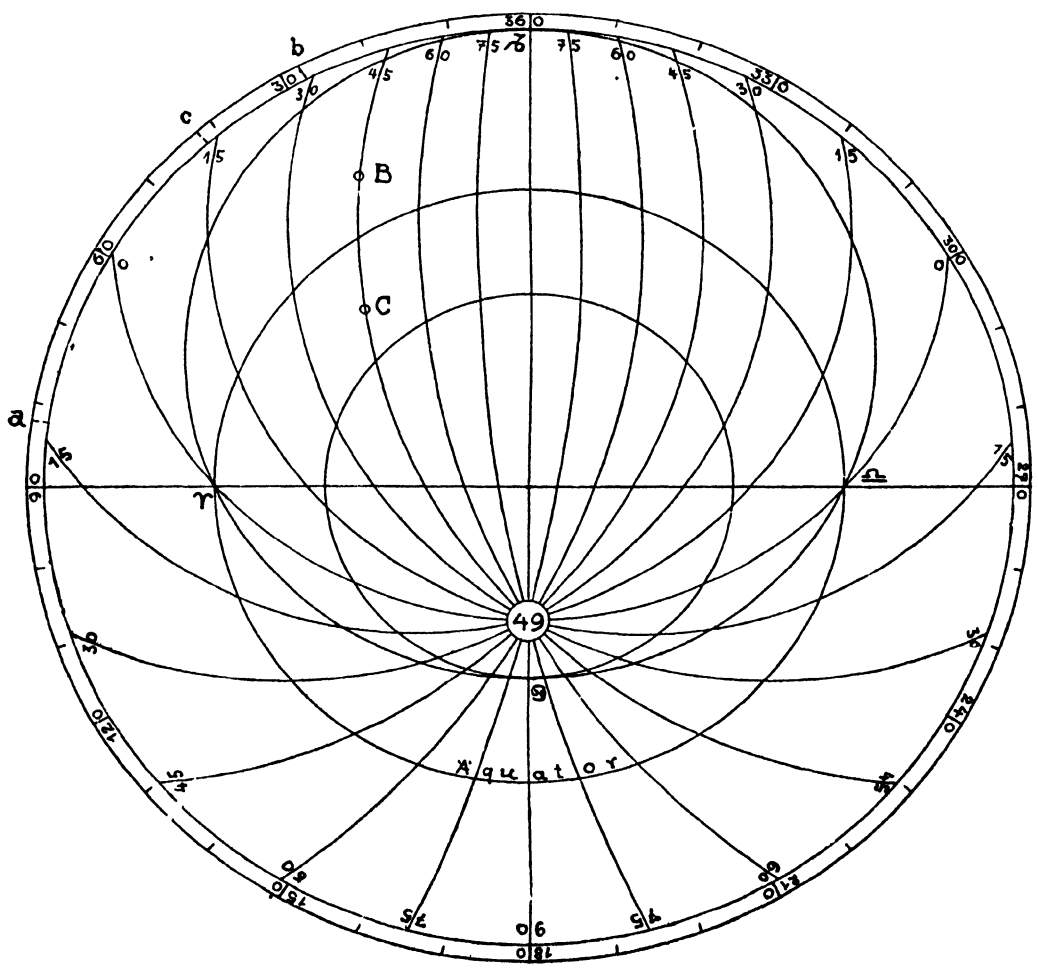

b
c
a
B
C
γ
Ω
49
Äquator

Fig. 3

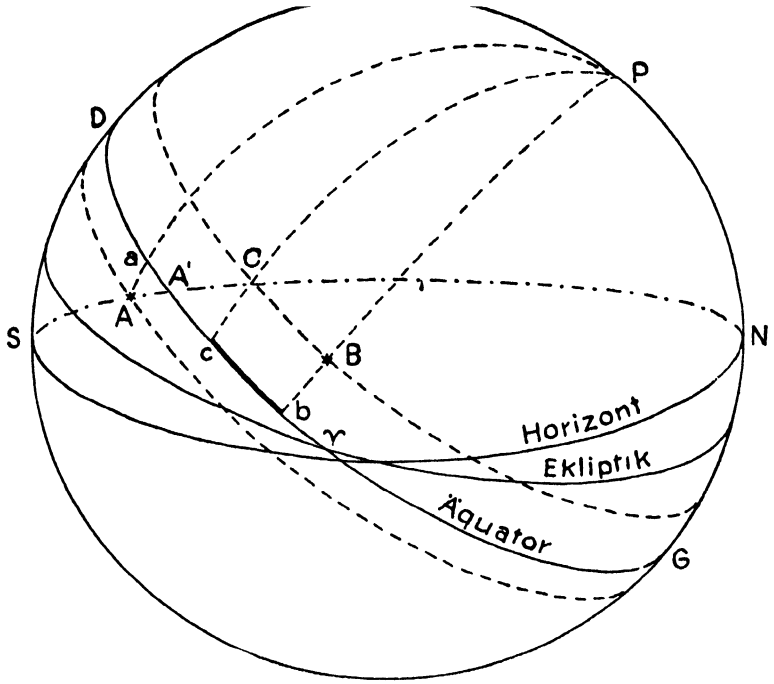
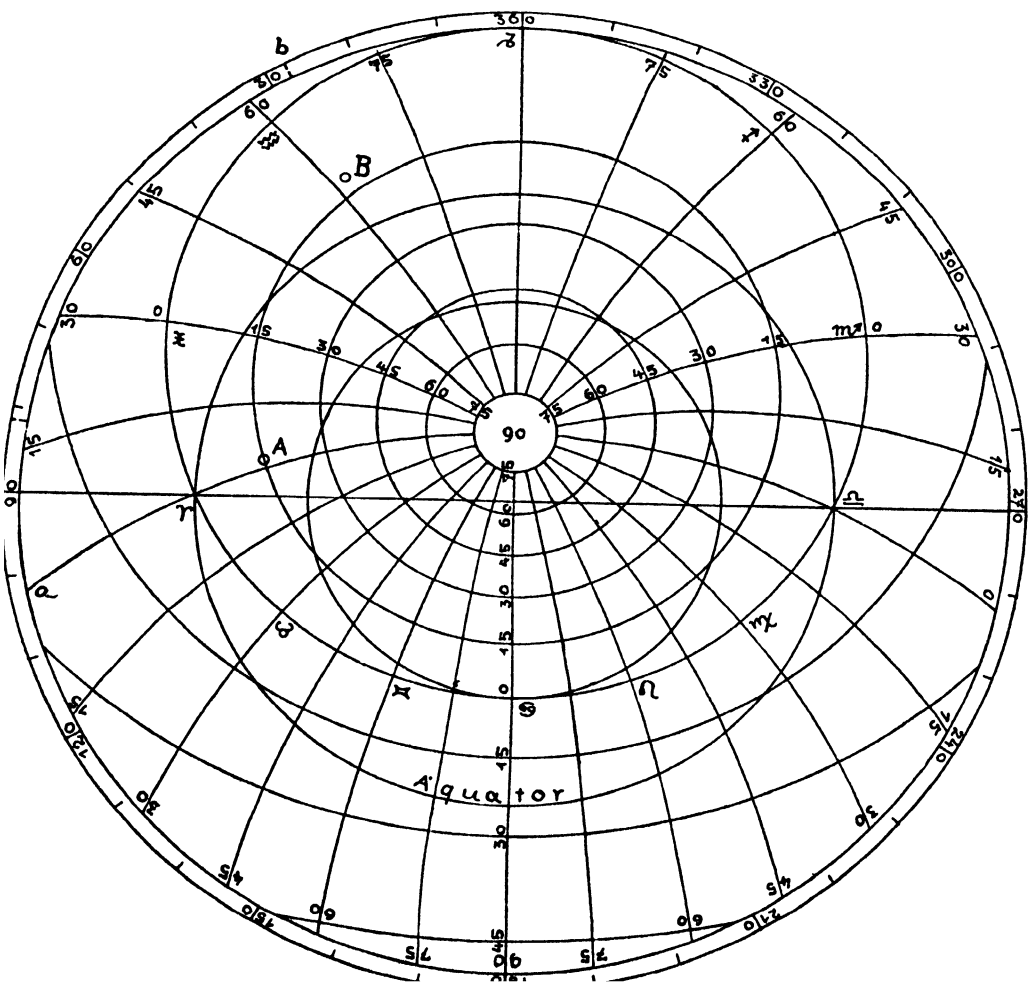


Fig. 2



then with respect to one another and with regard to their special positions (house, degree of elevation, triplicity, injury, fall) taking into consideration the very many rules for the strength, weakness or moderation, the beneficial or dangerous influence of the various planets and their aspects, of the houses and the arrow of fortune (*sahm al-saʿāda*), the calculation of larger, smaller or medium numbers of years for length of life according to the position of the influential planets, the choice of a lord of birth and of the horoscope after definite rules (ascendant, *al-ṭālīʿ*), of an interpreter of life (significator), of a foreteller of death or misfortune (promissor), of a giver of years (*al-kadkẖudā*), the knowledge of the great, little or medium effect of definite direction, of auspicious or inauspicious directions and other things, demanded a perfect command of the astrological knowledge of the period. In addition, considerable skill in the carrying out of the necessary astronomical calculations was necessary, the reduction of the time to the meridian on which the Ephemerid tables were based; the longitude, latitude and declination of the most important fixed stars, the planets and their aspects and the application of their values to the time of birth, the astrological houses in the heavens and the signs of the zodiac and planets in them; the arrow of fortune, the circles of position of significator and promissor etc. Simply for the calculation of the curve of the tasyīr after ascertaining its termini there are necessary: right asc. of *A* and *B*, their distance from the meridian, their declination and half-day or half-night curve, the elevation of the pole over the circle of position (distance of the intersection of circle of position and equator from the meridian)

To simplify the long and tiresome process and to carry out an observation without calculation the Arabs used mechanical (nomographic) aids either single planes ("plane of the tasyīr" in al-Bīrūnī) which were placed in the astrolabe or a special instrument ("estrumente del leuantamiento" in Alfonso X of Castile) which was mainly used to obtain the tasyīr but also facilitated other calculations. The essential part of this instrument was a plane which contained on the front the projections of as many circles of position as possible or of hours for the latitude of the point of observation concerned (it is the same plane as the plane of the tasyīr in al-Bīrūnī, cf. fig. 3) and on the back the projections of the circles of longitude and latitude according to the system of the ecliptic (fig. 4). On the axis of the instrument, common to the two sides, was an undivided alhidade with two movable pointers placed as required on the front or back and kept in position by a fastener ("cavallo", *al-faras*). On the back could also be put the net ("spider") with the projections of different positions of fixed stars which is made exactly as in the astrolabe.

The mechanical calculation of the tasyīr curve was carried out as follows when latitude and longitude of the places in the heavens *A* and *B* (cf. fig. 1, 3 and 4) were known:

1. Place the moveable pointer of the alhidade on the place *B* on the back, read the degree of the equator *b* to which the alhidade now points.

2. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator *b*, ascertain the circle of position (from *B*) on which the moveable pointer falls

3. Place the moveable pointer at the place *A* on the back, read the degree of the equator *a*

4. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator *a*, turn the alhidade until the pointer running through the parallel circle from *A* points to the circle of position of *B* (in *C*).

5. Read the degree of the equator *C* through which the alhidade now points: the curve *a c* is the tasyīr curve desired.

Works in Arabic on the *tasyīr* or the plane of the tasyīr were composed by Muḥammad b. ʿOmar b Farrūkẖān (H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber* etc., *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d math. Wissensch.*, xlv., Heft 10, 1900, N⁰. 34); al-Battānī (Suter, N⁰. 89); Abū Djaʿfar al-Kẖāzin (Suter, N⁰. 124), al-Bīrūnī (Suter, N⁰. 218). But the complete astrological works of the former have not survived. The "Book of the Ataçir" in the astronomical works of Alfonso X is by Rabi Çag de Toledo (Isaak ibn Sid), the editor of the Alfonsine Tables, but seems to be merely a translation of an Arabic original.

In the "History of Scholars" by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī the following astronomers are honorably mentioned for their particular ability in calculating the *tasyīr*: al-Hasan b. Misbāh (p. 163); al-Marwazī (p 170, Suter, N⁰. 22); al-Kẖāḳānī, (p. 181, Suter, N⁰. 206); Sind b. ʿAlī (p. 206, Suter, N⁰. 24), al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī (p. 219, Suter, N⁰. 21), Ibn Yūnus (p. 203, Suter, N⁰ 178); Ibn al-Aʿlam (S. 235, Suter, N⁰ 137); Muh b Ibrāhim al-Fazārī (p 270, Suter, N⁰. 1); Muh b Kẖālid al-Marwālrūdī (p 281, Suter, N⁰. 46); Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (p. 357, Suter, N⁰ 14); Yaḥyā b. Sahl al-Sadīd Abū Bishr al-Takrītī (p. 365), Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Yāmin (p. 426).

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(O. SCHIRMER)

TĀT (TAT), a Turkish word, meaning "the foreign elements included in the lands of the Turks" (Thomsen).

1. The term has a rather complicated history. Its occurrence in the Orkẖon inscriptions (viii^th century) was first noticed by Vambéry (*Noten zu d alttürk Inschriften Mém. Soc Finno-Ougr*, xii., Helsingfors 1899, p. 88—89). Thomsen (*Turcica, ibid.*, xxxvii, 1916, p. 15) proposed to translate the words *on oḳ oghlıña tatıña tagı*, "up to the sons of the Ten Arrows (= The Western Turks) and their *tāt* (= their subjects of foreign origin)". Thomsen passes over the question of the origin of the name in which (**tāt*) Korsch thought he could recognise a contraction of the name *Tangut*

(*Slovo "baldak" i dolgota v turetskikh yazïkakh*, *Zivaya Starina*, 1909, fasc. II—III, p. 156—161). For the history of the name Tāt there may be some importance in the name *Tagat*, *Tangat*, *Taut*, which the Woguls and the Ostiaks give to the river Irtïsh; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 499.

According to the *Dīwān Lughat al-Turk* (466 = 1075), II 224, the word *tat* (sic!) means the Persians (*al-Fārisīyu*) among all the Turks; more particularly among the Yaghma and Tukhsi tribes the term refers to the Uighur. In both cases *tat* has a contemptuous sense as is evident from the proverbs: "grasp the thorn by the root and strike the Tat in the eye", "but for the Tat there would be no Turk, just as but for the head there would be no hat (to cover it)".

Later in the language of the conquering Turks the word Tat became especially associated with the conquered Persians Even Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in his Turkish poems (Gibb, *A. Hist of Ottoman Poetry*, I. 150 and especially Martinovič, *Zap.*, XXIV (917, p 221) uses the terms *tat* (sic!), *tat-dja* for the Persians and their language In a curious passage, already noticed by Khanykov), Pietro della Valle, French transl 1663, II. 468—469 who uses the current phraseology of the Safawid period contrasts the Kizil-bash [q v.] "a certain race of men who were introduced . . with the King Ismail Sofi" with the Tat "the dregs of the populace but descended in a direct line from the true old stock of the Persians". The Turkish tribe of Kashkā'ī (in Fārs) also uses the word Tat in the sense of "non-Turk", cf. Romaskevič, *Pesni kashkaitsev*, *Sborn muzeya Antrhop pri Akademii nauk*, V/II, p 587. The Turkish speaking followers of the religion of the Ahl-i Hakk in Ādharbāidjān also seem to use the word Tat with the meaning which it must have had in the mouths of their presumed ancestors, the Kara-Koyunlu Turcomans, cf Minorsky, *R M. M*, XLV, p 242, cf the article MĀKŪ

The Turcomans of the Transcaspian territory give the name Tat to the Iranian Tadjīks, formerly, according to Samoilovič, they gave the name to the people of Khīwa. [Is this a memory of the old Iranian population of Khwārizm? Cf now A. Walīdī, *Hwarezmische Satze*, *Islamica*, III/II 927, p 190—213].

The term Tat has however been applied to other ethnic elements. Schildberger (1394—1427) tells us that the "infidels" give the name "That" to the inhabitants of Karckeri (probably Kïrk-yer = Tïfut-kal'a in the mountains S. W. of the Crimea). In another passage he says that one of the languages spoken in the Crimea is called Kuthia and that the "infidels" call it Tat ("*die siebent sprauch haisst Cuthia sprauch und die haiden haissents That*"). From this it is evident that the name That in the language of the Muḥammadans of the Ḳipčaḳ of the XV^th century was applied to the Goths of the Taurus (whose kingdom was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1475)

Later, beginning with the yarlïḳ of Djani-beg Girāy, dated 1037 (1628) (cf Veliaminov-Zernov, *Materiali dlia istorii Krim khantsva*, St Petersburg 864, p 26), we find in the title of the Khāns of the Crimea, the official reference *tāt bila Ṭawgādj-iñ ulugh pādshāhï*. Budagov, *Slovar*, I. 329, explains *āt* here as the Genoese without giving reasons the meaning of *Ṭawgādj* in the title is still quite obscure) At the present day the Noghai Tatars of the northern Crimea give the name Tat to all the Muḥammadans of the southern coast of the Peninsula, who represent a mixture of nationalities that have become turkicised (personal information from Samoilovič); cf. also Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches*, III, col 899, sub 5b.

It may be also mentioned here that a section of the "Greeks" (i. e Orthodox) settled at Marioupol in 1778 is called Tat. These Tat migrated from the south coast of the Crimea and speak a Greek dialect. The name Tat is, however, not applied to the other section of the "Greeks of Marioupol" who speak Turkish (which they write in Greek characters) and who seem to be the true descendants of the Goths of Tauris Cf Grigorowitsch-Blau, *Uber die griechisch-turkische Mischbevolkerung in Mariupol*, *Z D M. G*, XXVIII., 1874, p 576—583 and *ibid*, p 562–576; Tomaschek, *Die Gothen in Taurien*, Vienna 1881, p 5, 48, Th. Braun, *Mariupolskiye Greki*, *Zivaya Starina*, St Petersburg, I/II. 1890, p. 78—92

According to Tomaschek, *o c*, p 45, the Magyars call the Slovaks Tót (< Tat?).

The primary meaning of the word Tat (= "non-Turk, foreigner") is given in the Čaghatai-Ottoman dictionary of Shaikh Sulaimān Efendi (ed Kunos, p 184) "nations that have passed under the rule of the Turks, e g the Tāčïk". [On p 179 however, the author says that the people of foreign origin who speak Turkish are called Tat and those who speak Persian are called Tādjīk. In this connection may be noted the statement of Zakī Walīdī, according to which the term Tat was applied in Turkestān (in the XIV^th century?) to all the settled elements of the population, including the Turks settled in the country before the coming of the Mongols] Aḥmed Wefïḳ, *Lehdje-yi 'Othmānī*, Stambul 1306, p. 286, whose interpretation of the word seems to be influenced by local Ottoman conditions says, "the former Kurd (sic!) and Persian inhabitants of the provinces subjected to Turkish rule" Barbier de Meynard in his *Dictionary* adopted Aḥmed Wefïḳ's explanation, but thought it applied to Turkestān

The Čaghatai dictionaries also give the secondary meanings of the word *tat*· "the class of subjected people living outside the town" (?cf above Zaki Walīdī), "vagabond" etc Cf Veliaminov-Zernov, *Slovar' djaghatai-turetskii* ["Abushḳa"], St Petersburg 1868; Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turc oriental*, 1870, p 194, Radloff, *Versuch*, III, col. 899, *sub* 5c and d Melioransky, however, who has specially studied the word Tat, *Zap*, XII, 1899, p. 0154—0158, has shown that the examples of these meanings taken from the works of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī are very doubtful.

2 In a special and evidently secondary sense the term Tat is applied to certain Iranian peoples whom the Persians themselves regarded as distinct from them. These Tāt groups are found in Persia and in Transcaucasia.

A. In northern Persia, there are little islands of people speaking their own dialects. The "southern" dialects of Fārs are called Tādjīkī among the Persians [only the Kashḳa'ī Turks use the term Tāt in Fārs, cf. above] Even as applied to people speaking northern dialects the term Tāt is only used in Persian for certain dialects of the North-west. It has not yet been found for example in the region of Kāshān.

The most important group of the Tāt is found to the west and south-west of Ḳazwīn; the Tāt

live in the villages of Ishtihard, Cāl, Ispiawarīn Isfārwarīn, Shādmān, Sagzī-ābād, Ibrāhīm-ābād, Khiyārak, Danesfān, Siyādahūn. This last-named town at the bifurcation of the roads from Kazwīn to Hamadān and Zandjān has 2,000 houses. The Tāt population is not distinguished externally from the other peasants of the country round Ḳazwīn. The "Tātī" dialects spoken in Persia are very little known. The dialect of Siyādahūn is, like those of the region of Kāshān and Iṣfahān, studied by Žukovsky and O. Mann. Here are a few characteristic words: *aspa*, "dog", *bar*, "gate", *so* "three", *az mīzâna*, "I know", *amâ mīzânū*, "we know", *au ādamīn hama mīzânīnda*, "these men all know", *bishkas* "look"! *ta mugo ka shī*, "where do you want to go?". Žukovsky, *Materdlia izuč pers narečii*, I., p. 9, gives also a few glossaries in the language of Ashtehārd (= Ishtihārd) Cf. also the notes by Brugsch, *Reise*, I 337, on the dialect of Kūshkā (on the Ṭihrān-Hamadān road). It is possible that this group of dialects may be connected with the so-called "pure Pahlavi" which, according to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 62, was spoken in the XIV^th^ century in Zandjān.

According to Rabino, *Le Guilân, R. M. M.*, XXXII, p. 210, Tāti is spoken in the district of Rustamābād on the left bank of the Safīd-rūd where Tālishī and Kurd are also spoken The same author, *Māzandarān and Astarābād, G. M S.*, 1928, p 63 and 70, mentions the existence of Tāt at Ashraf and Sadan-Rustāk Nothing is known of their language In Ādharbāidjān, there is the little island of Tāt of Harzān (between Marand and Djulfā). Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, p 186–187 gives the following words from the dialect of Galin-ḳaya: *dê*, two, *hara*, three; *isba*, dog, *ospa bindor*, the horses are yoked In the dialect of the village of Harzān, (information supplied by Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī) they say *īzī*, "here", *emrū*, "to-day", *zīr*, "yesterday", *andjomanūy*, "the Andjumans" The forms *āmérè*, *berênd*, *sherīndū*, which correspond in Persian to *āmadā*, *būdand* and *shudand* are particulary interesting on account of the regular change of intervocalic *d* (*dh*) to *r* (cf. below). The dialect of Hāizan is quite different from the Tāti of Siyādahūn The existence of still undiscovered islands of Tātī in Ādharbāidjān is possible. In his article on the gipsies [cf. LŪLĪ] Father Anastase mentions vaguely a tribe of Tāt in the "Uskī" mountains (read Uskū, Uskūya south of Tabrīz). The dialect of Kilīd (on the left bank of the Araxes, near Ordūbād), which has now disappeared, may also have belonged to the Tātī group of Ādharbāidjān Cf Paskhalov, *Kilit*, in *Sborn. mater. dlia opisaniya Kawkaza*, Tiflis, XIII, 1892, p 334—343)

B. In the Caucasus the term Tat is applied to the Iranian Muslim peoples speaking the Tāti dialect. This peculiar dialect is also spoken by several other communities, Jewish and Armenian Besides these three principal divisions, the dialect has several varieties not yet clearly distinguished.

The Tātī of the Caucasus is mainly known from the works of Vsevolod F. Miller. Its most characteristic feature is its rhotacism (*biran* = Pers. *bûdan*; *yâr* = Pers. *yād*) on which cf above. The following table gives an idea of some other peculiarities of Tātī:

Tātī	Persian	Northern Dialects
dan- (to know)	*dan-*	Kurd *zan*
gul (flower)	*gul*	Simnani *val*
vârf/vâhr (snow)	*bârf*	Kurd *wafr*.

Tātī very rarely has *iḍāfat*: its place is taken by an original construction: *khuba khuna* = Pers. *khāna-yi khūb* etc. The dialect is rich in postpositions (*-ravâz*, "with") and in gerundives (*činin ba-birani*, "things being so"). The vocabulary is full of Turkish loan-words. Like most Persian dialects, Tātī is not very regular in its characteristic features Broadly speaking, it occupies a position intermediate between modern Persian and the Caspian dialects (where rhotacism is also found sporadically)

The Muslim Tāts who form the bulk of the people speaking Tātī, live in the districts of Bakū [q v], Ḳubba [q v], Shamākhī and Gok-čai. There are some in the province of Gandja and in southern Daghestān (the districts of Ḳaitaḳ-Tabasarān immediately west of Dairband; cf. Kozubsky, *Pamiat. knižka Dagestan. oblasti*, Temir-khān-shura, 1895, p. 314)

The majority of the Tāts live on the two slopes of the eastern extremity of the Caucasus range and the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābsharān) except its south-east point On the ethnographic map of the Caucasus by Rittich (before 1877) the total number of Tāts is put at 64,656; Kondratenko's ethnographical map appended to vol. XVIII of *Zapiski Kawk. Otd. Russ Geogr. Otshč* gives for the district of Bākū (in 1886) 58,621 Tāts. The *Great Russian Encyclopaedia*, vol. XXXII/II., 1901 gives the total as 135,000. The Soviet census of 1923 gives 98,020 Tāts "by language" and 28,705 "by nationality". In the former are included 970 "Tāts" of the Transcaspian (i e. the Tādjīk whom the Turkomans call Tāt) In addition in the Soviet republic of Ādharbāidjān there are 11,000 individuals speaking "Fārsī" which must include some Tāts. In all we may say about 90,000 people speak Tāti. The decrease in the number of Tāts may be the result of their gradual turkicisation.

The Jews speaking Tātī (the "mountain Jews" in Turkish *Dagh-čufutī*) numbered in 1886 21,000, 10,000 in villages and 11,000 in towns. Their largest colonies were at Kubba (6,280), at Darband, Temir-khān-shura, Grozni, Nalčik (a Circassian district of Ḳabarda). They are also found on the Kuban [q.v]. The dialect of these Jews is remarkable for its guttural articulation: in it we find *ḥ*, *ʿain*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, even in purely Iranian words (*ḥafd*, "seven", *asb*, "horse", *danusda*, "know", *ṭar*, "wet"). V. F. Miller thus defines the character of Jewish Tāti. "It is an Iranian dialect, spoken with the Semitic articulation, the phonetics of which (in part) and the morphology (in part) have been formed on the Turkish model". As to articulation, it could be explained by the fact that these Jews had formerly spoken Arabic, or more simply by the proximity of the peoples of Daghestān who not only have the sounds *ʿain* and *ḥā* but have always cultivated a knowledge of Arabic, in which until quite recently, correspondence in Daghestān was conducted For the rest, the Muslim Tāts also have the sounds *ʿain* and *ḥā*. The influence of Turkish on Tātī is in any case not to be exaggerated The morphological phenomena and even the vocalic assimilation in the syllables of the same word discovered by V. F. Miller have purely Persian parallels. Iranian influence on these Jews is not confined to language; Jewish folklore reflects it also (*sàr-āvī*, "spirit of the waters", *àždahāymār* "dragon" etc.)

The Tātī of the Armenians (the little town of Matrasi [Madrasa], Kilvāl etc.) is marked by the

simplification of vowel sounds (*å* > *a*) and by the aspirated character of certain consonants.

The Tāts of the Caucasus are at the present day entirely surrounded by Turkish and Daghestānian peoples. Their present habitats must always have been separated from the main body of Iranians. Their geographical distribution along the eastern chain of the Caucasus with an outthrust to Darband seems to suggest the idea, which decided their settlement in these regions, namely the desire to reinforce the natural line of defence by Iranian colonies to meet invasions from the north. It would be tempting to recognise in the Tāt remains of ancient colonies transplanted to Daghestān in the period when the Sāsānians were fortifying Darband. According to Balādhurī, p. 194, Anūshirwān (531—579) had settled the region of Darband-Shābirān [cf. SHIRWĀN] with people from Sisakan (*al-styāsiḏjīn*). This last province was situated on the left bank of the Araxes (practically the district of Nakhčuwān with the surrounding mountains) immediately north of Ādharbāiḏjān. The people of Sisakan were Christians, but from the political and linguistic point of view held a special position in the kingdom of Armenia. In 571, they begged the Sāsānian king to detach their province from Armenia and include it in Ādharbāiḏjān; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 120—122, Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen*, *Indog Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, p. 263—266, 347—349. The late *Darband-nāma* ed. Kazem-beg, *Mém. présentés à l'Académie des Sciences par divers savants*, vi., St. Petersburg 1851, p. 461, says Anūshirwān peopled the new towns in the vicinity of Darband with people from Ādharbāiḏjān and Fārs and the towns to the south of Darband (the region of Shābaran-Mashkūr, cf the word ḳUBBA) with people from the ʿIrāḳ and Fārs. According to the same source (p 530) however, the fortresses around Darband were re-built under the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr (754—775) and on this occasion Arabs from Mawṣil and Syria were placed in them. Among the places fortified are especially mentioned Muṭāʿī, Kamākhī, etc. which at the present day are inhabited by Tāts. It might be concluded from this that the presence of Tāts at Muṭāʿī etc. represents a migration later than the eighth century, but the text of the *Darband-nāma*, the original Persian of which has not yet been found (cf Barthold, in *Iran*, i, Leningrad, 1926, p 42—58) is not certain (according to Klaproth's version, three hundred families settled in Muṭāʿī came from Tabasaran[1]) The historical sources at our disposal thus only reveal the ethnical complexity of the colonies established in Darband. On the other hand, Tātī in its general characteristics is a modern dialect which (apart from rhotacism) does not show any special traces of antiquity such as might be expected if it had long been isolated. The question of the Tātī Jewish dialect is only a subsidiary one, the Jews even if they had been in Daghestān before the coming of the Tāts (cf. Miller, 1892, Introduction) may have adopted Tātī in place of their old language (Arabic[2]).

As to the affinities of Tātī the rhotacism of its dialects has analogies in the Iranian islands of Persian Ādharbāiḏjān at the present day. For the region of Ardabīl, we have examples from the xivth century (Aḥmad Kisrawī *Ādharī*, *Zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāiḏjān*, Ṭihrān, 1304 [1927]). The early borrowings made by Armenian from Iranian (*Mar* < *Māda*, *spaṙapet* < *spādapat*) also suggest the existence at a very early date of this peculiarity among the Iranian neighbours of the Armenians (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 174, note 6; Bartholomae, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, Suppl. to vol. xix., 1906, p. 43, note 1). The other curious feature is the name of the town of Lāhiḏj inhabited by Tāts (at the sources of the Gök-čai) and perhaps mentioned in the Georgian *Chronicle*, Brosset, I, p 364, under the year 1120 (Lidatha or Laidjk). The inhabitants themselves believe they came from Lāhīḏjān [q v]. The investigation conducted on the spot by V. F Miller in 1928 has shown that the dialect of Lāhiḏj has certain special features. It is possible that some colonies of Tāts were settled in Transcaucasia later than others and that the dialect of the principal group exercised a levelling influence on the neighbouring dialects (according to the *Gulistān-i Iram*, of Bākī-Khanov, Bākū 1928, p. 14, the people of Miskīnḏja in the district of Samur came from Astrābād in the time of Ṭahmāsp I).

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TATAR, written Tātār, Tatār and Tatar, the name of a people the significance of which varies in different periods. Two Tatar groups of tribes, the "thirty Tatars" and the "nine Tatars", are mentioned in the Turkish Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century A. D. As Thomsen (*Inscriptions*

de l'Orkhon, Helsingfors 1896, p 140) supposes, even at this date the name was applied to the Mongols or a section of them but not to a Turkish people; according to Thomsen, these Tatars lived southwest of Baikal roughly as far as Kerulen. With the foundation of the empire of the Kitai [see ḲARA KHITAI] the Turks were driven out of modern Mongolia and Mongol tribes took their place. The district of Ütükän, continually mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the dwelling-place of the Turks, lay, according to Maḥmūd Kashghārī (i. 123) in his time (second half of the vth = xith century), in the land of the Tatars That the language of the Tatars was different from Turkish was known to Maḥmūd Kashghārī (*op cit*, i 30). A number of Tatar clans had joined with Turkish peoples and moved farther westwards In the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (cf. *Zap.*, x. 121 *sqq*) the Tatars are described as a part of the Tughuzghuz [cf. GHUZZ] (cf W. Barthold, *Otčet o poʾezdkʾe v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 34), by Gardīzī (*op cit.*, p 82 *sq*) as part of the Kimäk [q.v] on the Irtish [q.v] In the anonymous *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh* (c 520 = 1126), in the list of titles of rulers (in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 20), is given a Tatar ruler *Sīmūn buyūy* (or *bīwī*?) *dj*ayār, nowhere else mentioned. In the reports of the campaigns of Sultän Muhammad b Takash [see KHʷĀRIZM-SHĀH] against the Ḳipčaḳ [q v.] is mentioned a campaign by him in 615 (1218–1219) against Kadīr Khän, son of the Tatar Yūsuf (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl Raverty, 1881, i. 267).

In the accounts of the Mongol conquests of the viiith (xiiith) century the conquerors are everywhere (in China, in the Muslim world, in Russia and Western Europe) called Tatars (Chin *Ta-ta*); the same name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii 178 *sq.*, 236 *sq*) to the predecessors of Čingiz Khän, the Naimaa under Kučlük [see ḲARA KHITAI], according to Ibn al-Athīr (*op. cit*, p 237), these were the "first Tatars" (*al-Tatar al-ūlā*) Rashīd al-Dīn, who apparently knew nothing of the use and dissemination of the word Tatar before the Mongol period, speaks of the Tatars as if they were a separate people distinct from the Mongols, whose main centre had been the country on the Buir Nor (S E. of Kerulen). After the conquests of Čingiz Khän many of the people subdued by him had, says Rashīd al-Dīn, adopted the name "Moghūl" (Mongol); the Tatars previously had been equally powerful; many peoples had been so called, therefore "in Khitai, Hindūstän, Čin, Mäčin, among the Kirghiz, in Kelär (Poland), Bäshḳird (Hungary), in the steppes (*dasht*) of Ḳipčaḳ, in the northern lands among the Beduins, in Syria, Egypt and in the Maghrib, all the Turkish peoples are to this day called Tätär" (text in *Trudï. Vost Otd Arkh Obshč.*, vii 64)

The peoples of Mongol origin and language had apparently always called themselves Tatar. After the time of Cingiz Khän, this word was completely supplanted in Mongolia and Central Asia by the word "Mongol" (in Muslim manuscripts Moghol or Moghūl and in the every day language of the descendants of the Mongols in Afghänistän, who have kept their language to the present day, Moghol), officially introduced by Čingiz Khän. In the most western parts of the Mongol empire, the word Mongol never became predominant, although it was also introduced there officially, as we know from European travellers (John of Pian de Carpini and William of Rubruck, *Hakl. Soc.*, 1905, Index s.v. Mongol and Tartar). The people of the kingdom of the Golden Horde [see BĀTŪ KHĀN and BERKE] and of the later minor kingdoms in the same region are always called "Tatar". As the many documents preserved in the Public Library in Leningrad show, the Turkish speaking peoples of the Crimea were not only called "Tatar" by the Ottomans (as by the Russians) but also called themselves Tatars.

A Mongol force had been transferred to Asia Minor at the time of the conquest. Their descendants (who no doubt became turkicised) were called "Black Tatars" (*Ḳara Tatar*); at the time of Timür's campaign they were leading a nomadic life in the country between Amasia [q. v.] and Kaisarīya [q. v.], they numbered 30—40,000 families (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Ind. edition, Calcutta 1888, ii., p. 502 *sq.*). Timür had these "Tatars" deported to Central Asia, according to Ibn ʿArabshāh (ed. Manger, ii 338), on the advice of Sulṭän Bäyazīd; there they were allotted dwelling-places in Kashghär on an island (which now no longer exists) in Lake Issik-Kul [q.v.] and in Khʷārizm, a section of them succeeded in escaping to the lands of the Golden Horde. After Timür's death, the Black Tatars returned to Asia Minor, in 1419 they (or a part of them) were deported to the Balkans and settled west of Philippopolis; the town of Tatar-Pazardjik takes its name from them (J. von Hammer, *G O R*^{2}, Pesth 1834, i. 292).

Later, in Russia and in Western Europe we frequently find the name Tatars applied to all the Turkish peoples with the exception of the Ottomans; this use of the word is still found in Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884, passim. After the example of the Chinese, the name has been extended to the Mongols also and especially to the Manchus (cf. the "Tatar town" in Peking). As the name of a particular people, the word Tatars is used only for the Turkish speaking people of the Volga basin from Kazan to Astrakhan, the Crimea, and a part of Siberia; in the printed list (*spisok*) of the year 1927 of the peoples of the Union of Soviets, the Tatars in the Crimea, the Tatars of the Volga, the Tatars of Kasimow [q v.] and the Tatars of Tobolsk are therefore given as separate peoples, in addition to the Tatars of White Russia whose ancestors were deported to Poland as prisoners from the Crimea. They have adopted the language of the White Russians but have remained faithful to Islām. The name "Tatar" is now rejected by the people of the Crimea. The Turkish speaking people of Astrakhan according to the most recent investigation belong to the Noghai stock. In the central course of the Volga also the "Tatars" are usually given this name by their Christian fellow-countrymen, the "Kryashen" (from the Russian *kreščenïy* "baptised") (Radloff, *Worterbuch*, iii. 101 *sqq.*). They prefer to call themselves "Muslims" rather than "Tatars" which was more fitting their heathen ancestors, just as the Ottomans have for long preferred not to be called "Turks". Even in the last year before the Revolution when the principle of nationality had already come to the front it was disputed whether they should be called "Turks" or "Tatars" (*M. I.*, i., 1912, p. 270 *sqq.*), the name "Tatars" has now prevailed; since 1920 there has existed an autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic with capital

Kazan [q. v.] and a population of 2,780,000 of whom rather less than half (1,306,292) are Tatars. Cf. the ethnographical survey (*očerk*) by Prof. D. Zolotarev in the book of travels *Povolžye*, 1926, p. 99 *sqq* (the figures are given on p. 123 and 126)

Bibliography. given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TAʿṬĪL a technical term used in dogmatics meaning the divesting of the conception of God of all attributes, see the article TASHBĪH

TAWADDUD, the heroine of a story which is preserved in the *1001 Nights* as well as in an independent form. Tawaddud (as a personal name not found elsewhere in Arabic literature — however frequent it is as a nomen verbi — is of similar formation to *Tamannī*, *Taḏjannī* and similar women's names) is the slave of a merchant who has fallen into poverty and, following her advice, offers her for sale to the caliph Hārūn to free him from his difficulties. Hārūn declares himself ready to pay the high price demanded on condition she shows by an examination that she possesses all the knowledge she claims In the tests made by a number of learned men, including Ibrāhīm b Saiyār al-Naẓẓām, Tawaddud answers all the questions put to her in the field of theological knowledge, astronomy, medicine and philosophy, solves all the riddles put to her and proves herself an expert in chess, backgammon and playing the lute; finally she in her turn puts questions to her examiners which they cannot answer and in this way she puts even the proud Naẓẓām to shame When the caliph then asks her to beg a boon of him, she asks to be given back to her former master, which the caliph does and gives her a present besides, and makes her master one of his boon companions

For the date of the story the name of al-Naẓẓām (d 231 = 845—846), preserved in all versions even the Shiʿa and Christian forms (see below), gives a *terminus post quem*, while the oldest Spanish version going back probably to the xiiith century gives a lower limit, but we shall hardly have to go beyond the xth or xith century Several manuscripts which contain the story as an independent story give the name of the narrator but it is not always the same and his identity has so far not been established. The essential features for him are the questions and answers which take up most of the space; the story of Tawaddud only forms the framework which he fills out with these Several motives, such as the magnanimity of the purchaser, are found in other stories of the *Arabian Nights* and outside this collection also, the didactic purpose however and the form in which the learned matter is conveyed, ally the story to the books of questions found among the Parsīs, in the Christian east and European middle ages and in Arabic literature also. The Arabic books of questions are sometimes like the *Kitāb al-Tarbiʿ wa 'l-Tadwīr* of Ḏjāhiz intelligible only to the learned, sometimes for popular instruction like the questions of ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, which have passed into other Muslim literatures Tawaddud belongs to the latter group although the theological in the didactic part of the story is by no means so predominant as in the questions of ʿAbd Allāh. A Shiʿa version of Tawaddud is found in the Ḥasanīya of Abu 'l-Futuwwa popular in Persia in Malcolm's time.

A Christian version is the Spanish *Historia della donzella Theodor*, of which we still possess an older form free from the Christian insertions of the later. The *Historia della donzella Theodor* — the manuscript in Madrid of the *Ḥikāyat al-Ḏjāriya Tūdur* already has this corruption of the name — was repeatedly reprinted as a chap-book down to the nineties of the last century, and in the Portuguese translation down to the first decade of the twentieth

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(J. HOROVITZ)

ṬAWĀF (A) from *ṭāfa* with *bi* of place) encircling, in the language of ritual the running round or circumambulation of a sacred object, a stone, altar, etc. There are traces of the rite having existed among the Israelites, cf especially Ps. xxvi 6 (xxvii 6, lxx.) and the ceremony of the feast of booths in the time of the Second Temple, where the altar is circumambulated once on the first six days and seven times on the seventh The rite however was also found among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans and others and is therefore very ancient. It played a very important part in the religious ceremonial of the ancient Arabs We find the synonymous *dawār* (from *dāra*) also used Thus Imru 'l-Kais, *Muʿallaḳa*, 63, compares the wild cows with young women in long trailing robes, who perform the circumambulation (*duwār*, a circumambulated idol like *dawār* in ʿAntara 10, 2, if *diwār* is not to be read here) In Mecca the Kaʿba which enclosed the Black Stone sacred from very ancient times used to be circumambulated and Muhammad adopted this old custom when he established the rites of his religion and centred them round the Kaʿba. When, in the year 8, he made his victorious entry into his native town, he is said by Ibn Hishām, p 820 and Tabarī, i 1642 to have performed the tawāf riding on his camel, touching with his crooked staff the *rukn* (the eastern corner of the Ḳaʿba where the stone was) This was however something exceptional and according to Ibn Hishām, it was only shortly before his death at the "farewell pilgrimage" that he laid down the authoritative rules for the circumambulation It may however be assumed with certainty that he observed ancient traditional forms ("handed down from Abraham" cf Ibn Hishām, p. 51, 20) so that we can deduce from Muslim practice what the ancient pagan custom was, one feature of the latter was that the circumambulation had to be performed seven times in succession (cf. above on the feast of booths) the three first at a greater speed, beginning at the black stone and ending there and during the course keeping the Kaʿba on the right; one should make a special effort to kiss the stone or at least touch it. On the contrary, if Wellhausen is correct, it was an innovation that the ṭawāf which previously took place only at the *ʿumra* [q. v.] was inserted by Muḥammad in the great *ḥaḏjḏj* when the pilgrims visited Mecca. This suggestion is however disputed, cf. ḤAḎJḎJ, ii., p. 199ª where Sūra iii. 91 is quoted against it, but the expression *ḥaḏjḏj al-bait* is hardly decisive,

since Muḥammad may have decided on the expansion of the rites of the ḥadjdj, when he conceived the verse, if the expression was not inserted in the text later. The following special courses are certainly Muslim innovations: the *ṭawāf al-taḥiya* or *al-ḳudūm* (circumambulation of greeting or arrival) and the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* (circumambulation of departure, cf. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 439) which are, it is worth noting, not obligatory. Of the old pagan customs, one at least was strictly forbidden by the Prophet, making the *ṭawāf* naked, see Sūra VII. 29; Ibn Hishām, p 921, cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1 6, 12, where there is a reference to a wooden object at the Kaʿba, where the heathen laid their clothes at the circumambulation. The pavement surrounding the Kaʿba on which the course was run is called *al-Mataf*. At the al-Ḥaṭīm wall (see II 585) they run close to the outer side of it, not as usual along the Kaʿba

The ṭawāf, except for the special forms above mentioned, is strictly compulsory and therefore it became an important factor in Islam It is therefore significant that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, when the rule of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair made the visits of the faithful to Mecca difficult, proclaimed that a ṭawāf around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Kaʿba (cf Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II 35). The complete omission of this rite would have meant a serious gap in Muhammadanism But the innovation soon disappeared with its cause and in orthodox Islām any tawāf except that around the Kaʿba became more and more pointless. That the old ritual custom survived in the lower strata of Arab life is revealed in an interesting fashion by ʿUdjaimī, who says the Bedūins endeavoured to perform the tawāf not only around the graves of their ancestors but also around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿAbbās in Ṭāʾif

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TAWAKKUL, trust in God, is enjoined by the Kurʾān, but the *mutawakkilūn* whom God loves (iii 153) do not form a special class of quietists like those known by the same designation in the IIth and IIIth centuries A H The doctrine of the latter, closely connected with that of *tawḥīd* [q v.] and probably developed under Christian influence (cf. Matt VI. 24—34), was sometimes carried in practice to such lengths that the comparison of the *mutawakkil* to a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial (Kushairī, *Bāb al-Tawakkul*) seems quite appropriate According to these zealots, *tawakkul* is directly opposed to every sort of *kasb* ("acquisition", personal initiative and action). how can a man seek to help himself if he really believes that God is the only Provider? The answer given by Kushairī, that a man's activity in making use of the means which God provides need not impair his inward trust in God's providence, indicates the line of advance by which the old ascetic school of Ṣūfism was left behind

Bibliography. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt Ḳulūb*, II. 2—38; Goldziher, *W. Z. K. M.*, XIII. 41—56, Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 153 *sqq.*, R Hartmann, *Ḳuschairîs Darstellung des Sûfîtums*, p 25 *sqq*; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book I., p. 900—991.

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWAKKUL B. BAZZĀZ (Tūklī [?] b. Ismāʿīl), a darwīsh, author of the *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā*, which is a biography of the grand Shaikh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl (650—735 = 1252—1334), ancestor of the Ṣafawid dynasty The book was written in 750 (1350) under the direction of Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn, son of Ṣafī al-Dīn, whom Tawakkul quotes as an authority. Later under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I the text of the work was revised by a certain Abu 'l-Fath Husainī. The Persian text was published in Calcutta in 1329 (1911). The *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* is a work of considerable length, about 216,000 words It is purely hagiological in form but the historical and geographical details, important as supplementing our knowledge of the history of N. W. Persia, are overlaid with the miraculous elements. In it we find for example specimens of the old Īrānian dialect of Ādharbāidjān (XIVth century) The *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* does for the grand Shaikh of Ardabīl what the *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn* of Aflākī [q. v] does for the grand masters of the Mawlawī order of Ḳonya Like the history of Shāh Ismāʿīl (by Khwādja ʿAbdullāh Murwārīd [?], cf *J R A S*, 1902, p. 170) the beginning of which was translated by E D. Ross in the *J. R. A S*, 1895, p 249—340, the *Ṣifwat al-Ṣafā* is a valuable document for the study of the moral and religious factors in the great Ṣafawī movement out of which modern Persia arose. It enables us to watch the formation of the Ṣafawī "secret doctrine", the belief in the sanctity of Safī al-Dīn (of which historical orthodoxy has no doubt) later led to the extremist Shīʿa doctrine, the aberrations of which are evident in the poems of Shāh Ismāʿīl himself [cf. KHAṬĀʾĪ].

Bibliography Khanykov, *Lettre à M. Dorn*, *Mel. Asiat*, 1852, I, p. 543—558, cf do., *Sac d'Ardabil par les Géorgiens vers 1209*, *ibid*, p 580—583; Rieu, *Catal. Pers MSS*, p 345—346; Horn, in *Grundriss d Iran Phil*, II, p. 586, E G. Browne, *Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, p 34—35, 38 (cf. E G. Browne, *J. R. A. S*, July 1921, p. 417).

(V MINORSKY)

AL-TAW'AMĀN, the Twins, the constellation Gemini According to al-Kazwīnī, it contains 18 stars and seven which do not belong to the figure, and represents two men with their heads to the N. E and their feet to the S W. The two bright stars in the head are also called *al-Dhirāʿ al-mabsūṭa*, the outstretched arm, and form the seventh station of the moon; the two at the feet of the second twin form the station of the moon called *al-Hanʿa*. The whole constellation is also called *al-Djawzā*, like Orion; hence the name Ras algeuse for the star *β* (Pollux). In Ptolemy the stars now known as Castor and Pollux are called Apollo and Heracles, which become Avellar and Abracaleus in the Latin translations of ʿAlī's commentary on Ptolemy

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 36; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 150 *sqq.*

(J. RUSKA)

ṬAWĀSHĪ, one of the many words used as a euphemism for eunuch. According to al-Maḳrīzī, the word is Turkish and was originally *ṭābūshī*. The reference is clearly to the word which is *tapughčī* in Ottoman Turkish and means "servant". The word has therefore undergone the same change of meaning as *ḵhādim* [q. v.] and refers not to the physiological peculiarity of a eunuch — *ḵhaṣiy* is used for this — but to a particular "servant", an official in a definite position which was usually filled by a eunuch. Thus we find the word in the language of administration in Egypt, where it means a military rank in the bodyguard (*ḵhawāṣṣ*), *ḵhādim* being also used alongside of it

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, transl. Quatremère, 1/II. (1840), p 132, note 163; the Turkish Dictionaries and Brockelmann, *Mitteltürk Wortschatz*, p. 195, Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 332 *sqq.*, esp 334 and note 4; Wustenfeld, *Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, p. 179.

(M. PLESSNER)

TAWBA (A), repentance, originally meaning "return", is a verbal noun derived from *tāba*; the verb is often used in the Ḳur'ān, either absolutely or with *ilā*, of one who turns to God with repentance, and also with *ʿalā* of God, who turns with forgiveness to the penitent, for He is *tawwāb raḥīm*, "very forgiving and merciful" (Ḳur'ān, II. 35 *sqq*) The validity of tawba depends on three things: 1. a conviction of sin, 2. remorse (*nadam*), 3. a firm resolution to abstain from sin in the future (Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, book IV., where the subject is discussed in detail; Ḳur'ān, IV. 21, 22, IX. 105; XLII. 24) If these conditions are fulfilled, God always accepts repentance, not from obligation (*waǧāb*) as the Muʿtazilites hold, but in virtue of His eternal will; on the other hand "a deathbed repentance" is unavailing (Kur'ān, IV 22) Sin being an offence against God, tawba is indispensable for salvation, though Ahmad b Hanbal and others deny this (Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, p. 666) The Ṣūfīs, rising above the legal notion of sin, attach a correspondingly higher significance to tawba Amongst them the term denotes the spiritual conversion which is the necessary starting-point for those entering on the Path (*ṭarīḳa*), and which is represented as an act of divine grace. In its most proposed sense tawba is not so much an acknowledgement and renunciation of sin as a new orientation of the entire personality, so that the penitent is wholly turned towards God Any recollection of sin or thought of remorse is wrong; for to remember sin is to forget God, and self-consciousness is the greatest sin of all; hence, according to a well-known Tradition, the Prophet sought forgiveness of God seventy times a day

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(R. A. NICHOLSON)

TAWḤĪD (A.), infinitive II of *w-ḥ-d*, means literally "making one" or "asserting oneness" (Lane, p. 2927a). In consequence, it is applied theologically to the oneness (*waḥdānīya*, *tawaḥḥud*) of Allāh in all its meanings. The word does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, which has no verbal form from this root nor from the kindred *ʾ-ḥ-d*, but in the *Lisān* (IV. 464, 16 to 465, 4 from below) there is an elaborate philological statement of the usages of the different forms from these roots as applied to Allāh and to men. Technically "the science of *tawḥīd* and of the Qualities" (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ṣifāt*) is a synonym for "the science of *kalām*" [see article KALĀM] and is the basis of all the articles of the belief of Islām (Introduction by Taftāzānī to the *ʿAḳā'id* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 4 *sq.* and the marginal commentaries thereon; *Dict of techn. terms*, p. 22). In this definition the Muʿtazilites would exclude the qualities and make the basis *tawḥīd* alone. But unity is far from being a simple idea; it may be internal or external, it may mean that there is no other God except Allāh, who has no partner (*sharīk*); it may mean that Allāh is a Oneness in himself; it may mean that he is the only being with real or absolute existence (*al-ḥaḳḳ*), all other beings having merely a contingent existence; it may even be developed into a pantheistic assertion that Allāh is All Again, knowledge of this unity may be reached by the methods of systematic theology (*ʿilm*) or by religious experience (*maʿrifa*, *mushāhada*); and the latter, again, may be pure contemplation or philosophical speculation In consequence, *tawḥīd* may mean simply "There is no god but Allāh"; or it may cover a pantheistic position. There is a good statement of these developments in *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1468—1470, cf. also, p. 1463—1468

(D. B MACDONALD)

ṬAWĪL, the first metre in Arabic prosody, has one *ʿarūd* and three *ḍarb*; the paradigm is.

faʿūlun mafāʿīlun faʿūlun mafāʿīlun

in each hemistich.

The *ʿarūḍ*, or last foot of the first hemistich, is always *mafāʿīlun*. The first *ḍarb*, or last foot of the second hemistich, is *mafāʿīlun*; the second, *mafāʿīlun*, the third. (*mafāʿī* =) *faʿūlun*.

The *faʿūlun* foot often loses its *nūn*, the dropping of this is recommended for the foot which immediately precedes the foot forming the third *ḍarb*.

The first *faʿūlun* of the first hemistich of the first verse of a piece may lose its *fa*, and combined with the loss of the *nūn*, we have (*ʿūlun* =) *fʿlun*, and (*ʿūlu* =) *fʿlu*

Mafāʿīlun may lose its *ī* or its *nūn*, but one of them must be retained.

Bibliography: cf. the article ʿARŪḌ.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB)

TA'WĪL (A.), originally means quite generally interpretation, exposition In some of the passages in which the word occurs in the Ḳur'ān it refers definitely to the revelation delivered by Muḥammad The use of the word *ta'wīl* afterwards became more and more limited to this special meaning and it meant exposition of the Ḳur'ān, and was for a time synonymous with *tafsīr*. In time the term seems to have become more specialised although not yet confined to this one meaning; it became a technical term for the exposition of the subject matter of the Ḳur'ān. In this latter sense *ta'wīl* formed a valuable and necessary supplement to the more external philological exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, which was now distinguished as *tafsīr*. So long as it did not come into contradiction with the obvious literal meaning of the Ḳur'ān or with Tradition, orthodox theology had no reason to

deny its right to exist. The question was altered however when *ta'wīl* no longer satisfied these conditions. Ṣūfīs, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', the Shī'īs, especially such schools of thought as, without abandoning Islām itself, diverged to any extent from the path of orthodoxy, saw in *ta'wīl* a suitable instrument for bringing the views held by them into harmony with the literal text of the Ḳur'ānic revelation and even for deriving them from it Alongside of the literal interpretation of the text there grew up a biassed allegorical exposition which found the most far fetched ideas concealed in the text. With the extreme schools, this transformation of the "external" meaning came to be the only way of looking at the Kur'ān so that the traditional exposition fell into disrepute and the legal enactments of the Ḳur'ān were even declared not to be binding.

Details in the method of using allegorical *ta'wīl* may, as Goldziher (*Richtungen*, p. 210 *sqq*) has suggested, be ultimately traced back to the influence of the Neo-Platonists, especially Philo The method itself however was the direct result of the necessity of sanctioning new views by a new interpretation of the words of the revelation that had been handed down; allegorical *ta'wīl* may be considered essentially of native Muslim origin.

Bibliography *Lisān al-'Arab*, xiii., p. 34 *sqq.*, *Tādj al-'Arūs*, vii. 215; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, p 126 *sq* ; Suyūṭī, *Itḳān*, ii, Cairo 1287, p. 204–206; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (*Veroffentlichungen der "De Goeje-Stiftung"*, N° vi), Leyden 1920; do , *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinyya-Sekte* (*Veroffentl der "De Goeje-Stiftung"*, N° iii.), Leyden 1916, p 50 *sq.* and Arabic text N°. 10. (R. PARET)

ṬAWĪLA, a town in South Arabia, formerly the headquarters of the Ḳā'immaḳām of the Ḳaḍā of Kawkabān, to which the town already belonged in Niebuhr's time. It lies on a tongue-shaped spur of the Djebel Ḍulā' on the left bank of the Wādi Lā'a which forms a continuous chain of four rocky hills, the second (from the east) of which is called al-Husn In the SSW. of the town a little lower but not 500 yards away stands the Masdjid al-Zāhir, a mosque now in ruins with a fine cistern, from which a well-made paved road (*mar.ḥal*) leads eastwards towards the town. Barely 200 yards east of this ruin or rather of the ruin built of its stones (*semsera*) is a huge building of blocks of black rock, from which another paved road leads to the town The town is small and unwalled but has a considerable market The administrative buildings used by the Turks when they ruled here lie to the extreme S.W. of the town, which was visited by the explorer E. Glaser on Dec 2–3, 1883.

Bibliography. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p 258; E Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen Jemen 1883–84*, fol 59, 60; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, p. 71. (A. GROHMANN)

ṬAWĪLA, a South Arabian coin, see the article LARIN.

TAWḲĪ' (A.), lit. "a document with the signature or device (*'alāma*) equivalent to a signature of a ruler"; hence generally, edict, decree of a ruler, and its preparation in written form Tawḳī' has the special meaning of the titles of the ruler (roughly equivalent to the *tughra* [q. v.] of the Ottomans) to be inscribed in the chancellery, which gives the document validity, in contrast to *'alāma*, the mark or device of the ruler put on it with his own hand, which was regarded as his signature. The use of the two words is however to some extent indiscriminate, for tawḳī' was also used for motto.

In the *Inshā'*-literature edicts (*tawḳī'āt*) of the Sāsānian kings are mentioned. Under the Omayyads is said to have arisen the custom — no doubt really an old Oriental one — of the Caliph himself deciding (*waḳka'a*) in public audience on complaints (*ḳiṣaṣ*) brought to him; the secretaries had then to put the Caliph's tawḳī' into writing. For the 'Abbāsid period, Ḳudāma mentions a special *Dīwān al-Tawḳī'* (office for edicts). It may be considered an important increase in the power of the vizier under the 'Abbāsids that Hārūn al-Rashīd for the first time entrusted the Barmecide Dja'far with the right of dealing with petitions (*tawḳī' 'ala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*). According to Ibn al-Ṣairafī, there was in the Fātimid *Dīwān* a special secretary for dealing with petitions This secretary for the *tawḳī'āt 'ala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* was one of the highest in rank. Under the Mamlūks the private secretary (*Kātib al-Sirr*) received the right of *tawḳī' 'ala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*. As a general rule, however, the sulṭāns exercised it themselves here also.

In the Mamlūk administrative system, tawḳī' was also used as the name of particular classes of diplomas of appointment, and according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, it was applied to the diplomas of all officers, the lower as well as the upper, up to the great governors (*nuwwāb*), and therefore became the word most used for appointment generally. Ibn Fadl Allāh however says that it was only used for the appointing of the lowest ranks of officials. A little later it came into use for the appointments of "turban-wearers" (*mutaʿammimūn*) i e the ecclesiastical and Dīwān officials. According to Ḳalḳashandī, tawḳī' is the fourth and lowest as well as the most extensive group of diplomas of appointment (*wilāyāt*).

In the Ottoman empire the imperial edicts were dealt with by a special official, the *nishāndji* or *tawḳī'i*, who was responsible for the documents bearing the Sulṭān's style and titles He was one of the highest officials in the kingdom (the *Erkān-i Dewlet*) and a member of the imperial Dīwān. A device written by the Sultān himself was no longer in use here; in Ottoman diplomatic, *'alāmet*, like the Persian word *nishān*, means the imperial sign-manual (the *tughra*), the style of the Sulṭan drawn in the chancery of the *nishāndji* by a special assistant, the *tughrakesh* *'Alāmet* was in this case synonymous with tawḳī'.

Lastly tawḳī' meant a special style of script in use at the close of the middle ages (xiith—xvth century), which was specially used for documents of this period in the Mamlūk as well as the Ottoman dominions In the great period of Ottoman history (xvith century downwards) it was ousted by the Dīwān script

Bibliography. *Ḳāmūs*, s. v.; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubh al-A'shā'*, 14 vols., Cairo 1332—1346, W. Bjorkman, *Beitrage zur Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928. — On the Ottoman *Nishāndji* cf. J. v. Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, ii, Vienna 1815, p. 133 *sq.*; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, iii.,

Paris 1830, p. 350; Fr. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in turkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, p. 18 *sqq.* — On Tawḳiᶜ as the name of a script cf. Kraelitz, *op. cit*, p. 8; L Fekete, *Einfuhrung in die osmanisch-turkische Diplomatik der turkischen Botmassigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, p xx. — On Tawḳiᶜ and *ᶜAlāma* cf. e. g. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taᵓrīkh*, Stambul ed., iii. 155, 156, 158 = Cairo reprint of 1325, iii. 148, 149, 151; Tawḳiᶜ in the sense of *ᶜAlāma* as motto used e g. in Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, p 288 (cf. also Kraelitz, p. 23, note 2).

(F. TAESCHNER)

TAWRĀT, Hebr. *Tōrā*, is in the Ḳurᵓān of the Medīna period (cf. also an alleged verse of the Jewish poet Sammāk in Ibn Hishām, p. 659) the name of a holy scripture revealed after the time of Ibrāhīm (iii. 58) and Isrāᵓīl (= Jacob; iii. 87) and afterwards confirmed by ᶜĪsā (iii 44; v. 50; lxi. 6) which contains the *ḥukm Allāh* (v. 48) While obedience to it brings a reward in Paradise to the "people of the book" (v. 70), those who do not take upon themselves the tawrāt imposed upon them are "like asses who carry books" (lxii. 5) The Tawrāt also contains a prophecy of the coming of the *Nabī al-ummī* (vii 156) i e. Muhammad, and in it Paradise is promised to the faithful who "fight on the path of Allāh" (ix. 112). A sentence from the Tawrāt is quoted in v 49, which repeats approximately the text of Exodus xxi 25 *sq*, while the parable quoted in xlviii 29 from Tawrāt and Indjīl comes not from the Tōrā but, although only in its gist, from the *Psalms*, cf for example, Psalm i. 3, lxxii. 16, xcii. 14. In iii 87ᵇ the Jews are challenged to read from the Tawrāt the law (Genesis, xxxii. 33) which corresponds to the substance of iii 87ᵃ. On the other hand the sentence quoted in v 35 comes not from the Tawrāt but the *Mishnā Sanhedrīn*, iv. 5. Besides such express references to the Tawrat, the Kurᵓān contains, frequently repeated, a number of stories from the Pentateuch — usually in their Haggada form and not infrequently adapted to Muḥammad's special purposes — and many laws from the Pentateuch, both without mentioning their origin. Of the books of the Old Testament, in addition to the Tawrāt, Muhammad only knows the *Zabūr*, i e. the *Psalms*, perhaps, as the Jews themselves sometimes do, he meant by Tawrāt the whole of their holy scriptures (see Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, i 197)

In Ḥadīth the Tawrāt is also frequently mentioned and in several passages Mūsā is named as he who observed it (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii bāb 1; do., *Tawḥīd*, bāb 19, 24 Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 322 Ibn Madja, *Zuhd*, bāb 37) While the Jews pride themselves on having a great treasure in the Tawrāt (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xvii, trad 12, cf. for example *Prov.* iv. 2) it is on the other side pointed out that its possession has availed them nothing and the Tawrāt contains nothing equal to the *Umm al-Ḳurᵓān* i. e. the *Sabᶜ min al-Mathānī* (*op cit.*, *Tafsir*, Sūra xvii., trad 3; *Faḍāᵓil al-Ḳurᵓān*, bāb 1). The description which the Tawrāt gives of Muḥammad and which according to Bukhārī (*Tafsīr*, Sūra xlviii., bāb 3; do., *Buyuᶜ*, bāb 50) has passed in part into Sūra xxxiii. 34; xlviii. 8, in the form given, *loc. cit.* proves to be only a rather inaccurate paraphrase of *Is.*, xlii. 1–4 (cf similar passages in Ibn Saᶜd, i/ii. 87 *sqq*). In Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, bāb 31, 47, *Manāḳib al-Ṣalāt*, bāb 17, the *Ahl al-Tawrāt* in a ḥadīth modelled on the parable of the labourers and their hire, complain that the reward of those who obey the Kurᵓan is larger than theirs, although the former are "less in work" *aḳallu ᶜamalan* than they, a reference to the greater number of the Jewish prescriptions In explanation of Sūra iii 87, Bukhārī (*Manākib*, bāb 26; *Tafsīr*, Sūra iii., bāb 6, *Tawhīd*, bāb 51) says that the Prophet put the question to the Jews asking how they dealt with adulterers. They tried to give him a wrong answer and to conceal from him the passage in the Tawrāt, in which the punishment of stoning is prescribed (*Deuteron.* xxii. 23 *sq*) but they did not succeed. According to Ibn Mādja, *Aṭᶜima*, bāb 39, it is said in the Tawrāt "The *wuḍūᵓ* is the *baraka* of meals", a statement which ascribes the Jewish command to wash the hands before meals to the Tōrā, in which the Jewish students of the scriptures also claim to find it indicated (*Ḥullin*, fol. 106ᵃ)

The Ḳurᵓānic allusions early aroused in Muslim scholars the desire to have a closer acquaintance with the contents of the Tawrāt, a knowledge which was however not without its dangers because it brought out certain contradictions which existed between the Kurᵓānic and the Biblical revelation How this danger was to be met, the Prophet himself gives a hint in an utterance several times quoted by Bukhārī (*Tawḥīd*, bāb 51; *Iᶜtiṣām*, bāb 21; *Tafsīr*, Sūra ii, bāb 11)· the *Ahl al-Kitāb* were in the habit of explaining the Hebrew text of the Tawrāt to the Muslims in Arabic, whereupon the Prophet commanded the latter "Declare ye the statements of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* neither true nor false but say 'we believe in Allāh and what He has revealed' ", an utterance, which Bukhārī, as the title of his paragraph shows, wants to be able to apply to the decision of the question whether the translation of the holy scriptures of foreign religions into Arabic is permitted While in Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, asking members of another faith about the substance of their revelations is deprecated, just as they should put no questions to Muslims about the contents of the Kurᵓān, there is no lack of references to distinguished men of piety (Ibn Saᶜd, vii/i 179) who studied the Tawrat in the original or even (*op. cit*, p. 161) had read it through to the end in a week The numerous quotations from the Tawrāt, which cannot be identified in the Pentateuch, preserved in Hadīth, canonical and extra-canonical, as well as in edifying literature, have tempted Cheikho (*M. F O. B.*, iv. 39 *sq.*) to the untenable thesis that there was a book called Tawrāt different from the Hebrew Tōrā, from which these quotations were taken; in reality the passages in question are either pure invention or inaccurately modelled on sayings in the Bible of the Talmud.

An intimate knowledge of the text of certain parts of the Tōrā is shown by some chronological or genealogical statements about the Biblical period, such as are given by Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150 = 767) in his *Maghāzī*, while Ibn Hishām (d. 213 = 828) in his still unpublished *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, quoting Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110 = 728), gives certain Biblical names not only in their Hebrew but also in their Syriac form That he checked the statements of Muslim tradition by the Biblical text is recorded in his *Kitāb al-Maᶜārif*, p. 13, by Ibn Ḳutaiba (d. 276 = 889) who also gives in this

work word for word quotations from Genesis; the Biblical quotations in others of his works do not always correspond exactly to the original and the same is true of the quotations in Djāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣārā*. On the other hand in another contemporary of Ibn Kutaiba, the convert to Islām, ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, we have many literal quotations from all parts of the Old Testament canon in his "Book of Religion and Empire" written about 240 (854–855) (ed by A Mingana, if this work really belongs to him, cf. Bouyge, in *M. F. O B*, x 242 *sqq.*); some also are to be found in the *Risāla* of ʿAbd al-Masiḥ b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī While the text of the Bible was accessible without difficulty to converts like ʿAlī b Rabban, the Biblical quotations in authors born Muslims were either learned orally from Jews or Christians or from another Arabic translation of the Bible. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b Salām al-Indjīlī (whose relationship to ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, the Jewish convert of the time of the Prophet, cannot be certainly established) is said to have made one such, notably a translation of the Tawrāt, and according to the *Fihrist*, p 22 in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd Three further translations are mentioned by Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, p. 112). that of the Nestorian Hunain b Isḥāḳ (d 260 = 873—874) based on the LXX and two by the learned Jews Abū Kathīr (between d 321 = 933 or 329 = 941) and Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī, best known under the name of Saʿadyā Gā'ōn (d. 331 = 943) from the original Hebrew. Of all these translations only that of Saʿadyā has survived (ed Derenbourg, Paris 1893) and the only other of the period in existence is one made in Spain in 345 (956) from the Latin Of all later translations from the Coptic, Syriac or Hebrew by Christians and Samaritans, bibliographical details are given in the article "Bibelubersetzungen, Arabische", in Herzog: Realenzyklopadie.

Sūra VII. 156 firmly convinced believers that the Tawrāt contained a prophecy of the coming of Muḥammad Attempts to prove this go back to the earliest period of Islam (see below) but it is not till the middle of the third century that definite verses of the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament are quoted in a literal translation and interpreted as prophecies of Muḥammad's coming. From an unnamed work of Ibn Ḳutaiba, Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Kitāb al-Wafā* quotes several passages of this kind and many others are given about the same time by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (see above) and these recur again and again in the apologetics and polemics of the following centuries with greater or less completeness From the Pentateuch the verses *Genesis*, XVI. 9—12, XVII. 20; XXI 21; *Deut.*, XVIII. 18; XXXIII 2, 12, play a prominent part in these polemics. Since according to *Gen.*, XXI. 21, Faran was the abode of Ishmael, and according to Sūra II. 119 he stayed in Mecca, Faran is identified with Mecca. On the basis of the same identification, *Deut.*, XXXIII. 2 is referred to Muḥammad, as is XVIII. 18, and in XXXIII. 12 a reference to the *Khātam al-Nubuwwa* is found.

Even in the Ḳur'ān we find the Jews reproached with "displacing phrases from their context" (iv. 45; v. 16, 45) and an example is given in iv. 45; further they are charged with having forgotten or concealing a part of what had been revealed to them (v. 16; iii. 64; vi. 91). We have already had from Ḥadīth an example of this concealing the Jews wished to keep from Muḥammad the verse of the Tawrāt which prescribes the punishment of stoning for adultery. The reproach of "altering the words" is more precisely defined by Bukhārī, *Shahāda*, bāb 29, who says that the "possessors of the scripture" had altered the book of Allāh with their own hands and said it was Allāh's. Not all Muslim apologists go so far, however, as to assert deliberate falsification of the text, the milder school ascribes to the Jews only distortions of the meaning. The most distinguished representative of the stronger view is Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 = 1064) who raises objections to no less than 57 passages in the Tawrāt and collects the impossibilities and contradictions which he had found in it.

Bibliography (so far as not given in the article) W. Rudolph, *Die Abhangigkeit des Qorans vom Judentum und Christentum*, p. 13, 52 *sq*; J Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1926, p. 71, do, in *Isl.*, XII. 298, M Steinschneider, *Die polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*; I. Goldziher, in *Z D M. G*, XXXII 341 *sqq*; do, in *R E. J.*, XXVIII. 79, XXX. 1 *sqq.*; do., in *Z. A. T W*, XIII. 315 *sqq.*, Grunbaum, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p 100 *sq*; M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetiis quae dicuntur legendis*, Leipzig 1893; G Rothstein, *De chronographo arabe anonymo*, p 49 *sqq*; A. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre Muhammads*, I. 56, G Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur*; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, § .23; M. Schreiner, in *Z. D. M. G.*, XLII. 591 *sqq.*, do, in *Kohut Memorial Volume*, p. 496 *sqq*, C. Brockelmann, in *Z. A. T. W.*, XV 138 *sqq.*; H. Hirschfeld, in *J. Q. R*, XIII. 230 *sqq.*; W. Bacher, *op. cit*, p 542; Graf, in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, XV. 193 *sqq.*, 291 *sqq.*; Di Matteo, in *R.S.O*, IX 301 *sqq.*; Bessarione, XXXVIII. 64 *sqq*. (J. Horovitz)

TAWRIYA (A.), syllepsis in oratory, a figure of rhetoric (*badīʿ*) which consists in using a word having two different meanings, one obvious and the other secondary, veiling the second sense by the first so that it is the first sense which strikes the listener first. Tawriya is called *ihām* (dissimulation) because he who uses it conceals the remoter meaning he had in view by the primary sense which is seized on first. It is sometimes called *ibhām* ("act of concealing or masking")

There are two kinds of tawriya: 1. that which is "deprived" of everything that might indicate the meaning one has in view (*mudjarrada*), for example "The Merciful is seated (*istawā*) on his throne" (Ḳur'ān, XX. 4); here the remoter sense of "to make oneself master of" is in mind and there is nothing in the phrase which might suit the nearer sense of "to rest, to establish oneself, to sit"; 2. that which includes something which suits the obvious sense, for example "And the heavens which We built with power" (Ḳur'ān, LI. 47), litterally "and the heavens which we built with our hands" in which one notices that "hand" here, taken in the secondary sense of "power", is accompanied by the verb "to build" which suits its primary meaning of "part of the body at the end of the arms". The figure is also used by the Persians who seem to have borrowed it from the Arabs.

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al-Iʿdjāz, Cairo 1317, p. 113; Muḥammad Ṣadḳī Ḥasan Khān Bahādur, *Ghuṣn al-Bān al-mūrik bi-Muḥassināt al-Bayān*, Constantinople 1296, p. 24; Ibn Ḥudjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Kashf al-Litḥām ʿan Wadjh al-Tawriya wa 'l-Istikhdām*, Bairūt 1312; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 49, s v. tawriya, and p. 27, s.v. al-īhām (especially), S de Sacy, *Séances de Hariri*, Paris 1847—1853, p 88; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-Yamanī, *Kitāb al-Ṭirāz*, Cairo 1332, III. 62; Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*, Cairo 1318, p 180 ("al-ihām"); Ḳāsim al-Bakradjī, *Ḥilyat al-Badiʿ fi Madḥ al-Nabi al-shafiʿ*, Ḥalab 1293, p 210 (tawriya, īhām, takhyīl); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Kaddas b. Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Khaṭīb, *Tālī al-Saʿd al-rafiʿ fi Sharḥ Nūr al-Badiʿ ʿalā Nazm al-Badiʿ*, Cairo 1321, p 75; Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Hamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304, p 239 (īhām, tawdjīh, takhyīr); ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār ʿalā Nasamāt al-Asḥār*, Būlāḳ 1299, p. 188; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kazwīnī al-Khatīb, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (with notes by ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Barḳūḳī), Cairo 1322 (1904), p 355; Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Maʿānī*, Constantinople 1318, p 180, do, *al-Muṭawwal*, Constantinople 1304, p. 425, Ṭāshkopruzāde, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda*, Ḥaidarābād 1329, II. 334, ʿAbd al-Hādī Nadjā al-Abyārī, *Suʿūd al-Maṭālīʿ*, Būlāḳ 1283, I 315 — Specimens: 1 Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtasar ʿalā Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, 2. Ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Maghribī, *Mawāhib al-Fatṭāḥ fi Sharh Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, 3 Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī, *ʿArūs al-Afrāḥ fi Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* and in the margin; 4. al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, 5. al-Dusūḳī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Mukhtasar al-Taftāzānī*, Būlāḳ 1317, IV. 322; Shams al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ḳais al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fi Maʿāyir Ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, Leyden 1327 (1909), p. 326 (īhām), Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, p. 90.

(MOH BEN CHENER)

AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ SULAIMĀN B. DĀWŪD B. AL-DJĀRŪD ABŪ DĀWŪD, a collector of traditions and author of a *Musnad*. The *nisba* is derived from *al-ṭayālisa*, the plural of *ṭaylasān*, a piece of clothing that covers the head-dress and sometimes also the shoulders (see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, p. 278 *sqq.*).

Al-Ṭayālisī was born at Baṣra in 133 (750–751) and died in 203 (818—819). It is also said that he reached the age of 72 years. He has handed down traditions on the authority of Shuʿba, Sufyān al-Thawrī and other well known traditionists. In his turn he was an authority for Ahmad b Hanbal, ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, Abū Bakr b Abī Shaiba etc It is said that he knew 30,000 traditions by heart and that he did not make use of notes in handing them down. He is reputed to be trustworthy, although slips of his memory are on record He contracted elephantiasis in consequence of a frequent use of *balādhur*.

The text of his *Musnad*, which was printed in Ḥaidarābād in 1321, has been handed down by Abū Bishr Yūnus b. Habīb, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Fāris, Abū Nuʿaim Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ishāḳ, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Haddād al-Makḳarī, Abu 'l-Makārim Aḥmad b. Aḥmad . b. Muḥammad b. Ḳais al-Labbān († 597 = 1200–1201)

The work consists of the single *musnad* of over six hundred sahābī's and is arranged in the same way as other works of the kind. It contains 2,767 traditions; this means that its bulk is about one tenth of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or $^1/_{25}$ of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* The contents cover the whole field of classical *ḥadīth*; all subjects of some importance are represented, though on a moderate scale It may be remarked that the materials concerning some persons who played a part in Muḥammad's history are perhaps more scanty than in any of the other collections, there are e g no traditions on Khadīdja, Zainab bint Djahsh, Abū Sufyān, ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubaiy, ʿAbd Allāh b Salām, Ibn Saiyād, Kaʿb b Mālik, Khālid b al-Walīd, Saʿd b Muʿādh, Salmān al-Fārisī.

The book contains scarcely any tradition which is not to be found in the classical collections, in rare cases the wording may be helpful for the understanding of difficult traditions.

Bibliography Abū Bishr Muḥ b Aḥmad al-Dawlābī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa 'l-Asmāʾ*, Haidarābād 1322, i 169; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, Cairo 1325, I 413; do, *Tabakāt al-Ḥuffāz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I 76 *sq* ; Ibn Hadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1325, iv 182 *sqq* ; Ibn Khatīb al-Dahsha, *Tuhfat dhawi 'l-ʿArab*, ed T Mann, p 170; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G.M.S*, xx, fol 374^v

(A J WENSINCK)

TAYAMMUM (A.), the recommendation, or permission to perform the ritual ablution with sand instead of water in certain cases, is based on two passages in the Ḳur'ān, Sūra iv. 46 and v. 9. The latter passage runs as follows: "And if ye be impure, wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey or if ye come from the privy or ye have touched women and ye find no water, take fine clean sand and rub your faces and hands with it. Allāh will not put a difficulty upon you but He will make you pure and complete His favour upon you, perhaps that ye may give thanks". Sūra iv. 46 is somewhat more briefly expressed but the law is formulated there in almost identical words except that the phrase "with it" is lacking from the sentence "and rub your faces and hands with it". According to the Shāfiʿīs (see Baidāwī on Sūra iv. 46) "with it" means that there must be some sand in the hand The Hanafīs on the other hand consider the rite valid even if the hand has only been touched by a smooth stone.

In his *Mīzān al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1279, I. 143 *sqq.*, al-Shaʿrānī gives 14 such points of difference between the *madhhab*'s, they refer to *a* the material (earth, sand etc), *b.* the obligation to look for water; *c* the question how far face and hands are to be rubbed and into what legal categories these rubbings fall; *d.* the question what one should do if he finds water after he has already begun the *ṣalāt*; *e* the question whether a single *tayammum* suffices for two *farḍ* rites; *f.* the question whether one who has performed the *tayammum* before his *ṣalāt* may act as *imām* for persons who have performed the ablution with water; *g.* the question whether *tayammum* is permitted before the *ṣalāt* at festivals and for the dead, if one is not on a journey; *h.* the question whether one who is not travelling, and has difficulty in getting water for a *ṣalāt* the legal time for which is about to expire, should

repeat the *ṣalāt* performed after *tayammum* as soon as he has found water; *i.* the question whether it is permitted to use the little water one has for a partial washing and do *tayammum* for the rest; *k* the question what is to be done in cases of injury; *l.* the question whether the *ṣalāt* is to be repeated in four cases, in which it has been performed after *tayammum*.

There is agreement among the *madhhabs* on the point that *tayammum* is only done for the face or hands, whether after a minor or major *ḥadath* [q. v.], whether in place of a washing of all or any parts of the body is a matter of indifference (al-Nawawī, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, i. 406).

From various traditions it is evident that ʿAbd Allāh b Masʿūd and ʿOmar had misgivings about declaring the *ṣalāt* valid after *tayammum* in cases of *ḏjanāba* (cf. e g. Bukhārī, *Tayammum*, bāb 7; Muslim, *Ḥaiḍ*, tr. 110). On the other hand the saintly Abū Dharr, who had similar misgivings, is made to say that the Prophet had disposed of them by saying "fine sand is a means of purification when one cannot find water, even if he should look ten years for it" (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v. 146 *sq.*).

The permission is said to have been revealed when an expedition of Muḥammadans was held up so long looking for a necklace of ʿĀʾisha's that its water became exhausted

In the *Talmud* (*Berakot*, fol. 15ᵃ) a permit to use sand in case of want of water similar to that of the Kurʾān is given and Cedrenus, *Annales*, ed Hylander, Basle 1566, p 206, tells how on an occasion in a journey through the desert, Christian baptism was performed with sand

Bibliography Cf. also the commentaries on Kurʾān, Sūra iv. 46 and v 9, Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korāns*, i 199; A. Geiger, *Was hat Moh. aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 86; Th W. Juynboll, *Handleiding* etc., Leyden 1925, p. 58, A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v Tayammum

(A J Wensinck)

TĀZĀ, a town in eastern Morocco, about 60 miles E N E of Fās, in a great depression, called the "trough of Tāzā" which separates the Rīf from the northern spurs of the Central Atlas. To some authors of the middle ages (*Istibṣār*, al-Marrākushī) Tāzā marks the boundary between the extreme and central Maghrib. The great importance of the great natural route from the east to west through this depression, the strategic and economic advantages secured by the occupation of the site in part defended by the ravine of a wādī, must have early encouraged a foundation of some importance at Tāzā. Prehistoric settlements have been discovered there and many tombs of uncertain date in the cliffs on which the town is built.

In the beginning of the middle ages (viiiᵗʰ–xᵗʰ century) Tāzā was the most important settlement in the region occupied by one of the groups of the Miknāsa, semi-nomadic Berbers. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was they who founded the *ribāṭ* of Tāzā. This statement is evidently inaccurate in this form. Tāzā was not yet reckoned a *ribāṭ*. It must nevertheless have played an important part in the defence against the Idrīsids as partisans of the Fāṭimids of Ḳairawān, then against the Fāṭimids as partisans of the Omayyads of Cordova. Tāzā however, as a fortified town and a *ribāṭ*, was properly a foundation of the Almohads. In 528 (1133) ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, having made himself master of the High and Central Atlas, had arrived in the depression of Tāzā. There the conqueror seems to have suspended his advance. It was not till later that he tackled the ranges of the Rīf and did not yet attempt to descend into the plains to meet Almoravid forces. He seems however to have felt the necessity of holding the important strategic point, of building a citadel there and placing a garrison in it. Those who held this frontier post of the Almohad dominions were naturally assimilated to the men of the *ribāṭ*'s (we know that the struggle against the Almohads had the attractions of a holy war). To call the new fortress a *ribāṭ* was giving it the value of a pious work. As a matter of fact Tāzā never played the religious part of a *ribāṭ*. It remained, as before, a military post guarding the road to Fās. A great part of the ramparts built by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seems to have survived. It is a curtain of rubble flanked by towers unequal in size, with the remains of an outer wall in front of it at places

For lack of defenders, Almohad Tāzā hardly made any resistence to the Marīnids who took it in 613 (1216) Its new lords also devoted attention to its defences; they restored the great mosque on two occasions (1294 and 1353) and endowed it with medreses In their time Tāzā for once at least did its duty in guarding the pass, when it was attacked by the Sultān of Tlemcen, Abū Hammūd II, who besieged it for a week in 784 (1382) and was forced to retrace his steps.

In the beginning of the xvith century, we have a description of Tāzā by Leo Africanus. He regards it as the third town of the kingdom; it was administered as a kind of apanage allotted to the second son of the Wattāsid Sultān of Fās. The population which numbered about 5,000 householders, including many Jews, lived under a continual menace from the mountaineers around

To secure control of the springs which watered the town, and to protect himself against the attacks of the Turks of Algiers, a Saʿdian Sharīf — perhaps Ahmad al-Manṣūr — provided it with a *basṭiūn*, which still stands in the S E corner of the enceinte. It is noteworthy however that in the result this fortress of Tāzā never served as a defence against enemies from the east, but rather became "a citadel ready at hand for every pretender who rebelled in those regions against the Makhzen who had built it" (H Basset and Campardou). This was the case in 1596 when al-Nāṣir, a nephew of al-Manṣūr, rebelled against the Sulṭān and made Tāzā his base of operations, and again in 1664 when the first of the ʿAlawid Sultāns al-Rashīd made it his headquarters for his attack on Fās, and in 1673 when Ahmad b Muḥriz held out there against his uncle, Sulṭān Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. Lastly in 1902 the agitator Abū Ḥamāra in his struggle with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz made Tāzā his capital. It was occupied by French troops on May 10, 1914.

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Zar', *Ḳirṭās*, passim, Leo Africanus, ed. Ramusio, Venice 1837, p. 100; ed. Schefer, ii. 339; Marmol, *Description general de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, fol. 161 *sqq*; Roland Frejus, *Relation d'un voyage fait en Mauritanie*, Paris 1670, p. 123 *sqq.*, Lieutenant Campardou, *La Necropole de Taza*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de géogr. d'Oran*, xxxvii., 1917; Campardou and H. Basset, *Le Bastioun de Taza*, in *Archives berbères*, 1919, Ricard, *Le Maroc* (*Guide bleu*), G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, p. 351, 476 *sqq.*, 728 *sqq.* (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

TA'ZĪR (A), punishment, intended to prevent the culprit from relapsing, to reform him (*li 'l-taṭhīr*) — The Ḳur'ān does not know this kind of punishment; on the contrary it classifies several transgressions afterwards punished with ta'zīr merely as sins, e. g slander, for which there is no *ḥadd* punishment (Sūra iv 112) and the bearing of false witness (Sūra ii. 283, iv 134) Tradition has very little to record about it. According to one tradition of 'Abd Allāh b 'Omar, in the time of the Prophet, those who bought provisions wholesale without measures or weights in order to sell them again were punished by whipping (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 43); disregarding the development in legal theory of this tradition by the commentators, it is clearly one of the many traditions which attack speculation in the necessities of life (cf C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, Heidelberg 1906, p. 51), it is in any case based on later usage in commerce According to another tradition of Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet is said to have threatened with 20 lashes any man who insulted another by calling him soft or effeminate (Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 15) Very frequently on the other hand we find a tradition (of Abū Burda, of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Djābir, of Abū Huraira), according to which the maximum that can be inflicted except for *ḥadd* is 10 lashes (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 43, Muslim, *Ḥudūd*, tr 39, Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 32, Ibn Ḥanbal, iii 466, iv 45) These traditions however can only have arisen later in the difference of opinion about the amount of ta'zīr, especially as the later law-schools admit a much larger number of lashes. In any case ta'zīr is a kind of punishment, which only found its way into Muslim law at a comparatively late date For this view it is noteworthy that tradition does not connect the later technical sense with the verb *'azzara*. It is true that it occurs in the above mentioned tradition in Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 32. *lā tu'azzirū*; but in a tradition of Anas b Mālik the verb *'azzara* is used with reference to the *ḥadd* punishment for drinking wine in contrast to its later technical sense (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii 180; a duplicate of this tradition in Ibn Ḥanbal, iii. 115 uses *djalada* in this passage)

According to the *fiḳh*-books, ta'zīr is inflicted for such transgressions as have no *ḥadd* punishment and no *kaffāra* prescribed for them, whether it is a question of disobedience of God such as neglect of the fivefold *ṣalāt* or of fasting, or a question of crime against man such as deceit, bearing false witness, theft of an article of trifling value [cf. SĀRIḲ] etc. In the second group however there is also a breach of the divine law (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) as well as the breach of man's law (*ḥaḳḳ al-nās*).

The most remarkable condition for the application of ta'zīr is that the delinquent must be in full possession of his mental faculties (*'āḳil*). The kind and amount of ta'zīr is left entirely to the discretion of the judge: he may administer a public reprimand, expose him in a public place, banish him, confiscate his property (but there is a difference of opinion, for the goods and chattels of a Muslim are regarded by some as inviolable in this case), throw him into prison or have him whipped. Except in the Mālikī school however, the number of lashes must not be more than in the *ḥadd* punishment, according to the Shāfi'ī school, the maximum for a freeman is 39, for a slave 19; according to the Ḥanafīs, the maximum is 75 (some take the *ḥadd* for drinking wine, others the *ḥadd* for slander [*ḳadhf*] as the maximum); the Hanbalīs on the other hand only allow 10 lashes, relying on the above tradition. There are also very minute and varying rules regarding the administering of the lashes in the different schools.

As the primary object of the ta'zīr is reformation, and the degree of punishment to cause this varies with each individual, men are classified systematically by some jurists for this purpose. Al-Kāsānī, for example, distinguishes four classes 1 the most distinguished of the upper classes, i e officials and officers of the highest rank; for them a personal communication from the judge through a confidential messenger is sufficient; 2. the upper classes, i. e. the intellectual élite and *fuḳahā'*, they are summoned before the judge and admonished by him, 3 the middle classes, i. e. the merchants; they are punished by imprisonment; 4 the lower strata of the people, they are punished with imprisonment or flogging. Other jurists however reject this external classification according to social status and lay stress on the inner worth of the individual, his attitude to religion and his mode of life

If it seems advisable, the judge can completely remit the ta'zīr, in so far as it concerns the divine law, but the portion based on the law of man is not dropped even if the person injured renounces it.

The process of trial is simple in contrast to that for *ḥadd*. Ta'zīr is inflicted on a confession, which however cannot be withdrawn, or on a statement of two witnesses, one of whom may even be a woman, *shahāda 'alā shahāda* [cf SHĀHID] is also admitted According to some, it is even enough if the judge alone has knowledge of the transgression.

How these cases for punishment left by the *sharī'a* to unfettered judgment were dealt with by those in authority is very clearly seen from the stories in the *1001 Nights* (cf Reschei in *Isl*, ix. [1919], 68 *sqq.*). On the other hand the attempt was made to escape this arbitrary punishment by bribery. Frequently also the secular legislation of rulers interfered, regulating the sentence left to the ḳādī's discretion by laying down definite punishments for a series of transgressions, as is the case in the *Ḳānūn-nāme*'s of the Turkish Sulṭāns, where moreover a fine is always provided for besides the flogging (cf. Meḥmed II's *Ḳānūn-nāme* in *M. O G.*, i. [1922], 13 *sqq*).

Bibliography The *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* in the books on Tradition and Fiḳh; esp. Kāsānī, *Badā'i' al-Ṣanā'i'*, Cairo 1910, vii 63 *sq*; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 742, Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya*, ed Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 399 *sqq.*; transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, p. 469 *sqq.*; Sha'rānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1925, ii. 175 *sq.*, Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, § 65, 3rd ed. (Dutch), 1925, § 68;

Krcsmárik, *Beiträge zur Beleuchtung des islam. Strafrechts*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lviii. (1904), 65, 556 *sqq.* — For the traditions see Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Punishment*. (HEFFENING)

TAʿZIYA (A.), *a.* expression of sympathy in general, *b.* the passion play of the Shīʿīs. The word, a verbal noun from *ʿaziya* II, is not found in the Ḳurʾān (but cf *ʿizīn* in lxx 37), but occurs in all schools of fiḳh at the end of the book on public worship in the section, or in the separate book, *al-ḏjanāʾiz* = burial, where sympathy is requested for the relatives. Among the Shiʿīs it means in the first place the lamentation for the martyred imāms, which is held at their graves and also at home. In particular, however, it is mourning for Husain. The *tābūt*, a copy of the tomb at Kerbelāʾ, in popular language is also called *taʿziya*. It is a model kept in the house, often very richly executed *Taʿziya* however means particularly the mystery play itself. The time for its performance is the first third of the month of Muḥarram especially the 10th *Rōz-i Ḳatl*, the day of the murder of Husain and of the ʿĀshūrāʾ festival [q. v.]. The local usages in Persia and in the Shīʿī regions of Mesopotamia and India are very varied. In a wider sense the plays include the street processions such as the cavalcade with Husain's horse, the marriage procession of Husain's son al-Kāsim with Ḥasan's daughter Fātima (see below), the procession to the cemetery with the *tābūt*, all popular celebrations of a kind at which the deepest grief does not exclude a part being played by comic figures

Lastly *taʿziya* means the actual performance of the passion play itself. The stage is erected in public places, in caravanserais, even in mosques and in *imām-bārā* specially erected for the festival The chief properties required for the stage are a large *tābūt*, receptacles in front to hold lights, also Ḥusain's bow, lance, spear and banner The participators in addition to the players are the *rawza-ḵẖʷān*, the poet, lit. he who pronounces the eulogy for the dead. He speaks the introduction and with gestures indicative of lamentation chants a *ḵẖuṭba* [q v.] with many hadiths in a voice of lamentation surrounded by a choir of boys called *peš-ḵẖʷān*, lit. announcers, while the *nūwa-hannāna*, dressed as mourning women utter the lamentations of the women and mothers. The spectators are separated according to sexes. They are given *muhr*, cakes of earth from Kerbelāʾ steeped in musk, on which they press their foreheads in abject grief. While on the stage the hunger and particularly the thirst of the martyrs is most realistically expressed, water and other refreshments are provided for the spectators The gratuitous provision of the whole spectacle and everything connected with it including payment of the poet is not only an obligation on the well-to-do but a meritorious pious work "for he builds himself the palace in Paradise" when he builds the stage. The saiyids play a prominent part in these festivals, for their descent from Husain gives them a special claim to gifts from the charitable, which they often demand with great pertinacity.

The motives and to a great extent the words are the same in the great number of such plays which are often touched up and expanded by the poets (cf. the catalogues of MSS.). The commonest are Persian but they also exist in Arabic and Turkish The term drama can only be applied with reservation to the series of sometimes 40–50 independent tableaus which constitute the performance. The events, especially the actual death of Ḥusain, are prophesied from the beginning in all details by Gabriel to the early prophets and Muḥammad himself, foreseen in dreams, foretold and afterwards narrated again and again.

The characters in the play are, in addition to the angels, principally taken from the story of redemption including the Old and New Testament. Their fate is frequently compared with that of the martyr. Jacob and Joseph confess that Ḥusain and his children have suffered more than they have; Eve, Rachel and Mary understand the mother's anguish of Fātima, Muḥammad, given by the angel of death the choice of surrendering to him his little son Ibrāhīm or the little Ḥusain, abandons to him the former so that the latter may be preserved to die as a redeemer Muḥammad and ʿAlī are only brought in as subsidiary to Ḥusain, who even as a child plays the principal part in their thoughts and hours of death. The brother Hasan and his relation to Ḥusain is very much idealised. Of the latter's nearer relations, there appear in addition to the spirit of his dead mother Fāṭima, his sisters Kulthūm and Zainab, his wife Shahrabānū, daughter of Yezdegird III, and his son ʿAlī Akbar, who falls in battle Very popular is the wedding of his and Shahrabānū's daughter Fāṭima with Husain's son al-Ḳāsim celebrated just before the catastrophe, in which the bridegroom is almost immediately killed The death of a little son and a small nephew who are struck by an arrow, while clasped to his bosom aims at producing a great effect on the spectators, while the surviving son ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn plays the main part in the mournful procession which brings the head and the captured women and children to the caliph Yazid I. If this procession spends a night on the way in a Christian monastery, the prior pronounces the Muslim confession faith before the head Similar scenes are introduced with Jews and pagans and with Christian ambassadors at the caliph's court. The humility of a lion which pays homage to the head of the martyr produces a great effect on the audience.

More important, and also more serious, is the fact that these spectacles produce a completely biassed view of the figures of early Muslim history upon the Shīʿīs; such are Salmān-i Fārisī, Abū Dharr, Bilāl, al-Ḥurr who goes over to Ḥusain, all on the Shīʿa side and the enemies of Abū Bakr and ʿOmar who are represented as depriving Fāṭima of her inheritance, the oasis of Fadak, with cruel blows No distinction is made among the non-Shīʿīs; ʿAlī's slayer Ibn Muldjam is not for example branded as a Khāridjī [q. v], his murder likewise is laid to the charge of the Sunnīs. Ibn Saʿd, the leader of the hostile force, Shammar who is said to have dealt the fatal blow, and especially Yazīd I are painted in the blackest colours. The fury against the Sunnīs is so pronounced that non-Muslims are tolerated as spectators but certainly not non-Shīʿa Muslims. National hatred of Arabs (and also Turks) is seen in such scenes as that in which Ḥusain's widow Shahrabānū returns to her home in Persia or the young Fāṭima II is rescued by a Persian king.

The scenes mainly written in the hazadj-metre have grown out of various sources, but the material

and the words are often old verses of the Ḳur'ān, interpreted from the Shī'a point of view, and particularly old traditions with Shī'a bias, which are clothed in a form calculated greatly to impress the hearers; sentences from the khuṭbas are found as early as Ṭabarī. Whole sermons, curses and prayers are already found in the earliest Shī'a literature [cf. SHĪ'A], in Ibn Bābūya, Kulainī, Shaikh Ṭūsī, especially in the chapters *Ziyārāt* (visits to tombs) in the books on pilgrimage and the imāmate and also in the *maḳātil* works. There also are found many hymns, while on the other hand songs of lamentation are still written in modern times.

Judged from the effect on the spectators the *ta'ziya* is a most impressive spectacle. Strangers, who cannot appreciate the inner significance of it, may find its broad realism repulsive, especially in the closing scenes where the decapitated head is the principal speaker and actor They might easily get the idea that the spectators are simply revelling in the pain and cruelty of the spectacle The real significance can only be ascertained from an unprejudiced examination of what is actually said. As already indicated the plays are full of dogmatics with emphasis on Shī'a ḥadīths. It is possible that with the primitive nature of the production, touching and exciting scenes are introduced simply for their own sake But the leading idea is a soteriology that rules everything and is brought out, in harmony with the text books but in much more clear fashion Here we will only refer the reader to one of these mysteries easily accessible in Chodzko (see *Bibl*) In the very first scene "The Messenger of God" Gabriel, representing Hasan as sharing his brother's fate, announces to Muhammad "Thy two grandchildren shall fall under the blows of a very contemptible enemy, not because they have in some way transgressed God's laws, no, the filth of sin has never soiled a member of thy family, o Phoenix of the Universe! Rather are they sacrificed for the salvation of the people who adopt Islām so that the brow of the martyrs shall eternally reflect the brilliance of the elect of God. If thou desirest the forgiveness of the sins of these evildoing peoples, do not oppose the two roses of thy garden being plucked before the time!" (p 5 *sq*) And after this theme of the vicarious death for the forgiveness of sins has been again and again clearly formulated, the mystery comes to its logical conclusion in the last scene, in which the whole hierarchy of patriarchs from Adam to Ḥasan's mother Fāṭima is assembled round the sacred head To Fāṭima her father Muḥammad (p. 215) says "Thou art right to weep for thy slain child soaked in his noble blood; but there is a secret about the true reason of this martyrdom; as the price of this martyrdom God on the Day of Judgment will give into our hands the keys of Paradise and of Hell!" How old such ideas of this salvation by intervention are, is seen from the prayers of those "penitents" under Sulaimān b. Ṣurad who fortified themselves to fight to the death against the Omaiyads by doing penance at Husain's grave four years after the battle of Kerbelā', they wanted to atone for their guilt which they had brought upon themselves by not having fought or died with the dead Ḥusain. One of them, 'Abd Allāh b Wālī al-Taimī, calls Ḥasan and his brother and father the "bond (of reconciliation) (*waṣīla*) with God on the Day of Judgment". Ṭabarī, ii. 547, records this from Abū Mikhnaf but on the authority of an 'Alid, Ḥusain's grandson Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, through a Shī'ī authority Salama b. Kuhail; but the latter, generally considered a Zaidī, does not belong to an ultra-Shī'ī school.

In their elaborate form, the ta'ziya are recent and at one time could not be carried through without opposition from the mollas on account of their crude dogma and irreligious accompaniment of dances and processions. Adam Olearius who witnessed great celebrations in Ardabīl in 1637 does not mention ta'ziya, nor does J. B. Tavernier (cf *Vierzig-Jahrige Reisebeschreibung*, Nurnberg 1681, p. 178 *sqq.*) mention any special play among the Muḥarram ceremonies in Iṣfahān in 1667; on the other hand it was noted for example by J. Morier in 1811 in Teheran. It is probable that ancient rites of earlier mythological festivals like the Tammuz and Adonis cults have survived in the subsidiary plays which in India have been adapted by some Sunnīs and even Hindus; the banners for the processions, a large staff, the hand which is carried round by those who summon to the festival and is now interpreted as the hand of Husain which was cut off, have thus their ancient prototypes. That the significance of the sacred properties has altered is shown by the fact that among the Shī'ī Tatars the *tābūt* is called the "marriage house of Kāsim". In many places there are accompanying rites with water, which were originally indigenous, the throwing of the *tābūt* into water among the Indian Shī'īs may be due to Hindu influence. Even the style of the mourning garments is partly influenced by earlier forms But the passion play itself is the popular expression of that religious feeling which has its roots in the historic fact of Kerbelā'

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TAZWĪDJ. [See NIKĀḤ.]

TCHAD. [See TSAD]

TEBESSA, a town in Algeria, 106 miles S. E. of Constantine and 12 from the Tunisian frontier in 35° 25′ N. Lat. and 8° 5′ E. Long. (Greenwich), the population is 10,399 of whom 1,614 are Europeans. It is the capital of a mixed commune of 425 sq. miles, corresponding to the territory formerly occupied by the confederation of the Namānsha, with 56,991 inhabitants, of whom 56,963 are natives

Tebessa lies in the centre of a plateau of an

average height of 3,000 feet bounded by the massifs of the Osmor and of the Djebel Dukkān, eastern extensions of the Awrās, well watered by wādīs coming from the mountains; this region was once covered by dense forests; now almost entirely cleared of trees except in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which is surrounded by a girdle of gardens, it is very well fitted for growing cereals, which is done by both natives and Europeans. This circumstance, along with the position of the town at the intersection of the roads from the plateaus of Numidia to central and southern Tunisia, made Tebessa an important market. Since the beginning of the XX^th century the exportation of the phosphates worked in the vicinity of the town and sent southwards by rail to Sūḳ Ahras has brought increased activity to Tebessa

Tebessa corresponds to Thevesta, where in 25 B. C. Augustus established the head-quarters of the Third Legion Augusta. The town which grew up around the camp had 30,000 inhabitants by the time of Trajan. Raised to the rank of a colonia by Septimius Severus, it was at this time considered the most important and most populous town of Roman Africa next to Carthage. Some writers give it a population of 100,000. It declined after this period. After suffering considerably in the social and religious troubles of the fourth century, it was taken and sacked by the Vandals in the fifth century. Reoccupied by the Byzantines, it was restored by Solomon. He built fortifications around it partly out of materials from old buildings and thus made it a vast citadel Nevertheless it passed into the hands of the Moors i. e. of the Berbers in 597, then to the Arabs in 682 (45 A. H.) after a battle the memory of which is preserved in the *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya* Tebessa henceforth shared the destinies of this part of Africa It belonged to the Aghlabids, to the Fāṭimids (from whom Abū Yazīd took it temporarily), then to the Zīrids and the Almohads. Ibn Ghāniya took it on two different occasions without being able to hold it permanently It finally fell to the Hafsids who held it for centuries but their hold on it seems always to have been rather precarious. The Turks took it, probably at the end of the XVI^th century, and put a garrison into it to watch the lands on the Tunisian frontiers which were being disputed by the powerful confederacies of the Hanānsha and the Namānsha At this date Tebessa consisted of the town itself enclosed in the Byzantine walls and the village of the *zāwiya* inhabited by the descendants of the marabout Sidi ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and by freed negro slaves.

The population of the town is very heterogeneous families originally from the neighbouring small towns of Oukes and Bekāïa, immigrants from Tunisia from Djarīd, Kuluglis, born of the union of soldiers of the garrison with women of the country. The last element finally became predominant and forced the Ḥanafī ritual upon the majority of the population. After the capture of Constantine by the French in 1837, the Turkish garrison fled into Tunisia and the town was left defenceless against the attacks of the nomads. To put an end to this some of the notables appealed to the French. French troops appeared before Tebessa in 1842, and again in 1846; a permanent garrison was established there in 1851 and a European colony soon began to gather round the military establishments

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TEHERAN (TĔHRĀN), 1. the capital of Persia.

The name. The Arab spelling Ṭihrān survived down to the beginning of the XX^th century. The Arabs frequently rendered by *ṭ* the initial *t* of Persian names (aspiration?) The Arab Yāḳūt however admits the pronunciation Tihrān; the Persian Zakarīyā Kazwīnī only gives this form. The short *i* in modern Persian is regularly pronounced like a short *e*, whence the European transcriptions Teheran etc (already in Clavijo and della Valle; Chardin· Théran) The pronunciation Tāhrān is unknown in Persia but the Turks of Constantinople, whose language sometimes preserves the oldest form of Persian words, say Tahran.

The origin of the name is uncertain The popular etymology. *tah* + *rān* "he who chases the people to the depths of the earth" is clearly based on Yāḳūt's story *Tah* might correspond to *tah/tih* "depth" in a northern dialect We know several names combined with *tah* (Stack, 1 97, 11. 13. *tahdaṣht* < *tah-daṣht*) It is tempting to see in the second element *-rān* a contraction of the name Raiy (Raghān > Raiyān > Rān), the whole would then mean "at the bottom, down from Raiy", but this suggestiôn is difficult as there is another Tihrān near Iṣfahān It is however curious that the name of the latter has become Tīrān > Tīrūn, while the capital has retained its original form.

H Schindler, *East. Pers Irak*, London 1896, p. 131 sees in Tihrān, *tīr-ān* "plains" (Vullers, 1 486, *tīr* "planities, desertum") In order to explain *tihr-* we have to start from its final form *tīr*, but certainty will only be attained when the word in its original form *tihr* is found in documents. The preservation of *-hr-* (< ϑr) shows a word of the northern group (in the south *hr* becomes *s*). H. Schindler compares the name Tihrān to that of the mountain Shimrān (written Shamīrān; cf. below) in which he sees a plural of *shamar*, "mountain on which the water is kept to supply the plain" (*Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, without an example). *Shamar* as a rule means "pond, reservoir" (Vullers, 11 462) which gives quite good sense. In any case the name must have a common origin with that of the Dailam castle Shamīrān [cf. TAROM].

Position. Teheran lies in 51° 25′ 2,8″ E. Long. and 35° 41′ 6,83″ North Lat. in a depression (*gawd*) below the outer spurs of the Alburz. The pass of Sar-i Tawčāl, which is a dozen miles north of the town, is 12,000 feet high This chain does not form the watershed with the Caspian basin: from behind Sār-i Tawčāl rise the rivers of Karadj and Djādjarūd, both of which run towards the Central Persian desert A southern spur of the chain runs along the right bank of the Djādjarūd and forms a barrier to the east of the plain of Teheran It is called Se-Pāyā ("tripod"). The little town of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm lies at its southern end. The ruins of Raiy [q. v.] lie between this town and Teheran The altitude of Teheran is 3,810 feet (H. Schindler). The ground rises im-

mediately to the north of the town and forms 3 stages from Teheran to Ḳaṣr-ı Ḳādjār (3 miles), from there to Zarganda another 3 miles (alt. 4,500 feet), from there to the foot of Tawčāl.

Here on the slope of the mountain is the verdant district of Shimrān, which not only gives a cool retreat for the people of Teheran in the summer (May–Sept.) but also provides the city's water-supply Teheran has no river; water is brought to it by some thirty deep subterranean conduits (*ḳanāt, kārīz*) from 5 to 10 miles in length, which come from the springs in the mountain.

The climate of Teheran, agreeable in winter, is unhealthy in summer, typhus and other fevers and dysentery are endemic there, every evening mist rises from the soil which is soaked by irrigation and envelops the town. Otherwise the climate is dry. According to the observations of H Schindler, *Klimatafeln aus Persien, Pet Mitt*, 1909, p. 361—370, made in Teheran during 17 consecutive years (1892—1908), the annual snowfall and rainfall varied between 134,25 (1901) and 330,75 (1904) millimetres. The winter of 1894—1895 was distinguished by a complete absence of snow or rain. During the summer of 1905—1906 there was not a drop of rain The snowfall in winter varied between 16,50 and 96,25 mm The average fall in mm and the temperatures C° per month were as follows

November	32,26	10,8 C°	May	12,66	23,9 C°
December	34,20	5,8	June	1,58	29,7
January	46,03	1,1	July	1,11	29,7
February	28,12	5,5	August	1,30	28,9
March	47,72	8,6	Sept	1,31	25,5
April	35,56	15,5	Oct	8,64	18,9

The mean annual temperature is 16,9 C° with the extreme limits of + 42,2 and — 16,1 Other meteorological observations are given in Brugsch, ii, p 475—481 and in Stahl, p. 52.

The choice of Teheran as capital is represented by certain writers (Kinneir, Curzon) as proof of the wisdom of the Kādjārs who wanted to control the northern frontier In reality, the choice of Teheran was dictated primarily by the desire of the Turkish dynasty of the Ḳādjārs not to be too remote from their ancestral fief of Astarābād and to remain in contact with the Turkish tribes of northern Persia The majority of early travellers (Olivier, v. 87; Dupré, ii 187, Flandin, i 235) emphasise the disadvantages of the site of the capital (want of water, bad climate, distance from the great roads). Some of these defects have been considerably mitigated by the improvements introduced since their day, but the main inconvenience, the eccentric position of the capital, will be felt when the development of the natural resources of the south of Persia will make clear their importance for the life of Persia. The following distances have been calculated by H. Grothe, *Persien*, Frankfurt 1911, p. 98—99

Teheran—Anzalī	220	miles
Teheran—Tabrīz	360	„
Teheran—Meshhed	578	„
Teheran—Muḥammara	660	„
Teheran—Bushahr	764	„
Teheran—Bandar-ʿAbbās	980	„

Routes. Fairly good natural roads connect the capital with the provinces. For communication with Māzandarān a road passable only by horses and mules, was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khān in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished of the English company of Lynch Brothers (95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Kazwīn–Tabrīz–Djulfā–Tiflīs. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Bākū and Anzalī. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Teheran and the Caspian is only 70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Mandjīl on Jan. 1, 1890 and to Teheran on Sept. 15, 1899). Henceforth the great majority of travellers took this route, which has also become of considerable commercial importance. Since the Russian revolution, all kinds of Russian enterprises have been introduced into Persia. Since 1917 there has been a motor-car service between Teheran and Baghdād, recently continued to Banūt (Syria). An aeroplane service has put Teheran within a day's journey of Bākū. Since the accession to power of Ridā Shāh, a plan for a trans-Persian railway has been drawn up and even partly put into execution (1928). It is to connect Teheran on the one hand with the Persian Gulf (Khōr-Mūsā through Lūristān) and on the other with the Caspian (Bandar-Gaz via Fīrūzkūh).

The province of Teheran. It consists of six districts (H. Schindler): 1. Shahriyār on the N.W on the right bank of the Karadj; 2 Sawdjbulaḳ (q v, N°. 2) to the N.W. of Shahriyār; 3. Fashāwiya (Pashāpūya) to the S.W of the town in the direction of Rabāt-Karīm; 4 Warāmin [q v.] to the S E; 5 Shimrān to the north of the town, with 63 flourishing villages, of which the principal is Tadjrīsh; the villages of Ḳolhak (Gulhak) and Zarganda are occupied by the British and Russian legations respectively, to which they were given in 1835 by Muhammad Shāh; 6 Kasrān, to the north of Shimrān on the upper course of the Djādjarūd. As subdivisions of less importance, the Persian map gives Ghār immediately to the south of Teheran (with the little town of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm), Lawāsānāt to the east of Shimrān; Kand (Kan) and Sawlāḳān to the west of Shimrān, Shahristānak to the north of Kand, Arange between Kand and Karadj.

Early references. De Goeje (Istakhrī, p. 209 k) proposed to identify with Teheran the BHZĀN, BHTĀN or BHNĀN, mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī, p. 209, Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 366 and Muḳaddasī, p 375 This hypothesis has again been revived by Muḥammad Khān Kazwīnī, *op cit.*, p. 39. But according to Yāḳūt, I, 769 (although late and not very explicit), the place Bihzān which represented the old site of Raiy lay 7 farsakhs (?) from this latter town, while the same geographer places Teheran as one would expect 1 farsakh from Raiy. The earliest reference to Teheran is provisionally that of the *Fārsnāma*, *G.M.S.*, p. 134 (written before 510 = 1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Teheran, also mentioned by al-Samʿānī (in 555 = 1160), *G M S.*, p. 373. But independently of these references, the village of Teheran must have existed before the time of Iṣṭakhrī (in 340) for Samʿānī mentions his ancestor Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Tihrānī al-Rāzī, who died at ʿAskalān in Palestine in 261 (874). According to the *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr* (written in 599 = 1202), *G.*

M. S, p. 293, in 561 the mother of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Arslān, who was on her way from Raiy to Nakhičawān made the first stop (the regular *naḳl-i maḳān* of the Persians) "near Teheran". The Sulṭān himself occasionally stayed near Dūlāb (the name of a place to the S. E. of Teheran, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyār in the history of Ṭabaristān (written in 613 = 1216; *G. M. S.*, p 19) narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched at the place where "Dūlāb and Tihrān" now are. Eight years later, Yāḳūt gave a brief note on Teheran which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion It was a considerable town with 12 quarters As the dwellinghouses in Teheran were built underground and the gardens around the town were very thick, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Teheran that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade from fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Ḳazwīnī (674 = 1275) compares the dwellinghouses in Teheran to the holes of yarbus (*ka-nāfiḳā'i 'l-yarbū'*) and confirms Yāḳūt's account of the character of the inhabitants, cf *Āṯār al-Bilād*, p 228

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (i. 312) says in this connection that 200—300 yards from the Ḳazwīn gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden (cf. plate 57 in Hommaire de Hell) This must be a reference to the old *darwāza-yi naw* (*pā-ḳāpuk*) to the south of which the quarter is called Ghār ("caves") This name is also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Teheran As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Teheran, cf Eastwick, i 294. a village to the east of the bridge of Karadj, and Crawshay-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Ramah*, *J. R A. S*, 1904, p. 551, 1906, p. 217.

The growth of Teheran was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood The decline of Raiy dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617 (1220) In the Mongol period Teheran is occasionally mentioned in the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*: in 683 (1284), Arghūn, after the victory gained near Ak-Khwādja (= Sūmīḳān, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 173) over al-Yanak, Ahmad Takūdār's general, arrived at "Tihrān of Raiy" (cf Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit*, p. 38) In 694 (1294) Ghāzān coming from Firūzkūh stopped at "Ṭihrān of Raiy" (Dorn, *Auszuge*, p. 138). According to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (written in 1340, *G. M S.*, p. 55), Teheran was a considerable town (*muʿtabir*) with a better climate than Raiy Formerly (*mā ḳabl*) the inhabitants of Teheran were very numerous. The last remark may support the hypothesis of the identity of Teheran with BHZĀN (q.v.).

In the Timurid period the village of "Ṭihrān of Raiy" is mentioned in 806 (1403) as the place where the Shāh-zāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shaikh Čalāwī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 572 = *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*; Dorn, *Auszuge*, p. 175) About the same time (July 6, 1404) Teheran ("ciudad que ha nombre Teheran") was visited for the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish Ambassador Clavijo (ed. St. Petersburg 1881, p. 186; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 166). At this time the province of Raiy was governed by Timur's son-in-law, the Amīr Sulaimān-shāh (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 591; Clavijo, p. 189, 351: Zuleman or Cumalexa Miassà). He lived in Warāmin (Vatami). The town of Raiy (Xaharıprey) was not inhabited ("agora deshabitada"). In the tower of Teheran was a representative of the governor and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits ("una posada onde el Señor suele estar quando allì venia") Teheran had no walls.

The Safawids. Under the Ṣafawids the capital was moved in turn from Ardabil to Tabrīz and then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān. The district of Raiy was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it· Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Teheran. According to Riḍā Kuli Khān (*Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*), the first visits of the Ṣafawids to Teheran were due to the fact that their ancestor Saiyid Hamza was buried there near Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm The prosperity of the town dates from Tahmāsp I who in 961 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*bāra*) round it which, according to the *Zīnat al-Maḍjālis*, was a farsakh in length (*Mirʾāt al-Buldān*: 6,000 *gām*, "paces") The wall had 4 gates and 114 towers, the number of the Sūras of the Kurʾān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). 114 towers are still given in Berezin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Čāl-i Maidān and Čāl-i Hisār, which have given their names to two quarters. Aḥmad Rādī, himself belonged to the district of Raiy, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Teheran and the delights of the plateau of Shamīrān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Sulaḳān (MS. Bibl. Nat., Suppl Pers., Nº. 357, fol 436—467, the greater part of which is devoted to the great men of the old town of Raiy) According to the *Maḍjālis al-Muʾminīn*, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Saiyid Muhammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869 (1464).

In 985 Tehcian was the scene of the execution of Prince Mirzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismāʿīl II of aiming at the throne In 998 (1589) Shāh ʿAbbās I going against the Uzbek ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn Khān fell severely ill at Teheran (*ʿĀlam-āra*, p. 275), which enabled the Uzbeks to seize Meshhed. It is said that this gave Shāh ʿAbbās a great dislike for Teheran It is however from his time that the building of the palace of Čahār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Teheran in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān He calls it the "town of plain-trees" At this time a beglerbegi ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Teheran; his jurisdiction extended as far as Firūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Teheran at 3,000.

The Afghāns. On the eve of the Afghān invasion Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafawī made a stay in Teheran and it was here that he received Durri-Efendi, the ambassador of Aḥmad III (at the beginning of 1720, cf. *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810).

Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Iʿtimād al-Dawla ("Athemat" of the Europeans) which precipitated the debacle, cf. Krusinski (publ. by Du Cerceau), *Hist des révol. de Perse*, 1742, i 295. Shāh Ḥusain only returned to Iṣfahān (June 1, 1721, La Mamye Clairac, i. 200) to lose his throne. Tahmāsp II made a stay in Teheran in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghāns, he fled to Māzandarān. European writers say that Teheran resisted and Ashraf lost many men (Krusinski, *op. cit.*, p. 351; La Mamye Clairac, *Hist. de Perse*, 1750, ii 250, Hanway, ii. 234). Some time afterwards Teheran fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fath ʿAlī Khān Kādjār to relieve the town (cf. Olivier, v 89 and *Mirʾāt al-Buldān*). According to this last source, the *Darwāza-yi Dawla* and *Darwāza-yi Arak* gates date from this period, for the Afghāns everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat The reference is of course to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Mihmāndūst (6th Rabiʿ I, 1141 = Sept. 20, 1728) the Afghāns in Teheran put to death the notables and left for Iṣfahān. The inhabitants fell upon the impedimenta they had left and through negligence a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, transl. Jones, London 1770, p. 78). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin and Shāh Tahmāsp II returned to Teheran.

Nādir. In 1154 (1741) Nādir gave Teheran as a fief to his eldest son Riḍā Kuli Mīrzā, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Teheran was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince; cf. Jones, ii 123, Hanway, ii 357, 378, ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke*, ed Langlès, 1825, p 93.

During the fighting among the successors of Nādir, ʿAlī Shāh ʿĀdil (1160 = 1747) took refuge in Teheran but was seized and blinded by Ibrāhim's supporters (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd-i Nādirīya*, ed. O Mann, p 34) After the fall of the Nādirids, Teheran passed into the sphere of influence of the Kādjārs, rivals of Karīm Khān Zand.

Karīm Khān. In 1171 (1757) Sultān Muhammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karīm Khān near Shīrāz, retired to Teheran where his army was disbanded Having learned that he had withdrawn from Teheran, Karīm Khān sent his best general Shaikh ʿAlī Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawalu, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḳādjār was killed and Karīm Khān with his army (*ordu*) arrived at Teheran in 1172 (1759). The head of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The next year the order was given to build at Teheran a seat of government (*ʿimārat*) "which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon", a *dīwān-khāna*, a *ḥaram* and quarters for the bodyguard, cf. Ṣādiḳ Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī Gushā*, Bibl Nat., Suppl. Pers., Nº. 1374, fol. 29. Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla added to these buildings the garden Djannat and says that Karīm Khān intended to make Teheran his capital. It was to Teheran that Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, captured in Māzandarān, was taken to Karīm Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176 however, Karīm Khān decided on Shīrāz to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghāfūr Khān was left as governor in Teheran.

The rise of the Ḳādjārs. Karīm Khān died on the 13th Ṣafar 1193. By the 20th Ṣafar Āḳā Muḥammad was in Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and the next day he ascended the throne (*djulūs*) in the vicinity of Teheran (*Mirʾāt*, i. 525). Teheran however passed into the sphere of influence of ʿAlī Murād Khān, half-brother of Djaʿfar Khān Zand (*Taʾrīkh-i Zandīya*, ed. Beer, p. 8, 13, 25). In 1197 (1783) Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Teheran but the governor Ghāfūr Khan Tihrānī managed to procrastinate and an outbreak of plague forced Āḳā Muḥammad to withdraw to Damghān (*Mirʾāt*) After the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān (1199 = 1785) the town was besieged by Āḳā Muḥammad's troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*ḳalʿa*) before Āḳā Muḥammad had taken Iṣfahān. The news of the advance of Djaʿfar Khān Zand from Fārs caused Āḳā Muhammad's troops to disperse. He was however received with open arms by the chiefs of Teheran (*ḥākim wa-ʿummāl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maḳarr-i saltanat, dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khilāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānī*, transl. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 18, Teheran became the capital in 1200 (1786) and the foundations of the palace were laid then After the capture of Shīrāz all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand king Lutf ʿAlī Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Teheran, was put to death there in 1209 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-zāde* Zaid; *ibid.*, p. 25, 30, 76, 82, 101.

After the assassination of Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh (21st Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1211 = June 16, 1797) his brother ʿAlī Ḳuli Khān appeared before the capital but the prime minister Mīrzā Shafiʿ would not allow him to enter In the meanwhile the heir to the throne Bābā Khān (= Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh) was able to reach Shīrāz and after the defeat of the second claimant Ṣādik Khān Shakaḳī, was crowned at the beginning of 1798. The Shaḳaḳī [q v] prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Fatḥ ʿAlī Schah und seine Thronrivalen*, *Sitz. A. W. Wien*, 1864, ii., p 1—31)

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry a series of ambassadors visited Teheran on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), Sir Gore Ouseley (1811) and on the French side Gen. Romieu (d. at Teheran in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), Gen. Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabrīz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince It was only after the treaty of Turkmančai (q. v.; 1828) that the Russian minister A. S. Griboyedow paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabrīz, Mīrzā Yaʿḳūb, one of the Shāh's chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Erīwān forcibly converted to Islām, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty. This "apostacy" provoked an attack on the Russian embassy and on Feb. 11, 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboyedow, his secretaries, Cossacks and servants) The tragedy took place in the legation's quarters (house of the *zambūrakči-bashi* near the old Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate; now the street called Sar-pūlak in the Zargarābād

quarter). On the death of Griboyedow, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, cf *sub anno* Ridā-Ḳulı-Khān, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tihrān 1274 (1858), Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳādjārīye*, Tihrān 1273 (1857), i 221, Sanī' al-Dawla, *Ta'rīkh-i Muntaẓim-i Nāsirī*, iii, 1301 (1883), p. 144; *Relation des événements qui ont précédé et accompagné le massacre de la dernière ambassade russe en Perse*, *Nouv Annales des voyages*, 1830, part 48, p. 337–367; Bergé, *Smert' Griboyedova*, *Russ. Starina*, 1872, viii 162–207; Malyshinsky, *Podlinnoye delo, Russ vestnik*, 1890, vi 160—233; Żukovskı, *Persidskiye letopistsy*, *Novoye Vremia*, 1890, N⁰ 5068; Allahverdıants, *Končina Griboyedova po armianskim istočnikam*, *Russ. Starina*, 1901, N⁰. 10, p 44–68, Mınorsky, "*Tsena krovi*" *Griboyedova*, *Russ Mysl*, Prague 1923, iii. 1—15.

When the death of Fath ʿAlī Shāh (Oct 19, 1834) became known in the capital his son ʿAlī Mīrzā Zill-ı Sulṭān proclaimed himself king under the name of ʿĀdil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mīrzā arrived from Tabrīz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Russia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on Jan 2, 1835 ʿĀdil Shāh only reigned for six weeks (cf. Tornau, *Aus d neuesten Geschichte Persiens*, *Z D. M. G.*, 1849, p 1–15) The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident [cf ḲADJĀR] (even after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh on May 1, 1896) The history of Teheran under these Shāhs is that of all Persia The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine, cf the rioting on March 1, 1861 described by Eastwick, *op cit* and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865, p 625

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs [q v], especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Teheran; cf Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, Cambridge 1910, p 46—57

The Revolution. Since the Persian revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, has rapidly become the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period is as follows The *bast* of the merchants in the *Masdjid-i Shāh*, Dec. 1905 The *bast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from July 20 to Aug. 5, 1906 The opening of the Madjlis in the palace of Bahāristān on Oct. 7, 1906 The heir to the throne Muhammad ʿAlī Mīrzā signs the constitution on Dec 30, 1906 Death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh on Jan. 8, 1907. The assassination of the Atābeg Amīn al-Dawla on Aug. 31, 1907. Counter-manifestations by the "absolutists" from Dec. 13–19, 1907. Bombardment of the Madjlis on June 23, 1908. Capture of Teheran by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-ı Aʿẓam of Rasht and the Sardār-i Asʿad Bakhtiyārī on July 13–15, 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh on July 16, accession of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh on July 18, 1909; cf. Browne, *Persian Revolution* and D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, p. 82—116, on the events of May 12, 1911 to Jan. 11, 1912, information will be found in Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia*, London 1912 In 1915 Teheran became involved in the Great War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Shāh Sulṭān Aḥmad off to Kum with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper but on several occasions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on Dec. 10, 1915 near Rabāt-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Amīr Hishmat's gendarmes who were on the side of the Central Powers; cf. Emelianow, *Persidskıı front*, Berlin 1923) Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Teheran. From 1918 English troops took their place; cf. Dunsterville, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920 The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north The Russian officers were dismissed on Oct 30, 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Ḳazwīn where an English force under General Ironside was still quartered. On Feb. 21, 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks who had come from Ḳazwīn under the command of their general Ridā-Khān occupied the capital. Saiyid Diyā' al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (Feb. 24—May 24) and Ridā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*; cf. J M. Balfour, *Recent Happenings in Persia*, London 1922) Towards the end of 1923 the Shāh Sultān Ahmad left the country at the same time as the prime minister Kawām al-Saltana (from June 4, 1921), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on April 25, 1926 [cf PAHLAWĪ]

Growth of the town Yāḳūt's account of the houses of Teheran suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i. e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs) There is little left in Teheran of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Kādjārs.

Olivier who visited Teheran in 1796 says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (?), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000 of whom 3,000 were soldiers and Olivier remarks with justice that "the gold scattered around the throne" did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh. In the *Tālār-i takht-i Marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Khān in Shīrāz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nādir Shāh so that the Ḳādjār prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Ridā Shāh the bones were taken from there

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Teheran in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808—1809) says Teheran was $4^1/_2$—5 miles in circumference. Kinneir about the same time put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis but the defences were only of value in a country where "the art of war was unknown".

Ouseley (1811) counted 6 gates in Teheran, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40—60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8 (?) gates before which large round towers were built (cf his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter the population was from 60—70,000.

Fath ʿAlī Shāh had considerably improved the town but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor looking, "not a dome" was to be seen in it. Under Muḥammad Shāh things were improved a little

Berezin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*ḳarb-i dawlat-khāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-khāna, Daftar-khāna, Kulāh-i firangī ["pavilion"], Sandūḳ-khāna, Zargar-khāna, ʿImārat-i Shīr-i Khorshīd, Sarwistān, Khalwat-i Shāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Teheran. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *arshīn* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900—2,450 from north to south, i. e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles (Polak's calculation, *op. cit*, p. 223: 83,750 square metres is obviously wrong) The citadel (*ark*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *arshīn* W to E by 1,175 N. to S, i. e. a fourth of the whole town) The north side of the *ark* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall Gardens occupied the parts of the town next the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the S E of the citadel in the direction of the Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan The only open space, the Maidān-i Shāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large (cf. the plate in Hommaire de Hell). Among the mosques that of the Shāh and the *imām-zāde* of Zaid and Yahyā alone are of any importance Gardane had seen the *Masdjid-i Shāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription from the hand of the court calligrapher Muḥammad Mahdī is dated 1224 (1809), but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840 (cf. Fraser above)

The plan by Krziž (1857) much resembles that of Berezin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square, the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

The new town. A radical change took place in 1869—1874 (cf. Curzon, Stahl and H. Schindler, the official figures on the projects for the development of the town have not yet been discovered). The town was extended on all sides. The old ditch and the bulk of the walls disappeared. Teheran assumed the form of an irregular octagon surrounded by new fortifications (bastions of earth, with fosses) modelled on those of Paris but of no military importance. According to Curzon, i. 305, the work was done during the famine of 1871; cf. Brittlebank, *Persia during the famine*, London 1873. The town was given 12 gates. The old gates were retained within the city but their names were transferred to the corresponding gates on the new lines of fortification The latter are 20,000 yards in length, the area now occupied by Teheran is $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (H Schindler). Before the old Dawlat gate the important Tūp-khāna (arsenal) 250 × 120 yards was built, surrounded by the artillery barracks A champ de Mars (*Maidān-i Mashḳ*) even more spacious (550 × 350 yards) was laid out N W. of the Tūp-khāna. Two parallel and important arteries, Khiyābān-i ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla and Ḳālazār, now run from the Maidān-i Tūp-khāna to the north. The old promenades outside the walls, Lālazār, Nigāristān etc., were incorporated in the town The new quarters attracted first of all the foreign legations. The first French (Gardane) and British (H. Jones, Ouseley) missions had been lodged in the house of Amīn al-Dawla near the old Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓm Gate. In the time of Ouseley a British legation was built on land belonging to the Zambūrakči-bashi which the Shāh gave to the English (it was near another estate of the same owner that Griboyedow was assassinated) The new British legation was built in 1870 at the end of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla avenue When the Russian legation was definitely established in Teheran in 1834 it was lodged in the home of the grand vizier Hādjdjī Mīrzā Aghāsī in the *ark* itself In 1880 the Russians built themselves a legation in the Pāmināŕ quarter (east of the *ark*) but in 1915 they finally settled in the "park of the Atābeg" immediately to the north of the English. The Turkish and French legations are east and west of the English The European shops and the Persian notables have followed the legations but the centre of trade is still the old bazaar, which is entered to the south of the *ark*

Teheran has no fine public buildings The mosque of the Sipāhsālār (Mīrzā Husain Khān, d 1298 = 1881) is the most imposing edifice in Teheran (in the new quarter on the N. E. beside the Bahāristān palace, which has been occupied since 1906 by the Madjlis); the building was begun in 1296 (1878), cf *Maʾāthir al-Āthār*, p. 83, and finished about 1890. Its Madrasa bears the date of 1302 (1884).

The principal beauty of Teheran is the large private houses with their gardens and flowers. Around it there are many country houses and palaces of the Ḳādjār style, which is not negligible from the artistic point of view and which continues the traditions of Safawī architecture Such is ʿIshrat-ābād just north of Teheran; see the picture in Curzon, i. 34 (cf p. 326 and in d'Allemagne the pavilion of the Shams al-ʿImāra in the *ark*) The chateau of Kasr-i Ḳādjār is now in ruins (cf. the plates in Saltykoff, de Coste and Hommaire de Hell). The hunting-lodge Yowshān-tapa, "hill of hyssop" (popularly called Dowshān-tapa = "hill of the hares"), situated at the foot of the mountain of Se-pāya (to the east of Teheran), is connected with the town by a good road (3 miles) opened on Oct. 14, 1874 (Serena). Pious people of the town make the pilgrimage to Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, a little town beyond the ruins of Raiy [q. v.]. The railway from Teheran to this sanctuary is 5 miles in length (with two branch lines, one a mile long and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles); it was built between 1888 and 1893 and till 1915 was the only railway in Persia. The use

of gas was introduced into Persia in 1875 (Serena); electric light began to be used about 1905

Under the Pahlawī regime considerable public works have been undertaken in the town A Society of Friends of Old Teheran was founded in the capital in 1926 and it is to be hoped that it will be able to describe and protect what there is remarkable among the buildings of the Ḳādjār period.

Teheran which still continues to grow towards the north, is now the largest city in Persia. In 1878 Mme. Serena reckoned the population at 200,000 in winter and 80,000 in summer. In 1900 Stahl gave 250,000 in the city and 350,000 in the 670 adjoining towns and villages. Balfour 1921) quotes a Persian testimony to the effect that the minimum number of inhabitants of Teheran is 250,000 while the "reasoned highest figure" may be 380,000 (for the province of Teheran these figures are 700,000 and 800,000).

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Cartography: the plan of the town in Berezin (1842); J E. Polak, *Topogr Bemerkungen z Karte u. Umgebung und zu d. Plane v. Teheran*, *Mitt. der K K. Geogr. Gesell.*, xx. (1877), Vienna 1878, p. 218–225 (with a map 1 : 108,000 and a plan of 1 20,700 made by Comm. Krziž in 1857–1858); A. F Stahl, *Teheran und Umgegend* (1890—1894), *Pet. Mitt.*, 1900, p. 49–54 with a map 1 . 210,000 (the two articles are full of interesting information); the Persian map by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Khān Bughāʾirī (c. 1910?) on the scale of 1 : 200,000 Besides his own surveys the author of the map has used the following sources: 1. the map by ʿAbd al-Rasūl Khān made in the time of the grand vizier Mirzā Taḳī Khān (1849—1851); 2. two maps by Nadjm al-Dawla, one on a scale of 1 . 4,000 and the other done after Krziž (printed Teheran 1275 [1858]; cf. Brugsch, i. 210); 3. the map prepared by Persian officers under the direction of Baron Leitner (?) 1 : 25,000 (1880); 4. map by General Weth 1 : 12,500 (c. 1893); 5. Stahl's map.

2. A village in the province of Iṣfahān (in the district of the lower Kārwān, to the N.W. of Iṣfahān). Samʿānī, p. 373, knows the two Ṭihrāns of which "that of Raiy is better known than that of Iṣfahān". He mentions several traditionists born in the village, the oldest of whom is ʿUḳail

b. Yaḥyā Abī Ṣāliḥ, d. in 258 (871); cf also Yāḳūt The name is now pronounced Tīrūn; cf Čirikow (1850), *Putevoi Journal*, p 158, but Brugsch, ii. 39 writes Tehran According to Houtum-Schindler, *East Persian Irak*, p. 124, 127, 131, near Iṣfahān there is still a Tihrān ("Tiran Ahangaran") The Tiran canal (which runs from there?) waters the Mahalla-yi now and Bīdābād quarters of Isfahān (V Minorsky)

TEKE or **TEKKE**, a Turkoman tribe They are not mentioned among the 22 (so Mahmūd Kāshghari, i. 56 *sqq*) or 24 (so Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii. 32 *sqq*) Oghuz tribes. At a later date they are described as descendants of the Salur [q. v]. Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q v] comprises the Teke with two other tribes, the Saiïk and the Yomut, under the name "Outer Salur" (*tashkī Salūr*, ed. Desmaisons, p. 209) In his still unprinted history of the Turkomans, Abu 'l-Ghāzī describes the Sarïḳ and Teke as descendants of the Salur Toi-Tutmas (transl Tumanskiy, p. 67) From certain passages in Abu 'l-Ghāzī's great work (see Index in Desmaisons' edition) it is evident that the Teke in the xth (xvith) century and xith (xviith) century lived on the Balkhān [q. v.] and Küren-Dagh There were also traders in this nomad tribe (*op. cit*, p 324: *sawdāgar*)

Towards the end of the xviiith century the Teke began to move eastwards, where they gradually displaced the Emreli (descendants of the old tribe of Emur) and the Ḳaradashlï (descendants of the old tribe of Yazghïr or Yazïr) from the Akhal [see Ākhāl-tekke] and the Saiïḳ from Sarakhs [q v] and Merw The final occupation of Merw by the Teke did not take place till 1857 and 1859 under Ḳowshut-Khān (d. 1878); in the fighting with him in 1855 the Khān of Khīwa (see Khwārizm) was killed at Sarakhs and in 1860 the Persians were defeated at Merw.

After the establishment of the Russians on the Balkhān (foundation of Krasnovodsk in 1869) the Teke had to be conquered. Fighting began in 1877 (occupation of Kïzïl-Arwat by the Russians and the attack by the Teke on Čikishlar and Krasnovodsk itself in 1878) and was only ended in 1884 by the conquest of Merw, although the whole tribe of the Teke according to the Russian calculations only numbered about 300,000 and did not form a single political unit. There were a large number of separate leaders who claimed the title of Khān; but even those among them who distinguished themselves by personal ability or valour (in addition to Ḳowshut-Khān, especially Nūr Werdi Khān who died in 1880 in Gok-Tepe) could only influence a small section of the tribe. The fighting during the siege and storming of Gok-Tepe (Jan. 12—24, 1881) was particularly bitter. This was the only fighting in Central Asia in which the Russians lost standards and guns.

Since the establishment of Russian rule, more especially since the revolution, the various tribal names included that of Teke have lost their special significance before the general term "Turkoman".

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TEKE-ELI, a district in Asia Minor, formerly the land of the Teke-oghlu [q v.], in Pamphylia and Lycia

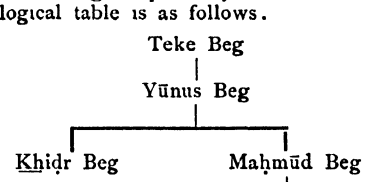
Teke-eli, i. e land of the goat (*teke* = goat, not *tekke*, from which we find the name erroneously derived as early as J Leunclavius), lies in Southern Anatolia and comprises roughly the land around Finika, Elmalï, Istanoz, Istawros and the two ports of Adalia [q. v.] and ʿAlāʾya [q. v] In the north, Teke-eli was bounded by the districts of Karaman [q v], Ḥamīd-eli [q v], in the east by Ič-eli, in the west by Menteshe-eli [q v.] In the south the sea forms the natural frontier The early history of Teke-eli, like that of the petty dynasty of the Teke-oghlu, is rather obscure. Connections with Persia must have existed very early and it is to them that must be traced the peculiar position of this country from the religious point of view A certain Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn had formed a strong religious community there, which was spared by Tīmūr in his campaign through Asia Minor Teke-eli and the adjoining country of Ḥamīd-eli from this time onwards has been particularly partial to „Persian Shaikhs" (cf. F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Dīn*, p 85 *sq*; cf. also J v Hammer, *G. O. R*, ii. 344 for Djanābī's evidence). It is a fact that many ʿAlid risings have taken place in Teke-eli, as for example that strange rebellion of Baba Shāh Ḳulï of Bazardjik (near Adalia, cf. F Babinger, *op. cit*, p 88 *sq*) in April 1510, which was closely connected with Ṣafawī rule [q v] in Persia, and Teke-eli is inhabited by ʿAlid sectarians like the Takhtadjïs [q. v] whose position is peculiar in several respects. In the history of the trade of the Levant, the ports of Adalia and ʿAlaʾya play a prominent part In the ninth (fifteenth) century they were the most important centres for the export of the products of Asia Minor to Alexandria and Damietta; Adalia was able to maintain its independence till 1450 while ʿAlāʾya did not pass to the Ottomans till 1472. On the history of Teke-eli cf. the article Teke-oghlu.

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TEKE-OGHLU, a dynasty in Anatolia, which ruled over Teke-eli [q v.].

The origin of the Teke-oghlu has not yet been elucidated. It is more than probable that they

are connected with the Teke Turkomans just as the Dhu 'l-Ḳādir-oghlu [q. v.] are presumably to be connected with the Ṭorghudlus (cf *Islām*, xii 102) The history of the Turkoman tribes scattered over Asia Minor who included also the Warsaḳ (the Βαρσάκιδες of Chalkondyles, p. 243) is wrapped in obscurity As to the Teke Turkomans, they are known to have frequently changed their place of settlement (cf. J. v. Karabaček, *Zur or. Altertumskunde*, iv.: *Muhammed. Kunststudien*, in the *S B. Ak. Wien*, vol. 172, *Abhandl.* 1, Vienna 1913, p 32 *sq*); they belonged to the Ḳïzïlbash, who were known to have been disseminated over Tekeeli. The ancestor of the Teke-oghlu is given as a somewhat legendary Teke Beg, also called Teke Pasha, who ruled over Adalia under Saldjuḳ suzerainty His son Yūnus Beg succeeded him but nothing is known of his reign. When in 733 (1333) Ibn Baṭṭūta travelled through Adalia, he found Yūnus' son Khiḍr Beg ruling as chief of Teke-eli (cf. ḤAMID) He was succeeded by his brother Mahmūd Beg, about whose reign we are no better informed In 774 (1372) we already find his son Meḥemmed Beg in his place (cf Sulaimān Fikrī, *Antāliya Ta'rïkhi*, p 62) Ewliyā Celebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāhet-nāme*, cf. *T.O E M*, N°. 2 [79], p. 81) mentions an Arabic inscription of 774 (1372) dating from him Otherwise we know practically nothing of Meḥemmed Beg's activities In 794 (1392) Sultān Bāyazīd I Yïldïrïm put an end to the principality of Teke-eli and incorporated it in the Ottoman empire (cf. Sa'd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārïkh*, i 128 *sq*) Ottoman rule only lasted till 805 (1402) when a son of Mehemmed Beg named ʿOthmān Čelebi appears as ruler. Two years later he made an alliance with several other rulers who had meanwhile risen to power. Twenty years afterwards (827 = 1424) ʿOthmān Čelebi again appears in history, when he was defeated and slain at the siege of Adalia by the Ottoman governor of Karaḥiṣār-Ṣāḥib [q v], Ḥamza b. Firūz Beg (cf. Ṣolaḳ-zāde, *Ta'rïkh*, p. 155 *sqq*, J. v Hammer, *G. O R.*, i 425) A sister of ʿOthmān Čelebi passed into Ottoman captivity; cf J. v Hammer, *G. O. R*, i. 425. With her the line of the Teke-oghlu probably became extinct Its genealogical table is as follows.



The Tekke-oghlu *Derebeys* [q. v.] mentioned by European travellers in the region of Adalia as late as the reign of Maḥmūd II can hardly be connected with the dynasty of the name, on them, see F. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p 118 *sqq.*; W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London 1820, iii. 386; C. R. Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant*, London 1903, p. 182 and V Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i. 860

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(FRANZ BABINGER)

TEḲÏ-KHĀN, Mïrzā, better known by his title of Amïr-i Niẓām, prime minister of Persia. Of humble origin (his father was cook and later maître d'hotel to the ḳā'immaḳām, prime minister to Muḥammad Shāh), he entered the service of the commander-in-chief of the army and accompanied Khusraw Mïrzā on his embassy to St. Petersburg By rapid promotion he became vizier of the army in Ādharbāidjān, representative of Persia on the frontier commission of Erzerūm, and chief officer of the heir presumptive, Nāṣir al-Dīn, who appointed him prime minister when he came to the throne in 1848 He refused the title of Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam [q v] and took that of Amïr-i Niẓām.

He undertook to remedy the abuses which were ruining the country, such as the sale of the public taxes, the enormous number of pensions given to unworthy individuals, the embezzlement of public funds practised by officers at the expense of the soldiers He succeeded in putting the finances of the state on a sound footing. He became brother-in-law of the Shāh

He had made many enemies and a conspiracy was made to assassinate him, but it was discovered in time He persecuted the Bābī movement, arrested the principal followers of the new teaching and ordered the officers of state to proceed with their execution. The soldiers regularly paid were devoted to their chief, this state of affairs disturbed Nāṣir al-Dīn who dismissed Teḳï-Khān. The Russian minister having said the Czar would protect him, he was exiled to Kāshān but assassinated two months later in his palace at Fïn (1851). The loss of this able and energetic man was a great misfortune for Persia

Bibliography: de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, p 238 *sqq*, E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924; P M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. 441, 442, 448, 449, Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii. 6 *sqq*.

(CL. HUART)

TEKUDER (the name is also written Tagudar and Teguder in learned works), as a Muslim called Aḥmad (e. g. on his coins with inscriptions in the Mongol alphabet and language), a Mongol ruler (Īlkhān, q v.) of Persia, 681—683 = 1282—1284. On his brother and predecessor see ABĀḲĀ, on his fall and successor see ARGHŪN Tekuder is said to have been baptised in his youth with the name Nicolas (*Moshemii Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Helmstedt 1741, p 71) Immediately after his accession, his conversion to Islām was announced. According to some sources he turned churches and temples of idolators into mosques; on the other hand, Bar Hebraeus says he was tolerant of all creeds, especially the Christian. His adoption of Islām was taken as a basis for negotiations with Egypt for the establishment of friendly relations between the two kingdoms; cf. the letter of the Īlkhān of the middle of Djumādā I 681 (Aug 1282) and the reply of the Sultān of Ramaḍān (December) of the same year, in d'Ohsson from Wassāf. During these negotiations, however, two fortresses in the frontier lands of the Mongol empire were occupied by Egyptian troops.

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(W Barthold)

TELL, a term applied by the European geographers to the district of north Africa lying near to and along the sea-coast It is the Arabic word *tell* "hill". The Tell area is an undulating region covered with ranges of hills belonging for the most part to the Atlas system interspersed with plateaus of varying extent and height. As a result of the beneficent effect of the moist winds from the Ocean and the Mediterranean, the Tell is the best watered region in North Africa It is the land of systematic agriculture and forests in contrast to the desert and prairie. As a result of the arrangement of the hills of North Africa, the Tell zone is by no means uniform in breadth, very broad on the Atlantic side of Morocco, it is reduced to a very narrow strip in Algeria and Tunisia Cf. the articles. ALGERIA, ATLAS, BERBERS, MOROCCO, TUNISIA

(G Yver)

TELL AL-ʿAMARNA, site on the right bank of the Nile, opposite the little town of Mallawī, in the province of Minya. The distance between the Nile and the mountains (here called Djabal al-Shaikh Saʿīd) is about 3 miles, while to the north and the south the mountains come close to the river, leaving an area of about 5 miles in length One of the villages situated here is called al-Tell (or al-Till), Tell al-ʿAmarna seems to be a "European concoction" (Flinders Petrie) and is properly Tell al-ʿAmārina, from the tribe of the Banū ʿImrān (or ʿAmrān), who live here and on the opposite bank of the Nile The site is famous for having been, during 20 or 30 years, the residence of Amenophis IV, to which he retired from Thebes after having instituted the worship of the sun-disk, his town was called Ekhet-Aton As the place never was a town again, the remains have been preserved in rather good condition. Excavations have been conducted since 1888 by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and, after the war, by the Egyptian Exploration Society Of particular importance were a large number of clay tablets, found in the "Rolls House" to the east of the town, and containing in cuneiform script the correspondence of Asiatic rulers with the Egyptian king. These tablets are for the greater part in the Berlin Museum.

The antiquities of Tell al-ʿAmarna seem to have been scarcely known to the Arab writers. To the north lay the now nearly deserted town of Anṣinā (Antinoou) and, on the other side of the Nile, al-Ashmūnain; Ibn Hawḳal (p. 105) and Yāḳūt (i. 670) know a place called Būṣīr lying opposite this last town, but do not give further indications. Quatremère identifies al-Tell with the place Psinaula, where, in Roman times, there was a garrison (cf also *Description de l'Egypte*, 2nd ed., Paris 1829, vol. xviii/iii, p. 100)

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(J. H. Kramers)

TELL BĀSHIR, a fortress in Northern Syria, on the Nahr Sādjūr near ʿAintāb, two days' journey north of Aleppo It lies in a broad plain and according to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ was mainly inhabited by Armenian Christians, the Armenians explained its name Tʿlpashar as a translation of the Armenian Tʿil Aveteac, i. e "hill of the glad tidings (*avetikʿ*)" which it formerly bore (Matthēos Uihayecʿi, ed. Dulaurier, p. 330, 433 *sq.*). It had markets and a suburb (probably the modern Tell Bāshir Mezraʿasī S E of the fortress) and was surrounded by well watered gardens

The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times as Til Baserê (Salmanassar, *Monolith*, rev., l. 17, Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, p 468); on the other hand it has no connection with the hill Bishrī nor with the Biblical Telassar (Sayce, *P S B A*, xxxiii. 175, Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p 464) Its name is not mentioned in classical antiquity, but the Tabula Peutingeriana mentions a *Thalbasaris* 15 Roman miles from Tigranocerta (Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak W.*, 1880, Berlin 1881, Abh ii, p 53, Markwart, *Handēs Amsōreah*, xxx, 1916, col 118 *sq*)

Arab authors do not seem to mention Tell Bāshir before the Crusades In 489 (1095—1096) Ridwān in alliance with Djanāh al-Dawla took from Yaghī Shaʿbān of Antākiya the fortresses of Tell Bashir and Shīh al-Dair (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. de Sacy, in Rohricht, *Beitr z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzuge*, i, Berlin 1874, p 216) In 1097 Tell Bāshir and Rāwandān were taken by Count Baldwin of Bourg, Godfrey's brother, and made part of the county of Edessa (Matthēos, *op cit*, p. 218, ch clv). In 1102 Baldwin gave the towns of Kūrus (*Coritium*), Dulūk (*Tulupa*), Tell Bāshir (*Turbessel*), ʿAintāb (*Hatab*), Rāwandān (*Rauendel*) and Sumaisāt (*Samosatum*) to his nephew Joscelin de Courtenay as fiefs (*Recueil hist or croix*, iii 623, Will. of Tyre, x. 24; Rohricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr Jerusal*, p 49, note 8) In 496 (1102—1103) the Franks moved from Tell Bāshir to the district of Halab, took Basaifāt and were only repulsed at Kafarlathā by the Banī Ulaim (Kamāl al-Dīn in Rohricht, *Beitr*, i. 231). After the defeat at Ḥarrān in which Joscelin was captured by the enemy, his companions from Tell Bāshir went into captivity as hostages for him after a ransom had been fixed and he had been released to procure it (Michael Syrus, iii 195, somewhat different in Frankish sources, cf Rohricht, *Gesch d. Kgr Jerus*, p. 75, note 3) In 502 (1108—1109) Joscelin along with his uncle Baldwin (Baghduwīn) and Djāwalī, with Tell Bāshir as his base, fought Tancred (Tankrī) of Antioch allied with Ridwān (*Rec. hist or. croix*, i 266, Matthēos, *op cit*, p 267; Rohricht, *op cit*, p. 75 *sq*) A large Turkish army sent by Sultān Muḥammad under the Amīr Mawdūd of Mawsil, who appeared with the lords of Khilāt, Maiāgha etc. in 504 (1111) before Tell Bāshir, besieged it for $1^1/_2$ months in vain (*Rec hist or. croix*, i. 282, 287, iii. 496, 542 *sq*, 599 *sq.*; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Michael Syrus, iii. 216; Rohricht, *op cit*, p. 90 *sqq*)

Ilghāzī at the end of May 1120 after being defeated by Joscelin between Kaisūm and Bahasnā advanced against Tell Bāshir, which he besieged for several days without success (*Rec. hist. or. croix*, iii 623 *sq*, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annal Musl*, ed. Reiske, iii 396) In the following years the Halabīs were often harassed by raids from Tell

Bāshir (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rec. hist. or. crois*, iii. 625 *sq*, 634). In 1124 Nūr al-Dawla Balak was planning a campaign against Tell Bāshir, but he was mortally wounded before Manbidj [q. v.]. A note, not quite clear in Michael Syrus, iii. 211, seems to say, which is incorrect, that he took Tell Bāshir and three other fortresses from the Arabs and Franks. Joscelin I died towards the end of 1131 (Michael Syrus, iii. 232) He was succeeded by his son Joscelin II of Edessa, whose mother was a daughter of Leo I of Little Armenia Unlike his valiant father, he was from youth upwards given to drinking and debauchery and spent his time in his palace in Tell Bāshir in riotous living (Will of Tyre, xiv. 3. *commessationibus supra modum deditus, Veneris operibus et armis deserviens immunditiis, usque ad infamiae notam*) The region of Tell Bashir had therefore soon to suffer repeated raids by Saif al-Dīn Sawār of Ḥalab (*Rec hist. or crois.*, iii. 665; Michael Syrus, iii. 230, 233, Rohricht, *op. cit*, p. 197 *sq.*). The Emperor John II Comnenos invaded Northern Syria in 1142 and appeared before Tell Bāshir (Will. of Tyre, xv. 19 *Turbessel, est autem praedictus locus castrum opulentissimum circa Euphraten, ab eo distans milliaribus XXIV vel modicum amplius*), Joscelin II had to give hostages and gave him his daughter Isabella to wife (Will of Tyre, *loc. cit.*).

The raids of the Saldjūk Sulṭān Mas'ūd (Michael Syrus, iii 294—296, Rohricht, p 263, note 1) and his ally Nūr al-Dīn who defeated the Franks at Tell Bāshir in 546 (1151—1152) (*Rec hist. or. crois.*, iv. 16, 68) still further weakened Joscelin's power. When, in May 1150, he was taken prisoner and interned in Halab, Mas'ūd who had already attacked Tell Bāshir in the previous year (Matthēos, *op. cit*, p 330, Michael Syrus, iii 296) took the fortresses of Kaisūm, Bahasnā and Ra'bān, but could not take Tell Bāshir (Matthēos, p. 333; Micheal Syrus, iii. 296 *sq.*; Will. of Tyre, xvii, ch 15, Rohricht, p. 265 *sq.*) After he had withdrawn, the king of Jerusalem came to Tell Bāshir and brought the wife and children of Joscelin including the young Joscelin III from there to Jerusalem to safety In Tell Bāshir, 'Azāz, al-Rāwandān, Rūm Kal'a, al-Bīra and Sumaisāṭ, he left garrisons of Byzantine soldiers, whom he had brought with him, but they could not restore the Franks (Michael Syrus, iii. 297; Will. of Tyre, xvii. 16) The garrison of Tell Bāshir by the 25th Rabī' I 546 (July 8, 1151) found themselves forced, after the fall of Dulūk to offer the keys of their town to Nūr al-Dīn, who appointed Hassān al-Manbidjī to receive their capitulation (*Rec hist. or. crois.*, i. 29, 31, 497, iv. 73 *sq.*, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, iii 516; Matthēos, *op. cit.*, p. 333, Michael Syrus, iii. 297). The Franks and Armenians were granted liberty to go to Antākiya (Matthēos, p 333; Rohricht, p 281, note 2, where mention is wrongly made of an 18 months' siege of the fortress). Nūr al-Dīn handed Tell Bāshir over to Ḥassān who restored its defences and provided it with provisions for several years (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 498). On 12th Shawwāl 565 (June 28, 1170) Nūr al-Dīn went from 'Ashtarā via Ḥalab and Tell Bāshir to Mawṣil (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iv. 150). The emirs of 'Aintāb, Tell Bāshir and other places in northern Syria submitted in 1176 to Saladin (Michael Syrus, iii. 366). In his retinue before 'Akkā was the Amīr Badr al-Dīn Duldirim b. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Yārūkī of Tell Bāshir, who had successfully defended the stronghold in 579 (1183) against 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (*Rec. hist. or. crois*, iii. 71). In his pursuit of Ibn al-Muḳaddam, who had fled to Badr al-Dīn in Tell Bāshir, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir in 599 (1202—1203) took the fortress (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, v., 1897, p. 38) but lost it again (*R. O. L.*, v. 59). Badr al-Dīn was still ruling there in 615 (1218—1219) when Kaikā'ūs of Rūm took the fortress (*R.O.L.*, v. 57; *Rec hist. or crois*, ii/1. 145). In the very same year al-Malik al-Ashraf again took Tell Bāshir from the Saldjūk Sulṭān and gave it with other places to Shihāb al-Dīn Tughril, Atābek of the young prince of Ḥalab (*R. O. L*, v. 57; *Rec. hist. or. crois*, ii/1 146 *sq.*; v. 166; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Muslem*, ed. Reiske, iv 266). Al-Malik al-'Azīz of Halab in 629 (1231—1232) seized the fortress and installed a governor in it and deposed the *nā'ibs* of his Atābek Shihāb al-Dīn (*R.O.L.*, v. 82).

The Khwārizmians in 638 (1240—1241) attacked 'Azāz, Tell Bāshir and Burdj al-Raṣṣās (*R O L*, vi. 5).

The ruler of Halab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, sent in 646 (1248—1249) a force under the leadership of the Armenian Shams al-Dīn Lūlū against Ḥimṣ, the Amīr of which, al-Malik al-Ashraf, was forced after a two months' siege to surrender his town and was given Tell Bāshir instead of it (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit*, iv. 494) In 658 (1260) al-Malik al-Ashraf of Tell Bāshir paid homage in Ḥalab to Hūlāgū who thereafter gave him back Ḥimṣ (Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit*, iv. 585, Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv 13)

Sultān. Baibars is said to have destroyed the fortress of Tell Bāshir (Ibn al-Shihna, Beirūt ed., p. 170).

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TELL AL-KEBĪR, a village in the Egyptian Delta, with a station on the Cairo–Zakāzīk–Ismā'īlīya-Suez line, about 30 km. distant from Zakāzīk, 50 from Ismā'īlīya. The station is some distance from the village on the north bank of the Ismā'īlīya Canal. A market is held every Thursday. The Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood

are the Ḥanadī, the Nafaʿāt and the Ṭūmīlāt. Wide stretches of sand-dunes and undulating desert land extend north and south of the Wādī, with traces of ancient fortifications and the mounds of buried cities. In the depression here, known as the Wādī Ṭūmīlāt through which flows the fresh-water canal, rich agricultural land is to be found The province (*mudīrīya*) is al-Sharḳīya; the district (*markaz*) Zaḳāzīḳ It is a police outpost. The inhabitants, as given by Boinet Bey, are 3,194, being the population of 3 *ezbehs* and 5 *kafrs*. There are 4 *zāwiyas* and 3 *kuttābs*. In modern times the place achieved fame as a result of the short but fierce encounter in 1882 between the British under Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Egyptians under ʿArabī Pasha A small graveyard with the names of British soldiers who fell in the fight may still be seen.

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(J WALKER)

TELLOH, a site in ʿIrāḳ, consisting of a number of artificial mounds, covering an extent of 4—5 miles It is situated on the eastern side of the Shaṭt al-Hayy, which links the Tigris to the Euphrates, at 8—10 hours from Nāsiriya Here the French consul in Baṣra, Ernest de Sarzec, discovered in 1877 archæological remains. Under his guidance excavations were begun in 1880, as a result of which the site proved to be that of the Sumerian town of Lagash or Sirpurla The greater part of the material excavated — including numerous statues of Gudea — was placed in the Louvre in Paris After de Sarzec's death, in 1901, the excavations were continued by Cros.

Telloh is a local name, containing no doubt the word "tell". According to Schefer, the name may perhaps be derived from Tell al-Lawḥ, "tablet-hill".

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(J H. KRAMERS)

TEMUČIN. [See ČINGIZ-KHĀN.]

TENES, a town in Algeria on the coast, 125 miles from Algiers, 100 miles E. of Mostaganem and 35 N. of Orleans, a town in the valley of the Chelif; its position is 36° 30′ 50″ N. Lat. 1° 18′ E. Long (Greenwich). The town is built on a rocky plateau commanding the sea, the harbour lies below in a bay sheltered from the east winds by the bulk of Cape Tenes, but unprotected against the north and west which makes the anchorage unsafe in spite of the considerable work done to secure the protection of ships. Trade is confined to coastal traffic and the total of merchandise handled in the port hardly exceeds 19 to 20,000 tons per annum. A railway recently opened to connect Tenes with the valley of the Chelif will probably increase the trade of the port. Two miles south of the European town is a native village, with about 1200 inhabitants, called Old Tenes. It is built on a plateau along which runs on the east like a natural fosse, the Wād Allala. Tenes is a commune de plein exercice with 6,207 inhabitants of whom 4,620 are natives; it is also the capital of a mixed commune with 51,959 inhabitants of whom 50,728 are natives.

History. The modern town occupies the site of Cartennae, a Phoenician and Carthaginian factory which became a Roman colony under the Empire. Sacked by the Vandals, then by the Arabs, Cartennae disappeared almost completely In the time of al-Bakrī, all that was left was a castle built on the shore and at the present day only insignificant traces of it have been found (remains of ramparts, cisterns and tombs). In the IIIrd (IXth) century a new town was built two miles from the sea by adventurers from Spain This is the modern Tenes. Al-Bakrī dates its foundation to 262 (875—876) and attributes it to Spanish sailors who used to winter in the port. They invited thither people from Elvira and Marice some of whom, dismayed by the fevers, soon went back to the Peninsula, the others remained in Africa and were reinforced by Berbers from Sūḳ Ibrāhīm, a place in the valley of the Chelif The primitive settlement of these immigrants, who were at first content to encamp in the fortress built by the Spanish Moors, gave place to a town surrounded by walls with a mosque and bazaars. Traces of it still survive in Old Tenes where a part of the ramparts still exists, a bridge and notably the mosque mentioned by al-Bakrī. In spite of the unhealthiness of the climate, Tenes rapidly prospered owing to the fertility of the environs which produced in abundance fruits of all sorts and cereals which, according to Idrīsī were exported abroad. Governed by a family of ʿAlid origin, Tenes recognised the suzerainty of the Omaiyads of Spain, who seem to have regarded this town as a place to which to deport any one they had reason to complain of. From the IVth (Xth) century the town passed in turn under the dynasties who disputed the possession of the Central Maghrib Fāṭimids, Ṣanhādja, Maghrāwa, Almoravids and Almohads After the dismemberment of the Almohad empire, it passed to the Ziyānids of Tlemcen, then in the second half of the XVth century threw off this yoke and formed an independent little principality ruled at first by members of the royal family, then by local shaikhs, the last of whom became a vassal of Spain ʿArūdj [q.v.] took it in 1517 and a few years later Khair al-Dīn [q v.] definitely established Turkish power there Tenes was given a *ḳāʾid* and a garrison Henceforth its prosperity declined rapidly. The trade in corn with Europe which still went on in the XVIth—XVIIth centuries completely ceased in the early years of the XVIIIth century. The town was several times pillaged by the natives and rebelled against the Turks.

After 1830, Tenes was for a period independent ʿAbd al-Ḳādir who had incorporated this town in his possessions, tried without success to revive the trade of the port In 1843 the inhabitants submitted without resistance to the French. Bugraud at once began to erect buildings intended to facilitate the provision of supplies for the troops operating in the valley of the Chelif This was the origin of the present town.

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(G YVER)

TEPTYAR, a Turkish people who call themselves Tıpter or Bashkurt. According to Vambéry, the name is derived from a verb *tepte* "to roam" and means "rovers"; in Radloff's *Worterbuch* (III. 1114) no such verb is mentioned and the word *tepter* only quoted as the "name of a tribe in the gouvernement of Orenburg". In Russian documents of the XVIIIth century the word *tepter* is frequently associated with the word *bobïl'*, which is of course not a tribal name but means "peasant without land and family" According to Karamzin (vol. I., note 73), the Tepter were a mixed people composed of Ceremiss, Votyaks, Čuwash and Tatars, who had fled in the XVIth century after the fall of the kingdom of Ḳazān [q. v.] to the Bashkirs [cf BASDJIRT]. According to the modern view, the Tepter are a mixed people in which the Bashkir element predominates, but other elements from the Volga and Ural territory are represented. Their language is Bashkır. The Tepter took no part in the great Bashkir rising of the year 1755 At the present day, the Tepter live mainly in the gouvernement of Orenburg and also in the former gouvernements of Ufa and Perm, their territory belongs to the autonomous Bashkir republic; they engage in agriculture and bee-rearing Their numbers still are about 300,000, the figure given in older accounts According to Vambéry there were beside Muslims, pagans among them and more recently also Christians. At the present day the Tepter are all regarded as Sunnīs.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

TERDJUMĀN, turkicised form of the Arabic *tardjamān* (cf Muhammad Hafīd, *al-Ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra*, p 110) meaning an interpreter The word is of Aramaic origin and early entered the Arabic language. Interpreters must have always played an important part in the commercial and diplomatical relations of Islāmic states with foreign peoples, but their activity begins to enter into clearer historical light only in the VIth (XIIth) century, from that time date the earliest known treaties between Christian towns or states and Muslim rulers of the countries around the Mediterranean. From the treaties with the states in Northern Africa, as published and studied by de Mas Latrie, it appears, that the "torcimani" (for the other numerous Latin and Romance forms in that time cf. de Mas Latrie, *Introduction*, p. 189 *sqq*) were an indispensable class of functionaries in the commercial chancelleries, called "douane" (from *dīwān*), that existed in the sea-ports accessible to foreign trade. Nearly all commercial transactions took place through the intermediary of these interpreters, who often formed a kind of hierarchy; evidence given by them was accepted everywhere. Special duties were levied on merchandise negociated through their intermediary These interpreters were originally appointed by the local authority; they were Muslims, Christians or Jews; in certain places a particular interpreter was charged with the interests of each foreign nation. Some of these functionaries had to be present at the still more important business of concluding treaties and, when needed, of interpreting treaties, when there were difficulties concerning the text. In these cases the name of the interpreter was specially mentioned in the text of the treaty. It appears likewise from those texts, that some of them were especially attached to the local ruler. The existence of interpreters in Syria is also mentioned by the French sources on the Crusades.

Under the Ottoman Empire the position and the function of the interpreters in the different administrations remained practically the same as it had been in former centuries. But, as commercial and diplomatic relations became more frequent and more important in time, the need of good and reliable interpreters increased and so we find more and more mention of them in historical sources. The most common name for them in European sources is the Italian form "drogman" or "dragoman", at the side of which the French "truchement" remained a long time in use. In the many Turkish sea-ports all the Turkish government offices had their dragomans, as was also the case with the consulates of foreign nations that were established there The position of the dragomans in the capital was naturally more important, the foreign embassies had many in their service.

The most important post was, however, that of dragoman to the Turkish government. As a special office, it was perhaps already in existence under Muhammad II, but the first dragoman to the Porte, who is mentioned was the *ṣu bashī* ʿAlī Beg, who brought the peace treaty of 1502 to Venice After him came Yūnus Beg, who died in 948 (1541—1542) and went often as emissary to Venice; he was the builder of a mosque in Constantinople called Durughmān Masdjidi (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, IV. 677; *Hadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, N°. 226). Yūnus Beg was a Greek and his successor Aḥmad was originally a German from Vienna called Heinz Tulman. Another dragoman in the service of the Porte in the XVIth century was Murād Beg, a Hungarian who was captured in the battle of Mohács, and known as the author of an apologetical treatise on Islām and especially of a trilingual hymn in Turkish, Latin and Hungarian (published by F Babinger, in *Literaturdenkmaler aus Ungarns Turkenzeit*, Berlin 1927; cf. also p. 38 *sqq*. of this book for historical data about the dragomans of the Porte) About this time there probably were already several dragomans in the service of the Porte, one of whom was the *bash terdjumān*, they were almost without exception Christians (Greeks, Germans, Italians) As the foreign relations between the Ottoman Empire became more important and more complicated, the influence of the interpreters of the Porte increased, until, in the XVIIIth century, the position of dragoman of the Porte became almost hereditary in the powerful Greek families of Mavrogordato and Ghika; it became the custom that, after having occupied the office of dragoman, they were appointed as prince of one of the Danube principalities. As it was still a rare exception, at this time, for Turks themselves to know European languages, the influence of these mediators on the foreign policy was necessarily very strong; on the other hand executions of former chief interpreters were not rare. It was only under the reign of Maḥmūd II that, together with the increased importance of the activity of the Reʾīs Efendi [q. v.], the Turkish government was able to liberate itself from the help of these not overtrustworthy ser-

vants. A special study of the role played by the Porte dragomans on Ottoman policy has not yet been made. An incomplete list of them is given by von Hammer, *G. O R.*, vii. 627.

The dragomans of the embassies and consulates were often no less powerful international mediators. They generally belonged to the same class of people, i.e. local Christians, as those in Turkish service. The treaties or capitulations and also the diploma's (*berāt*) granted to them by the sultan, guaranteed them the protection of the nation which they served in the consulate or the embassy One of their special functions, which is expressly mentioned in the capitulations, derives from the right of the consuls to be represented by their dragomans in the processes before Turkish tribunals, in which their subjects were involved This function had developed very naturally from the part played by the dragomans since the middle ages. As, however, since the xviiith century, the influence of European Powers and their representatives in Turkey became preponderant, the interference in Turkish affairs, exercised by the dragomans, became insupportable to the Porte; moreover the consulates made a too extensive use of their right to appoint Turkish subjects as dragomans, withdrawing them thereby from the authority of their government. As a result of the remonstrances of the Porte, an agreement with the foreign missions was reached in 1863, by which the power of the embassies and consulates to appoint native dragomans was restricted About this time, most of the European governments had begun, however, to create a special interpreter service from their own subjects, for which a proper training was required In the second half of the xixth century and the beginning of the xxth century, the chief dragomans in the embassies of the great powers at Constantinople were still the acknowledged authorities for conducting negotiations of all kinds with the Porte, especially with regard to the interpretation of the capitulations and the application of the special extra-territorial rights derived from those treaties When, however, in 1914 the Turkish Government abolished the capitulations, it refused at the same time to recognise foreign diplomatic or consular functionaries with the title of dragoman Accordingly the title is no longer officially used in Turkey.

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TERDJUMĀN, in the terminology of Turkish mystics, has two meanings.

1. a member of a tarīḳa, who accompanies a neophyte of the order during his initiation, as a spiritual interpreter When a *murīd* is initiated in the Bektāshī ṭarīḳa, he is led by two terdjumāns into the presence of the Shaikh and eleven other persons representing the eleven *imāms*. During the ceremony the terdjumāns guide him and say for him the formulas he has to recite (cf. J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927, p. 206 *sqq.*).

The function of these terdjumāns is analogous to that of a certain class of functionaries in the organisation of Islāmic guilds, after the Futūwa-books, who are called *nakīb*, but also *tardjumān al-lisān* or *tardjumān al-ḳadam*. During the ceremony of the reception of a new member in the guild, these terdjumāns play a similar part to those mentioned with the Bektāshīs (cf. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, p. 106 *sqq.*)

2 With the Bektāshīs, terdjumān means also a prayer Only special prayers, recited at special occasions, are called terdjumān. It is also said to be the name of the secret word or phrase of the Bektāshīs (cf Brown, *The Darvishes*, p. 180, 199).

(J. H KRAMERS)

TEREK, a large river in the Caucasus (length about 300 miles, breadth in some places up to 500 yards) In its upper course it is a mountain torrent and even in its lower course so swift that navigation is impossible upon it.

During the golden period of Arabic geographical knowledge (ivth = xth century) the land of Terek must have belonged to the kingdom of the Khazar [q v] This portion of the Khazar dominions is not described by Arab geographers and the Terek not mentioned The name seems to appear for the first time in the history of the fighting between Berke [q v] and Hūlāgū [q v.] at the beginning of 661 (Nov.—Dec. 1262) in Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, p 394) Hamd Allāh Kazwīnī (*G. M S*, xxiii 259) mentions the Terek (in Le Strange's translation, p 250 Turk) along with the Stil (Volga) as a river in Dashṭ-i Ḳipčak [cf. ḲIPČAḲ] The land of the Terek at that time belonged to the kingdom of the Golden Horde and probably adopted Islām at the same time as the latter in the viiith (xivth) century A few years after the conquest of Astrakhān [q. v] in 1554, Russian Cossacks began to appear on the Terek and formed the "Terskish Cossack army" (*Terskoe kazačye voisko*); at first independent of Moscow it was afterwards incorporated in the Russian empire For the political life of the Muslim world, the Terek lands have never been of great importance; even the fortress of Ḳizlar on the north bank of the Terek was, in spite of its Turkish name, built by the Russians in 1735.

Bibliography. In addition to the works quoted in the text see E Weidenbaum, *Pudevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888

(W. BARTHOLD)

TERNATE, a small volcanic island, west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. From the administrative point of view, it forms with several other small islands and groups of islands a subdivision of the residency of Ternate in the gouvernement of the Moluccas. Only a part of the island is directly under the rule of the Dutch East Indian government, the other part belongs to the autonomous district of Ternate, which includes several portions of Halmahera, the Sulu Archipelago and some other islands. From early times the trade in spices has brought many foreigners to these islands; the population, especially that of the area under the gouvernement, is therefore much mixed; the main element shows a strong resemblance to the native population of northern Halmahera. The standard of living is

not high, partly because the natives are not fond of work; they live mainly by fishing and a primitive agriculture The language, Ternatan, is the *lingua franca* of the Molucca Archipelago; it belongs to the (non-Indonesian) north Halmahera group of languages and is a rather degenerate specimen of it

The early history of these regions is little known. In the period when our knowledge begins to increase, the north-east corner of the archipelago was divided into 4 kingdoms: Ternate (then called Gapi), Djailolo, Tidore and Batjan. There must have been some connection between these kingdoms (tradition traces them back to one single kingdom) But they seem to have been continually at war with one another. Djailolo originally had a certain predominance but had later to give way to Ternate; and especially in the xvth and xvith century Ternate showed a great desire to extend its power. We have very little, and that unreliable, information as to the time and manner in which Islām spread here. According to one tradition, a Javanese merchant named Ḥusain (or Dato Mawlā Husain) preached Islām in Ternate as early as the reign of Kaitjil Gapi Baguna (also called Maihūm) in 1465—86 and he is even said to have been successful in converting this ruler In native chronicles, however, this king is not numbered among the Muslim rulers, the series of whom begins with his son Zain al-ʿĀbidīn (1486—1495 ?) who was also the first to replace the old title *Kolano* by that of Sultān Under him the whole population is said to have been converted to Islām, we are also told that he made a journey to Java in order to be more accurately instructed at Giri in the principles of Islām. Islām is now found here in the same form as in other parts of Indonesia; several old pagan customs still exist but the principal precepts of Islām are followed with comparative fidelity, especially at the courts There is no fanaticism

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to conclude a treaty with Ternate (beg of the xvith cent), when in the beginning of the xviith century the Dutch appeared in the Moluccas, an unceasing struggle began between them and the Spaniards and Portuguese, in 1683 Ternate recognised the sovereignty of the Dutch East India Company. In 1915 the reigning Sultān was deprived of his throne for his disloyal attitude; since then the autonomous area has been governed by a council of notables.

Bibliography A full account of Ternate is given in T. S A de Clercq, *Bydragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate*, Leyden 1890; see also. *Legende en geschiedenis van Ternate*, in *Tydschrift van het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, li. 310 (W. H. Rassers)

TESHRĪN, the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. It is found as early as the Palmyrene inscriptions and there means only one month, namely the first (in the Jewish calendar, the seventh) while the next was called Kānūn [q v]. In the calendar of the Syriac church however, we find this name applied to two months, the third and fourth Syrian = ninth and tenth Jewish, Kislēw and Ṭēbhēth, while the original Kānūn was replaced by a second Teshrīn month. As a stage in the development of the four first Syriac names of months from four different to two pairs A. v Gutschmid has recognised the calendar of Heliopolis, the first four months of which bore the names Ag, Thorin, Gelōn and Chanu. The last three names correspond to Tishrī, Kislēw and Kānūn The development from Gelōn to Kānūn is explained by a change of letters, while the replacement of Ag by Tishrī might be due to Jewish influence. The Syrians distinguished the two Teshrīn by the epithets *ḳeḏēm* and *ḥrāy* (so al-Bīrūnī) for which the Arabs used *al-awwal* and *al-ākhir* or *al-thānī*.

In time, the two months coincide with the October and November of the Roman calendar and have 31 and 30 days. In the two months the four first stations of the moon set and the 15–18 rise. The days on which this happens are, according to al-Bīrūnī, the 10th and 23rd T I and 5th and 18th T. II, according to al-Kazwīnī, the 18th and 31st T. I and 13th and 26th T II. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (= 989 A. D), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the four stations rose or set on the 22nd T I and on the 5th, 18th and 31st T. II.

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TEWFĪḲ MEḤMED, called Čaylaḳ Tewfīḳ, a Turkish author and publicist, born in Constantinople in Shaʿbān 1259 (Sept 1843), the son of a certain Mustafā Agha who was connected with the Janissaries, and a freedwoman, and died in 1311 (1893) in the same city After a rather scanty education he entered the War Ministry as a clerk Introduced to journalism by Filib Efendi, founder and editor of the newspaper *Wakīt* and *Mukhbir*, he devoted himself more and more to this and to authorship, which was only interrupted by longer or shorter tenures of office as secretary in Constantinople and in the provinces (Brussa, Serajevo, and Bihać) Things nowhere seem to have gone well with him and he had to drink to the dregs the bitterness of a journalist's life under the despotic measures of the government against the press He was apparently also a lecturer on rhetoric, although it was style that offered him the greatest difficulties at the beginning of his career. He contributed to the newspapers *Mukhbir*, *Istambol*, *Terakḳī* and *Baṣīret*, founded for the *walī* of Brussa the printing press and official organ of the wilāyet, *Khudāwendigār* in Brussa, and independently the political papers *ʿAṣr* and *ʿOthmānlī* and the humorous papers *Geweze*, *Leṭāʾif-i Āthār* and *Čaylaḳ*.

At the same time he showed great activity as an author, especially in the literature of anecdote. His works are especially important for Turkish folklore as he saw the great importance of recording the old customs which were gradually disappearing. His *Istambolda bir Sene* in particular secures him lasting recognition. His works usually appeared in parts and therefore some were never completed, they include the following: *Dheil-i Leṭāʾif-i Inshāʾ*, *Akhiṣārlnln Niṣām-i ʿĀlem Terdjemesi*; *Ḳāfile-i Shuʿarāʾ*, 1290; *Meshāhir-i ʿothmānlye*, 1293; *Āthār-i perishān*; *Madjāristān Seyāḥat-nāmesi*, 1294; *Ghaṛāʾib-i Ḥikāyāt*; *Leṭāʾif-i Naṣr*

ed-Dīn, 1299; *Istambolda bir Sene*, 1299—1300; *Buadem*, 1299—1302; *Taḳhrīdj-i Kharābāt*, 1300; *Iki gelin Odasi*, 1301; *Ta'rīkh yakhod bin yuz yetmish Djiināyetleri*, 1302; *Khazīne-i Leṭā'if*, 1303; *Leṭā'if-eṣ-Ṣerā'if*; *Uṣūl-i Inshā' ū-Kitābet*; *Shumrukh-i Edeb*.

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(Th. Menzel)

TEWFĪḲ FIKRET, whose real name was Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, the poetical name of Fikret being assumed later instead of Tewfīḳ Nazmī which he first took, an important Turkish poet and metricist, founder of the modern Turkish school of poetry.

Born on the 24th Sha'bān 1284 (Dec. 25, 1867) in Constantinople, the son of the secretary to Fātima Sulṭān, afterwards *muteṣṣarif* Ḥusein Efendi (descended from a family of notables of Čerkesh in Anatolia) and Khadīdja Refi'a Khanīm, a Turkish lady from the island of Chios (probably originally of Greek descent), received a careful education; he went first to the Mahmūdīye-Wālide Rushdīye school in Akserai When the latter was closed on account of the influx of the *muhādjir* in the Russo-Turkish war, he entered, at the age of nine, the Galata High School (*Ghalaṭa Seray Sulṭanīsi*), with which he was to remain connected for almost his whole life At eleven he lost his mother, who had gone with her elder brother on the pilgrimage to Mecca, where both died of cholera in the desert (Fikret, who only came to realise his loss fully when his sister died, devoted to her his touching *merthiye Hemshīrem ičun* in 1318 = 1900). As a child, he was unmanageable and self-willed but later obtained a masterly control of himself and became serious, almost misanthropical and hypersensitive In 1304 (1886—1887) he passed out of school as its most distinguished scholar, entered an office of the Porte, which he left in 1311, as the inactive life, then typical of a Turkish government office, did not satisfy his honourable nature. At the same time he taught French, Turkish and calligraphy in the commercial school in Gedik Pasha In 1306 (1888—1889) he became teacher of Turkish at Galata Serai High School, which he left in 1311 (1893) because the government cut down his salary In 1312 (1894—1895) he became a teacher at the Robert College in Rumeli Ḥiṣār, where he remained till his death. In Rumeli Ḥiṣār he built himself a house which he decorated according to his own artistic ideas (he was also an artist) with a splendid view, where he lived the peaceful idyllic life of a poet with his wife who was also his cousin, whom he had married in 1306 (1888) and his son Khalūḳ, to whom he dedicated a volume of poems. (It was a remarkable decree of fate that while his mother died while on the pilgrimage, his son Khalūḳ became a Christian in Glasgow, is now working as an engineer in America and is therefore lost to the Turkish cause)

From 1307 he was a contributor to the periodical *Mirṣād*, which was edited by the poet Ismā'īl Ṣafā. In 1309, along with a few friends of like literary tastes he founded the *Ma'lūmāt*, which was suppressed by the censorship after 24 numbers. In 1311 he undertook the literary editorship of the illustrated periodical *Therwet-i Funūn* founded by Aḥmed Iḥsān in 1890. His wide literary activity was then begun which in a short time made him a most famous author. After suffering all kinds of restrictions under the regime of 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd, after the revolution in 1908 he was appointed Director of the Galata Serai High School by the Young Turkish government, when he refused the Ministry of Education He endeavoured to make the school a modern Turkish seminary, but soon came into conflict with the conservatism and red tape of the Ministry of Education and finally retired in 1910 (1327) to devote himself entirely to his poetry and his teaching in the Robert College To this period belongs his scheme of educational reform for a new type of Turkish school (*yeñi mekteb*), which however was never carried through After a long illness, he died on Aug 18, 1915 (1331).

At the early age of 14, Fikret began to write *ghazels*, of course in the old style (*Muntaḳhabāt-i Terdjumān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, p. 533) He developed his literary abilities under his teachers of literature, Feizī, Mu'allim Nādjī and particularly Redjā'ī-zāde Ekrem, who won a lasting influence over him as on the whole of the younger generation It was Ekrem also who decided him to become chief editor of the *Therwet-i Funūn*. With Fikret's accession to the staff, a new era began for the *Therwet*. The periodical set the standard for the whole of modern Turkish literature, which is known as the Tewfīḳ Fikret (poetry) and Khālid Ziyā (prose) period Very soon all the collaborators of the *Mekteb*, edited by Ḥusein Djāhid on western lines, joined the *Therwet*, whose staff included 'Alī Ekrem, 'Abd ul-Ḥaḳḳ Hāmid, Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn, Khālid Ziya, 'Alī Nādir, Husein Nāzim, Ahmed Reshīd The Oriental trend in the new literature was represented by the *Muṣawwer Ma'lūmāt*.

Two years after taking up his duties Fikret published his principal work *Rubāb-i shikeste*, "the Broken Lute" (*Edebiyāt-i djedīde Kutub-Khānesi*, No 2, Stambul 1314 [1896]) which had an unparalleled success and went through many editions (later with the addition of his later works). In 1317 (1899) he wrote *Sis* (Mist), his most vigorous poem directed against the despotic rule of 'Abd ul-Hamīd At the present day, it reads rather tamely. After the revolution he published his *Rudjū'*. In 1318 (1900) he wrote the *merthiye. Hemshīrem ičun*, in 1322 (1904) on the occasion of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of 'Abd ul-Hamīd. *Laḥza-i te'ekhkhur*; in 1908 *Millet Sharḳīsi* In No. 1 of the paper *Ṭanīn* founded by him he published *Sis* and *Rudjū'*, which had previously passed secretly from hand to hand In 1329 (1909) appeared *Doḳsan beshe doghru*, which found wholehearted approval in a special number of *Fedjr-i ātī*, *Rubābīn Djewābi*, *Khalūḳīn Defteri* (in facsimile in the *Edebiyāt-i djedīde Kutub-Khānesi*, No 31). In 1328 (1910) appeared the poem *Khanyaghma*, in 1330 a collection of songs for children in *Parmaḳ Ḥisābi*. *Shermīn*, his last work at all.

The amount of his work is not large but its importance for Turkish literature is unique.

Fikret is now a much disputed personality. While he was praised to the skies in his life-time

and lauded as a classic poetical genius, since his death an attempt has been made to minimise his importance and even to deny that he is a real poet and to describe him as a mere virtuoso and skilful metricist. A reaction has followed his incredibly rapid rise to fame. The following criticism sums up this modern attitude to him: "Fikret is immortal in Turkish literature as a technician, unforgettable as a man, but as a poet perhaps already forgotten".

Like every poet, Fikret is to be studied in his period and milieu, in order to do justice to him He is a finished master of technique, the creator of the Turkish renaissance, the main representative of the westernising school. The preceding period (Kemāl, Hāmid, Ekrem) had abolished the dominion of Persian and Arabic forms but left the Oriental spirit The task now was to get rid of the Muslim outlook on life and replace it by the western, i e. French, point of view. For models Fikret took the French, especially François Coppée, Lecomte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme along with Musset, Lamartine, Baudelaire and Verlaine

He created a new language of poetry, made new rules for rhyme on the principle that rhyme is not intended for the eye, as is the case with Ekrem and ʿAbd ul-Ḥaḳḳ Hāmid, but for the ear With his fine taste and sound judgment, he succeeded in developing the language in spirit and structure on Turkish lines, doing away with linguistic anarchy, turkicising the foreign elements and rhythms, although from the point of view of vocabulary he had no objection to overloading Turkish with Arabic and Persian words and his poems contain many rare non-Turkish words. Fikret did for the language of poetry what Nāmīḳ Kemāl had done for prose. The rules laid down and followed by him are now so generally adopted that they are no longer felt to be innovations The main object of his attention was language as such, much more that had been the case with other poets In accuracy of language he resembles Muʿallim Nādjī and surpassed them all in command of language He recalls to some extent Platen not only in the perfection of his language and the freedom from error of his verse, with which even the opponents of the "Decadence" like Ahmed Midhat could find no fault, but also in the soullessness of its marble smoothness

Even in his earliest ghazels his own special characteristics are apparent, although he is still entirely under the influence of the older school His mastery of language and rhythm developed very rapidly and it is this that distinguishes him from all others and which have made him a model for all other poets

In contrast to the old school, which made each verse end as a closed unit in itself (which is why, particularly in the ghazel, the verses are so arbitrarily transposable), Fikret makes the sentiment run through a series of verses His verses have thus a flexibility and naturalness which is still lacking in the verse dialogues composed by Ḥāmid The language of his verses endeavours to adapt its melody to the subject matter, which Nefʿī before him had tried to do. Specially noteworthy is his introduction of the sonnet, which has since been much cultivated in Turkish.

In his metres he is still absolutely quantitative, with the exception of his poems for children Otherwise the followers of the old school could not have so readily felt that he was indisputably a poet.

Fikret's was a hypercritical intellect which dealt with the moral, religious and political problems of his time, unswervingly following the voice of his heart and conscience. But he was not a philosopher who could solve the problems of humanity, no metaphysician who could penetrate into the depths of the soul. His mental processes were of a very ordinary, almost trivial nature. His *Înanmaḳ Ihtiyādjī* and his *Taʾrīḫ-i ḳadīm* are typical of the unbelief of his time. In the poisoned atmosphere of ʿAbd ul-Ḥamīd's despotic rule and later in the time of the unrestricted and one-sided administration of the young Turks, with his pure personality, with his steadfast confidence in himself, his earnest devotion to duty and his sacred enthusiasm, by his poems he performed a duty to his country nobly so that the appeal was made to the young men of the day: "To thyself be like Fikret, to thy country like Nāmīḳ Kemāl!" As there is something to be learned from every one of his poems, he had a great influence as an educative force on the youth of Turkey. He had a great belief in the value of education.

Tewfīḳ Fikret is a poet although not of the greatness that his contemporaries thought. He lacks the poetic fervour of Nāmīḳ Kemāl, especially in the poems of his second period. The poems in which he scarified despotism, like his fervent *Sīs*, which in its day was accepted like a gospel by the young men, now seem colourless and unreal They are not born of desperation like those of N. Kemāl. Fikret also celebrated in his verse the smallest and most insignificant things, going much further than Ekrem, who although he said that everything is poetry, in practice only applied it to flowers, clouds, water, dawn etc. A number of poems which Fikret wrote, following the practice of the day, for pictures in periodicals, were published in the *Rubāb-ı shikeste*. Special mention may be made of the clearly outlined poems characterising Nedīm, Nefʿī, Fuzūlī and Hāmid That he wrote verse with difficulty and had to struggle with words and matter until he completed a poem, is clear not only from his own confession and the labour and pains that many poems reveal, which takes from their effect as works of art, but also from the not very great volume of his production.

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TEWFĪḲ PAṠHA, Khedive of Egypt (1879—1892), was born on December 15, 1852 as the eldest son of the Khedive Ismāʿīl Pasha He was educated in Egypt and began his political career at the age of 19 as president of the Council of State (*al-maǧlis al-khuṣūsī*) On March 10, 1879, after Nubar Pasha had resigned, he was appointed Prime Minister by his father. In his cabinet, as was the case in the former, an Englishman was Minister of Finance and a Frenchman Minister of Public Works But already on April 9 of that year, Ismāʿīl, by a kind of "coup d'état", dismissed this new cabinet and Sharīf Pasha [q. v] became Prime Minister Soon afterwards political difficulties led to Ismāʿīl's deposition by the Sultan (June 26) and Tewfīk followed him on the throne according to the law of succession promulgated in 1866

At the very beginning of his reign Tewfik Pasha had to face considerable difficulties The draft of a constitution, submitted to the new Khedive by Sharīf Pasha, shortly after his accession, was disapproved and Sharīf tendered his resignation (August 18) For a short time Tewfīḳ became his own Prime Minister, but soon Riyād Pasha was appointed to that post, to keep it for about two years, till the outbreak of the army rebellion of ʿArābī Pasha. In the meantime the "dual control" of England and France over finance was re-established and in 1880 Egypt seemed to have entered a new prosperous period In January 1880, however, occurred the first troubles in the army, which led to the nationalist revolt of September 9 on the return to power of Sharif Pasha; ʿArābī Pasha [q v] soon appeared as the most prominent man in the nationalist movement The Khedive had no strong party on which he could rely to keep up his authority against this movement, and likewise the position of Egypt's suzerain, the Turkish Sultan and natural protector of the Khedive's government, was too weak to be of any importance. So, in the period that followed, the Khedive could not but play a passive part and allow the nationalists to take the measures they thought fit One of these measures was the convocation of a national assembly of notables, but although at first the nationalist leaders showed moderation, the international financial troubles brought about at last a serious anti-foreign feeling in the country, which culminated in the massacre in Alexandria (June 11, 1882), followed on July 17 by the bombardment of that town by the British fleet The Khedive with his government had already fled from the capital to al-Ramla near Alexandria, while ʿArābī, now in open revolt against the ruler, retired to Kafr-Dawar, a few miles distant. This was the most difficult time of Tewfīḳ Pasha's reign; he had to choose between the nationalists and foreign intervention and, at the same time, the Sultan contemplated his deposition and the installation of his uncle ʿAbd al-Halīm in his place and even the despatch of an army to Egypt, from which he was prevented by the attitude of the European powers At last the nationalist insurrection was crushed by the military intervention of England (battle of Tell el-Kebīr on September 13, 1882), followed by the military occupation of the country. After the battle, Tewfīḳ had returned to Cairo, but the only possible way, in these circumstances, to keep his throne was now to fall in with the wishes of the occupying power. In fact, the Khedive's government, again presided over by Sharīf Pasha since August 1882, was now quite impotent. All the measures after the English occupation, taken with regard to the administration of Egypt, the new Organic Law of May 7, 1883, the international regulation of the financial administration in 1884, had to be accepted. There was, however, a loyal collaboration between the Khedive and the British resident with the title of Consul General, the later Lord Cromer, in the difficult years that followed. One of the most disastrous events in this time was the Mahdist rebellion in the Sūdān and the abandonment of this province by Egypt, much against the personal wish of Tewfīḳ, after the vain struggle to defeat the Mahdī (fall of Khartūm in January 1885) It was only towards 1890, that a more prosperous time announced itself for the country; soon afterwards, on January 7, 1892, Tewfīḳ Pasha died unexpectedly in his palace at Ḥulwān, to be succeeded by his eldest son ʿAbbās Ḥilmī.

Tewfīḳ Pasha is said not to have had a character strong enough to face the overwhelming political difficulties, especially the weak attitude of himself and his government towards the first manifestations of rebellion in the army seems to have led inevitably to the complete loss of control over the course of events. On the other hand this Khedive has left the reputation of a mild and enlightened personality, who was esteemed by of all those who had personal intercourse with him, amongst them Lord Cromer and other European statesmen who have given descriptions of him At the age of 21 he had married a lady belonging to the Khedivial family and he remained strictly monogamic during all his lifetime

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(J H. KRAMERS)

TEZKARA. [See TADHKIRA.]

THĀ', the name of the fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value 500. Its form is a horizontal stroke, curved upwards at its ends, with three dots above it By these three dots it is distinguished from the third letter of the alphabet, *tā'* [q. v.], which has two dots only This similarity explains also the place of *thā'* immediately after *tā'*

Of the other Semitic alphabets it is only the South-Arabic which has a special form for the sound *th*.

Etymologically *thā'* corresponds to Canaanitic 𐤔, Aramaic ש (early-Aramaic 𐤔), Assyrian *sh*, Aethiopic ሸ In Arabian its place is sometimes taken by *f*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

AL-**THAʿĀLIBĪ**, Nisba of three Arab authors.

1 ABŪ MANṢŪR ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B ISMĀʿĪL, one of the most fertile intellects of the vth (xith) century, of whose life we only know that he was born in 350 (961) in Nīsābūr and died in 429 (1038). His numerous compilations, in which he deals by no means scrupulously with the intellectual property of his predecessors and repeats himself frequently, deal mainly with the poetry of his time but also with lexicology and rhetoric.

His most famous and, for us most important, work is the *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Maḥāsin Ahl al-ʿAṣr* on the poets of his own and the preceding

generation, arranged under countries, in the main an anthology with biographical notes as a rule very brief. Like most works of its kind, it went through several recensions as may be seen from Yāḳūt's statement in the *Irshād*, II. 320 that he read the story given in the Damascus edition, III 33, at Cairo in a copy given by the author to Yaʿḳūb b Aḥmad b Muḥammad, while it is not found in the usual texts. To the manuscripts given by Pertsch, *Verz. der ar. Hss. zu Gotha*, N⁰ 2127 and *G. A. L.*, I 284 may now be added those in Paris (Blochet, *Catalogue des mss. ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, Paris 1925) N⁰. 6442, in Cambridge (E. G. Browne, *Handlist*, 1900) N⁰. 1224 and in Nicholson's possession (*J. R A S.*, 1899, p. 912), as well as an anonymous synopsis in the Brit Museum Or. 7743 (*Descriptive List*, p 61), to the printed edition (Damascus 1304) may be added the index of Mawlawī Abū Mūsā Aḥmad al-Haḳḳ entitled *Fāʾidat al-ʿAṣr*, a comprehensive index of persons, places, books etc. referred to in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, the famous anthology of Thaʿālibī, Calcutta 1915, *Bibl Ind*, N S, N⁰ 1215 The first continuation of the work was written by the author himself and entitled *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, quoted by Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, VI 411 and in the Paris ms N⁰. 3308 (s Mirzā Muḥammad on Samarḳandi's *Čahār Makāla*, p. 129, on a ms in Aleppo s. *Revue de l'ac. ar. de Damas*, VII 529–535), in other mss like the Berlin (s. *G A L, loc. cit.*) it is simply called *Dhail*, s also *al-Badr* (Tunis 1340), I 2, 38 *sqq*. A further continuation in part coinciding with the *Tatimma* was written by al-Bākharzī [q. v] An anthology arranged under subject matter is the *Kitāb Ahsan mā samiʿtu* which is much larger in the ms of the Koprulu library (s Rescher, *M. S. O. S As*, IV 164) than in the printed edition of the ms in the Khedivial library in Cairo (Cairo 1324), transl by O Rescher in *Et-Taʿalibi*, Heft 3, Leipzig 1916 Subsidiary to it is the *Kitāb man ghāba ʿanhu 'l-Mutrib*, the autograph of which is in the Ḥālelī mosque in Stambul (N⁰. 1946, cf. Reschei, *M O.*, VII. 105) It is printed in the collection *al-Tuḥfa al-bahīya* (Stambul 1302), p 230—294 and Bairūt 1309, transl by Rescher in *M O*, XVII 31–198, XVIII 81–109 Similar anthologies, in which however the poet's names are not given, are the *Kitāb Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Cairo 1326, the *Kitāb al-Muntahal*, pr. with commentary by Aḥmad b ʿAlī as *al-Muntaḳhal fī Tarādjim Shuʿarāʾ al-Muntahal*, Alexandria 1321, and the *Kitāb Tarāʾif al-Ṭuraf* in the Aya Sofia mss 3767 (*Z D. M G*, LXIV 504), Koprulu 1336 (*M. S. O. S As.*, XIV. 176) and Top Kapu Serai (*R S. O*, IV. 696). For the especial use of secretaries he prepared the *Kanz al-Kuttāb*, 2,500 passages from 250 poets, s. Flugel, *Die ar.* etc *Hss. der K K Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, N⁰. 242; on this the Turkish poet Lāmiʿī wrote a commentary, s. Todeiini, *Lit Turch.*, II, app XXXIV Here also we may mention his prose versions of the verses in the anthology *Muʾnis al-Udabāʾ* of an unknown author which he prepared by command of the Khwārizmshāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās entitled *Nashr al-Naẓm wa-Ḥall al-ʿIḳd min mukhtār al-Shiʿr alladhi yashtamil ʿalathi 'l-Kitāb al-mutarādjam bi-Muʾnis al-Udabāʾ*, pr. Damascus 1300, Cairo 1317.

A second series of his works belong to the field of entertaining literature but also contain all kinds of useful information especially historical anecdotes. Among these are the *Kitāb Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong, Leyden 1867, the *Kitāb al-Farāʾid wa 'l-Ḳalāʾid* or *Kitāb al-ʿIḳa al-nafis wa-Nuzhat al-djalis*, pr. Cairo 1317 (on the margin of the *Nathr al-Naṣm*), 1324, the *Kitāb al-Mubhidj* (or *al-Mubahhidj*), pr. Stambul n. d, Cairo 1324 and the two works on praise and censure of things, that old topic of school *adab* entitled *Kitāb al-Laṭāʾif wa 'l-Ẓarāʾif* and *Yawākīt al-Mawākit*; to the MSS. quoted in *Cat. codd. ar. bibl. ac. Lugd. Batavae*, N⁰. 455 may be added: Paris, *op. cit.*, N⁰. 5934, Petersburg, N⁰ 857, Nicholson, *J R. A. S.*, 1899, p 913, Haupt, N⁰. 268. The two books are worked into one by an unknown hand in the Leyden ms. N⁰ 456 and by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Makdisī the latter was lithographed under the title of the former at Baghdād 1282 and printed as the *Djamāʿa fī-mā baina Kitābai al-Thaʿālibī* etc, Būlāḳ 1296 and Cairo 1300 Finally must be mentioned the *Kitāb Ghurar al-Balāgha wa-Ṭuraf al-Barāʿa*, MS. in Berlin, N⁰. 8341, or *Ghurar al-Balāgha li 'l-Naẓm wa 'l-Nathr* (thus in Koprulu MS. 1290, s Rescher, *M. S. O S. As*, XIV 197) or with the addition *wa 'l-Barāʿa* in the Brit Mus 7758 (*Descriptive List*, p 63), another MS also in Nicholson's possession (*J.R.A. S*, 1899, p 913) Wrongly ascribed to him in the *Khams Rasāʾil*, Stambul 1307, and on the margin of the *Nathr al-Naẓm*, Cairo 1317, are the *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, Cairo 1327, the *Kitāb al-Farāʾid wa 'l-Kalāʾid* of al-Ahwāzī († 544 = 1053) and in the Gotha MS., N⁰ 1873 a *Maḥāsin al-Maḥāsin*, s *Z S*, III 78, 254

He also compiled several collections of proverbs and sentiments, notably the *Kitāb al-Tamaththul wa 'l-Muḥādara* (to the MSS given in the *Cat. Ludg.*, N⁰ 454 add Paris, N⁰ 6019), and the *Kitāb ahāsin Kalim al-Nabī wa 'l-Ṣahāba wa 'l-Tābiʿin wa-Mulūk al-Djāhiliya wa-Mulūk al-Islām wa 'l-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-Kuttāb wa 'l-Bulaghāʾ wa 'l-Ḥukamāʾ wa 'l-ʿUlamāʾ* (*Cat Lugd*, N⁰ 453, Paris, N⁰ 8201, 2), from this is taken *Talibi syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J J Ph Valeton, Leyden 1844, this work was later included in the larger *Kitāb al-Iʿdjāz wa 'l-Īdjāz*, pr in *Khams Rasāʾil*, Stambul 1301 and Cairo 1897 To the same class belong the *Kitāb Ḥilyat al-Muḥādara wa-ʿUnwān al-Mudhākara wa-Maidān al-Musāmara*, Paris, N⁰. 5914 and the *Kitāb Latāʾif al-Ṣahāba wa 'l-Tābiʿin*, cf *Selecta e Thaalebi libro facetiarum*, ed P Cool in the Chrestomathy to Rooidn's *Grammatica arabica*, Leyden 1835 Cheikho published another collection of wise thoughts in *Machriq*, V 831—834. Finally he also compiled an *adab* work called *Muʾnis al-Wahīd* (in Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 13454) which seems to survive in the Cambridge MS (Browne, *Suppl Handlist*), N⁰ 1287, while the text publ by Flugel entitled *Der vertraute Gefahrte des Einsamen* is only a portion of the *Muḥādarāt* of Rāghib al-Isfahānī, s. Gildemeister, *Z D M G*, XXXIV 171. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 7343 he also wrote a mirror for princes entitled *Sirat al-Mulūk* or *al-Kitāb al-mulūkī* It still has to be investigated whether this survives in the Brit. Mus. Or. 6368 (*Descriptive List*, p. 64) to Thaʿālibī; a counterpart of this is the *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ*, in Gotha, N⁰. 1886. Shorter *adab*-works are the *Kitāb Mirʾāt al-Murūwāt wa-Aʿmāl al-ḥasanāt*, pr. Cairo 1318 and

the *Kitāb Bard al-Akbād fi 'l-Aʿdād*, Stambul 1301.

A third group comprises his philological works in the narrower sense. The most famous of them is a work on Arabic synonyms composed very late in life to which he first gave the title *Shams al-Adab fi-'stiʿmāl al-ʿArab* It consists of two parts, synonyms in the narrower sense, entitled *Asrār al-Lugha al-ʿarabiya wa-Khaṣāʾiṣihā* and notes on style entitled *Madjārī Kalām al-ʿArab bi-Rusūmihā wamā yataʿallaḳu bi 'l-Nahw wal-Iʿrāb minhā wa 'l-Istinshād bi 'l-Kurʾān ʿalā aktharihā*; the bulk of this second part is taken word for word from the *Kitāb Fiḳh al-Lugha* of Aḥmad b. Fāris. In this oldest form the work only exists in the Leyden MS, No. 66 and Berlin, No. 7032—7033. He later published the first part separately as *Fiḳh al-Lugha*; in this form it attained very great popularity, cf. *Prooemium et specimen lexici synonymici arabici Atthalibi*, ed., vertit, notis illustravit J. Seligmann, Upsala 1863, Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 152–166 and the printed editions Paris 1861 (ed R Dahdah), Cairo 1284, 1317 (with the original form *Asrār al-Lugha* on the margin), 1325, Bairūt 1885 (bowdlerized). In the Cairo editions 1284 and 1325 the second part of the original version is also printed as the *Sirr al-ʿArabiya fi Madjārī Kalām al-ʿArab wa-Ṣṭlatihā wa 'l-Istishhād bi 'l-Ḳurʾān ʿalā aktharihā* also printed as the *Sirr al-Adab fi Madjārī ʿUlūm al-ʿArab* along with Maidānī's *al-Sāmī fi 'l-Asāmī* lith in Teheran n d and to be found separately in the Paris MS No 5989 with the error in the title *Madjāzi* for *Madjārī* also found elsewhere (e g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flügel, iv 590) The work was put into verse by an unknown author in 742 (1341) as the *Nazm Fiḳh al-Lugha*, in the Leyden MS. No 67; cf Weijers, *Orient*, i. 360 *sqq*. In 400 in Nisābūr he wrote a handbook of Rhetoric with special references to Metaphor for the Khwārizmshāh Maʾmūn b Maʾmūn, which in the MSS is sometimes called *al-Kifāya fi 'l-Kināya* (so Paris, No 5934), sometimes *al-Nihāya fi 'l-Taʿrīd wa 'l-Kināya* (so Brit Mus, Suppl No 1110, 1), sometimes simply *al-Kināya wa 'l-Taʿrīd* (so Berlin, No 7336) It has been printed under the last named title at Mecca 1301 and Cairo 1326 along with al-Djurdjānī's *al-Muntakhab min Kināyāt al-Udabāʾ wa-Ishārāt al-Bulaghāʾ*. A collection of elegant Arabic expressions is the *Kitāb Sihr al-Balāgha wa-Sirr al-Barāʿa* (to the MSS enumerated in *G. A. L.*, i. 285, No. 7 may be added Cairo (see *Fihrist* ², iv 183) and Paris, No. 6724, from which extracts have been printed in Stambul (Reuther, *Vers*, i. 32, 3) Finally he compiled a collection with annotations of constant genitive combinations entitled *Thimār* (*Thamar*) *al-Ḳulūb 'l-Muḍāf wa 'l-Mansūb*, which he dedicated to the Amīr ʿUbaidallāh b Aḥmad al-Mīkālī (d. 436 = 1044); to the MSS in *G A. L*, i. 285, No. 9 add Paris, No. 5942, Cambr. Suppl, No., 354, and Brussa *B. K. O.*, vii. 81, pr. Cairo 1320. A supplement is the *al-Tadhyīl al-marghūb min Thamar al-Ḳulūb*, which collects the names of famous men, in the Paris MS, No 6029 A synopsis entitled *ʿImād al-Balāgha* was composed by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031 = 1622); cf. *Codd. ar. bibl reg. Hafn*, No. 206, *Revue de l'ac. ar. de Damas* vii. 574; *Fihris Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya*, iii. 3; *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 855 (on a MS. in Brussa). It was put into alphabetical order by Muḥ Amīn al-Muḥibbī († 1699) entitled *Mā yuʾawwal ʿalaihi fi 'l-Muḍāf wa 'l-Mudāf ilaihi*; MSS. in Cairo, *Fihrist* ², iii. 285; Top Kapu, No. 2455; ʿĀṭif, No. 2247 (*R. S. O.*, iv. 727; *M. F O. B.*, v. 496), Aya Sofia, No. 4136, *M. O.*, vii. 132.

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2. Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-Marghanī (from Maighan in Ghūr, Afghānistān), an Arabic historian of whom we only know that he dedicated his work, *Ghurar al-Siyar*, to Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna who died in 412 (1021). It gives the history of mankind from Adam down to Maḥmūd Subuktegīn. The first part is in Stambul in the Ibrāhīm Pāshā library, No 916 and in Paris No. 5053 Zotenberg published the history of the Persians from it (*Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris 1900); in the introduction he sought, without convincing reasons, to show that it was written by the better known man of the same name (No. 1) This part of the book is specially valuable because it gives the sources used by Firdawsī for his *Shāhnāme* in many places more accurately than even Ṭabarī The author apparently translated fairly literally the book of kings prepared in Persian about 950 by four men for the ruler of Ṭūs, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ but he also used Tabarī, Djawālīḳī and other Arabs quite uncritically Of the four volumes which accords to Hādjdjī Khalīfa No 8592 (ed. Flügel, iv 319, where he is wrongly called al-Marʿashī) only one survives in the Bodleian (d'Orv., x. 2) This covers the period 74/5 to 158 A. H It is a very laudable endeavour to cast off the fetters of the purely chronological arrangement of Arab historiography, and give history in its psychological setting From this work Houtsma published the account of Bih'afūd, *W Z K M*, iii 30–37.

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3 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Makhlūf al-Djaʿfarī al-Djazāʾirī, North African theologian, b in Algiers 788 (1386), studied from 802 (1399) in Bidjāya, Tunis and Cairo, made the pilgrimage from there, returned to Tunis where he died in 873 = 1468 (so his tombstone, while Ahmad Babā gives 875) His principal work is the commentary on the Ḳurʾān finished on 25th Rabiʿ I, 833 (Dec. 23, 1429) entitled *al-Djawāhir al-hisān fi Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*; to the mss. given in *G. A L.*, ii 249, 5, 1 may be added Paris, No. 5283 and 5379, Escorial ², No. 1324; Fās Ḳaraw., No 126/27; Algiers, No. 132/37. Of his works an eschatology has been printed, *al-ʿUlūm al-fākhira fi 'l-Naẓar fi Umūr al-Ākhira*, Cairo 1317—1318 and a portion of his ethics *Djāmiʿ al-Ummahāt fi Aḥkām al-ʿIbādāt* entitled *Nubdha min al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, *s l.* 1911 To the list of his minor works in *G. A. L.*, *l. c.*, may be added a

Risāla on Definitions in Tubingen (Seybold, *Verz.*, N⁰. 19, 2) and *al-Anwār al-muḍīʾa al-Ǧāmiʿa bain al-Sharīʿa wa 'l-Ḥaḳīḳa*, Fās, Ḳaraw., N⁰. 610

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

THĀBIT B. ḲURRA, mathematician, physician and philosopher, one of the greatest figures among the promoters of Arab learning in the third (ninth) century. Born in 836 (826 ?) at Ḥarrān, the ancient seat of the worship of the planets, he belonged to a prominent family settled there, which produced a long series of scholars. The later names in his genealogy (Thābit b. Ḳurra b. Zahrūn [Marwān ?] b Thābit b Ḳaiāyā b Mārīnūs b Mālāghriyūs [Μελέαγρος]) take us back to a time when the Greek character of the life of the town was seen in its nomenclature, although it is not safe to suppose without further enquiry that Thābit was descended from Greek colonists The biographers record that Thābit was originally a money-changer In any case an inherited fortune enabled him to acquire a thorough philosophical and mathematical training during a stay in Baghdād His liberal philosophical opinions brought him into conflict with the pagan community of his native town Brought before the religious court, and compelled to recant his philosophical heresies, he escaped further molestation by moving to the village of Kafartūthā near Dārā Here he is said to have met Muḥammad b Mūsā b. Shākir on his return journey from Byzantium to Baghdād and the latter, recognising his mathematical talent and linguistic ability, took him with him to Baghdād, to recommend him to the Caliph Muʿtaḍid, who appointed him one of his court astronomers. In Baghdād Thābit spent the greater part of his life translating and expounding Greek mathematicians, composing his own mathematical works, in philosophical studies and the practice of medicine, and died there at the age of 67 on Feb 18, 901.

The great prestige which Thābit enjoyed at the Caliph's court benefited the Sābians in Ḥarrān and other places. The Syriac writings which Thābit — probably while still in Ḥarrān — wrote on the doctrine and worship of his co-religionists, were still known in part to Barhebraeus (d. 1286) but seem now to have disappeared. They would now be of the greatest value for the religious history of late Hellenism. Lists of Thābit's Arabic works are given in Chwolsohn, Suter, Steinschneider, Brockelmann and Wiedemann in the works quoted below. Much that is valuable and worth publishing still exists in manuscript A survey is given by H Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, p. 36 *sqq.* E Wiedemann in *Beitrage*, lxiv., *Über Thābit ben Qurra, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, *S. B. P. M. S.*, Erlangen 1920—1921, p. 210–217, has given a list of Thābit's writings, classified under subjects, which is useful as a preliminary survey. The works of Thābit which have been edited or translated are given below in the *Bibliography* On Sinān b. Thābit and other later members of the family see the full treatment in Chwolsohn, *Die Ssābier*, i. 566—610.

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(J. RUSKA)

THĀBIT, whose personal name was ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN, an important Ottoman poet of the transition period (mainly under Sultān Aḥmad III [1703—30]) with a distinct style of his own, quite outside of the usual. Born in Užica in Bosnia about 1060 (1650) of humble origin and of Serbo-Croat parents, he was related to the poet Wuṣlat ʿAlī Bey Pašić of Užica and Māhirī ʿAbd Allāh of Serajevo He died in Constantinople in 1124 (1712—13). He adopted a theological career and went to Constantinople at the end of his studies, where as a result of his early developed poetical talent he soon became famous and gained patrons but also the hostility of many of his colleagues. As a result of the prevailing corruption and

nepotism in the appointments to public offices, in spite of his acknowledged ability he never succeeded in rising higher than *mulāzım* which rank he reached in 1089 He therefore resigned from the *Muderrıslık*, which alone formed the stepping-stone to higher offices and adopted a judicial career, which took him to Čorlu, Burgas, Adrianople (1097), Kaffa, Rodosto, Serajevo (1112), Konia (1117), Diarbekır (1119—1121 to which he had been particularly anxious to go) As the tenure of office was as a rule only one year, and after each period there was a considerable period of enforced inactivity (*ʿazl*) without a pension, he had continually to struggle with financial worries and difficulties, especially as he was ashamed to enrich himself by irregular means His high moral character was recognised even by his enemies At the same time he suffered heavy blows from fate; he lost all that he owned through the outbreak of war, a portion of his family was massacred and others carried off into captivity. When he died in 1124 he had been for some considerable time without a post.

Thābit had an impediment in his speech which hindered his advancement in his official career, he was however all the more fluent with the pen Various peculiarities of language reveal his non-Turkish origin His command of vocabulary and language is very powerful His Turkish vocabulary is one of the richest and most valuable in the whole of Turkish literature, especially for its idioms One of his characteristics is the frequent use of proverbs and popular sayings, even the most trivial ones. His language surprises us with its youthful vigour, power of expression and its wealth of bold imagery

In spite of his reputed membership of the Melāmī-Bairāmī order and his not infrequent use of Sūfī nomenclature, there is nothing of the mystic in him His feeling for the real is very pronounced, a feature he has in common with other Ottoman poets. What gives him a note of his own and raises him high above the level of other Turkish poets is the manner in which his own individuality comes out in his poems He was able to invigorate the tonelessness of Turkish poetry, usually abstract to the verge of desperation, by colouring it with his personality which breaks out everywhere and fills it with the spirit of a warm-blooded man. In spite of the fact that, with his remarkable jugglery with words, he does not reveal great depth of feeling, he is yet a true poet. But what always won hearts and secured him a certain popularity is his inexhaustible humour and his sarcasm, which compel laughter and are not found in a similar form in other Ottoman poets He is always full of jokes and witty remarks and punning allusions and double entendres, not always easy to understand The strong contrasts which follow in rapid succession are typical of him: the simple and involved, even tortuous, beautiful and coarse, pious and frivolous, even obscene.

Although he is not a popular poet in the proper sense of the word (there are for example no *sharḳī* by him and his great learning makes his poems not easy to understand) he was much admired at all times in many circles The number of manuscripts is large as his *Dīwān* was often copied. The fact that he has not been printed is probably due to the large number of manuscripts available. Modern Turkish literary criticism has now, but not quite justly, rather turned against him.

His works consist of a *Dīwān* with 37 *ḳaṣīda*s (incl his *Miʿrādiyya*, which is said to have been lithographed, and 2 *naʿt*'s), about 364 *ghazel*'s (the *ghazel*'s are the weakest part of his poetry), a few *taḵhmīs*, riddles, 60 quatrains, 100 *mufredāt* and about 50 chronograms; also of a number of *meṯnewī*'s: A *Ẓafer-nāme*, composed for Selīm Girey (pr. Stambul 1299 and 1311); *Edhem u-Humā* (*Edhem-nāme*), *Beı ber-nāme*, *Dere-nāme* (*Hıkāyet-i Ḵhodja Fesād*, *Hıkāyet-ı Donlu Dere*) and *Hıkāyet-ı ʿAmr ū-Leiṯh*.

Bibliography Hammeı-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iv ; Brusalī Mehmed Tāhir, *ʿOṯmānlī Muʾellifleri*, Stambul 1333, ii. 118, esp. Jan Rypka's monograph, *Beitrage zur Biographie, Charakteristik und Inteı pretation des turkischen Dichters Sábit*, Prag 1924, where the pertinent *Tezkere* and other literature is fully discussed (Th. Menzel)

Thaḳīf. On the eve of the Hiḏra, the tribe of Thaḳīf, settled in the district of Ṭāʾif, claimed a common ancestor called Thaḳīf His real name is said to have been Kasī and Thaḳīf a surname. A malicious tradition has identified this Ḳasī-Thaḳīf with Abū Righāl, the traitor, who guided the Abyssinian army from Abraha to Mecca, and whose tomb used to be stoned on the road from Ṭāʾif to Mecca It was when they wished to ascend beyond this eponymous ancestor that divergences began Some connected Thaḳīf with Yād, others with Hawāzin [q v.] Genealogists were still hesitating between these two schemes in the second century A H Most of the Thaḳīfīs declared themselves for the descent from Hawāzin This was in order to connect themselves with the group of this name which was itself a subdivision of the mass of tribes connected with Ḳais. Their interests, their geographical position suggested this opportunist solution to the Thaḳīfīs in a district inhabited by the Banū Hawāzin, where the influence of the latter was predominant Only among the *Aḥlāf* of Ṭāʾif did the theory of Yadī descent have any partisans.

The town of Ṭāʾif was the urban centre of Thaḳīf The tribe seems to have included only a small proportion of nomads As for the town and the surrounding gardens, it contained the fertile country villages of Waht, of Lyya and others which stretched in the direction of the Yemen. Its islāmisation took place at the same time as that of Ṭāʾif It shared the reputation for trickery of the Ṭāʾifīs, took part with them in the conquests of Islām, above all in the ʿIrāḳ, where the foundation of Baṣra was due to them Like them, the tribe rallied readily to the Omaiyad régime, an attitude which earned them the hostility of the ʿAbbāsid rulers and also that of the ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid traditionists

Meanwhile a slight movement of the tribe towards the south took place, all along the farms which they were developing in this direction. From the third century A. H. small numbers of Thaḳīfīs are found as far as the Yemen, in the Banū Hamdān country and in the district of Naḏjrān, on intimate terms with the tribes of the country. It is thus that we find them in the Yemen supporting the Zaidī restoration of the ʿAlid al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ, studied by Van Arendonk For the rest the history of the tribe is not distinct from that of Ṭāʾif, the

centre round which the majority of the tribe remained settled.

At the beginning of the xixth century, the traveller Burckhardt described the "Thekif" as a "very powerful tribe; it possesses the fertile country round Taif, its gardens, and other sites on the eastern slopes of the mountains of the Hedjaz A great many Thekif have fixed abodes Half the inhabitants of Taif belong to this tribe; others continue to live in tents. The Thekif have very few horses and camels but they are rich in sheep and goats.. . They can turn out two thousand men armed with rifles; they defended Taif against the Wahhabis", in 1803 One of the last European visitors to Ṭāʾif, Mr. Philby, found them on the slopes of mount Karā, between Ṭāʾif and Mecca, where they devote themselves to agriculture.

Bibliography. Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed D H Muller, p. 53, 91, 119, 120, 121, 136; Burckhardt, *Voyage en Arabie*, transl by J. B. Eyriès, Paris 1835, iii. 309—310, Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, i. 189, 194 For the rest of the bibliography cf the article ṬĀʾIF (H LAMMENS)

THAʿLAB, ABU ʾL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B YAḤYĀ B. ZAID B. SAIYĀR (or· YASĀR) AL-SHAIBĀNĪ (= Mawlā of the Banū Shaibān), an Arab grammarian, although regarded as of the "Kūfa" school (see below), spent his life in Baghdād Born in 200 (815), at the age of 16 he began to devote himself to the study of the Arabic language Abū ʿAbd Allah b al-Aʿrābī, al-Zubair b Bakkār were among his teachers. He also studied with great enthusiasm the works of al-Kisāʾī and especially of al-Farrāʾ, he is said to have known all the latter by heart at the age of 25 I ater he himself taught publicly and privately and in this capacity received a considerable salary from the court at the suggestion of the vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul His best known pupils were Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī and Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid. For thirteen years he was also private tutor to the son of Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh b Ṭāhir, governor of Baghdād. His scientific activity also found expression in a number of publications of a philological, especially grammatical, nature. Of most only the titles have survived Only two of them (*Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ* and *Ḳawāʿid al-Shiʿr*) have been printed Thaʿlab's hearing became very defective in his old age. This defect was the cause of an accident which he suffered on his way home from the mosque one day, of the results of which he died in Djumādā I 291 (904). As he had led a simple life, he was able to leave his daughter a considerable fortune His extensive library was purchased after his death by the vizier al-Ḳāsim b ʿUbaid Allāh.

The later Arab grammarians class Thaʿlab as belonging to the so-called Kūfa school, which is said to have reached its zenith and also its end in him. He himself indeed declared he was an ardent follower of al-Farrāʾ, the Kūfan κατ' ἐξοχήν he also waged a constant feud with al-Mubarrad, his famous contemporary of the "Baṣia" school. But, as G. Weil has shown, one cannot really talk of a regular school of "Kūfan" grammarians; when its alleged representatives are considered to form an independent group, this is simply an invention of the later grammarians, who considered themselves the natural continuers of the Baṣra tradition and thought that the state of affairs in grammatical study with its opposing schools in their time must also have existed in the past. Thaʿlab no doubt continued the tradition of al-Farrāʾ but he was no more able than the other "Kūfans" to do more to establish his grammatical method, still less to develop it. His interest also was too much devoted to accumulating material to be memorised and to acquiring a knowledge of special linguistic forms, to enable him to develop a fruitful activity in the field of method.

Bibliography Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 74; Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb* (*G. M S*, vi.), ii. 133—154, Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wustenfeld, N⁰. 42, transl de Slane, i 83—86; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 172—174; Abu 'l-Barakāt b. al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā*, Cairo 1294, p. 293—299, Muḥammad Bāḳir, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, Teheran 1307, i 56 *sq* ; F. Kienkow, *Il "Libro delle Classi" di Abu Bakr az-Zubaidī* (*R S O*, xiii 107—156), N⁰ 78, G Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (*Abh. fur die Kunde des Morgenlands*, ii 4), p 164—167; G. Weil, Introduction to *Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, Leyden 1913, esp. p 65 *sq.* and 75—81; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 118; J. E Saikis, *Muʿdjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiya wa 'l-muʿarraba*, Cairo 1928 *sqq.*, col. 662 *sq.*; Thaʿlab's *Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ*, ed by J Barth, Leipzig 1876, *L'Arte poetica di Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Yahyā Taʿlab* . ., ed C. Schiaparelli (*Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, ii/1, A, p. 173–214), Leyden 1893. (R. PARET)

THAʿLABA, a common old Arab proper name (more rarely Thaʿlab) and eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia Thus we have the Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba of the great tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil (Yamāma as far as Baḥrain), the Thaʿlaba b Saʿd b Dhubyān of the tribe of Ghaṭafān in the Nefūd region; the Thaʿlaba b Yarbūʿ of the tribe of Tamīm, the Thaʿlabī Taiy clans of the Taiy [q v] A Thaʿlaba b ʿAmr b Mudjālid is mentioned as the first plylarch of the Ghassānid dynasty The "Roman Arabs of the house of Thaʿlaba" mentioned by Joshua Stylites as taking part in the wars with the Lakhmids are either of Ghassānid origin (Noldeke) or belong to the Bakrī Thaʿlaba (Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Ḥīra*) In the south Arabian tribes we have Azdī and Kinānī Thaʿlaba A Thaʿlaba clan of the Aws in Yathrib and a Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityūn (in Caussin wrongly Ghuityūn) of the Jewish Kainuḳāʿ may also be mentioned. A member, of this clan, called Mukhairīḳ, distinguished for his learning, generally hostile to the Prophet, is said to have adopted Islām and fallen at Uḥud (Tabarī, i 1424; Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 24 *sqq*).

Bibliography· Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, index, s v., Wüstenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen* and *Register* , Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*. (H. H. BRAU)

AL-**THAʿLABĪ**, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM ABŪ ISḤĀḲ AL-NISĀBŪRĪ, a famous theologian and Ḳurʾān exegist, born in Muḥarram 427 (Dec. 1035). His great work is the commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *al-Kashf wa 'l-Bayān ʿan Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* which Ibn al-Djawzī (according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, p. 660; ed. Popper, ii. 166)

criticises on the ground that it accepts weak traditions, especially in the early Sūras, but which according to Schwally (in Noldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii. 174), must be one of the most useful works on the subject, as he uses about 100 sources in addition to Tabarī in an intelligent fashion, and with every endeavour to attain completeness the work is only twice the size of Baiḍāwī Nevertheless the work which was still very widely used in Yāḳūt's time and had a criticism written on it by Aḥmad b al-Mukhtār al-Rāzī about 631 (1233) (see *Fihrist al Kutubkhāne al-Khedīwīye*, i. 198) has now fallen into oblivion and has never been printed. Much more popular is his History of Prophets, which grew out of his Ḳur'ān exegesis and was to be a supplement to it; it gives all the stories in very great detail but keeps on the whole clear of the worst feats of imagination of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, such as we find in al-Kisā'ī [q. v.]. The book has been often printed e g. Cairo 1297, 1303, 1306, 1308, 1310, 1314, 1321, 1324, 1340, Bombay 1306, and a Tatar translation by Muḥammad Amīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yaʿḳūbī, Kasan 1903. As it became a popular work, the text was not treated with care, for example in the Paris MS. 1923, it is worked into that of al-Kisā'ī

Bibliography· Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ii. 104, Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299, N⁰. 30, al-Suyūṭī, *De interpretibus Corani*, ed Meursinge, N⁰. 5; Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, N⁰ 185; *G A.L*, i 350

(C. Brockelmann)

THAMŪD, the name of one of those old Arabian peoples, which like the ʿĀd, Iram (Aram), Wibār (Jobaritae?) had disappeared some time before the coming of the Prophet. A series of older references, not of Arabian origin, confirm the historical existence of the name and people of Thamūd. Thus the inscription of Sargon of the year 715 B. C. mentions the Tamud among the people of eastern and central Arabia subjected by the Assyrians We also find the Thamudaei, Thamudenes mentioned in Aristo, Ptolemy, and Pliny The latter mentions as settlements of the Thamudaei Domatha and Hegra, which are probably to be identified as the modern Dūmat al-Djandal in Djōf and al-Ḥidjr on the Ḥidjāz railway north of al-ʿElā'. Old Arab tradition also locates the Thamūd at the last named place The older poets mention the Thamūd with the ʿĀd as examples of the transitoriness of worldly glory, e g al-Aʿshā and and Umaiya b Abi 'l-Ṣalt who quotes several legendary features of their story. In the Ḳur'ān the fate of the Thamūd along with that of the ʿĀd serves as a warning from native history along with the foreign ones from the Bible· for example in Sūra vii. 71—77; xi. 64—71; xv. 80—86; liv. 23—31. Arab tradition of the fall of the Thamūd, which was further developed by the earliest exegists from the references in the Ḳur'ān is in its main lines as follows. Just as there was a prophet named Hūd among the ʿĀd so there was one called Ṣāliḥ (b. ʿUbaid b. ʿĀmir b. Sām, q.v.) among the Thamūd. Challenged by his opponents, whose leader is said to have been Djundaʿ b. ʿAmr, to give a sign of his divine mission, he conjured up a pregnant she-camel out of a rock The tendons of this animal, sacred and inviolable as "Allāh's camel", were however cut along with those of its foal by the scoffers. In punishment the whole people was doomed to destruction. The man of their destruction is said in Sūra vii. 76 to h been *raḍfa*, earthquake, in Sūra xli. 12, 16, *ṣāʿi* a thunderbolt. These expressions make it proba that tradition associated the fall of the Tham with one of the volcanic outbreaks which led the formation of more or less extensive fields lava called *ḥarra* in Arabia West of al-Ḥidjr one of the largest of these *ḥarra* (cf. B. Mor *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p 28). E. Glaser thi the Thamūd are closely connected with the Liḥy [q. v.], the Lechieni of Pliny, that Thamūd was older, Liḥyān the later name of the people s surviving in the two Liḥyān clans of the Hudhai and that the decline of the Thamūd coinci with the end of the Liḥyān kingdom, somewh between 400 and 600 A. D. The rock inscript found by Huber, Euting and others in al-ʿE al-Ḥidjr and neighbourhood are called by epigraph Liḥyān or Thamūdene.

Bibliography· The commentaries on Ḳur'ān passages quoted, Tabarī, *Annales*, 219 *sqq.*, 244 *sqq*; al-Maḳdisī, *Livre de création*, ed Huart, iii 39 *sqq.*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed Barbier de Meynard, iii 84 *sqq*; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p 58 *sq* Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteislamica*, ed. Fleisch register, Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Ara* i. 24 *sqq.*; Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabie* E. Glaser, *Skizze zur Geschichte und Geograp Arabiens*, vol ii. (H. H Brau

THANAWĪYA, Dualism, means the doctr that light and darkness are the two equal eter creative principles There is not a regular Tha wīya sect or school in Islām. The term, as characteristic name of a school of thought, limited to three non-Muslims and their adheren Ibn Daiṣān, Mānī and Mazdak [see these th articles].

A danger arose to Islām through the tender to dualism within its ranks from the mass c versions of Persians, as was seen for example the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period in the turbing figure of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ He was attacl for example by the Muʿtazilī Zaidī al-Ḳāsim Ibrahīm Tabātabā, *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Zindīḳ Ib him al-Muḳaffaʿ* (ed. M. Guidi, Rome 1927). the further course of dogmatic development, charge of dualism is often raised and is not by means confined to one party. Several ultra-Shiʿi the third (ninth) century had the accusation m against them Abū Hafs al-Ḥaddād, Ibn Dharr Dhairafī and Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāḳ, the authority heresies, who himself, originally a Mazdaean, e after his conversion is said to have "supported Thanawīya by his writings" But the classificati for example, of the latter among the Manichae. is based on his agreement with them on other, metaphysical points, for example the prohibition killing Even the heretic who gets his usual epit from a Thanawīya group, the Rāfiḍī Abū Shākir Daiṣānī got the name, so far as we can see, beca he attributed a body to God, i.e an opinion not itself dualistic and the *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 338, classifies him more generally among the "secret Z dīḳs". In fact the distinctive Daiṣānī dogma, derivation of bodies from the black and the wh element (see Ashʿarī, *Maḳālat al-Islāmīyīn* [Ritter], p 335) seems so far not to be traceable Abū Shākir, besides the branding of an oppon on the ground of a single, often quite subsidi

tertium comparationis is an all too frequent and confusing habit of the Muslim champions of orthodoxy.

The above charges against the three last-named are taken from al-Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, "Le Livre du Triomphe" (ed Nyberg, Cairo 1344, p. 150, 4, 149, 9, 155, 14, 41; cf. also the index under the names mentioned here and below). To appreciate his opinions properly, one must remember that they are counter-attacks on Ibn al-Rawandī, who in his *Kitāb Fadīḥat al-Muʿtazila* had branded several leaders of the Muʿtazila [q v.] as dualists It is true that these circles produced many polemics against Thanawīya, Manichaeans and Daiṣānīs; but Ibn al-Rawandī seized upon the Muʿtazila endeavour to make God not the originator of evil. Even al-Djāḥiz is said to have endangered monotheism by the assertion that "the bodies develop out of their nature" and that "God cannot destroy them" (*op. cit*, p 168). Ibn al-Rawandī particularly characterized Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām, the teacher of Djāḥiz, although he wrote against the Thanawīya (*op. cit*, p 17, 12), as a downright dualist Manichaean and Daiṣānī (*op. cit*, p 38, 3, 40, 6, 17 *sq.*, 43, 17 *sq.* and pass.) chiefly on account of a view of the absolute opposition between good and evil, as between light and heavy. So long as the original works are not available, we must accept with caution the distorted reproduction of his opponents' views by Ibn al-Rawandī and the evasive exposition by al-Khayyāṭ It is, however, not only these opponents who suspect the Muʿtazilīs, who take pride in calling themselves the people of true monotheism and not only the Muʿtazilīs mentioned who have become suspect, but several others like ʿAlī al-Aswārī and Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (cf also de Boer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart 1901, p 47; Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912 and his other works by index under Dualismus). The Muʿtazila counter-attack however was able to reproach the Sunnīs with their Kurʾān which they asserted had existed from the beginning alongside of God

Dualism is said to have been distinctly taught by some disciples of al-Naẓẓām. Just as they are said to have intensified his Shīʿī tendencies till they became ultra-Shīʿa, so they developed his christianising logos-theory into the doctrine of two creators God and God's word. The latter however, identified with the Messiah, does not mean complete incompatibility with monotheism, as it is only a created creator, an intermediary Even the names of these heretics are, it must be confessed, uncertain In Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton), p 42 whose authority is Ibn al-Rawandī they are called al-Fadl al-Ḥadathī and Aḥmad b. Khāʾiṭ The latter is also the name given in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), iii. 266, but in another classification, in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* (Cairo 1331), iv. 197, 20 *sq.*: Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ and al-Faḍl al-Ḥarbī (cf Nyberg on Khayyāṭ, p. 148 on p. 222 *sqq* and Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J A.O S*, xxix. [1909], p. 10 and Index). The ultra-Shīʿī al-Bayān b. Simʿān al-Tamīmī is said to have interpreted Sūra xliii. 84 to mean that there is one God of heaven and another, inferior however, of the earth, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Bazīgh and a certain al-Surrī are said to have agreed with him (al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat Akhbār al-Riḍjāl* [Bombay 1317], p. 196, 8 *sqq.*) This seems to lean towards those Ghulāt [cf. NUṢAIRĪYA] who see in ʿAlī not so much the incarnate identity with God as the demiurge under the highest God. It is often insisted by theologians and philosophers (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv. 37; see also Schreiner, in *Z. D. M. G*, lii. [1928], p. 479 *sqq.* and Nallino in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. 91 *sqq.*) that the participation in rule by the stars as second forces in addition to God, because it is dualism, is no less infidelity than the purely atheistic paganism of an absolute astrology.

To Islām with its striving after monotheism, duality means the abolition of the very idea of God (cf. on Sūra xvi 53· al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib* [Cairo 1308], v. 327, 24, 36; al-Baiḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl* [ed Fleischer], p 517, 12; al-Naisabūrī, *Tafsīr* [on the margin of Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323 *sqq*], xiv. 74). Thanawīya thus became a term of contempt, but even in this use, it is not absolutely free from ambiguity but is used to some extent synonymously with the commoner word *zindīḳ*, the application of which is much wider. Of the philosophical systems the Peripatetic brought a dualistic system, of metaphysics into the Kalām of Islām. Ghazālī very strongly emphasises its halfway position, full of contradictions, between the true belief in tawḥīd on the one hand and complete infidelity on the other, as taught by the Dahrīya [q v.], naturalism, erroneous it is true, but quite conceivable· "the philosophers think that the world is eternal, but in spite of this they assume a creator; this is a self-contradictory proposition which requires no refutation"; Ghazālī insists it is only hiding and not bridging over the difficulty when the empiricism of the Peripatetics summons to its assistance, from the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, after the fashion of the Brethren of Purity [cf IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ], a being intermediate between God and the universe: "a caused (creative intermediary) alongside of the prime cause gives two creators and those eternal" (cf *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* [ed. with the works of the same name by Ibn Rushd and Khwādjazāde, Cairo 1319], p. 33, 27 and thereon J Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiose Subjektivismus Ghazālis* [Vienna–Leipzig 1921], p 43 *sq*, 57 *sqq*, 63 *sqq.*). It is at the same time (p. 35) strongly emphasised that from the Aristotelian Neo-Platonic point of view of Fārābī or Ibn Sīnā a proof of tawḥīd need not be given. He is therefore not all impressed in any way by the fact that the latter tries to remove the danger, which he himself feels of a "second Necessarily Existing One" (see Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas* [Halle 1907], p. 542 *sqq.*; esp p. 551 on Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*, iv., treatise 9) Even more uncertain sound the monotheistic assertions of Ibn Sīnā in the narrower scope of his *Kitāb al-Nadjāt* (Cairo 1331), p. 327 *sqq.*, 356 *sqq*, 374 *sqq.* etc., in view of the granting of the independence of the hylic substratum of creation, as it is reflected in his dualistic anthropology also.

How the contamination of Muslim monotheism by dualism from outside Islām presents itself to the Sunnī Ashʿarīs may be seen, for example, in ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī. In *Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ* (Cairo 1328) he expresses surprise even more ironical than Ibn al-Rāwandī (see in Khayyāṭ, p. 30, 1) at the fact that al-Naẓẓām in his archdualism (*Farḳ*, p. 120, 121: *taḥḳīḳ* [*bi-ʿainihī*] *ḳawl al-Thanawīya*) wrote against the Thanawīya and the Manichaeans (p. 117, 5, 120, 12, 123 *ult.*,

124, 8). Al-Baghdādī in *Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Stambul 1928, p. 54) associates al-Nazzām directly with the Thanawīya outside Islām, among whom he in error includes the Marcionites, unlike the other heresiologists He describes the Bāṭinīs [q v] without qualification as dualists (p. 322). "They were originally Madjūs and Thanawī, then in the time of al-Ma'mūn their prophets like ʿAbd Allāh b Maimūn al-Kaddāh [q v.] and Hamdan b Karmaṭ preached that there were two creators whom they called the first and the second, but this is in substance the teaching of the Thanawīya about light and darkness and the substance of the teaching of the Madjūs about Yazdān and Ahriman" Who are meant by the "two creators" is not recognisable with certainty from the brief general observation It might be thought that al-Baghdādī had arbitrarily emphasised only the *nūr shaʿshaʿānī* and the *nūr zulāmī* out of the series of emanations [see KARMAṬIANS] in order to assert the Madjūs character of the Bātinīya The known monotheistic tendency of the Bātinī Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Zād-i Musāfirīn*, Berlin 1923, p 74 *sqq*, 150 *sqq*, 160 *sqq*) does not support the idea of a duality of this kind (cf. also Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, in *Z D M G*, N S, IV [1925], p 222 *sqq*, esp p 231) The subordination of the second god would, it is true, not fit the comparison with the Madjūs made by al-Baghdādī but it is just this point that would not be regarded as proper dualism in the usual language of the Muslim heresiologists They expressly excluded the Madjūs from the Thanawīya, distinguishing them from the three groups mentioned at the beginning of the article, because, according to their dynamic monarchianism, Ahriman-darkness was a secondary creation of Yazdān-light or, as the sub-group of the Zoroastrians (Zaradushtiya) teach, both are equal to each other, but are subordinate to a supreme God as the first things created by him

Bibliography Besides the books mentioned in the text, cf the works quoted in the articles cited (R STROTHMANN)

THĀNĪSARĪ, MAWLĀNĀ, whose real name was Aḥmad, was a disciple of Shaikh Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd Čiragh-i Dihlī (d. 757 = 1356), and was distinguished for his learning and piety When the news of the arrival of Timūr (d 807 = 1404) spread in Dihlī, most of the ʿUlamā' left the place but Thānīsarī stayed till he and his dependents became prisoners of Timūr. As his fame was widespread and Timūr had previous knowledge of his learning, he was set at liberty and was received by him after order had been restored A discussion arose about the precedence in the assembly between Thānīsarī and Shaikh al-Islām who was the descendant of ʿAlī b Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī (d 593 = 1197), the author of *al-Hidāya*. Timūr took the side of Shaikh al-Islām and said that the latter was a descendant of the author of the *Hidāya*, meaning that preference should be given to him On which Thānīsarī replied that it was no wonder that Shaikh al-Islām had committed one mistake, for his ancestor, the author of the *Hidāya*, had committed many mistakes. Whereupon Shaikh al-Islām became very angry and asked him to point out the mistakes. Thānīsarī told his pupils to do so But Timūr stopped the discussion, in order to prevent further disturbance. When Timūr left India, Thānīsarī also went away from Dihlī and settled at Kālpī where he engaged in teaching till his death in 820 (1417) and was buried in the fort of Kālpī.

Among his compositions the *Ḳaṣīda Dālīya* is very famous

Bibliography. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳk Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p 142, Āzād Bilgramī, *Subhat al-Marǧān*, p. 37, Ṣiddīk Ḥasan, *Abǧad al-ʿUlūm*, p 892 and *Hadā'ik al-Hanafīya*, p 313 (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

THA'R [See KISĀṢ.]

THAWBĀN B IBRĀHĪM. [See DHU 'L-NŪN.]

AL-**THAWR**, the constellation of Taurus, the second in the zodiacal circle The figure is the front half of a bull whose head is turned to one side so that the horns face east The constellation consists of 32 stars in the figure and 11 outside it On the sector (*kaṭʿ*, *ἀποτομή*) are said to be four stars in a straight line, in reality the stars f s ξ o form a curve. The bright star of the north horn also belongs to the constellation of the Steersman The eye of the bull, *ʿAin al-Thawr*, the star with a red light of the first magnitude α in the centre of a thick group of smaller stars, the Hyades of the Greeks, is given many names by the Arabs. The name *al-Ḳanīk*, the "large camel", seems to be genuinely Arabic, around it are grouped the other stars or *al-Kilāṣ*, "little camels" Other names of α are connected with the Pleiades As this constellation is called *al-Nadjm* "the group of stars" by the Arabs, α is called *Hādī 'l-Nadjm*, the "driver of the stars", or *Tālī 'l-Nadjm* and *al-Dabarān*, the "follower of the stars" This last name has passed into our star-maps in the form Aldebaran The stars υ and κ near the ear of the bull are called *al-Kalbain*, the "two dogs", i e of the driver

Bibliography al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAǧā'ib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed Wustenfeld, I 35, transl by H Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p 74, L Idelei, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 136. (J. RUSKA)

AL-**THUGHŪR** (A, plur of *thaghr*, "cleft, opening"), the zone of the fortresses built against the Byzantines in the Syrian and Mesopotamian marches (hence also *Thughūr al-Rūmīya*). In Constantinos Porphyrogennetos they are called *τὰ Στόμια* (*De Ceremon*, ed Bonn, I 657, cf Reiske's note, II, p 777 = Migne, *Patrol Graec*, CXII, col 1220, note 38), by the Syrians "the land of Tagrā" (Michael Syrus, ed Chabot, III 20 *sq*, 467; Barhebraeus, *Chron Eccles*, ed Abbeloos-Lamy, I 339 *sq*.).

This frontier zone ran from Tarsūs [q v] in Cilicia along the Taurus on to Malatya [q. v] to the Euphrates and served to protect the frontier province of the ʿAwāsim [q v] from enemy invasion It corresponded in object (but not in position) to the ancient *limes*, and a distinction, analogous to the old division into Limes Arabicus, Syriacus etc, was made between the Thughūr al-Sha'mīya and the Thughūr al-Djazīrīya. The most advanced town in the former was Mar'ash [q.v] and in the latter Malatya [q. v] Al-Istakhrī mentions in the Thughūr the fortresses of Malatya, al-Hadath, Mar'ash, al-Harūnīya, al-Kanīsa (= Kanīsat al-Sawdā'), ʿAin Zarba, al-Massīṣa, Adhana and Ṭarsūs; al-Dimishkī gives the following as the fortresses on the Mesopotamian frontier. Malatya, Kamakh, Shimshāṭ, al-Bīra, Ḥisn Mansūr, Ḳalʿat al-Rūm, Ḥadath al-Ḥamrā' and Mar'ash, on the Syrian

Ṭarsūs, Adhana, al-Maṣṣīṣa, al-Hārūnīya, Sīs and Aiyās. In the viiith (xivth) century there belonged to the marches of the Mamlūk kingdom, the ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr (so al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo, iv 228, it would be more correct to give only the Thughūr here), the 8 *niyābāt* of Malaṭya, Dabragī (Diwrigī), Daranda, Abulustain, Aiyās, Tarsūs and Adhana, Sirfandakār and Sīs, and to the Mesopotamian marches the 3 *niyābāt*, al-Bīra, Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and al-Ruhā But the name Thughūr, at this time probably only survived in learned tradition

For the pass of Bailān [q. v.] in the Mamlūk period the usual name was *Thaghr al-Iskandarīya* (H. E Weijers, *Summa operis Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, in *Orientalia*, ed Juynboll, ii., 1846, p. 323, 429, 451, 464, 468, 489)

Sometimes the frontier of Diyār Bekr [q. v.] is known as *Thughūr al-Bakrīya* (Ḳudāma, *B G.A*, vi., p 254)

According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Taḳwīm*, transl. Reinaud-Guyard, ii/i 14, ii/ii 257), the name al-Thaghr or al-Thughūr was also used for the marches in al-Andalus and Mā warāʾ al-Nahr.

Bibliography. al-Istakhrī, *B.G A.*, i. 55 *sq*; Ibn Hawḳal, *B. G A*, ii. 108, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, i. 927, Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* ed Juynboll, i 228, al-Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, p. 163—171, 184—192, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, index, ii 707, al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, indices, p. 684, al-Dimishḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 214, Abu 'l-Fidaʾ, *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, ii 60, iii 486 [here al-Thaghr], Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z. D. M G*, xi 183, note, Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed Bairūt, p. 178, Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad Nauk*, xliv 2, 90, 140, 142, 233, 311, 315, Sachau, *S B Akad Berlin*, 1892, p. 319; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 26 *sq*, 37 *sq*, do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliph.*, p. 128; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p 96.

(E. HONIGMANN)

THULĀ, THILĀ, a town in South Arabia, at the foot of a reddish range of hills, which branches off from the great chain of Kawkabān, Ḥaḍūr al Shēkh, Dhī Bīn to the east (S. E.) and forms the southern boundary of al-Baun. According to E. Glaser who visited it on Dec 5, 1883, the town is very clean, and has narrow streets and very high regularly built houses of yellowish-red limestone, which is hewn into neat blocks of about 10 inches by 4 and shows the same character in the whole town. The town is built against the eastern side of 1,000 feet high sandstone cliff, on the top of which is the castle (*ḥuṣn*) el-Nāsire and is surrounded by a wall with 4 gates, beginning and ending against the cliff, it is at least twice as large as Shibām and one and a half times as large as Kawkabān and after Sanʿā', one of the largest and finest towns in the Yemen. The citadel, which was entered through a great archway, which spanned a deep cleft, but was later destroyed, is extraordinarily strongly built and apparently very old. It is said to have been previously called Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb (castle of the Raven), the name of the famous fortress on the coast at the old harbour of Kane (el-Madjdhaha). It is one of the finest castles in the Yemen, unfortunately the Turks at the conquest of the country destroyed all the outer works. The entrance gate of the castle is at a height of 15 feet in an absolutely perpendicular wall, over a ravine 60—100 feet deep Besides a fine mosque, the castle had also a large dwelling-house in the extreme east on the highest part of the hill, which looks at a distance like a low square tower; beside it a little lower is a higher tower, also square. Water was supplied from 4 or 5 deep well cemented cisterns; 15—20 granaries (*madāfin*) cone-shaped caves, hewn out of the sandstone served as storehouses for provisions, the opening was at the narrow end. They are 18—20 feet deep, are 12 feet at the bottom and not quite 3 in diameter at the opening. The summit of the mountain, on which the castle stands, has on all sides caves hewn out of the rock (*djurūf*) with regular dwelling-houses with windows, niches and doors. Some are whitewashed and have 5 or 6 rooms of varying size They seem to be old and were at one time used as dwellings by the Arab garrison of the fort West of the above mentioned tower-like square ruined building are several large tombs built on the sandstone with old Arabic inscriptions A saint (*walī*) is said to be among those buried here

According to local tradition, there was originally not a town of this name but a group of villages; the latter — said to have been over 40 in number — were under the rule of Thulā down to the Turkish conquest In C. Niebuhr's time the administrative district of Thulā (he writes Tulla) comprised also the lands to the north like Kohlān, ʿAffār, Hadje, Dofīi, Kawkabān (near Ḥadje), Djebel Sherif, Habūr, Sūda and Djebel Shahāra with about 300 villages, and was therefore much more extensive than at the end of the xixth century

Bibliography C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Copenhagen 1772), p. 251 *sq.*; E Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen Jemen 1883/84* (Manuscript), fol 61 (GROHMANN)

THULTH. [See ARABIA, i 386b, 387a]

THUMĀMA B ASHRAS, a theologian, representative of the liberal movement under the early ʿAbbāsids On account of his great learning and intellectual ability he was invited to the court by Hārūn and Maʾmūn, to whom his sharp criticism of conservative views was no doubt also pleasing This brought upon him the enmity of the conservative school of thought, which began to come to the front again after Mutawakkil and they have endeavoured to belittle his reputation.

To the burning questions of his time he took up an independent position, logically thought out, which often seemed peculiar and arbitrary The "consequences" of actions, e g the turning of a key by a man, are produced neither by man (otherwise he would be able, like God, to bring into existence new realities, i e. to create) nor by God, for then God would also create sin and moreover be in dependence on the will of the creature The "consequences" (*mutawallidāt*) are rather subjectless actions and based on physis (*ṭibāʿ*) The liberal school traced them to *tawlīd*, the "engendering" of man, without being willing to call this a "causation". Our knowledge is therefore, according to Thumāma, something originating in time but is without a prime cause (*muḥdith*) working in time. Our spirit itself cannot produce it, for then it would be exercising a function of the Deity.

Only the internal activity of the will (*irāda*), excluding all its consequences, is our own special

possession and "free". The world is created by God through his nature (*ṭibāʿ* = physis), i.e synonymous with "physical" necessity. It must therefore have been, as Shahrastānī rightly observes, produced "eternally" i. e. without beginning, and this is the thesis of *falāsifa*. Our natural reason decides on the ethical value of the moral action (*taḥsīn al-ʿaḳl*). God cannot arbitrarily establish the moral.

All our intellectual apprehensions are necessary (*ḍarūrī*), and have no connection with chance He who does not know God in this logically compelling fashion is not bound to obey his commandments; but thereby he also loses the dignity of man's nature and becomes like the beasts. In the next world he will fall into dust. He is not conceded an immortal soul This is true of Jews, Christians, followers of the *Dahr*, Mazdak (*Zanādiḳa*), "Magians" (fire-worshippers, Parsis) and children, even those of Muslims

Ibn Murtaḍā in his "Book on the Sects" (*Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed T. W Arnold, Leipzig 1902, p. 35 *sq*) puts him in the seventh generation, which follows that of al-ʿAllāf (d 849). He was a pupil of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d about 840), was regarded as "unique in knowledge and intellectual culture in his day" and was feared as an opponent in disputations His full name was Abū Maʿan al-Numairī.

Bibliography (The notices of him all come from the works of his opponents, the conservative theologians) Īdjī, *Kitāb al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Sørensen, *passim*, Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, London 1842–1846, p. 49 *sq.*, Isfaraʾīnī, Ms Berlin, 4°, fol. 35 *sq.*, al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, ed. Cairo, *passim*, Djurdjanī, *Definitiones*, ed. Flugel, Leipzig 1845, p. 76, 4; M Horten, *Die Theologie des Islam*, Leipzig 1912, p. 285, do, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, Bonn 1912, p. 309–317; do., *Die philosophischen Probleme*, Bonn 1910, p. 50, 176 etc. (M Horten)

AL-THURAIYĀ, the constellation of the Pleiades According to al-Kazwīnī, the group is made up of two brighter stars between which are three others close together like grapes in a bunch. The group is also called simply *al-Naḏjm* "the (group of) stars" and the principal star (η Alkyone) is called *Wasaṭ*, *Ḏjawz* or *Naʿyir al-Thuraiyā* i. e. middle, heart or bright star of the Pleiades. The word *Thuraiyā* is a diminutive of *tharwā* which means "existing in plenty" and would correspond to the Greek πλειάς if this name could be connected with πλεός and not with πλεῖν "to navigate" According to others, the constellation is so called because rain at its rising at the dawn brings *tharwā* i. e. great plenty. In any case, from early times the Pleiades have been credited with great influence on the weather and the processes of nature dependent on it. A more popular name for the group is, according to the astronomer Ibn Abi 'l-Riḏjāl (Abenragel, in the xiith = xviith century), *Daḏjāḏjat al-Samāʾ maʿa Banātihā*, the hen of heaven with her chickens, also found in the English name Hen and Chickens. The constellation is also regarded as a diadem with jewels and it is mentioned in countless passages in the poets. In the form *Suraya* the word has recently become widely known as the name of the queen of Afghānistān.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAḏjāʾib al-Maḳhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 35, 43; transl. by H. Ethé, as the *Kosmographie*, p. 75, 90; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 146. (J. Ruska)

THURAIYĀ, Meḥemmed, an Ottoman biographer, born in Stambul, the son of a certain Ḥusnī Bey (cf. *Siḏjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii 178), adopted an official career and died in his native town as an official in the education service on the 19th Dhu 'l-Ḥiḏjdja 1326 (Jan 12, 1909) His tomb is in Scutari in the Ḳaraḏja Aḥmad cemetery. Meḥemmed Thuraiyā has earned lasting fame as the compiler of an Ottoman Dictionary of National Biography, which he called *Siḏjill-i ʿOthmānī* and published in 4 volumes in Stambul between 1308 and 1315 On the plan, contents and importance of this work to historians cf F Babinger, *G. O W.*, p 386 *sq.*; the fact that the statements of the *Siḏjill-i ʿOthmānī* must be used with great caution does not lessen the magnitude of the achievement, which is an astonishing one for one man. Meḥemmed Thuraiyā has however not rendered the compilation of an Ottoman biographical dictionary on scientific lines superfluous. Under the title *Nukhbet al-Weḳāʾiʿ* (Stambul 5 parts, comes down to 1267 = 1850) Mehemmed Thuraiyā began but did not finish a collection of public appointments from 1247 (1831) to 1292 (1875) with biographical notes Among his literary remains were found copies of several biographical works and works on contemporary history which he had begun, which still await publication or utilisation, cf. *G. O. W*, p. 387.

Bibliography Mehemmed Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, iii. 36 *sq* ; F. Babinger, *G. O W*, p 385 *sqq* (Franz Babinger)

ṬIBB (A), medicine. This is one of the branches of science in which the Arabs have attained most fame. The Muslims received their knowledge of the subject mainly from the Greeks, first through the intermediary of the Syrians and Persians, then directly by the translation of classical works Muslim rulers and princes were at all times very eclectic in the choice of their physicians, there were at the court of the caliphs, Jewish, Christian, Mazdaean, Sabaean and even a few Hindu physicians. Medical science had been much studied in the eastern world in the period that preceded Islām, especially at Alexandria in Egypt and at the school of Djundīsābūr in Persia which lasted down to the time of the ʿAbbāsids.

The Greek medical authors known to the Arabs were especially Hippocrates and Galen, besides whom may be mentioned Rufus of Ephesus, Oribases, Aetius and Paul of Aegina. Hippocrates [cf. Boḳrāṭ] was translated into Arabic by Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ, Ḳosṭā b. Lūḳā, ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī, they translated his book of "Aphorisms"; his treatises on "Prognostics" and "Epidemics" were later studied and annotated. A large number of the works of Galen were translated into Arabic · the *Ars medica* or *Isagoge* which was later very popular in the middle ages, the *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*, the *De temperamentis*, the *De sanitate tuenda*, three books on the properties of foods, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 14 books on *Therapeutics*, *Methodus medendi*, a treatise on diagnosis, *De morbis et symptomatibus*, another on fevers which was well known in Latin, others again on the pulse, on tumours and several commentaries by Galen on Hippocrates, especially on the book on Epidemics

and on the Aphorisms to which should be added the commentary by the same scholar on the "Timaeus" of Plato, which Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ translated.

Among Christian physicians, who distinguished themselves at the court of the caliphs was Ibn Māsawaih, physician to Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was given by the caliph the task of procuring translations of the books of medicine of the ancients and he taught medicine in Baghdād. In the same period, the family of the Bokht-īshō' was celebrated: one of its members attended Rashīd at the beginning of his reign They are said to have come from Djundīsābūr. 'Alī b. Riḍwān, an Egyptian Christian, was physician to the Fāṭimid caliph Ḥākim in Egypt. He wrote a commentary on Galen.

A Zoroastrian, 'Alī b 'Abbās, was physician to the Būyid sultān 'Adud al-Dawla and wrote a treatise entitled "The Royal Book," which had the greatest vogue before the *Canon* of Avicenna. The Sabaean Sinān, son of the great geometrician Thābit b. Ḳurra [q v], attended the caliph Kāhir. It was he who had official medical diplomas instituted aspirants to the medical profession had to pass examinations and certificates were given them defining within what limits they were to be permitted to practise In Baghdād alone there were over 800 doctors, who held this certificate, not counting those who, on account of the renown they already had, had been exempted from the examination Sinān having been persecuted by the Caliph, fled to Khurāsān, he later returned to Baghdād where he died in 942

These differences of origin among the physicians did not mean that they had serious differences in their idea or practice of their art A few prescriptions, a few methods on some question or other, may have been peculiar to one or other school. Thus Ibn al-Ḳiftī tells a story of a prince of the family of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who had fallen into a lethargy. A Christian physician was sent to attend him and then a Jewish one; they were unable to do anything, a Hindu was then summoned and he succeeded in reviving him. In this case it was "Indian medicine" that triumphed· but one must not conclude that it was quite different from Jewish or Byzantine medicine, nor that it was in any way superior to them

The Muslim physicians surpassed even the preceding in reputation. Rāzī, so well known in the middle ages in the latinised form Razes, physician, apothecary, surgeon and alchemist, left two principal works — *al-Ḥāwī* and *al-Manṣūrī*, dedicated to the Sāmānid Abū Sālih Mansūr, on "special" maladies. Al-Rāzī was head of the hospital at Rayy and then of that of Baghdād. The foundation of regularly organised hospitals under official control is a thing that reflects the greatest honour on Muslim science and governments. Historians also mention the hospital of Damascus There were besides in large towns, a "Chief of the doctors," appointed by the authorities Among those quoted as having had this title is the second Ibn Zuhr.

The great philosophers of the Hellenistic schools, the "scholastics", were physicians and wrote on medicine Avicenna was a practitioner with a high reputation. His great work, the "Canon on Medicine", is the largest treatise on the subject produced in the Middle Ages; it was several times annotated in Arabic and became authoritative in the east and then in the west. It is divided into five books. The first is devoted to the general principles of medicine, the *Kulliyāt*; these generalities are anatomy, hygiene, the diseases which as a rule affect the whole body in opposition to "special" diseases which affect particularly one organ or limb; these are enumerated and studied in Book III, beginning at the head and going down to the feet. General diseases are also dealt with in Book IV; then come different accidents, tumours, poisonings, fractures of limbs. Book II is a treatise on "simples," and V is devoted to "compound" remedies, called *akrābādhin*, i e pharmaceutics

In the Maghrib, Ibn Bādjdja and Ibn Ṭufail were physicians to the Almohads. Averroes, who succeeded Ibn Ṭufail in this capacity, wrote a *Kulliyāt*, the popularity of which rivalled that of the *Canon* of Avicenna in the Muhammadan west and then in the Christian world. Muslim Spain also produced the family of Ibn Zuhr, the Avenzoar of mediaeval Latinity.

Arab medical science had an enormous influence in the western world It passed first to the Jews, especially to Maimonides, whose medical work is very considerable, then to the Christians. This is how Gerard of Cremona came to translate the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* of Razes. The translation of the *Canon* was revised by Andreas Alpagus of Bellona, who also translated the *De Theriaca* of Averroes and the *Practica* of Ibn Serapion Farragut translated the *Continens* of Razes, and Bonacossa, a Jew of Padua, the "Colliget" (*Kulliyāt*) of Averroes. These translations were published at the beginning of printing.

The pharmacopia and the knowledge of "simples" are represented by the treatise of Ibn al-Baiṭār of Malaga in addition to the parts of the *Canon* of Avicenna which refer to this subject The Arabs themselves studied herbs and further developed the knowledge of their medicinal properties from the teaching of Dioscorides and Galen. Through their sailors they were able to introduce into medicine the use of new plants from the Malay Archipelago and China, like camphor, cassia and sandalwood They developed pharmaceutics and invented several preparations, syrups, juleps and alcohols.

One branch of study closely allied to medicine, veterinary science, was the subject of a number of special treatises among the Arabs.

Bibliography· Full information on the physicians of the Muslim world is to be found in several Arabic works Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed A. Müller, 1884; the *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'* of Ibn al-Ḳiftī; the *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal* of Abu 'l-Faradj, ed Ṣālḥānī; Makkarī, *Analecta*, for Spanish physicians; the "Canon" of Avicenna, ed in Arabic at Rome in 1593, at the *Typographia Medicea*, reprinted Būlāḳ in 1294.

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(B. Carra de Vaux)

TIBBU. [See Tubu.]

TIBET, a country to the south of China. Yāḳūt gives the forms Tubbat, Tubbit, and Tabbut,

preferring the first of them. The oldest Arab notices of Tibet and the Tibetan kingdom are probably of Turkish origin The ruler of Tibet is called Khāḳān; the names Tuput and Tüpüt-Ḳaghan are found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions. A fancied resemblance of Tubbat to Thābit and Tubba' has given rise to stories of the Yaman origin of the Tibetan kingdom, cf. e g al-Ṭabarī, i. 686 supra, Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, p. 87 *sqq*. There is much more that is legendary in the Arab notices of Tibet, the story of the inexplicable joy and desire to laugh that overcomes every stranger in Tibet, first found in Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, vi 170), is frequently quoted in Muslim literature (cf Nizāmī, *Sikandar-nāma*, Cawnpore 1320, p 226), even in the best account of Tibet we have (in the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, text in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad de Russie*, 1924, p. 73), the first that mentions the town of Lhassa (Lhāsā). There is said to have been a mosque in Lhassa and a Muslim community, not however, very large.

The period of the Arab conquests in Central Asia was not that of the zenith of Tibetan power and of Tibet's usually successful wars against China. In the Chinese annals Arabs are often mentioned as allies of the Tibetans and vice versa, Chavannes sums up the relationship in these words (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p 291) "L'appui que les Tibétains prêtaient aux Arabes dans la vallée de l'Yaxartes, les Arabes le leur rendaient en Kashgarie". It was not till the Čen-yuan period (785—805) that the Arabs began a war against Tibet. Henceforth the Tibetans had continually to send armies to the west, so that the Chinese frontier districts suffered less from them than before (E Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, London 1871, p. 10). In Arabic sources there is no reference either to the alliance or to the estrangement According to al-Tabarī, the Arab rebel Mūsā b 'Abd Allāh b Khāzim was attacked during his rule in Tirmidh (fifteen years al-Tabarī, ii. 1160 infra, till 85 = 704) by the Hayāṭila or Habāṭila [see CHINA, i, p. 845b], by the Tibetans and Turks (in the parallel passage in Balādhurī, p. 418, the Tibetans are not mentioned), the attack was repulsed. According to Ya'ḳūbī (ii 362; also *B G A*., vii. 301 infra), in the reign of 'Omar II (717—720) an embassy was sent from Tibet to Djarrāt b. 'Abd Allāh, governor of Khorāsān, with the request that a teacher of the Muslim religion should be sent to that country Salīṭ b 'Abd Allāh al-Hanafī is said to have gone on this errand In the same source the king of Tibet (p. 479) is mentioned among the kings who submitted to the Caliph al-Mahdī (158–169 = 775–785). In the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193 = 786—809), the rebel Rāfi' b. Laith was supported in his rising in Samarḳand against the government by Tibetan troops (*djunūd*) (*op. cit*., p. 528) In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198—218 = 813—833), the king of Tibet is said to have adopted Islām, and in token of his conversion to have sent to Khorāsān his golden idol reproduced on a golden throne. Ma'mūn sent the idol to Mecca (*op. cit*, p. 550); the governor Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī during a rebellion struck gold coins from it (p 544) In Ṭabarī (iii 815) the "Khāḳān, king of Tibet" is mentioned under the year 195 (810—811) as one of the enemies of al-Ma'mūn, with whom he had to come to terms before attacking al-Amīn. In 196 (811—812) al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q. v.] was given the governorship of the eastern provinces from "Hamadhān to Tibet" (Ṭabarī, iii. 841).

The Arab geographers seem to have generally understood by Tubbat, Little Tibet or Baltistān [q. v]. There were routes to it from Ḳhotan [q.v.] and Badakhshān [q v.] via Wakhān It is to the Khotan-Tibet road that the story given by al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, ed Sachau, p. 271, 8, where *Tubbat* should be read for *bait*) and by Gardīzī (*op. cit*., p. 88) from Djaihānī about mountain sickness refers On Djirm in Badakhshān as a frontier post on the road to Tibet see *B G A*, vii 288 infra. The fullest notices of the road through Wakhān are given in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (fol. 25b). As a frontier fort of Mā warā' al-Nahr in this direction there is mentioned the "large village" of Samarḳandāḳ (probably meaning "little Samarḳand") in which Indians, Tibetans, Wakhānians (*Wakhiyān*) and Muslims lived. Musk was brought from Tibet to the Muslim world by this route (*B. G. A*., i. 280 supra, 297 infra) In contradiction to the historians and to his own statement about the frontier defences between Tibet and China (i 208), Ya'ḳūbī (i 204) says that no one ever waged war into Tibet

Probably the first campaign of a Muslim ruler against Tibet was the campaign of the Sultān of Bengal [q. v.] Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī towards the end of the vith (xiith) century (the date 641 = 1243—1244 given in the text cannot be right as the same source gives the year 607 = 1205—1206 as the date of this ruler's death); it is described in the *Tabakāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī (ed W. Nassau-Lees and Mawlawis Khadim Husain and 'Abd al-Hai, p. 553, transl by Raverty, p 560 *sqq* , Elliot, *History of India*, ii. 310 *sqq*)

The name Tibet (Tebet, Thebet, Thabet, Thibet) contrary to Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii 21, probably reached Europe independently of the Arabs through European travellers in the Mongol period, although Tibet (Tubbot) is already mentioned in the xiith century by Benjamin of Tudela (transl. Adler, p 59)· his account, however, probably did not become known in Europe at that time. Benjamin, as is now supposed, only went as far as Baghdād (J. K Wright, the *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, New York 1928, p. 282) He gives only a very confused account of what he picked up in the Muslim world, probably from Jews, for example he says that one can go in 4 days from Samarḳand to Tibet.

Rashīd al-Dīn's great work on the Mongol empire also contains some references to Tibet The name Būrī Tabbat (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Trudī Vost. otd Arkh Obshč*, xiii., text, p. 237) not found elsewhere in Muslim writers, is mentioned in the xiiith century by Plano Carpini (Burithabet) and in Chinese sources (cf the references in Bretschneider, *op. cit*) Tibet, already converted to Buddhism in the viith century, was from the Mongol period of importance for the spread of Buddhism. Rashīd al-Dīn expressly says (ed. Blochet, p. 545) that of Buddhist monks (*bakhshī*) those of Tibet enjoyed the greatest prestige.

After the final triumph of Islām in Central Asia and Northern India in the ixth (xvth) century, Tibet was invaded by Muslim rulers under pretext of a holy war, Little Tibet in particular Towards

the end of the ninth century A. H., all the lands of Bolor (Kāfiristān, q. v) and Tibet between Badakhshān and Kashmīr [q. v.] were subjected by Mīr Walī, general of the ruler of Kāshghar of the house of Dūghlāt, Abū Bakr (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 320 and 403). When Abū Bakr was overthrown by Sa'īd Khān (in 1514) the fortresses built in Tibet (in Ladakh) were abandoned by their garrisons and with their treasures seized by the Tibetans Under Sa'īd Khān (1514—1533) Tibet, Ladakh and the adjoining territories were invaded, first in 1517 by Mīr Mazīd and in 1532 by the Khān himself accompanied by the historian Haidar Mīrzā [q v] (*op cit*, p. 417 *sqq*) In 1533 Ḥaidar Mīrzā tried to reach Lhassa, which he calls Ursang, where the largest temples were, but was forced to turn back at Askābrak (p 454), only a week's journey from Lhassa. Ursang is probably the Gursāng of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, where there were large temples of idols That Gursāng is also mentioned separately from Lhassa is no evidence against this identification the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is almost entirely compiled from written sources so that the same name often occurs twice in different forms, apparently from different sources. Later as king of Kashmīr (after 1541) Haidar Mīrzā in 1548 undertook a campaign against Ladakh and Baltistān.

All this seems to show that Baltistān in the tenth century A H was included in Tibet (according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, p 436 it lay "between Tibet and Bolor") and was not yet a Muslim country The idea adopted by Cunningham and later writers, including A Francke (*A History of Western Tibet*, p. 90) that Baltistān was converted between 1380 and 1400 by the ruler of Kashmīr, Sikandar (according to Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p 293, 788—813 = 1386—1410/1411), must be rejected

By the second half of the XVIth century, Islām was already a political force in Little Tibet The rulers of Kapulu, 'Alī Mīr Shīr Khān, succeeded in uniting all Baltistān under his rule, the land was cleared of idols and other remains of Buddhism. He later succeeded in conquering Ladakh also, but only temporarily He was also the founder of Skardo, capital of Baltistān, in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (p 405), Askārdū is only mentioned as the name of a pass on the road from Kashmīr which now no longer exists Baltistān remained the only Muslim land inhabited by Tibetans, and since 1841 has been under the suzerainty of Kashmīr. There are said to be historical works in the language of the Baltīs They also use a script of their own supposed to date from the time of their conversion to Islām; the characters, probably of Tibetan origin although influenced by Arabic, are written from left to right (Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, III. 32 *sq.*; Francke, *op. cit.*, p 89 *sq.*). The Baltīs from the first professed the Shī'a; but we learn from the *Bahr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (text in *Zap.*, XV 235) that in the early years of the XVIIth century the Sunna gained the upper hand, probably for a short time only. The king (his name is not recorded) who was converted to the Sunnī had his father and brothers slain as heretics Sunna scholars were sent for from Kāshghar. Thirty years later in 1044 (1634—1635), news of these events was brought to Balkh by a certain Hasan Khān who was related to the ruling house

About 1682 when Central Tibet was under the rule of the Kalmucks [q v.] the celebrated Khodja Apaḳ (his tomb is still revered in Kāshghar), who had quarrelled with his Khān Ismā'īl (1670—1682) went to Lhassa, which he calls "town of Djō" (*Djū Shahrī*) after a great statue of the Buddha. At his request the Dalai Lama (in a Turkish manuscript we have the plural form *Dalailamalar*) gave him a letter of safe conduct to the Khān of the Kalmucks, Galdan Boshoktu At the head of an army, which included the Khodja, the Khān invaded Kāshgharia Ismā'īl Khān was carried off a prisoner, and the rule given to the Khodja (M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, I. 210, 212, 321 and 326, *Zap*, XV. 250)

In the last few centuries, Tibet has had little contact with the Muslim world, although Muslims went to Lhassa during the period when Europeans were excluded Every three years an embassy arrived there with presents from Kashmīr In a plan of Lhassa given by A Waddell (*Lhassa and its Mysteries*, London 1905) we may note a mosque and a court of law for Muslims from Kashmīr and an inn for Chinese Muslims

Bibliography given in the article

(W BARTHOLD)

TIBRĪZ [See TABRĪZ.]

AL-TIBRĪZĪ, ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀ' YAHYĀ B 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤASAN (Yākūt adds B MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ) B BISṬĀM AL-SHAIBĀNĪ AL-KHAṬĪB, a celebrated Arab philologist born in 421 (1030) Among his teachers the best known was the poet Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī [q v] A copy of the *Kitāb al-Tahdhīb fi 'l-Lugha* of Abū Mansūr al-Azharī (Brockelmann, *G A. L.*, I. 129, cf however Bergsträsser, *Z S*, II 189, N° 24) came into Tibrīzī's hands and he required a teacher to expound it for him He was recommended to the poet. He put the work which was in several volumes in a fodder-sack and carried it himself from Tabrīz to al-Ma'arra as he could not afford to ride His perspiration soaked through the bag and left damp stains in the books Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [q v], as Ibn Khallikān (see *Bibl*) records with caution from his lost *K. Akhbār al-Nuhāt*, says he saw some of the volumes in the Baghdād *Wakf* libraries They looked as if they had been in water — Among his other teachers and authorities were Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Ubaid Allāh b 'Alī al-Rakkī (d. 450 = 1058), Abū Muhammad (so Ibn Khallikān, Yākūt al-Ḥasan b. Radjā' b) al-Dahhān (d. 447 = 1055), Abu 'l-Fath Sulaim(ān?) Yākūt and others Salīm b Ayyūb al-Rāzī (Shāfi'ī Fakih, in Tyre, cf Ibn Khallikān, N°. 268), Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b Muhammad al-Sayyārī (? De Slane [s. *Bibl.*] reads in the text al-Sāwī [as does Yākūt], and also gives the variant al-Sayyādī) al-Baghdadī, Ibn Burhān, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḳaṣabānī and 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (*G. A. L.*, I. 287), and the Kādī Abu 'l-Tayyib Tāhir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tabarī (cf. al-Sam'ānī, 367a, l 21 *sqq*) and Abu 'l-Hasan al-Tanūkhī (*ibid.*, 110b, l. 42). He also studied in Tyre and Damascus in addition to al-Ma'arra While still a young man he went to Cairo where he taught Ibn Bābashādh (Brockelmann, *G. A L*, I 301). He then went to Baghdād were he acted as Ḳādī (this is the correct reading for *Kāṭin* in the *G. M. S*, xx. in the MS. of al-Sam'ānī, Stambul Koprulü 1010) and acted as professor of *Adab* subjects and librarian in the Nizāmīya till his death on Tuesday 28th Diumādā

II, 502 (Feb. 2, 1109) [so Ibn Khallikān: Yāḳūt I, which is wrong, as the day of the week shows]. His tomb is at the Abraz gate — Among his various pupils a number of sources mention al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the historian of Baghdād (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 329), but this statement, which goes back to Samʿānī and is adopted by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (see *Bibl*) and Ibn Khallikān must be due to an error as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was thirty years older than Tibrīzī. Ibn Khallikān s. v. Tibrīzī refers to his article al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, where he says he gives further particulars of the relations between these two but there is no information in the passage to which he refers (N⁰. 33). On the other hand Yāḳūt himself in the *Irshād* s. v. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī gives a story with an *isnād* going back to Tibrīzī. The *nisba* Tibrīzī is not given. but there can be no doubt that our Tibrīzī is meant by Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yahya b ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Lughawī, especially as the link in the chain is Abu 'l-Fadl Nāsir al-Salāmī, apparently the father of Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī, the pupil of Tibrīzī, which is probably only a slip for the name of his son, since M. b. N., besides being a pupil of Tibrīzī, is also known as a teacher of al-Samʿānī (cf. Bergsträsser, in *Z S*, ii 205, N⁰ 154) while his father is in the first place quite unknown and could hardly have also had the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, but secondly because the poverty of the narrator which occasionally crops up in the story agrees very well with the poverty of Tibrīzī, which we know of from the story of his journey to al-Maʿarra. Tibrīzī must thus have come to Damascus in 456 and studied *Adab* under al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the story of his thirst for knowledge is told in detail. Tibrīzī lived in the minaret of the great mosque (this also is evidence of his poverty) One day al-Khaṭīb visited him in his abode and they talked for an hour. Just before leaving al-Khaṭīb gave him something wrapped up in paper as a present with the request that he should buy pens with it. When Tibrīzī unfolded the packet, he found it contained 5 Egyptian dīnārs Al-Khaṭīb visited him a second time and gave him money of the same value as or even higher than on the first occasion and asked him to buy paper with it. This story of Yāḳūt's which is corroborated in his own article on Tibrīzī in the *Irshād* is certainly correct in contrast to that in the *Muʿdjam*, so that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was really Tibrīzī's teacher. Otherwise al-Baghdādī would certainly have devoted an article to him in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*. Tibrīzī's pupils were· Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī (467—550 = 1074–1155, cf. above), Abu 'l-Hasan Saʿd al-Khair b. Muḥammad b. Sahl (in al-Maḳḳarī, I. 895: Saʿd) al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (al-Ghazzālī's pupil, d. 541 = 1146 in Baghdād), Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindjī (462—548, lived in Merw) and lastly al-Djawālīḳī [q. v.], his successor in the Niẓāmīya. His conduct was not of the best (he is said to have drunk wine, worn silk garments and a turban trimmed with gold so that he must have later became prosperous), but his scientific authority is undisputed.

His works that are known by name are all of a learned nature; but Ibn Khallikān quotes two verses by him and a poem of al-ʿImād al-Faiyāḍ to him with his answer. In the list given below of his works, those already mentioned in Brockelmann (*G. A. L.*, I, 279 f.) are only given again when further remarks can be made on them.

On the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām [q. v] Tibīzī wrote 3 commentaries, first a short one on each *bait* and then one on the whole work. The second has been edited by Freytag. On the sources cf. Freytag's preface. Yāḳūt had an autograph copy of Tibrīzī's commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt*. He also annotated the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī (*G.A.L.*, i. 88), the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, the Ḳaṣīda *Bānat Suʿād* (on the edition s. the art. KAʿB B. ZUHAIR), the *Maḳṣūra* of Ibn Duraid [q. v.], the *K. al-Lamʿ fi 'l-Naḥw* of Ibn Djinnī [q. v.], also according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa the *Nihāyat al-Wuṣūl ilā ʿIlm al-Uṣūl* of an unidentified Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Sāʿātī al-Baghdādī (the author of this name in Brockelmann lived later than Tibrīzī, i. 382), and the Ḳurʾan. The same authority also says he edited the *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [q. v.] in a corrected version under the title *al-Taddhīb* (MS Stambul, ʿĀtif, N⁰. 2716; cf Rescher, *M. F. O Beyrouth*, 1912, p. 495), pr. Cairo, n d.; but there is also a commentary printed in Bairūt (1895 *sq.*) by him on the *K al-Alfāẓ* of the same author. An abstract of the *Kāfī fi ʿIlmai al-ʿArūḍ wa 'l-Ḳawāfī* is perhaps contained in the collected volume *Madjmūʿ min Muhimmāt al-Mutūn*, Cairo 1323, p 550 *sqq*. where no author is named but, according to Brockelmann, Index s. v. *Kāfī*, at least two others are possible authors of it Attention has been called by Rescher, *Z. A.*, xxvii., p. 156 to another prosody entitled *Risāla fi 'l-ʿArūḍ* in the Stambul MS Ḥamīdīye, 1127, which does not seem to be identical with the two mentioned by Brockelmann A MS of his commentary on the *Dīwān* of Imraʾ 'l-Ḳais is mentioned by Rescher, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxviii. 63, but the sources say nothing of this work Of other works, now unknown, by Tibrīzī Ibn al-Anbārī and Yāḳūt mention: *Maḳāti-al-Fursān*, Ibn Khallikān *Tahdhīb gharib al-Ḥadīth*, Yāḳūt· *Muḳaddima fi 'l-Naḥw*.

Bibliography: (so far as not already given)· al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, 1912, *G.M.S.*, xx , fol. 103ᵃ; Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbāʾ fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1294, p. 443—48, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N⁰. 810; do. Engl by de Slane, iv., 1871, p. 78 *sqq*. (with valuable notes); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 822 *sq.*; do., *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, *G.M.S.*, vi/i 254 *sq.*; vi/vii. 286 *sqq.*; Seckis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de Bibliographie arabe*, p 625 *sqq* (M. PLESSNER)

AL-**TIBRĪZĪ**. [See MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN B. KHALAF]

TIBRĪZĪ, commonly called SHAMS-I TIBRĪZĪ (SHAMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MALIKDĀD-I TABRĪZĪ, according to Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Lees, p. 535), a Ṣūfī, was the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who composed in his name the greater part of the collection of mystical odes known as the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* Born in Tabrīz [q. v.], where his father carried on the trade of a cloth-merchant, he is said to have studied Ṣūfism under Shaikh Abū Bakr Zanbīl-bāf (Sallabāf), Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Sindjāsī, and Bābā Kamāl Djundī. Afterwards he became a wandering derwīsh, and in 642 arrived at Ḳōnya. So profound was the impression made by his enthusiastic personality on Djalāl al-Dīn that the disciples of the latter, bitterly resenting their master's devotion to his beloved friend and *murshid*, caused Shams-i Tibrīzī

to leave the city. It is said that after spending some time at Damascus he returned to Ḳōnya in company with the poet's son Bahā al-Dīn Sulṭān Walad, who had been sent in search of him. In the month of Shawwāl 643, he vanished mysteriously. The stories which represent him as having been put to death by the myrmidons of the government or murdered by a band of conspirators, amongst whom was one of Djalāl al-Dīn's sons, are not confirmed by the best authorities, namely, the *Maṯnawīyāt* of Sulṭān Walad and the *Risāla-i Sipahsālār* of Farīdūn b. Aḥmad, an account of Djalāl al-Dīn and his successors written in Persian circa 720. Some modern scholars hold the view that Shams-i Tibrīzī never existed save in the poet's imagination: "c'est son propre génie inspirateur" (Riḍā Tawfīḳ, in *Textes Ḥouroûfîs*, *G. M. S.*, ix. 270, note 1); but even if we suppose the dates and other circumstantial details given by the biographers to be fictitious, such a theory rests on frail foundations. It is impossible to regard the case of Shams-i Tibrīzī as unique· the terms of "deification" which the poet applies to him in the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* are entirely parallel to those used of Ḥusām al-Dīn in the *Maṯnawī* and of another dear friend, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Zarkūb, in some of the odes. So far as the evidence of language is concerned, these three inspirers of Djalāl al-Dīn stand or fall together; and that evidence can with more reason be interpreted in a different way. To readers of Dante it will not appear strange that the great Persian mystic should have clothed his feelings of intimate spiritual relationship and personal affection in words which reflect the ideas of a pantheistic philosophy

Bibliography. Farīdūn b. Aḥmad, *Risāla-i Sipahsālār*, Cawnpore 1901, p. 63 *sqq*. = p. 164 *sqq* of the Turkish translation by Midḥat Bahārī Ḥusāmī, Constantinople 1913; Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿĀrifīn*, transl. by C. Huart in *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris 1918 and by J. W Redhouse in *The Mesnevi*, Book I, London 1881, R. A Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, Cambridge 1898. (R A. NICHOLSON)

AL-**TIDJĀNĪ**, an Arab author of Tūnis. Practically nothing is known of his life His name is not even handed down in a single form. The manuscripts of his *Riḥla* (see the works by Rousseau and Bel quoted below) all seem to call him Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh; so he is also called in Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ibn Ḳunfūdh (*G. A. L.*, ii. 241), *al-Fārisīya fi Mabādi 'l-Dawla al-Ḥafṣīya* (in Cherbonneau in *J. A.*, iv., 17, 1851, p. 53, transl., p. 64). In his *Tuḥfat al-ʿArūs wa-Nuzhat al-Nufūs* on the title page we have Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b. Aḥmad, this is what Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No. 2623 also writes and al-Zarkashī, *Taʾrīḵh al-Dawlatain al-Muwaḥḥidīya wa 'l-Ḥafṣīya*, Tūnis 1289, p. 51, except that the latter calls him Ibn Ibrāhīm. The sources also differ regarding the quantity of the first syllable of the *nisba* That there is no question of more than one author of the two surviving works attributed to Tidjānī is made certain by two circumstances. In the first place al-Zarkashī, who uses the form of the name found in the *Tuḥfa* as well as Ibn al-Khaṭīb who uses the form of the *Riḥla* tells us what we also know from the *Riḥla* that al-Tidjānī had dealings with the Ḥafṣid emīr Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyāʾ b. Abi 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Liḥyānī (711—717 = 1311—1317). In the second place the authors of the works quoted in the *Tuḥfa* come down to a period which make it clear that the author must have written at the beginning of the viiith (xivth) century.

Of his life we only know that he made a journey with his royal master through North Africa, which he describes in the *Riḥla*. It began in Tūnis towards the end of Djumādā I 706 (beg. December 1306) and his fellow-travellers were on the *ḥadjdj* to Mecca. Al-Tidjānī had however to separate from the caravan at the beginning of Muḥarram 709 (June 1309) because an illness forced him to return home. They had not got much beyond Tripolis, as long halts were made everywhere. These long delays were all to the advantage of the book of travels. Everything that was of any interest in a comparatively small stretch of country could be noted down. The *Riḥla* thus became a regular mine of geographical, scientific and particular historical information about the country passed through; extracts are also given in it from authors, whose original works must now be regarded as lost, and copies of documents. When the prince became amīr, al-Tidjānī became one of his highest officials The year of his death is not known, nor that of his birth.

There is not yet a complete edition of the *Riḥla*; long extracts are given in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-sicula*, 1857, ch. 45 A short extract with translation has been published by A Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya* (*Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger*, xxvii., 1903), appendix. A translation of extracts from the whole book was given by A Rousseau in *J. A*, iv. 20 (1852), p. 57 *sqq*.; v. 1 (1853), p. 101 *sqq*, 354 *sqq*. The selection is however quite arbitrary, the reconstitution of the text is defective and the translation to be used with great caution. The text can be checked for several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *ʿIbar*.

Al-Tidjānī's other book is a compendium on love and marriage. In 25 chapters it gives advice on the choice of a wife with very full description of the marks of beauty arranged according to parts of the body and on their treatment and on married life with means to heighten its enjoyment, all in the form of traditions and extracts from writers, roughly in chronological order. Theologians and jurists are quoted at great length but more with regard to ethical paraenesis than the regulation of the *Fiḳh*. Manuscripts and texts of the book are given in Brockelmann, *G A L.*, ii. 257.

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 1, 1854, p. L. and the works quoted by A. Bel, *op. cit* (M. PLESSNER)

TIDJĀNĪYA (the forms TIDJDJĀNĪ, TIDJĪNĪ occur also), order founded by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. Sālim al-Tidjdjānī (1150—1230 = 1737—1815).

1. Life of the Founder. This person was born at ʿAin Mādī, a village 72 kil. W. of Laghuat, 28 E of Tahmut. His family were the Awlād Sīdī Shaikh Muḥammad, and his parents both died of plague in 1166 (1753). After pursuing his studies at his native place, he went to Fez in 1171 (1758) to continue them, thence to Abyaḍ, where he stayed five years, thence in 1181 (1768) to Tlemsen, whence in 1186 (1773) he went to Mecca and Medīna; thence to Cairo. At all these places he heard shaikhs, and at the last of these at the suggestion of one Maḥmūd al-Kurdī he founded a new order, having previ-

ously been admitted to the Kādirīya, Taibīya and Khalwatīya; of the last of these his own is regarded as a branch. He then returned to the Maghrib, and after visiting Fez and Tlemsen went to Bu Semghun in the Saḥara in 1196 (1782), an oasis S of Geryville, where he believed himself to have received a commission from the Prophet to proceed with the propagation of his Order. A disciple, ʿAlī Ḥaiāzim, suggested to him to return to Fez, whither he went in 1213 (1798), and was given possession of the palace Ḥawsh al-Marāyāt Though much of the remainder of his life was spent in travelling, in order to regulate the affairs of his Order, Fez remained his headquarters till his death, and he was buried in his Zāwiya in that city

2. Doctrines and Practices of the Order The members of the Order are called *Aḥbāb* "friends", and they are strictly forbidden to join any other *ṭarīḳa* Their *dhikr* consists (as usual) in the repetition (usually a hundred times) of certain formulas, at particular times of day, these are translated by Depont et Coppolani, p 417 Their most important doctrine is that of submission to the established government, whence ever since the French conquest of Algeria they have been ordinarily on good terms with the French authority.

3. History of the Order On the death of the founder in 1230 his two sons (Muhammad al-Kabīr and Muhammad al-Saghīr) were left in charge of one Maḥmūd b Ahmad at-Tūnisī, who was succeeded as guardian by al-Hādjdj ʿAlī b ʿĪsā, himself head of a Tidjdjānī Zāwiya at Temasin and nominated by the founder chief of the order They were brought by the latter to ʿAin Mādī, the palace which had been occupied by their father in Fez having been seized by a new Amīr, Yazīd b Ibrāhīm After a time ʿAlī b ʿĪsā left the two sons in charge of the Zāwiya at ʿAin Mādī, and returned to Temasin It would seem however that a split had occured in the order even in the founder's time, the dissidents, who were called Tadjādjina, having been expelled by him from ʿAin Mādī In 1235 (1820) these dissidents invoked the aid of Hasan, Bey of Oran, who besieged ʿAin Mādi, but was induced by a heavy payment and the failure of an attempted storm to retire Two years later the Bey of Titteri attacked the settlement, but unsuccessfully These military achievements encouraged the two sons of the founder to take the offensive against the Turks in Mascara; they failed however both in 1826 (1241—1242) and 1827, and on the latter occasion Muḥammad the Elder lost his life

Under the direction of Sīdī ʿAlī b ʿĪsā, who remained at Temasin, the younger Muhammad, now in sole charge at ʿAin Mādī, proceeded with the propagation of the Order, especially in the Saḥara and the Sūdān. Great success attended these efforts, but though the power and wealth of the community increased, neither ʿAlī nor Muhammad ventured on any military operations. Hence when after the French invasion of Algeria the Derkāwī *Muḳaddam* desired the aid of the Tidjdjānīs in the Sacred War, it was refused.

In 1836 (1251—1252) the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who aimed at the expulsion of the French, endeavoured to enlist their services; the Tidjdjānī chief replied that it was his purpose to live in the calm of a religious life, and after a long and fruitless correspondence the Amīr in 1838 (1254) presented himself at the head of an army before the walls of ʿAin Mādī, and demanded the submission of the Tidjdjānī chief. This was refused, and in spite of the inequality of the numbers the latter held out for eight months, wherein various expedients for reducing the place were tried by the Amīr and frustrated by the astuteness of the Tidjdjānī and his advisers When the Tidjdjānī found the place no longer defensible, he took refuge in Laghuat The reputation of the Order was vastly increased owing to the length of their resistance, and in the following year (1840) he offered his moral and material aid against the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to the French Marshall Valée ʿAlī b ʿĪsā, who remained at Temasin, also declined to join resistance to the French, and on his death in 1844 left the control of the Order to the surviving son of the founder, who died in 1853, when the son of the son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, Muhammad al-ʿĀʾid, succeeded.

The sons of the third Master of the Order, Ahmad and al-Bashīr, were of tender years at the time of his death, and fell under the charge of one Raiyān al-Mashaiī, who aimed at rendering the Zāwiya of ʿAin Mādī independent of Temasin, a policy which caused the relations between the two Zāwiyas to be strained, though it did not result in a definite split In 1869 the two became suspected of disloyalty to the French, and were arrested and sent to Algiers They succeeded however in making their peace with the French authorities, and the heads of the Order have ever since maintained a friendly attitude towards them.

4 Distribution of the Order. Although the missionaries of the Order in the period of its greatest prosperity obtained adherents in Egypt, Arabia and other parts of Asia, its main expansion has been in French Africa. One Muhammad al-Hāfiẓ b Mukhtār b Habīb, called Baddī, who visited the founder in Fez about 1780, received instructions to spread it among the Saḥarians of the extreme South of Morocco "Returning home via Shingueti and Tijikja, he conducted the most active propaganda in favour of the Tijjani Order, and by 1830, about the time of his death, he had the satisfaction of leaving the whole tribe Ida Ou ʿAli affiliated to it" (Paul Marty, *R M M*, xxxi. 239). Under his successor, who died in 1807, this attachment steadily increased To the Meccan pilgrimage, faithfully observed by this community, there was added the practice of pilgrimage to Fez, to visit the tomb of the founder, and this is ordinarily performed before the visit to Mecca. The Order was propagated in French Guinea by one Hādjdj ʿUmar after his return from Mecca to Dinguiray, which in consequence became one of the most important religious cities in this region, "the Tijjani doctrine supplanted almost everywhere the Qadiriyyah traditions" (*ibid*, xxxvi. 202)

5 Literature of the Order The most important collection of their doctrines and practices is called *Djawāhir al-Maʿānī wa-Bulūgh al-Amānī fī Faiḍ al-Shaikh al-Tidjdjānī* known also as *al-Kunnāsh* (Cairo 1345) This work, which is said to have been dictated by the founder to Harāzim, is the chief source of the former's biography; other works are enumerated by Depont and Coppolani, p. 418 n, and Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p. 377 A biographical dictionary of eminent members of the order called *Kashf al-Ḥidjāb ʿan man talāḳā maʿa*

'l-Tiḏḏjānī min al-Aṣḥāb was composed by Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAiyāshī Sukairidj (Fez 1325 and 1332).

Bibliography: *R. A.*, 1861 and 1864 (articles by Arnaud); L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 416—451; Depont et Coppolani, *Confréries*, p. 413—441, L'Abbé Rouquette, *Les Sociétés secrètes chez les Musulmans*, 1899, p. 311—372; P. Marty, in *R M.M* (cited above); Henri Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910 (D S Margoliouth)

TIDJĀRA (A), trade, commerce; *maṣdar* from *taḏjara*, "to trade", which again is a denominal verb from *tādjir* "a merchant". Like many terms in Arab commercial language, *tādjir* is an old Aramaic loanword (cf. e g. Syr. ܬܓܪܐ and ܬܘܓܪܐ "merchant", derived from the verb ܬܓܪ, which again comes from ܬܘܓܪ "price, reward") which is found as early as the pre-Muhammadan period Apart from the fact that the root *t-ḏj-r* has remarkably few derivatives in Arabic, the fact that the word *tādjir* originally had the limited meaning of "wine-merchant" suggests its foreign origin. The earliest Aramaic merchants with whom the Arabs came into contact must actually have been wine-merchants; once adopted into Arabic the meaning was gradually extended to include any merchant The uncertainty about the form of the plural is another indication of foreign origin, Ibn al-Athir, *Nihāya*, s v, in addition to the regularly formed Arabic plurals *tudjdjār* and *tuḏjār* also gives the form *tudjdjār* (cf Fraenkel, *Die aramaischen Fremdworter im Arabischen*, p. 181 *sqq*)

This is not the place to write a history of commerce in the lands of Islām, especially as the necessary preliminary work has hardly been touched (cf e. g. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1922, p 441 *sqq*) Nor shall we attempt to characterize the spirit of Muslim commerce or its usages, but rather deal primarily with the problem, what position Islām as a religion adopts with regard to commerce, and how its attitude is expressed in Hadīth particularly, and in ethical works On the legal aspects of the whole question cf. the article BAIʿ

a. That Muḥammad, who himself belonged to the merchant class, was favourably disposed to trade was natural in a commercial republic like Medīna, whose prosperity entirely depended on trade. At least so we must interpret one of the oldest sūras of the first Meccan period, Sūra cvi, the time of the origin of which is just before the conflict with the Meccan aristocracy· "As often as the Ḳuraish equip their winter and summer caravans, they shall worship the Lord of this House (i. e. the Kaʿba)" But even in this period Muḥammad raises a warning voice against the evils which were beginning to be associated with trade, trade is to be conducted according to law and justice. "Woe to those who give short measure" says Sūra lxxxiii. 1 *sqq*.. "who, when they receive good measure from other men demand the full measure and when they measure out or weigh out to them, defraud" (cf. Sūra lv. 6—8; and from the third Meccan period Sūra vi. 153; vii. 83). At a later period this attitude of the Prophet underwent a certain change, which must date from the Meccan period, although there is only evidence of it in the Ḳurʾān from the Medīna period. Under the influence of Christian ascetic ideas, his attitude to trade was modified; he does not condemn it, it is true, but he now sees in it something which may detain believers from the worship of God and from performing the ṣalāt. This is most strongly marked in the description of the monastery in the Medīna Sūra xxiv. 37· "Men whom no trade nor purchase keeps from the thought of God, from performing the ṣalāt and from paying the *zakāt* from fear of the day on which hearts and eyes shall be full of trouble". In any case, one can deduce from this passage that the Prophet was fully conscious of the deleterious influences of trade on religious life. The result of this train of thought was in the Medīna period an express prohibition of trading during the Friday service, in Sūra lxii. 9—11: "O ye who believe, when ye are called to the ṣalāt on Friday, hasten to the worship of God and cease trading; this is better for you, if ye knew it; and when the ṣalāt is over, then disperse yourselves in the land and strive after the benefits given by God and think often of Him that ye may prosper, and when they see trading and empty chatter, they turn to it and leave thee standing. Say. What is with God is better than chattering or trading and God is the best provider" On the other hand, the Prophet in the latest Medīna period expressly permitted trading during the pilgrimage (Sūra ii. 194). And yet he emphasises at the same time once more that family and clan, goods and chattels and stock in trade are not to be preferred to God and his Prophet (Sūra ix 24) To this late period also belong the well known Kur'ānic regulations for the conclusion of agreements (Sūra ii. 282 *sq*.).

b. This attitude, on the whole well disposed to trade, is also that of Tradition although it attacks with the greatest vigour speculation and other dishonest dealings Trade is regarded as profitable and honourable, more remunerative than cattle-rearing or manual labour (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, ii., Nº 2411, 4227, 4742) The honourable merchant enjoys great esteem "the trustworthy, just, and believing merchant shall stand at the day of judgment among the witnesses of the blood", we are told in one tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tiḏjārāt*, Bāb 1); he enters Paradise The dishonest merchant on the other hand must expect punishment "On the day of resurrection the merchants will be classed with the liars, except him who has trusted in God and has been pious and righteous", we are told in another tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tiḏjārāt*, Bāb 3) The prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class is even more sharply expressed in another tradition which is however quite isolated "The Prophet said Merchants are liars. Then some one said to him O messenger of Allāh, has not God permitted buying and selling? He replied certainly, but they talk and lie, they swear and do wrong" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 428, cf. 444). On the other hand, it is regarded as something pleasing to God to gain profit from trading for the support of one's family; thus in one tradition in Zaid, *Maḏjmūʿ al-Fiḳh*, ed. Griffini, Nº. 539 (cf. Nº. 544) we read: "If thou makest a profit from what is permitted, it is a *ḏjihād* (i e. like fighting on the path of Allāh) and if thou usest it for thy family and thy relations, it is alms (*ṣadaḳa*); and truly a permitted

dirham which comes from trade is better than ten otherwise gained". In trading it is recommended to be generous and conciliatory, one should give full weight and measure and in weighing give overweight. The morning is recommended as particularly blessed and profitable for trading. One should be careful to avoid deceit and deception, which cancel the blessing (*baraka*) that rests upon trade. Defects in the goods should be pointed out to the purchaser. "If any one sells defective goods without pointing this out, God will hate him for ever and the angels will for ever curse him (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 45)". But if one has been guilty of such faults in trading, he can atone for it by alms (*ṣadaḳa*). The Prophet is further said to have condemned the adulteration of goods, especially the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Trade is to be carried on by mutual agreement, but never under compulsion An agreement already made can only be cancelled if buyer and seller have not yet separated; in this period it can also be cancelled by tacit agreement (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 536). A further sale can only be effected when one has obtained possession of the goods (*ḳabḍ* or *istīfā'*); the traditions in this connection speak only of foods [*ṭa'ām*] but we are told by commentators that foods are only taken as examples and in fact one tradition talks of a *bai'* in quite general terms [Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 402]). If in disputes between the contracting parties neither is able to prove his point, the purchase either remains valid and the assertion of the seller is taken as authoritative — or both must abandon the transaction If there are two claimants to be the purchaser, the first is held to be the actual purchaser.

The traditions in general have nothing to say against business being arranged for a definite date or on credit (*nasī'at*[an]) But no increase of price must take place nor is a reduction allowed if payment is made at an earlier date (Mālik, *Buyū'*, tr. 81) The making of a deposit on a credit transaction is also allowed as the Prophet once purchased provisions on credit and left his iron body-armour as a pledge

Tradition frequently objects to a practice of traders of protesting the quality of their articles with oaths; e g. one tradition says "Swearing furthers the disposal of goods but diminishes their blessing" (Bukhārī, *Buyū'*, Bāb 26). According to another tradition, Sūra, iii. 71 was revealed in this connection; this verse has however nothing to do with the swearing of oaths when selling; its associations are other and purely religious.

A series of articles are excluded by Tradition from buying and selling: firstly all that is not one's own property (Ahmad b Ḥanbal, ii. 189, 190); secondly a series of articles the use of which is forbidden or which are considered unclean — wine, swine, dogs, cats, idols (*aṣnām*) and *maita* [q. v.] and also water; water according to a tradition is one of the three things which are *res communes*, the price of which is *ḥarām* (Ibn Mādja, *Ruhūn*, Bāb 16).

Tradition strongly condemns a practice still very prevalent in the east: haggling or bargaining; in selling also one should not outbid his fellows. Tradition also condemns the raising of prices (*nadjsh*) and speculation in or holding up of foodstuffs (*iḥtikār*; on the expression, cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 189). Anyone who holds up food supplies and thus raises prices "is a sinner" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 351). "Him who holds up food supplies, God will punish with leprosy and bankruptcy" (Ibn Mādja *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 6); "the speculator is accursed" (*ibid*), according to other traditions, he "will be thrown into the deepest hell-fire" (Ṭayālisī, N°. 928). On the other hand, the prophet is said to have declined as an injustice to fix prices for foodstuffs in a time of scarcity (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt*, Bāb 27 etc.). Generally speaking however, Tradition condemns any speculation in foodstuffs. It is forbidden to buy or sell provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures (*djuzāf*); food should not be sold again in the same place as it is purchased in but only in the particular market-place intended for the purpose. One should not go out to meet caravans to purchase goods (*talaḳḳī*), the townsman should not purchase from the man from the desert in order to sell again in the town at a profit; brokering (*simsar*) is therefore condemned.

Finally may be mentioned a whole series of branches of business and practices which are described by Tradition as forbidden:

1. In the first place it forbids the conclusion of two transactions in one contract e. g. one portion of the goods on credit and another for cash (cf. Ahmad b Hanbal, i 398)

2 *Bai' al-'urbān*: a form of sale in which an earnest-money ('*urban* or '*urbūn* < ערבין < ἀρραβών; cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 190) is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through (Ahmad b Hanbal however considers earnest-money permissible; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v.).

3. Auction (*bai' al-muzāyada*); in three cases it is permitted however. in direst poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt

4. *Bai' al-muzābana* (presumably also of Aramaic origin; cf. Fraenkel, p. 189), i. e. when any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity, e. g the still green fruit of a palm-tree for a definite measure of dates or the seed for a definite amount of provisions. The unreal and speculative in this transaction is seen by Tradition in the fact that the yield which cannot yet be defined may bring the purchaser more or less than he has given for it (cf. Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 64). This rule is in the direction of the prohibition of profiteering. — But according to one tradition of the Prophet, an exception was allowed, the *bai' al-'arāyā*; according to this, a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure his family fresh dates may purchase for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. In the opinion of several traditionists, this transaction is limited to cases where not over five *wasḳ* are involved while 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ transmits a tradition according to which the Prophet prohibited even this (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 183).

5. *Bai' al-mu'āwama*, is the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance. This is a question of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract.

6. *Bai' al-munābadha*. In this the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is

baiʿ al-ḥaṣāt (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v.) or *baiʿ ilḳāʾ al-ḥadjar* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, III. 59, 68, 71) when, as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods (cf. Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s v. *nabadha*).

7. *Baiʿ al-mulāmasa.* In this the transaction is also concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand

8. *Baiʿ al-gharar*: "dangerous or hazardous trading". For this kind of transaction the traditions give a series of examples, e. g the milk in the udder, an escaped slave, booty before its division, fishes in the water etc. (cf. e g. Aḥmad b. Hanbal, I. 302, 388; III. 42). The commonest example is the very complicated case of *baiʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala*, namely the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young

All these transactions are condemned by Tradition on account of the element of uncertainty in them On money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the prohibition of profiteering (*ribā*), see these articles. The above transactions are in all the older collections, a still larger number with a great wealth of detail are given in the later collections, e g. *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl* (cf Ritter in *Isl*, VII [1917], 28 *sqq.*, where a series of such traditions is translated).

c. In the traditions of the first three centuries an open and honourable attitude in business is demanded of the merchant, he is to treat his customers "like his brother" and refrain from cheating them in any way Tradition therefore also condemns any business in which there is an element of uncertainty, in which chance can play any part, so that no one may suffer injury. These fundamental principles of Muslim commercial ethics have found their classical expression in Ghazālī's *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, Cairo 1326, II 48 *sqq.* According to Ghazālī (d. 505 = 1111), one should strive to earn one's living with a view to the next world. To him the acquisition of a livelihood is a means of attaining bliss, the world is a field sown, a preliminary to the next world. But Ghazālī does not regard trade as absolutely better than any other means of earning one's living. "Through trade", he says, "one can either attain a sufficiency or wealth and superfluity". He condemns the accumulation of wealth, in so far as it is not applied to good purposes. But if the merchant obtain a sufficient livelihood for himself and his family, it is at any rate better than begging. But certain types of men do well to refrain from any such activities, for example, the pious, the mystics, the learned and the officials. Ghazālī then gives his views on the ethics of commerce of which only a brief résumé can be given here.

Even if a business is legal and irreproachable, yet it may be immoral and injurious to others; for not every prohibition makes the agreement invalid. Ghazālī then distinguishes two kinds of business, those that injure the community and those that only injure the individual. To the first group belong speculation in foods, especially in corn (*iḥtikār*), and the putting into circulation of false coins. In the case of false money the merchant has to pay attention to the following points: 1. If he takes false money, he should throw it down a well. 2. He must acquire a thorough knowledge of the coins current in the country. 3. If he pays another false money with the latter's consent, he is not free from guilt, as the other may put them into circulation again. 4. If he takes false money to oblige some one, he will only participate in the blessing which rests upon a good feeling in trade, if he does it with the intention of throwing the false money into a well.

Ghazālī then deals with the conduct of business, which is only injurious to the individual The guiding principle in trade is that one should only do to a fellow Muslim as he would be done by Therefore 1 the seller should not praise the wares and not emphasise his statements by oaths; he must only emphasise such qualities in the goods as the customer cannot know without further trial, e. g. the capability of a slave, 2. he should tell all the faults of the goods, he should for example not show only the good sides of a material, he should not exhibit materials in a dark room etc., for this is deception and neglect of the "good counsel" to which his brother is entitled. The merchant must remember two things, firstly that though he can dispose of his goods by concealing defects, he thereby loses the blessing which rests upon trading, and secondly that the benefit of the goods of this world ceases with the end of life and that only the injustice and sin remain, which were committed in trading; 3. the merchant must give just and full weight and measure, 4. he must quote the correct price of the day.

Ghazālī then deals with the showing of little kindnesses and civilities in trading, i.e. one should allow the other an advantage which he is not strictly compelled to do. Such little civilities are. 1. if the seller refuses a price offered which is much above the market price, 2. if the purchaser allows himself to be charged too much when the vendor is a poor man; 3. if in the collection of arrears, one allows a remission or prolongation of the period; 4. if the debtor brings the money to his creditor to save him the trouble of coming for it; 5. if at his request the contracting party is allowed to annul an agreement to purchase that has been concluded; 6. if one sells to the poor on credit and only demands the price, when it is possible for them to pay or keeps no record in one's books of the debt and leaves the payment completely to their pleasure.

The merchant however in his pursuit of profit should not neglect the salvation of his soul. The merchant should therefore 1. begin his transactions with good intention (*niya*) and good faith (*ʿaḳīda*); 2. he should conceive of trade as a "social duty", as a *farḍ al-kifāya*, as his trade is only a part of the complicated system of the whole; 3. he must not let the market of this world distract him from the markets of the next world, i. e. from visiting mosques and performing the ṣalāts; 4. in entering the market and in it itself he must often think of God; 5. he must not be too eagerly set on the market and trading, not be the first to enter it and the last to leave it and must not cross the sea; 6. he must not only avoid what is forbidden, but also avoid all doubtful and suspicious business; he should enquire after the origin of goods and not deal with notorious swindlers or thieves; 7. he must carefully watch his words and deeds in business, as on the day of judgment he will be called to account for them.

According to Ghazālī, the market for the merchant is the scene of his *djihād*, his "holy war" where he has to wage a war against his own ego in his intercourse with his fellow-men Since for Ghazālī, commerce is a preliminary and a preparation for the next world, he therefore discards the ascetic ideal of fleeing from the world for the ordinary mortal as an evasion of the struggle

Similar views, although not always of such high moral worth as in Ghazālī, are found throughout *adab* and *akhlāk* literature For example, Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, the biographer of the Shāfi'ī jurists (d. 771 = 1370), in his *Mu'id al-Ni'am* discusses the merchant in several passages In these he no doubt takes typical cases of his age. Thus the paper merchant should give preference to those of whom he knows that they buy the paper for the preparation of religious works (*kutub al-'ilmi*) On the other hand, he should not sell paper to those of whom he suspects that they will use it for the preparation of heretical works, false documents, increases of taxation etc (ed Myhrmann, London 1908, p. 188, transl Rescher, Constantinople 1925, p 138) The bookseller must not sell religious works (*kutub al-dīn*) to people who will destroy or criticise them. He further must not deal in works by heretics or by astrologers nor in fabulous works like the *Sīrat 'Antar*, nor must he sell copies of the Kur'ān or works on Tradition and Law to unbelievers (cf thereon al-Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, iv. 132 and Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 49, note 5, where the "keine" should be deleted before "hanaf Werke") Lastly the dealer in lands must take care that he does not sell *wakf* estates (ed. Myhrmann, p. 205, transl. Rescher, p 150 *sq*).

d. A more selfish morality on the other hand is championed in the book ed and transl by Ritter, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Mahāsin al-Tidjāra*, by Abu 'l-Fadl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dimishkī (of the vth/vith = xith/xiith centuries) The book consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods On the subject of merchandise there are many other works, some independent and some in the well known Muslim encyclopaedias, on which see Ritter, *op cit*, p. 17 *sqq*. Here we are mainly concerned with the sections on the merchant. The classes of merchants distinguished are 1. The wholesaler (*khazān*). He endeavours to purchase his goods under the most favourable conditions in order to sell them again, when there is a scarcity of them and the price has gone up. He must therefore keep accurately informed about the position of the market at the places of production and the security of the roads thither so that he does not let the best time for buying and selling pass him. A purchase of larger consignments is recommended to be carried through in four instalments at intervals of 15 days so that no loss may be suffered by a sudden change in price or by some other unforeseen circumstance. The wholesaler must also take account of the state of the government of the country, whether it is just and strong or if it is just but weak or tyrannical. — 2 The travelling merchant (*rakkād*). He must take especial heed as to what goods he buys and must exercise great caution; for his journey may be prolonged or some unforeseen accident may happen to him, like danger on the road, which will delay him so that he must again sell the goods in the place where he has purchased them and thereby suffer considerable losses. He must also know the average prices, which the goods he is buying will attain in his native land as well as the tariffs, lest he throw away his profit even before purchasing in a foreign country. He should also look out for a reliable agent, and a suitable warehouse etc. at his destination — 3. The exporting merchant (*mudjahhiz*) Here we have to deal with agencies. He must have a reliable agent in the place to which he is exporting; to him he sends the goods under reliable care, the agent then has to sell the goods and buy others, sharing the profit

Besides much other valuable advice for the merchant and warnings against swindlers and deceivers, al-Dimishkī's work also contains discussions of questions of economic theory such as the fixing of the market price, the "average price" about which the merchant must keep himself accurately informed How far all this is connected with economic views of the ancients has not yet been investigated

Ibn Khaldūn in the chapters on trade in his *Mukaddima* (Cairo 1317, p. 441 *sqq.*; transl. in *N. E*, xx. [1865], p 348 *sqq*) expresses himself in similar terms He also classifies his observations under the heads of the wholesale and the travelling merchant, while he apparently omits the export merchant He defines commerce as the art of increasing one's fortune by buying goods and selling them again at an increased price, either by storing them and awaiting an increase of price, or by taking them to another country where the price is higher.

Ibn Khaldūn's verdict on merchants in general is of interest, for the trade of merchant, one requires to have much skill, to praise his goods unduly, to deal cunningly and stubbornly with his customers, all things which affect a man's sense of honour and justice and unfavourably influence his character It is the small trader who succumbs more readily to this influence as he has to deal with his customers day in and day out It is otherwise with the merchant who through some favourable circumstance has risen rapidly to wealth and fortune and has attained a position of esteem, he is rather protected from the evil influences of trading as he can leave the actual dealing to his employees and has only to supervise them and give them general directions.

e. The question raised in the beginning of this article of the attitude of Islām to trade is one aspect of the problem, several times discussed in recent years, of the possibilities of the economic development of the lands of Islām. Until shortly before the world war the possibility of development was denied, as is still frequently done in missionary circles W. Barthold in his introductory essay to the *Mir Islama* may be regarded as the first to show the untenability of this view on historical grounds. Following Max Weber's religious and sociological studies, C. H Becker, R. Junge and more recently Alfred Ruhl have dealt with this question and come to the conclusion that Islām has never been hostile to economic development But the Oriental mind thinks of economic problems quite differently from the Western, which is the result of the peculiar conditions of the east, especially certain racial characteristics and the dry climate prevailing almost everywhere with the

supreme importance of the question of water supply. These conditions produced a much closer bond of union between the individual and the community. The prevailing principle is not competition but cooperation From these circumstances one can understand the fundamental principle of Muslim commercial ethics, that the merchant must treat his customers like his brother. To this strongly marked feeling of being a member of a community is added religion, which for every Muslim is the main guiding principle of all his dealings. Even business must submit to its control and cannot take up an independent position with a morality of its own.

In spite of this however, Muslim lands will be quite capable of adopting modern business methods, Islām in the past has often displayed its adaptability and capability of development and various Muslim lands like Turkey and Egypt are at present making up for what they have long neglected in various fields· figures like Ziyā Gok Alp and Muhammad ʿAbduh are milestones on this path of progress.

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(Heffening)

TIDORE, a small volcanic island west of Halmahera in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago For administrative purposes it belongs to the residency of Ternate but is not under the direct authority of the Dutch East India government, along with various other small islands and a part of Halmahera it forms an autonomous district also called Tidore, formerly under a sultān, since 1909 under a council of notables The population is in every way very like that of Ternate [q. v]. From Portuguese sources it may be deduced that Islām was introduced into Tidore about 1430, according to native tradition, an Arab named Shaikh Manṣūr was the first to teach Islām here and Tjiliati (also Tjiliatu and Tjiri Lĕliatu) about 1495 was the first ruler to be converted, when he took the name Djamāl al-Dīn.

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al-TĪFĀSHĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b Yūsuf, d. 651 (1253), is the author of the *Kitāb Azhār al-Afkār fī Ǧawāhir al-Aḥǧār*, one of the best known works on jewels which he describes — in all 25 kinds — according to their origin, provenance, natural and magical properties, defects and merits, price and appreciation of particular varieties. An edition and translation of the book which exists in good manuscripts is a great desideratum, as that by Count Raineri Biscia of 1818 (new edition 1906) no longer suits modern requirements. — Nothing is known of a second mineralogical work of which there is a manuscript in Paris To Tīfāshī are also ascribed some writings of an obscene nature.

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(J. Ruska)

ṬIFLĪ (Aḥmad Čelebi Ṭ), an Ottoman Turkish poet and meddāh of the xviiith century. Shaikhī in the *Shakāʾik dheili* says he was born in Constantinople but the other sources say he belonged to Trebizond He was the son of a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi and wrote poems while still a mere child, hence his soubriquet of Tifli. Of a very keen wit he acquired a reputation as a *meddāh* and *nedīm* rather than as a poet. In this capacity he was a member of the entourage of Murād IV and was very well off, as a result of the income granted him from the customs and *ewkāf*. All the sources record that he used to recite the *Shāhnāma* in the circle of Sultān Murād and that he composed witty and amusing stories (to gain an idea of the importance and place of the *Shāhnāma-khwān* and *ḳiṣṣa-khwān* in the palaces of India, Persia and Asia Minor, cf. Koprulu Zāde Fu'ād, *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasi*, i 4—5, 10—12) Ewliya Čelebi who confirms these statements adds that he was called Leklek Tifli on account of his height (i. 671). Although he belonged to the Melāmiye-i Bairāmīye order and was an adept of Idrīs Mukhtafī (MS of Mustaḳīm Zāde, *Menāḳib-i Melāmīye-i Bairāmīye* in my private library), he led a dissolute life According to the *Medjmūʿa* of Suleimān Fā'iḳ Efendi, he lived in the vicinity of Ḳodja Muṣtafā Pasha. The anecdotes about his relations with the poets of his time are famous We know from Ṣafā'ī that Ṭarzī Mehmed Čelebi of Eski Zaghra wrote two satirical treatises in verse called *Waṣiyet-nāme* and *Dhille-nāme* and represented them as the work of Ṭiflī. There is a copy of the *Wāṣiyet-nāme* in my own library. He is also mentioned by the poet Guftī of Edirne in his amusing rhymed biographies of poets. He died in 1071 (1660—1661) and was buried near Ḥazret-Bāli outside Silivri Kapi. His *taʾrīkh* was engraved on his tomb-stone by his relative Nazmī Mehmed Efendi. The celebrated poet Nā'ilī Ḳadīm also wrote a *taʾrīkh* on his death (the *taʾrīkh* of 1070, given by ʿĀṣim in the *Dhail Zubdat al-Aṯʿār* and by Shaikhī as well as the *taʾrīkh* of 1074 given by Ṣafā'ī are wrong. Hammer, *Osmanische Dichtkunst*, iii. 449, gives the date 1074 on the authority of this last source and Rieu repeats it in the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 198). Ṭiflī — who according to Ṣafā'ī wrote a *Diwān* — is not however quite negligible as a poet. Biographers like

Shaikhī, Rizā, ʿĀṣım and Ṣafāʾī include hım among the poets. There is a *Dīwān* of hıs ın the Brıtish Museum but it contaıns only hıs *ghazelīyāt* (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 198; Add. 7933, fol. 18—53). In the *medjmūʿa* dating from thıs perıod we have several of his poems (Flugel, *Katalog der orient. HSS. Wien*, i. 72x).

It ıs to hıs quality as a *meddāḥ* and *nedīm* that he owes hıs great fame. The sources of the xvıiith century are all agreed in thıs respect and Mīrzā Zāde Sālim, author of a *tezkere* ın the xvıiith century, in order to emphasıse the skıll as a *meddāḥ* of hıs contemporary Ḳırımī says that he was a teller of storıes as skılful as Ṭıflī, which shows that the latter's fame still survived (*Tezkere-ı Sālim*, Constantınople edition, p. 568) Suleimān Faʾıḳ Efendı, author of the *Medjmūʿa*, says he was the first and oldest of the ʿOthmānlī *meddāḥ*'s but this ıs wrong, as my investigations on thıs subject have shown. We may however regard Ṭıflī as the most famous of the ʿOthmānlī *meddāḥ*'s. In some old *medjmūʿa*, we find fragments of his work and anecdotes about Tıflī and Sulṭān Murād have been kept alive to the present day In the story of *Ṣānṣār Muṣṭafā* contained ın N. 1208 of the library of the Unıversity of Stambul and in another copy ın my private library, Sulṭān Murād and Ṭıflī appear as the *dramatis personae* In the story of *Khančarlī Khānïm*, also one of the oldest stories of *meddāḥ*'s, Tıflī and Sulṭān Murād play a part (ʿAlī, the editor of the *Djerīde-ı Hawādīth*, has republished thıs old story at the Djerīde-ı Hawādīth press under the title *Khančarlī Khānïm Ḥikāye-ı gharībesi*. On the life of thıs ʿAlī and a résumé of the story cf the artıcle *Meshāhīr-ı Medjhūle* by Ibn al-Amīn Mahmūd Kemāl ın *T. O. E M.*, Nº. 96, 1928). It may be asked if these storıes which are of an extraordınary value for a knowledge of the social life of old Stambul, were really composed by Tıflī himself, or if later *meddāḥ*'s, remembering the great fame of Ṭıflī, adapted them and introduced Tıflī ınto them. No definite answer can be given, but these storıes of *meddāḥ*'s show ın any case what a great reputatıon Ṭıflī had acquired.

Bibliography (besıdes the works above mentıoned) the addıtıon of Shaıkhī to the addıtıon of the *Shaḳāʾıḳ*, entitled *Waḳāʾıʿ al-Fudalāʾ* (there are a number of copies ın the libraries of Constantınople. The author's son completed his father's work and added the biographies of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *shaıkhs* from 1131 to 1143; there ıs a copy ın the Aya Sofia, Nº. 3198); Rizā, *Tezkeresi*, Constantınople 1316, p 63; Ṣafāʾī, *Tezkeresi*, library of Esʿad Efendı, Nº. 2549; Seırek Zāde Meḥmed ʿĀṣım, *Dhaıl Zubdat al-Ashʿār*, ın my private library; Guftī, *Tezkeresi*, ın my private library; *Medjmūʿa* of Suleimān Faʾıḳ Efendı (on this *Medjmūʿa* and the dıfferent manuscrıpts of his works cf. *Turkıyāt Medjmūʿasi*, i. 35); Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAınī, *Ḥādjdjī bairām weli*, Constantınople 1343, p. 127; Koprulü Zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasi*, i. 31—34.

(Kōprülü Zāde Meḥmed Fuʾād)

TIFLIS, the capital of Georgia and also the eastern part of Georgia (Kharthlia).

The Name. In Georgian the town is called Tphılisi or Thbilısı which ıs usually explained as derived from *tphili* "hot" (referring to the hot springs of Tiflis), in Armenian Tphkhis (Tphhıs), ın Arabic Taflīs (Balādhurī: Ṭaflīs). Among simı names we may note the town Θιλβίς or Θέλ mentioned by Ptolemy v., ch. 11 to the N. E. Abania, i. e. ın Daghestān and the place cal Taflīs to the south of Lake Urmia [cf. Ḳudāı p. 213: the road running from Dainawar to Ādh bāidjān forked at Barza (= Saḳḳız? q.v.) Taflīs 2 farsakhs north of Barza on the road to Urmı

Before Islām. The old capital of Geor was at Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, v., ch. Μεστλήτα = *Μεσχήτα) which the Arab geograph by a popular etymology sometimes call Masd Dhı 'l-Karnain (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ıı. 56; cf. M quart, *Streifzuge*, p. 186). According to the Ge gıan Chronicle the Persian *eristhaw* ("ethnaıcl sent against Waraz-bakar (379—393?), kıng Georgıa (of the Khosroid dynasty descended fr the Sāsānıans), built Tıflıs "between the Ga of the Caucasus" (between Darıal and Darbaı "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Bros *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ı. 140).

Durıng the wars of kıng Wakhtang Gurga (446—499?) with the Persians, the fortress (*ka* and the vıllage (*sopheli*) of Tıflıs were destroy Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tı and hıs son Dačı (499—514) completed ıts wa (*op cit*, p. 180, 196, 201)

After 523, the Persians, havıng suppressed rulıng dynasty of eastern Georgıa, maıntaınec Persian *marzpān* in Tıflıs, beside whom represe atıves of the Georgian nobılity had a nomı share in the admınistratıon of the country (Bı set, ı 226; Marquart, *op. cit*, p. 397, 431—4 Djawakhow, *Khrist. Vostok*, ı. 110) The gover of Mtskheta was under the *marzpān*. Theopha of Byzantıum (vıth century) ıs the first Byzant author to mentıon ἡ Τίφιλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπ under the year 571 (Théoph. byz apud Photıı ın Mıgne, *Patrologıa graeca*, cıı. 139, cf. Mur *Essaı de chronologıe byz.*, St. Petersburg 18 ı. 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantı havıng detracted the attentıon of the Persı from Iberia, the Georgıans asked the Byzant emperor to gıve them a kıng and the Bagra Guaram (575—600) was set up at Mtskheta. thıs kıng tradıtıon attrıbutes the "restitution of foundatıons of the church of Sıon ın Tıflıs" (ı. 22

After the victory gained over the Byzanti by kıng Khusraw Parwēz (after 606), the son Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with title of *eristhawı* = ethnarch), joined the I sıans. Later when in 624 Heraclıus and hıs Turk allıes laid sıege to Tıflıs, Stephanos defended town bravely. Heraclıus appoınted as *mthav* (chıef) Adarnases of the old Khosroid famıly associated with hım the *eristhaw* Djıbghu (Th phanes: Ζιέβηλ; according to Marquart. Th Yabghu Khaḳan). The cıtadel (*kala*) was tal and Stephanos slaın.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confoun Armenia and Georgıa (cf. Balādhurī, p. 194; Yāḳūt, ıı. 58 where Djurzān is a *nāḥiya* of country of Armīnıya). According to the Georg chronicle (*Kharthlis tskhowreba*), the Agarı ınvaded Somkhetıa ["Armenıa", a rather ambı ous term, for "Somkhetıa of Kharthlia" began the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles of Tıflıs] ın the reign of Stephanos II (63 663?), son of Adarnases, who lıved in Tıflıs. the death of this king, his sons Mir and A

withdrew to Egris (Mingrelia, the land north of the Rion and to the west of Imerethia as far as the Black Sea) In the period of their joint reign (663—668) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Ḳiu ("M the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105—125 = 724—743[1]). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Č'orokh (Klardjethia). The thread of events may however be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [cf. the article ARMENIA]

In reality Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Tabarī, i 2666, in 22 (643) Surāka having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of the Bāb al-Abwāb) sent Habīb b Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Tabarī, i. 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town but it was actually made in 25 (645) in the reign of ʿOthmān (al-Yʿaḳūbī, p 194; Balādhurī, p. 198). When Habīb b Maslama had conquered Armenia [q. v] he turned his attention to Georgia A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tfly = Theophilas?) appeared before him to testify that the *batrīḳ* of Djurzān and his people were well disposed. Habīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhurī, p. 201 and Tabaīī, i 2764; Yāḳūt, i. 857 rather follows Balādhurī) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in (the rustāk of) Mandjalīs (now Manglis) in al-Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Djaz' to expound the law of Islām and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islām

After reducing Tiflis, Habīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhurī, p. 202—203; cf the attempt to analyse them in Ghazarian, *op cit.*) Among these the Ṣanārīya play a prominent part (Ptolemy, v, ch. viii, § 13 Σαναραῖοι, in Armenian· Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakhethia and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N. Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Thush, whose language is related to that of the Čečens (cf. *Izw. Akad. Nauk.*, x/xii, 1916, p 1379—1408)

From the time of Habīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232—247) the Djurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (q.v., here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i e. of Imerethia) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii 65; Yaḳūt, ii. 583). Of the time of Yazīd II (101—105) we have a letter in which Djarrāh b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed to the Djurzān the guarantees given by Habīb b. Maslama (Balādhurī, p. 202; there is a reference there also to the rustāḳ of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Ḳru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who (in the reign of Hishām, 105—125) was fighting mainly in Daghestān but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisāl(?), 20 farsakhs from Tiflis and 40 farsakhs from Bardhaʿa (probably Kesala below Ta'ūs, which satisfies the description; cf below) A dirham is known of ʿAbd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85 (704).

The ʿAbbāsids. In 141 (758) the Khazars under Ra's Tarkhān invaded Armenia (Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 446) Ṭabarī (iii. 328), speaking of the same event under 147 (764), says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khuwārizmī (*sic*) many Muslims and *dhimmī* were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Yaʿḳūbī immediately after 141 mentions a rising of the Ṣanārīya. The latter were defeated by ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183 (799). Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 518; Tabarī, iii. 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuansher (718—786?) the Khaḳan's general Blučan (in Armenian Bulč'an) took Tiflis and conquered Khaithlia

Of the governors that Hārūn al-Rashīd (170—193 = 786—809) sent to Armenia the harshest was Khuzaima b Khāzim (Balādhurī, p. 210). The Georgians called him C'ič'um-Asim. Yaʿḳūbī, ii 210 confirms the cruelty of his second governorship The Djurdjān (read Djurzān) and the Ṣanārīya rebelled Khuzaima's general Saʿīd b. Haitham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis

Under al-Ma'mūn (198—218) a certain Muḥammad b ʿAttāb established himself in Armenia. In 214 (829) he conquered the land of the Djurzān and the Ṣanārīya joined him (Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 540, 565—566). Khālid b. Yazīd gave the *amān* to Muhammad b. ʿAttāb and defeated his allies, the Sanārīya, but the disturbances in Armīniya went on (Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 566; Balādhurī, p 210—211). In 215—239 (830—853) Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Isḥāḳ b Ismāʿīl According to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 65, he was of Ḳuraish origin. His father Ismaʿīl was the son of Shuʿaib, a client of Marwān II (126—132 = 744—750); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph Amīn (193—196) and had had skirmishes with the walī Asad b Yazīd (Yaʿḳūbī, ii 528). The uncle of Isḥāḳ, ʿAlī b. Shuʿaib mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i. 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb. But already in the governorship of Hasan Badhghīsī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Isḥāḳ. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilos (829—842) reached Wanand (near Ḳars) they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii., ch. v., transl. Dulaurier, p. 171). As a result of such exploits the caliph Wāthiḳ (842—847) recognised Isḥāḳ as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Isḥāḳ and drove out the Sanārīya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Isḥāḳ and his allies, the people of Kakhethia and the Ṣanāriya.

Finally in the reign of al-Mutawakkil the Turk

Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī was sent to Armenia. In Rabīʿ I 238 (autumn 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabīl (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabīl; cf the description of Tiflis below).

Isḥāḳ made a sortie but Bughā's *naffāṭīn* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town Isḥāḳ's palace was burned. He and his son ʿAmr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Moors. Ishāḳ was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire The Moors took the survivors prisoners and spoiled the dead. Isḥāk's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Daghestān), was at Sughdabīl, which was defended by the Khuwaithiya (people of Sasun; cf MAIYĀFĀRIḲĪN). Bughā granted them the *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and continued his operations in the direction of Djardmān and Bailaḳān (Ṭabarī, iii. 1114—1116, cf Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 9—10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, p. 140—150 A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Muḥammadan date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā, cf. Djawakhow, *Khrist Vostok*, 1912, i 284) The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Omaiyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate The Arab authors (Masʿūdī, ii. 67, Yāḳūt, ii. 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this Bughā was soon recalled, cf Brosset, *op cit*, i 266—268 and Thomas Artsruni, *ibid*

There was an ʿAbbāsid mint for dirhams at Tiflis till 922 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331), cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873 and especially Pakhomov, *op cit.*

The aid which Bagrat (826—876) had lent to the caliph against Isḥāḳ did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty The rival dynasty called of Abkhazia (cf the explanation of this term above) seized Kharthlia Thus Masʿūdī (writing in 332 = 942), *Murūdj*, ii 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjān (Bagratid of the lateral line, d 941, Marquart, *op. cit.*, p 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (sic) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which although surrounded by infidels on all sides still retained their courage and were numerous The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885—890 A. D.?) also intervened in the affairs of Kharthlia (Brosset, i. 270, note 12) Masʿūdī gives Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnain (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Djurzān [*al-ṭanbaghī*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 186 to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title]

The Sādjids, the Sālārids and the Shaddādids In the meanwhile there arose in Ādharbāidjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276 or 279—317; cf. this article and R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidow*, *Izwestia Obshč. izuč Azerb*, Baku 1927, N°. 5, p. 22—51). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north In 912 (?) he came to Tiflis the amīr of which was called Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī (cf. below) and seized the fortresses of Udjarmo and Boč'orma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i 275, note 2) The chronicle also mentions another expedition (bet 918 and 923) of the "Saracens called Sadj" i course of which Mtskheta was taken. The M sources are silent about these expeditions. mediately afterwards the chronicle mentions appearance of the Sālārids [q. v.] at Bardhaʿa in Ādharbāidjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The seri reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brc until the king Bagrat III (980—1014?) reu Kharthlia, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Č'orokh) Aidanudj In his time the Shaddādid [q. v.] Fa invaded Armenia but was defeated by the Geor and Mtskheta was always regarded as the city although the rulers resided in Kutais (thathisi) In 1030 (421) the Georgian and Kakhe notables, with the help of the amīr Djaʿfa Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shadc Phadlon (Fadlūn of Gandja) But when the l died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lor Thrialeth (on the upper Khram), captured D by a ruse and only released him on the ap of the young king Bagrat IV (1027—1072), evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexe the turbulent Liparit Djaʿfar was re-establishe Tiflis but a few years later the king himself siege to Tiflis The siege had lasted for two when suddenly the king at the suggestio Liparit made peace with Djaʿfar. After the c of the latter the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Ts'k and Thabor (cf the description of Tiflis bel The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the bank of the Kur however destroyed the bi and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon t

The Saldjūḳs In 1048 the troops of Ibr Yanāl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared the first time in Basian (Pasin on the u waters of the Araxes) In 1053 (?) the Salj undertook an expedition against Gandja b counter-movement by the Byzantines who allies of Bagrat IV saved the town There the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat bi a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three y Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslān (1063—1 invaded Georgia (Brosset, i. 326) On Dec. 1068, Alp Arslān accompanied by the king Armenia and Kakhethia (Aghsarthan, son of Gi of the dynasty of *Kortkoz* [Chorepiscopi] w ruled from 787 to 1105) as well as the am Tiflis marched against Bagrat. All Kharthlia occupied and many Christians slain or t prisoners The Shaddādids were given compensa Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Ga and Ani to Manučihr b. Abu 'l-Aswār. In spring of 1069, Bagrat returned to Khart Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the cou Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn who took the road thr Kakhethia but was taken prisoner by Aghsart At the price of conceding several fortresses or Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received him the surrender of Tiflis where in the m while a certain Sithlaraba (Saiyid al-ʿArab?) proclaimed amīr. This plan failed for Alp Ar obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, of Bagrat (reigned 1072—1089, lived to 11 lived in Kutais. In Kakhethia Aghsarthan reta

his possessions on condition that he adopted Islām.

Dawīd II. The revival took place under Dawīd II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kharthlia and Abkhazia" (1089—1125?). Dawīd brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Ḳipčaḳs (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit*, i. 379) these warlike elements enabled Dawīd to throw off Saldjūḳ domination. He ceased the payment of the *ḵharādj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter Thamar in marriage to the Shīrwānshāh [q. v.] Akhsitān (in Georgian Aghsarthan) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515 (1121). On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis the Saldjūḳ Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (1118–1131) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Urtuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Mazyādid Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sulṭān Tughrïl (lord of al-Arran and Nakhičewān) with his atābeg Kun-toghdï all took part. On the 18th August 1121 this army entered Thrialeth and Manglis but was destroyed by Dawīd and his Ḳipčaḳs, after which in 515 (1121—1122), Dawīd stormed Tiflis so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i. 365—367 and *Additions*, i. 230, 236—241; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x. 398–399 [= Defrémery, *Fragments*, p 26], Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīḵh Ḥalab*, in the *Recueil des hist des croisades*, iii 628, Yāḳūt, i. 857 (Taflīs) The Arab historian al-ʿAinī (1360—1451) who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i. 241), admits that Tiflīs was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasize the atrocities committed by Dawīd (Matth of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i. 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done; Dawīd is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends, the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomow, *Monctï* etc, p. 77–81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i. 380).

The Banū Djaʿfar. Dawīd succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Djaʿfar of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin While the Georgian Chronicle (i 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-ʿAinī gives the Banū Djaʿfar alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that about 300 (912) the amīr of Tiflis was already called Djaʿfar [b. ʿAlī] (Brosset, i. 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; dirhams are known of Manṣūr b. Djaʿfar, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭīʿ li 'llāh), and of Djaʿfar b Manṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Tāyiʿ li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027—1072) the amīr of Tiflis was called Djaʿfar (his father ʿAlī had carried off the property of the Sweti-Tskhoweli church of Mtskheta) The Chronicle calls him Mukhath Gwerd Djaphar (Mukhath Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta) During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawīd, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Djaʿfar family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-ʿAinī).

The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125—1154) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāidjān, the atābeg Ildigiz (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Anī, the scions of the Shaddādids; at Khilāṭ, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shāh-i Arman (1128—1183); at Erzerum, the amīr Saltuḳ b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Anī in 548 (1153); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 126 sub anno 548 (1157); Munedjdjim-bashï, ii. 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelathi (cf Fraehn, *Mém Ac St. Pétersbourg*, vith series, *Sc. morales*, vol. iii, p. 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraḳ, historian of Māiyāfāriḳīn [q v] who visited Tiflis in 548 (1153). He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *ḵhaṭīb*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic MSS.*, *J R A.S*, 1902, p 791 (al-Azraḳ may have been the source used by al-ʿAinī).

Under Giorgi III (1156—1184) the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Anī, Dwīn, Nakhičewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Bailaḳān To assist his cousin the Shīrwānshāh Akhsitān, son of Thamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i., p. 383—403 and *Add.*, i. 253—257, 266; Ibn al-Athīr under the years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Thamar (1184—1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kharthlia", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūḳs to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals Thamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comneni of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, *Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, 1853, vol ii, p. 705—733) The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildigizids of Ādharbāidjān The sack of Ardabīl by the Georgians (Brosset, i. 469—473) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawīya*, Berlin 1843, p 43; cf Khanykow, *Mél Asiatiques*, i, 1852, p. 580—583 The Chronicle also mentions in 1210—1212 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdjār near Nīshāpūr!), but beyond Tabrīz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i. 469—473). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurd origin; cf. Brosset, *Add*, i. 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Thamar could only retain Ḳars (Brosset, i 467). At home also (Djawakhow) the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sulṭāns"; Brosset, i. 474). In the reign of Thamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, "amīr of Tiflis and Kharthlia" (is this a scion of the Banū Djaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Thamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212—1223, levied the *ḵharādj* of Gandja, Nakhičewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and

Khilāṭ but in 617 (1220) the Mongol troops of Subutai and Djebe (in Georgian Suba and Iama or Č'eba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i 493) considers the defeat at Berdudj (on the Borčala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223—1247) [*Ḳïz-malïk*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims], a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūḳ of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrïl (in Georgian Orthul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 270· *ḥādiṯatun ghariba-tun lam yūḏjad miṯluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224) the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate

The Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Sha'bān 622 (Aug 1225) (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 283; Nasawī, ed Houdas, p 112, Brosset, *Add*, i. 309) The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwainī, ii 159 he and his brother) was taken prisoner Tiflis was occupied on March 9, 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town According to Djuwainī, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*'anwatan wa-ḳahran min ghairi amānin*) and all those who did not accept Islām were massacred Nasawī (p. 122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf Brosset, i 504—507) The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town When he left for winter-quarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, p 125) Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements Georgian, Alān, Armenian, people of Saïr (= the Awar of Daghestān), Lakz, Kipčak, Swan, Abkhāz, Djanīt (= Č'an-ethi, cf the article LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf Djuwainī, ii 170) The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in 628 (Aug 1231) but the remnants of the Khwārizmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis however was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, I, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii. 75: ca. 632 = 1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i. 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *no'in* of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghatar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country. the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūḳ of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismā'ilians of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mthawar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *no'in*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Nairin "splendid"), was removed from the country. A certain Egarslan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king", Brosset, i. 542) but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Ḳaraḳorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the ḳurultai of Guyuk-khān in 643 = 1245 (cf Djuwainī, i. 205, 212; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet, p 242) Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Mongke (1248—1259) they ruled together at first

As Hūlāgū did not love Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, I, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains on the one side Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side the Ilkhāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khodja 'Azīz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *no'in* Oyiat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hūlāgū against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīrwān in 1262 (d'Ohsson, iii. 182). In the reign of Abagha, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf *ibid*, p 418)

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273—1289) who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Aḥmad but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu* The Georgians call him Thaw-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols In vain Dawid VI (1292—1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the orthodox Catholicos and the ḳāḍī of Tiflis (cf Brosset, i 615 [this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islām as a result of the accession of Ghazan']) The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *no'in* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan· Brosset, i. 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e. g. after the Gīlān expedition of 1307)

Giorgi V. After the death of Uldjaitu (1316) Giorgi V (*Brtsḳinwale*, the "Splendid") was placed on the throne (1316—1346) under the patronage of the amīr Čoban Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Ilkhāns to drive out the Mongols He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imerethia and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands

as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Tīmūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360—1395) that Tīmūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *ǧihād*. Tīmūr set out from Kars in the winter of 788 (1386) (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsoph (Nève, *Exposé*, p 37) mention the apostacy of the King but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Tīmūr's soldiers and regain his lands His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, i 705, 720 does not give these details. In 796 (1394) he only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha, q v.) in order to apply the law of *ghazā* Tīmūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Ḳara-Ḳalḳanlïḳ ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shekkī [q v]

In 798 (1395) the Georgians, allied with Sīdī ʿAlī of Shekkī [q v.], inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Tīmūrid Mīrān-shāh who was besieging Alindjaḳ (near Nakhičewān) and delivered Sultān Tāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid*, ii. 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802 (1399) when Tīmūr took Shekkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakhethia where a Khimshia family held a fief at Maieli, to the east of Thionethi (Brosset, II/2, p. 464). In the spring of 1400 Timūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgīn) should hand over Sultān Tāhir On receiving an evasive answer, Tīmūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii. 241) Tiflis received a Khorāsānian garrison but Giorgi retired again to the mountains After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarīt (?) Tīmūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Swanethia waste Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Tāhir back to Asia Minor Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismāʿīl (Brosset, i. 668) he offered to Tīmūr to pay the *kharādj*. Timūr accepted the offer Next the land of the Georgian Iwané (the *atābak* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islām and that of the Ḳara-Kalkanlïḳ plundered After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-gol ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Phanaskert, on the upper Č'orokh); *ibid.*, ii. 250.

In 804 (end of 1401) Tīmūr returned to Transcaucasia via Siwās–Baghdād–Tabrīz. His delegates (*muhaṣṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*sāw wa-kharādj wa-djizya*) from Giorgi who sent his brother with the contributions Tīmūr gave Giorgi the *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii 379). In the summer of 804 (1402) Tīmūr went from Ḳarabāgh to Min-gol and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjïk, lieutenant of a certain Taghi (?).

When, in 805, Tīmūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-gol, Iwané, son of Aḳ-bughā, arrived with gifts as did Kustāndil (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii. 512). Shaikh Ibrāhīm of Shirwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii. 521). Giorgi sent new presents but Tīmūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In 806 (Aug. 1403) he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtīn defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii 524—532). The troops then laid waste the country round (*aṭrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*ḥudūd*) of Abkhazia. "which is the end of this country" 700 towns and villages were destroyed and the historian of Tīmūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii. 536). Tīmūr only stopped them when the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *muftī* decided it was possible to grant the *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanga*s of gold struck in the name of Tīmūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *mithḳal*s etc.

Tīmūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Bailaḳān (winter of 1403—1404). All the country from Bailaḳān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mīrzā (ii. 545).

Post-Tīmūrid period. The general disorder after the havoc wrought by Tīmūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, *N E*, xiv 235 and Mīrkhond; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, p. 245) mention an expedition of Shaikh Ibrāhim of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyir, against the Kara-Ḳoyunlu Kara Yūsuf in which Kustāndīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes and Kara Yūsuf slew Kustāndīl with his own hand. This happened in 815 (1412—1413). 300 *aznāʾūr*s (Georgian nobles, cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were also massacred Wakhusht (Brosset, i 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhaltsikhe, Ḳara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsoph; cf. Nève, *loc. cit*, p 96; Brosset, *Add*, i, p. 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413—1442) "no consoler arose from anywhere". This king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sweti Tskhoweli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāhrukh in 823 (1420) at Ḳara-bāgh (cf Mīrkhond in Defrémery, *op cit*, p. 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841 (1437) Shāhrukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above) Alexander sent him rich gifts after which the son of Tīmūr left Georgia. In 1444 (848) the Ḳara-Koyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akhal-tsikhe (cf. Brosset, i. 683; according to Thomas of Metsoph, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, p. 149)

Partition of Georgia. At this period Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i. 679—689). The history of Wakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469—1505) during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, II/i., p. 11—18, 147, 208, 249): Kharthlia (on the Kur [in Georgian Mtkwar], with capital Tiflis), Imerethia (on the Rion, with capital Kutais)

and Kakhethia (on the Alazan, with capital at Gremi [in Persian Girīm] and later at Thelaw). In addition, the atābeg of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Saatabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjethia on the Č'orokh) the princes of which from Manučar III = Ṣafar-pāshā (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii. 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imerethia (the Guriels of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelowani of the Swans; cf. the article ABKHĀZ). In Kharthlia also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imerethia.

The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu In this period Uzun Ḥasan comes on the stage According to Munedjdjim-bashī, iii. 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871 (1466) when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemāḳār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe but he returned to the attack in 877 (1472). King Bakzātī (read: Bagrat II of Imerethia) was dethroned (*ḳahr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Wakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it Uzun Hasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii 13 and 25) The *Ta'rīkh-i Amīnī* however calls the governor (*ayālat*) left by Uzun Ḥasan, Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Hasan in 1478 when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulṭān Ya'ḳūb Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891 (1486) to chastise the Atābeg Kwarḳware In the next year Ya'ḳūb sent Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-kal'a and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf the *Geography* of Wakhusht). Kustāndīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis Ṣūfī Khalīl began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter, he took first of all the fortress of Kudjī (Kodjoni, south of Tiflis) In the fighting around Tiflis the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eshikči-aghasī took the town (3rd Rabī' I. 894 = 1489) (cf the unpublished history of the reign of Ya'ḳūb, *Ta'rīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bibl. Nat Paris, N°. 101, fol 101r—105r and 155r—159r) The Chronicle (Brosset, ii. 326—327) which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabarathiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans

The Ṣafawīs. In 907 (1501) a detachment of Ismā'īl I's forces under the command of Khādimbeg invaded Georgia (*Shāhinshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sultān in 926 (1520) was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismā'īl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bombay, iii., djuz' iv., p. 92). In 929 (1522–1523) the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty seized Aghdja-ḳal'a and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Wakhusht, in Brosset, ii/i. p. 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskander Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp against Georgia. In 947 (1540) Ṭahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next the fortress of Bartīs (? Birthwis) was taken (*'Ālam-ārā* [Teheran 1314], p. 63). The second time was in 913 (1546) when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Ṭahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gumri = Alexandropol = Leninakan) The third expedition in 958 (1551) was sent from Shekki on the appeal of the atābeg Kai Khusraw, son of Ḳurḳura (Ḳwarḳware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munshī writes Lawārṣāb but the name is Iranian Luhrāsp; cf. *Mir'āt al-Buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munshī, *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961 (1553) the territories of Masḳ (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtīl (Kharthlia) and of Kākhit were allotted to Shāh Tahmāsp, while Sulṭān Sulaimān received those of Bashī-aḳuk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imerethia), of Dadiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli) Luarsab I however continued to worry Tiflis This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabarathiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fell in battle. Wakhusht dates the four expeditions in 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, ii/i, p 452 considers these very probable as they coincide very well with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558–1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by his brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān) who purchased the throne at the price of apostacy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamūt from which he was released by Ismā'īl II (1576—1577) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans

Ottoman Domination 1578—1603. In 1578 during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala-Pāshā penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe and in August seized Tiflis from which Dāwūd Khān had fled The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muhammad, son of Ferhād-Pāshā, was given the sandjak (pāshālīḳ) of Tiflis (v. Hammer, *G O. R.*², ii. 483) Two churches were turned into mosques In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a sandjaḳ to Swimon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Ḳulī Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdemir-Pāshā, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan-Pāshā (*ibid.*, p 489) but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new ser'asker Sinān-Pāshā arrived in Tiflis and appointed as Beglerbeg a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islām under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In August 1582 Muḥammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pāshā put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dec. 1581) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 1584, Riḍwān Pāshā left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Riḍwān but without success. Ferhād Pāshā's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 1585 against Tabrīz [q. v.], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāidjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of March 21, 1590);

cf. the Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki (1559–1587) in Takaishwili, *op cit.*, p. 183—214; von Hammer, ii. 481—497 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, II/I, p. 411–419). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nuṣret-Nāma* of ʿAlī (Jan. 1578—Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources cf. Babinger, *G. O W.*, p 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1595) Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Constantinople where he died in 1600 Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 1591 till 21st Oct. 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I The Turco-Persian treaty of 1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sulṭān Selīm (1512—1520).

Shāh ʿAbbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakhethia) in the reign of this monarch Although Giorgi of Kharthlia and Alexander of Kakhethia had fought under his banner at the siege of Erīwān in 1602, ʿAbbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605—1616) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-kalʿa In 1025 (1616) ʿAbbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kharthlia to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616—1619) He then punished Kakhethia. According to the official history of the reign, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 635, the number of those put to death was 60—70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000—130,000 "since the beginning of Islām no such events have taken place under any king" In 1033 (1623) Ḳaičiḳai-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakhethia and instead of leading them against Imeiethia had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*ṣayḳārī-wār*, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 719) Exasperated by such treachery the *mouraw* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, II/I, p 148; the Persians write *mihraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kharthlia which ie Persians did not overcome till 1626 (Iosselian, *izn mourawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, /I, p. 53—59 and 489—497). In spite of all iese disasters, the part played by Georgians in ie life of Persia becomes more and more important and Shāh Ṣafī, successor to ʿAbbās I, wed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mīrzā, rother of the king Bagrat who was *darugha* of ʿIfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Theimuraz I of Kakhethia (1605—1664, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khethewan was put to death at Shīrāz in 1624; Brosset, II/I., p 167) came to Khaithlia where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kai Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634—1658). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *ḳullar-aghasī* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islām returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta etc.

In 1636 Murād IV took Erīwān and by the treaty of 1041 (1639) Persia renounced her claims to Ḳars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, p. 686); according to Wakhusht (Brosset, II/I., p. 68), the Sulṭān received Imerethia and Saatbago and the Shāh kept Kharthlia and Kakhethia

Wakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658—1676). The Persophil policy continued. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1642–1667) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid*, p. 79) In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāidjān and Ḳarabāgh (15,000 Djawānshīrī and Bayats) were settled in Kakhethia (cf the History of Shāh ʿAbbās II by Muhammad Ṭāhir Wahīd, in Dorn, p. 109, III = Brosset, II/I, p 503—504) Shāh Nawāz fought in Imerethia, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaimān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakhethia and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688–1691; 1695–1703) This King who had been brought up in Russia became a convert to Islām under the name of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān.

Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Baluč and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia king Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Husain. He restored order in Ḳandahār but in 1709 was treacherously slain by Mīr Wais [cf the article AFGHĀNISTĀN] who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kai Khusraw (1709–1711). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Wakhtang (governor of Kharthlia 1703—1711; King, 1711—1724 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading Wakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, II/I, p 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1614 and 1616 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islām.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Isfahān (1722), Shāh Husain sought help from Wakhtang but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, II/I, p. 117). Peter the Great who reached Darband on Aug. 23, 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand the King of Kakhethia Muhammad Ḳulī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Wakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

Second Ottoman Occupation (1723—1734). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey War against the Shīʿīs was declared permitted. In June 1723 the serʿasker Ibrāhīm Pāshā, who had been negotiating with Wakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of ʿAbd Allāh).

In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of Sept. 12, 1723 was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on June 12, 1724 Russia kept Daghestān and the narrow strip of litoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *G O. R.*, iv. 206—214. The Ottoman historian of these events is Čelebi-zāde; on the other sources cf. Babinger, *G O. W*, p. 289: Nāmī, *Feth-nāme der ḫakk-ı Gurdjistān*).

The deposed King Wakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (Aug 1724) The Turks having taken possession of Kharthlia took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble ʿOthmān Topal Pāshā alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, II/i, p. 129). Iese did not bear the title of king and the real power passed to Ishāḳ Pāshā, a hereditary ruler of Akhal-tsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727) Isḥāḳ Pāshā was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, II/i., p. 236). In 1728 he divided Kharthlia among the feudal lords (*mthawar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf Brosset, *l c*, v. Hammer, iv. 223, 231, 235, 280, 313)

Nādir Shāh. In 1143 (1730—1731) after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Tahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-ı Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, p. 90 = transl. Jones, i. 141, v. Hammer, iv 277 dates the peace on Febr. 6, 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Tahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia While he was operating against Daghestān (1147; autumn of 1734) Ishāk Pāshā of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Theimuraz, son of Nazar ʿAlī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew ʿAlī Mīrzā = Alexander (son of Imām Ḳuli = Dawid III) attacked Ishāḳ Pāshā and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid*, p 114 = Jones, i. 200) At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Ṣafī Khān Bughāʾirī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāwān waaznāwurān*; *ibid*, p. 116 = Jones, p 205)

When ʿAbd Allāh Pāshā was defeated at Bāghāward near Erīwān, Ishāḳ Pashā surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on the 22nd Rabīʿ I, 1147 = Sept 17, 1734 (*ibid.*, p 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*tāwādān wa-aznāwurān*) of Kharthlia and Kakhethia among whom Ṭahmūrath (= Theimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as walī of Kharthlia and Kakhethia, ʿAlī Mīrzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muḥammad Mīrzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against ʿOthmān Pāshā Ṭahmūrath was allowed to go to Kakhethia to bring his family (*kūč*) to Tiflis Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision", he fled to the mountains of "Ḳarakalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ruʾis, west of Goriʾ) and Čerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, arrived himself at Tiflis on the 29th Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Ḳaikul (Abots) were transported to Khorāsān (*ibid*, p. 124 = Jones, p. 219). In 1736 Ṣafī Khān captured Theimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the Indian campaign Nādir released Theimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156 (end of 1743) Ṭahmūrath Khān captured the pretender Sām Mīrzā and later (1744) along with ʿAlī Khān Ḳılıdja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Ḳızılıdjalı), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ruʾis on the Aiagwi Yūsuf Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghestān to work for another pretender Ṣafī Mīrzā Arriving at Goii, Nādir, as a reward for Tahmūrath's services, transferred him to Kharthlia and gave Kakhethia to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, p 202 = Jones, ii. 164); cf. Brosset, II/i., p 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and II/ii, p. 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Theimuraz went to obtain a reduction but on reaching Tabrīz he heard of the death of Nādir The latter's successor was ʿAlī Ḳuli Khān, husband of Khethewan, daughter of Theimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhethia. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by Theimuraz (king of Kharthlia 1744—1761) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakhethia 1744–1761; king of Kharthlia and Kakhethia 1761—1790). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia In 1752 the Afghān Āzād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erīwān and in 1760 captured at Kazakh and sent to Karīm-Khan. The Kurds of Erīwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780 and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazīd Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Daghestān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿOmar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shekki [q v], Hādjdjī Čelebi and Aghā Kishi (in 1752–1753), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians

In spite of all these successes the situation of Georgia was precarious and in 1760 Theimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth and he himself died in St Petersburg on the 8th—20th Jan. 1762.

Erekle becoming king of the united kingdoms continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Tottleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe The allies did not agree (cf the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of Dec 4th 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle, gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imerethia, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaimān Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küčuk-Ḳainardja (1774) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23) But after the treaty Sulaimān Pāshā of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Constantinople. On the other hand he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramoti*, N°. 144). Russia gave an

evasive answer and it was not till July 24, 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Ḳādjārs. During this period the Ḳādjārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār laid siege to Shūsha in Ḳarabāgh and then turned against Tiflis which was taken on Sept. 11, 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, II/II., p 260, Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, III., p 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Daghestānians. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But Nov 6—18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops Āghā Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia but was assassinated near Shūsha (June 15, 1797). The aged King Erekle died on Jan. 12—23, 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fatḥ ʿAlī Kādjār was occupied in dealing with his rivals From Ḳars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgīs under the command of his two sons, dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg the object of which was as follows Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia On the other hand the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty

On Dec. 18, 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia which was proclaimed on Jan 18, 1801 after the death of Giorgi on Dec 28, 1800. On March 11, Paul I was put to death In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On Sept. 12, 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I The treaty of Finkenstein (1807) by which Napoleon recognised the rights of Persia over Georgia never took effect and by art III. of the treaty of 1813, Persia renounced her claims to the lands of Georgia

Since 1917. The status of Tiflis remained unchanged down to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Transcaucasia, cut off from Russia, declared itself independent on April 12, 1918 Tiflis became the capital of the federal republic but the Muslims refused to continue the war against Turkey and the Diet (May 26) agreed to the partition of Transcaucasia. Three republics, Georgia, Armenia and Ādharbāidjān were formed; Tiflis again became the capital of Georgia On May 28, 1918 the provisional agreement between Georgia and Germany was signed German troops appeared in Tiflis; after the Armistice their place was taken by British troops. On Jan. 26, 1921, the Allies recognised Georgia *de jure* but by February after some fighting the power in Georgia had passed to the partisans of the Soviet Union. Transcaucasia has been organised as a federal republic, itself forming part of the Union of Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.). Hence Tiflis became the centre of the central government of Transcaucasia (Z. S. F. S. R.) and at the same time the capital of Georgia (S. S. R. G.).

Description of Tiflis. The Arab geographers give few details about Tiflis. According to Iṣṭakhrī (p 185) the town was very large; it was surrounded by walls of clay (*ṭīn*) with 3 gates and had natural hot baths like those of Tiberias. According to Musʿir b. Muhalhil (in Yāḳūt), these baths were reserved for Muslims. Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 142—144) compares the water-mills of Tiflis (*ʿurūb*) with those of Mawṣil and Raḳḳa. He is filled with admiration for the plentiful supplies of food at Tiflis and the hospitality of the inhabitants Tiflis was an outpost of Islām, beyond which there were no Muslims (Iṣṭakhrī) The town was surrounded by enemies (Ibn Ḥawḳal). An interesting detail is given by Balādhurī in the ninth century the town was built of pinewood (*ṣanawbar*) (according to Ḳazwīnī, only the roofs were of pinewood).

In the Mongol period, Zakariyā Kazwīnī tells us that on the one bank of the Kur at Tiflis could be heard the call of the *muʾadhdhin* and on the other the peals of the Christian *nāḳūs*. The Christians were in the majority Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the houses of Tiflis built one above the other, the roofs of the one being the courtyard of the next

From the XVIIIth century we have the Turkish descriptions of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (his brief narrative refers to the years 1630—35) and Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1648) and also the first detailed description by a European (Chardin 1673). Ewliyā gives many details of the citadels The larger (that on the right bank of the Kur) was 6,000 paces in circumference and its walls were 60 ells (*dhirāʿ*) high. It had 70 towers and a garrison of 3,000 men There was no ditch There was a tower fitted up to supply the fortress with water (*suluḳ kule*) In the large citadel there were 600 houses roofed with clay. In the smaller citadel (on the left bank) there were only 300 houses but it was very strong on account of its walls. Pl. III. of Chardin's *Atlas* gives a general view of Tiflis in which the traveller shows the 19 principal features (churches, palace, etc)

For the XVIIIth century we have the descriptions by Tournefort (1701), II. 307 (with a view, p 314) and in Wakhusht's *Geography* (the difficulties in which have now been cleared up by Brosset, I. 180). A panoramic plan of Tiflis was published by De l'Isle, *Avertissement sur la carte générale de la Géorgie*, Paris 1766 (the editor had received it during his sojourn in Russia from the "prince of Georgia"). The gazetteer by P. Iosselian (1866) is valuable as it locates ancient buildings

Old Tiflis consisted of 4 quarters, of which three lay on the right bank of the Kur (which here bends from N. to S to N W to S E.): 1 *Kala* or *Kalisi* (= Arabic *Ḳalʿa*), the old quarter *intra muros* (between the streams Sololaki and Daba-khāna which flow into the Kur), with the citadel Narin-kala. 2. The town properly called Tphilisi, which grew up around the hot springs (according to Brosset, I/I, p. lxxx., it was founded by Armenian inhabitants). The town was situated on the bank of the Kur opposite and below the Kala. Shāh Ṣafī had settled a colony of Saiyids on the heights of Thabor (to the east of Daba-khāna) whence the Persian name of this district: Saiyid-ābād. 3. The outer quarter Gareth-ubani near the race-course (*asparez*), above and to the north of the first two quarters. 4. The quarter on the left

bank opposite the Kala was called Isani or Nisani (later Awlabar) and had the heights of Makhatha to the north of it. Isani corresponds to the Ṣughdabīl of the Arabs. It is the cemetery Sagodebel, in Georgian "place of groanings", mentioned in the Life of St Abo; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 136 and Schulze, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abo von Tiflis*, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1905, xiii, fasc. 4, p. 35 The same name occurs twice in the Georgian Chronicle (cf Brosset, i. 407 and 633).

Three citadels have to be distinguished at Tiflis: 1 The old citadel of Thabor (*Korčı-ḳalʿa*) on the hill on the right bank of the Daba-khāna destroyed in 1618, in 1725, and finally in 1785; it defended the southern gate of the Kala, called the Gandja Gate. 2. The citadel Narin-Ḳalʿa on the hill of Kala. Before Islām, this fortress seems to have borne the name of Shuris-tsikhe (Wakhusht). It was dismantled in 1818 (cf. the picture in Gamba's *Atlas*). 3 The citadel of the left bank (Isani) served as a bridge-head; in 1728 the Turks began to fortify this place for the last time but left the work unfinished

As to the royal palaces the oldest was that of Metekhi on the left bank in front of the old bridge. In 1638 the Muslim king Rostom built a palace about 400 feet in length along the Kur in Tphilisi. Here Chardin was received by Shāh-Nawāz. A little farther to the south King Wakhtang VI built a palace very richly adorned in the Persian style, it was destroyed by the Turks in 1725, cf Josselian, *Opisaniye* (on the mosques cf. p 239).

From the nature of the site, compressed between the Kur and the heights of the right bank, Old Tiflis attained no considerable extent (cf. Chardin). In the xixth century the town began to extend far beyond its ancient limits and is developing especially on the left bank along which run the railway lines (Tiflis-Bākū, Tiflis-Batum, Tiflis-Djulfā and Tiflis-Kakhethia).

Population. In 1783 after the prosperous reigns of Theimuraz and Erekle, the town had 4,000 houses with 61,000 inhabitants In 1803 it had only 2,700—3,000 with 35,000 inhabitants. This was the result of Āghā Muhammad's invasion in 1795, traces of which could everywhere be seen even in Gamba's time. The more exact figures for 1834 (Dubois de Montpéreux) give 3,662 houses, 4,936 families and 25,290 inhabitants, not including Russians The population grew rapidly: 1850: 34,800, 1865: 70,000, 1897 160,605. Of the last figure the Armenians formed 38.1%, the Georgians 26.3% and the Russians 24.8%. The census of 1922 gives 233,958 inhabitants for Tiflis, of whom 85,309 were Armenians, 80,884 Georgians, 38,612 Russians, 9,768 Jews, 3,984 Persians, 3,255 Ādharbāidjānī Turks, 2,457 Germans etc.; cf. the *Zakawkazye*, Tiflis 1925, p. 156—157. Lastly the census of Dec. 17, 1926 gave 282,918.

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TIGRIS [See Didjla]

al-Tīh, properly *Fahṣ al-Tih*, is the name of the desert forming the frontier between Syria and Egypt in the interior of the Sinai Peninsula. The Arab geographers also call it the "Desert of the Banī Isrā'īl". As early as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find the legend: *Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyse* and on the map of Mādabā. Ἔρημος [ὄπου] τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔσωσ[εν] ὁ χαλκοῦς ὄφις and Ἔρημος Σὶν ὅπου κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ὀρτυγομήτρα. In the desert there was a fortress of the same name (De Guignes, *Perle des Merveilles*, *N. E.*, ii. 31); there is a Wādi 'l-Tīh in the eastern part of it (Quatremère, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, i. 186). The desert of al-Tīh which formed the most southerly district of Filasṭīn was 40 *farsakh* long, about as much broad, and stretched from the district of al-Djifār (the region of al-Faramā', al-'Arīsh, al-Warrāda) to the mountains of Sinai (Ṭūr Sīnā); in the west it was bounded by the Egyptian province of al-Rīf (Maspéro-Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi. 101 *sq.*), in the east by the districts of Jerusalem and Southern Palestine. According to the description of the Arab geographers, it consisted partly of stoney and partly of sandy soil, contained also salt-marshes and red sandstone hills, a few palm-trees and springs. In the desert districts of Tīh Banī Isrā'īl al-Dimashḳī mentions the Jewish towns of Ḳadas (Ḳadesh Barnea), Huwairik, al-Khalaṣa (Elusa), al-Khalūṣ (Lyssa), al-Saba' (Beerseba) and al-Madura. He had already mentioned al-Tīh among the districts of the kingdom of Karak, by which he seems to mean the lands that had once belonged to Renaud of Châtillon. From the desert of al-Tīh one went down through the 'Aḳabat Busāḳ to Aila (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 610), this road was first made passable for the pilgrim caravans in the time of Khumārawaih (884—896) It was two stages' ride from Aila right through the desert to the sea of Farān. When in 652 (1254—1255) the Bahrī Mamlūks fled from Cairo, a body of them wandered for five days in the desert; on the sixth they discovered a great abandoned city with walls and marble halls, buried in the sand. They found vases and articles of dress, but these fell to dust at the first contact, there was also a reservoir with ice-cold water. When they reached Karak on the next day and paid for goods with dīnārs which they had found in the buried city, they learned that they belonged to the time of Moses and that they had been in the "green city of the Israelites".

The caravan and military road from Cairo to Syria ran in normal times through al-Djifār, without touching the desert of al-Tīh; only in the period when this was interrupted by the Frankish occupation did the route straight through the desert gain a certain strategic importance, as we see in the campaigns of Salāḥ al-Dīn and in the building of the fortress of Sadr (now Ḳal'at Gindi).

Bibliography Iṣṭakhrī in *B.G.A.*, i. 53, Ibn Hawḳal in *B.G.A.*, ii. 104; al-Maḳdisī in *B G.A*, iii. 179, al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii/i 21 (transl, p. 119, 139); Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed Wustenfeld, i 912, Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i. 123; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p 213; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i. 213, transl Bouriant in *M.M A F.*, xvii. (1900), 631; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p 27—30, Raym. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai* (*Bibl de l'école des haut. étud*, clxxi, 1908), p. 114—116 and *passim*; R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M G.*, lxiv, p 679—683; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet in *M I.F A.O*, xxxvi., p. 62; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 6, 8, 129; on Ṣadr: Barthoux and Wiet in *Syria*, iii., p. 44—65, 145—152. (E. Honigmann)

Tihāma, the narrow strip of low land along the coast which runs from the Sinai Peninsula along the west and south side of Arabia. Al-Idrīsī gives us the fullest account of Tihāma. According to him, it is traversed by a chain of hills which begin at the Gulf of Ḳulzum

and send out a ridge to the east The frontier of Tihāma is in the west the Gulf of Ḳulzum and in the east a range of hills running north and south (the Sarāt). The province called Tihāma stretches, according to Idrīsī, from Sardja 'to 'Aden, 12 days' journey along the sea-coast and 4 days' journey by road from the mountains as far as the land of Ghalāfika (not Alābaḳa) The greatest breadth of Tihāma is in the hinterland of Djidda, the port of Mecca, which is also usually included in Tihāma — as districts of Mecca in Tihāma are also given Daṇḳān, 'Asham, Baish and 'Akk — although writers differ in their views on the extent of Tihāma in this particular direction Al-Asma'ī for example makes Tihāma begin at Dhāt 'Irḳ. Ibn al-Kuṭāmī puts its frontier at Dhāt 'Irḳ and al-Djuḥfa and in the Yaman highlands, according to 'Umāra b. 'Aḳīl, it stretches from the sea to Harra Sulaim and Harra Lailā, al-Madā'inī says that everyone who passes through Wadjia, Ghamra and al-Tā'if in the direction of Mecca is already in Tihāma, which he puts south of the Ḥidjāz, others again make Tihāma stretch from Dhāt 'Irḳ via Mecca to 'Usfān (between Mecca and al-Madīna) (all the statements are recorded by Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i 902, of the Yaman Tihāma, extent and particulars of the people etc., a full account is given by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p 53 *sq*, 119—121) In any case the geographers not only use Tihāma as a synonym of "coast" (*sāḥil al-bahr*) and "depression" (*ghawr*) or "hollow" (*sāfila*) but they place it as an independent geographical or political entity alongside of Yaman, al-Yamāma, and al-'Arūḍ (*B G A*., viii 79). Indeed Tihāma at various periods in the history of Yaman was a separate province for administrative purposes, for example as early as the period of the Persian conquest of the Yaman (end of the vith century A D), presumably a survival of the organisation of the late Sabaean kingdom, and at a later date under the Ziyādids, then it had a period of independence with Zabīd as capital (1159—1174 A. D.) to become a province again under the Imāms of Ṣan'ā'

It is significant of Ibn Khordādhbih's keen perception of the similarity of the coast on both sides of the Red Sea that he also speaks of a Tihāma of Ethiopia (*B. G A*., vi. 155), by which he apparently means practically the coast of Erythraea. Ibn al-Wardī describes the Tihāma as mountainous country, which is peculiar, no doubt on account of the hills which run through the plain along the coast and are also mentioned by al-Idrīsī Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal in this way made the Tihāma stretch far into the mountains while others expressly define Tihāma as the land between the sea and the Sarāt.

As to the etymology of the name, B. Moritz, *Arabien*, p 9, note 1, for example thinks Tihāma is taken over from the Hebrew-Babylonian תהום *tiāmtu*, "sea". On the other hand, H. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*[3], Berlin 1902, p. 492, note 2, is not certain whether Hebrew *tehōm* like the Arabic *tihāma* as a name for a coastal region is originally connected with Babylonian *tiāmtu* or, what is more probable, in both cases we have a case of an early borrowing from the Babylonian. When it is suggested that *tiāmtu*, *tāmtu* (in Berosos θαμτε) with the meaning of "ocean", "salt sea" is connected with the Hebrew תהם meaning to "stink" (cf. P. Jensen, *Keilinschr. Bibl*, vi/i, p 559 *sq*.), it should be pointed out that the Arab philologists also quote *tahima* with this meaning to explain the name Tihāma (on account of the malodorous air there), but at the same time they compare *tahamun* with the meaning "intense heat", "calm" (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i 902; Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i 203) The name Tihāma moreover occurs already in the South Arabian inscriptions, Glaser, N⁰. 554, 3, 6; 618, 8, 9, and Rehatsek, 2, 6 as תהמת with which may be compared the תהמו in Cruttenden, line 10. The *musnad* inscription of king Sharaḥbīl b. Yaḥṣub quoted by Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, iv 104, also gives as the titles of this ruler "king of Saba', Tihāma and their Arabs" and another *musnad* mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 208, 9 *sq*. mentions *ahl tihāmat wa-ṭawdim* "people of the Tihāma (coastland) and of the mountains", quite in keeping with the passage in Glaser, N⁰. 554, 3, 5, 618, 8 *sq* (טודם | ותהמת). With the first of these musnads, which is evidently taken from an inscription of a late period, may be compared the inscription N⁰ 13 of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres in Paris, published by J and H Derenbourg in which the rulers mentioned by name are described as "kings of Saba' and the Tihāma".

The origin of the Tihāma, the breadth of which varies considerably — sometimes it is merely a narrow strip of coast, as at places between al-Tūr and Suez and at Ḳunfudha and Luḥaiya — probably dates from the middle Pliocene period and is connected with the subsidence of the Red Sea. Coral formations and modern alluvial deposits form the material of which this plain consists; in the Yaman portion it rises to 2,000 feet above sea-level and then suddenly ascends sharply to the great highlands of the Yaman Sarāt. The Yaman Tihāma begins at al-Līth and stretches to 'Aden if we include the Tihāma of 'Asīr. In the Yaman part the breadth varies between 30 and 50 miles From the slightly undulating country rise — especially towards the high land — isolated hills which consist either of recent limestone, which often contain fossils (nummulith) at a considerable height, or of volcanic rock. The climate is very unpleasant. It is hot and dry and extreme temperatures are recorded at certain periods in the year (May and Sept. 35–43° C, April 40° C). In the summer the temperature drops a little under the influence of the frequent rains but on the coast 40° C by day and 30° C. by night are not unusual. In the winter the temperature varies between 25° and 35° C but the minimum even in the coldest months is never below 14° C. on the coast The rainy season is from February to March or from May to the end of September. Only the most southern part of the west coast of Arabia belongs to the region of tropical summer rains, and the south coast as far as 50° East Long. and 15° or 16° N. Lat. A feature of the Tihāma are the mists called *sukhaimānī* or *'umma* which rise in the mornings and drift towards the highlands and make these regions regular hothouses in which flourish numbers of valuable crops, notably coffee.

Tihāma, hot and dry, is the natural soil for the vegetation of a plain with thornbushes, thistles and grasses. The saline steppe which adjoins the coast (*khabt*) is covered with bushes; in the in-

terior especially towards the highlands, durra, barley, maize, wheat, sugar-cane, date palms, sesame, indigo and cotton flourish. The population of Tihāma, estimated at 5,000,000 (according to ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b. Yaḥyā, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, p. 292) on the coast is engaged in trading, shipping, fishing (also pearl-fisheries) and shipbuilding and in the interior mainly with agriculture. They appear to be a mixed race with olive-coloured complexions; their woolly hair and thick lips show a strong admixture of African blood. Their colour is described e.g. by Botta as quite black; Bury speaks of the negroid taint and calls the Tihāma people slightly built The largest tribe, the Zerānīḳ, is characterised by the crisp short beard and straight hair (cf the picture in Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, facing p. 28). The language of the Tihāma Arabs is generally said to differ very much from pure Arabic and to contain numerous foreign loanwords.

The southern Tihāma, the natural frontier of which runs from Mukhā to Mawzaʿ is traversed in all directions by volcanic ranges and shows only scanty deposits of sedimentary rocks; it is mainly formed of the same rocks as the continent. There is no continuous strip of flat coast; this is only found at intervals between projecting spurs of the highlands of the interior or the volcanic features of the coast Perpendicular chalk and sandstone cliffs which run along the coast alternating with white deposits of chalk and sandy depressions are characteristic of the southern Tihāma which rarely ever exceeds 25 miles in breadth. In the interiorh the southern Tihāma is more steppelike in character, in the valleys of the Wādis on the other hand, fruitful oases are found after the fertile summer rains, for example the extraordinarily rich oasis of Laḥadj or of the Wādī Maifaʿa which has the same flora as the western Tihāma The southern Tihāma has as a rule a slight rainfall The winter rains are irregular although they seldom fail. At the end of April heavy rains begin, often accompanied by severe thunderstorms; occasional rains fall in January, November, and December and July, and August

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Types of the Tihāma-Arabs in G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. opp. p. 28, 133, 193; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, pl IV., fig. 2; Pictures of vegetation from the Tihāma in B. Moritz, *Arabien*, pl. 2, fig 3 (coast of the Red Sea), 17 (western slopes of the coast hills of the Ḥidjāz); A. Musil, *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (*American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 1*, New York 1926), p. 92, fig. 32, 123, fig 55, 126, fig. 56, 142, fig. 58; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pl. at p. 41 (land east of al-Ḥudeida), p. 46 (Hudjeila); do., *The Land of Uz*, pl. at p. 11.

(A. Grohmann)

TIK, a technical term in Arabic music, corresponding to the learned term *ṭāʾ*; also used in Arabic dialectic metres for the *zaǧal*. It means the note struck, sharp and heavy: *a.* on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes on the little cymbal that is fixed there, *b* on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten, *c.* with the left foot on the ground when dancing.

It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the popular songs in Arabic dialects (called *muwashshaḥāt*), where between the pauses there only follow a pair of antithetic values (like the iambic of classical metres, except that the antithesis depends not on the length but on the intensity)· *ṭāʾ* (usually *tik*) and *dīh* (usually *tum*); the first being the sharp and heavy blow and the latter, *dīh*, the dense and sonorous. The latter being struck on the stretched skin: *a.* at the centre of the tambourine, *b.* on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten, *c.* with the right foot on the ground when dancing.

Just as classical prosody built up a series of metres by arranging long and short in varying order so the popular Arabic prosody of the *muwashshaḥāt* built up the series of special rhythmic

types (called *ḍurūb*) on differentiated series of *ṭā'āt* and *dīhāt* with pauses between. The *maṣmūdī* rhythm for example may be thus written:

k, *m*, *s* / *k*, *s* / *m*, *m*, *s* /

(where *k* = *ṭā'*, *m* = *dīh*, *s* = silence and / = caesura).

So that the phrases in the song may coincide with the series of characteristic beats of the rhythm selected the following rules are observed: 1. each syllable must correspond to one beat (*naḳra*) at least; 2. one or more *ṭā'āt* may be intercalated (intercalation = *ribāṭ*) in the rhythmic series; 3 but certain pauses must not be interfered with, intangible caesuras, characteristic of the rhythm (first by pause after a *dīh*, otherwise short pause after a *ṭā'*); 4 contrary to Arabic classical metre, we may have open syllables when the time is strong and closed when the time is weak. Martin Hartmann was therefore wrong in trying to reduce the rhythm of the *muwaššaḥāt* to the *tafā'īl* of the Arabic classical metres Several Oriental musicians have given tables of identification, confusing intensity and duration, so as to force the Arabic *ḍurūb* to correspond with European musical notations. Indeed modern Turkish music counts a *tik* as a quaver and a *tum* as a crochet

Bibliography: Kāmil Khulā'ī, *Mūsīḳī šarḳī*, Cairo n.d, p. 64–77; do, *Aghānī 'aṣrīya*, Cairo 1921; anonymous, *Maghānī miṣrīya*, Cairo 1911, M. O. Guindi, *Rawḍ al-Musirrāt*, Cairo 1313, Shaikh Shihāb, *Safīnat al-Malak wa-Nafsīyat al-Falak*, Cairo 1309 (and many other editions), p 9—16; the note published in *R M.M.*, Paris 1920, xxxix., p 146–150; cf. REI, Paris 1928, p. 526. (L. MASSIGNON)

TIKRĪT. [See TAKRĪT]

TILIMSĀNĪ. Many Arabic scholars are known by this *nisba*, but generally the three following are meant when mentioned in books of *adab*.

1. 'AFĪF AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN B 'ALI B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'ALI B. YĀSĪN claimed to be descended from a family which originally came from al-Kūfa (Dhahabī in MS. Or. 53 reads however Kūmī al-Aṣl) and was born at Tlimsān (?) in 616 (1219) according to his own statement He came early to Syria where he occasionally filled official positions, but was also frequently out of employment. He claimed that in Asia Minor (Rūm) he had as a Sūfī gone forty times into seclusion (*khalwa*), each time for forty days, without interruption, a statement which Dhahabī rightly questions as the total makes 1,600 consecutive days. At one time he filled the post of supervisor of the market-dues (*maks*, q v.) and when al-As'ad came to Damascus in the retinue of the Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn he demanded from 'Afīf al-Dīn a balance-sheet of his accounts. As this after repeated requests was not forthcoming he upbraided 'Afīf al-Dīn, who then lost his temper and wanted to remonstrate with the Sultān for having, contrary to the Sharī'a, placed a Coptic Christian over Muslims. He was finally appeased and probably never rendered the desired accounts. 'Afīf is said to have been a pious man of affable manners with a certain amount of dignity, but he was always under suspicion because, as Dhahabī puts it, one could never really ascertain what his true opinions were and he was even accused of being an adherent of the Nuṣairī sect [q. v.]. The difficulty lay in his poetry which was eloquent, easy and pleasant, but, his biographers say, contained hidden poison His poems collected in a *Dīwān* of which copies are in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian at Oxford and elsewhere, certainly do not openly contain any heresies, but are in many cases after the style of Ṣūfī compositions addressed to some imagined object of love. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī found him pleasant company and says that he laid claim to *'Irfān* [q. v], the full conception of God. This he is said to have expressed upon his death-bed when he is stated to have said: "How can any one who knows God fear him, and since I do know him I have no longer any fear and am happy to meet him". He died in Damascus on the 5th of Radjab 690 (July 1, 1291) and was buried in the Ṣūfī-cemetery of that city. He composed a number of works upon various sciences, besides his *Dīwān*, of which apparently only his *Risāla fī 'Ilm al-'Arūḍ*, Berlin N°. 7128, has survived Dhahabī mentions in addition: *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*; *Sharḥ Maḳāmat al-Nafsī* and *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn al-'Arabī The titles of these works indicate the school in which he was trained and we may assume with safety that he was an ardent follower of Ibn al-'Arabī.

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2 His son SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SULAIMĀN, called *al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf* (the intelligent youth), was born in Cairo in 661 (1263) and died young two years before his father in Radjab 688 (June 1289). He held an appointment in the office of the treasury in Damascus and is described as a young man given to pleasure and amusement. His reputation rests mainly upon his poems collected in a small *Dīwān* which has been printed several times. These poems consist principally of short amatory pieces addressed to males, occasionally to fictitious women, in simple language. A Ṣūfī interpretation is possible, but hardly likely. His other compositions preserved in manuscript convey the impression that the poems also are realistic. Two *khuṭbas* contained in the MS. Berlin N°. 3953 are jocose and lascivious and the same appears to be the case with two other works contained in MS. Berlin N°. 8594 entitled *Faṣāḥat al-Masbūḳ fī Malāhat al-Ma'shūḳ* and *al-Maḳāmat al-Hiyīya wa 'l-Shīrāzīya*. The *Maḳāmat al-'Ushshāḳ* contained in the Paris MS. N° 3947, and the Damascus print of a *maḳāma*, are perhaps identical with the lastnamed work. A short tale about Shams al-Dīn related by Dhahabī, in the biography of his father, concerning him lends colour to the suspicion that 'Afīf al-Dīn looked upon the extravagances of his son as a step towards becoming an accomplished Ṣūfī by the way of *malāma* [q. v.], but they were in reality perhaps one of the causes of his premature death.

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3. ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ BAKR B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ANṢĀRĪ was born in Tlimsān end of Djumādā II or the 1st of Radjab 609 (Nov 1212), but when nine years old his father took him to Granada

in Spain. Three years later they removed to Malaga and here Ibrāhīm conducted most of his studies Later he went to Sabta (Ceuta) where he married the sister of the Mālikī lawyer Mālik b. al-Murahḥal and in this city he died after 690 (1291). He was a learned Mālikī lawyer, skilled in drawing up contracts and a poet At the age of 21 he composed his *urdjūza* upon the law of inheritances, which has been the subject of a number of commentaries preserved in manuscript. His other works are 2. *Natīdjat al-Khiyār fī Muzīlat al-Ghiyār*, a rhymed life of the Prophet; 3. *Maḳāla fī 'l-ʿArūḍ*, 4. *Manẓūma fī 'l-Mawlid al-Karīm*; 5. *al-ʿAsharāt*.

Bibliography Ibn Farhūn, *Dībādj*, ed. Fez, p. 90; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, p. 55 *sq.*; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 367, N⁰. 6 and 385, N⁰ 10.

(F. KRENKOW)

ṬILISM. [See TILSAM]

TILSAM, also *tilsim*, *tilism*, *tilasm* etc. from the Greek *τέλεσμα*, a talisman, i.e an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms The wise Balīnās is said to have been the father of talismans, according to tradition, he left in many towns charms for protection against storms, snakes, scorpions etc Many rules for preparing talismans are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos.

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(J. RUSKA)

TĪMĀR a grant of land for military service (*beneficium*) or more exactly a kind of Turkish fief, the possession of which entailed upon the feudatory the obligation to go mounted to war (*sefere eshmek*) and to supply soldiers or sailors in numbers proportionate to the revenue of the appanage (*dirlik*).

The feudatory or "timariot" was called *tīmār ṣāḥibī* or *ehl-i tīmār* or *tīmār eri* (ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, ed. Giese, p 22, 38, 232) or *tīmār sipāhisi* or simply *sipāhī* i. e. "horseman", whence the popular name *sipāhilik* for the *tīmār*.

There were three categories of military fiefs, according to their importance:

1. *khāṣṣ* (plur. *khāṣṣ-lār* or *khawāṣṣ*) or more exactly the majority of the *khāṣṣ* of the governors of provinces;

2. *zeʿāmet* or *ziʿāmet* with a minimum annual revenue (*ḥāṣil*) of 20,000 aspers (*aḳča* or *aḳče*);

3. *tīmār* with a maximum revenue (*ḥāṣıl*) of 19,999 aspers.

In a wider sense the name *tīmār* is sometimes applied to the two last and even to all three classes.

Tīmār has often been translated "commandership" (*commanderie*, Meninski, Michel Baudier, Pitton de Tournefort) by analogy with the *commendatoriae* of the Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Order but the institutions are very different; the commanders were former Knights whose services were rewarded by giving them the right to collect for themselves a part of the revenues of certain estates of the Order.

The word *tīmār* has further the meaning of of care given to a sick or mad person, a wounded man or beast of burden (still used in this last sense in modern Persian), dressing a wound; tending a horse, whence *tīmārdjī* (Egyptian *tamurgi*) (male nurse). It further means rest-cure or open air cure for servants or slaves (*khalā'ıḳ*, *ḳalfa*) and care given to an estate, a farm, or a vineyard (Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey)

Etymology of the word tīmār. Leunclavius seems to have been the first to connect this word with the Greek *τίμαριον honorarium* which in turn comes from the Greek *τίμη* (*Io. Leonclavii Pandectes historiae turcicae*, N⁰. 186, 1, at the end of *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, Frankfort 1596). This hypothesis was admitted by Michel Baudier (*Histoire générale du serrail*, 1624, chap. xvii.) and by Ducange.

Unfortunately the example of the use of the word *timarion* in the sense of fief is taken by Leunclavius from a text of the xvi^th century (the reference is to the *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον θησαυρὸς* of Damascenus Thessal , cf. Emile Legrand, *Bibliothèque hellénique*, ii., 1885, p 12). The quotations, including this reference, given by Ducange in his *Glossarium* and its Supplement are, as has been already pointed out by V D. Smirnov (*Kučibey gomurdjinskiy*, St Petersburg 1873, p. 73, note 1) of much too recent a date They are all later than the Ottoman conquest The "novellae" of the Byzantine emperors do not use this term for military fiefs, but others like *στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα* or simply *τοπία*. As more technical terms we find *οἰνομία* and later *πρόνοια* when the military beneficium had developed more towards the form of a seignoral fief (Ernst Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spatbyzantinischen Verfassung*, *M. O G.*, ii 9.

In 1598 we find the Venetian senator Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomano*, p. 12) proposing, but not conclusively in opposition to the Greek the Persian etymology *tīmār* "care, anxiety, pains, dressing". It may be objected to this etymology, which has the support of von Hammer (and more recently also of Grzegorzewski) that the word *tīmār* has never been applied to military fiefs in Persian and that the Turkish feudal organisation seems to have been borrowed from the Byzantines and not from the Persians.

In my opinion the word *tīmār* is an echo of the Byzantine *pronoya* (pronia). In other instances also it can be noticed that the semantic evolution of terms can be paralleled from language to language. The Latin synonym of *pronoya*, beneficium, French "*provisions*" (cf. Ducange and the edition of Pachymeres in the *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz*, ii. 715) is also a term relating to benefices. The Latin and low Latin *cura* and in a less degree the French and English "*cure*" have almost all the acceptations of the word *tīmār* (except that

they have no military associations) "care, treatment (medical), country estate, cleric's benefice".

We need not waste time over the explanation from the Arabic *thimār*, plural of *thamar*, "fruit", proposed by Balise de Vegenere and Trévoux's Dictionary.

Origin of the Institution. Von Hammer, in spite of the importance he gives to Persian influence, Worms, who has however corrected several of his predecessor's errors, Belin, and Tischendorf have represented the *tīmār* as being a kind of adaptation of the Muslim "feudal" system.

Although the historian Sa'd al-Dīn uses this term of lands which were distributed to the *musellem* of Turkey (cf. below) it seems to me difficult to recognise in the Arab *iḳtā'* the origin of the Turkish tīmārs. The more particularly Muslim element in the Turkish legislation, was the legal and political distinction between the *'ushrīya* (tithe-lands) i e "those conquered by force and divided among the conquerors on condition they paid a tithe" and *kharādjīye* "tributary lands, taken after capitulation and left to the *zimmi* (*dhimmī*) or infidels on payment of tribute". Now the military fiefs as Belin himself says (*Propr. foncière*, N°. 303) could consist of any kind of land and it is only by a very wide interpretation that some lawyers have assimilated them to *kharādjīye* lands constituted into wakfs for military requirements (*ibid.*, N°. 298) The jurists of the period — fairly late — of Sulaimān the Magnificent found some difficulty in defining the status of the military domains in the strict sense (cf Steeg and Padel, p. 19–20 and especially *M. T. M.*, p 58—59 [Turkish text] von Hammer, i. 342 *sqq.* [German edition], *Journ. As.*, Jan.–Feb. 1844, p. 68 *sqq*) Voltaire was right when he said that the Turks had not borrowed the system of the *tīmār* from the Arab Caliphs (*Essai des Moeurs*, chap. xcxi)

The hypothesis of a Persian origin seems to me no more justifiable. Kremer (*Culturgesch. des Orients*, i. 109—110) has shown that the Persians had no influence on the Arab feudal system. Von Hammer certainly exaggerated when he attributes to Persian influence the organisation of the Byzantine and Turkish military fiefs There certainly is one feature in common to the three nations· this is the existence of mounted feudatories wearing cuirasses (cf. for Persia Cl Huart, *La Perse*, 1925, p 184, 204) It is even possible that these cuirasses were of Persian origin (a novella of Nicephoras Phocas seem to speak of them as an innovation) but this is of minor significance

It seems much more natural to admit that the Turks imitated or rather preserved the Byzantine institution which they found in existence What would tend to confirm this is the existence of fiefs with the obligation to naval service alongside of those supplying horsemen. This was also the case with the Byzantines (Aug. Fr. Gfrorer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, iii. 21).

It is not our task here to enquire to what extent the Byzantine military fiefs were related to the Roman *beneficia* or to the colonies of German soldiers (on the mailed horsemen of Byzantium, cf. Gustave Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin au X^ème siècle*, new ed., 1923, p. 40 and p. 288 and on Greek military feudality: Rambaud, *L'Empire grec au dixième siècle*, 1870, chapter entituled *La féodalité dans l'Empire grec*: *les fiefs militaires*; *L'histoire générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud, chap. xiii. of vol. i., by C. Bayet, p. 668 *sqq* ; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Histoire du droit privé gréco-romain*, transl. into Fr. by Eugène Lauth, Paris 1870, p. 63, 129 *sqq.*; do., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Reichs*, 1877; Gaignerot, *Des bénéfices militaires dans l'empire romain et spécialement en Orient et au X^ème siècle*, Bordeaux 1898, p 81, 89, Testaud, *Des rapports des puissants et des petits propriétaires ruraux dans l'empire byzantin au X^ème siècle*, Borzdaux 1898, p 75 *sqq.*; *Juris Graeco-romani tomi duo Johannis Leunclavii Amelburni*, Frankfort 1596, ii. 144 *sqq.*, cf. also the works of Meursius, Mortreuil and the bibliography to the article *beneficium* in the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* by Daremberg and Saglio).

As to the influence which the Saldjuks of Asia Minor may have exercised on the *tīmār*, we know nothing about it nor about their military organisation in general (cf however the remarks by Koprulu-zāde Mehmed Fu'ād in *Milli tet Medjm*, N°. 5, p. 213—214).

Formation of the Ottoman military fiefs and their administration. We know very little about the administrative activity of the early beys or Ottoman rulers The following words are put into the mouth of Othmān, the founder of the dynasty "He to whom I have granted a fief shall not be deprived of it without good reason; if he dies, his son shall succeed him, if the latter is too young, his servants shall take his place in war until he is fit to bear arms".

Under Orkhān, 'Alā al-Dīn formed a corps of horsemen called *musellem* "exempted from taxation", who held in times of peace certain lands free of taxes and who seem to have been absorbed in part at least by the organisation of the *tīmār* (on this militia, cf. Belin, *Fiefs Milit*, p. 39—40, Grzegorzewski, p. 45; Marsigli a firman relating to them, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS Suppl. Turc., N°. 79, 1st *in fine*).

Murād I, assisted by Timurtash Pasha beylerbeyi of Rumelia, in 1375 issued a *ḳānūn* laying down the distinction between the little *tīmār* and the *zi'āmet* (Bibl. Nat Paris, MS Suppl. Turc, N°. 68, fol 63)

Mehmed II in 881 A. H instituted a more systematic method of keeping the registers (*defter*) of the military fiefs There is comparatively little reference to these fiefs in the *Ḳānūn-Nāma* of this ruler (publ. in a supplement to *T O. E. M.*, 1330 A. H 32 pp. 8° Cf. v Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, 8, p. 87—101: *Catal. of the MSS in Vienna*, N°. 1820, 3rd and 1813, 3rd) The fiscal officials who administered the fiefs (*sipāh yazidjilarī*) appear in it as completely organised in the provinces They were the *tīmār defterdārī* for the simple tīmār on the *defter ketkhudāsī* (*kiahiasi*) for the *zi'āmet*. Both sets of officials were under the *defter emini* who in turn was under the *defterdār* of the empire (cf the *Kānuu* above quoted, p. 19: von Hammer, p. 93 and Belin, *Fiefs milit*, p 44) Details of the organisation of the timariots or *djebeluyān* will also be found in another *Ḳānūn* of Mehmed II, publ. by F. Kraelitz–Greifenhorst in the *M O.G*, i. 13, 48 In contents this *Ḳānūn* is closely connected with *Ḳānūn* (cf. below).

Sulaimān the Magnificent is credited with the organisation of the *tīmār* but it is probable that he only codified already existing regulations. In

any case he deprived the governors of control of the relatively more important *tīmār* which were called *tezkereli* (cf. below). It is from his reign that the rather numerous collections of laws begin to date (*kānūn*, *ḳānūn-nāme*, *ḳanūn-nāme-i āl-i ʿOṯmān*, *Ḳānun-ı sulṭānı* or codes drawn up by the *nishāndjı* (more rarely by the *defter-dār* and the *defter emīni*), with the help, more and more frequent as time goes on, of the Shaikh al-Islām (cf *Bibl*). These laws clearly reveal the agrarian character of the institution of *tīmār* The *mīrī* lands or domains of which they were formed were fields lying around the villages, the houses in the latter being the property (*mulk*) of private individuals (*M T. M.*, p. 54) Otherwise any land under cultivation, even in a garden or vineyard belonging to the *raya*, became domain and paid dues to the *sipāhī* (*M T M*, p. 87, cf *J. A*, Jan–Feb. 1844, p 87)

The tīmār from the military point of view. We know that the Turks had a remarkably well organised regular army before the western powers In the beginning of the XIXth century, i e on the eve of the disappearance of the *tīmār* it consisted of the following elements.

1 The permanent regular army with regular pay (*ʿulūfe*) from the public treasury, called *kapu* (kapı)-kulu, servants of the Porte (of the Sultān) it consisted of the Janissaries, gunners (*topdjı*), bombardiers, (*kumbaradjı*) sappers, (*lughemdjı*) engineers, (*mehendis*), firemen (*tulumbadjı* q v), ammunition-bearers (*djebedjı*) horsemen (*sipāhi*, not to be confounded with the timariots) and *čawush*)

2. The cavalry (*toprakli*) and feudal troops.

3 The seratkulu (*serhadd-kulu*) or frontier troops, as a rule summoned to the colours and paid irregularly, and particularly at times of great danger, they comprised as cavalry the *gonullu* (*gomullu*) or "volunteers", heavy cavalry, *beshli* or *besli*, a light cavalry (according to Montecuculli, like the Hungarian Hussars), and *deli* (*delīl*) or partisans, and for infantry, the *azab* (*azap*) or picked garrison soldiers (like the Hungarian heyduks, according to Montecuculli), *seymen* or peasant volunteers, fighting like dragoons on foot or on horseback and placed in charge of the baggage and cavalry and the *musellem* or pioneers.

4 The *Yerlı ḳulu* or "local troops" of the pāsha, sandjakbey or *aʿyān* Levied in theory by special authorisation of the Porte but often without this they enabled a number of ambitious Pashas to gain power (ʿAlī of Tebelen, Djezzār, Mustafa Bairakter etc) Rightly or wrongly they are often confused with the preceding, and some writers like Ahmad Rāsim put among the *yerlı kulu* the *azap seymen*, and *musellem* above mentioned, adding the *tufendjılı* "fusiliers", *topdjāreli*, "heavy artillery of the frontier forts" and even the *laghimdjı* It is into this second category, that of *toprakli* or territorial troops that the feudatories who held *tīmār* fall. Juchereau de St. Denis compares them to the "levies of the arrière-bans of the old feudal monarchies of the west"

There were no hard and fast divisions between these different categories of soldiers. Janissaries could obtain *tīmār*. On the other hand there were timariots in the frontier provinces and one of the means of promotion, the only legal one, for a man who was not the son of a *sipāhī* or *djebelī* actually was to go as a volunteer (*gonullu*) "to the frontiers" to distinguish himself there by valiant deeds. The *sirdār* or commander-in-chief had power to distribute on the battlefield itself *tīmār* which were vacant as a result of the army's losses and to accept meritorious volunteers as *yoldash* (cf Belin, *Fiefs militt*, tir. a part, p 65, Abesci, p. 23; Mme Louise St.-Belloc, *Bonaparte et les Grecs*, Paris 1826, p 109; my *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 27, note 1).

It is usually said that the principal military obligation of the timariots was, for those whose grant was reduced to the minimum called *ḳılıdj* "sword", to go to war in person (or when impossible to send a substitute) and for the more richly endowed to send one or more *djebelī*.

It does not seem to have been quite so simple. The timariot had to present himself with a cuirass. He was thus also a *djebelī* (*kendu djebelī*, says the *kānūn*, cf *T O. E M*, p 11), and this was the case with the less rich (1,000 aspers) according to the *ḳānūn*, which could however be modified). All the others had to bring also their *ghulām* "squire" and a tent (Tournefort, p 319, also mentions the tents) The richer ones had also to bring one or more *djebelī* and tents of a better quality (cf. the varieties in the same *kānūn*).

Petis de la Croix, in a note to his translation of the *Nasīhat-nāma*, p 88, says that the *djebelī* were "armed soldiers, cuirassed . . . . serving in the artillery and in the trenches, carrying off the earth which the Janissaries dug" and Tournefort (p 320) says that the timariots are "forced to supply baskets to their horsemen who use them to carry the earth necessary to fill up the ditches and trenches". There was an official in the army called the *djebelī aghasi* who had control of the effectives of the *djebelī* (cf. Grzegorzewski, doc. N° 100) Pouqueville, *Voy dans la Grèce*, p 10, suggests an etymological connection between the *djebelī* and the cuirassed gabeloux!

Details on the armament of the timariots will be found in Abesci, p. 18 Tournefort (p 320) further says "their cavalry is better disciplined than that which is properly called spahis although the spahis are lighter and more active the latter only fight in platoons having the oldest horsemen at their head, while the Zaims and the Timariots are divided into regiments and commanded by "Colonels under the orders of the Pashas"

The hierarchy of the military fiefs, *khāṣṣ* of the governors of the provinces As is evident from Tournefort in the above quotation, there was a rather close connection between the administrative organisation of the provinces and the feudatories those of the first category (holders of *khāṣṣ*) are even confused with the governors.

It must not be concluded however from this that there were *zi*ʿ*āmet* and *tīmār* in all the provinces The mediate possessions like the Crimea, the Danubian principalities, the Barbary Regencies had no *tīmār* It was the same with some of the outer provinces of the empire like Egypt, Baghdād, Crete, Cyprus, Varad, Caffa Ewliyā Čelebi says that there were none in the peninsula of the Morea (except in certain adjoining islands) but the contrary is stated by Pouqueville, *Voy. dans la Grèce*, p 12.

Other Ottoman writers distinguish in this connection between the provinces ruled as *sālyāne*, a word which means "annual" in Persian (*sālyāne ile ṣapt olunan* or *s. t. maṣbūt eyālet*) and the *khāṣṣ*

provinces. The former were held by governors either in full ownership (*mulkiyet*, *oǧaḳlıḳ* or *yurtluḳ*) like the mediate provinces or like the 5 Kurd sandjaḳs called *ḥukūmet* or the 19 sandjaḳs of the wilāyet of Diyārbakr, or for a year at a time (*ıltızām ile* or *senewī ıltızām ile*, whence the word *sālyāne*) With this system the emoluments of the governors were deducted from the revenue of the state collected by the fiscal offices of the province (or levied on the *ırsālıye* which represented, after deduction of allowances and the pay of the soldiers, the *ḫazīne*, Turkish *ḫazna* or "treasury" destined for Constantinople) without the *beylerbeyī* (viceroy) "being able to exact the least thing from the people" (Marsigli) while the governors who held *ḫāṣṣ* levied tithes (*ʿuṣḥr*, pl *aʿṣḥār*) on these fiefs.

This distinction must not be taken too literally Some *sālyāne* governors actually had *ḫāṣṣ* and the *ḫāṣṣ* were not all military fiefs The ḫān of the Crimea for example levied 1,200,000 aspers on the customs of Caffa, under the name of *ḫāṣṣ* On the other hand sandjaḳs of different character are found in the same province, some *sālyāne*, others *ḫāṣṣ* This was the case with the provinces of Baghdād, Cyprus (already mentioned as *ḫāṣṣ* provinces), Damascus, Aleppo, Čīldīr, without reckoning the eyālet of the Ḳapudan Paṣha This distinction between *sālyāne* and *ḫāṣṣ* provinces appears very clearly, when it is a question of a sandjaḳ and not of an eyālet as a whole

The idea of *ḫāṣṣ* must not be confused with that of "military fief". It is larger and differs from it, in as much as the *ḫāṣṣ* was attached not to the person but to the position of the governor At least this was the case from the time when in the reign of Murād III, the sandjaḳ-beyī ceased to be inalienable (cf Belin, *Propr foncière*, N° 313) The sulṭān had also his regular private *ḫāṣṣ* which were called *ḫāṣṣ-ı-humāyūn*

With this reservation the vassals of the first category were represented by two kinds of high officials, the *beylerbeyī* and the *sandjaḳbeyī* both holders of *ḫāṣṣ*

The *beylerbeyī* (cf. Deny, *Sommaire des arch. turques du Caire*, p 41–52) held *ḫāṣṣ* the value of the annual revenue of which varied from 650,000 aspers (Morea) to 1,200,700 (Kapudan Paṣha) and were proportionate to their rank and precedence i e. to the date of the conquest of the province. The *ḫāṣṣ* the revenue of which attained or surpassed the million were Rumelia, Anatolia, Damascus, Erzerūm, Diyārbakr, Wan, Shehrizor, Khānate of the Crimea, Baghdād, Baṣra, Habesh, Egypt and going down by 100 aspers Rhodes, Cyprus, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli in Barbary (it is probable that some of these *ḫāṣṣ* existed only on paper).

Each beylerbeyī had to supply one *mukemmel ḏjebelī* for each 5,000 aspers of revenue. Marsigli adds that some portions of this revenue were exempt from military obligations.

The *beylerbeyī* were allowed themselves to issue *berat* conferring the small *tīmār* (*teskeresiz*; cf below). When a viceroy died the state gave tīmār to eleven of his servants. The *sandjaḳ-beyī* in theory held *ḫāṣṣ* of at least 200,000 aspers of annual revenue. In practice we find in the lists of ʿAin-i ʿAlī sandjaḳs with a lower revenue. When the new holder was an officer of the palace (in such case the expression used was "to go out to or ascend to the sandjaḳ". *sandjaḳa čıḳmaḳ*), the minimum was higher and proportionate to his dignity. The Agha of the Janissaries had the highest. 500,000 aspers.

The augmentations or *terakkī* of the fiefs of the *sandjaḳ-beyī* were made by sums of 100 aspers on each 1000 of revenue, (i e. 10%) When a vacant fief was allotted to a *sandjaḳ-beyī* who had not yet a right to the whole of the revenue it yielded, the surplus went to the *mewḳūf* (was retained by the state) to be set aside for the janissaries who had a right to a *tīmār* Later, the *ḫāṣṣ* could be reconstituted in its entirety for the benefit of the same holder and the timariots who were thus dispossessed were given compensation. This system prevented the domains being broken up into small sections.

The precedence of the sandjaḳ-beyīs was regulated by the importance of their *ḫāṣṣ*, but ex-grand viziers had always precedence over all others A *sandjaḳ-beyī* had also to supply one *mukemmel-ḏjebelī* per 1,000 aspers of revenue. When a *sandjaḳ-beyī* died, the state gave tīmār to six of his servants It is probable that it was not necessary to be a *sandjaḳ-beyī* to obtain a *ḫāṣṣ*

What was the lower limit of a *ḫāṣṣ* ? The authors of Turkish works on the history of the Ottoman empire say that the *ḫāṣṣ* was a domain with at least 100,000 aspers of revenue, granted to *umerāʾ* (plur of *emīr* = bey, which is applied to the *sandjaḳ-beyī* and in opposition to vizier or pasha of 3 tails, to the beylerbeyī or paṣha of two tails. At the present day, it is applied to the higher officers in contrast to the general or paṣha) Although the figure of 100,000 aspers is confirmed from other sources (Tournefort, p 319) it was probably fixed at a later date We actually find, in the lists of ʿAin-i ʿAlī Efendi, *ḫāṣṣ* which are lower than this (for the benefit of the defterdār of a wilāyet). If we may judge by the total of the duties of *ḳalemīye* (cf below) paid by the *ḫāṣṣ*, the minimum revenue of the latter must have originally been 60,000 aspers

Zıʿāmet or zeʿāmet Every fief called *zıʿāmet* had a minimum revenue of 20,000 aspers, which could not be reduced or divided in case of transfer to an heir or another holder This minimum was called *ḫılıḥ zıʿāmet* The surplus, whatever its amount, was called *ḥiṣṣe* or "part".

Every *zıʿamet* entered in the register (*ıdjmāl*) as irreducible was called from this fact *ıdjmāllı* in opposition to *hisselı* or divisible into parts (Belin, *Fiefs milit*, p. 55—57). It was the same with *tīmār*; cf. Marsigli, p 96—97.

The holders of *zıʿāmet* were called *zaʿīm* (plur. *zuʿamāʾ*), "chief". A *zaʿīm* had to go to war in person and supply one *ḏjebelī* for each complete 5,000 aspers of revenue above 20,000 aspers of the *ḫılıḥ zıʿāmet* Nothing was paid on a sum less than 5,000 even if it were 4,999. The *zaʿīm* who lived in the capital of a ḳaḍā generally became a *su-baṣhı*

According to modern Turkish writers and Tournefort, the maximum revenue of a *zıʿāmat* was 99,999 aspers but some *defter ḫaḳānī* held *zıʿāmet* with a large revenue (lists in ʿAin-i ʿAlī). Grzegorzewski gives the maximum of 50,000. It is probable from what has been said above about the *ḫāṣṣ* that originally it was 59,999 aspers.

Tīmār The *tīmār* were of two kinds:

1. — *teskereli*, or given by *berat-i sulṭānī* on pro-

duction of a certificate (*tezkere* or *mīrmīrān tezkeresi*) issued by the *beylerbeyi* or viceroy (cf the models of *tezkere*'s in Grzegorzewski's documents N⁰. 75, 78, 87, 91, 100, 102 and 106),

2. — *tezkeresiz* or given by a simple *berat* of the *beylerbeyi* i. e. without certificate, to feudatories already having or having had a fief The dues of a first tīmār had always to be paid or at least be approved by imperial *berat*.

The dues on the irreducible minimum (*ḳïlïdj*) of the two kinds of *tīmār* varied according to the province but those on a *tezkereli tīmār* were always higher than those on a *tezkeresiz tīmār* The individuals, limited in number, who normally received *gedikli zi'āmet* were the *dergïāh-i 'āli muteferri-ḳalarï* (young nobles), the *d 'ā. bawušlarï*, the *diwān kïātibleri*, the *defter-ḫaḳānī kïātibleri* (*M T M*, p 543, Djewdet, 1, p. 313) They also drew pay from the little *rūznamčedjï* (Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii. 54 and *Ḳānūn* publ in 1330, p 21, note) They were respectively 6,000 and 3,000 aspers in the beylerbeyliks of Rumelia, Buda, Bosnia and Temesvar 5,000 (or 3,000 and 6,000) and 2,000 aspers elsewhere.

The timariot owed personal service for his *ḳïlïdj* and for a certain sum above it, the services of a *djebelī*. According to 'Ain-i 'Alī, in Rumelia the timariot owed one *djebelī* for each 3,000 aspers, which is the actual equivalent of a *ḳïlïdj* but there seems to be a initial allowance of 10,000 aspers which is free By analogy we should have to allow one *djebelī* for each 2,000 aspers for the rest of the empire This system means a great simplification in contrast with the state of things revealed by the *Ḳānūn-nāma* attributed to Seyidi Bey, p 11 (Marsigli gives 5,000 aspers as for the *za'īm*)

The name *eshkun* (or *esh-kin* or *esh-kin-dji*) *tīmārï* "combatant *tīmār*" from the verb *esh-mek*, above mentioned, was given to a fief which owed direct service and retainers when called upon. The *eshkindji tīmārlarï* were contrasted on the one hand with the *benewbet* (*be-nobet*) *tīmārlarï* belonging to various individuals owing service in turn and on the other with the *mustahfiz tīmārlarï* or fiefs (fewer in number) granted to non-combatants like the imāms or *mu'edhdhin*s of mosques in the frontier towns or to individuals whose duty it was to provide the palace with game-birds or butcher-meat

The connection should be investigated which existed between these latter timārs and the fiefs (*zi'āmet* or *tīmār*) which were called *gedikli* or "privileged" because their holders were not obliged to do service except when the grand vizier led the army in person (Belin, *Propr. fonc.*, N⁰ 357, Em. Legrand, *Ephémérides daces par Constantin Dapontès*, Paris 1881, ii 62—63) Before disposing of a vacant *tīmār* it had to be ascertained if it was not in the special register of the *gedikli tīmār* (cf. the formula *gedikli ḳaydïnda deyïl-ise*, documents in Grzegorzewski, N⁰. 78 and 100).

In the great days of the timariots the feudatories, according to Koču Bey, led out more men than they required to and the timariots were ambitious of becoming *za'īm* through exploits such as capturing a score or so of prisoners or bringing in as many heads.

In theory the *tīmār* were granted only to Muslims but there were exceptions at the time of the Conquest and Christian feudatories were left in possession of their estates (cf. for Serbia Grzegorzewski, p. 62, and for the Morea Pouqueville, *loc. cit.*).

Military organisation of the fiefs. The high command of the feudatories was exercised by the governors of provinces (themselves important feudatories) and thus the title of *mīr-liwā* (a synonym of *sandjaḳ-beyi*) became the name for a brigadier-general.

Under the orders of these generals were officers whose duty it was to mobilise and probably also to command the feudatories, namely:

1 the *alay-beyi*, a kind of colonel chosen by the feudatories of a *sandjaḳ*. They had the right to a drum and a flag (the *bayraḳdār* or "flag-bearer" was a kind of lieutenant-colonel and the *čawush* a kind of "major"). The Turks often confused the *sipāhī* and the *woyewoda* (a loanword from the Slavonic) but distinguished between the *sipāhī* of the fiscus (*Mīrī subashïlarï* and those of the *tīmār* (*ebl-i tīmār sūbushïlarï*) cf the *Ḳānūn* publ in 1330, p. 28.

2 *čeri-bashï* and *su-bashï* These two titles seem, as has been observed, to refer to the same officers (*su* [older *su*] is a synonym of *čeri* "army, troops") There was one for each district (*kazā* or *nāhiye*). In peace-time the *su-bashï* were officers of the police

As to the *čerï sui udjulerï* (from *sur-mek*) ("to drive a flock or troop in front of one") Belin makes them captains of ten, for the sake of symmetry with the preceding, but they were less regular officers than police or detectives, i. e soldiers whose task was to bring back deserters to the army (cf documents N⁰. 85 and 72 in Grzegorzewski)

.In case of mobilisation the Sulṭān sent a firman to the *beylerbeyi* concerned ordering them to raise the ban of the *za'īm* and *sipāhī* (cf a specimen of one of these firmans in the *Naṣīhat-nāma*, transl. Pétis de la Croix, p 35–36, the same work p 8, puts at 2,000 *yuk* i. e 100,000 aspers, a sum set aside for the gifts which according to custom were given in this case to the militia and especially to the *za'īm* and timariots).

Administration of the military fiefs. We have already mentioned the administrative and fiscal officials who had charge of the allotment of fiefs These officials who were called *wilāyet muharrirleri* or "provincial writers" kept registers called *idjmāl* or "general" statistics of the fiefs and *mufaṣṣal* or "detailed" statistics In another book called *rūznāmče* or "journal" were recorded the *berat* or orders relating to the fiefs. The armies in the field carried these registers with them (probably duplicate copies) in order to enter at once on the battlefield the necessary distributions of *tīmār* (cf. doc., N⁰ 78, 100 and 102 in Grzegorzewski)

In the Turkish archives are preserved registers which go back to the Conqueror and would be well worth studying Cf. my article in *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (*Bibl de la Revue historique*), Paris 1927, vol 1., Turquie.

The *berat* granting fiefs were liable to chancellery dues ("of the pen" *ḳalemïye*) levied by the *ḳïaghat emīni*. It was 4% 120 aspers for the holders of *tīmār* of 3,000 aspers, 800 aspers for the *za'īm* There were 15,000 aspers for the *ḫāṣṣ* (we have used this figure to ascertain the probable original minimum of the *ḫāṣṣ*) The *berat*, following a general custom, were renewed annually (*teǧdïd-i berat*) and the same *kalemïye* dues were paid every year (cf *Naṣīḥat-nāme*, p. 41, 78, 79).

It would take us too long here to give the regulations which were intended to secure the

devolution of the *tīmār* to men suitable for military service and who had to be by preference the sons or descendants of feudatories (*sipāhi-zāde*, in plural *ebnā-i sipāhiyān*) or of *djebelī* who had done their service. Their legitimacy was established by the evidence of ten timariots (Koču-Bey)

When a timariot failed to obey the summons, he became *maʿzūl* "deprived" i e he was temporarily deprived for one or two years of his *tīmār* which was then called *dirliyi čalınmaḳ* Every *tīmār* vacant (*mahlūl*) through escheat or default fell (*dushmek*) as *mewḳūf* to be managed by the official called *mewḳūfātdjı*, who collected the revenues until it was allotted again

The *sipāhī* were bound to live on their estates To look after the land one in ten was usually left at home and called the *kurudjy* or "guard" If the war was a prolonged one, the *sipāhī* of each *sandjaḳ* sent home a score of their number who, known as *ḵhardjlīḳ*, had to send supplies (*ḵhardjlīḳ*) to their comrades in the field

A *raya* or peasant could only become a timariot by proving his prowess on the battlefield, which he could only do by going as a volunteer to the frontiers (cf above).

Decline of the system of military fiefs. In spite of precautions and attempts at reform like that of 1632 as a result of the memoir presented by Ḳudjı Bey (or Ḳučı, or better perhaps Koču Bey) of Koiica (better of Gumuldjina) and again in 1657 and 1777, the decline of the fiefs continued to be marked.

In addition to the laments of Turkish officials like Koču Bey and ʿAin-i ʿAlī Efendi, we find frequent criticisms in western writers

In theory the *zaʿīm* and timariots had to go to war, even if they were so ill that they had be carried in a litter, with their children in panniers (Tournefort) but after putting in an appearance an opportunity was always found to return home (Abesci, 88, p 18) We find in Grzegorzewski orders to bring to the colours mutinous timariots, who were hiding in their *čiftlik* (*čift-lik*) (doc. N⁰. 73 for example).

A timariot could buy himself off and this was a valuable source of revenue for some ministers, according to Philippe du Fesne-Canaye (*Le Voyage du Levant en 1573*, Paris 1897, p. 137)

Another passage in the same traveller (p 60) seems to show that foreign ambassadors could actually obtain *tīmār* for their protegés Tournefort (II., p. 319) writes "The viceroys and provincial governors have such powers by their intrigue at court that commanderships which are outside of their districts are given to their servants or to those who give them most money".

Baron de Tott shows us that the khān of the Crimea was very dissatisfied with the services of 10,000 *sipāhī* sent by the Porte and says he was able to prove to himself that some of them were really Christians who pretended to be converted to Islām for the sake of the *tīmār* (*Mémoires*, 1785, I., p 112). Lastly there is an account of various other abuses in Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Emp. Oth*, VII, p. 375

The suppression of the Janissaries and of the corps of cavalry or paid *sipāhī* under Maḥmūd II brought about the disbandment of the feudal militia To safeguard the rights they had acquired, this Sulṭān formed the élite of the dispossessed feudatories in 1831 into four squadrons, which later formed the framework of the new regular cavalry As to the other holders of the old fiefs now the property of the state, they received pensions which were provided for in the budget The total of these pensions at first 120,000 purses or 60,000,000 piastres (Belin) fell in 1850 to about 15,000,000 without reckoning some 10,000,000 paid as indemnity to the farmers of the domain lands (leased since the ministry of Rustam Pasha Sulaimān's grand vizier) On the 27th Radjab 1280 (Jan 7, 1864) these pensions underwent a revision which still further reduced their number, from lack of certain formalities (Tischendorf).

There was no longer any military organisation of the fiefs but the state retained the *tapu*, which it henceforth levied for its own benefit, and the laws retained numerous survivals of the old system (cf below)

The tīmār and Ottoman land legislation In return for his services the *sipāhī* had the right to collect all or part of the *houḳouḳy-sheʿiè* (of divine prescription) dues as well as "taxes decreed by the sovereign" *ruçoumı ursiè* (we should add "or sanctioned by usage") on the lands of the fief He exercised a kind of seignoral jurisdiction over the raias "Muslim or Christian peasants" If the peasants, the tillers of the soil, only held their land with a *teçarruf* title (possession not implying ownership) they hand it on death to their children only All other heirs or acquirers can only acquire possession of them by paying to the *sipāhī* of the place the dues (*mouʿaddjile*) called *tapu* if there are no heirs, the land is awarded to a new owner also by *tapu* and by regulations made *ad hoc*" (Belin, *Prop fonc*, N⁰ 303)

In return for his military obligations the timariot enjoyed feudal privileges As regards the proprietor of the soil he was his lord (*ṣāḥib-i erz* or *arz* for the Arabic *ard*) but this right of ownership was not only bound up with military service it was precarious and revocable

The peasant (*raʿiyet*, plur also employed in the singular *reʿāyā* or *raʿya*) Muslim or Christian — for western usage is wrong in applying this term only to Christians — was attached to the state and went with it (Belin, *Fiefs militt*, spec repr, p 50)

He paid to the *sipāhī* different taxes and dues which varied somewhat according to locality, a few of which may be enumerated here

Ispendje or *pendjik* "fifth" (Belin, N⁰ 323, Grzegorzewski, p 233), *bennāk* or *penak* (Grzegorzewski, p 226 and doc N⁰ 84, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, ed 1329, p 16, note 2, Hammer, *Staatsverfassung nebak*), *resm-i čift* (Belin, N⁰ 318; Grzegorzewski, p 236, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, p 316, note 2), *mudjerred* "bachelors" (N⁰ 321), *ʿarūsāne* "a girl, married woman" (N⁰. 329, 350), *dukhan* or *tutun* "right of fuel for individuals foreign to the *tīmār*" or *kapnıatıkos* (N⁰ 326, 348), *sālārīye* (N⁰ 348, *Ḳānūn-nāme*, p 16, note 3), *āsyāb* or *deyirmen* "moulin", *otlak* "pasture", *yaylak* "summer pasture", *ḳıshla* "winter pasture"; *djelb-keshan* "sheep"; *murde pahalarī* "compensation for the maintenance of a falcon which comes to die", *bedaya* or *bād-u-hawā* "extra ordinary taxes"; *ḳowan* "hives"; *kile* "measure of wheat" (N⁰ 345)

A fuller list of imposts and taxes will be found in Aḥmad Wafīḳ, *Tekʿālīf ḳawāʿıdı*

Western authors give as the most important imposts on land in the country the tithe, but the older Ottoman legists distinguish between·

1. The imposts of the canon law (*sharīʿa*) subdivided into

a. Kharādj-i muwaẓẓaf "fixed impost on land" or tribute of the soil, represented in practice (or perhaps by an artificial assimilation) by the *čift akčesi* (also called *boyunduruk hakkī* or *tasma akčesi*) and the *ispenče* or "poll-tax" by the ispenče or poll-tax on the Christians (identified with the *djizya* of the divine law: the *djawālī* or *gawālī* of Egypt and sometimes popularly called the "*kharādj*" par excellence)

b Kharādj-i mukāsame "proportional impost on land" or tribute on the produce represented by the tithe or *ʿushur*, which in spite of its name varied in practice between $^1/_8$ and $^1/_2$

2 The imposts of customary law (*ʿurfīya*) represented particularly by the *djaba bennāk* paid by rayas, married Muslims without land, to be distinguished from the *eknlu bennāk* (a kind of *čift akčesi* with reduced taxes) cf *M.T.M*, p 99, 109, 10 and 54

This classification, which seems somewhat arbitrary, takes no account of the distribution between taxes on persons and those on who own property On taxes and land in the country cf also Heidborn, *Les Finances Ottomanes*, Vienna 1912, p. 17 *sqq* and 5 to 10.

Some dues had to be divided between the timariot and the *su-bashī* (Belin, N⁰ 348)

Such were the regulations for lands liable to *tapu*, for these were lands belonging completely to the *sipāhī* and called *khāṣṣe* As they were also called *kīlīdj yeri* ("sword lands") and could not be given by *tapu*, I think we may conclude that the reference is to the inalienable part of the *tīmār*, called *kīlīdj* (cf above). It is indeed not surprising that *kīlīdj* has been considered inalienable even by *tapu* Belin and Worms take different views and compare, wrongly I think, *khāṣṣe* lands and *khāṣṣ* which they contrast with "lands of combatants" or *māl-i mukātele* or *djenk mālī*, alone liable to the organisation of the military fiefs (Belin, N⁰ 312—313)

In spite of the charges made against the "cavaliers" (*sipāhī*, *atlī*) contained in popular stories like those of Nasr al-Dīn Khodja, the situation of the peasants does not seem to have been bad and according to Leunclavius (Lowenklau), there were Hungarian peasants ready to set fire to their farms and flee to Turkey (Thornton) Juchereau de St Denis attributes this to the fact that the owner of a fief had "no legal right of lordship and justice over the persons living on it" We have seen that he had numerous fiscal rights The relations between the *sipāhī* and the *raʿya* were nevertheless very complicated They occupy very considerable space in the Ottoman land-laws as contained in the *kānūn*'s enumerated above (N⁰ 3, 4 and 5) Many of these regulations — with the reservation that the State has taken the place of the *sipāhī* — have passed into the modern land-laws or *eṭāzi ḳānūnū* where they have become merged with borrowings from the Code Napoléon. The text of these laws will be found in vol. 1 of the Turkish *Dustūr* and the French translations in Belin, *Propr fonc* and German by Padel in Berlin, *M S. O S.* (1901) For the "code of land-laws", cf G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vi (1906), p 44–111 The most characteristic of these survivals is the *tapu* about which we now give a few lexicographical details.

Tapu. The Ottoman substantive *tap-u* or by the operation of the law of vowel harmony *tapi* (as in Bāḳī, ed Dvořak, p 171, 2 infra) for the older (Oghuz) *tap-ugh*, Čaghatai *tap-uk*, is derived from the verb *tap-mak*. 1. to obey, to submit to God or a conqueror by begging *amān* from him (cf *ʿĀshik-pāshā-zāde Tarīkhi*, ed. Giese, p. 22; Noldeke, *Neshri*, *Z D M G*, 1859, p 212 *tapan wilāyet* is not a proper name); 2. to worship (a divinity), 3 to pay homage — Cf also *tapu*, Vámbery, *Alt-Osman. Sprache*, p 219; *tabu*, Codex Comanicus, 217, Houtsma, *Ein turk.-ar Glossar*, the Koman form with intervocalic sonant is found in the Karaite *tabu*, *tabʾe* thanks, gratitude (T Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte... von Troki*, Cracow 1929)

Tapugh according to Kāshghārī means 1 "service (*khidma*), 2 obedience (*tāʿa*)", 1, p 311 and derivatives 1, p 410, ii, p 132, l 5, cf iii, p 278, infra, the proverb *tuyın tapughsaḳ, tañgı savınčsız* "the priest is always ready to worship God but the latter is not at all pleased with him".

The *Burhān-i Kāti*ʿ explains the Persian borrowing thus "it is a polite custom which the Turks of Transoxania call *tapu* and consists in, when one has committed some crime, presenting oneself before the Sultān or viziers, the head uncovered, holding one's ears, bowing down and seeking forgiveness" Cf for the meaning the Turkish verb *yukun-mek* so frequent in the Buddhist and Manichaean texts publ by F. K W. Muller, von Le Coq, Pelliot etc. The following passage is typical *uč gez Oghuz resmindje tapu we-khizmet resmin yerine getirdiler*, "prostating oneself" (or bowing) three times according to the custom of the Oghuz, they went through the traditional gestures of *tapu* and homage" (Houtsma, *Hist. des Seldj d'Ibn Bibi*, p 10, l 9) The ceremony seems to have included the offering of a cup for there is an expression *tapu saghi aghi* "cup of homage" recorded by the *Burhān-i Ḳāti*ʿ (p 477 sub *saghrak*).

It may also be noted that according to Silvestre de Sacy, the Arabic *khidma* "service" given above as the equivalent of *tapu* (according to Kāshghārī) sometimes has the same meaning as the Turkish *tīmār* (*N E*, 1 210, note d; cf *Bibliothèque des arabisants*, Cairo, ii., p. 114, 116)

Lastly in Mongol, the same word (pronounced *tabik* according to Kowalewski which presupposes a Turkish form *tap-igh*) means "offering, sacrifice, divine service, service, worship, act of honouring".

In connection with the *tīmār*, *tapu* is the name of the title-deeds which confirm the tributary state of the land, the renewal of which is obligatory in certain circumstances and which establish the permanence of the right of conquest (Belin, N⁰. 298, note 2).

From the preceding one might be tempted to see in the *tapu* a kind of homage and Ahmad Wafīḳ gives as the equivalent of *tapu*, the expression *aghalīḳ ḥaḳḳī* "right of the overlord", but the analogy is only apparent *tapu* existed between the *sipāhī* and the *raʿya* and not between the *sipāhī* and the suzerain (Sultān). It is therefore quite a real bond going with land. As the delivering of this title was done with the payment of a certain sum in anticipation (*muʿadjdjele*) the name *tapu* was given not only to the title but to the sum itself. And when on the abolition of the *tīmār* the *tapu* was levied by the state, *meʾmūru*

or *kʿātibī* was given to the employee who handed over the *tapu* (Belin, N⁰ 88, 335 *sqq*). *Tapu* could only be demanded when an estate became really vacant. Transmission by inheritance takes place without *tapu* or gratis

The following are some phrases in which this word occurs *tapu-la-mak* or *tapu-ya wer-mek* or *tapu-ile wermek* "to give by *tapu* (speaking of the *sipāhi*)", *tapu-ya almak* "to take by *tapu* (speaking of the *raʿiyya*)", cf *tapu-layîn-dan almak*, MS suppl. Turc, N⁰ 68, fol 7; *bā-tapu* or *tapu-ile* "against payment of the *tapu*", opposed to *bilā tapu* or *medjdjānen*" without expense, without paying *tapu*", *tapu-ya mustahakk* "(land) which ought to be or perhaps as a result of a vacancy given to another or payment of the *t.*" (whence the expression *istihākiye*, with *erāzī* understood, etc., opposed to *ʿaṭāʾiye*); *tapu-yu boz-mak* "to break an engagement by *t.*"; *tapu-su djāʾiz deyil* "cannot be given by *t.*", *resm-i tapu* "tax paid as *t.*", *hakk-i t.* "right of holding land by *t.*", *tapu-i misl* "right of proportional *t.*', *dam tapusa* "tax levied on any new building created by the raya" (*M T M*, p 83, *J A*, Jan.-Febr 1844, p 88, v Hammer, i 399

Comparison of the *tīmār* with western fiefs. The *tīmār* is more of an administrative than a social organisation It is due to the initiative of the state and the latter has never lost its right to supervise and even control directly the *tīmārs*, which are only hereditary because the state finds an advantage in this, but it sees that no dynasty of feudatories is allowed to establish itself in the provinces The fief is and, in spite of certain abuses, remains closely associated with the obligation to military service and is taken away on the slightest sign of failure to perform this or of rebelliousness The possession of it is so precarious that some *tīmār* have returned as many as eight times to the state in one campaign (Thornton). The domain, which has not the same social importance as in the west, does not confer its name upon its holder nor give him any degree of nobility. There is even a somewhat unexpected tendency according to which a *raʿiyya* could receive a *tīmār* without ceasing to be a *raʿiyya*. He could not abandon his state of *raʿiyya* when the *berat* conferring the fief specifically stated that his *yoldashlik* was being rewarded, "his good services in war as a free comrade in arms" (*Milli tet m.*, p 311) The feudal relationship is expressed only in the domains, an irreducible part of which only was guaranteed the holder on condition that he gives military service The reward is, as it were, divided into small sections which are used to give regular increases, as to officials One does not talk of a *tīmār* of so many aspers but of so many aspers of *tīmār* (*shu ḳadar akče tīmār*) The great feudatories are at the same time officials and if the state fears them it is not so much as feudal lords, but rather as viceroys of large provinces.

There are no vassals Each feudatory owes his fief directly to the Sultān (except the very small ones appointed by the *beylerbeyi*) He is not under the orders of more powerful feudatories except when mobilised for military service. Over the *raʿiyya* he only has certain fiscal rights, as we have seen, some of which recall the rights of milling etc., çf e g the dues on betrothal (*ʿarūsāne* or *gerdek*) Madame Louise Saint Belloc thought it would not be unreasonable to admit that Napoleon borrowed his system of grants of land from the Turks.

Bibliography. Belin, secretary-interpreter of the French Embassy at Constantinople is the only man who has so far seriously studied the Turkish *tīmār* To him we owe the two following monographs.

1 *Étude sur la propriété foncière en pays musulman, et spécialement en Turquie* (*Rite hanéfite*), reprinted from the *J. A.*, Paris 1862, 2. *Du régime des fiefs militaires dans l'islamisme, et principalement en Turquie*, reprint from the *J A*, Paris 1870 (notably from ʿAin-i ʿAlī, whose text is translated).

We may also mention the work of Worms, *Recherches sur la constitution de la propriété territoriale dans les pays musulmans et subsidiairement en Algérie*, *J A.*, 1842, 1843 et 1844 As to the study by Paul Andreas von Tischendorf (*Das Lehnswesen in den moslemischen Staaten insbesondere im osmanischen Reiche*, Leipzig 1872, 129 pages in 8°), this is simply a version of Belin's works with a few additions We have been unable to procure the important work by Truhelka, *Historička podloga agrarnog pitanja u Bosni*, publ in the *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Basni i Hercegovini*, xxvii 1915, p 125 *sqq*, a German version was published at Sarajevo in 1911, under the title *Die Geschichtliche Grundlage der bosnischen Agrarfrage*. For further details cf Dmitriev in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, ii. 1926, p. 104.

The works of which we now give the full titles with some others of less importance have been quoted in the body of the article

Joseph von Hammer (Purgstall), *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 337—434 (chap vi *Das Lehenrecht, Kanuni timar*), Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, 3 volumes, Comte de Marsigli, *L'Etat militaire de l'Empire ottoman, ses progrès et sa decadence*, The Hague and Amsterdam 1732, folio (Italian and French), Elias Abesci, *L'Etat actuel de l'Empire ottoman*, English transl by Fontanelle, Paris 1792, 2 vol., A de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Th Thornton, *Etat actuel de la Turquie*, English transl, Paris 1812, 2 vol., J Grzegorzewski, *Z stdzyllatow rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedenskiej*, Lwow 1912, 144 pages of Turkish text and 264 of Polish text (*Recueil de documents turcs des archives de Sofia, retatifs à l'expédition contre Vienne*); W Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation ottomane*, Paris 1904.

The Ḳānūn-nāme. The bibliography of these codes has still to be compiled. Here we shall confine ourselves to giving the more important, neglecting those, not very many, which do not refer to military fiefs

Apart from the *Kānūn-nāme* of Mehmed II already quoted, these are.

1 Sulaimān's code as published by the *T O. E M* as a supplement under the title *Ḳānūnnāme Āl-i ʿOthmān* (72 p., 1329) The editor Mehmed ʿĀrif attributes it to Saiyidi Bey in spite of the copy in the library of ʿĀshir Efendi which gives as its author the *nishandji* Djalālzāde Mustafā (as does von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Fr. transl, vi, p. 247, where the names are inverted). Cf. also Bibl. Nat Paris, MS Suppl Turc, N⁰. 80 and also Anc. fonds Turc, N⁰. 35, 1⁰; Suppl. Turc, N⁰. 79, 2⁰,

the beginning of the latter seems to be the same as that of the manuscript mentioned by von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i., p xxi., under N⁰ vi, but the text of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa to which he refers really deals with mining laws.

2. Another version (later ?) of the preceding (Vienna, N⁰ 1799, 1⁰, Bibl Nat. Paris, Suppl Turc, N⁰. 81) This version and the preceding should be compared with the text translated into German by von Hammer under the title *Straf- und Polizeygesetze Suleymans* (*Staatsverfassung*, i. 143—62) which according to him (i., p. xix.), is the part of the code of laws of ᶜAin-i ʿAlī Efendi to be mentioned below (N⁰. 6).

3. Code or *Ḳānūn* of the same sulṭān, commonly called *ǧedīd* "the new" (although this qualification seems also sometimes to be applied to the two preceding). If the somewhat confused explanations of von Hammer (*Hist.*, vi. 247 and 267 and *Staatsverfassung*, i. 375—376) are correct, this code, which is almost entirely devoted to questions of land laws, was first compiled by ᶜAbdi Oghlu Mehemet Čelebi, in the early years of Sulaimān's successor (Selīm II). It contains a large number of *fetwās* of the celebrated Shaikh al-Islām Abu 'l-Suᶜūd and Kemāl Pāshā-zāde. It would be valuable to discover the original dated manuscript of this collection, of which we have a large number of copies more or less late (Rieu, Add. 7840, ii, mentions a copy of 1014 but there are some as late as the xiiith century A H) The preface which invokes the authority of the great Sulaimān the Legislator is the same in all copies but the more recent are encumbered with fetwās of later Shaikhs al-Islām (Akhizāde) Ḥusein (d 1043), (Zekeryā-zāde) Yaḥyā (d. 1053), Mehemet Behā'ī (d. Safar 1064), not to mention Pīr Mehemet (cf below), ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, Mehemet Saᶜd-allah, Sanᶜ-allah, Shaikh Mehemet, Al-Hādjdj Mehemet ᶜAbd-allah Muṣṭafā and Mehemet Brusewi. These fetwās are mixed with *Ḳānūn* dating (*der zemān*) from earlier *mushandjī* such as (Tādjī-bey-zāde) Djaᶜfar Čelebi (d. 921), Djalāl-zāde (already mentioned), or older, like Ḥamza Pasha (d 1180), Muᶜallim-zāde Lām ᶜAlī Efendi etc The majority of the dated laws belong to the first half of the xiith century A H, the latest being of 1129, a partial German translation of this text is given in v Hammer, *op. cit.*

This *Ḳānūn* was published in N⁰ 1 and 2 of the *Mülli tet medjmūᶜasi*. There are MSS. of it in Paris, Suppl. Turc, N⁰ 71 and 78, Vienna, N⁰ 1816, 1817, 1822, 2° and elsewhere (cf a list in Rieu's catalogue, Add 7834)

4 *Ḳānūn* or *Risāla* by the Shaikh al-Islām Üskübi Pīr Mehemet Efendi b Ḥasan, author of the *Muᶜīn ul-Mufti*. This like the preceding is based mainly on the fetwās of Abū-s-Suᶜūd MS. at Paris, Suppl. Turc, N⁰ 68 and fragment at Vienna, N⁰ 1804, 4°

5 *Ḳānūn-i Liwā-i Bosna* prepared by order of Sulaimān by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad Kātib al-Defātir al-Khāḳānī at the end of Djumādā I, 973 (middle of Dec. 1565) under the direction of the *zaᶜīm* Beshāret, MS. at Vienna, N⁰. 1804, 6⁰. Another MS. of the same work work was used by Belin (*Propr fonc*, N⁰. 298, note 2; N⁰. 315 *sqq*) This text, along with some others has been published by Truhelka in the *Glasnite* of Sarajevo, xxviii; for further details cf. Dimitrew, *loc cit.*, p. 105.

6. *Ḳānūn* called that of Aḥmad I, edited by the *defter emīnī* Mu'edhdhin-zāde ᶜAin-i ᶜAlī in 1018 (1609) under the title *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ᶜOthmān der Khulāṣa-i Meṣāmīn-i Defter-i Dīwān*. Printed in Rabīᶜ I, 1280 (Aug —Sept 1869) by Ahmad Wafīḳ Pasha, the imperial commissioner in Asia Minor MSS. in Vienna (4 copies), Leipzig, Dresden and Paris (incomplete). It was translated into French by Belin and into German by Tischendorf (cf. the *Bibliography* below) It is the only *kānūn* that has so far been systematically studied. Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, i., p. xvii — xx.) has given an analysis of a work, of which this *ḳānūn* seems to be only the first part. Ewliyā Čelebi seems to have used, in part at least, this *kānūn* for the statistical information which he gives on the provinces and the military fiefs of the empire (i. 173—206).

7. *Naṣīḥat-nāme* (book of counsels) written by a vizier of Ibrāhīm I (1640—1648) for his sovereign Translated into German by Behrnauer in the *Z D M. G.*, xviii, p. 699 *sq.* and previously into French under the title *Canon de Sultan Sulaiman II représenté à Sultan Mouraad IV pour son instruction ou état politique et militaire tiré des Archives les plus secrètes des Princes Ottomans et qui servent pour bien gouverner leur Empire Traduit du turc par M. P * * ** (Pétis de La Croix), Paris 1725. Extracts in Hammer, *Geschichte*, v. 684—687. MSS in Vienna, N⁰ 1823—1825.

8 *Telkhīṣ ul-Beyān fī Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ᶜOthmān*, written in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648–1687) by Husein Efendi Herzārfenn Cf the list of the chapters in v Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, p xx.—xxi.). MS. in Paris, Anc. fonds Turc, N⁰. 40

9. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa's work entitled *Destūr* (*Dustūr*) *ul-ᶜAmel*, cf Behrnauer, *Z. D. M. G*, xi, p 111—32.

10. The organic regulation of the military fiefs promulgated in 1777 (1911) by ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd (reproduced in Djewdet, *Taᵓrīkh*, i. 184—192).

Among other *Ḳānūn* we may mention the MSS of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris Anc fonds Turc, N⁰. 41, Suppl. Turc, N⁰. 79, 1° (*Ḳānūn* presented in 1017) and Vienna, N⁰ 1804, 4° (*Ḳānūn* presented in 1038), N⁰ 1822, 3° etc. The list might be prolonged by searching the catalogues of various libraries. Marsigli's work (cf above) was compiled from a *Ḳānūn*, as far as facts dealing with military fiefs are concerned.

There is an important note on these *Ḳānūn* by Ahmad Rafīḳ Bey in *T O E M.*, xivth year, p. 319—320 (which is not at the moment accessible to me). Cf. also the article by C. Brockelmann in *Isl*, viii 261—267 (*Der Gottinger cod. turc 25. — Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Qânûnnâmes*). There were also *ḳānūn-nāme*'s for each wilāyet. They were on the back or at the top of the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* of these wilāyets (cf. *M. T. M.*, N⁰. 1, p. 109. Such is for example the *Ḳānūn* of the *liwā*'s of Szegedin. Hatvan and Novigrad, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris. Suppl. Turc. N⁰. 76.

The majority of the extant *ḳānūn-nāme*'s — apart from their original defects, often serious — are full of errors and obscurities, the result of the carelessness of copyists. They ought to be

completed and corrected from the collections of *inshā'* or model letters and especially of original documents, firmans, berats etc., as for example those of N° 823 of Suppl Turc de la Bibl Nat. de Paris and 1802 of Vienna; cf. also Grzegorzewski's collection. Meninski himself has given three in his *Institutiones linguae turcicae*, Vienna 1756, II, p 174—175 A study of the rich archives of the *Defter-khakānī* in Constantinople would assuredly be most fruitful (J. DENY)

TIMBUKTU (Timbuctoo; French Tombouctou), a town in western Africa. It is not only of interest as evidence of the great extension of Islām to the south, it has itself been a centre of Muslim life of considerable activity, it possessed a celebrated university and produced learned men and historians who are not without merit According to the author of the *History of the Sudan*, it was founded at the end of the v^th^ (xi^th^) century by the Maghsharen Tuāreg, a nomadic people who came into these lands to pasture their flocks In summer they camped on the banks of the Niger in the village of Amadagha, in autumn they went back to their homes in Arawan At last they settled definitely on the site of this town Timbuktu became an important commercial centre, travellers reached it either by the river or by caravans from the coast of Morocco and Tripolitania The people of Waghdaw migrated thither in considerable numbers, the commercial centre had formerly been Walāta Learned men and devout theologians soon followed the traders, they came from Egypt, from Ghadames from Tuat, Tafilalet, Fez, Sūs etc The town was given fine buildings and walls were built around it, the huts, once built of branches and straw, were replaced by houses of clay A large mosque was built in Timbuktu itself and another to the north at Sankore

The first dynasty, which came from Mālli [q v] reigned at Timbuktu from 737 to 837 (1336–1433) The town in this period was visited by the celebrated traveller Ibn Battūta whose description is very interesting In 753 (1352) he went there with a caravan from Morocco which included many traders of Sidjilmāsa, then a very prosperous commercial centre After a journey of 25 days he made a halt at Taghāza where there were mines of rock-salt, then at Walāta (Iyūālāten), the first place in the land of the negroes, two months' journey from Sidjilmāsa Ten days after leaving Walāta he came to Zāgharī and reached the Niger near the town of Karsakhu, thence he went to Mālli on the river Sansara and finally reached Timbuktu, after which he continued his journey by water The people of these lands were Muslims, the tribe of Messūfa was the dominant one Ibn Baṭṭūta admires certain virtues of the negroes but cannot understand the nudity of women among the believers The town itself does not seem to have impressed him greatly The Messūfīs who lived in it wore the *litḥām* [q v], a veil covering the lower half of the face. We know that the Arabs usually gave the name of *al-Mulaththimūn*, the veiled people, to the Berber peoples who led a nomadic life in the desert as far as Nubia (Juynboll and de Goeje, *Descr du Maghrib*, Leyden 1860, p. 48).

A second dynasty, that of the Maghsharen Tuāreg, held sway in Timbuktu for 40 years. Then came the conqueror Sunnī ʿAlī whose rule lasted 24 years (873—898 = 1468—92) He made his victorious entry into Timbuktu in 873 and wrought great havoc there. Local historians judge him very severely, as a wicked libertine and a bloody oppressor who persecuted learned men and laughed at religion He performed the *ṣalāt* sitting. Nevertheless the Sunghai dynasty which descended from this prince was a brilliant one and raised the town to a high degree of prosperity The most eminent sultān of this dynasty was the askia al-Hādī Muḥammad, a patron of letters and learning The last, the askia Dāwūd, died in 935 (1528) Timbuktu then passed under Moroccan domination The Pāshā of Marrākush Mahmūd conquered it from the Sultān of Morocco, Mulāy Ahmad in 999 (1590) Moroccan rule lasted from 999—1164 (1590—1750), the exactions of the Pāshās and the raids of the marauding Tuāreg mark the period of decline The Tuāreg regained the town in 1207 (1792), then the Pul took it in 1243 (1827) and then the Tuculor

In the ix^th^ (xv^th^) century Europeans came into contact with Timbuktu Through Tunis and Tripolitania it had dealings with Italy, especially with Florence Four great caravan routes led from it, going to Egypt via Kanem and Gao, to Tunis by the Hoggār, to Morocco via Sidjilmāsa, Tafilalet and Tuat, and to the Sūdān by Mālli Two Europeans mention the town at this time and refer to it in terms which suggest that it was a well known place, these were the Florentine Benedetto Dei who visited it in 875 (1470) and says only "here coarse clothes are sold and serges and materials which are made in Lombardy", and a few years later Leo Africanus who is more enthusiastic "the city", he says "is well provided with shops it has a temple of stone and lime, built by an excellent architect of Granada and a splendid palace for the king The latter is very rich in plates and rods of gold some of which weigh 1,300 pounds" The traffic in gold and in salt is specially mentioned at this time

After the x^th^ (xvi^th^) century Timbuktu became cut off from Europe It was now only talked of in Europe as a mysterious and inaccessible town, thought to be very beautiful and rich, no doubt on account of its trade in gold, ostrich feathers, ivory, and slaves. The mystery of Timbuktu after various unsuccessful attempts and the assassination of Major Laing was pierced by the French explorer René Caillié in 1244 (1828) who was much disillusioned by it and greatly preferred Djenne Barth then visited it in 1853

The town, still modest in appearance, although the native architecture is not without taste, was incorporated in the sphere of French colonisation in 1311 (1893) Communication by motor-car (caterpillar wheels) was opened with Algeria by the Haardt–Audouin–Dubreuil expedition The town is no longer as large as it was under the old Sunghai kings, whose memory the natives still cherish, in those days it was bounded by one of the arms of the Niger, but now the ruins lie 10 miles south of it Caravans carrying salt still do a busy trade.

As to the works of Sudanese authors, the manuscripts of them have been brought back mainly by Felix Dubois and Colonel Archinard. M. Houdas has published several of them. The most important are the *History of the Sudan* and a *Dictionary of the Pashas*. The best known author of Timbuktu is Aḥmad Bābā, who compiled a biographical dictionary. Taken prisoner when the town was occupied by the Moroccans, he was carried off to

Morocco where he lived till 1006 (1597). He died at Timbuktu in 1036 (1626) The period of the greatest literary activity in Timbuktu extends from the viiith (xivth) to the xiith (xviiith) century Educated Muslims are still to be found in the country, for example the ḳādī who a few years ago (1913) made available some inscriptions throwing light on the history of the Muḥammadan penetrations of the Niger country

Bibliography. for the Sudanese historians, cf *Publications de l'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes*, series 4, vols xii, xiii, xix, xx., Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed and transl Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iv 377—432, Ch de La Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen-âge, cartographes et explorateurs*, 2 vol with plates, Cairo 1925, Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed Ch Schefer, iii 292, F Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse*, 1897, Père Hacquart, *Monographie de Tombouctou*, 1900, Dr Oskar Lenz, *Timbouctou, Voyage au Maroc, au Sahara et au Soudan*, Fr. transl., Paris, 2 vol, 1886—1887, Lieutenant Préfontan, *Histoire de Tombouctou de sa fondation à l'occupation française*, *Bulletin de l'A O F*, 1922, A Lamandé and J Nanteuil, *La Vie de René Caillié*, Paris 1928, G. M Haardt and L Audouin-Dubreuil, *Le Raid Citroen*, Paris 1923

(B Carra de Vaux)

TIMSĀḤ (a), the crocodile, in Arabic a loanword from the old Egyptian *m-s-ḥ*, or Coptic *emsah*, with article *temsah*, also found in Assyr-Babyl as *timsāḫu* (Bezold, *Glossar*, 294) and in Herodotos as *χάμψας* The earliest full description of the crocodile is given in Herodotos (ii 68) and a good deal that is new is added by Aristotle Pliny's account is remarkable for his love of the marvellous The views of the ancients are reflected in the Arabic sources

According to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf crocodiles are most numerous in al-Saʿīd and at the cataracts there they swarm like worms, large and small, in the open water and between the rocks of the rapids. The animals when they crawl out of the egg are no bigger than lizards but soon become as much as 10 ells long They have 60 teeth, lay 60 eggs, live 60 years etc, as Aristotle already told us In the region of the stomach they have a swelling, which contains a fluid that smells of musk — The fullest description of the crocodile is that of Kazwīnī, who is followed in essentials by Dimashḳī and Damīrī The crocodile has wide jaws, 20 teeth in the upper and 40 in the lower and between them sometimes also a small square tooth, they all fit into one another Its head is 2 ells long, its back 8, its tail 6, its back is like that of the tortoise The animal cannot bend or turn because it has not flexible vertebrae It does not move its lower but its upper jaw, a long disputed but accurate observation The crocodile is a frightful animal which devours men and sheep and also kills horses and camels. When it sees its prey on the bank, it swims cautiously below the water up to it and then darts out suddenly Worms are generated in the flesh which remains hanging between its teeth and these are picked out by the bird called ḳaṭḳāṭ, while the crocodile opens its jaws. This bird also warns the reptile of the approach of the hunter When the kaṭḳāt has done its work, the crocodile closes its jaws, it would eat up the bird, if the latter did not have a bone as sharp as a needle on its head. The crocodile is pricked by this, opens its mouth again and lets the bird fly away From this we get the proverbial saying *iḏjzā' al-timsāḥ* "crocodile gratitude" — Copulation takes place on land, the male has however first to turn the female on her back and afterwards turn her back again as she cannot do it herself and would fall a helpless prey to the hunter The eggs are laid on land, any that fall in water perish or produce a saḳankūr, not a crocodile Crocodiles are found in the Indus as well as the Nile, but there they are smaller The uses of parts of the crocodile in medicine are numerous

Bibliography Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopadie* ², xi 1947—1956, Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, ii 260—270, ʿAbdallaṭīf, *Relation de l'Égypte*, transl de Sacy, 1810, p. 141, Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed Wustenfeld, i 131 and 188, Dimashḳī, *Nuzhat al-Dahr*, ed Mehren, p. 99, Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, transl A. S. G Jayakar, i 356—358, I Low, *Aramaische Lurchnamen, Judaica, Festschr f Cohen*, 1912, p 341 — Photographs from nature from the upper Nile in Bengt Berg, *Mit den Zugvogeln nach Afrika*, Berlin 1925 (J Ruska)

TIMSĀḤ (Lake), one of the series of swamps and lagoons in the Eastern Delta through which the Suez Canal passes on its way from Port Saʿīd south to Suez The Canal enters the Lake at the 80th kilometre On the northern shore lies the town of Ismāʿīlīya [q v], an exclusively French residential quarter The Lake is about 6 sq. miles in area, although before the construction of the Canal it was brackish and reedy Now it is very picturesque with its bright blue waters and the background of desert hills. The name means Crocodile Lake [cf the preceding art], being once upon a time the haunt of that creature Archaeologists are undecided as to the part it played in historic times Wallis Budge (*Hist of Egypt*, v 131 *sq*) supposes that it was somewhere in its neighbourhood that the Israelites crossed during their flight from Egypt. He identifies it with the יַם־סוּף or Sea of Reeds mentioned in Exodus, xiii 18.

Bibliography ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, viii 46, S W Baker, *Ismailia*, i 190, Baedeker, *Egypt*, index. (J Walker)

TĪMŪR LANG (Tamerlane), the conqueror of Asia, born near Kash in Transoxiana on the 25th Shaʿbān of the year of the Mouse, 736 A H. (8th April 1336), the son of Amīr Tarāghāi (or Turghāi), governor of Kash and its district before Hādjdjī Barlās, and Takīna Khātūn. His family claimed descent from Čingiz Khān and his epitaph gives the following genealogy: Tūmānāi, Kačūlāi, Iizamčī Barula, Karāčār Nūyān, Īlāngīr, Burkel, Tārāghāi, Tīmūr A rabid detractor of Tīmūr, Ibn ʿArabshah, says that he was the son of a shepherd and lived at first by brigandage and the epithet of Lang (lame) was given him as a result of a wound he received while stealing sheep. Tīmūr was also called Kūrakān, the "son-in-law of the Khāḳān", Amīr, "the Emīr", al-Amīr al-Kabīr, "the Great Emīr", Ṣāḥib Kirān, "lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets" In 790 (1388) he definitely took the title of sultān and after his death was given that of Djannat Makān, "dweller in Paradise".

While still quite young, Tīmūr distinguished himself by his intelligence, forethought and bravery. At first in the service of the local ruler, the amīr

Ḳāzghān, he accompanied Hādjdjī Barlās fleeing before the invasion of Tūghlāk Tīmūr Khān but soon returned to plead the cause of his oppressed countrymen before the conquerors He did this with such eloquence and courage that the invaders, eager to win over such an opponent, gave him the governorship of his native country. The next year (762 = 1361), Tūghlāḳ Tīmūr organising his conquests, made his son Ilyās governor of Samarḳand and appointed Tīmūr his vizier, the latter however, disgusted with the coarseness of those around him, soon went to rejoin his brother-in-law Amīr Ḥusain, who was preparing for resistance against the invasion.

Tūghlāḳ Tīmūr and Ilyās, defeated in their turn, perished on the battlefield. Turning against his ally, Amīr Ḥusain, Tīmūr made war on him, had him assassinated after a pretended reconciliation and becoming master of Balkh ascended the throne on Ramaḍān 12, 771 (April 10, 1370), assuming the titles of successor of Čaghatāi and descendant of Čingiz His reign however only really begins with the conquest of Djata and Khwārizm, which took over ten years of fighting (771–782 = 1369–1380) and nine expeditions five to the first and four to the latter country Becoming the official protector of Islām, Tīmūr favoured the priests and the new Naḳshbandiya order and on his campaigns was accompanied by a long retinue of holy and learned men, men of letters and artists.

On the partition of the Ḳipčāk in 777 (1375) Tīmūr had taken the part of Toḳtāmish [q v], Khān of the Crimea, who had been defeated by Ūrūs, ruler of the White Horde In 782 (1380–1381) he sent him against the Russians; Moscow was taken and sacked Four years later Toḳtāmish rebelled against his benefactor, at first victorious, then defeated, he wanted to continue the struggle although Tīmūr offered to pardon him. In 790 (1388) he invaded Transoxiana, defeated ʿUmar Shaikh, son of Tīmūr, with his generals and threatened Samarḳand. Tīmūr had to go to restore the situation There was another invasion in 793 (1390–1391), this time ʿUmar Shaikh had his revenge and the rebel Khān fled into Georgia, abandoning his lands, to resume the offensive four years later

Undertaken in 782 (1380—1381), the conquest of Persia began with the invasion of Khorasān, which submitted. On the return of an expedition against the pagan Mongols in 784 (1383), Gurgān, Māzandarān and Seistān were conquered in rapid succession, the local rulers having submitted, retained a nominal authority In the following year the rebellion of Herāt ended in the suppression of the Kurt dynasty. In 786 (1384—1385) Walī, king of Māzandarān, was dispossessed. The years 788—789 (1386—1387) were occupied with the conquest of Fārs, the ʿIrāḳ, Luristān and Ādharbāidjān. Sultān Ahmad Djalā'ir was defeated and put to flight. Tīmūr spent a winter in Tabrīz and imposed a heavy fine on Isfahān which having rebelled was punished by the massacre of 70,000 inhabitants. Towers were built of their skulls Tīmūr is said to have had a lively disputation with Hāfiz in Shīrāz, but the truth of this story is not certain.

On the 10th Ramādān 795 (July 31, 1392) Tīmūr set out on what is known as the "five years' war"; the main episodes of it were the massacre of the heretics in the Caspian provinces, the destruction of the Muẓaffarid dynasty of Fārs (795 = 1393) and the Mesopotamian campaign. Aḥmad Djalā'ir after seeking to conciliate his rival fled into Syria, where he became a vassal of the Sulṭān of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ. The latter having refused the extradition of his protégé, Tīmūr invaded Asia Minor took and sacked Edessa, Takrīt, where he erected a pyramid of skulls, Mārdīn and Amīd. ʿUmar Shaikh was killed in the course of the fighting. Forced to defend himself against a new attack by Toḳtāmish, Tīmūr invaded the Ḳipčāḳ (797 = 1395), occupied Moscow for over a year, undertook a campaign into Georgia and suppressed several risings in Persia.

According to Sharaf al-Dīn, Tīmūr thought the Muslim rulers of India much too tolerant; they ought, he thought, to have imposed Islām on their subjects. In Radjab 800 (March–April 1398) therefore, he set out for India, crossed the Indus on the 12th Ramadān 801 (Sept. 24, 1398) and on the 7th Rabiʿ II (Dec. 17) took Dehlī. In spite of the admiration with which this city inspired him, he plundered and destroyed it, massacring 80,000 of its inhabitants. The defeated Sultān Mahmūd III had retired across the Ganges. Tīmūr who had just divided his kingdom among his officers had to retire hurriedly to face new troubles A rebellion had just broken out in Syria and Aḥmad Djalā'ir, once again lord of Baghdād, had invaded Ādharbāidjān, the governor of which, Mīrānshāh son of Tīmūr, had compromised everything by his excesses The rivalry between Tīmūr and Bāyazīd I was beginning and the new Sultān of Egypt, Faradj, had refused to release a relative of Tīmūr's, the envoys sent to negotiate had been executed by the governor of Damascus.

Having taken the necessary measures against Mirānshāh, Tīmūr ravaged Georgia and set out for Asia Minor in Muharram 803 (Aug 1400) At Sīwās the Muslim garrison was spared but 4,000 Christian soldiers were buried alive. Malatya fell. Tīmūr entered Syria, took Aleppo and after demanding of the ʿulamā' which, his men or the enemy's, killed in fight would earn the title of martyr, handed over the town to be plundered for three days. Hamā, Homs and Baʿalbek fell in their turn, Sulṭān Faradj was defeated Damascus capitulated and Tīmūr sacked it, reduced its inhabitants to slavery and extorted from the ʿulamā' a *fatwā* approving his conduct. On the 27th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 803 (July 10, 1401), he took Baghdād by surprise and wrought a great massacre there to avenge his officers killed in the siege. 20,000 inhabitants, or according to Ibn ʿArabshāh, 40,000 are said to have perished Abū Bakr, son of Tīmūr, was given the task of defending the region against the attacks of Ḳara Yūsuf.

Bāyazīd who had sought investiture from the ʿAbbāsids in Egypt and attacked the Byzantine emperor, a friend of Tīmūr's, next molested his allies, the princes of Asia Minor On Tīmūr's returning from a new expedition into Georgia, war broke out between the two rivals and their fate was decided at the battle of Ancyra, actually fought at Čibūkābād, N E of Angora on the 19th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804 (July 21, 1402). Bāyazīd who had disposed his forces badly was defeated after a desperate struggle in spite of the valour of his troops. Impeded in his flight by the fall of his horse, he fell into the hands of the victor who treated him with respect and showed real regret when Bāyazīd died at Aḳ Shehir on the

14th Sha'bān 805 (March 14, 1403). Owing its origin to a misunderstanding of a Persian verse, the legend that he ended his days in an iron cage is quite fictitious

The captures of Brussa and Smyrna were marked by new atrocities. During his sojourn in Asia Minor, Tīmūr lost his grandson and heir Muhammad Sultān, and received embassies from the Sultān of Egypt, who recognised his authority, and from the Byzantine emperor John VIII. Georgia having become tributary, Tīmūr returned to Samarkand in 807 (1404) where he received a number of ambassadors, to one of whom, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo sent by Henry III of Castile, we owe a valuable account of the court of Samarkand and the festivities which took place there on the occasion of the marriages of several of the grandsons of Tīmūr

A new campaign was planned, this time against China, of which Tīmūr was not content to remain simply suzerain The Kurultai assembled at Samarkand acclaimed the declaration of war On the 23rd Djumādā I, 807 (Dec. 27, 1404) he began the campaign, crossing the Oxus on the ice At Otrār he granted Toktāmish the pardon which he sought of him On the 10th Sha'bān 807 (Jan 12, 1404) he fell ill Feeling his end near, he made all his dispositions and died on the 17th (19th) January aged 71, having reigned 36 years His body in a coffin of ebony was brought two months later to Samarkand, where his funeral was celebrated, and the magnificent monument, the Gūr-i-Mīr, in which he is buried, can still be seen.

Tīmūr had married two Chinese princesses whom Ibn 'Arabshāh calls the Great Queen, *al-Malika al-Kubrā*, and the Little Queen, *al-Malika al-Ṣughrā*, and also Tūmān, daughter of the amīr Mūsā, governor of Nakhshab and Djalbān, a woman of rare beauty whom he had executed for some imaginary fault. He had also a large number of concubines His children were Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djahāngīr (d 779 = 1377—1378), Mu'izz al-Dīn 'Umar Shaikh, killed in Syria, Djalāl al-Dīn Guigha, called Mīrānshāh, Shāhrukh whom circumstances made his heir, and one daughter Sultāna Bakht, who married Sulaimān Shāh Realising that his rule could not last for ever and desirous to avoid civil wars, he had divided his empire among his sons and grandsons giving them equal parts But Muhammad Sultān, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and after his death Pīr Muhammad Djahāngīr, his brother, were to have precedence.

Grave and serious, Tīmūr did not love displays of gaiety and demanded absolute frankness in speaking to him even though it should pain him Clavijo speaks highly of his justice and he certainly showed himself merciless to criminals. Gifted with a very fine memory but having little education himself, he encouraged and rewarded men of genius It was in his reign that the art called "Tīmūrid" had its origins He enriched Samarkand with magnificent buildings and made it an international market which, in his lifetime at least, supplanted Tabrīz and Baghdād and he transplanted thither the artists and craftsmen from the towns he conquered. He did everything possible to encourage commerce and industry and by his conquests he opened up new routes by land for the trade between India and Eastern Persia Throughout his empire he carried through great public works, organised the administration and the army on rational bases and worked with all his might for the spread of Islām.

In physique, Tīmūr was of middle height, had a large head and a high complexion His hair had become white at an early age. Two wounds in the foot and the hand had made him somewhat deformed. Numerous portraits of him exist, by Persian or Indian artists, but they are for the most part purely imaginary (cf Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, i. 212—213).

Bibliography To Tīmūr are attributed Memoirs (*Malfūzāt*) and Institutes (*Tūzūkāt*) but their authenticity is very doubtful He himself, however, had two official histories of his career written one, the *Ta'rīkh-i Khānī*, written in Turkī verse in Uighur characters, is now lost and the other the *Ẓafar-nāme* of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, still unpublished, survives in a unique manuscript in the British Museum (Add 23,980) a recension of the latter work by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī is the best known in Europe of his histories The *'Adjā'ib al-Makdūr fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr* of Ibn 'Arabshāh is a bitter satire but it nevertheless contains a just appreciation of the character of the conqueror and valuable details about Samarkand Mīrkhwānd (*Rawḍa*, Bk. vi) and especially Khwāndamīr (*Habīb al-Siyar*) are with 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī (*Matla' al-Sa'dain*) the most valuable of the later historians In Books vii and viii of his *Gesch d Osm Reiches*, von Hammer has given the substance of contemporary Ottoman and Byzantine chroniclers We may also mention the *Munsha'āt* of Feridūn Bey, a valuable collection of documents Among European travellers, we may mention Clavijo, Schiltberger and Boucicault.

For further details of the sources we refer the reader to the valuable works by E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols*, and E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p 180—185, and to the studies by L. Zimine, *Les détails de la mort de Tīmūr* (*Protocoles et communications de la Société archéologique du Turkestan*, xviiith year) and *Les exploits d'Emîrzâdé 'Omar Cheikh* (*R. M M*, 1914, xxviii 244—245) Down to the xixth century European historians hardly used anything but Petis de la Croix's translation of Sharaf al-Dīn D'Herbelot, Gibbon and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, book xx) are the most important earlier European writers Among modern writers we may mention Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, chap v—xi.; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, Sykes, *History of Persia*, chap. lix, E. G Browne, *op cit.*, book ii., Czaplicka, *The Turks in Central Asia*, and Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol ii (L Bouvat)

TĪMŪRIDS This term, sometime used to include all the descendants of Tīmūr, means more especially the princes of his family who ruled in Persia and Central Asia in the xvth century; it is in the latter sense that it forms the subject of this article.

The history of the Tīmūrids may be divided into two quite distinct periods (cf Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 380). In the first the empire, divided between the sons and grandsons of the conqueror, was soon reduced to two great kingdoms — in the west that of Mīrānshāh and his sons Abū Bakr and Muhammad 'Umar — in the east that of Shāhrukh which, at first limited to Khurāsān, to which Transoxiana was next added in a few

years, comprised almost the whole of the lands that had been ruled by Tīmūr. It was a brilliant and comparatively happy period Of a peace-loving disposition in spite of his success in war Shāhrukh endeavoured to repair the damage done by his father and favoured as far as he could men of intellect In the second period from the death of Shāhrukh to the battle of Shurūr which by securing the unity of Persia dealt the last blow to Tīmūrid domination, the empire was steadily breaking to pieces. Each prince wanted to have his own kingdom, thus facilitating the advance of the enemies who from all sides were threatening the enfeebled state. But by a bizarre contrast the renaissance which had marked the reign of Shāhrukh continued under his successors to the end of their rule in all its splendour The whole xvth century is the golden age of letters, art, and scholarship The court of Husain Bāikara, the second last Tīmūrid, was not inferior to that of Shāhrukh

The amīrs believing that by concealing the death of Tīmūr they could successfully carry out the expedition to China, decided to take as ruler for the duration of the campaign prince Khalīl who was to be assisted by a council of regency and at the end of the expedition would surrender the power to Pīr Muhammad Djahāngīr, as Tīmūr had desired. War broke out between the two claimants and Pīr Muhammad twice defeated submitted to the generosity of Khalīl who left him his lands Six months later the vizier Pīr ʿAlī Tāz had Pīr Muhammad assassinated and tried to seize the throne himself; this cost him his life (808 = 1406) Abandoned by his troops, dethroned by his amīrs who reproached him with his extravagances, Khalīl was compensated with the governorship of the ʿIrāk (809 = 1406—1407) in which he ended his days

Mīrānshāh reigned, with his son Abū Bakr, and under the authority, imposed by Tīmūr, of his youngest son Muhammad ʿUmar over a kingdom which included the ʿIrāk, Ādharbāidjān, Mughān, Shīrwān and Georgia A quarrel broke out between the two brothers and the amīr Djihānshāh tried to deprive them of their power which cost him his life Mīrānshāh having made a hostile demonstration against Shāhrukh had to submit (808 = 1405—1406) In 810 (1408) he was killed in battle with Kara Yūsuf His sons perished about the same time

Shāhrukh on the death of Tīmūr was ruler only of Khurāsān; he conquered Māzandarān in 809 (1406) and Sīstān in the next year, then extended his authority over Transoxiana to which he went in 811 (1409) to take possession of Samarkand, to organise the country, rebuild Merw and restore the old course of the Murghāb, he further extended his power to Fārs (817 = 1414–1415), Kirmān (819 = 1416—1417) and Ādharbāidjān to which he had gone to attack his redoubtable rival Kara Yūsuf, the latter having died suddenly, the enemy army dispersed (822 = 1419) but the fighting continued with the successors of Kara Yūsuf and the rival dynasty of the White Sheep In the end, Shāhrukh held all the lands of Tīmūr except Syria and ʿArabistān. Many risings broke out in his reign but all were put down Among them were those led by the amīr Khudādād and Shāh Bahāʾ al-Dīn (812 = 1409–1410), Bāikara Mīrzā at Shīrāz (818 = 1415–1416), Iskandar and Djihānshāh (832 = 1429)

In 820 (1417—1418) Shāhrukh had put at the head of the government his son Bāisonghor, made all who had been false to their trust disgorge their ill-gotten gains. He survived all his sons except Ūlūgh Beg and died in Fīshāward (Rayy) on the 25th Dhu 'l-Hidja 850 (March 12, 1447) leaving the memory of a generous and peace-loving prince, brave and free from ambition. To him we owe amongst other useful works the opening of a large library in Herāt. With China, of which he was suzerain, he was always on good terms and he asserted his nominal suzerainty over India. On the other hand, his relations with the Ottomans and with Egypt were always difficult.

After his death the decline began, rapid and irremediable Ūlūgh Beg, the "astronomer-king" (850 – 852 = 1447—1449), was a scholar and man of letters, more fitted to be a student than a ruler and incapable of facing the difficulties which assailed him Conquered by his nephew ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla he agreed to all his demands in order to obtain the release of his son ʿAbd al-Latīf But the conqueror failed to fulfil his promises The Özbeks took and sacked Herāt and Samarkand, ʿAbd al-Latīf rebelled, seized his father, who had been several times defeated, put him to death after going through the farce of a trial but was himself assassinated after reigning six months (853–854 = 1449–1450) ʿAbd Allāh Mīrzā, grandson of Shāhrukh, ascended the throne in spite of the opposition of Abū Saʿīd who sought the support of the Özbeks. ʿAbd Allāh was defeated and slain (853—854 = 1450—1451) Bāber Mīrzā, a dissipated and drunken prince, who had vainly sworn to reform himself, lost the ʿIrāk, Fārs and Kirmān, blinded ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, failed against Abū Saʿīd and died of his excesses (855—861 = 1452—1457).

Very different was the reign of Abū Saʿīd, the most powerful monarch of his time A bitter opponent of ʿAbd Allāh Mīrzā he had at his death taken possession of Samarkand, the disappearance of Bāber Mīrzā and his further conquests gave him Transoxiana, Badakhshān, Kābul and Kandahār, with the border districts of India, the ʿIrāk and Khurāsān, which he completely conquered in 863 (1458—1459) He was ambitious but the historians agree that he had fine qualities dignity, discretion, frankness, energy and remarkable political ability. After fighting the Mongols he made an alliance with them, returning to the old traditions of his family. Declaring war on Ūzūn Hasan whose attempts at a reconciliation he repulsed, he marched into the Kara Bāgh where his army starving deserted him He fell into the hands of the enemy and Ūzūn Hasan's officers, in spite of their master's opposition, demanded his death (855—872 = 1452—1469)

Sultān Mahmūd, who began by having the four sons of his predecessors assassinated, only reigned six months, detested and objurgated His tyranny, arbitrariness and depravity surpassed anything previously known He was assassinated and a rebellion was just about to break out when his death which had been concealed by the astute vizier Khusrū Shāh (900—901 = 1494—1495) became known. He left several sons Sultān Maʿsūd who reigned four years had to fight for his throne with his brothers Bāisonghor and ʿAlī who, thanks to the intrigue of Khusrū Shāh, failed miserably (901—905 = 1495—1499).

Sultān Ahmad, son and successor of Abū

Saʿīd, had a number of good qualities he was loyal, frank, courteous and brave, but having no power he was only a puppet in the hands of his entourage especially the clergy, and except for an attack by ʿUmar Shaikh and an expedition against Bābur, the future conqueror of India, his reign was peaceful Magnificent buildings were erected in Samarḳand at this time and scholars and men of letters flocked to his court (874—899 = 1469—1494)

ʿUmar Shaikh, fourth son of Abū Saʿīd, had made for himself a little kingdom in Farghāna of which the capital was Akhsī Brave and fond of fighting, although his army was only 4,000 men, he made several attempts to take Samarḳand His contemporaries praise his justice, his generosity and lovable disposition. Although given to wine and gaming, he was very devout A son-in-law of the sovereign of the Čaghatāi, he had to cede to his father-in-law Yūnis Khān lands which he could not keep and died after an accident after a short reign on the 4th Ramadān 899 (8th June 1494) aged only 39. His son Ẓāhir al-Dīn Bābur who succeeded him at the age of 12 after various successful expeditions in one of which he took Samarḳand, was dispossessed by Shaibānī in 906 (1500) He went to India where he founded a great empire

Sultan Ḥusain Baiḳara reigned at Herāt for 37 years Literary and artistic, a brave and successful soldier, he conquered Khurāsan, Tukhāristān, Kandahār, Sīstān and Māzandarān, victorious over all his rivals. But the eight or nine years of his reign were troubled A martyr to rheumatism, threatened by the Ozbeks, he had to put down rebellions by his sons and finally died on his way to fight Shaibānī At first an ascetic and pious Muslim, he latterly gave himself up to debauchery, an example which his sons and subjects followed The literary circle at Husain Baiḳara's court is famous. In it besides the famous vizier Mir ʿAlī Shīr, the creator of Turkī literature, were poets like Djāmī, historians like Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, painters like Bahzād and Shāh Muzaffar The palaces of Herāt rivalled those of Samarkand (873—911 = 1469—1506) The son and successor of Sultān Husain Bāiḳara, Badīʿ al-Zamān, was the last Tīmūrid of Persia Defeated by Shaibānī, a guest of Shāh Ismāʿīl and finally a prisoner of Sultān Salim, he died at Constantinople in 923 (1517) leaving a son Muḥammad al-Zamān, who went to try his fortune in India, where he died in 946 (1539) after vainly trying to become king of Gudjārāt with Portuguese help.

The coming of Shāh Ismāʿīl, the triumph of the Shīʿa and the Persian unity which was the result, the realisation of national unity in China and in Russia in the same period, the foundation by the Shaibānids of a great empire in Transoxiana deprived the descendants of Tīmūr of all hope of domination except in India which was passing into the hands of one of them

The intellectual revival which characterizes the IXth (XVth) century is in part the work of the Tīmūrid sovereigns and princes many of whom were themselves poets, artists and scholars, and attracted to their courts men of genius Among the former were Shāhrukh, who promoted historical studies, Ulūgh Beg, astronomer, poet and theologian, Husain Bāiḳara, artist and poet, and Bābur, who left a number of valuable works in addition to his memoirs, and among the latter, Bāisonghor, son of Shāhrukh, a calligraphер of the first rank to whom the art of the book owed a great deal. Djāmī is at this period the greatest name in Persian literature which is also represented by the mystic poets, Saiyid Niʿmatallāh Kirmānī and Ḳāsim al-Anwār, by Hātifī and Kātibī, authors of *mathnawīs*; Husain Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, a moralist and author of apologues, the historians Mirkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, ʿAbd al-Razzaḳ Samarḳandī, Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū, the latter also a geographer. Besides Djāmī, the most notable theologians were Aḥmad Taftāzānī and the traditionist Mīr Djamāl al-Dīn Muḳaddas Jurists, mathematicians, physicians etc. were also numerous

Of the Turkish poets of the time, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is almost the only one known, he had however some notable disciples, like Shaikhum Beg Suhailī and Kamāl al-Dīn Gazargāhī.

In the IXth (XVth) century Persian art attained its perfection The schools of painting of Samarḳand, Bukhārā and Herāt were at their best We have already mentioned what Bāisonghor did for the book Architecture, inspired alike by the Chinese pagoda and the Mongol tent is represented by monuments like the Gūr-i-Mīr, the mosques of Bībī Khānum, Ulūgh Beg and Shāh Zinda not to mention those of Samarkand Owing to the presence of the colonies of artists and artisans installed *nolens volens* in Samarkand and Ādharbāidjān by Timūr, decorative arts, ceramics in particular, made remarkable progress. Music also was brilliantly represented

Bibliography For the whole period Mirkhwānd and especially Khwāndamīr are very useful, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarkandī whose *Maṭlaʿ*, unfortunately still unedited was largely used by Quatremère (*Mémoire historique sur le règne du sultan Schah-rokh*, *J. A*, 1836, and *Notice de l'ouvrage persan* forming the first part of vol. XIV. of the *N E*), Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfizārī, author of a valuable chronicle of Herat (extracts given by Barbier de Meynard in the *J. A*, 1860—1862) For the early years, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, Ibn ʿArabshāh, Faṣihī, author of a *Mudjmal* unpublished and incomplete For the last years the memoirs of Bābur are most valuable, checked and supplemented by the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt, and the *Shaibānī-Nāma* of Muhammad Sālih Feridūn Bey and Munedjdjim Bashī should be consulted for the relations with the Ottomans For further details the reader may be referred to the works of E. Blochet and E G Browne quoted under TĪMŪR LANG, L Bouvat, *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *J. A*, ccviii., 1926, p 193—299, do, *L'Empire mongol (2e phase)*, vol VIII/III of the *Histoire du monde*, publ. under the direction of A E. Cavaignac (Paris 1927).

On the literary renaissance, cf. the *Tadhkira* of Dawlatshāh and the works of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, his *Madjālis al-Nafāʾis* in particular (extract in Belin, *J. A.*, 1861, XVIII. and 1866, VII, VIII)

The European travellers who have given us descriptions of the Timurid kingdom are Clavijo and Pero Tafur, Spaniards; Ambrogio Contarini, Nicolo Conti, Hieronymo di San Stefano and Caterino Zeno, Italians; Boucicault, French; Nikitine, Russian; Schiltberger, German. The principal European historians are D'Herbelot, De Guignes, Gibbon, von Hammer and Vámbéry, *Gesch. Bochara's*, chap. XII.; Browne, *op cit.*, book III.; Skrine and Denison

Ross, *The Heart of Asia*; Sykes, *Hist of Persia*, chap. lx.—lxi.; Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, Grousset, *Histoire de l'Asie*, vol. ii. The Bibliography in vol. iii of the *Archives Marocaines* (see index, p. 94—95) gives a list of works on Tīmūrid art down to 1905; other important works since published include. Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; E Blochet, *Les Peintures de manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1911, F. R Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London 1912, T W Arnold and A Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London 1929, Arménag Beg Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII[ème] au XVIII[ème] siècle*, Paris 1929, and Ananda K Coomaraswamy, *Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston*, Paris 1929 (L Bouvat)

TĪMŪR-TASH, an Ortokid, son of Nadjm al-Dīn Īlghāzī of the line of Mārdīn Al-Malik al-ʿĀlim al-ʿĀdil Hisām al-Dīn Tīmūr-Tash was born in 498 (1104) and by the age of 12 (in 512) his father had left him in Aleppo as his temporary deputy In 515, Tīmūr-Tash was sent to the Saldjūk Sultān Mahmūd and as a result of this mission Maiyāfārikīn [q. v] was added to the territory of the Ortokids. After the death of Īlghāzī, his lands were divided up Tīmūr-Tash received Mārdīn, his brother Sulaimān, Maiyāfārikīn and his cousin Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, Aleppo. In 518, Balak b. Bahrām b Ortok of Aleppo was killed while besieging Manbidj (which belonged to the amīr al-Hassān of Baʿalbek) Tīmūr-Tash, who was in camp at Balak, raided the country as far as Aleppo which he seized on the 20th Rabīʿ I 518. He left his lieutenant there, for Syria was full of fighting and he was a man who liked peace (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 436) As a result of the intrigues of the Shīʿī Dubais (of the Mazyādid dynasty) the Franks besieged Aleppo. The inhabitants, seeing the weakness (*al-wahn wa 'l-ʿadjz*) of their master appealed to Ak-Sunkur al-Bursukī of Mawsil, whom they admitted into the citadel

Tīmūr-Tash suffered a series of reverses immediately after the accession to power of ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (who succeeded Bursukī in Mawsil in 521). Zangī, eager to extend his possessions, marched on Nisībin which belonged to Mārdin, Tīmūr-Tash sought the help of his cousin of Hisn-Kaifā, Dāwūd b. Sukmān, but Zangī by a stratagem obtained the surrender of Nisībīn before the troops of the two cousins could arrive.

In 524 on his way back from Syria, Zangī besieged Sardjī (between Mārdīn and Nisībīn, cf. Kasr Serčikhen [?] 8 miles W. of Nisībīn) Tīmūr-Tash, Dāwūd and the lord of Diyārbakr collected 20,000 Turkomans but were defeated. Failing to take Hisn-Kaifā, Zangī turned back to take the fortress of Dārā.

In spite of these reverses we find Tīmūr-Tash in 528 joining Zangī in the siege of Āmid (Diyārbakr). The lord of this fortress summoned Dāwūd to his assistance but the latter was defeated. Zangī and Tīmūr-Tash laid waste the district of Āmid but the fortress held out. Zangī recompensed himself by taking Sawr which belonged to Diyārbakr [cf. MĀRDĪN. the kadā of Sawur].

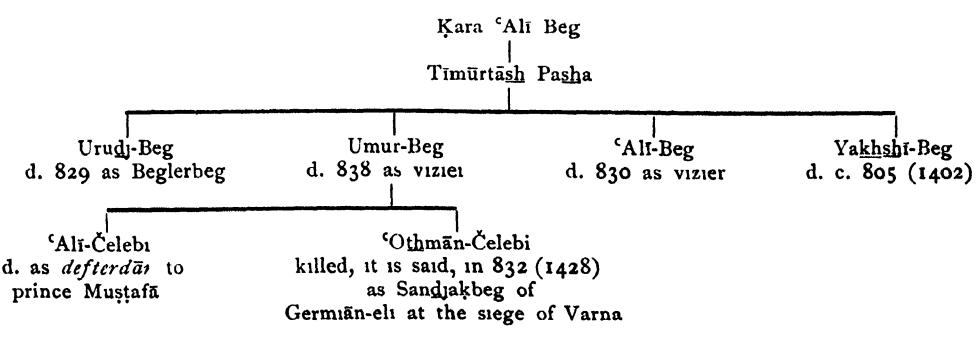
In 518 Tīmūr-Tash was to succeed his cousin Sulaimān at Maiyāfārikīn. His only success seems to have been the taking of Hattakh (or ʿAttakh; *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 245 ʿAtāk) to the north of Maiyāfārikīn [q v.] which he took in 532 from the last scion of the Marwānids [q. v.]

Tīmūr-Tash and Dāwūd took advantage of the death of Zangī in 541 to recover their former possessions which had been annexed by the lord of Mawsil The latter's successor however, Saif al-Dīn b Zangī, not only regained them but laid siege to Mārdīn and laid the country round it waste The peace-loving Tīmūr-Tash confined himself to regretting the days of Zangī which now seemed to him like days of rejoicing (*ayyāmuhu la-kad kānat aʿyādan*) He hastened to make peace with Saif al-Dīn and promised him his daughter Saif al-Dīn died however in 544 and the young princess became the wife of his successor Kutb al-Dīn Īmūr-Tash "lord of Mārdīn and of Maiyāfārikīn" died in 547 (1152) aged about 48 after a reign of 30 years. The same date is given by Abu 'l-Faradj (ed Pococke, p. 391) and by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, while the sources used by ʿAlī Emīrī (an *Umm al-ʿIbar* of ʿAbd al-Salām Efendi, muftī of Maidīn [d. in 1259 = 1843] and Ferdī) give 548. Tīmūr-Tash built the Hisāmīya madrasa of Māidīn and the cathedral-mosque opposite it The coins of Tīmūr-Tash described by Ghālib Edhem, *Catal des Monnaies Turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894, p 27 and by ʿAlī Amīrī, *op. cit*, p. 18, bear neither date nor mint. ʿAlī Amīrī interprets the symbol found upon them as the *tamgha* of the Turkish tribe of Kayī.

Bibliography cf. the articles ORTOKIDS and MĀRDĪN, Ibn al-Athīr, x 373, 418, 426, 436, 440, 455, 526, xi 6, 34, 81, 92, 115, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales moslemici*, ed Reiske; Kātib Ferdī, *Māidīn Mulūk-i Urtukiye Taʾrīkhī* (944 [1537], a quite unimportant list of reigns but supplied with valuable notes by the editor ʿAlī Amīrī), Stambul 1331 (V Minorsky)

TĪMŪRTĀSH, an Ottoman general and vizier, son of the Kara ʿAlī Beg, who in the first year of the reign of Urkhan took the fortress of Heireke on the Gulf of Nicomedia and displayed particular bravery at the siege of Aidos, when he removed with his own hand an arrow that had pierced his eye Of the origin of the family very little is known, as is also the case with the other noble families of the early Ottoman empire, viz the Čandarlu [cf ČENDERELĪ], the Ewrenos [q v], and the Mikhāl-oghlu [q. v.]. Tīmūrtāsh Pasha is mentioned for the first time, when he continued the Sultān's conquests along the Tundja by Murād I's order with the help of Ilālā Shāhīn Pasha In 767 (1365) he took Yeñidje Kīsīlaghač (cf Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 49 *sq*. where the date is given as 768) and Yānbolī (*ibid*, p. 53 *sq* with the same date) in the plain of the Tundja. The sources tell us nothing of his activities during the next decade. When Lālā Shāhīn died towards the end of the Serbo-Bulgar War (777 = 1375), Tīmūrtāsh succeeded him as Begler-beg of Rūm-eli. In this capacity he distinguished himself in the first place by completing the organisation of the army, by founding the system of fiefs of the sipāhīs [see TĪMĀR] and creating the *voinak* for the lowest ranks in the army, which consisted mainly of Bulgarian Christians who were chiefly used as drivers (cf. J. v Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 181 *sq*.). It appears that it was at Tīmūrtāsh's instigation that the felt caps

(usually made in Biledjik) since the time of Urkhan worn generally, were limited to the army and that red was decided on as the colour for the headdresses of the begs and officers (cf J v Hammer, *G. O. R*, i. 89 *sq*). Tīmūrtāsh Pasha again came into prominence when he took the fortress of Monastir (the modern Bitolj), Philep and Ishtip (the modern Štip) (the date given is 784 = 1382, cf Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 97, 96 and 92 and also his *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*, Stambul 1146, p 97 where the same date is given, but is difficult to reconcile with the reputed letter of Murād I to his son Bayazīd I given by Feridūn, *Munsha'āt al-Salātīn*[2], i 107, dated Adrianople first tenth of Rabīʿ I, 787 = middle of April 1385, cf thereon J v Hammer, *G O R*, i. 191 *sq* where the extracts are given from the document). Until the chronology of the early Ottoman period is finally settled, it may be regarded as certain that Timūrtāsh crossed the Wardar, invaded the south of modern Serbia and conquered there three strongholds for the Sultān Kārlī-eli, viz Aetolia and Acarnania, the land of the "King of the Epirotians" Carlo II Tocco (d. July 1429), was also hard pressed by him on this occasion. In 1385 Tīmūrtāsh is said to have undertaken a campaign against the Arta (not far from the Ionian Sea), who were showing separatist tendencies (cf. *Epirotica*, ed. J. Bekker [Bonn 1849], p 229,22 and Jorga, *G. O R*, i 273) so that he was sometimes here, sometimes there in Thessaly and in Epirus, districts in which Turakhān Beg [q v.] also fought with success In 788 (1386) Turakhān Beg suddenly appeared in Anatolia. In the battle which Murād fought in the plain of Konya against his most dangerous opponent, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī of Karamān, he commanded the rearguard of the Ottoman army and it was his intervention that put the ruler of Karamān to flight and thus decided the battle in favour of the Ottomans As a reward he was given the greater part of the plunder and the title of vizier i e. a Pasha with 3 tails, which he bore as the first Beglerbeg of the kingdom. When in the following year (789 = 1387) Murād was again preparing for a campaign in Europe, Tīmūrtāsh remained in Anatolia and administered the district of Germiān-eli [q v] in the absence of prince Yaʿkūb. In 792 (1390) Tīmūrtāsh again appears in the Balkans In this year, according to Hādjdjī Khalīfa's *Takwīm al-Tawārīkh*, he took Kratovo (Turkish Karātowā) east of Uskub, famous for its mines of silver and copper In the next year (793 = 1391) he was taken prisoner in Brussa during a Karamānian raid on it and Angora, was released and revenged himself by defeating the prince of Karamān in the plain of Aḳ-čai (in Germiān-eli) when he hanged him without ceremony although he was the brother-in-law of Bāyazīd I From Münedjdjim-bashi, who probably drew on Idrīs Bitlīsī (iii 311) we learn of the further history of Tīmūrtāsh Pasha that he conquered Kʿanghrı [q. v.] in Anatolia by order of Bāyazīd I in 799 (1396 and 1397) and in the following year (800, beg. Sept. 24, 1397) Athens (cf *Chronicon breve* in Ducas, Bonn ed , p 516 [Μουρτάζης] and J H. Mordtmann in *Byz -Neugr. Jahrb*, iv., 1923, p. 346 *sqq*) with the surrounding lands, also Behesnī [q. v] and Malātya [q v] from the Turkomans, Dīwrigī from the Kurds, Dārende and Kemākh [q. v.] (cf also Saʿd al-Dīn, i 150) and was busy with warlike enterprises, sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor (cf J v. Hammer, *G. O R.*, i. 248 *sq*) In the battle of Angora (19th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 804 = 20th July 1402), he with his son Yakhshī shared the fate of Bāyazīd I and passed as a prisoner into Timūr's hands When the treasures accumulated by Tīmūrtāsh were discovered in Kūtāhiya [q v.], Timūr heaped reproaches upon him and at first refused him his liberty (cf J. v. Hammer, *G O R*, i 330, following Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, transl Petis de la Croix, v 54, p. 41) He only survived the collapse of the Ottoman kingdom for a short time While leading an army for prince ʿIsā in the battle of Ulubāṭ (Asia Minor) he was treacherously murdered by one of his own servants in 808 (1405) Sultān Mehemmed I sent the head of the old warrior to his brother Sulaiman as a token of victory His body was taken to Brussa and buried there in the mosque founded by him. He had four sons, who also rose to distinction as viziers and generals, viz (according to Saʿd al-Dīn) Uiudj Beg, Umur Beg, ʿAlī Beg, and Yakhshī Beg The last named, who had distinguished himself in the Balkan campaigns (e g at the capture of Nish in 777 = 1375 [cf J v Hammei, *G O R*, i 181] and of Provadija [Turk. Prāwādī, Bulg Oveč, cf K. Jireček, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, p 539 and Jorga, *G. O. R.*, i 259] in 1388) seems to have perished soon after the battle of Angora A son named ʿOthmān Beg mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O R.*, i. 495 (cf however *ibid*, p 402, where he is not given) cannot be traced in the Ottoman annals. There may be some confusion with a grandson of Tīmūrtāsh who bore this name (see below). The family of Tīmūrtāsh is set out in the following table



Bibliography: The works mentioned in the text and Beligh-i Brūsewī, *Guldest-i Riyād-i ʿIrfān*, Brussa 1302, p 63, where two bearers of the name Tīmūrtāsh appear in error. — On a general Timūrtāsh under ʿOthmān and Urkhan, see Zinkeisen, *G O R*, i 112 (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-TINNĪN, the constellation of the Dragon. According to al-Kazwīnī, it consists of 31 stars none of which lies outside of the constellation. Apart from the general figure of the constellation which comes from Greek (and probably earlier from Babylonian) astronomy the Arabs have names for smaller groups of stars within it Thus the star μ is called the Dragon's tongue, *al-rāfid*, "the isolated grazing camel", the four stars $\beta\gamma\nu\xi$ in the head *al-ʿawāʾidh*, "the young dam-camels", a not very bright star between them *al-ruba*ʿ, "the camel-foal", the bright stars $\zeta\eta$ are called *al-dhiʾbain*, "the two jackals", the dark ω f *azfār al-dhiʾb*, "the jackal's claws". The Arabs imagine that the two jackals are trying to seize the camel-foal and that it is being protected by the dams At the beginning of the Dragon's tail is the star *al-dhikh*, "the male hyena" In Ulūgh Beg we find the readings *al-ʿawwād* "the lute-player" and *al-rākiṣ* "the dancer" (this also in Wustenfeld's text), these seem to have no further authority and are easily explained as misreadings of *al-ʿawāʾidh* and *al-rāfid*

Bibliography L Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809, p. 32—41, al-Kazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūkāt*, ed. Wustenfeld, i 31, H Ethé, *el-Kazwini's Kosmographie*, 1868, p. 65—66. (J RUSKA)

TĪPŪ SULṬĀN, the son of Haidar ʿAlī [q v] of Maisūr, was born in 1753 His father employed him in many military operations, and on one occasion, in 1771, when he and his troops were not found where they were expected to be, publicly inflicted on him a most unmerciful beating On his father's death, on Dec 7, 1783, he succeeded to the throne of Maisūr, and in 1784 he concluded peace with the British, with whom his father had been at war. In 1785 war broke out between Tīpū and the Marāthā Pishwā, who was joined by Nizām ʿAlī of Haidarabād, but in 1787 Tīpū took alarm at some military reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis and made peace with his opponents He was a bitter enemy of the British, and was known to be secretly in communication with the French at Pondicherry, and in 1788 he attacked the Rādjā of Travancore, who was under British protection The Rādjā appealed to the British for aid, and in 1790 Lord Cornwallis entered into an alliance with the Pīshwā and Nizām ʿAlī and declared war against Tīpū The operations in that year were futile, and in 1791 Lord Cornwallis took the field in person, but was disappointed by his allies In the following year, however, he attacked Seringapatam, Tīpū's capital, and compelled Tīpū to submit, to cede half his territories, and to pay an indemnity of three millions sterling In 1798 it became known that Tīpū had received French envoys, and had been admitted, under the title of "Citizen Tīpū", as a citizen of the French Republic. Lord Mornington, now Governor General, demanded an explanation, but Tīpū refused to receive the British envoy, and sent a letter containing lame excuses, and charging the French authorities with malice and falsehood. In 1799 a British army under General Harris, accompanied by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Lord Mornington's brother, invaded Maisūr, and was joined by a force from Ḥaidarābād, while another British force entered the state from the Bombay Presidency. Tīpū attempted to oppose the invaders, but was driven back on his capital. He sued for peace, but when he discovered that he would be required to surrender half of his remaining territories and to pay a sum of two millions sterling he resolved to fight to the last. Seringapatam was taken by storm in May 1799, and the corpse of Tīpū was found in a gateway

Tīpū spoke Hindūstānī and Canarese, and also Persian, after Indian fashion. "From a smattering in Persian literature he considered himself as the first philosopher of the age" The leading feature of his character were vanity and arrogance, and being no judge of character, he was very ill served His application was intense, and he attempted to carry out in person the whole business of the state, but the task was far beyond the power of any one man, and Tīpū was no statesman, and wasted much of his time by the introduction of absurd innovations He also lacked military ability and as a soldier his sole virtue was that of physical courage

Bibliography Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor*, 2th ed , Madras 1869 (T W. HAIG)

TĪRĀNA, also TĪRĀN, capital of the kingdom of Albania, pleasantly situated 400 feet above sea-level in the well cultivated plain at the foot of the Mal'i Dajtit (5,370 feet) enclosed on three sides (east, south and west) by hills, connected with the Adriatic and its seaport Durazzo by road (25 miles) and soon to be connected by a railway now being built The town which in 1927 had 12,454, mainly Muslim, inhabitants only attained importance when it was chosen in place of Durazzo as the seat of government of the Free State and later kingdom of Albania. Tirana also the seat of the chief Muftī of Albania and with its numerous Muhammadan noble families forms a stronghold of Islām in Albania It important in commerce as the market for a large part of lower Albania. Tīrāna is usually said to be a foundation of Bārkīn-zāde Sulaimān Pāshā (about 1600) who in memory of his Persian campaigns called it after the Persian capital Tihrān of which Tirana is a corruption This statement (cf A Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901, p 205 *sqq.*) is not worthy of credence because as early as 1572 "*il borgo di Tirana*" mentioned (cf. M v Sufflay, *Stadte und Burgen Albaniens*, in *Denkschr Ak Wien*, LXIII/1, 1925 p 35) It is certain that Tīrāna was of no importance in earlier times, in comparison with the adjacent Kruya On Sept 2, 1477, in the plain of Tirana the Venetian provveditore Francesco Contarini with 2,500 cavalry and Albanian infantry fought the Turks in a battle which ended disastrously for him (cf J v Hammer, *G O R*, ii 151) Later the place passed into the possession of the powerful family of Toptan from Kruya, who established themselves here through marriage at the end of the xviiith century Their most celebrated member was Ḳaplan Aḥmad Pāshā (c 1800) who was given large estates round Tīrāna for his services to the

Sulṭān in the war against Ḳara Maḥmūd Pasha Bushatlī of Scutari (Albania). The whole plain of Tīrāna still belongs to the Toptan family. There are very few memorials of olden times in the town. The most important are the mosques of Ḥādjdjī Edhem Bey, a descendant of the above mentioned Sulaimān Pasha, the Asnāf Djāmiᶜī, and a mosque founded by Sulaimān Pasha in 1605 with his *turbe* beside it. On the S E side of the town, surrounded by very old cypresses, is a quadrangular open space called *Namāzgāh* on which the Muslims assemble to worship together at the feast of Bairam. In 1830 Tīrāna suffered a good deal during the civil war. The Muslim inhabitants of the town until quite recently were reputed to be very fanatical

Bibliography. J Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien*, Prag 1844, p. 71; Th. A. Ippen, *Skutari und die nordalbanische Kustenebene*, Sarajevo 1907, p. 80 *sq*; A Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute Albanie*, Paris 1901, p 184 *sqq*.; H. Louis, *Albanie*, Stuttgart 1927, p. 71 *sq*; Sāmī Bey Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-Aᶜlām*, p. 1717; J. v Hammei, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812; *Historiya e Tiranes*, in *Shkënyia e illustrume*, *Kalendari*, 1929, Skutari (Shhoder) 1929, p 19 *sqq*. (with many pictures); H. Baedeker, *Dalmatien*, Leipzig 1929, in the section *Albanien*

(F. BABINGER)

ṬIRĀZ. The word is borrowed from the Persian and originally means "embroidery"; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing upon them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood (cf. e. g. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 79, 212, 407). The name *ṭirāz* then becomes the special name for the inscriptions officially stamped upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories for papyrus with ink, sometimes in colours (red, green) and is next used for the factories themselves. The two last meanings are limited to a few occurrences (cf. J. v Karabacek, *Die arab. Papyrusprotokolle*, p 8 *sqq*; A. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, I/II, N⁰. 175 [p 170], 204 [p. 200], 214 [p 209], 265 [p 239], 270 [p. 242]); when papyrus ceased to be made about the middle of the tenth century A. D. these two meanings of *ṭirāz* disappeared.

Cloths, curtains and garments with inscriptions embroidered, woven or stitched on them may be divided into two classes, distinguished by the contents of the inscriptions and the rank of the wearer. One class expresses the whims of private individuals, the height of which is reached in the inscriptions, collected in the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, p. 167 *sqq*., with which dandies and ladies of fashion liked to adorn their robes; the other is of an official character and may to some extent be compared with our orders and decorations. Such scrolls ran, either along the border, sometimes arranged in two, or even more, strips around the upper garment or were placed around the neck, around the sleeves, on the upper arm or wrists and even on the headdress. They were used not only as ornamental borders but were also put in the pattern of the material. The breadth varied considerably and while J v Karabacek (*Susandschird*, p 84 *sq*., note 56; *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 26) gives breadths of from 2 to 55 centimetres, this does not exhaust all the possibilities; on fragments of material from Egyptian graves, ṭirāz borders of less than a centimetre in breadth have been found.

Ibn Khaldūn is very well informed about the institution of the tirāz; according to him, the majesty of the ruler found expression in his name or the royal badge (*ᶜalāma*) being put in the border (*ṭirāz*) of the materials, which were used for his robes of silk or brocade, and the inscription was worked into the web of the material with gold thread or bright coloured yarn, which stood out against the background of the material. The royal robes were thus distinguished to mark out the royal wearer, or him who received the garment from the ruler as a mark of special favour, to show him honour or appoint him to one of the higher offices in the kingdom. Under the Umaiyads and ᶜAbbāsids the cloth mills which worked for their wardrobe were housed in their palaces and called *Dār al-Ṭirāz*.

They were under the control of an official called *Ṣāḥib al-Ṭirāz*, whose duty it was to supervise the activities of the workers, the machinery and the weavers and to see that they were paid and that everything went smoothly. Only men of high rank and trusted individuals among their freedmen were given this office, the same arrangements were in vogue under the Umaiyad caliphs in Spain and their successors, under the Mamlūk sultāns in Egypt, and their contemporaries among the Persian kings in the east. It was only with the decline of the great Muslim empires that this system came to an end.

Ibn Khaldūn's statements, which are in the main followed here, find ample corroboration in the finds of Muslim textiles which have been made at different places in Egypt (notably Akhmīm, Antinoe, Erment, al-ᶜAẓm near Asyūṭ) and preserved in the museums in Berlin (Schlossmuseum, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Kunstgewerbemuseum), Leningrad, Paris (Louvre and Musée de Cluny), London (Victoria and Albert Museum), Vienna (Österreichisches Museum fur Kunst und Industrie and Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in the National Library) and in many private collections, as well as in the rich stores of textiles found all over Europe in churches and monasteries. Ibn Khaldūn's information is obviously based on his own experience, for the inscription in these textiles does actually, without exception, stand out in bright colours from the background· e g. the pieces of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin. N⁰. 11 and 19 of the Rainer collection in Vienna show a border of writing embroidered in red silk (N⁰ 19 reproduced in J. v. Karabacek, *Fuhrer*, p. 228 and do, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p 38). In Inv. Ar. Lin. No. 18 of the same collection, on the other hand, the ṭirāz inscription stands out from the background and is embroidered in black silk; in the fine brocades it is often woven in gold thread. The texts of the surviving inscriptions also fully confirm Ibn Khaldūn's statements. In the first place as to the names of the rulers, we find various examples of these occurring alone on textiles. A green silk

damask from al-ᶜAẓm in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. N°. 769—1898 (Guest, N°. 9, p. 395 *sq.*; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 39) has the inscription *Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn*, a piece of linen embroidered with red silk in the Leningrad Museum has the name of the Fāṭimid caliph *al-ᶜAzīz bi'llāh* (365–386 A H , A R. Guest, *J. R.A.S*, 1918, p. 263, No 1). The name of the ruler in addition to his usual titles, is frequently accompanied by auspicious formulae, as Ibn Ḫaldūn also tells us (cf. below); thus, a piece of linen in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the inscription of which I copied in 1924, has the inscription woven in red and enclosed in a white border. *Bismi'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. Baraka min Allāh wa-karāma li 'l-Ḫalīfa ᶜAbd Allāh al-Muṭiᶜi li'llāh Amīr al-Muᵓmi[n]īn, aṭāla Allāh baḳā('ahu)* "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate The blessing of God and grace upon the Caliph ᶜAbd Allāh Muṭiᶜ li'llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve" (cf. E. Kühnel, *Isl*, xiv. 83). On a steel-blue piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo, which has a pattern of blue-grey tendrils and lotus flowers, the latter has as a border: *ᶜIzz li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muhammad Ḳalā'ūn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sultān, the King al-Nāṣir, the Protector of the World and of Religion, Muḥammad Ḳalā'ūn" (cf Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p 272 and fig. 51; Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 366; A F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p 41 and Pl. xii., 957). On the Danzig textile with parrots, apparently woven in China, which was made for Sultān Muhammad b Kalā'ūn (d. 1340 A. D.) there is on the wings of the parrots: *ᶜIzz li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-ᶜādil al-ᶜālim Nāṣir al-Dīn* "Glory to our Lord, the Sultān, the just, wise King Nāṣir al-Dīn" (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 334, J v Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewander*, p 141) On the piece of satin in the South Kensington Museum published by O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig 368; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan textiles*, p. 46, there is in the mandorla arranged on a coat of arms on either side, running to right and to left · *ᶜIzz li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik* and in the four rosettes, alternately to right and to left *al-Aẖi af.* The material is ascribed to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Ḳā'it-bey (1468—1496 A. D.). Such conventional formulae sometimes take up a good deal of space in the ṭirāz. On the fragment of a linen robe with woven borders and coloured silk from Erment, published by Guest, *J.R.A S*, 1906, p. 392 *sq* (South Kensington Museum, Inv , N°. 1381—1888; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, S 10), we have the following text: *Bismi 'llāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm, la Ilāh illa 'llāh, Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, ᶜAlī Walī Allāh ṣal.... al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh Amīr al-Muᵓminīn, Ṣalawāt Allāh ᶜalaihi wa-ᶜala Abā'ihi [al-akramīn] al-ṭāhirīn wa-Abnā'ihi al-muntaẓirīn.* "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, ᶜAlī is the vice-regent of God.... al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, Commander of the Faithful, God's blessing upon him and his ancestors (the most noble), the pure and his sons, the expectant".

Sometimes, in addition to such conventional formulae, the name is given of the place of manufacture and of the vizier or other official in charge of the treasury or of the ṭirāz-factory; more rarely the name of the artist who made the cloth is given. Thus the narrow fragment of linen, Inv. Ar. Lin., N°. 19 in the Rainer collection in Vienna has the following inscription embroidered on it in red silk: *[Bismi 'llāh al-Raḥ]mān al-Raḥīm. Baraka min Allāh, Niᶜma wa-Saᶜāda li-ᶜAbd Allāh Ḏjaᶜfar al-Imām al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh Amīr al-Muᵓminīn, aṭāla Allāh Baḳā'ahu, mimmā amara al-Wazīr Abū Aḥmad al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Ḥasan* "[In the name of God, the Merc]iful, the Compassionate. The blessing of God, grace and good fortune upon the servant of God, Ḏjaᶜfar, the Imām al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve [This is part] of what the vizier Abū Ahmad al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Hasan has ordered..." (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 38) One of the most important ṭirāzes in the collection of textiles in the Arab Museum in Cairo, found in al-Fusṭāṭ (cf. Herz Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 271; E. Kuhnel, *Isl*, xiv 83) bears the following inscription: *Bismi 'llāh. Baraka min Allāh li-ᶜAbd Allāh al-Amīn Muḥammaa Amīr al-Muᵓminīn, aṭāla Allāh Baḳā'ahu; mimmā amara bi-Ṣanᶜatihi fī Ṭirāz al-ᶜĀmma bi-Maṣr ᶜala Yadai al-Fadl Ibn al-Rabīᶜ Mawlā Amīr al-Muᵓminīn* "In the name of God The blessing of God upon the servant of God, al-Amīn Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful, whom may God long preserve. [This is part] of what he ordered to be made in the public factory in Miṣr (al-Fusṭāṭ) through al-Fadl b al-Rabīᶜ, the freedman of the Commander of the Faithful". Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīᶜ, born 140 A H., died 208 A. H , was according to Ibn Taghribirdī (i. 598), chamberlain and vizier of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, after the latter's death, he took possession of the storehouses (*ẖazā'in*) and handed them over to his successor designate, al-Amīn in Baghdād, at the same time bringing him the insignia of the ruler — the cloak, the staff and the signet ring — for which al-Amīn showed him marks of honour and entrusted him with the management of his affairs. In his capacity as Amīn's vizier, he had also to see to the manufacture of the textiles intended for the caliph, as we learn from the above ṭirāz. He is also mentioned in the ṭirāz of two curtains (*kiswa*) for the Kaᶜba mentioned by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, i. 181, 226 (cf. J. von Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35 *sq.*). In this connection, we may also mention a piece of linen from Sāmarrā with an inscription embroidered in red silk (cf. E. Kühnel, *Isl.*, xiv. 87 and fig. 3) which reads: *Baraka min Allāh li-ᶜAbd Allāh al-Imām al-Muᶜtamid ᶜala 'llāh Amīr al-Muᵓminīn, aiyadahu Allāh, mā ᶜumila bi-Tinnīs ᶜala Yadi Yazīd Mawlā (A)mīr al-Mu'[minīn]*; also a piece from Akhmīm, like the preceding, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin (E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 85, fig. 2) with quotations from the Ḳur'ān in the centre and above and below. *[Bismi'llā]h. Baraka min Allāh li-ᶜAbd Allāh Hārūn Amīr al-Muᵓminīn* and *Ṣanᶜat Marwān b. Hādī* (?). Finally we may mention a ṭirāz inscription of the xiith century A. D. on a Sicilian Saracenic fabric in F. Fischbach, *Ornamente der Gewebe*, pl. 144, 145 (the so-called cloak of the emperor Henry VI in Regensburg). On the two central stripes is the inscription *al-ᶜizz wa 'l-naṣr wa 'l-iḳbāl* ("Glory and victory and good fortune"); in the centre of an eight-rayed star: *ᶜamila ustāẖ*

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz "manufactured by the craftsman ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz" (cf. also A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 66).

The text of the ṭirāz inscriptions however very often consists only of the conventional title of the ruler without his name, accompanied, or not, by certain auspicious formulae, or of the latter alone A few examples will suffice here. On the brocade in the Ducal Museum in Brunswick several times repeated and divided by rosettes is the inscription *ʿIzz li-Mawlānā al-Sulṭān, khalada Mulkuhu* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii, fig 342). On a piece of silk in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find *ʿIzz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān, ʿazza naṣruhu* (cf. Heiz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 272); on a piece of silk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1923, p. 405 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p 40) *ʿIzz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik al-nāṣir*; on a piece from Granada in the same museum, continuously *ʿIzz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān* (O v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 372). The well-known specimen in Brussels of the xiᵗʰ century A. D in O v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 172, shows, on the wings of the birds on either side, the inscription. *al-ʿizz al-dāʾim wa 'l-ṣabr wa 'l-dawla li-ṣāḥibihi*. Only a portion of this formula, *al-ʿizz al-dāʾim*, is found on the textile woven in Syria or Egypt, Inv, N⁰. 1235—1864 of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Guest, *J R.A S*, 1918, p 264; A. F Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p 44 (xiᵗʰ–xiiᵗʰ century A. D.) The already mentioned formula *al-ʿizz wa 'l-naṣr wa 'l-iḳbāl* often occurs alone (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, also ii., fig. 338, 339, 340, 342; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p. 66 and pl. 21) The wish *naṣr min Allāh* "victory from God" is found on several textiles in the same Museum in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 398, N⁰. 12—15 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muḥammadan Textiles*, p 14); the formula *al-ʿizz laka al-iḳbāl al-maḏid* "The glory be Thine, the fortune, the splendour" is found embroidered in red silk on a piece of linen with a coat of arms in the Arab Museum in Cairo (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p 274) The conventional title of the ruler is found on a textile in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin with pairs of griffins; in the circles of the braided border we have. *al-ʿādil al-ʿālim al-ʿāḳil*, in the central bars of the circles of the compartments, arranged like a coat of arms· *al-sulṭān al-muẓaffar* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., p. 63 and fig. 363), on a textile in Danzig (xivᵗʰ century A. D): *al-sulṭān al-ʿālim* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 358, 359) On a piece of Spanish silk in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin in O v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 377, we have the title *al-sulṭān al-malik*; on a patterned textile in the Arab Museum in Cairo we find *al-sulṭān* embroidered in silk thread (Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 273 *sq.*). In conclusion we may remind the reader of the pious formulae, which often make up the entire ṭirāz inscriptions. Thus on the Maastricht specimen, with the lion, we have on the lion's breast: [*al-mu*]*lk li'llāh* (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i, fig. 153); others have the formulae *al-amr li'llāh*, which means the same thing (*ibid*, i., fig. 187, 191). A much used formula is *al-baraka al-kāmila* (arranged as in a coat of arms on right and left in O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i., fig. 205) or *baraka* alone (*ibid.*, i., fig. 202). On a textile in the South Kensington Museum (Inv., N⁰. 613—1892) in Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 399 (A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc., p. 18) is the formula *mā shāʾa 'llāh kāna* "What God wills is done", in addition to a series of other formulae, which have only survived in fragments but are known on other textiles in the same collection (*ibid*, p 396 *sq*) The finest specimen of the kind however is probably that in the Musée de Cluny (Inv., N⁰ 6526 found in Bayonne) which shows a portion of the symbol of Islām in letters, a span wide, beautifully woven. Occasionally these inscriptions are abbreviated by the omission of some letters (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewander*, p 142 *sq*). It may further be mentioned that dated inscriptions are found among the tirāzes; for example the piece published by Guest, *J. R. A S.*, 1918, p. 407 from the Engel-Gros collection with *basmala* and date 448 (cf A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc., p 10, N⁰. 861 and pl. 6); another with the name of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid of the year 282 in the South Kensington Museum was also published by Guest (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 391, cf. A F. Kendrick, *Catalogue* etc , p. 35; G Salles and M. J. Ballot, *Les Collections de l'Orient Musulman*, p 74).

It has already been pointed out that the ṭirāz bands with inscriptions correspond in a way to our orders and decorations. The presentation of garments adorned with them was a sovereign right of the crown, as much as the right of coinage. The custom of presenting such robes is certainly a very ancient one in the East. The Pharaohs used to give their faithful servants robes of honour, in addition to golden neck-rings and other valuable presents It was under Islām that the custom first attained great proportions Not only was the decree appointing high officials of the state usually accompanied by a robe of honour, but the officials also received, at least once a year, a robe of honour and, at the court of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, the Mamlūks and high officials of state used to receive a robe corresponding to their rank, twice a year, in winter and in summer (cf. A. v Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 220—23; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv. 55). According to Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 94, the dress of the preacher in the principal mosque in Mecca — and no doubt of the other large mosques also — consisted of a black robe trimmed with gold and a similar piece of cloth wound round the head, with a turban cloth of fine *sharb* linen; it was given to the preachers of the empire from the caliph's own stores, so that it was an official dress, given by the ruler. The robes of the emīrs, which they wore on state occasions, were of course more gorgeous. Those of the Fāṭimids consisted of materials from Dabīḳ with head-dresses with golden ṭirāz borders, which were given to the emīrs from the Caliph's stores (*Dār al-Kiswa*) (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i 409, 427, cf. 440). Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iv. 52 *sq.*, tells us that part of the dress of honour of the emīrs was a turban cloth with the name of the sulṭān embroidered on it and the robes themselves had similar inscriptions.

It was only natural that the caliphs should lay great stress on this important prerogative of the crown and take every precaution to prevent abuses. What importance was given to the ṭirāz and its preparation is evident, for example, from the fact that in Hārūn al-Rashīd's will (186 A. H.), in the

portion dealing with the allotment of the province of Khorāsān to al-Ma'mūn, the ṭirāz-factories (*ṭuruz*) are specifically mentioned alongside of the kharādj, the post and the treasuries (cf al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, p 162, 166). The mention of the ruler in the ṭirāz is a mark or sign of his sovereignty as in the *khuṭba* and, when al-Ma'mūn rebelled against his brother al-Amīn, the first thing he did was to omit the caliph's name from the ṭirāz inscriptions (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, i. 544, cf. further passages in J v Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 25). When a successor was designated, his name was put into the ṭirāz inscriptions (J. v Karabacek, *loc. cit.*); this applies not only to the inscriptions on textiles and on robes of honour but also to those on rolls of papyrus (cf. *Corpus Pap Raineri*, iii., vol i/2, N°. 150, 158, p 145 *sq*, 153 *sq*) But while, in the latter case, the vizier is often mentioned in the protocoll, it seems very rare and to be a special distinction for the name of the vizier to be put in the ṭirāz inscriptions of robes of honour. The Fāṭimid al-'Azīz bi'llāh, for example, put the name of his vizier Ya'ḳūb b Yūsuf b. Killis (d 380 A H.) in the ṭirāz inscriptions (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khitat*, ii. 6, 15, 284 ult) Similarly the Fāṭimid caliph al-Musta'lī bi'llāh (1094—1101 A D.) allowed his vizier al-Afḍal to be mentioned in the ṭirāz, as we learn from the ṭirāz inscription on a textile in the Vatican library (cf J. v Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p 39), but, in this case, the name of the vizier is followed by the additional words "in the name of the Imām" so that the sovereignty of the ruler is fully guarded Later, it is true, high officials kept their own ṭirāz establishments. Thus 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rāsibī (d 301 A H), who was governor of all the territory between Wāsiṭ and Djundīsābūr on the one hand and Sūs to Shahrzūr on the other, maintained no less than 80 ṭirāz factories, in which cloth for his own use was woven (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ii 192; A. v Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii. 293) and on a piece of silk from Egypt (XI–XIIth century A. D.) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 394; A. F Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 43 *sq*) we find *al-sayyid al-adjall Yumn al-Dawla Abū Yumn, aṭāla Allāh bakā'ahu*, "The most glorious lord Yumn al-Dawla Abū Yumn, may God give him long life"; on the splendid piece of silk in the Louvre, published by G. Migeon, *Syria*, iii. (1922), p. 41—43, we have *'izz wa-iḳbāl li 'l-Ḳā'id Abī Manṣūr Nadjtakīn, aṭāla Allāh bak[ā']ahu*].

The sovereign rights of the caliph however did not find expression only in the inscriptions of the ṭirāzes on garments. The right of covering the Ka'ba with a *kiswa* originally belonged exclusively to the caliph (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā'*, iv. 57) The 'Abbāsids sent such kiswas every year from Baghdād to Mecca — they were often manufactured in Egypt — then this duty passed to the rulers of Egypt. In Ḳalḳashandī's time, the kiswa was woven in the Mashhad al-Ḥusain of black silk with an inscription in white; at the end of the reign of Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ with a yellow inscription gilt with gold. A collection of the inscriptions on these kiswas has been made by J. v. Karabacek (*Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35—39). According to these inscriptions, the kiswas were made either by direct orders of the caliph to the governor and at the direction of the latter's financial secretary, who was directly in charge of the ṭirāz establishment, or the order to make them was given by the caliph's vizier (cf. above). It is worth noting that among the texts given by Karabacek is the ṭirāz of an 'Alid rebel in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (*op cit*, p. 37 *sq.*). We may here also briefly mention the dedication which the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz had placed in 353 A. H. upon the variegated silk tapestry described by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 417, 12 *sqq.* (see also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p 33). The formulae are in many cases those usual on textiles, as are to be expected from al-Kisā'ī's observations quoted in al-Baiḥaḳī, *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-Masāwī*, p 499. Special attention must be drawn to the fact that there are undeniable connections between the so-called heraldic inscriptions (Schriftwappen) of the Mamlūk sultāns (see L. A. Mayer, *Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane*, *Jahrb. d Asiat. Kunst*, 1925, p. 183—187) and various regular formulae of the ṭiraz inscriptions, e. g. the frequently recurring *'izz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik* etc, *'azza naṣruhu*

The frequent heraldic-like arrangement of short formulae, such as *al-baraka al-kāmila*, which are placed together, one to the right and the other to the left, as animals are arranged in a coat of arms (cf. the double-eagle), suggests a kind of heraldic development of these formulae in the ṭirāz also, especially as the title of the ruler sometimes is placed in a cartouche on textiles or in the central bar of the encircling shield which is like a coat of arms (see O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, ii., fig. 363 and above). We have already referred above to the fact that the preparation of the cloth and garments required for the use of the court and the high officials, to which may be added the covering for the Ka'ba was not left to private hands, but to state factories, which must frequently have been on a very large scale. Egypt took the first place for linen and to a considerable extent for silk also. The linen weaving was mainly concentrated in the Delta. Tinnīs, Tūna, Damietta, Shaṭā and Alexandria were the principal centres of its manufacture; in addition there were Dabīḳ, Banshā, al-Farama, and Dumaira (in the district of Shirbīn, not Damīra, as Jaubert says). Tinnīs, like Damietta, produced fine linens in the style of what were known as *dabīḳ* and *sharb* linens, as well as materials for covering furniture in bright patterns (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i. 882). These materials fetched high prices and a robe with gold embroidery was sold for 1,000 dīnārs, one without embroidery for 100 to 200 dīnārs (Idrīsī, i. 320). In Tinnīs, where there were 5,000 looms, there was according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iḳd*, iii. 362, a factory working for the caliph, which is confirmed by the inscriptions given by al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 181, for coverings for the Ka'ba manufactured there (cf J. v. Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 35) as well as by the textile above mentioned from Sāmarrā Nāṣir-i Khusraw, according to whom Tinnīs mainly made the coloured *ḳaṣab* stuffs used for turbans, caps and women's dresses, tells us that the material made in the sulṭān's workshops was not disposed of to private individuals. A Persian prince had sent 20,000 dīnārs to Tinnīs to procure a garment of this precious material, which however was reserved for the use of the crown, so that his agents could get nothing A speciality of Tinnīs was the *badana* intended for the personal use of the caliph, a

garment that came complete from the loom and had not to be cut or stitched (cf. Herz-Bey, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 266—268; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 433). The export of the materials produced in Tinnīs was considerable and down to the year 360 A. H. reached a value of 20—30,000 dīnārs annually. The village of Tūna, which belonged to the administrative district of Tinnīs, made the same kind of stuffs and also kiswas for the Ka'ba (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 181; J. v Karabacek, *op. cit.*, p. 36). There was a ṭirāz factory here also Damietta produced not only the same linens as Tinnīs — but white in colour — but also gold brocade and the material known as Balchan (*balkhī*) (ʿAlī b Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djawharī, MS A. F., N⁰. 282, fol. 69a; cf. also A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 289) and other textiles. Shaṭā also made kiswas and the stuffs known as *Shaṭawī* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 226, 5 *sqq.*) Of the former we are told that they were made in a ṭirāz factory which belonged to the state, as we know from the kiswa inscription given by al-Maḳrīzī (cf. J. v Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 36); as to the latter this is not definitely known. In a papyrus in the Rainer collection (N⁰. 849 in the *Ausstellung*; cf J v. Karabacek, *Fuhrer*, p. 227) in line 6 there is a reference to a braided head-cloth from Shaṭā (*mandīl shaṭawī muʿlam*) worth 20 carats of gold. This price must be considered fairly high, as those of Shaṭā and Dabḳū (Dabīḳ) and Dumaira were not so fine as those of Tinnīs (Idrīsī, p. 320). The work done here by Copt weavers was under strict state control (al-Muḳaddasī, *B G. A*, iii. 213; cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 118; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, p. 184) which began the moment the weaver began to work the stuff in his loom. An official stamp had at once to be placed upon it. What these were like we know from the red stamp on the piece of linen, *Inv. Ar. Lin.*, N⁰. 1 in the Rainer collection with the inscription *al-Malik al-Muʿizz* (cf *Corpus Pap. Raineri*, iii, *Ser Arab*, 1/1, p. 59 *sq.* and fig. 2). It could only be sold through brokers appointed by the state and a government official had to keep a record of all transactions; only when this had been done, was the cloth given to one workman, who folded it up, then to another who wrapped it in a packing, made of bast (*ḳishr*, perhaps the coarse papyrus packing is meant), then to a third who did it up in bales and finally to a fourth, who tied these up; each of these men received a definite fee. The bales were then taken to the gate of harbour and here also a charge was made and each man put his mark on the bale. The whole process does not very much suggest that we have a state factory here In the Delta at least, we seem rather to have an industry conducted in private houses, probably alongside of the state factories. The lot of the workmen — women span and men wove and the workrooms were rented by them — was wretched; the half dirhem, which was the daily wage, was not sufficient for the minimum necessities of life. Wages throughout Egypt, however, were very low. Silks and brocades along with the fine sharb linens were mainly made in Alexandria, also however in Tinnīs, Damietta and Shaṭā (cf A v Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) which even in Roman times was celebrated as a silk-weaving centre and where the Byzantine court had a gynaeceum While the quality of the material under Muslim rule was at first not so fine as in the earlier period, in the viiith and ixth centuries Alexandria was supplying Byzantium and the Pope in Rome (O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 48, 51, 110); and several popes used beautiful stuffs with the horseman pattern as gifts to churches. The state factories in Tinnīs, Alexandria and Damietta worked mainly for the wardrobes of the Fāṭimid caliphs (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i 413, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iii. 476, F. Wüstenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 *sq.*) and their successors, and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, iv 101 mentions that the *Dār al-Ṭirāz* in Alexandria worked for the ruler's private requirements (*li 'l-Khāṣṣ al-sharīf*) (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, p. 195). Dabīḳ, which produced the curtains which were used to drape the throne of the Fāṭimid Caliphs on ceremonial occasions (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iii 499), was celebrated for its linens and turban cloths. Dabīḳ textiles are frequently mentioned in literature, notably in al-Maḳrīzī. The manufacture was an old established one here, a richly embroidered sash of the Coptic period in the Austrian Museum has within the border the inscription

ⲦⲂⲒⲔ, the Coptic name of the town (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde*, N⁰. 427). Of the manufacturing town of Banshā we know little more than the name The fragment of a silk ṭirāz embroidered in black from the Rainer collection (*Inv. Ar. Lin.*, N⁰. 18) published by J. v Karabacek, *Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 39, has the inscription [*hadhā mimmā a*]*mara bi-ʿaml fi ṭirāz al-khāṣṣa Banshā* ["this is part of what was ordered to be made in the factory of the royal property of Banshā"]. Here then we have the case of a silk factory, which supplied the caliph only, and was state property We also know the name of the place from papyri. Besides the Faiyūm in Upper Egypt, al-Ushmūnain was celebrated for its manufacture of textiles (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B G. A.*, i. 58; Ibn Hawḳal, *B G A.*, ii. 105, al-Idrīsī, i. 124, A v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i. 353) as was Takhā, where woollen goods were made (cf A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 432). Al-Bahnasā occupied a special position, in it, according to al-Idrīsī, i. 128, valuable materials were produced which bore the name of the town and were used for making garments for the ruler and high officials; ordinary kinds were also made. The lengths of stuff, which was made in pieces of about 30 ells, cost 200 dīnārs the pair. Every piece of cloth, whether woollen or cotton, cheap or dear, bore the name of the quality, so that the purchaser could know what he was buying. As to prices, we get some information from a papyrus in the Rainer collection (*Ausstellung*, N⁰. 849), according to which a long turban cloth from Bahnasā (*mandīl bahnasī ṭawīl*) cost 1 carat of gold. Idrīsī, unfortunately, does not tell us whether the stuff intended for the court came from a ṭirāz factory or from a private firm. A *ṭirāz saʿīd* is mentioned in ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Djawharī, A. F , No. 282, fol. 91*b*, but it is not stated where in Upper Egypt this state factory was. Two papyri in the State Library in Cairo (Inv., N⁰. 96 and 103) assist us on this point, for a certain Rimāḥ b. Yūsuf is described in them as *al-Mutawakkil bi-Ṭirāz Ushmūn wa-Anṣinā*. The man was therefore manager of the ṭirāz factory of Ushmūn and Anṣinā, and managed them both together, in which connection it may

be noted that the two originally separate kūra's of this name were later combined into one (cf. C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. 20). In Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ) under the ʿAbbāsids, there was already a public ṭirāz workshop (*ṭirāz al-ʿāmma bi-Miṣr*) as we know from the already mentioned piece of cloth in the Arab Museum in Cairo. The *ʿāmma* is here apparently contrasted to the *khāṣṣa*, which means a factory which worked only for the caliph. This does not mean that in al-Amīn's time the Cairo factory had become a purely private concern, it can quite well have been a state undertaking, which supplied private individuals as well as the court. In no particular case can we see with certainty how the question of ownership stood We cannot imagine, as it has hitherto been usual to do, following Karabacek, that the crown had exclusive control.

While the Umaiyads and ʿAbbāsids had already devoted great attention to the manufacture of fabrics with the ṭirāz and to the preservation of the rights associated with them, the importance of such fabrics increased under the splendour-loving Fāṭimids The account which al-Maḳrīzī gives, following the very well informed Ibn al-Ṭuwair (*Khiṭaṭ*, i. 469), sufficiently shows this. Besides the famous state *Dār al-Ṭirāz* in Alexandria there was a factory of the same name in Cairo, which was founded under the successors of the caliph al-ʿAzīz bi'llāh, in the name of the vizier Abu 'l-Faradj Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf Ibn Killis, who died in 380 (991) and was also called *Dār al-Dībādj*, because silk brocades were made there (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 104, 25 *sq.*) At the head of the administration of these state factories there was always an official of high rank from the judicial or military service, who was held in particular estimation by the caliph. A picked staff was at his disposal for the transport of the products of the ṭirāz factories, as well as the necessary means of transport When he arrived with the fabrics intended for the royal use, among which were the parasol and the robes called *badla* and *badana* and the ruler's personal apparel, he was received with the highest honours and a steed from the caliph's stables was placed at his disposal for the duration of his stay. His quarters in town were in the Manẓara al-Ghazzāla on the bank of the great canal, opposite the door of the Djāmiʿ Ibn al-Maghribī, which had also fallen into ruins in Maḳrīzī's time, and he received the same hospitality as foreign embassies. When the bales with the precious fabrics were brought in, the superintendent of the ṭirāz presented himself to the caliph, showed him all that he had brought with him, and called his attention to each piece, that went into the caliph's palace through the hands of his chamberlain. When the presentation was over he was given a robe of honour by the caliph at a private audience, — the public being excluded, an honour which was shown only to him — and then returned to his lodging. Only at certain clearly defined times, could he be represented by his son or brother. He held a very prominent position and his salary was 70 dīnārs monthly, that of his deputy 20. The latter took charge in his stead, when he had to go to deliver the fabrics, and was present as his witness at the packing of the bales. When the parasol and other articles for the personal use of the caliph were brought into the public room of the *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, during which ceremony the people present stood up, the superintendent of the Ṭirāz sat in his seat and his deputy carried through his task standing (cf. also al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, iii. 476; F. Wustenfeld, *Geographie*, p. 175 *sq.*).

As already mentioned, the ṭirāz-factories brought a considerable sum to the state by their valuable products. It is significant that out of the treasuries of the towns of Tinnīs, Damietta and al-Ushmūnain in 363 A H under the Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Killis could pay 200,000 dīnārs into the treasury in one day (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 6) and the expenditure for gold thread was usually 31,000 dīnārs and under al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh even amounted to 43,000 dīnārs (*ibid*, i 469). Under the Mamlūk sulṭāns, conditions seem to have been somewhat altered. At least, Ibn Khaldūn (i. 223) tells us that the fabrics and garments with ṭirāzes were no longer made in their factories and palace-workshops, and were no longer produced by the state in its own buildings but what the state required was simply woven from silk and pure gold in the houses of the weavers.

The institution of royal ṭirāz factories was of course not limited to Egypt. We find them in other lands also. If we turn to the west we find one in Palermo in Sicily. Ibn Djubair, *Riḥla*, p. 329, even records the name of an embroiderer who worked in the *Ṭirāz al-Malik*, as the royal factory was called. The chief piece of evidence from this factory is still the cloak woven for Roger II in 528 (1133), later the coronation robe of the Austrian Royal Treasury. In its ṭirāz inscription the factory is called *Khizāna al-malikiya* (cf. F. Bock, *Kleinodien*, p. 29). This *regium ergasterium* produced finely woven silks down to the XIIIth century A. D. (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 119, 121). In Spain, Almeria, where 800 looms were working in Idrīsī's time and valuable brocades, *siḳlātūn* and silver were made in the style of those of Djūrdjān and Iṣfahān, was the principal centre of manufacture, but Murcia, Seville, Granada and Malaga should also be mentioned. In the latter town there was a factory for gold brocade (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 6; M. J. Muller, *Beitrage*, p. 5; F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturg. Gewänder*, p 39 *sqq.*). In Asia Minor there was a ṭirāz factory at the Saldjuḳ court, one of its products is the gold brocade of the Lyons Textile Museum, the inscription on the border of which mentions Sulṭān Kaikubādh, son of Kaikhusraw (1219—1236 A. D.) Marco Polo (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, i. 106) notes the industry of the Greek and Armenian population of the Saldjuḳ empire, who made the finest carpets and rich silks In Syria, Damascus and Antioch were famous for their textiles (O. v. Falke, *op. cit*, i. 108; J. v. Karabacek, *Die liturg. Gewänder*, p 196). In the ʿIrāḳ, Baghdād was the most important, its speciality was the white Marw fabrics (Ibn al-Faḳih, *B. G. A.*, v. 252) but it also made silks and richly embroidered brocades which were celebrated throughout the west as *baldachinus* or *baudekinus* (O. v. Falke, *op. cit.*, i. 108). Silk-weaving here can be traced back to a colony of weavers from Tustar who settled here at least as early as the middle of the tenth century (J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 28). On a piece of silk published by A. F. Kendrick in the *Burlington*

Magasine, xlix. 261—267 is the following ṭirāz inscription at the top (twice, as in a coat of arms) *al-baraka min Allāh wa 'l-yumn wa*[--- „the blessing of God and good fortune and ---"; below in the same arrangement *bi-ṣāḥibihi Abū Naṣr mimmā ʿumila fī Baghdād* "to its possessor Abū Naṣr. This is part of what was manufactured in Baghdād". Presumably this is the production of an official ṭirāz workshop. The court however imported a great deal from Egypt but under the Fāṭimids the export from there was forbidden (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p. 433).

The development of the weaving of silk in Persia seems to begin with the transplanting of workmen from Mesopotamia, Āmid and other Byzantine provinces to Sūs, Tustar and other places in Ahwāz by Shāpūr II (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 124). In the province of Fārs, which was celebrated for its weaving of linen, there were factories like those in Egypt, which, for example in Fasā, worked both for the ruler and for commerce, while the ruler had also his own establishments in Shīnīz, Djannāba, Tawwādj and al-Ghundidjān (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 213 *sq*; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, p 106 *sqq*; al-Idrīsī, i. 391, 399 *sq.*) Kāzrūn, "the Damietta of Persia", later became the chief centre of the linen manufacture and about 500 A. H. (beginning of the xiith century A. D.), this was so strictly controlled that the Rahbān canal, important for the making of the yarn and the transport of the finished articles, being the property of the royal treasury, was only available to those weavers who wove cloth for the emīr; here also we find the production under state control (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, p 434) Not less celebrated than Persia was Khūzistān (Susiana) as a centre of textile weaving. In Tustar, where silk fabrics, brocades, velvets, turban shawls, curtains, and the heavy khazz stuffs were manufactured, there was a state factory with a superintendent (*ṣāḥib*) at its head. The curtains for the Kaʿba were made of brocade produced there and as these, as we have seen, were sent by the court in Baghdād, we can understand the significance of the remark by Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A*, ii. 175, that every one who reigned in the ʿIrāḳ had a factory and a superintendent in Tustar (*tirāz wa-ṣāḥib*) (cf. also J. v. Karabacek, *Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p 30—32). In Idrīsī's time, the material for the kiswas was already made in the ʿIrāḳ (*Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, i. 383). Not less important than Tustar were the two towns of Sūs and Ḳurḳūb. In Sūs, where there was a state factory, khazz fabrics and fine linen was made (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 93; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 175; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 416) There was also one such factory (*ṭirāz li 'l-sulṭān*) in Ḳurḳūb, where as in Sūs, royal robes, rich brocades, and the striped materials, which took the name of the town were made (al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G A.* i. 93; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B G A*, ii 175; al-Idrīsī, i. 383 *sq.*; J. v. Karabacek, *Susandschird*, p. 107); finally it may also be mentioned that in Sidjistān also, there was a ṭirāz factory working for the ruler, in which robes of honour were made, with which he was very liberal (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 458).

On the origin of the institution of the *ṭirāz* nothing has been definitely ascertained J v Karabacek (*Papyrusprotokolle*, p. 27) endeavoured to trace its origin to foreign, probably Babylonian-Assyrian influences and even thought that the many factories of fabrics in Fārs which were state monopolies and the erection of great storehouses for garments (*khazā'in al-kiswāt*) might be taken as a royal custom inherited from the Sassanians (*Über einige Benennungen mittelalterlicher Gewebe*, p. 20). Karabacek seems to be right in quoting in this connection the statement in Ibn Khaldūn (i. 222) to the effect that the Persian kings before Islām put the portraits of kings or figures and pictures made specially for the purpose on ornamental borders, and the Muslim rulers replaced these by inscriptions containing their names and auspicious formulae Karabacek also points out that they were in this matter influenced by the Byzantines, among whom they found the ṭirāz, which had come from the same source G Ebers, *Cicerone*, i. 205 also connects the ṭirāz with the *clavus*, and O. v. Falke, *Seidenwebe i et*, i. 77, holds the view that the key pattern was imitated by the Persians also in the fifth and sixth century A. D. on the celebrated robe of Yezdegerd (before 640 A. D.; cf. Falke, i. 83 and fig. 105), the dress of the great king has these typical key pattern stripes woven in it, which run downwards from the shoulder and also down the back, as we frequently find in tunics from Akhmīm. Falke sees in the borrowing of the key pattern from the west on the tunic a sign of a new Persian style (p 85) and a comparison with the famous Sassanian fabric with the horseman in the Berlin Kunstgewerbe-Museum (Falke, 1, fig 107) arouses misgivings against the assumption of adoption of the key pattern into Persian court-dress, when we see here in what an un-Roman and confused fashion the key pattern has been interpreted by the artist. Perhaps there are connections here which we cannot yet see in their completeness, but it is well worth noting that the Roman *clavus* — the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank — is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin (cf. the article *clavus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encykl.*, vii., col. 4 *sqq.*), so that an Oriental origin for this remarkable institution is not absolutely excluded. Memories of the ancient *clavi* survived until quite late in the external form of the ṭirāz borders Thus the two pieces No. 921 and 922 of the Aiyūbid and Mamlūk period published by A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, Pl. 7, still show the same fundamental form as the Coptic fabrics, although the decoration is slightly varied (cf. O. v. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, 1, fig 26); even the custom, so frequent in Muḥammadan ṭirāz borders, of placing a figured or decorative strip between two bands of writing is already found on the border of a strip of Coptic cloth of the viith century A D. (cf A. Riegl, *Die agyptischen Textilfunde*, Pl. 9 opp. p. 48). The text used here is Psalm 44, verse 10 *sq.* The continuity in art in Egyptian industry, which in the Muslim period, as far as the production of textiles is concerned, was mainly in the hands of Copts, makes the preservation of old forms and customs quite intelligible. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. Perhaps the preference for this colour is due to the fact that the *clavi* of the Romans were usually done in purple The privilege of the *Princeps* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the

ruler and, from 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the gynaecea, at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim Caliphs to the tirāz and its presentation. The institution of the gynaecea was not imitated in Islām however. Only in Cairo was there for a time a similar institution, where the garments intended for the caliph underwent a slight fitting by a staff of 30 women under a female superintendent (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 183 *sq.*). The institution of the *ṭirāz* in Islām is in any case found quite early under the Umaiyads; we know this from al-Kisā'ī's account of ʿAbd al-Malik's reform of the coinage and adoption of the Arabic language for the text of official documents. So far, it is true, we have only found only one caliph of the Umaiyad house — probably Marwān II — mentioned, on a piece of silk from Akhmīm which bears the inscription [*ʿAbd*] *Allāh Marwān Amīr al-Muʾ* [*minīn*] (A. R. Guest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 390 and A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles*, p. 35). With the Muslim fabrics which were imported to Europe in considerable quantities inscribed ṭirāz bands were brought into fashion. As early as *Parcifal* (231, 8), Anfortas wears an Arab ṭirāz braid on his head dress and it is very curious to find that the vestments of high dignitaries of the church were adorned with tirāz braid, which contained the Muslim confession of faith. A collection of Arabic ṭirāz inscriptions on robes of the Madonna and on pictures by Italian masters was made by Sewell, *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 164. I may add that on fol. 2*a* of the fine Vienna manuscript of René d'Anjou's *Le livre du cœur d'amour épris* (written after 1457 A. D.), Cupid is represented with a blue tunic with Arabic ṭirāz borders written in gold on a blue ground, and two Brussels gobelins of the XVI^th^ century show Abraham with tirāz inscriptions in gold at the wrists and sides. The often clumsy imitation of Arabic inscriptions on North Italian silks is well known.

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(A GROHMANN)

TĪRE, a town in Anatolia, capital of the ḳaḍā of Tīre in the wilāyet of Aidīn, in the valley of the Küčük Menderes, 18 miles S. E. of Smyrna with which it is connected by railway. The present town presumably occupies the site of the ancient Arcadiopolis, later called Teira (i e "town", e.g. in Thyá-teira, cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 104, 114). In the Byzantine period the town appears as Thyrea (Θύρεα) and Thyraia (Θύραια. cf. Ducas, p 38, 73, 97, 109, 175, 196) and repeatedly plays a part in history. In 1308 Sasan transferred many of the inhabitants of Ephesus to Tīre (cf. Pachymeres, ii. 588) Travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 307 *sq*) who went via Bīrge to Tīre which lay in the midst of orchards, gardens, and streams in the land of the "Sulṭān of Bīrge", i. e. of the Aidīn-oghlu or the adventurous Catalonian chronicler Ramon Muntaner (sect. 25) used to pass through Tīre. When in 1403 Tīmūr advanced against the town, the inhabitants fled to Smyrna (cf. Ducas, p. 38, 97, 109). After the collapse of the petty kingdom of the Aidīn-oghlu in 830 (1426), Tīre became Ottoman. It plays no particular part in later history; it was a mint down to the xvith century and is occasionally mentioned in connection with risings (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 398, note and v. 50 note). In Tīre is the tomb of the celebrated ʿulemāʾ ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Fīrishte (Ar.: Ibn al-Malak, Turk.· Fīrishte-oghlu, d. according to the *Sālnāma* of Aidīn of 1302, p. 239 in 799 [1396]; cf. on this point *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmānīya*, p. 66 *sq*) known as the author of a once much used Turkish dictionary in verse (*Lughat-i Fīrishte-oghlu*) and of a commentary on the principles of jurisprudence, *Manār al-Anwār* of al-Nasafī [q. v.]. He taught there in a medrese which bears his name and is still in use. Tīre was also the birthplace of several Ottoman authors, e. g. Shaikh Ḥaidar b. Saʿd Allāh (cf. ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhail* on the *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, p. 191), Molla Naṣr Allāh al-Rūmī (*ibid*, p. 123) and the scene of activity of ḳādīs who also played a part in literature (cf. *ibid.*, p. 130, 172 and F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p 146. Djarrāḥzāde). Tīre is also mentioned as a place of banishment; the versatile historian Shānī-zāde for example ended his life here (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 346). The earlier European travellers rarely visited Tīre. The chaplain of the English factory in Smyrna, Edm. Chishull (d 1733) is one of the few who visited Tīre (cf. *Travels in Turkey and back to London* [London 1747], p. 19 and Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia*). It was then thought that Tīre represented Thyáteira (= Aḳ-ḥiṣār), one of the "Seven Churches of Asia". Ewliyā Celebi [q. v.] describes Tīre in the ninth, still unpublished, volume of his Travels. The town does not seem to possess any antiquities. Mention may be made of the library of 1,325 volumes (including the holograph of the above mentioned commentary of Fīrishte-oghlu), presented by Nadjīb Pāshā, governor of Baghdād Down to the Turko-Greek exchange of population, Tīre had about 15,000, mainly Greek, inhabitants (cf. V. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 508 *sqq.*) who were mainly occupied in carpet-weaving and the cultivation of the vine.

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(F. BABINGER)

TĪREBOLI, capital of the ḳaḍā of Tīreboli in the wilāyet of Trapezunt in Anatolia on the Black Sea, picturesquely situated on three capes from which the town of Tripolis, founded by Greeks from Miletus in the eighth century B C., received its name. The town is commanded by a mediaeval castle; the remains of two small churches still recall the Byzantine period. In view of its proximity to Trapezunt and Kerasunt, Tīreboli played no special part in history in ancient or modern times. The Comnenoi of Trapezunt were fond of living in the castle here The conquest of Trapezunt by Mehemmed II in the autumn of 1461 also sealed the fate of Tīreboli. The inhabitants fled to the fortress of Petroma 20 miles away and only surrendered after a long siege, when starved out. Henceforth Tīreboli belonged to the Ottoman empire. While the Spaniard Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo on his journey to Samarḳand in 1404 still found Tīreboli ("Tripil") a very large town, the place later sank into comparative insignificance. European travellers have often visited and described Tīreboli, e. g J. Pitton de Tournefort (cf. *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, ii. [Paris 1717], 222 *sq.*, with picture); Wm. J. Hamilton (cf. *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 255), A. D. Mordtmann (cf. *Anatolien*, ed. v. F. Babinger, Hannover 1925, p. 411); J. Ph. Fallmerayer (*Fragmente aus dem Orient*^{2}, i. 131, 135 *sq.*) etc. In Tīreboli, besides 8 mosques, there are a number of Greek churches, some of them old. Near it is the now deserted dervish monastery of Ṣarī Khalīfa (cf. thereon J. H. Mordtmann in *M. S O. S. As.*, xxix. 112 *sqq.* and xxx. 206, perhaps the individual in question). Before the Turko-Greek exchange of population Tīreboli had about 8,000 inhabitants, 1/4 of them Greeks.

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nach Skutari, Gotha 1860, p. 4b; Shākir Shewḳet, *Ṭrābesūn Taʾrīkhi*, [Stambul] 1294; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dsjihānnumā*, Stambul 1145, p. 429, l. 18; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyâḥetnâme*, ii 80.

(F. BABINGER)

TIRḤĀLA, the Turkish name for TRIK(K)ALA, a town in western Thessaly (Greece), on the well watered Trikkalmos, 400 feet above sea-level, on the Volos-Kalabaka railway. Tirḥāla, not far from the ancient Trikka, now completely disappeared, with the famous temple of Asclepius and belonging since 1881 to Greece, formerly to the Ottoman empire, in which it was incorporated in 798 (beg Oct. 16, 1395) by Bāyazīd I (cf. Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, ed. by J. v. Hammer, p 100, and J v Hammer, *G. O. R*, i. 249). The town was taken at the same time as Larissa (Turk Yeñi Shehr, q v) Later it belonged to the dominions of the Ṭurakhān-oghlu [q v.], one of the oldest and most distinguished Ottoman noble families In the reign of Sulaimān the Great the Jews deported from Budapest were settled in Tirḥāla (cf F Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitéz* etc, Paris 1555, fol 58a) In it ʿOmar b. Turakhān founded a *medrese* roofed with lead, in which among others, the Ottoman historian Aḥmad called Para-Parazāde taught, he died in Tirḥāla in 968 (1560) and was buried in the mosque of ʿOmar b. Ṭurakhān, which now no longer exists (cf. ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhail* on *Shaḳāʾik al-Nuʿmānīya*, p. 20, and F. Babinger, *G O. W*, p 83 *sq*); cf also Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, iv. 38 Tirḥāla was also the official residence of a ḳādī, and several famous scholars like ʿAṭāʾī and Weisī held this office. Of the four mosques of Ghāzī Ṭurakhān, ʿOsmānshāh Beg, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā and Husain Agha only two survive. The first is that built by the famous architect Sinān, that of ʿOsmānshāh Beg, called Ḳara ʿOsmānshāh, a nephew of Sulaimān the Great, who held the governorship of Thessaly and died in Tirḥāla (975=1567) (cf. Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, i. 45 and Ewliyā, *Siyāḥet-nāme*, i 172; do., *Travels*, ed J. v. Hammer, i 1, p 87). The mosque with the *turbe* of its founder, although falling into ruins still bears traces of its former splendour Of the tombs of celebrities here, the following may also be mentioned Djalāl al-Dīn Baba, Sinān Baba, Ramadān Efendi, Djaʿfar Efendi and Etli Ḳalḳan (اتلی قالقان). The 14 wells built by Muhsin Pasha-zāde ʿAbdullāh Pasha are evidence of Tirḥāla's plentiful supply of water. Tirḥāla is now entirely abandoned by Muslims and only Greeks (mostly Wallachians) and Jews live in the town, which, while not particularly healthy, with its commanding Byzantine fortress and its wealth in gardens, forms a picture not easily forgotten

Bibliography Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 99 *sqq.*; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, p 1637 *sq.*; *Sālnāme-i Wilāyet-i Yānia Sene 1288*, p. 115 *sq.*; J v. Hammer, *G O.R*, i. 249 *sq*; Léon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*, Paris 1927, p. 80 *sqq.*; Const. Chr Vaytsakis, Σύντομος ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Τρικκάλων, Athens 1892, 38 p. 8°, pays almost no attention to the Ottoman period; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāma*, VIII (Stambul 1928), p 202 *sqq.* — On the mosque of ʿUthmān Shāh built by Sinān, cf. Ewliyā, *l. c.*, p 203 *sqq.*; F. Babinger in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, iv., 1929, January; K. K. Orlandos, *ibid.*, June (with plans and illustrations). (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. ḤAKĪM AL-ṬAʾĪ, a celebrated poet of the first century of Islām. He was descended from a highly respected clan of his tribe and his grandfather Ḳais is numbered among those who came to Mecca in the year 9 of the Hidjra to pay homage to the Prophet. He himself, according to the most reliable accounts, was born in Syria and spent the earliest years of his life there. Later he came as a soldier to al-Kūfa and through the influence of some Khāridjī leaders became himself one of their sect, and remained true to their doctrines to the end of his life. Either as a soldier or in some other capacity, he visited several parts of Persia His collected poems, which are preserved only in part in a very old Spanish manuscript, are distinguished from those of his contemporaries by a studied use of uncommon words, similar to the compositions of the *radjaz*-poet Ruʾba, who made a kind of speciality of this Ruʾba was for the grammarians of Baṣra a source of information on questions of obscure words and he alleged, according to the grammarian al-Aṣmaʿī and a few others, that he had learned these strange expressions from Ṭirimmāḥ This claim is most likely unfounded because Ṭirimmāh was dead when Ruʾba came into prominence Different was the intercourse of Ṭirimmāh with the poet al-Kumait [q. v], a fervent Shīʿa poet of no mean order, for in spite of their differences in almost every other thing, their friendship was sincere and lasting The betrayal of the Tamīmīs of the family of al-Muhallab and the downfall of Yazīd b al-Muhallab in 102 (720—721) and the undisguised joy of the Tamīmīs brought Ṭirimmāḥ into opposition with the poet al-Farazdaḳ and in the end after a stinging *hidjāʾ* poem by Ṭirimmāḥ it seems as if al-Farazdaḳ gave up the contest This poem remained for more than a century the pride of the Yamanīs and was continually cited against the Tamīmīs Ṭirimmāḥ's grandson Amān a century later lost a post as secretary in North-Africa when Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab, who claimed to be descended from Tamīm, became governor of North-Africa in 184 (800). The fragmentary state of the *dīwān* of the poet gives us only an imperfect idea of his character, but through some of his verses runs a pious vein, so different from that of his profligate adversary. Verses of his from the descriptive poems, abounding in uncommon words, are often cited in Arab dictionaries as evidence of their existence in the language; but I have been able to ascertain with a fair amount of certainty that Ṭirimmāḥ uses many words which are also found with the same meanings in the poems of his tribesman Abū Zubaid, and of Ibn Muḳbil (Tamīm b. Ubaiy b. Muḳbil al-ʿAdjlānī) whom he may both have known personally in his younger years and we may assume that the words he uses were really found in the speech of some Arab tribes and not newly-coined words, as is frequently the case with Ruʾba.

Bibliography: *The poems of Ṭufail al-Ghanawī and Ṭirimmāḥ b al-Ḥakīm*, ed. F. Krenkow, Leyden 1928; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 156—160; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*. — He is cited in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* more than a hundred times and the *Asās al-Balāgha* of Zamakhsharī alone cites 56 verses, which are not found in the manuscript of the *Dīwān* nor in any other accessible work. (F. KRENKOW)

TIRMIDH, a town on the north bank of the Āmū Daryā [q. v.] near the mouth of the Surkhān. As Samʿānī, who spent 12 days there, testifies, the name was pronounced Tarmīdh in the town itself (*G. M. S.*, xx., fol. 105ᵇ) which is confirmed by the Chinese Ta-mi (e. g. Hiouen Thsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, I, 25). Russian officers in 1889 also heard the pronunciation Termiz or Tarmīz (*Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lvii. 393 and 399). The town is now officially known as Termez.

Tirmidh does not seem to have been touched by Alexander the Great and is not mentioned in antiquity, although its foundation was afterwards ascribed to Alexander. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (q. v.; text by Barthold in *al-Muẓaffarīya*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 20) not only Tirmidh but also Burdāghūy, not far from it on the river, was built by Alexander; Burdāghūy is said to be a Greek word and to mean "inn" (*mihmānkhāna*) (? Greek παραδυχεῖον?).

At the time of the Muslim conquest Buddhism was predominant in Tirmidh; there were 12 monasteries and about 1,000 monks there (Hiouen-Thsang, *loc. cit.*). Tirmidh was then under an important ruler who bore the title Tirmidh-Shāh (Ṭabarī, ii. 1147; *B. G. A*, vi. 39); there was a powerful fortress on the bank (Ṭabarī, ii. 1147). In the year 70 (689–690), Tirmidh was conquered by Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, who had thrown off allegiance to the Muslim government, and ruled for 15 years by him (cf. Balādhurī, p. 417 *sqq.*; Ṭabarī, ii. 1145 *sqq.*) Only towards the end of 85 (704) did ʿUthmān b. Masʿūd by order of the governor al-Mufaḍḍal b al-Muhallab succeed in taking the town for the government. In this fighting and in later sieges and bridge-building, the island at Tirmidh, called in the Arab period Djazīrat ʿUthmān, played an important part; in the Özbeg period the island is called Orta-Aral or Orta-Aralī ("middle island") (J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns* etc, St. Petersburg 1824, text, p. 20, and the passages quoted from manuscripts in Barthold, *K istorii oroshenīya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914). The worship of the prophet Dhu 'l-Kifl (*B. G. A*, iii. 291) mentioned as early as the fourth (tenth) century in Kālif, was transferred here; after this cult, the island is now called Aral Paighambar ("island of the prophet").

On geographical conditions in the fourth (tenth) century cf especially *B.G.A.*, i. 298 and iii. 291 Tirmidh was an important port on the Āmū-Daryā, boats were built and exported from there (*B. G. A.*, iii. 325, 7). Like Balkh, Tirmidh was noted for its soap (*op. cit.*, p. 324). Two natives of Tirmidh have attained fame in Muslim literature the author of the famous collection of traditions Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī [q. v.] (d. 279 = 892) and the traditionist and mystic ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī [q. v] d. 255 (869); cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 164. The latter's tomb, probably erected in the ninth (xvth) century is now the finest building in the ruins of Tirmidh and one of the most beautiful in Central Asia (picture e.g. in *Izv. Geogr. Obshč.*, xliv., 1908, on p. 652 with a Russian translation of the inscriptions and in Barthold, *Islam*, St. Petersburg 1918, p. 57). The inscriptions give us in part what we are told about Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* (*Pers. Hist. Texts*, v. 93) of Farīd al-Dīn Aṭṭār [q. v.], and in the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (lith., p. 77) of Djāmī [q. v.]; we are further told that he studied under the same scholars as al Bukhārī, which Samʿānī (*G. M. S.*, xx. 106ᵃ) refers to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

Tirmidh afterwards shared the political history of Khorāsān and Mā warā al-Nahr, sometimes, as at the present day, the Oxus frontier and sometimes the connection with Balkh being of greater importance. Under Mahmūd and his immediate successors Tirmidh like other dependencies of Balkh north of the Oxus belonged to the empire of the Ghaznawids [q. v.]. When as a result of the battle in the desert of Ḳaṭwān near Samarḳand (5th Ṣafar 536 = Sept. 9, 1141) rule over Mā warā al-Nahr passed to the Ḳara-Khitai [q. v], Tirmidh remained the Saldjūḳs as is shown by the fact that Sulṭān Sandjar [q. v] sought refuge here in 551 (1156). Tirmidh was later in the possession of the Ḳara Khitai from whom it was taken in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿd 601 (June—July 1205) by ʿImād al-Dīn ʿOmar governor of Balkh for the Ghōrids [q. v.] (Ibn al Athīr, xii 135) ʿImād al-Dīn's son Bahrām Shāh (the name occurs in Nasawī, ed Houdas, p. 39 was appointed governor of Tirmidh. The ver next year it was taken by the Khʷārizmshāh Muḥammad, then allied with the Ḳara Khitai, and handed over to the latter, according to Ibn al Athīr (xii. 152 *sq.*), this news provoked great indignation against the Khʷārizmshāh throughout the Muslim world. According to Djuwainī (*G.M.S* xvi/ii. 64), the town was surrendered by the governor on the advice of his father to ʿOthmān Khān of Samarḳand, in Mīrkhʷānd (*Hist. des sultans du Khorezm*, ed. by Defrémery, Paris 1842 p 51 *sq.*) the Khʷārizmshāh is mentioned in place of the Khān After the fall of the empire of the Kara Khitai, Tirmidh belonged to the empire of the Khʷārizmshāh; in the autumn of 1220 it was taken and completely destroyed by the Mongols In Djuwainī's narrative (*G. M S.*, xvi 102) of the conquest it is mentioned that half of the city walls are in the middle of the river.

A few years earlier, we have the first reference to the saiyids of Tirmidh whose importance was not affected even by the Mongol conquest. When the Khʷārizmshāh Muḥammad had quarrelled with the caliph Nāṣir, he proclaimed through the learned men of his empire that the ʿAbbāsids had appropriated by unjust means the power, which really belonged to the descendants of ʿAlī. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk one of the great saiyids (*az sādāt-i buzurg*) of Tirmidh, was appointed caliph (*G. M. S*, xvi/i 97, 122). The appointment had no further consequences and we know nothing of the life or end of this anti-caliph. In the *Taʾrikh-i Guzīda* of Hamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*G. M S.*, xiv/i 496) he is called Saiyid ʿImād al-Dīn Tirmidhī

In the next century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [q. v.] (ed Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 48) records happenings in the Čaghatāi [q v.] kingdoms. ʿAlī al-Mulk Khudāwand-zāde, a descendant of Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Tirmidh is mentioned. He said to have thrust himself upon the Khān Khalil Allāh at the head of 4,000 Muslims and to have been appointed vizier by him. The members of his house are also called Khudāwand-zāde in later times (in the *Ẓafar-nāma*, Ind. ed., i. 210, pas and in the *Bābur-nāma*, facs. Beveridge, fol. 20 contracted to Khān-zāde. The full form is found in the oldest recensions of the *Ẓafar-nāma*, composed in Timūr's time [*Tekstī po istorii Sredn*

Azii, St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 131 and 199]). In the *Ẓafar-nāma* the "Khān-zāde" Abu 'l-Maʿālī and his brother ʿAlī Akbar are several times mentioned; in 1371 Abu 'l-Maʿālī was banished for his share in a campaign against Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i 231), but his exile was not of long duration; in the very next year we find him taking part in Tīmūr's campaign against Khwārizm (*op cit.*, p 241) A Khān-zāde ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk is again mentioned later; Tīmūr stayed at his home on his return from his Indian campaign in 1399 and from the campaign in the west in 1404 (*op. cit*, ii 190 and 593). In 1487 Aḥmad Mīrzā married a wife of the house of the Saiyids (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 206).

In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūta, when Balkh was still in ruins, Tirmidh had already recovered from its destruction by the Mongols; the town was not rebuilt on its old site but two Arab miles from the river; it was a fine large town with prosperous inhabitants (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii 56 *sq*) Among the ruins of this town is the mausoleum described by A. A. Semenov (*Protokoli Turk. Kružka Lyub. Arkh.*, xix. 3 *sqq* with pictures) with the tombs of the saiyids now called Sultan-Sadat (probably *Sulṭān-i Sādāt*). The descendants of the saiyids now live in the village (according to the latest census 724 inhabitants) of Ṣāliḥābād near Tirmidh. A Semenov obtained from them a manuscript genealogy and history of their house ending on the 4th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1046 (29th April 1637). According to this MS., the saiyid Ḥasan al-Emīr, son of the emīr Husain, came to Samarḳand in 235 (849—850) and thence went to Balkh and Tirmidh in 246 (860—861) We are told something of his relations with the Sāmānids, with a number of anachronisms; for the rest, the genealogy only contains names (Sultān-sādāt occurs in it as a woman's name) without facts or historical associations.

In the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i 57) "Old Tirmidh" (*Tirmidh-i Kuhna*) is mentioned alongside of Tirmidh. In literary works, including the MS just mentioned, and on coins Tirmidh after the Mongol period is frequently called "The Men's Town" (*madīnat al-riḏjāl*) After Tīmūr's death, the Oxus frontier again came into prominence for a brief period. Khalīl Sultān who had seized Samarḳand could only hold the territory north of the Āmū-Daryā. During the preparations for war between him and Shāhrukh [q. v], Khalīl Sulṭān in 810 (1407) restored old Tirmidh and Shāhrukh, the defences of Balkh (Ibn ʿArabshāh, Egypt. ed, p. 205 *sq*). It is to this period that probably belongs the memorial to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī.

From the xth (xvith) century Tirmidh, and as a rule Balkh also, belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs. During the fighting for Balkh between the Özbegs and the Indian prince (later emperor) Awrangzēb [q v.] in 1646 and 1647, Tirmidh was occupied by Indian troops under Saʿādat Khān (Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii 79, also Barthold, in *Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc., 1921, p. 204)

In the early years of the xviiith century Tirmidh was in possession of Shīr ʿAlī of the Ḳunghrat family, the founder of the town of Shīrābād (*Z. D M.G.*, xxxviii. 276). A distinction was made at this time between the "great citadel" (*ḳalʿa-i ḳalān*) of Tirmidh and the "citadel of the village" (?) where the bulk of the inhabitants (of Tirmidh ?) lived. The unsettled condition of the following decades brought about the complete ruin of Tirmidh as of many other towns. In 1758 Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān rebuilt the town (Barthold, *K istorii oroshéniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 74); it was afterwards destroyed once more.

In the second half of the xixth century, there was nothing near the ruins of the old town of Tirmidh except the insignificant village of Patta Hiṣār (with 1,257 inhabitants) and Ṣāliḥābād (cf. above). Patta Hiṣār acquired more importance when it was made the starting point of the Russian steamships on the Āmū-Daryā In 1894 the Russian fort of Termez was built 5 miles from the ruins and gradually became a town, but with a predominantly male population (according to the last census. 8,052 men and 2,069 women). In 1916 the Bukhārā–Ḳaʾshī–Termez railway was opened; during the revolution it was destroyed but has since been rebuilt. The excavations conducted on behalf of the Moscow Museum for Oriental Culture have yielded important results, among other things, objects of the Buddhist period have been found.

Bibliography. In addition to the references in the text G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 440 *sq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G.M.S.*, N. S., v. 74 *sqq.* and index. — On the excavations. cf. B. Denke, *Termez Novïy Vostok*, xxii. (1928), p 208 *sqq.*; *Kul'tura Vostoka*, N° 1 (1927), p. 9 *sqq.*; N°. 2 (1928), p 3 *sqq.*

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ B. SAWRA B. SHADDĀD, the author of one of the canonical or semi-canonical collections of traditions. The *nisba* al-Tirmidhī connects him with Tirmidh, a place on the upper Āmū Daryā, at a distance of 6 leagues from Balkh (about 37° Lat. N and 67° Long. E. from Greenwich; cf. Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and transl Le Strange, *G. M. S.*, xxiii., index, s. v.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 440 *sq.* and map ix., facing p. 433), where he is said to have died in 279 (892—893); according to other reports, he died at Būgh, one of the boroughs of Tirmidh, in 275 (888—889), or in 270 (883—884).

Of his life very little is known. It is said, that he was born blind but also, that he lost his eyesight in his later years. He travelled widely, in Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ and Ḥiḏjāz, in order to collect traditions. Among his masters were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal [q. v.], al-Bukhārī [q. v.] and Abū Dāwūd al-Siḏjistānī [q. v.].

Two of his works have been printed· his collection of traditions (Cairo 1292, in 2 vols.; lithogr., Mirtah 1283, fol.) and his *Shamāʾil*, a collection of traditions concerning the person and the character of the Prophet (Cairo 1306, with a commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim Djassūs, entitled. *al-Fawāʾid al-Djalīla al-Bahīya ʿala 'l-Shamāʾil al-Muḥammadīya*; and *ibid.*, 1318 with 2 commentaries: the first, entitled *al-Wasāʾil*, by ʿAlī b. Sulṭān Muhammad al-Karī; the second by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī; for other editions and commentaries, see Brockelmann, *G. A L*, i. 162) Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, mentions also a collection of forty traditions; it does not appear whether this was made by himself or by others. In Arabic sources other works on various subjects — asceticism, names and *kunya*'s,

law, history — are ascribed to him, none of which seems to have come down to us.

His collection of traditions bears the title of *ṣaḥīḥ* in the edition printed at Cairo, elsewhere it is called *djāmiᶜ*; it deserves the latter qualification (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Stud.*, ii. 231, note 2), at it comprises, besides traditions on law, also some concerning other topics. A glance at the list of chapters shows that nearly one half of the work is devoted to such subjects as dogmatic theology (*Ḳadar*, *Ḳiyāma*, *Djanna*, *Djahannam*, *Īmān*, *Ḳurʾān*), popular beliefs (*Fitan*, *Ruʾya*), devotion (*Zuhd*, *Thawāb al-Ḳurʾān*, *Daᶜawāt*), manners and education (*Istiʾdhān*, *Adab*), hagiology (*Manāḳib*).

The work contains far fewer traditions than those of Bukhārī or Muslim, but also less repetitions It is chiefly two chapters that are particularly extensive, viz. *Manāḳib* and *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*; they are lacking in the other three *Sunan* (by this title the four collections of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Nasāʾī and Ibn Mādja are sometimes denoted). Though traditions showing a predilection for ᶜAlī are not rare, those which favour Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and ᶜUthmān are not lacking

By two features, however, Tirmidhī's work is distinguished· the critical remarks concerning the *isnād*'s and the points of difference between the *madhhab*'s, which follow every tradition On account of the latter feature, Tirmidhī's *Djāmiᶜ* may be called the oldest work on *ikhtilāf* that has come down upon us; the remarks on this subject occurring in Shāfiᶜī's *Kitāb al-Umm* are much less complete and scarcely authentic

According to the *Takrīb*, as cited by Goldziher (*Muhamm Stud.*, ii. 252, note 1), the MSS. are not uniform in reproducing Tirmidhī's remarks on the *isnād*'s (*ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan. gharīb*, *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan gharīb*, *ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*). The author gives no explanation of the principles upon which his distinctions are based. The work opens with an enumeration of the authorities, which have handed it down to the final redactor. It closes with a brief eulogistic formula

Bibliography. al-Samᶜānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, *G M S*, xx, fol 106ᵃ, Dhahabī, *Tabaḳāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wustenfeld, part iii., p. 57, N⁰. 3; do, *Mīzān al-Iᶜtidāl*, Cairo 1325, iii. 117, N⁰ 1021; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aᶜyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N⁰. 624; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ᶜAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1326, ix. 387—389, No. 236; do., *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, lithogr. Delhi, no year, p. 230ᵇ; Ibn Khatīb al-Dahsha, *Tuhfat dhawī 'l-ᶜArab*, ed. T. Mann, p. 143; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 250 *sqq*. (A. J Wensinck)

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b ᶜAlī b. Ḥusain, known as al-Ḥakīm (the wise), a Sunnī theologian of Khurāsān, a *muḥaddith*, a jurist of the Ḥanafī school and a mystic, d in 285 (898) Some thirty of his works still exist in manuscript; their style is somewhat prolix but they are very fully documented.

In his *Nawādir al-Uṣūl* and his *Khatm al-Wilāya*, he attempts to give an orthodox mystical exegesis of certain gnostic themes (developed by the extremist Shiᶜīs) like the pre-existence of the *Nūr Muḥammadī* and the *Ḥaḳīḳa Ādamīya*, the value of the 28 letters of the alphabet, angelology, the criteria of the state of "sanctity" which he was the first to study *ex professo* under the technical name of *wilāya* (borrowed from the Shiᶜa); in it he gives a particular role to Jesus.

He tries to explain rationally the form of the canonical rites in his *ᶜIlal al-ᶜUbūdīya* (which were condemned), *Sharḥ al-Ṣalāt*, *al-Ḥadjdj wa-Asrāruhu*; his curious *Kitāb al-Furūḳ* endeavours to show that there are no true synonyms (which is half-Muᶜtazila) He insists on introspection of the heart and professes a very high morality; his *Kitāb al-Akyās* castigates the different professing categories of hypocrisy and refutes the *ḥiyal* of the casuists of the time He was the author of the first collection of biographies on the history of Ṣūfīism but this work is only known from quotations

He is the true precursor of Ibn ᶜArabī who three centuries later studied him closely and admired him

Bibliography Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, ed Shukovski, 1926, p 177—179, 265 *sqq* ; transl Nicholson, 1911, p 141–142, 210 *sqq*.; Amedroz, in *J R.A.S*, 1912, p 584, L Massignon, *Essai sur . . la mystique musulmane*, 1922, p. 256—264; do., *Textes inédits . . .*, 1929, p. 33—39 and add. (L Massignon)

TIRMIDHĪ, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn, a Ṣūfī, also known as Sayyid Husain Tirmidhī, Sayyid Sirdān, or Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ, a native of Tirmidh and a disciple of Mawlānā Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad After studying for some time with the latter he spent a long time in ascetic practices and finally settled in Tirmidh where pupils gathered around him After the death at Konya of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad (628 = 1231), Burhān al-Dīn went to Ḳonya (629—630) in response to the appeal of his late master's spirit and undertook the spiritual education of the young Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī who up till then had been studying law and literature. After nine years, in spite of the appeals of Mawlānā, he retired to Kaisarīya It is evident from his biographies that he was in this town when the Mongols took Ḳaisarīya and made a general massacre here (the MSS. of Munedjdjim Bāshī, *Djāmiᶜ al-Duwal*, N⁰ 5019 and 5020 of the *Kitābkhāne-i ᶜumūmī* say that this event took place in 641 [1243]; for the details cf *Recueil de textes rel à l'histoire des Seldj* , ed. Houtsma, iv. 241). Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, the Saldjuḳ governor of Ḳaisarīya, was the patron and disciple of Burhān al-Dīn. It was he who saw to the performance of his funeral rites and built his tomb. We do not know the exact date of his birth nor can we determine accurately that of his death. Ewliyā Čelebī says that the *maḳām* of Sayyid Burhān Tirmidhī was in Kaisarīya and that he died in 474 which is clearly wrong. At the present day there is in Konya near the *turbe* known as the Tātār-khānīler Türbesi, a *turbe* called Burhān al-Dīn Turbesi, although there is no inscription on the latter, it has always been regarded as that of Sayyid Burhān Tirmidhī. Dawlatshāh, who regards Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ as the *shaikh* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and of Mawlānā, says that he accompanied them on their travels in Syria and to the Ḥidjāz and that he died and was buried in Syria. This is not in keeping with the facts (Dawlatshāh, ed. Browne, p. 194; Bombay edition, p. 86; and quoting Dawlatshāh: Fehīm, *Safīnat al-Shuᶜarāʾ*, Constantinople, Maṭbaᶜa-i ᶜAmire, 1259, p. 82). Sayyid Burhān Tirmidhī owes his fame more especially to the part he plays in the traditions of the Mew-

ravid general Reverter encamped there when he was pursuing the Almohad troops. Al-Idrīsī mentions it as a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) of the Madjaksa It does not seem to have played any special part under the Almohads. In 685 (1286) the Marīnid Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb wanting to create a base for operations against Ceuta, held by the king of Granada, built an important fortress at Tetuan around which his successor the Sulṭān Abū Thābit ʿĀmir in 708 (1308) ordered a town to be built; the historians are not clear as to whether this was the restoration of the old Tetuan which had fallen into ruins or the creation of a new town on a different site. In 1350 Tetuan saw Abū ʿInān, son of the Marīnid Sulṭān ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān, rebel against his father and proclaim himself sovereign. The new town barely lasted a century; it had become at the end of the XIVth century a haunt of pirates, particularly dangerous to Spain on account of their proximity to its coast, in 1400 Henry III of Transtamare, king of Castile, sent a squadron of ships which penetrated into the mouth of the Martīn and destroyed the corsairs' fleet; troops were landed who took the town, destroyed it and carried off many of the inhabitants as prisoners.

Tetuan remained deserted for about eighty years. In 1414 the Portuguese established themselves at Ceuta which was now to be held by Christians After Ferdinand's capture of Granada, in Jan. 1492, many Spanish Arabs went over to Morocco; one of them, a valiant defender of Granada, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mandarī, obtained from the Waṭṭāsid ruler of Fās, Muhammad al-Shaikh, the concession of Tetuan and the lands round it; gathering round him a number of émigrés from Spain, he built a fortress surrounded by ramparts and ditches A new town was soon built with its Friday mosque. With a body of Spanish horsemen and contingents of mountaineers who had joined him, al-Mandarī began to harass the Portuguese at Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Ṣaghīr and Tangier by his raids, taking many prisoners whom he employed on the building of the town Leo Africanus passing through Tetuan saw over 3,000 of them, who were shut up at night in siloes (a quarter of the town is still called *al-Mṭāmār*, "the siloes") After the suppression of the risings of the Muslims of Spain, many came to join al-Mandarī in the last years of the XVth and early years of the XVIth century, especially in 1501 and 1502. To the war by land against the Portuguese was joined that of the corsairs by sea, Tetuan with the adjoining Shafshāwan became one of the principal centres for carrying on the holy war

With the death of al-Mandarī the heroic period of the history of new Tetuan comes to an end; henceforth it was simply a town of bourgeois from Spain whose only desire was to increase their wealth by trade and enjoy in peace the pleasures of arts and letters. Independent and turbulent and favoured by the isolated position of their town, they tried to escape the authority and especially the taxes of the Sulṭān, but whenever they had begun to enjoy a semi-independence, they broke up into factions who afflicted the town and made foreign intervention easy.

Down to the time of the ʿAlawid Sulṭān Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, the supremacy seems to have belonged to he family of al-Naḳsīs, which this ruler had to exterminate. The period of anarchy which followed he death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl saw the fighting between the Ḳāʾid of the Djihād in the Rīf, Ahmad b. al-Baṭṭūyī governor of Tangier, against the Tetuanese commanded by ʿUmar al-Waḳḳāsh; the Rīfian leader finally succeeded in extending his authority over Tetuan. After his death (1743) the Tetuanese resumed their old habits, recognising all the pretenders who appeared in the district In the XIXth century, the important fact for the history of Tetuan is the Spanish-Moorish war of 1859—1860, at the end of which the town was taken by the Spaniards, who occupied it till May 1862. In 1890 Tetuan was visited by the Sulṭān Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. In 1903—1904 it was blockaded by the hillmen of the neighbourhood, who took advantage of the anarchy provoked by the rising of the pretender Abū Himāra. Lastly in 1913, the Spaniards occupied Tetuan which became the capital of their zone of protectorate in northern Morocco and the residence of the Sulṭān's *Khalīfa*.

Tetuan, whose port is Ceuta with which it is connected by railway, is the centre from which the tribes of the Ghumāra and the region of Shafshāwan obtain their supplies of imported goods The local industries, especially the manufactures of brocade and of silk, are declining. The population is about 25,000 of whom 12,000 are Muslims and 4,250 Jews.

Bibliography. All the details of the history and topography of Tetuan and its economic life have been collected by A Joly in the following works for the description see *Tétuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 4, p 199—343. For the history, cf *Archives Marocaines*, vol 5, p 161—264, 311—430; vol. 8, p 404—539; vol. 3, p 266—300 (on the siege of 1903—1904) On the economic life, cf *L'Industrie de Tétuan*, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol 8, p. 196–329; vol. 11, p. 361—393; vol 15, p. 80–156; vol 18, p. 187—256. — Cf. also. Cerdeira, *Inscripciones árabes de Tetuán*, in *Revista de tropas coloniales*, No. 11, Ceuta, Nov. 1925, Cuevas y Espinach, *Colección de estudios referentes al bajalato de Tetuán*, in *Bol. Soc Geogr. Madrid*, vol 39, 1897, p. 49—74; Gomez Moreno, *Descrubrimientos y antiguedades en Tetuán*, in *Revista hispano-africana*, Jan –Feb. 1924; H. Cohn, *Mœurs des Juifs et des Arabes de Tétuan*[2], Paris 1927. (G. S. Colin)

TIYŪL, a term used in the administrative system of Persia (the usual pronunciation *tuyūl* is due to a false assimilation to Arabic plurals of the type *fuʿūl*; in the same way Chardin's translation "perpetual" is due to an erroneous derivation from the Arabic *ṭawīl* "long").

The *tiyūl* (at least in the XIXth century and in principle) is the authorisation granted by the government to an individual to levy his salary or pension directly on the taxes which a village or group of villagers has to pay the treasury. In its simple form the *tiyūl* was a kind of guarantee to secure the payment of the pension. This guarantee was given sometimes simultaneously with the pension and sometimes later as an additional favour. The beneficiary could be a stranger to the village but he might also be its owner. The economic and social history of Persia still remains to be written and we can only indicate a few facts relative to the origin of the word *tiyūl* and the custom to which it gives its name.

Etymology. The word is of eastern Turkī origin. Radloff, *Opît Slovara*, iii., col. 1343, 1380, explains it as "property assigned to any one, allotment" (*das Zuertheilte*) and derives it from

the verb *tī-màk* (= Constantinople Turkish, *deg-mek* > *deymek*). From the point of view of morphology one might compare *tıy-ul* with the word *ḳaıt-ul* "camp" which has also passed into Persian (place to which one returns, from *ḳaıtmaḳ*, "to return"). The word *tıyūl* is not found in the Mongol period for example, it does not occur in Rashīd al-Dīn's chapter on Ghāzān's reforms (MS Bibl. Nat Paris, Suppl Pers, N° 209, fol 405a—443b and d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, IV. 370—477) It is not even found for the period of Tīmūr in the *Ẓafar-nāma* So far as one can see, the word first appears as an official term under the Tīmūrids, cf the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain* under 810 (1407); cf. *N.E.*, XIV., 1843, p. 124–125, where Quatremère studies the word and quotes passages from the *Akbar-nāma* (concluded in 1597) and the *'Ālam-ārā* (which comes down to 1629)

Origin of the institution. Although the name *tıyūl* is comparatively late, the practice to which it is applied existed in the time of the Saldjūḳs or even earlier. The old Turkish word *tıyūl* in the popular language must correspond to an official term like *iḳṭā'* "fief" (plur. *iḳṭā'āt*) which it finally supplanted The Arabic term *iḳtā'* disappears just at the time when the terms *sıyūrghāl* (cf below) and *tıyūl* come into general use

In chap. V. of the *Sıyāsat-nāma*, Nizām al-Mulk thus defines the prerogatives of feudatories (*muḳta'ān*). "they must know that their statutory rights (*az farmān*) over the peasants (*ra'āyā*) are simply the levying in a mild fashion of the legal dues (*māl-ı ḥaḳḳ*) which have been assigned (*ḥawālat*) to the feudatories. These dues having been levied, the cultivators remain free (*amān*) in all that concerns their bodies, their wives and children. Their property — goods and lands (*asbāb wa-ḍıyā'*) — is also free and the *muḳta'ān* have no claim on it". The *iḳṭā'* is thus reduced to the right to levy the dues (*māl-ı ḥaḳḳ*) payable by the cultivators. This form of *iḳṭā'* (we do not know if it was the only one!) very much resembles the *tıyūl* of a later date. In the Mongol period, Rashīd al-Dīn quotes the text of the decree of 703 (1303) by which Ghāzān Khān created the military fiefs (*iḳṭā'*). This edict distinguishes between crown lands (*indjū* and *dīwānī*), those of private individuals and of the *waḳf*, and those which are uncultivated. As to the first category the lands of the peasants (*ra'āyā*) continued to enjoy their rights but paid all their dues (*bahra*, *māl*, *kobčur*, *mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*) to the military feudatories (*čarıkıyān*; on the meaning of a number of these terms cf. Barthold, *Nadpis na mečeti Manuče, Aniskıya seriya*, N°. 5, St. Petersburg 1911, p 32 *sq*) in place of sending them to the treasury. This practice is also very close to the *tıyūl* although in 703 it formed part of a whole system of privileges which formed the counterpart of military service (d'Ohsson, IV, p. 424, §§ 1—9).

Tıyūl, a financial expedient. The regular *tıyūl* is characterised by the simplification of the process, which is gradually transformed into a simple financial expedient in proportion as the number of payments increases and the central treasury finds a difficulty in making them in specie Chardin, V 416, for example, explains the origin of "payments by assignments" as mainly due to scarcity of currency.

The nature of the *tıyūl* (i e. of the right to appropriate the taxes of a village) was often complicated by privileges granted at the same time to the *tıyūldār* (e. g. that of administering public domains on his own account). This explains the vagueness of the definitions given it by European observers.

Chardin translates the word *tıyūl* by "assignation de terre" and distinguishes two categories of *tıyūl* "for these estates are either the apanage of the charge, the great charges having all the lands which are annexed to them for the payment of wages and which remain perpetually attached to the charge, or they are assigned at the will of the treasury". In the latter case also, the payments had a character of perpetuity for a series of years. Chardin with much perspicacity criticises the system and concludes (p. 418) "the lands which are assigned for payment of salaries are not under the inspection of the king's men; they are as if they were the private property of the man to whom they are granted He arranges about the revenue as he likes with the inhabitants of the place".

Similarly Kaempfer (1684—1688) enumerates three kinds of salaries in Persia: *barāt* (claims on remote provinces), *hama sāla* (lands yielding only the amount of the pension) and *tıyūl*. These "*tawıl seu tıyuul*" which correspond, broadly speaking, to Chardin's first category are the lands (*pagi*, *praedia vel fundi*) given to dignitaries of state (*ministris regni*) who during the term of their service enjoy possession of them (!) and of their taxes (*ut durante servitio eorum possessione et annonâ gaudeant*) and only draw from these lands (belonging to the Amīr) a revenue equal to 2 to 10 times their salary.

Sıyūrghāl A distinction must be made between *tıyūl* and the document by which the privilege was granted; this usually was given the Turco-Mongol name of *sıyūrghāl* (favour) (or perhaps *in'ām*?), cf Chardin, VI. 65 (who limits the meaning too much) and Budagov, I. 650. The firmān of Shāh Husain Safawī dated 1113 [1701] (publ. by Khanykow, *Mél. Asiat.*, III 1859, p. 70–76) may be taken as a specimen of a *sıyūrghāl* (the only name for it used in the text of the document). the beneficiary has to put at the Shāh's disposition seven armed men; for this he is allotted the annual sum of 6 tūmāns, 3 hazār and 96 dīnārs and a half representing the taxes of the district of Dizmār. The peasants have to pay their taxes (*māl-wadjahāt* [?] *wa-wudjūhāt wa-huḳūḳ-ı dīwān*) to the beneficiary of the *sıyūrghāl* and the agents of the government are not to interfere with the exercise of this privilege. Thus the favour of the monarch (*sıyūrghāl*) constitutes the *tıyūl* of the beneficiary.

XIXth Century. For the beginning of the XIXth century we have confirmation of the exact sense of *tıyūl* in Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabrız*, *J. R. G S.*, X., 1840, p. 5: "*tıyūl* is a grant of the crown revenues of any town or district; the individual receiving the grant is usually entrusted with its realization, though not necessarily so. The grant also extends only to his own lifetime, unless otherwise specified. It is calculated that about a fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia is at present thus alienated from the crown". But very often the *tıyūl* proper continued to be associated with other privileges accorded to the same beneficiary, which disguised the extent of the *tıyūl*. Dr. Polak who himself nearly became a *tıyūldār* thus defines *tıyūl*. "ebenfalls Kronland,

dessen Ausnutzung aber einzelnen Personen statt des baaren Gehalts überlassen wird".

The system of *tiyūl* gave rise to all kinds of abuse. The landed proprietors of Persia are an intermediate class between the state and the peasants. The latter are regarded as the serfs (*raʿīyat*) of the proprietor. The latter (*arbāb*) exercised certain administrative rights and among others himself collected all the taxes due from the peasants. Of the sums raised he retained the amount due to him as owner (*māliyāt-i arbābī*) and handed the rest over to the treasury (*māliyāt-i dīwānī*). If a *tiyūl* is added to this system, the *tiyūldār* and the proprietor, two private individuals, arranged between themselves without the intermediary of the government, if the two titles coincided, the "owner-tiyūldār" escaped the financial control of the state and became a kind of feudal lord whose domains formed an enclave on territory governed by the local representatives of the central government. The *tiyūl* often led to the transformation of its holder into a landed proprietor As the favour of *tiyūl* (especially in the xixth century) was granted to *personae gratae* at the court, their privilege put them in a position to extend and strengthen their influence. In the rare cases where the peasants were the proprietors of the soil (*ḵẖurda-mālik*) the impossibility of resisting stronger neighbours or the oppression of government agents often forced them to seek out a powerful *tiyūldār*, who would grant them his protection, but very often this protection ended in the disappearance of their rights as small owners The *tiyūl* was as a rule given for life, when the heirs of the *tiyūldār* were able to get the *tiyūl* extended to them it was usually reduced by a third. In the course of several generations this led to the extinction of the *tiyūl* but the heirs easily found means to prevent the disappearance or the diminution of their privilege. The *tiyūl* on the state domains (*ḵẖāliṣa*) liberally granted by the government finally led to the almost complete disappearance of the *ḵẖālṣa* in several localities, as for example in Ādharbāidjān (Tigranow)

Bogdanov alone finds extenuating circumstances in the practice of *tiyūl* (the presents given by the *tiyūldār* to the government might be greater than the total of the taxes, which would otherwise have reached the capital; the *tiyūldār* protected the peasants against the extortion of government agents), but the disadvantages of this mediaeval system were too obvious and the Madjlis at its first assembly on June 1907 hastened to decree that all *tiyūl* should return to the state, which was done

Bibliography: Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, 1811, v. 380, 411, 416—420; vi. 56, Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgoviae 1712, fasc. i., relatio vii, § 3, p. 97—98; Fraser, *Journey into Khorasan*, London 1825, p. 211, Polak, *Persien*, ii 122; Budagov, *Slovar turetsko-tatar. narečiy*, 1869, i. 424; Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 470, 474, 484, 488; Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des Pers. Staats*, Berlin 1904, p 349; Browne, *The Persian Revolution*, 1910, p. 143; Tigranow, *Iz obščest.-ekonom otnošeniy v Persii*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 82–85 (a very thorough study of the social and economic structure of the province of Ardabīl); Sultanzade, *La question agraire en Perse* (in Russian), *Nowyi Vostok*, Moscow 1922, Nº. 1, p. 138—140.

(V. Minorsky)

TLEMCEN, in Arabic Tilimsān, from the Berber *tilmas* (pl. *tilmisān* and *tilmasīn*), "spring, well of water" is the "town of the springs". The old town a few hundred yards E.N.E. of the modern town was called both Tlemcen and Agādīr, the latter, the old Phoenician name, which passed into Berber with the meanings given above [cf. AGADIR] and also that of "steep cliff or plateau", which corresponds exactly to the position of the place on a slightly inclined plateau rising abruptly from the plain which it commands to N. and E. Perhaps we may see in this name of Agādīr the origin of the Arab legend which calls Tlemcen al-Djidār or Madīnat al-Djidār and makes it the scene of the meeting between Moses and al-Khaḍir (q. v. and cf. Kur'ān, xviii. 64 *sqq.*). The following other names of this town may also be noted: Pomaria "the orchards", of the little town which the Romans had there and which is found in some Latin inscriptions found on the site of Agādīr; — Tāgrārt, "the camp" (Berber), given in the xiith century A D. by the conquering Almoravids who founded the modern Tlemcen and its principal Mosque when they were besieging the older Tlemcen, i e Agādīr, — and lastly that of Manṣūra or al-Maḥallat al-Manṣūra (Arabic), the "Victorious" or "Victorious Camp", a town 250 acres in area built by the Marīnids of Fās a mile to the west with a great mosque, a palace and a walled fort at the end of the xiiith century and beginning of the xivth, at the time of their first and great siege of Tlemcen Of the three successive towns forming Tlemcen, Agādīr in the east, Tāgrārt in the centre and Manṣūra to the west, only the central one has survived and retained the name Tlemcen.

Geographical position. Tlemcen lies in 1° 30′ W. Long. of Greenwich and 34° 53′ N. Lat It is 2,600 feet above sea-level It is built on the north flank of a ridge of the massif of Tlemcen facing the sea, which can be seen 30 miles to the north, on the ravine which the Tafna makes in the chain along the coast. The massif of Tlemcen is a geographical unity; it consists of parallel chains running S W to N. E. which rise by stages towards the south from 400 feet just behind Tlemcen to 6,000 commanding the steppe of Alfa in the south. This Jurassic massif is bounded on the south by the ancient alluvial formations of the steppes, in the W. and N. and E by the argilacious plains of the Cartenian (Marnia) period, of the Cartenian and Middle Myocene (Hennaya) and Lower Eocene, of the Helvetian and Pleistocene alluvial deposits of Lamoricière and Bel-Abbès. From its geological formation of Dolomitic limestones resting on porous sandstones resting on clays and gravels so suitable for the collection of the rain water in vast subterranean basins, the Tlemcenian massif is a vast reservoir which distributes during the long summer the precious liquid from the countless springs, which never fail and give the region of Tlemcen for miles around the town the beautiful orchards and rich vegetable gardens which constitute its fortune and the luxuriant vegetation and beautiful woods which adorn it.

The Jurassic massif, down the slopes of which run perennial rivers (Tafna, Mafrūsh, Wād-Shūli, Wād-Isser) with their waterfalls and which is covered with forests (oaks of various kinds, thuyas, terebinths, wild olives etc.) and which gives a home to a large fauna (lynx, hyena, jackal, fox, wild boar and other smaller quadrupeds as well

as countless birds). In the mountains are also many subterranean galleries, caves and caverns filled with pigeons and sometimes affording shelter to the animals and homes to the natives.

The soil is fertile and the flora varied: in the orchards of Tlemcen the trees and plants of the Mediterranean coast are grown as well as the species of Central Europe. The average annual rainfall is about 26 inches. It is spread over all the months of the year but is very low in July, August and September, which only have a few thundershowers. Snow makes a brief appearance each winter. The climate is healthy and invigorating and especially beneficial to anaemic or neurasthenic people.

History. A situation so favourable for human habitation has naturally been occupied by man for millenia. Almost everywhere traces of prehistoric man have been found; but there is still much to be found in this region, so far little explored from this point of view and especially in the numerous caves, none of which, so far as I know, has been systematically excavated.

We know very little about the Roman Pomaria of which a few inscribed stones survive nor of its divinity Aulisva (called on the inscriptions *deus invictus* and *deus sanctus*) nor of the body of cavalry which garrisoned it.

Nothing is known of the history of Tlemcen between the Roman period and the Muslim conquest. If we do not know how Islām penetrated into this region in the viiith century A.D. we know no more about the Sofrī Berber principality whose chief in the viiith century was Abū Ḳurra. We know that on several occasions this emīr of Tlemcen at the head of his Zenāta Khāridjīs undertook military expeditions to the east as far as the Zāb and Ifrīḳiya.

Sunnī Islām was definitely established in Tlemcen and its vicinity at the end of the viiith century. Idrīs I "built a fine mosque in which he put a beautiful pulpit" in 790 Henceforth Tlemcen-Agādīr was the seat of a Muslim provincial government which experienced all the vicissitudes of the central and western Maghrib.

Modern Tlemcen (Tāgrārt) founded at the end of the xith century by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn developed considerably and the Almohads at the end of the vith (xiith) century surrounded this town (Tāgrārt) with a rampart, for Agādīr already had its own walls.

Of the Almoravid Tlemcen, which was a centre of theological and legal studies (1081—1144) in which celebrated masters flourished, there remains as an expression of religion in art, the great mosque with its vigorous and elegant floral epigraphic ornamentation of carved slabs around the *miḥrāb*. It was about 55 years after the occupation of Tlemcen that the Almohads finished the decoration of this part of the great mosque as we know from a beautiful inscription running round the cornice of the drum of the dome in front of the *miḥrāb* giving the date 530 (1135 A.D.).

It is remarkable that the great builders of beautiful monuments like the Almohads have left no trace of their rule in Tlemcen (1144—1236) except the solid rampart of terre pisé around the town. No building in Tlemcen or its immediate neighbourhood can be attributed to them. It was during this period (1197) that the great mystic, Abū Madyan [q. v.] of al-Andalus, who is buried at Tlemcen, became the patron saint of the town.

In the first half of the viith (xiiith) century when the Almohad empire, weakened by lack of energy and authority in its rulers, was being exposed to the attacks of nomad Berber tribes in the west and the Ḥafṣid governors of Ifrīḳiya rebelled against the imperial authority and declared themselves independent, the Zenāta tribes of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād [cf. ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS] in the Central Maghrib and the Banū Marīn [cf. MARĪNIDS] successively formed two kingdoms having Tlemcen and Fās as capitals.

In spite of the almost continual attacks, often successful, of which Tlemcen and the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom were the objects during the viith (xiith) and viiith (xivth) century, especially from their Ḥafṣid neighbours in Tunis and the Marīnids of Fās, the kings of this Tlemcen dynasty found time to embellish their capital with various buildings, some of which still exist. They also cultivated the sciences and founded *madrasa*s for students, one of which, in the village of al-ʿUbbād near Tlemcen to which the great historian of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldūn, retired for a time, still exists. They realised the commercial importance of Tlemcen for relations with the Sahara, the high plateaus and the Tell and entertained constant relations with Spain through their port of Ḥunain, they also did not fail to take advantage of the favourable position of the town for trade with east and west since it was on the great natural road from east to west.

Tlemcen was not only a centre of trade, a market for the products of the country around, but its own industries produced articles which were much sought after as they still are. At the time of the emigration of the Moors from Spain in the ixth (xvth) century, Tlemcen received an important contingent of them, which gave it renewed activity in various fields (learning, industry, art, literature and music, agriculture, etc.).

Unfortunately this town so well gifted by nature and climate was never able, even at the height of its power when it was the capital of the central Maghrib, to spread Muslim culture as one would have expected. This was because it was surrounded by nomad tribes in a continual state of agitation: Berbers of the Zenāta or Hilālī Arabs, the latter especially were much too turbulent neighbours and politically too unreliable for the capital to enjoy for sufficiently long periods the peace necessary to develop its culture.

The Turks and Christians of Spain disputed Tlemcen at the beginning of the xth (xvith) century. The last ʿAbd al-Wādid princes accepted the suzerainty of the Spaniards in Oran. Ṣalāḥ Raʾīs, pasha of Algiers, took final possession of Tlemcen for the Turks in 1555.

With the Turks, Tlemcen entered upon a period of moral and intellectual decay; commerce gradually declined and education ceased; no more fine buildings were erected; a number of public building and palaces were even allowed to fall into ruins. The popular poetry of this period gives an idea of what Tlemcen had become under the military and fiscal rule of the Beys:

"God has sounded Tlemcen's last hour! has He not devoted everything to an irrevocable end? For it the glorious days are over; the days of sadness and misfortune have come. It is ruined, it has perished, ruined by tyranny. It is clothed in mourning and covered with shame; vice has supplanted the former virtues".

In addition to the memory of three centuries of oppression, the Turks have left an important ethnical element in Tlemcen, the Ḳulughlis (Ḳorghli, "son of a slave or of a soldier"), the result of the union of the Turks with the women of the country. The Ḳulughlis still form a quarter of the native Muslim population of the commune of Tlemcen of which they form the most active element, the closest to European in character and the most accessible to progress.

From 1830 to 1833, Tlemcen, rid of Turkish domination, was under the Sulṭān of Morocco. This Moroccan suzerainty was even recognised by the emīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who with the support of the Ḥaḍar (Moors and Berber-Arabs) had succeeded in establishing a precarious authority over Tlemcen.

The French entered Tlemcen for the first time in 1836 but abandoned it on May 30, 1837 (treaty of the Tafna) surrendering it to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's lieutenant. After the breach of the treaty of the Tafna, Bugeaud came and retook Tlemcen on Jan. 31, 1842. Henceforth peace and prosperity reigned in the town which had been ruined by the years of fighting between Muslims (Ḳulughlis and Ḥaḍar). Tlemcen was made a "commune de plein exercice" in 1854 and capital of an arrondissement in 1858 It is now also the capital of a judicial district, of a military subdivision and has a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry (spahis), many educational institutions, banks and agricultural credit offices etc. The population is about 30,000 Muslims, 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Europeans.

The attraction of Tlemcen lies not only in its verdant and picturesque situation but also in its monuments of Muslim art, which make it a regular museum of the best period of Hispano-Moorish decoration and in the public and private life of its Muslim Mālikī population, who have for the most part remained faithful to the manners and customs of their ancestors. No other Algerian town can be compared with Tlemcen in this respect.

Besides the imposing remains of the old ramparts around Agādīr, Tāgrārt and Manṣūra, and the numerous mausoleums of Muslim saints, the following may be mentioned as worthy of the attention of the archaeologist and lover of Muslim art. the great mosque (vi^th^ [xii^th^] century), with its minaret of the vii^th^ (xiii^th^) century, the minaret of the great mosque of Agādīr (vii^th^ [xiii^th^] century), rising on the site of the old mosque founded by Idrīs in the second (eighth) century which is no longer in existence; the mosque of Sīdī Bel-Ḥasan (vii^th^ [xiii^th^] century) with its graceful *miḥrāb*, its elegant minaret and the lovely lacework of its fretted and carved plaster, its floors of cedar in geometrical patterns (this building houses the Museum of Muslim archaeology). The mosque of the Ūlād al-Imām (beginning of the viii^th^ [xiv^th^] century) stood beside the Madrasa al-Ḳadīma which has disappeared. In the town (*intra muros*) one can still admire the *Mashwar*, the fortified palace built in the vii^th^ (xii^th^) century in the highest part of the town by the first ʿAbdalwādid ruler of Tlemcen. Next we may mention for their art, the mosque and sanctuary of Sīdī Brāhīm, the mosque of Sīdī Sanūsī and of Sīdī al-Banna.

In the faubourg (*extra muros*) are to be found further treasures of Muslim art and architecture: 1. the ruins of Manṣūra, this Tlemcen of the west built by the Marīnids of Fās at the end of the vii^th^ (xiii^th^) and beginning of the viii^th^ (xiv^th^) century when laying siege to the ʿAbdalwādids, their relatives and rivals, besides the imposing remains of the flanking towers and of a part of the surrounding walls 4,000 yards in circumference, the ruins of an ancient royal palace, we are particularly struck by the remains of the outer wall and majestic minaret in hewn stone of the vast huge mosque; what still remains, some 120 feet high of this minaret of the beginning of the viii^th^ (xiv^th^) century recalls by its vigour, beauty of decoration, coated with polychrome faiences, Almohad works like the Giralda of Seville, the tower of Ḥasan at Rabaṭ and the Kutūbīya of Marrākush.

2. To the E. S. E. of the town in the Muslim village of al-ʿUbbād still stands in perfect preservation the Mosque of Sīdī Bū Madyan founded by Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the Marīnid lord of Tlemcen for several years; it is dated 1339 A. D ; with the memorial porch of its main entrance, the swinging doors of cedar wood studded with carved bronze work, its halls of prayer with the walls covered with floral and epigraphic arabesques, its ceilings ornamented with protruding bricks, the dome lit by panes of many coloured glass in front of the *miḥrāb*, the minaret patterns traced on its sides in protruding bricks with the remains of paintings and faiences in delicate enamels, this monument, which is exactly dated, is a valuable document for the Muslim art of this period and country. Beside this mosque which the ruler built in honour of the saint whose name it bears, Abu 'l-Ḥasan erected a number of subsidiary buildings: a madrasa (1345 A. D.) quite well preserved in spite of the fact that some of the outer covering of plaster and faience has disappeared, latrines and lavatories, a *ḥammām*, a palace now much decayed but whose splendour is recalled by the remains of its walls richly adorned with plaster and faience. It was here between the mosque and the ruins of the palace that there was buried at the end of the vi^th^ (xii^th^) century the famous mystic, patron saint of Tlemcen, Sīdī Bū Madyan, his mausoleum — an object of pilgrimage for every Muslim passing through Tlemcen — is a building on a square plan covered by a dome in 12 sections surmounted by a roof of green tiles; inside, the walls are covered at the bottom with Italian faience of the xviii^th^ century and at the top with moulded and painted plaster work. Many princes have adorned with some new decoration this hall which the faithful have filled with their gifts The framework of the arch of the door is ornamented with arabesques in plaster of the Turkish period; a well with a border of onyx and four pillars of onyx with capitals supporting the roof stands in front of the mausoleum.

3. To the north of the town at the very foot of the walls in the centre of the Muslim faubourg of Sīdi 'l-Halwī (the name of another great Andalusian mystic) rises another Marīnid mosque, the work of Abū ʿInān, son and successor of the sovereign Abu 'l-Ḥasan. This very well preserved building which, like the other mosques still standing at Tlemcen except that of Sīdī Bel-Ḥasan (now a museum), is still used for worship, is another monument of Marīnid art of the viii^th^ (xiv^th^) century (1353). In the technique of its interior decoration (plaster covering of the walls, ceilings of cedar-wood in compartments covered with geometrical patterns, columns and capitals of onyx which support

the principal hall of prayer and come from Manṣūra) this mosque may be compared with the madrasa of Bū ʿInānīya in Fās, founded by the same ruler at the same time. In the one as in the other of these two monuments we can clearly see signs of the decadence of the Muslim architectural art of Barbary. It is the period when Muslim culture is beginning to lose its hold on Tlemcen as on the rest of the Maghrib. This is not the place to examine the causes. But in the domain of minor arts (weaving, embroidery of gold and silver, ornamentations of articles of copper and wool, wood and metals) Tlemcen long retained an honourable place among the great cities of Islām in North Africa Its countless artisans in these minor arts and industries are still renowned; they still hold the first place for embroidering in gold or silver thread on leather, especially the ornamentation of harness and saddle-cloths for horses for state occasions

The population. One can easily understand that in this old metropolis of Islām, the native population (Muslim and Jewish) always very conservative, has preserved its original character in spite of the material and intellectual development produced by a long contact with Europeans, especially the French

The Muslim population (agriculturalists, artisans, traders, workmen, clerks and minor officials) is the most numerous, it is formed of elements of diverse origins: the Hadar (lit. "citizens") or Moors are the result of the intermarriage of the former Berber occupants of the land with the Arabs, among them are also descendants of the Moors driven from Spain in the viiith (xivth) century and ixth (xvth) century; the negroes, not numerous, descendants of former slaves who came from Tuat and the Sūdān; the Ḳulughlis, since the Turkish occupation. To these may be added an element in the rural suburbs, which are known as *hūz*, whence their name of *haūzī* The whole forms the Muslim community of Tlemcen united by one faith, the same beliefs, a common family law, but deeply divided by racial *ṣoff* and family feuds.

Early converted to Islām and having probably adopted the Arabic language in the Idrīsid period, the people of Tlemcen and its suburbs have always shown themselves greatly devoted to the cult of saints and the practice of magic

The Jewish population has for some centuries been an important community here which, for long oppressed, has preserved its habit of close combination against the foreign and non-Jewish elements around it. The Jews themselves are for the most part of Berber origin belonging to the district or to Morocco. To these have been added from time to time foreign Jews especially Spanish at the emigrations. The old costume is no longer worn except by the old men; the younger generation educated in the French schools has adopted European costume and shown aptitude and willingness to study. All however have remained faithful to their ancestral customs and beliefs, sufficiently close to those of the Muslims, in the belief in spirits and occult powers, in magic, in funeral rites, in the cult of saints and even for usages of family life. As usual throughout North Africa the Jews speak an Arabic dialect; it is here strongly influenced by Moroccan and clearly different in phonetics, morphology, and even lexicography, from the Arabic dialect of the people of Tlemcen and that of the rural districts around it.

To sum up then, Tlemcen, an ancient Berber city converted to Islām in the viith—viiith century using the Arabic language since the third (ixth) century, has since then remained Mālikī (no other Sunnī school or Muslim sect has representatives in Tlemcen) During the middle ages it was an important provincial capital, then the royal capital of a Muslim Berber dynasty of the viith (xiiith) to the xth (xvith) century. From the period of its glory it has retained intact precious monuments and numerous remains of buildings of great interest, traditions and customs, testifying to an established culture of its own.

The coming of the Turks, practically without influence from the cultural point of view, was of importance ethnically The Ḳulughlī (Turkish) element however has been absorbed by the natives so far as customs and religion are concerned but remains distinct from the social point of view and is hostile to the proper native element or *ḥaḍrī* Ḳulughlis and Ḥaḍar do not intermarry or very rarely and are readily distinguishable by intellectual as well as physical features

Next in order of numerical importance to the Muslim group, which is by far the largest, comes the Jewish group, then the French and other Europeans. No more here than in the rest of North Africa is there any fusion between the three great groups by marriage. Religion which for Muslims and Jews decides customs, family life and mental outlook, has established between these two groups and between them and the European element an impassible barrier to reciprocal penetration.

Leading their daily lives side by side, on terms of unrestricted and friendly intercourse bound by common interests of business, these three groups of the Tlemcen population are clearly separated by profound differences in upbringing and private life. If it happens that an individual of the Muslim or Jewish group joins one of the two other groups through change of religion or simply by marriage he becomes to some extent excommunicated and banned from the society to which he formerly belonged and may even be cut off by his own family.

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(Alfred Bel)

TOBNA, a town of Central Morocco, which no longer exists The few traces of it, that survive, lie 3 miles south of Barika (department of Constantine) between the Wādī Barika in the north and the Wādī Bitham in the south The advantages of this position, which commands the passage between the Sahara and the plateaus of the Tell, the Shott Hodna, and the mountains bordering the east of this depression, had been recognised by the Romans. They built here on this site the town of Tubuna, which became a *municipium* in the time of Septimius Severus, and after a fortress had been built there it protected the country from the incursions of the nomads. The Byzantines in turn built a large fortress there and made it the capital of a district governed by a *praefectus limitum*. During the early expeditions of the Arabs, Tobna seems to have been one of the centres of the joint resistance of the Byzantines and Berbers The Arabs however succeeded in taking it, probably at the beginning of the viiith century A D, and in the governorship of ʿOmar b. Ḥafs Hazarmerd (151 = 768) they strengthened its defences This same ʿOmar was besieged three years later by the Khāridjīs, who, however, did not succeed in taking the town, although they repeated their attempts in the years following. Tobna remained in the power of the Arab governors of Kairawān, formed part of the Aghlabid kingdom, belonged to the Fāṭimids, to the Zīrids, and finally fell to the Ḥammādids in 1017.

During the early centuries of Muslim rule, Tobna seems to have been a populous and prosperous town. Yaʿḳūbī mentions it as the capital of the Zāb Al-Bakrī says it is the largest town of the Maghrib between Ḳairawān and Sidjilmāsa. It was, according to his description, surrounded by a brick wall, with monumental gates and flanked on the south side by a castle, built of stone covered by vaulted chambers, provided with cisterns and used as official residences Inside the town were a *djāmiʿa* and a main street with shops and bazaars. Outside lay the suburbs, a cemetery, gardens and fields irrigated by the waters of the Wādī Bitham. The environs were fertile and well tilled, cotton especially being grown. The population consisted of the Afarec, descended from the intermarriage of Romans and Berbers, and of Arabs descended from the soldiers of the *djund* settled in the region. These two elements were however often at loggerheads and the first had the support of the people of Setif and the second of those of Biskra. The Hilālī invasion dealt a decisive blow to the prosperity of Tobna. Sacked in 1064, after the defeat of the Ḥammādids by the Arabs, Tobna rapidly declined. Its importance declined in favour of Biskra and it was not long in disappearing completely.

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TODJIBIDS. [See Tudjīb]

TODMĪR, the name given to the province (*kūra*) of al-Andalus, of which Murcia was the capital down to the time of the breaking up of the Omaiyad caliphate. If we may believe the Arab authors, the word is an Arabic transcription of the name of the Visigoth governor Theodomir, who, at the time of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, was the representative in Murcia of Roderick, king of Toledo He is particularly known for the treaty which he made with Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q v.], the Arabic text of which has been preserved by al-Ḍabbī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī. It was first published by Casiri, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, vol ii, p 106 and has been the subject of an elaborate study by Gaspar Ramiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, p. 11—37.

The *kūra* of Todmīr, according to the Arab geographers, was adjacent to those of Jaen and Elvira and its principal towns were Lorca, Orihuela, Alicante, Cartagena and Murcia. For the history of this part of al-Andalus during the Muslim period see the article MURCIA.

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(E Lévi-Provençal)

TOGHA TIMUR. [See Tughā Timur.]

TOGHRUL. [See Tughrïl.]

TOGHUZGHUZ, a Turkish people. The name was variously written and pronounced. The Arabic notices of the settlements of the Toghuzghuz correspond to the Chinese and later Muslim accounts of those of the Uighur; according to Chinese sources, the Uighur were divided into nine tribes; according to Rashīd al-Dīn (text in *Trudï Vost Otd. Arkh. Obshch.*, vii. 161), the Uighur were divided into two main groups, the On-Uighur (ten-Uighur) and the Toḳuz-Uighur (nine-Uighur). It was on these facts that Grigoryew based his formerly generally accepted view (*Vostočnïy Turkestan*, vïp 2, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 203) that for Tughuzghuz one should read Toghuzghur, which

was a contraction from Toghuz-Uighur. This view was disseminated in western Europe by M. Th. Houtsma in his article „Turks“ in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; he was followed by M. J. de Goeje (*de Muur van Gog en Magog*, Amsterdam 1880 = *Mededeelingen K. Ak. Wet.*, Ser. 3, v. 36—122). In the first five volumes of the *B. G. A.*, de Goeje adopted the reading Toghuzghuz; in vol. vi. (1889) Toghuzghur is used throughout and in vii he went back to Toghuzghuz. In the preface to this volume a few extracts are given from a letter from Th. Noldeke, quoting *Pahlavi Texts*, ii. 329 (*Sacred Books of the East*, xviii.). Noldeke observes that in the book by the Persian high priest Mānōsčihr written in 881 A D (cf now *G. J. Ph.*, ii. 104 where the form is Mānūshtshihar), we find *Tughuzghuz* "in absolutely clear Pāzend script; Ghuz and therefore not Uighur is the form in it". A few years later, the name Toḳuz-Oghuz was found in the newly discovered Orkhon inscriptions The form Toghuzghuz is now perfectly certain; it is equally certain that it contains the name of the Ghuz (Oghuz); nevertheless the view has been recently upheld by several scholars that by Tughuzghuz the Arabs meant the Uighur and no one else. J. Marquart (*Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 390) lays stress on the fact that the first edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih, said to have been written about 232 (846—847), already has the Toghuzghuz in the district to which the Uighur did not come till 866 As the identity of the Toghuzghuz with the Uighur seemed doubtful to him, Marquart thought the explanation was that we really had a recension of the book prepared not earlier than 272 A D. Apart from the references given under GHUZZ, in which the Toghuzghuz appear much farther west than usual (cf. also Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i. 313 on Ṭūlūn, father of Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn [q v] who came from the people of the Toghuzghuz), the Toghuzghuz are also still mentioned in the east in the first half of the ninth century A. D. Muhammad b Mūsā al-Khwārizmī identifies the two Scythias of Ptolemy with the land of the Turks and the land of the Tughuzghuz (*Bibl. arab. Historiker und Geographen*, iii. 105, N⁰ 1600 and 1601) Even the text of Djāhiẓ (d. 869 A. D.) quoted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 91 shows that the Toghuzghuz were regarded as having long been neighbours of the Khalukh As Reinaud (*Relation des Voyages* etc, Paris 1845, *Discours préliminaire*, p. cxxxvii. *sqq*) has shown, what we are told in Arabic sources (e. g. in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i 288 and 365) about the doings of the Toghuzghuz in China refers not to the Uighur but to the Turkish, i e. Oghuz, Sha-tʿo (on this tribe, cf now also E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 96 *sqq.* and 272). In spite of the Chinese references to the nine Uighur tribes, the expression Toḳuz-Uighur has not yet been found in sources of the pre-Mongol period; the Uighur Khān of the viiith century of whom an inscription has been published by Ramstadt, *Zwei uigurische Inschriften aus der Nord-Mongolei*, Helsingfors 1913, p. 13, calls his people On-Uighur Toḳuz-Oghuz.

The name Toghuzghuz, which properly belonged to the predecessors of the Uighur, the Sha-tʿo Turks, seems to have been transferred by the Arabs to the Uighur. The Arabs apparently did not know that the Sha-tʿo had been driven away by the Tibetans and the latter in turn supplanted by the Uighur. From what sources the Arab notices of the Toghuzghuz are taken and to what date they refer has not yet been established; nor is anything known about the date of the journey mentioned by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i. 840 supra) made by Tamīm b. Baḳr al-Muṭawwaʿī to the "Khākān of the Toghuzghuz". The best sources, the account in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* und in Gardīzī have been in part used by Marquart (*op. cit.*, Index under "Toguzguz s Uiguren"). The account in Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, i. 401) is quite different. It is important to note that the only Arab author who writes on Central Asia, not from books but from his own experiences, knows nothing of the Toghuzghuz; on the other hand we find in him the Uighur (without a numeral) hitherto quite unknown to his Arab predecessors Later writers quoting literary sources again mention the Toghuzghuz in place of the Uighur; cf. the note by Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh al-Marwarrūdī (beg. of the vii. [xiiith] century) on the scripts of the Soghdians and Toghuzghuz (*ʿAdjab-Nāme, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 405 *sq.*, p 407 wrong vocalisation· Taghuzghuz) It was only, when during the Mongol period more accurate information became available about Central Asia and especially about the Uighur, that the name Toghuzghuz for a people disappeared from Muslim geographical literature; in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* of Hamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (printed in 740 = 1339—1340) it does not occur.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

TOḲAT, a town in Asia Minor, situated in the northern part of Cappadocia, to the south of the middle course of the Tozanlī Ṣu, the ancient Iris. The town is situated on both sides of a mountain valley opening to the north and between the town and the river there is a beautiful plain. In a northeastern direction, facing the river, lay in ancient times the well-known town of Comana Pontica, the name of which still survives in the village of Gumenek; the site of Toḳat was occupied by a fortress called Dazimon (on this identification cf Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 329 *sqq*) This fortress must have gained in importance during the frontier wars of the Byzantine Empire. The name Toḳat, however, which occurs in the Muhammadan geographers since Yāḳūt (Tūḳāt, Yāḳūt, i 895; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 384—85), is said to have been derived from the Armenian form of the name Eudoxia (St. Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i. 188), but this identification still presents difficulties Ewliyā Celebi gives a number of other etymologies. After the Saldjūḳ conquest, Toḳat kept its strategical importance and was occasionally a princely residence; during the Mongol invasion, the Saldjūḳ sulṭān tried to put his possessions in safety in the citadel, and resided there, when the Ḳaraman Oghlu had taken possession of Ḳonya in 1275 (Ibn Bibi, *Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, iv. 325). Afterwards Toḳat belonged to the states of the Eretna Oghlu and of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn of Sīwās (vide ʿAzīz ibn Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm-u Razm*, ed. Constantinople 1928); from him the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II took the town in 1392. Tīmūr is said to have been unable to take this stronghold (Ewliyā Čelebi, v. 55), and, after his withdrawal, the Ottomans were soon again

masters of the town. Under Muḥammad II Toḳat was devastated by the army of Uzun Ḥasan, during the Ḳaraman wars, in 1471, but after that time it does not play an important role in Turkish history, occasionally its prison in the citadel, called Čartaḳ-ı Badawī, was used for political offenders It remained, however, an important town, as it lay on the main caravan and army road from Constantinople to the East; by this road it was linked to Amasia in the north and Sīwās in the south. Other roads also converged to Toḳat, so that, in the xviith century, it was the chief crossing point of trade roads in those regions (Tavernier).

Toḳat has also traditions in religious history; in the xiiith century it was invaded by the adherents of Baba Ishāḳ (Ibn Bibi, p. 229) and Ewliyā tells a probably legendary story about the attempts of Ḥādjdjī Bektash to win the town from the infidels in the time of Ertoghrul

Until the xixth century, Toḳat was a *ḳazā* in the *sandjaḳ* of Sīwās, belonging to the *eyālet* of Sīwās. The legislation of 1864 made it the chief town of the *sandjaḳ* Toḳat in the *wilāyet* of Sīwās, while, under the Turkish Republic, Toḳat has become the capital of a *wilāyet* with six *ḳazā*'s: Toḳat, Zile, Arbaʿa, Niksār, Reshādiye, Artïḳ Owa. Towards the end of the xixth century, the population was about 30,000 inhabitants, 17,500 of whom were Muḥammadans (Cuinet). The chief industries were the manufacture of copper utensils and yellow leather, the copper being imported from the mines of Kebān Maʿden and Arghana Maʿden.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥet-nāma*, v. 54—71; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, p. 628; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iii. 1691—93; *Türkiye Djumhūriyeti Sālnāmesi*, 1927—28, p. 782—92, C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xviii. iii *sqq*; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i 703—37; F Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924, i. 212; ii. 19. (J. H. Kramers)

ṬOḲHĀRISTĀN, also written Toḵhāristān and Ṭoḵhairistān, a district on the upper course of the Āmū-Daryā [q v] It is the name of a district formed from that of its inhabitants (like Afghānistān, Balōčistān etc), but the question of the nationality and language of the Toḵhārians was of no significance in the Muslim period. With the exception perhaps of the mention of Balkh as *Madīnat Ṭoḵhārā* in Balādhurī, p. 408 there is nothing to show that anything was known in the Muslim period of the Toḵhārians as a people, although as late as 630 A D the Chinese pilgrim Hüan-Čuang (or Yuan-Čuang) mentions, in addition to the land of Tu-ho-lo on the Āmū-Daryā, another district of Tu-ho-lo, then a desert, east of Khotan (Hiouen-Thsang, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, transl St. Julien, i 23 and ii. 247) The land of the Tu-ho-lo on the Āmū-Daryā was in those days divided into 27 small principalities, the northern frontier formed the "Iron Gate", i. e the Buggala pass between the valleys of the Kashka-Daryā and the Upper Āmū-Daryā. In the Muslim period also Ṭoḵhāristān in the wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, right and left of the upper course of the Āmū-Daryā. According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, iii. 518), there were two Ṭoḵhāristāns, Upper (*al-ʿulyā*) and Lower (*al-sufla*), but he does not seem to have had any exact idea of this division. Upper Ṭoḵhāristān was said to be east of Balkh and west (according to modern maps south) of the Djaiḥūn (Āmū-Daryā); Lower was also west of the Djaiḥūn but more to the east than Upper Ṭoḵhāristān. The latter is also mentioned in *B. G. A.*, vi. and vii. and in Ṭabarī. According to *B. G. A.*, vii. 93 (Ibn Rusta) Upper Ṭoḵhāristān, as was to be expected from the physical features of the country, lay north of the Āmū-Daryā; on p. 292, 8 the high lying territory on both sides of the Upper Āmū-Daryā is included in Upper Ṭoḵhāristān along with Badakhshān and Shughnān In *B G. A.*, vi. 34 on the other hand it is assumed, as in Yāḳūt, that Upper Ṭoḵhāristān lies east of Balkh and south of the Āmū-Daryā. In Ṭabarī (ii. 1589 and 1612) the expression Upper Toḵhāristān twice occurs without its situation being defined. In another passage (ii. 1180), we are told that the lands of the Shūmān and Akharūn (north of the Āmū-Daryā on the Upper Kāfir-nihān) were in Toḵhāristān, without the qualification *al-ʿulyā*. Yaʿḳūbī, *B. G A.*, vii. 289 and 290 calls the district of the town of Bāmiyān [q. v] "the first" (*al-ūlā*) or „the nearest" (*al-dunyā*) Ṭoḵhāristān. Bāmiyān was the "first of the districts (*mamālik*) in the nearest, western Ṭoḵhāristān" Ibn Khordādhbih assumes that Ṭoḵhāristān extends far to the northwest including Zamon, the modern Kerkī (*B. G A*, vi 36) as well as to the south where the frontier lands (*thughūr*) of Ṭoḵhāristān are said to be Zābulistān (p. 35) and Kābul (p. 37).

The frontiers of Toḵhāristān in the narrower sense are given most accurately by Iṣṭakhrī (*B.G.A.*, i. 270 *sq*), they were the lands east of Balkh, west of Badakhshān, south of the Āmū-Daryā and north of the main ridge of the Hindūkush; the most important towns besides the capital Ṭāleḳān or Tāyeḳān were Warwālīg and Andarāber.

The Haiṭal (pl. Hayāṭila) appear for the first time in Ṭabarī's history of the Sāsānians during the fighting for the Persian throne after the death of Yazdegird II (438) They had conquered Ṭoḵhāristān shortly before (Ṭabarī, i. 873, 4, Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p 119); from whom we are not told. During the Arab wars with the native princes, the last Sāsānians and the Turks for the possession of Ṭoḵhāristān a djabghū (*djabghūya*, Ṭabarī, ii. 1206) is mentioned as king (*malik*) of Toḵhāristān; he was a prince of the Turkish people of the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ); the expressions *djabghūya al-Ṭoḵharī* (ii 1604 and 1612) and *djabghūya al-Kharlukhī* (1612) are used promiscuously by Ṭabarī, although in one passage (1591) he does make a distinction between Ṭoḵhāristān and the land (*arḍ*) of the *djabghūya*. Shortly before 740 A. D. these wars were finally decided in favour of the Arabs. Ṭoḵhāristān later appears as a part of the kingdom of the Ghōrids [q. v.] and of that branch which had its capital in Bāmiyān. The name Ṭoḵhāristān as that of a district seems to have dropped out of use since the viith (xiiith) century.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 426 *sq.*; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 199 *sqq*, and index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (*G. M. S.*, N. S, v.), London 1928, p. 66 *sqq.* and index. (W. Barthold)

TOḲTAMĪSH, also written Toḵhtamīsh (e. g. regularly in Russian annals), Khān of the Golden Horde. The reading Tuḳātmish described as correct by E. G. Browne (*Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 583

probably on the authority of the lines quoted on p. 328) is contradicted by the reading in many manuscripts and on the Uighur coins and documents; for example Ibn ʿArabshāh (Egypt. ed., p. 14 and pass.) regularly writes Toḳtāmīsh-Khān. The accounts of his origin vary a good deal The name of his father (although it is often corrupted in manuscripts) was certainly Tuli-Khodja, who, according to the genealogy given by E. von Zambaur (*Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, Genealogy S) and to that given by Lane-Poole and others, was a brother of the Khān Urus and a descendant of Orda, the eldest son of Djūčī; but according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, p. 178), he was descended from another son of Djūčī, Tuḳai-Tīmūr-Khān. Our only source for the life of Tuli-Khodja and the early days of his son is the anonymous work compiled for Tīmūr's grandson Mīrzā Iskandar described by Rieu, *Catalogue of Pers MSS in the British Museum*, p. 1062 *sqq.*, of which another copy is preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (cf. the end of the article LUR-I BUZURG, iii., p. 46). According to this source (As. Mus MS., fol. 242b) he was governor (*ḥākim*) of Mangishlaḳ [q. v.] and executed by order of Khān Urus, his son Toḳtamīsh had once or twice taken to flight but had come back again, as he was still a minor he was pardoned In the year of the Dragon (= 1376) he went to Tīmūr and was received by him in Samarḳand; according to ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī (q. v.; MS. of the University of Leningrad, fol. 70b) he had been shortly before defeated by Khān Beg-Pulad Tīmūr granted Toḳtamīsh the towns of Otrār, Ṣabīān and Sīghnāḳ; there he was attacked by Ḳutlugh-Būghā, a son of Khān Urus. Ḳutlugh Būghā fell in the battle but Toḳtamīsh was nevertheless defeated and had to retire to Tīmūr. The latter lent him assistance and he returned to Ṣabrān but was soon afterwards defeated by Tokhta-Ḳīyā, another son of Urus-Khān and had again to flee to Tīmūr. Tīmūr himself, according to the *Ẓafar-Nāma* (Ind. ed., i 278), at the end of the same year of the Dragon (= beg. 1377) had to take the field with Toḳtamīsh against the Khān. The enemy was routed and Urus Khān died soon afterwards He was succeeded by his sons, Tokhta-Ḳīyā first and then Tīmūr-Malik. Tīmūr returned at the beginning of the year of the Snake (= 1377) to his capital, Toḳtamīsh was thereupon defeated by Tīmūr-Malik but at Tīmūr's desire proclaimed Khān in Sīghnāḳ (*op. cit.*, p. 284) In the winter (1377—1378) Tīmūr was told that Tīmūr-Malik was continually drinking and thus had lost all prestige; Toḳtamīsh was told of this and in the same winter by a rapid campaign he put an end to Tīmūr-Malik's rule; in the following spring (1378) he undertook from Sīghnāḳ the conquest of the western part of the Golden Horde and successfully carried it through (*op. cit*, p 290) The period of these successes can be more exactly ascertained from the Russian annals. On September 8, 1380 the ruler of the Golden Horde, Mamai (in the *Ẓafar-Nāma*: Mamāḳ), was defeated by the Russians on the Don at Kulikowo and soon afterwards by Toḳtamīsh in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Azov; in the same year the Russians learned of the victory of the new Khān. When in 1381 the submission of the Russians demanded by Toḳtamīsh was refused, Russia was cruelly ravaged in the following year by him (1382); on Aug. 26, the capital Moscow was completely destroyed and sacked and Tartar rule re-established in Russia for another century.

According to Iskandar's anonymous historian (Asiat. Mus., Ms. f. 243a), Toḳtamīsh was a just and vigorous ruler (he is also said to have been a handsome man); but as a result of his ingratitude to Tīmūr, his abilities were of no avail. Very soon after his rule was established he came out as an enemy of Tīmūr; Khwārizm was conquered by Tīmūr in 781 (1379) and by 785 (1383) we find coins struck there in the name of Toḳtamīsh So far as we know, Tīmūr on this occasion took no steps either against the Khwārizmshāh or against Toḳtamīsh; in the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i. 410 *sqq*). Toḳtamīsh's first hostile act against Tīmūr is said to be his campaign through Derbend to Ādharbāidjān in 789 (year of the Hare = 1387). Toḳtamīsh in the previous winter had already sent an army against Tabrīz [q. v.] (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 392) but Tīmūr had not yet reached it so that his rights were not directly challenged by the Khān's expedition. Tabrīz was laid waste in the most terrible fashion. Killing and plundering went on for 8 days (so the contemporary writer Zain al-Dīn Kazwīnī; cf. ṬUGHĀ-TĪMŪR). Even on this occasion Tīmūr still showed great restraint towards his opponent, from his winter quarters in Ḳarābāgh he sent his son Mīrānshāh against the enemy with a division. After the latter's victory, the prisoners were released and Toḳtamīsh was simply reproached and cautioned by Tīmūr.

Towards the end of the same year (1387) when Tīmūr was still in Persia, Toḳtamīsh sent his armies to attack the heart of Tīmūr's empire. On this occasion the armies of the Golden Horde were everywhere victorious and advanced as far as the Āmū-Daryā, Bukhārā was besieged and the country round it laid waste (*Ẓafar-nāme*, i. 443). Tīmūr had to return hurriedly and left Persia about the end of Muḥarram 790 (beg Feb. 1388). It was not till 1391 that Tīmūr began his campaign of vengeance against the lands of the Golden Horde; at the beginning of this campaign an embassy arrived from Toḳtamīsh, which of course could have no influence on the course of events On Monday, 15th Radjab 793 (June 19, 1391) Toḳtamīsh was defeated at Ḳunduzča. Tīmūr advanced as far as the Volga, but he returned to his kingdom without having subjected the kingdom of the Golden Horde. Toḳtamīsh had to abandon his throne for a short time but soon returned again We find a letter from him to the Polish King Yagello, from Tana (Azov) of 8th Radjab 795 (May 20th 1393) in which these events are narrated from the Khān's point of view. Tīmūr, he said, had been summoned against him by the Khān's enemies and the Khān only learned too late of this. at the beginning of the fighting these conspirators had abandoned the Khān, so that his kingdom was thrown into great confusion. Order was now entirely restored and Yagello had to hand over the arrears of tribute: his merchants could travel freely about (*Zap*, iii. 3 *sqq.*).

There was now open enmity between Tīmūr and Toḳtamīsh In 1385 ambassadors bearing gifts had been sent to Egypt by Toḳtamīsh (Tiesenhausen, *Sbornīk materialov otnosyashčikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordī*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 427 *sq.*) but nothing was said about joint military undertakings on this

occasion; on the other hand the missions of 1394 and 1395 had the specific purpose of an alliance between Egypt and the Kingdom of the Golden Horde against Tīmūr (*op. cit.*, p. 428, 445 and 450). This was the time of Tīmūr's "Five Years' War" against the west (1392—1396). In 1393 Tīmūr had sent an embassy from Baghdād to Egypt (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 642 *sq.*), by order of Sultān Barḳūḳ [q.v.] the ambassador was murdered at Raḥba, the frontier town on the Euphrates (*loc cit*, ii. 275) In 1394 Tīmūr wanted to go to Syria, but abandoned this idea and went instead to Northern Mesopotamia (Iskandar's anonymous historian, MS. in the Asiat. Mus., fol 291b); according to an Egyptian source (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī in Tiesenhausen, *op. cit*, p. 450), the reason for this was the news of a raid by Toḳtamīsh into Tīmūr's territory. Ādharbāidjān with the lands north of it as far as Derbend had been under the rule of Tīmūr's son Mīrānshāh since 1392 [cf. TABRĪZ]; Derbend and Shīrwān had previously been expressly claimed by Toḳtamīsh and coins had been struck there in his name from 790 (1388) till 792 (1390), but there is no reference to danger threatening from there in the year following. Tīmūr was delayed for a considerable time by fighting in Armenia and Georgia It was not till towards the end of 1394 that Tīmūr in Shakī heard from Shīrwān that the country had been invaded by the army of the Golden Horde, they were easily repelled and Tīmūr took up his quarters for the winter in Maḥmūdābād (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i 732 *sq*). From here in the spring of 1395 he undertook his main campaign against Toḳtamīsh Before the opening of the campaign Shams al-Dīn Alwalīghī was sent as an envoy to Toḳtamīsh; his reply was awaited on the Samur (south of Derbend); when it proved unsatisfactory, the campaign took its course. The decisive battle was fought on the Terek on Wednesday the 23rd Djumādā II, 797 = April 14, 1395 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 745 *sqq.*) Toḳtamīsh had once more to disappear from the scene for a time. Tīmūr never, as the *Zafar-nāma*, i 761 says, reached Moscow but only came to the Yelec, where according to Russian annals, he turned on Aug. 26, 1395. Soon afterwards Azāḳ (Azov) and in the winter Hādjdjī Tarkhān (Astrakhān) and Sarāy [q v.] were sacked with much bloodshed· in the spring of 798 (1396) Tīmūr returned via Derbend to Ādharbāidjān, once more without establishing his rule or that of one of his protégés over the lands of the Golden Horde. Toḳtamīsh was able to return to his throne once more; according to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, in 799 (Oct. 1396—Sept 1397) he fought against the "Genoese Franks" (Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 451) On the 3rd Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 800 (Aug 17, 1398) Tīmūr received an ambassador from the rival and successor of Toḳtamīsh, Tīmūr-Ḳutlugh, son of Tīmūr-Malik (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 33; the date in the original source, *Tekstī po istorii Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1915, p. 54) Toḳtamīsh fled to Witowt, the prince of Lithuania, who took up his cause but was defeated by the Tatars on Aug 12, 1399 on the Worksla Henceforth Toḳtamīsh led the life of an adventurer. Shortly before his death Tīmūr received an embassy from Toḳtamīsh in Otrār, which he had reached on Wednesday the 12th Radjāb (Jan. 14, 1405), bringing the assurance of his penitence and an appeal for pardon Tīmūr promised to come after his return from the campaign to China, to the land of the Golden Horde again and restore his throne to Toḳtamīsh (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii. 646 *sqq.*). According to Russian sources, Toḳtamīsh fell in 1406 at Tümen in Siberia fighting against a force of Khān Shādī's (802—810 = 1399/1400—1407/1408); according to Iskandar's anonymous historian (Asiat. Mus, fol. 243b) he died a natural death.

Bibliography. given in the text itself. The earlier European accounts of Toḳtamīsh (especially Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, and Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part ii) are no longer in keeping with our present knowledge of the sources. See also the article TĪMŪR-LANG. (W. BARTHOLD)

TOLEDO (Ar. Ṭulaiṭula), a town in Spain in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula 60 miles S. S. W. of Madrid. Built 2,000 feet above sea-level on a granite hill and surrounded on three sides by a bend in the Tagus, which has dug out its bed along the bottom of a deep fault, it commands in its immediate vicinity a fertile *vega* which runs to N. E. and N. W. along the river and beyond it is the plain of denudation of the Castilian plateau. Toledo has at the present day only some 25,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of the premier Archbishop of Spain. The old capital of the kings of Castille is now a little quiet town, but it has preserved a character of its own and is most attractive in a position of incomparable grandeur.

The Arab geographers who describe the Peninsula all give more or less long descriptions of Toledo Idrīsī puts it in the *iḳlīm* of al-Shārāt (= las Sierras) In his time it had already been taken from the Muslims. He describes its excellent strategic position, its ramparts and the gardens which surround it, intersected by canals from which the water is raised for irrigation by means of norias. Abu 'l-Fidā' also praises the beauty of its orchards among the trees of which were pomegranates with enormous flowers According to Yāḳūt, the cereals grown around Toledo could be kept for 70 years without deterioration and its saffron was of excellent quality

Livy (*Hist.*, xxxvii. 7) is the first to mention the Iberian town of *Toletum* which was taken not without difficulty in 193 B. C by the proconsul M Fulvius. It remained very prosperous under Roman rule and when Christianity was introduced into Spain, it soon attained great importance as centre of religion. In 400 a council of 19 bishops met there for the first time. Toledo was taken in 418 by the Visigoths and in the sixth century became the capital of their kingdom in the Peninsula. In 567 Athanagilda made it his capital and when the king Rekkared was converted to Christianity in 587, the Visigothic capital again became the religious metropolis of Iberia, on an even grander scale. The Roman Catholic clergy began to interfere in the political control of the country and to display their activity in numerous councils.

It is in Toledo that is laid the scene of the legendary episode of king Rodrigo and Florinda, daughter of Count Julian of Ceuta, and in the town the spot is still pointed out on the bank of the Tagus where she was bathing when the Visigothic prince saw her and fell in love with her (*Baños de la Cava*). The invader Ṭārik b. Ziyād [q. v] took Toledo in 92 (714). He found it almost empty; only a few Jews had remained in it. Ṭārik enrolled them in his army, which was

soon rejoined in Toledo by the force he had sent to take Granada and Murcia. It is also in Toledo that the Muslim chroniclers locate the meeting of Ṭārik and Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q. v]. The Arab leader only remained a short time there and continued his advance to the north of the Peninsula, going to Saragossa, which he seized.

The Arab writers, who deal with the history or geography of al-Andalus almost all record fascinating but legendary stories which circulated in the early centuries of the Hidjra about the fabulous wealth which the Muslim invaders found in Toledo, when they took the city The best known story is that of the "closed house of Toledo"; the sources which give it were studied by René Basset in 1898 (cf. the *Bibl.*).

The name of Toledo recurs frequently in the chroniclers of Muslim Spain in the period of the governors and especially after the establishment of the Umaiyad emīrate of Cordova. According to the accounts which they give and which are confirmed by the Christian chroniclers, the town very soon became a hot-bed of sedition and a continual centre of rebellion against the government It is certain that in spite of Muslim rule, the greater part of the people of Toledo never abandoned Roman Catholicism and remained Mozarab. In spite of the great toleration shown by the conquerors, their rule was not accepted at all passively. The Toledans never lost an opportunity of throwing off the yoke and, whenever a chance was given them, called to their assistance the ever turbulent Berbers, over whom the governors of Spain or their successors were never able to exercise complete control. It was in Toledo that the great Berber rising of 122 (740) found most support and it was near it on the banks of the Wādī Salīṭ (Guazalete) that the rebels were crushed by the troops sent from Cordova. It was again in Toledo a little later when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I deprived him of his governorship that Yūsuf al-Fihrī sought refuge and he was killed near the town in 142 (759).

From the reign of the first Umaiyad emīr to that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir there was not a ruler to whom Toledo was not a matter of care and anxiety, sometimes grave. In 147 (764) Hishām b. ʿUdhra rebelled there and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had to sent his two generals, Badr and Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, against the town On the accession of Hishām I (172 = 788), his brother and rival Sulaimān had himself proclaimed in Toledo and the emīr was forced next year to besiege the town from which he had to retire after two months without success. In 181 (797) soon after the accession of al-Ḥakam I, a new rebellion broke out in Toledo, stirred up by an individual named ʿUbaida b. Ḥumaid. But the Umaiyad prince was not long in severely punishing the Toledans for their habitual insubordination. Their spirit of rebellion at this time was being fanned by the verses of one of their townsmen, who was very popular with them, the poet Ghirbīb On the latter's death, al-Ḥakam appointed to the government of Toledo a renegade (*muwallad*), a native of Huesca, named ʿAmrūs who, by arrangement with the emīr of Cordova, after gaining their confidence, lured the notables of the town into a trap in which they were all slain. This was the famous day of the ditch (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*) (191 = 807). But the brutality of this suppression did not prevent Toledo from rebelling less than ten years later. In 199 (814—815) the emīr al-Ḥakam himself went against Toledo and by a stratagem succeeded in entering it and burned all the higher part of the town. In 214 (829) Toledo was again the starting point of a rebellion raised by a *muwallad* named Hāshim al-Ḍarrāb (the smith) and it took two years to suppress it. In the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, an expedition was sent against Toledo under prince Umaiya in 219 (834). The next year the emīr of Cordova laid siege to the town and it was taken by assault, after being invested for some months, in Radjab 222 (June 837). Toledo remained subject to the Umaiyads, to whom it gave hostages, until 238 (852) but in this year, on the accession of the emīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, it rebelled once more The intolerance of the emīr had exasperated the Toledans and the latter led by one of their number, Sindola, deposed their Arab governor and declared themselves free of Umaiyad rule. Not only did they drive out of their town the representatives of the Cordovan government, but they organised an army which in Shawwāl 239 (May 854) defeated the troops of the emīr Muhammad near Andujar. Then in order to resist the force sent against them from Cordova, they made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ordoño I, who sent an army under Gaton, Count of Bierzo, against them But the resultant battle was disastrous for the Toledans, who lost 20,000 men. In 244 (858) Muḥammad, giving the town no rest inflicted another disaster on it by mining the bridge over the Tagus; it collapsed when crowded with soldiers. Toledo had to beg for *amān* in the following year and Muhammad appointed a governor there. From this time down to the reign of ʿAbd Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the Arab historians hardly ever mention Toledo. We only know that in 873 its citizens obtained a treaty by which, if they agreed to pay tribute to Cordova, their political independence would be practically recognised.

The final subjection of Toledo was to be the work of the great Umaiyad ruler al-Nāṣir. Before tackling it, he had to wait until all the other hot-beds of rebellion in his dominions had been exterminated. Once Badajoz had been taken, the caliph in 318 (930) sent to Toledo a deputation of faḳīhs to make the citizens understand that their liberty was no longer compatible with the authority of the government of Cordova. This peaceful effort having failed, he at once laid siege to the town and came himself with a large army to direct operations. He pitched his camp on the heights of Charnecas and made it clear that he would not withdraw his troops until Toledo was taken, by erecting some buildings and a bazaar which were given the name of Madīnat al-Fatḥ (town of victory), opposite the invested city. The blockade was continued into 320 (932) and Toledo had finally to surrender. A strong Umaiyad garrison was placed in the town and its capture had a great moral effect throughout Spain. Henceforth it was the capital of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaghar al-awsaṭ*) and the office of governor of Toledo was one of the most important military offices of the Umaiyad *dīwān*. Among the principal holders of this office were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudair, the *ḳāʾid* Aḥmad b. Yaʿlā and, in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the general Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣirī, the father-in-law of the famous *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr [q. v.] Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

During the period of troubles which ended in the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and in the dismemberment of the Umaiyad empire in Spain, Toledo no longer played any more than a very minor part in politics, On several occasions it served as headquarters or as a refuge for rival rebels but it does not seem to have itself taken advantage of these occasions to rebel, as it had so often done before. It was for several years the base of operations of the general Wāḍiḥ and between his two reigns Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār found a refuge there. Soon afterwards when little Muslim kingdoms were founded in the Peninsula, it became the capital of an independent kingdom, that of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn.

The Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn [q. v.] were nobles of Berber origin who in the reign of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir had obtained certain military commands. They were settled in the region of Shantaberīya (Santaver, the modern province of Cuenca). It was to them that the Toledans appealed when on the fall of the Cordovan caliphate they wished to give themselves a chief. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn, lord of Shantaberīya, sent them his son Ismāʿīl who took command of the town and the territory belonging to it and appealed to the experience of a notable of Toledo, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī, to administer it for him. According to several Arab chroniclers, Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn was not the first king of Toledo but succeeded other chiefs of other families, Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. Yaʿīsh al-Asadī and his son Abū Bakr Yaʿīsh. other names are mentioned, Saʿīd b. Shanẓīr and his son Aḥmad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. منبوه and his son ʿAbd al-Malik. The new ruler of Toledo, the beginning of whose reign is usually put in 427 (1035—1036), took the honorific *laḳab* of al-Ẓāfir and was only a few years on the throne for he died in 435 (1043—1044).

His son Yaḥyā succeeded him and took the title of al-Maʾmūn. On his long reign see the article on him (III, p 223, where the date of his accession should be corrected from 429 to 435; cf. Dozy, *Recherches*[3], vol. I, p. 238, note 1).

On the death of Yahyā al-Maʾmūn at the end of 467 (1075) the kingdom of Toledo, considerably increased, passed into the hands of his grandson Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b Yaḥyā who took the *laḳab* of al-Ḳādir. The great incapacity of this prince brought a period in which decadence became more and more marked after the brilliant and prosperous long reign of al-Maʾmūn. Left to himself by the old Muslim allies of his grandfather, especially by the prince of Seville, he had to seek the alliance of the king of Castille and Leon, Alfonso VI. The latter granted him his protection, but in return demanded payment of tribute which became larger and larger. To meet his engagements, al-Ḳādir had to oppress his subjects with taxation and the latter ended by rebelling. Al-Ḳādir retorted by more rigorous measures and had several notables of the town executed along with his first minister Ibn al-Ḥadīdī. This only exasperated the Toledans against him still more and he had to abandon his capital and seek refuge at Huete. The kingdom of Toledo was then offered to the Afṭasid kings of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil, who took in 472 (1077) possession of it. Alfonso VI retook Toledo soon afterwards for his Muslim ally but this was only a pretence: on 27th Muḥarram 478 (May 25, 1085) the king of Castille, after a treaty concluded between him and al-Ḳādir, which the latter could not escape signing, entered Toledo on his own account, thus making an important step in the progress of the *reconquista*. The taking of Toledo had a great moral effect among Christians as well as Muslims. It, more than anything, determined the invasion of Spain by the Almoravids in the next year.

In spite of the successes, which, first Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, then the Almohads, won in the Iberian Peninsula, Toledo never again passed into Muslim hands. For a century, however, it remained one of the great objectives of their armies. It was twice besieged without success, once on the death of Alfonso VI, and again by the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr in 592 (1195) in the course of an expedition which won the towns of Calatrava, Guadalajara and Madrid for the Muslims for some years, and was distinguished by the victory of Alarcos. But the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, on July 16, 1212, soon deprived the Muslims of all hope of retaking Toledo

Becoming Christian again, and created the capital of their dominions by the kings of Castille, Toledo however long retained a markedly Muslim character. Islām continued to be practised by a certain number of the faithful. A town of Mozarabs under Islām, it was a town of Morescoes for quite a long time after its return to Christianity.

There are very few traces left in Toledo of its long occupation by the Muslims At most, the remains of the little mosque of Bīb Mardōm (Cristo de la Luz), some parts of the palace of Las Tornerías and of the old gate of Visagra can be dated back to the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*. On the other hand in the *vega* near the town, a considerable number of epitaphs of Muslims of Toledo have been found, mainly engraved on the shafts of columns.

In spite of its position as a frontier town with a population containing a large proportion of Christian elements, Toledo, especially at the end of the Umaiyad caliphate and in the reign of al-Maʾmūn, was reckoned one of the intellectual centres of Muslim Spain A large number of the articles in the collections on the biography of Muslim Spain are devoted to scholars and jurists of Toledan origin.

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ṬOPAL ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier. Ṭopal i. e. "limping" ʿOthmān Pasha was born in the Morea in 1104 (1692), entered the palace service in Stambul at an early age, where he filled a number of offices until he was promoted to the rank of beylerbeyi at the age of barely 24, soon afterwards he became serʿasker in the Morea and finally vizier with two tails (*tugh*, q.v.). He then held governorships repeatedly, e. g. twice in Bosnia, Naupactos and Widin, next went as commander-in-chief to Persia and finally received the grand vizierate on 19th Rabīʿ I, 1344 (Sept. 21, 1731) when Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha fell into disgrace. He only held the office for six months however. On 15th Ramaḍān 1344 (March 12, 1732) he was then dismissed and sent as governor to Trapezunt. He was then in turn wālī of Erzerum and Tiflis, until he was given supreme command of the Ottoman army in the war against Nādir Kulī Khān [q.v.] of Persia. In the battle of the Tigris on July 19, 1733 he defeated the Persians, put them to flight and drove them out of Baghdād. Three months later however in another battle on Oct 26, 1733 in the plains of Lailan S E of Kirkuk, he was severely defeated and was himself slain. By order of Nādir Kulī Khān his body was taken to Baghdād and buried there. Topal ʿOthmān Pasha is described as a rough, superstitious but able and vigorous personality. The best accounts of him are that of his French private physician Sieur Jean Nicodème (in a letter to the Marquis de Villeneuve dated Aug 10, 1733, printed in J v Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii. 599 *sqq*) and that of Jonas Hanway in his *Historical Account of British Trade over the Caspian* (London 1753, vol ii., sect. 12, which deals entirely with Topal ʿOthmān Pasha). A description of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha's campaign against Nādir Kulī Khān is given in a work composed by a Christian entitled *Ghazewāt-i Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha*; cf. F. Babinger, *G O.R.*, p. 289, note 1, N⁰ vi — The sons of Ṭopal ʿOthmān Pasha were Rātib Aḥmad Pasha and the Beylerbeyi Arslān Bey (cf J v Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 394) Among his grandsons were Yūsuf Pasha and Mūsā Pasha and a later descendant was the author and poet Nāmīḳ Kemāl Bey [q. v.].

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ṬOPAL ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, Ottoman governor of Bosnia, Sharīf, but usually called Topal ʿOthmān Pasha because he was lame from a bullet-wound, belonged to the vicinity of Smyrna where he was born in 1219 (beg. Apr. 12, 1804), as the son of a peasant named Ḥādjdjī Sharīf Agha. He first entered the navy and in 1839 a Rear-Admiral, along with the Ḳapudan Pasha [q.v. Aḥmed Fewzī Pasha surrendered the Ottoman flee in the Dardanelles to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha o Egypt, on hearing that Khusraw Pasha [q. v., ii. p. 978] had been appointed grand vizier. He re mained a refugee in Egypt for several years afte the conclusion of peace where he enjoyed the Khe dive's favour. When an amnesty was granted to th deserters he returned in 1258 (beg. Feb. 12, 1842 to Stambul and entered the civil service. He becam Ḳā'im-maḳām of Izmīd, then *Mutesarrif* of Karas [q.v], in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1265 (Sept. 1849) of Bīgha [q v], in 1271 (beg. Sept. 24, 1854) of Cyprus. In 1273 (beg Sept 1, 1856), he went as commandan (*mu'hāfiz*) to Belgrade from which he went on 11th Radjab 1277 (Jan. 23, 1861) to Sarajevo [q.v. as governor (*wālī*) of Bosnia and Herzegovina His governorship may be described as a golden period in the history of Bosnia under the Otto mans. He held the office for nine years, a period only attained before or after him by one other governor, namely Khosrew Pasha [q. v.] His great aim was to deprive the powerful begs of their influence and thus to strengthen the power of the Ottoman government His plan was to place Bos nian notables in public offices, where they soon lost their hereditary prestige and influence with the people. He also raised the status of the bour geois, especially artisans and small traders, and played them off against the nobles, as the protector of the common people he soon attained enormous popularity and to this day the "glorious days of Ottoman Pasha" are almost proverbial in Bosnia He devoted special attention to the education of the youth in schools, which under his administra tion assumed a development hitherto undreamt of In Sarajevo, in addition to numerous public schools he built a reading room (*ḳirāʾet-ḵhāne*), a high school (*rushdīye*) as well as a technical school for the training of officials (*mekteb-i ḥuḳūḳ*). The object of these institutions was to „Stambulise" the people of Bosnia, i e. to bring them up to be loyal Ottoman citizens But the educational institutions of the non-Muslim creeds were also supported in all kinds of ways by ʿOthmān Pasha He endowed the mosque of Ghāzī Khosrew [q.v. with a splendid library (about 2,000 MSS. and books) and one of his great services was the institution of a printing-works for the wilāyet in which were printed not only the official calendar (*Sālnāme-i Bosna*), but the weekly papers *Bosna* (official Gazette) and the *Gulshen-i Serāy* (in Turkish and also in Serbian as the *Sarajevski cvjetnik*), schoolbooks. From 1863, ʿOthmān Pasha endeavoured to regulate the relations between the Muslim landowners and the, usually Christian, serfs, the *kmets*. He established a certain degree of legal protection for the kmets from oppression by the landowners and thus gained the affection and reverence of the lower classes. His endeavours to abolish tithes and replace it by a direct tax on land failed against the opposition of the Porte ʿOthmān Pasha was continually making roads in his province and used all the available labour in the work. A number of important routes within Bosnia and also connecting it with the outside world were his work (e. g. from Maglaj to Dônja Tuzla and Zvornik; from Bosnian-Gradiška–Ban jaluka–Travnik–Livno and thence across the Prolog into Dalmatia; the road from Sarajevo to Mostar

completed by the War Office in 1864; the road made in 1868 from Trebinje to Ragusa etc.).

It was only natural that he should continually strive to beautify Sarajevo, which was his official residence. There he built a splendid country house, the Čengić-villa which still exists (called after its later owner Derwīsh Pasha Čengić, known as Dedaga, therefore also called by the natives *Dedagini konaći*) As a result of the intrigues of his numerous opponents in Stambul, ʿOthmān Pasha was removed from his governorship in Ramaḍān 1285 (beg Dec. 16, 1868) and transferred as Wālī to Silistria (*Duna Wālīsī*). *Mushīr* Ṣafwet Pasha was appointed to succeed him. Suddenly, however, these changes were cancelled and ʿOthmān Pasha returned to Sarajevo amid the tumultuous enthusiasm of the populace His new period of activity was of short duration. His Stambul enemies were able to persuade the credulous Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that ʿOthmān Pasha had built himself a Serāy in Bosnia and that, as an old pupil of the rebel Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, he cherished the ambition to make himself independent. The consequence was that ʿOthmān Pasha was definitely recalled on the 15th Ṣafar 1286 (May 27, 1869) He disposed of his estates and his konak and retired on a very modest pension to Stambul, where he lived in complete retirement in a little house in the country on the Bosporus. He died there on the 10th Djumādā II, 1291 (July 26, 1874) and was buried in Stambul behind the Arsenal (*Tersāne*) — One of his sons is Re'uf Pasha.

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ṬORGHUD, a Turkish tribe in Asia Minor.

The Ṭorghud tribe appears alongside of the Warsaḳ (the Βαρσάκιδες of the Byzantine historians, cf. the important passage in Chalkondyles, p 243, 4), quite early in Ottoman history. Its origin is wrapped in obscurity; it is mentioned for the first time in history at the end of the eighth century A. H when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn of the Ḳaramānoghlu included the Ṭorghud among the tribes who joined his colours A century later they appear in the army of Djam Sulṭān in his Anatolian campaign against Sulṭān Bāyazīd (cf J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 256; 886 = 1481). About this time the Ṭorghud and the Warsaḳ were living in the Cilician Taurus on the other side of the Bulghar Dagh (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 294). Then and later they were in political dependence on the Ḳaramānoghlu, the enemies of the Ottomans. With the decline of the latter the Ṭorghud disappeared from history. They cannot be connected with the place called Ṭorghud-lu in the sandjaḳ of Ṣarukhān [q. v.], still less with the Kalmuck Torgots (Torga-Uten). (F. BABINGER)

ṬORGHUD, a general and companion-in-arms of ʿOthmān I.

Ṭorghud, usually Ṭorghud-alp (*alp* as a personal name, is Turkish = "brave, fearless, warrior"; cf Alp-Tekin, Alp-Arslān, and Aighud-alp, Ḳonur-alp etc.), is mentioned among the companions of ʿOthmān I and connected with the earliest Ottoman conquests. He is said, for example, to have surprised Angelokoma, the modern Ainegöl, in 699 (1299) with only seventy men and taken it (according to Neshrī, Idrīs Bitlīsī in J. v. Hammer, *G O R*, i. 53 *sq.*). He remained the councillor of ʿOthmān's son Urkhān. On the latter's instructions he took Edrenos on Olympus, the key to Brussa (1326). Nothing is known of his later life. In the Byzantine historians, like Chalkondyles (cf. p. 65, 20, 243, 18, 244, 4 *sqq.*, 491, 4 of the Bonn edition), he appears as Τουργούτης. (F. BABINGER)

ṬORGHUD-ELI, literally "the land of Torghud", is the district around Ainegol in Asia Minor, which Ṭorghud-alp [q. v.] conquered and received as a fief. According to Leonclavius (cf. *Hist Musulm. Turc.*, p. 154, 25, 853 infra; cf. on this *Isl.*, xii. 102), the Arabic form Dhu 'l-Ḳadr is a corruption of this, which is very probable, as it is almost certainly derived from some Turkish proper name. The royal family of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr-oghlu [q. v.] would thus have to be connected with the Turkoman tribe of Ṭorghud [q. v.].

Bibliography cf F Babinger in *Isl*, xii. 102 (F. BABINGER)

TORTOSA, Arabic ṬURṬŪSHA (*nisba* Ṭurṭūshī), a town in Spain on the left bank of the Ebro, a few miles above the beginning of the delta of this river, 115 miles from Valencia, 105 from Barcelona and 60 from Tarragona Tortosa which now has 28,000 inhabitants, is the chief town of a *partido* of the province of Tarragona and the see of a bishop.

The town is built on the site of the old Iberian town of *Dertosa* which was succeeded by the Roman colony of *Julia Augusta*. Its geographical position has always given it considerable commercial importance. It passed early under Muslim rule and most of the Arab geographers who deal with the Peninsula, give a description of it According to Idrīsī, it was part of the *iḳlīm* of al-Burtāt; it was, he says, a large commercial town where ships were built with the wood of the pine-trees of remarkable quality which grew in the neighbourhood. According to the historical and geographical dictionary of Ibn Abd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, the Umaiyad rulers built a wall around it of dressed stone, with four gates. It had also a cathedral mosque with five naves which was built in 345 (956—957), four public baths and several suburbs. Its wharves for shipbuilding (*dār al-ṣināʿa*) were built in 333 (945) by order of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV al-Nāṣir; the foundation inscription happens to have survived.

Information about the history of Tortosa in the early centuries of Muslim rule is scanty and scattered. We only know that it was besieged in 193 (809) by Louis the Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, whose army was defeated by that sent against him by the emīr al-Ḥakam I under his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān This first siege, which ended in failure, did not prevent Louis from taking Tortosa two years later, but he only held it for a short time. Later it appears that Tortosa, on account of its position on the borders of Muslim Spain, was used as place of compulsory residence for exiles from the Cordovan court, for example, the secretary ʿAbd al-Malik b. Idrīs al-Djazīrī was detained there by order of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

On the dismemberment of the Umaiyad caliphate and the formation of the kingdoms of the *taifas*, Tortosa became the capital of a little principality of ʿĀmirid "Slavs" (*ṣaḳāliba* [q. v.]). The best known of these was an individual called Nabīl; he even was able to take advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the east of al-Andalus to seize Valencia,

which he only held for a few years, however. His predecessors had been the *fatā* Labīb, then Muḳātil, who took the *laḳab* of Saif al-Milla. In 452 (1060) Tortosa rebelled against Nabīl and the latter handed over the town to the king of Saragossa, al-Muḳtadir Ibn Hūd [cf. the article SARAGOSSA]. Tortosa remained in the possession of the Banū Hūd, down to the end of the Arab kingdom of Saragossa. Later the counts of Barcelona attempted to take it and finally Raymond Beranger IV took it on the 14th Shaʿbān 543 (Dec. 30, 1148), the same year as Lerida and Fraga, with the help of the Templars. A counter-attack by the Muslims was a failure, owing to the courage of the women of the town. It had previously been taken by the Christians in 512 (1118).

If we may judge by the scholars who bore the ethnic al-Ṭurṭūshī, Tortosa seems to have been for a considerable time a brilliant centre of Muslim studies. Among these men of letters, the most famous was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Fihrī al-Ṭurṭūshī, known as Ibn Abī Rundaḳa, born at Tortosa in 451 (1059) and died at Alexandria in 520 (1126), the author of the *Sirādj al-Mulūk*, publ. Cairo 1289 A. H. (cf. on him Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, N° 1153; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, N°. 295; Ibn Farhūn, *Dībādj*, p. 250; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i., p 459; M. Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjâza du cheikh ʿAbd al-Qâdir el Fâsy*, Paris 1907, p. 133, p. 169—170 and the literature quoted).

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ṬOSKA. [See ARNAUTS.]

TRAPEZUNT, TREBISOND. [See TARABZUN.]

TRIPOLIS. [See ṬARĀBULUS.]

TRIPOLI (Ṭarābulus, Aṭrābulus), a city on the Northern coast of Africa, 13° 20′ E long., 32° 50′ N. lat., now the seat of the government of Tripolitania, one of the two colonies forming Italian Lybia. Its Muslim population, according to the census taken in 1914 by the municipality of Tripoli, was 19,907, including the Menscia; Jewish population 10,471, European population, in the town of Tripoli only, 14,180. The latter, in 1928, may be calculated at 25,000; total about 60,000.

The name Tripolis, applied to the territory of the three cities Sabrata, Oea, Leptis (Lepqi), of Phoenician-Carthaginian origin, does not appear till Roman writers of the ivth century A. D., but the name Tripolitania was already given in the third century, to the region otherwise called Sirtica, governed from the administrative centre of Tacape (Gabes). In the Byzantine period we find the name Tripoli applied to the city of Oea; this usage was confirmed under the Arab conquerors, in the form Ṭarābulus and Aṭrābulus, with the addition of al-Gharb, to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria.

The ancient city of Oea, one of the *emporia* of Sirtica, was first a Phoenician, then a Carthaginian colony; Roman influence began to prevail in the second century, during the Punic wars; direct Roman rule may be dated from the end of Carthage's rule (149 B. C.).

The ancient city lay mainly in the western part of the present city, round the still existing Arch of Marcus Aurelius, erected in 163 A. D under the proconsul Cornelius Orfitus by C. Calpurnius Celsus, *curator muneris et publicus munerarius*, and dedicated to the Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. Oea however had no great political, military or economic importance, nothwithstanding its harbour, protected by a barrier of rocks The *emporia* of Sabrata and Leptis were then of greater military and economic consequence.

The first city wall may be attributed to the ivth century A. D., when the attacks of nomads from the interior became a menace. The Vandals Procopius says, destroyed the walls of the African cities, but it is certain that the Byzantines hastened to reconstruct them; in Tripoli also the sections of walls still existing after the vicissitudes of ages and partly demolished since the Italian occupation preserve traces of Byzantine workmanship. The city was not surrounded by walls on the side overlooking the sea, the Arab invaders were thus able to enter it from the W., following the beach

Occupied by the Vandals about 439, Tripoli remained under their rule up to 535, save for the expedition of Heraclius, sent by sea from Byzantium in 468. Belisarius, after having conquered the ancient province of Africa in 533, sent troops also to Tripoli, which from 535 may be considered subject to the Eastern Empire; the Catholic religion troubled by the invasion of the Arian Vandals and by the rebellions of tribes in the interior, seemed to flourish anew in Tripoli for about a century.

Historians do not agree on the date of the Muslim occupation, which according to some happened in 22 (642–643), and to others a year later. It may be that a first vanguard of the Arab conquerors of Egypt pushed as far as Tripoli in 22 A. H., and that a second expedition was led against it in 23.

It is well known that these first Muslim expeditions were raids, rather for the purpose of plunder than of conquest; neither the interior of Tripolitania, nor Tripoli itself, were firmly held at that time; as late as 26 (647–648) ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd with ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ passed through it in 45—46 ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ pushed further the conquest of Ifrīḳiya; about that time a garrison (*djund*) was permanently established in Tripoli the names of the city's governors are not known

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, governor of Ifrīḳiya after 126 H. marched against Tripoli in 131 (748-749), slew two Tripolitans, ʿAbd al-Djabbār and al-Ḥārith, Berbers of the Ibāḍite school, and in 132 restored the city walls. Ibn Khaldūn record

that the city was then governed by Bakr b. ʿIsā al-Ḳaisī, and that he was killed during the revolt. Throughout the second and third centuries, Tripoli and its environs were troubled by the political-religious revolt of the Ibāḍīs. This sect had found many followers among the Hawwāra and Zanāta Berbers, who formed the predominant element in the population. About 140 (757–758), the Ibāḍī imām Abu 'l-Ḵhaṭṭāb al-Muʿāfirī set out from Tripoli, in the rising known as the revolt of the Warfadjūma, which seriously endangered Arab possession of North Africa, and was put down by Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, sent by the Caliph al-Manṣūr, in the battle of Tawārgha (143 = 760—761). In the following years further risings, due to the rebel Ibāḍīs, took place, and Tripoli was repeatedly besieged and attacked. We know that Hartama, governor of Ifrīḳiya in the name of the ʿAbbāsids in 179—180 (795—797), ordered the wall on the side next the sea to be built (al-Bakrī, transl. de Slane, p. 25, Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 49; Ibn ʿAdharī, transl. Fagnan, i. 107).

Tripoli remained under Aghlabid rule from 184 to 296 (800—909), but this century was not one of quiet; among many revolts, Ibn Ḵhaldūn mentions that of 196 (811—812) against ʿAbd Allāh, son of the Amīr Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, and against his successor Sufyān b. al-Madāʿ; its leaders were once again the Ibādī Berbers, who had their centre of resistance in the Djebel Nefūsa. Under the Aghlabid Amīr Ziyādat Allāh, Tripolitania was invaded by al-ʿAbbās, son of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, lord of Egypt; the governor of Tripoli, Muḥammad b. Ḳurhub, was vanquished in 255 (868—869) by ʿAbbās at Labda, and besieged for 43 days in Tripoli.

During the rule of the ʿUbaidīs in Northern Africa, Tripoli was subject to them, and they appointed its governors; a revolt, put down by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, is mentioned in 300 (912). When the ʿUbaidīs transferred themselves to Egypt, Tripoli was at first ruled by the Zīrids, left as their lieutenants in Ifrīḳiya, but not much later the independent rule of the Berber Banū Ḵhazrūn, of the Zanāta stock, was established there (391—541 = 1000—1145).

The history of this period of a century and a half is not quite clear, notwithstanding the information furnished by Ibn ʿAdharī, Ibn Ḵhaldūn and Ibn al-Athīr. Tripoli enjoyed a period of almost autonomous government, but it was ravaged by internal discord.

The invasion of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaim, an event which was to modify deeply the ethnical and political formation of Northern Africa, swept away also the rule of the Banū Ḵhazrūn in Tripoli. For twelve years (1146—1158), the city was under the Normans; it was then conquered by the Almohads, who held it for about a century, in the midst of raids and risings due to the adventurer Ḳarāḳush and to the Banū Ghāniya.

The condition of Tripoli under the Ḥafṣids is better known, thanks to Ibn Ḵhaldūn, al-Tīdjānī and al-Zarkashī. The dependence of Tripoli upon the Almohads ceased in 646 (1247—1248), when Muḥammad b ʿIsā al-Hintātī was appointed governor of the city. Al-Tīdjānī, who passed through Tripoli in 1308 A. D., found a Ḥafṣid governor, there living in a castle (*ḳaṣaba*), probably on the site of the present castle; the city was administered by the governor and a council of 10 notables (*shaikh*), who used to meet in a sanctuary called *masdjid al-ʿashara*. The traveller observed in Tripoli a fine bath (*ḥammām*), broad, clean streets, mostly meeting at right angles; he admired the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, a Great Mosque (*al-ḏjāmiʿ al-aʿẓam*), many shrines, a *madrasa* (*al-madrasa al-mustanṣirīya*), strong walls in good repair, with a moat in some parts. The city's intellectual life was flourishing at this time; cultivated people abounded

A short time after al-Tīdjānī's visit, Tripoli appears in the history of the internal rivalries in the Ḥafṣid family, at the time of al-Liḥyānī; later, notwithstanding the permanence of the Ḥafṣid rule, the city had a second, almost autonomous dynasty, that of the Banū Thābit or Banū ʿAmmār Berbers (1324—1400 A. D.) In this period Tripoli was conquered for a few days by the Genoese Filippo Doria, who sacked it in 1354, and immediately sold it, for 50,000 *miṯḳāl*s of gold, to the Marīnids The Ḥafsid Sulṭān Abū Fāris made his direct influence felt as far as Tripoli for a few decades longer; later the city was almost independent under its own rulers, until 1510, the date of the Spanish conquest.

Peter of Navarre, who had conquered Oran in 1509, and Bougie in January 1510, reached Tripoli with his Spanish troops in July 1510; the city was much damaged by the attack and the looting of Spaniards, who however reconstructed the castle in the form it has preserved more or less up to this day; they also repaired the walls. Little is known of the 20 years of Spanish rule (1510–1530).

Already in 1524 the city had been visited by a committee of the Order later called of Malta, which had left Rhodes and had repaired to Civita Vecchia and Viterbo. In 1530, when the Maltese archipelago was conferred on the Order as a fief by the Emperor Charles V, Tripoli also went to the new rulers The Knights of Malta maintained themselves at Tripoli from 1530 to 1551, holding out against the attacks of the rebel Arabs, who received help from the Barbary corsairs in alliance with the Porte. Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa, who in 1533 had occupied Tunis, now threatened Tripoli; after him Murād Aghā, a corsair arrived from Constantinople, directed from Tadjūra the continual inroads on Tripoli by land and sea. The Order had in Tripoli a garrison of Knights and of Italian and Spanish mercenary troops, its authority was limited to the city and its immediate environs. On August 5th 1551, Sinān Pāshā, with Darghūt Pāshā and Murād Aghā, besieged the city, and took it on August 13th; the Governor-Commander Fra Gaspar de Valier was able to depart for Malta with the Knights of the garrison; most of the mercenaries were slaughtered. Murād Aghā became the new governor for the Porte, with the title of Beylerbey; his name is preserved by the large mosque in Tadjūra; about 1554 he was succeeded by Darghūt Pāshā, an important figure in Ottoman and Barbaresque history, and especially in that of Tripoli: he was killed in the siege of Malta (1565 A. D.) and was buried in the mosque he had founded at Tripoli Spain and the Order of Malta tried many times to take the city from the Turks; the expedition of 1559—1560 ended in disaster at the island of Djerba; the attempt of 1589—1590, in spite of an understanding with a rebel *murābiṭ*, Yaḥyā, was fruitless. Many times the galleys of Malta entered Tripoli's harbour, and burned its vessels.

Tripoli was the seat of the *oḏjaḳ* of the same name, one of the three *oḏjaḳs* of the Janissaries in Barbary. Their chief, sent from Constantinople, bore the title of Pāshā. However in Tripoli, as in Tunis and Algiers, owing to the distance and the decay of the central government, a domineering oligarchy was soon formed in the Janissaries' quarters, and through marriages with the local population, the *Ḳulughlī* ethnical class developed Christian renegades were many and very powerful. Rule was wielded by the Pāshā, assisted by a *dīwān*; the administration was presided over by a Dey, the army by a Bey Often Dey and Bey were the real masters of the city; the whole history of Tripoli in the xviiith century and in the beginning of the xviiith, is full of these risings of Janissaries. While the central government grew weaker, and anarchy prevailed in the interior, the Consuls' power increased, especially in the case of the consuls of France, England, and, later, of Sardinia.

A period of great power for Tripoli began with the rule of Meḥemmed Pāshā Saḳızlī, of Chios, who reigned from 1042 to 1059 (1632—1649), and was succeeded by his son-in-law ʿUthmān Pāshā, also of Chios (1649—1672) During these 60 years, within which fell the famous siege of Candia (1645—1669), the corsair navy of Tripoli became more daring than in the past, and captured many prizes, Tripoli was enriched by new mosques and public baths. Under their successors, England in 1676 and France in 1685 broke the pirates' overbearing pride with bombardments and threats. Internal struggles continued up to 1711, when Ahmad Ḳaramānlī (Caramanli) succeeded, by slaughtering his opponents, in establishing a dynasty, which ruled, with the consent of Constantinople, for over a century (1711–1835) The rule of the Ḳaramānlī [q. v.] has left to this day many traces in Tripoli, in the part that remains of the Muslim and Barbaresque city, we shall therefore give a fuller account of its history.

Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī (1711—1745), founder of the dynasty, was an energetic figure, in the 34 years of his rule Tripoli enjoyed comparative peace and economic prosperity; its power was felt more strongly than ever before, even in the interior of Tripolitania, as far as Fezzan and the territory of Barḳa (Cyrenaica). Having unmasked, in 1721, a plot against his life, he secured, with his family and friends, the actual control of administration and government. An historian, Ibn Ghalbūn, wrote about 1731—1732 the *History of Tripoli*, which is largely concerned with his reign. there were also poets who celebrated his exploits and his generosity. He was, however, cruel, a tyrant towards his enemies and all those who excited his suspicion. He died blind in 1745. Among his acts, Ibn Ghalbūn mentions many *waḳf* in favour of the city, the construction of an aqueduct which brought the water of a neighbouring spring, by means of a water-wheel, to the castle and the mosques, a fountain on the beach to supply sailors with water. But his best memorial is the mosque erected (1737–1738) on the side overlooking the castle, with its *madrasa*, which is still frequented, and enriched by many revenues, among them that of the neighbouring *sūḳ* He also embellished the castle with new rooms and restored it. He had difficulties with the Powers and with the consuls on account of the damage sea-trade suffered at the hands of his corsairs, but showed humanity and often generosit towards Christians, who from that time began t settle in larger numbers in the city and to pl their trades and crafts. The Franciscan missio was also kindly treated by him.

His son and successor, Meḥemmed Pāshā Ḳa ramānlī (1745—1754), reigned too short a tim to leave lasting memories; in 1751 the Englis defended with energy the rights of their citizen on the seas. In 1752 he put down a revolt o Albanians. Muḥammad was succeeded by his so ʿAlī Pāshā (1754—1793), whose period of rule i well known through abundant historical source printed and MSS. In 1765 he signed in Venice through an ambassador, a peace treaty with th Republic, in the following year, his promise having been broken, a Venetian fleet, commande by the captain Giacomo Nani, obliged the Pāshā t observe them. Under ʿAlī Pāshā the governmen was composed as follows. the Pāshā, suprem head of the State, with almost regal authority the Bey, commander of the troops, the *Aghā* chief of Janissaries, the *Kāhyā*, first civil authorit and the Pāshā's counsellor, the *Ḳa'īs*, commande of the corsair fleet, the *Khaznadār*, State Trea surer, one *sheikh*, administrator of the city, a so of mayor, a *khōḏja*, assisted by other clerks in th State Chancery. Important decisions were take in the *dīwān* of council composed of men wh had been ambassadors to Europe or military com manders. It was said that ʿAlī Pāshā had begu to neglect consultations with the *dīwān*.

In 1784—1785 Tripoli was ravaged by a ter rible famine and by the plague: of the city' 14,000 inhabitants one fourth is said to hav perished. ʿAlī Ḳaramānlī's reign was unfortunat on account of family quarrels, due to the ambitio of one of his sons, Yūsuf Bey, who in 1790 wen so far as to kill his brother Ḥasan Bey in th arms of his mother Lalla Ḥallūma. In 1793, whil Yūsuf Bey had become an outlaw and was wagin war against his father, a certain ʿAlī Borghu formerly an official in Algiers, entered the harbou with a few ships and Greek mercenaries, an occupied the city during the night of July 30th ʿAlī Pāshā took refuge in Tunis, whence he re turned in 1795, with his children, thanks to th help of Ḥamūda Pāshā of Tunis. ʿAlī Borghu turned once more to the sea on the night c February 8th.

Aḥmed II Pāshā, son of ʿAlī Pāshā Ḳaramānl assumed the rule while his father, who died in 179 still lived, but was unable to hold it against th jealousy of his brother Yūsuf, who took his plac in June 1795.

Yūsuf Pāshā Ḳaramānlī (1795–1832) possessed together with courage and foresight, all th perfidy, wiles and cruelty of a Barbary sovereign He carefully repaired the fortifications, an restored the city walls between the harbou and the castle, as is proved by an inscriptio of 1215 (1800—1801) in the neighbourhood of th *sūḳ al-naḏjdjāra* (market of the carpenters). Durin the Napoleonic wars, in consequence of the Egyp tian expedition and of the occupation of Malta, th Regency of Tripoli acquired international import ance. It was to have been used as a base t victual Malta and to keep up relations with Egyp after the English had gained control of the sea but this was not possible, as they had blockaded th harbour of Tripoli, and taken in charge the Frenc

consul, whom they landed at Genoa. In 1801 France resumed friendly relations with Yūsuf Pāshā. In 1803–1815 Tripoli was on bad terms with the United States: the ship *Philadelphia*, which had come there to punish the pirates, stuck on the rocks of the harbour and was burnt; the Americans then appealed to Ahmad Ḳaramānlī, the deposed brother, and tried to provoke rebellion in Cyrenaica, but could not get the advantage of the crafty Pāshā Piracy meanwhile went on, having survived down to the time of Yūsuf Pāshā At the head of the fleet was his son-in-law Muṣṭafā Gurdjī, who amassed great wealth, and spent part of it in constructing the mosque which bears his name (1249 = 1833—1834). As a consequence of the decisions taken at the congress of Vienna in 1815, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, Lord Exmouth reached Tripoli in 1816 with a British fleet. Capitulations were renewed on England's behalf, and established for the first time on behalf of the Kingdom of Sardinia The latter, in 1825, sent a fleet to Tripoli, under Commander Sivori, for the purpose of settling difficulties raised by the Pāshā concerning the tribute which used to be paid on every change of consul, some Tripoli ships were burnt, and the Sardinian consul received full satisfaction In this period (1815—1830) the consuls' authority overruled that of the Pāshā, the French consul Rousseau and the English consul Warrington were rivals and particularly energetic

After a fruitless expedition of the Neapolitan fleet in 1830, the corsairs' power received its death-blow in the same year, with the French occupation of Algiers Admiral Rosamel exacted and obtained on August 9th the end of piracy and the freeing of all Christian slaves

Yūsuf Pāshā, who had wrested the power from his brother, was afflicted in his last years by the rebellion of his nephew Muhammad (1832), the chaotic conditions of the Regency, the intrigues of the Powers, and, above all, the French occupation of Algiers, induced the Porte, in 1835, to send an expedition to Tripoli The Turkish forces landed on May 27th and re-established direct Turkish rule in all of Tripolitania, including Barḳa (Cyrenaica). Yūsuf Pāshā, who in August 1832 had abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī, died under the new regime on August 4th 1838

The second period of Ottoman rule (1835—1911) was characterized by the progressive conquest of the interior, hindered by the ambitions and revolts of the tribes. The city however remained for 76 years entirely subject to the Ottomans, the conditions of the native population were practically unchanged; the city enjoyed a certain measure of progress thanks only to the foreign colonies, amongst which the Italian colony predominated as to numbers, influence, and private and financial enterprises. On October 5th 1911 Italian troops landed in Tripoli

The city, monuments. In the historical summary we have already mentioned some of Tripoli's monuments. Without describing the Roman and pre-Roman remains, like the necropolis to the NW. of the city and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, we may mention among Muslim monuments, the Djāmiʿ al-Nāḳa (*an-nāga* according to the local pronunciation), which is one of the most ancient, reconstructed by Ṣafar Bey in 1019 (1610–1611); Djāmiʿ Darghūt or Djāmiʿ Shāʾib al-ʿAin was built in 1110 (1698–1699) by Meḥemmed Pāshā, called *shāʾib al-ʿain*; Djāmiʿ Ḳaramānlī, finished under Aḥmad Pāshā Ḳaramānlī, in 1150 (1737–1738); Djāmiʿ Gurdjī, already mentioned; Djāmiʿ Ḥamūda, in front of one of the city doors, recently restored on behalf of the Awḳāf Direction, by Italian architects. Some mosques have attached to them *turba*s of great artistic and historical importance; worthy of mention are those connected with the mosques of Darghūt, of Ḳaramānlī, the *turba* and the *madrasa* of ʿUthmān Pāshā, near the Arch of Marcus Aurelius The ancient cemetery was outside the walls, on the NW. corner of the city; many gravestones had been built into the fortifications, and when the latter were demolished, were placed in the city museum, founded after the Italian occupation. There are now other cemeteries outside the city, the best known is that of Sīdī Minder (Munaidhar, one of the Prophet's Companions). The Ottoman occupation has left no traces in the city monuments, except a few private buildings, and the military constructions outside the walls, especially in the Eastern plain and in the Menscia The Italian government has but slightly modified the Muslim city's aspect in its native quarters and in the Hāra, the Jews' ghetto, a lengthy portion of the walls, however, had to be demolished, part of them has been restored, and adapted to civic and sanitary requirements. The side of the city overlooking the sea has however been completely transformed by the construction of a modern harbour, piers and a large avenue along the beach (Lungomare Volpi, from the name of the Governor for 1921—1925). The Castle (*serāya* of the Arabs), partly adapted to public offices by the Turks, has been restored in 1922—1923.

Administration. At present that part of the city's affairs which is not directly conducted by the Government, is administered by a Municipality, presided over by a Mayor (*raʾīs al-baladīya* for the natives), and by Government commissioners The administration of mosques and *waḳf*s is in the hands of an *idārat al-awḳāf*, composed of Muslims

Public instruction. Muslim school organizations, with *madrasa*s and *kuttāb*s for religious instruction, exist alongside of the Italian schools.

Libraries. There is a Government Library in the Castle, it contains a limited collection of works on Muslim history and religion, and some Arabic manuscripts In the Castle the Ottoman Archives are also preserved, its most ancient documents go as far back as 1850 only. Of great importance for Tripoli's history are the archives of the French and English consulates, the more recent ones of the Sardinian, Tuscan and Neapolitan consulates are preserved in the Government Library

Private families possess small collections of books, containing also manuscripts. But the most important library is the so-called Library of the Awḳāf (*kutubkhānat* or *maktabat al-awḳāf*). The central nucleus of this collection was established by Muṣṭafā Khōdja al-Miṣrī, first clerk at the time of ʿAlī Pāshā Ḳaramanlī. The act (*waḳfīya*) which founds as a *waḳf* the *madrasa*, the *kuttāb* and the library annexed to them, together with a small shrine, is dated. beginning of Djumādā II 1183 (October 1769). Successively various Muslims left books as a *waḳf* to the library, which was enriched by part of the books left by the Tripoli historian Aḥmad al-Nāʾib al-Anṣārī, and in 1922 by a gift of printed books from the Governor Count G.

Volpi. A systematic catalogue of this library has not yet been compiled, but an Arabic index-inventory is available. The books are arranged according to subject, following the traditional Muslim classification; printed and manuscript works are not separated; all the books, except a few Turkish ones, are in Arabic.

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TŪBŪ, a people of the Eastern Sahara

The Tūbū are distributed over an immense territory lying between the Libyan desert on the east and the Haggar on the west, Fezzan in the north and the region of Tchad in the south In Fezzan, they constitute the greater part of the district of Gatrūn, they are found in Kūfra; they occupy Tibesti, Borkū, Bodele, the northern port of Wadai, the valley of the Bahr al-Ghazal; they are very numerous in Kanem and in the oasis of Kawar. The name Tūbū or Tibbū was given by Europeans to all these people but the various groups call themselves by particular names. Tūbū is applied more particularly to the natives of Tibesti; in the Kanūri language it means the people of Tū or Tibesti; the latter call themselves Tēda; in the same way are distinguished the Amma Borkuā (Borkū), the Kreda, Norea, Cheurafade in Wadai, the Koeherda in the Bahr al-Ghazal. From the linguistic point of view, two groups may be recognised, speaking dialects very different in vocabulary. the Tēda of Tibesti and the Dazāgada settled in the southern districts. The Arabs give the latter the name of Gouran.

The Tūbū are very distinct from the black Sudanese on the one side, and the Arabs and Berbers on the other. They are as a rule of small stature, with a lean and slim body, dark skin, straight nose, sometimes aquiline, thin lips, and smooth hair. These physical characteristic are particularly strongly defined in the Tēda, who have remained isolated in their mountains. They are found scattered through the Dazāgada, who are more or less mixed with negro blood The poverty of their country dooms them to a wretched existence. Some are nomads, others sedentary. The main supplies come from the cultivation of the palm-tree and cereals in the "ennedi" or moist valleys, the rearing of goats in Tibesti and of cattle in the Tchad region. The Tēda also make some money by hiring out their camels· they act as guides to caravans but are particularly given to brigandage whenever an occasion arises. This mode of life develops in them an extraordinary power of resistance to fatigue and privations, but also makes them treacherous and cruel robbers, as European travellers from Nachtigal, who was the first to study them, onwards, are all agreed. — The settled Tūbū are found in groups, not as a rule large They either dwell in little stone houses, covered with palm-branches, or in huts of wattle with roofs of thatch, or even in caves roughly furnished. The gardens adjoining the huts are cultivated by slaves while the Tūbū themselves fight and herd the flocks.

The Tūbū are divided into two classes the nobles or "maina" and the common people. Among the Tēda, the tribes are divided into suzerain and servile tribes The former are three in number, the Thomāghera, the Gūnda, who have almost all emigrated to Fezzan and the Tuzaba. The Sultān of Tibesti, or Dardai, who rules the country with the help of a council of nobles is compulsorily elected among the Thomāghara Among the Tūbū, on the other hand, as among the Sudanese peoples, the Haddād (smiths and fishers and hunters) form a distinct caste, regarded as inferior and despised by all From the religious point of view the Tūbū are Muslims but, it seems, only recent converts. The Arabs treat them like dogs and regard them as infidels. They have actually retained fetishist superstitions and practices, and their own customs which are on many points in contradiction with the Kur'ānic law For example, they do not take the *diya* or pecuniary compensation in case of murder nor do they observe the prohibition relative to fermented liquors. The Tūbū are none the less fanatical Muslims, especially in Tibesti, Borkū and Bahr al-Ghazal; they are very much under the influence of the Sanusiya, of the zāwiya of Waū, of Anigalaka, etc and have opposed a resistance to European penetration.

We have only incomplete and fragmentary notes on the history of the Tūbū The Arab authors down to Makrīzī make no mention of them Relying on a passage in this author reproduced by Leo Africanus, they were for long regarded as Berbers and they have been identified with the Bardoa, mentioned by both these geographers. Barth tried to reconcile this view with the fact ascertained by him of the affinity of the Tūbū and Kanūri languages. On the other hand it is now agreed,

that the Tūbū originally lived in the Sūdān and were then driven into the Sahara. In any case, they seem to have played a fairly important role in the history of Kanem. Some of their clans took part with the Kanembon in the foundation of this kingdom. Down to the end of the XIIth century A. D. the sulṭāns of Kanem kept up the custom of marrying wives from the Tūbū. A certain number of Tūbū had settled in Kanem, which the tribes who had remained in Tibesti came to attack in the XIIIth century. Sulṭān Dūname II was forced into a seven years' war with them, out of which he emerged victorious but with the resources of his kingdom exhausted In the XIVth century the Tūbū were the allies of the Būlaba and helped the latter to conquer Kanem Settled in the lands around Lake Tchad, they shared the fortunes of their neighbours [cf. the articles BORNŪ, KANEM]. As to the Tūbū of Tibesti, nothing precise is known about them till the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries In this period they were frequently raiding Bornū and Fezzān. A defeat which they suffered in 1788 forced them to cease their raids into the latter country but in the second half of the XIXth century, they had in their turn to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the Wlad Sliman and the Tūareg.

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(G. YVER)

TUDELA, Ar. TUṬILA, a little town in Spain, with about 9,500 inhabitants, 860 feet above sea-level and 50 miles N. W. of Saragossa, on the right bank of the Ebro and the left bank of a tributary of the latter, the Queiles (Ar *Kālash*). According to the Arab geographers, it was founded by the Umaiyads in the reign of the emīr al-Ḥakam I (180—206 = 796—822) In this period and on several other occasions, it was the headquarters of rebel Muslim leaders for example in 229 (843—844) the emīr ʿAbd al-Rahmān laid siege to it and in 264 (877—878) al-Mundhir. It was several times taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III made it his base on one of his expeditions to the north of the Peninsula in 308 (920—921) The general al-Hamīd b. Basīl had to recapture it three years later for the same sovereign The Arab historians do not tell us at what period Tudela finally passed into Christian hands.

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TUDJĪB (BANŪ), the name of an Arab family several members of which attained distinction during Muslim rule in Spain in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* as well as under the Omaiyad caliphs The family became divided into two branches, the Banū Hāshim of Saragossa and the Banū Sumādiḥ of Almeria The family of the Banū Tudjīb had settled in Aragon at the conquest In the reign of the emīr Muhammad I (239—273 = 852—886), its head was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tudjībī and his authority over his fellow-tribesmen was recognised by the ruler of Cordova, who thus tried to put an end to the power of another family in Aragon, of Visigothic origin, the Banū Kasī. On the Banū Tudjīb, who were later vassals of Cordova, and then of the independent rulers (Banū Hāshim) of Saragossa down to the time they were dethroned in favour of the Banū Hūd, cf. above, s v SARAGOSSA.

The other Tudjībid branch, that of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ, had early been driven out of Aragon by the descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tudjībī In the first half of the fifth century A H, Abu 'l-Aṣbagh Maʿn [q. v] b Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b Sumādiḥ al-Tudjībī, the head of the second branch, succeeded in gaining possession of the little principality of Almeria, founded in 1025 by the two "Slavs" Khairān and Zuhair On his death in 443 (1052) his son Abū Yaḥyā Muhammad succeeded him with the *laḳab* al-Muʿtasim He was then only 14 years of age and for three years his uncle Sumādiḥ b Muhammad acted as regent. Al-Muʿtasim remained ruler of Almeria till his death in 484 (1091) and his long reign was very brilliant and prosperous, if we may believe the Arab chroniclers. His son, Ahmad Muʿizz al-Dawla, succeeded him but soon after his accession, he retired before the Almoravids and when the latter seized Seville he went to Bougie, where he ended his life in obscurity as did his sons.

Bibliography. The history of the Tudjībids has been given in detail by R. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire des Todjībides, les Beni Hâchim de Saragosse et les Beni Çomâdih d'Alméria*, in *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen-âge*[3], Paris–Leyden 1881, i. 211—281 Cf also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930), part 2, *passim*; A Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p 43—45, 61—62; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861, iv, *passim* (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ṬUFAILĪ, "parasite, sponger". This is the meaning given to the word in the majority of the European dictionaries of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, e g Bélot, Ghaffārow, Sāmī-bey, etc. But this does not render the exact shade of meaning of the word, which was first of all applied to an individual who goes to a feast without being invited or accompanies a person invited. A little lower class of parasite is called in everyday Persian *ṭufailī*

the term applied to hangers on of the *ṭufailī*

According to the Arabic dictionaries, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xiii., p 429, *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs*, vii., p. 418 the word *ṭufailī* comes from a native of Kūfa, Ṭufail al-Aʿrās, "Ṭufail the feaster", who used to attend all the feasts without having been invited and was wont to express his delight that Kūfa was like a bowl, nothing in the interior of which escaped his eye. From this name Ṭufail come the Arabic verbs *ṭaffala* or *taṭaffala*. "to act like Ṭufail". The latter lived in the time of the Umaiyads and belonged to the Banū ʿAbd Allāh b Ghatafān His story is told as early as Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244 = 858).

In the form *ṭufail*, the word (in Persian) has the special meaning of "complement, thing thrown into the bargain, thing one gives up". Hāfiẓ says in one of his odes "all human beings and the *pārī* are corollaries (*tufail*) of the existence of love".

In Hindustānī (cf. Shakespear, *A Dict. Hind. and Engl*, p. 1436), *ṭufail* is used adverbially in the sense of "by means of, through, for the sake of".

(V Minorsky)

ṬŪFĀN. [See Nūh]

TŪGH (T), a yak's tail (*kuṭās*), later replaced by a horse's tail attached to a pole, sometimes surmounted by a crescent and used as a standard and rallying point for troops It was also used as badge of military ranks in the early Ottoman empire the *mīr-līwā* and *sanǧaḳ-bey* had one, the *beyler-bey* two, the viziers three, the grand vizier five and the Sulṭān in time of war seven or nine tails When a Pāshā was dismissed from office he was deprived of this badge It was abolished by Sulṭān Maḥmūd II along with the other badges of the Janissaries — In Central Asia the bearer of this standard was called *tūgh-begi*

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TUGHA TĪMŪR, a Mongol Khān, whose dynasty ruled in Djurdjān for a century before 808 (1405).

The Name. The Khān's name may be read Tugha or Togha The *Zafar-nāma* transcribes it *Ṭghy* (Tughai?), on a coin published by Fraehn it is spelled Toghan (in Mongol character; cf Howorth, *op. cit.*, iii 718).

Family. Tugha Tīmūr b Sūrī (Surikuī?) b Bābā Bahādur was a descendant in the sixth generation from a brother of Čingiz-Khān (Ǧučī-Kasar, *Shaǧarat*, p. 315, misunderstood by Miles) In 705 (1305) Bābā Bahādur arrived in Khorāsān with his *tuman* (10,000 families) and entered the service of Ūldjāitū-Khān. In 715 (1315) he made a raid into Khwārizm. On the complaint of Özbek, Khān of the Eastern Ḳipčaḳ, Ūldjāitū executed Bābā and his son Sūrī (*Shaǧarat*, p. 321, 330; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 572—5). The tribe of Bābā remained in Māzandarān (at this period, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 159, this term included Djurdjān and the eastern part of Tabaristān).

After the death of the Hūlāgid Abū Saʿīd (736), anarchy broke out in Persia. The Djalāyir Ḥasan Buzurg put the pretender Muḥammad on the throne. As a result of a quarrel among the amīrs of Ḥasan Buzurg, a number of them, like the Uighur Igrandj (Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 315, 320, wrongly Akarpukh) with the help of the amīrs of Khorāsān (Shaikh ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Ḳushdjī, ʿAlī Djaʿfar, Arghun-Shāh) went to Tugha Tīmūr whom they proclaimed Khān in 737 (1337) Tugha Tīmūr, accompanied by his amīrs, marched on Ādharbāidjān where he was rejoined by the other claimant Mūsā supported by the Oyrats. Tugha Tīmūr and Mūsā proposed to divide Persia, but on the 6th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 737 they were defeated by Ḥasan Buzurg on the Garmarūd (west of Miyāna, *Shaǧarat*, p. 316; d'Ohsson, iv. 726). Tugha Tīmūr withdrew to Bistām where he ruled over Māzandarān (in the sense above mentioned) and Khorāsān. At the same time the exactions of the minions of Khodja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad, vizier of Khorāsān, provoked a rising and the coming to power of the Sarbadārs [q v] The expansion of their power considerably cut down that of Tugha Tīmūr. With the Kart dynasty of Herāt, Tugha Tīmūr was on friendly terms, for his daughter Sultān-Khātūn had married Muʿizz al-Dīn Kart (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 320).

In 739 (1338) Ḥasan Buzurg himself invited Tugha Tīmūr to come to the ʿIrāḳ. He went there with the amīr Arghun-shāh, son of Nawruz and grandson of the celebrated Arghun-aḳā, cf Djuwainī, ii 251 [this family held Nīshābūr, Tūs and Kalāt, it is known by the Mongol name of Djāʾun (Djūn) Ghuibān (in Persia Djānī-Ḳurbānī)] Ḥasan Buzurg went to see Tugha Tīmūr at Sāwa but on the one hand Khodja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad, who had control of the financial administration, appeased the inhabitants and on the other the Khān himself entered into negotiations with the Čobanid Hasan Kūčik. The latter seized the opportunity to compromise the Khān with Hasan Buzurg Disgusted by his intrigues, the simple Mongol that very night broke his camp at Maiāgha (?) and returned to Khorāsān (*Shaǧarat*, p 327; d'Ohsson, iv 732).

In 741 (1341) Tugha Tīmūr for the third time invaded the ʿIrāḳ He was supported by the princess Satī, daughter of Ūldjāitū-Khān, and by Shiburghān, her son by the amīr Čoban, but the army of Tugha Tīmūr commanded by his brother ʿAlī-Gāwun was defeated at Abhar by the troops of Hasan Kūčik

Khorāsān very soon passed under the rule of the Sarbadārs who drove Arghun-shāh, lord of Nīshābūr and Tūs, out of it The Sarbadār Wadjīh al-Dīn Masʿūd defeated the Khān's troops on the Atrak, slew ʿAlī-Gāwun and even held Djurdjān for a time. According to Dawlat-Shāh, p 236—237, Tugha Tīmūr had to be content with nominal power (*nām-u-rasm-i salṭanat*) although the Sarbadārs appeared once a year at the Khān's court to pay homage as vassals (*mulāzimat wa-taḳdīd-i ʿahd*) During one of these visits the Khān was assassinated at Sultān-duwīn (between Gurgān and the Kara-su) by the Sarbadār Yaḥyā Karābī. The chronogram composed by the poet ʿAzīzī gives the date of this event as the 16th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 754 (Dec. 1353). According to Dawlat-Shāh, Tugha Tīmūr resembled the Sarbadārs in his democratic tendencies; he encouraged people of modest origin and distrusted the nobles. He spent the summer at Rādkān and the winter on the Gurgān He built a fine *ʿimārat* at Mashhad. Coins in name of Tugha Tīmūr were struck not only at Āmul, Mashhad,

Ḳazwīn etc. but also at Baṣra (741) and Baghdād, (after 740) which shows the prestige which he enjoyed, in name at least (S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. vi., 1881, p. 98—101). According to the *Madjmaᶜ al-Fuṣaḥā*', the poet Ibn Yamīn was the panegyrist of Tugha Tīmūr (Browne, *Pers. Liter under Tartar Dominion*, p 216). The Khān himself is credited by some authorities with poetic gifts (v Hammer, *op cit.*, p. 341) and his title on coins is *al-Sulṭān al-ᶜĀlim*, "the learned sulṭān".

After an interval during which the Sarbadārs appointed their own governor at Astarābād, power in Djurdjān passed to Tugha Tīmūr's old general 2 Amīr Walī, son of Shaikh ᶜAlī Hindū (or Bīsūd). With the support of the lord of Nasā (of the Djā'un Ghoibān family), he defeated the Sarbadārs and won himself a principality which included Astarābād, Bisṭām, Damghān, Samnān and Fīrūzkūh (*Maṭlaᶜ al-Saᶜdain* under 761 A. H. in Dorn, *Auszuge*, p. 155—157) In 772 (1370) he tried to conquer Raiy but the Djalāyirid Uwais defeated him. In the following year Uwais, eager to dispose of Amīr Walī, resumed the campaign but did not go beyond Ūdjān In 774 Amīr Walī instigated by the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudjāᶜ took Raiy and Sāwa. The death of Uwais (776 = 1374) put an end to any further military preparations (Markov, *Katalog Djelayri. Monet*, St Petersburg 1897, p. xiv.) When in 783 (1381) Tīmūr took and razed to the ground Isfarāyin which had been held by Amīr Walī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 325), the latter received with all honour the envoys of the conqueror, but once Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand, Walī came to an arrangement with ᶜAlī-beg, son of Arghūn-Shāh, who took Kalāt and Tūs (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 324) and he advanced against the Sarbadār ᶜAlī Muaiyid Tīmūr returned to Khorāsān in the winter of the same year (1381—1382), besieged Kalāt and went on to Djurdjān Via Rūghī (?) he went to Kabūd-Djāma and Shāsmān (Kabūd-Djāma, now Hādjdjilar, on the left bank tributary of the Gurgān, between Nardin and Gunbad-i Kābūs). Amīr Walī hastened to send propitiatory presents to Tīmūr and the latter returned by Samulkān [in the Atrak valley] (*ibid*, p. 349, 351) In the meanwhile ᶜAlī-beg was also reduced to submission. He and his relatives (*mutaᶜallikān*) were deported to Transoxania. ᶜAlī-beg was executed at Andidjān in 784 (*ibid.*, p 355)

In 785 (1383) Tīmūr sent troops to the lands of Amīr Walī Having conquered Sīstān, Tīmūr took the field in person against Amīr Walī. After the battle of Gāwais (*Ẓafar-nāma* Gāwkrsh) the fortress of Durūn (halfway between Askhābād and Kīzīl-Arwat) was taken (*ibid*, i. 382) Tīmūr continued his advance on Dihistān and Djilāwūn (= Mashhad-i Miṣriyān on the Atrak below Čat) and crossed the river of Gurgān Amīr Walī valiantly fought his advance step by step but his night attack (in Shawwāl 786 [1384]) failed Tīmūr occupied Astarābād Amīr Walī sent his family to Gird-Kūh (near Damghān) and himself fled to the west (*ibid*, i. 382—386) He took part in the defence of Tabrīz [q v] against Toḳtamish and in 788 (1386) finally met his death through the treachery of his host Maḥmūd Khalkhālī (*ibid.*, p. 392, 398).

3. Luḳmān Pādshāh, son of Tugha Tīmūr, who had been driven out of Djurdjān by the usurper Amīr Walī, was re-established in his hereditary fief by Tīmūr in 786 The latter enjoined him to keep on good terms with the saiyid-wālīs of Sārī and Āmul (*ibid.*, p. 387, 391).

During the campaign of 794 (1391) the ruler of Astarābād was 4. Pīr [or Pīrāk] Pāshā, son of Luḳmān Pāshā (= Pādshāh; *Ẓafar-nāma*, i 570) whom Tīmūr had installed there after the death of his father. Pīr Pāshā entertained Tīmūr lavishly and procured him ships for the conquest of Mahānasar (4 farsakhs from Āmul). His loyal services are also mentioned in 806 (1404) on the occasion of Tīmūr's expedition against Iskandar Čalāwī in Māzandarān (*ibid.*, ii. 591). At the beginning of the reign of Shāhrukh, Sultān ᶜAlī of Sabzawār having collected a body of Sarbadārs rebelled in Khorāsān. Pīr Pādshāh appeared suddenly in Djuwain and joined Sultān ᶜAlī, but the allies were defeated by Saiyid Khodja sent by Shāhrukh (*Maṭlaᶜ al-Saᶜdain, N. E*, 1843, p. 26). Sultān ᶜAlī with his allies sought refuge with Mīrān-shāh, who had come from Āḏharbāidjān but the latter handed him over to Saiyid Khodja. On this occasion several sons of Pīr Pādshāh fell into the hands of Saiyid Khodja (*ibid.*, p 54, 80) In 808 Shāhrukh promised Pīr Pādshāh that he would be safe and summoned him to his court. Saiyid Khodja, however, overwhelmed with tokens of gratitude by Shāhrukh, conceived ambitious projects, entered into negotiations with Iskandar (of Fārs) and finally rose in rebellion From Kalāt he had to seek refuge with Pīr Pādshāh This provoked Shāhrukh's expedition against Māzandarān (809 = 1406) Pīr Pādshāh had considerable forces under him but lost the battle. He fled to Khwārizm and Saiyid Khodja went to Shīrāz Shāhrukh set prince ᶜOmar Bahādur up in Māzandarān but he soon rebelled and was replaced by Ulūgh-beg In 810 the latter informed his father Shāhrukh of Pīr Pādshāh's new preparations For a second time Shāhrukh set out for Māzandarān and the news of his advance forced Pīr Pādshāh to seek refuge with the Bādūspānid Kayūmarth b. Bisūtūn Without striking a blow Shāhrukh re-established his authority at Astarābād and Shāsmān

In 812, the son of Pīr Pādshāh, 5. Sulṭān ᶜAlī came to Shāhrukh and took part in the expedition to Sīstān but on the news of the death of his father fled to Rustamdār. There he obtained the support of the amīr Kayūmarth and collected his father's forces On the departure of Shāhrukh for Transoxania Sultān ᶜAlī tried to take Astarābād but was defeated and slain by the governor His head was sent to Harāt (*Maṭlaᶜ al-Saᶜdain*, in Dorn, *Auszuge*, p 195).

Bibliography Cf. the article SERBEDĀRS. Dawlat-Shāh, *Taḏkirat al-Shuᶜarā'*, ed. Browne, p. 236—237, 280, 282—283, Bombay 1887, p. 104, 123; *Shadjarat al-Atrāk*, transl. Miles, London 1838, p. 315, 320—326 [this book is a synopsis by an unknown hand of the *Ta'rikh-i arbaᶜ Ulūs* written in the name of Ulugh-beg, cf. Barthold, *Turkestān*, *G. M. S.*, p. 57; it is quite different from the *Shadjara-yi turk* of Abu 'l-Ghāzī]; Mīrkhond, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Bombay 1261 (1845), v. 219, 220, 251; Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tihrān 1271, iii/1, p 128—129; Dorn, *Die Geschichte der Serbedare nach Chondemir* 1849, p 146, 150, 155; Dorn, *Auszuge aus Muham. Schriftstellern*, St. Petersburg 1858, cf. the index *sub* Tugha-timūr Khān, Amīr Walī, Luḳmān and Pīr Pādshāh; Münedjdjim-bashī, iii 12, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv.

726 *sqq.*; Hammer, *Geschichte d. Ilchane*, ii. 317—342; Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii. 638, 717—726; Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, and also the additions of Barthold in the Russian transl., St. Petersburg 1899, p. 249; Rabino, *Mazandaran*, 1928, *G. M. S.*, index.

(V. MINORSKY)

TUGHRA (Ottoman and Saldjuḳ Turkish), cipher or calligraphic emblem of the Oghuz, later Saldjuḳ and then Ottoman ruler, which in course of time became the coat of arms or escutcheon of the state, and was placed by the ruler not only on rescripts and firmans but on title-deeds of property, coins, official monuments, ships-of-war and in more modern times on documents of identification, passports, postage-stamps, sheets of stamped paper, goldsmith's marks etc.

Lexicology. The word tughra was synonymous with the Persian *nishān*, *nishāne* or *nīshān* (whence the Arabic plural *nayāshīn*) "sign" and with the Arabic *tawḳī*ʿ [q. v.] "cipher, signature" and in the concluding formula of firmans the tughra is called *ʿalāmet*. All these words have a wider meaning than *tughra*, and it came about, in Egypt for example, that the tughra was only a part or a particular aspect of the *ʿalāma*. Tughra has passed into Persian (cf. the examples from Ḥakīm-i Khāḳānī and Mīr Naẓmī, in *T. O. E. M.*, N⁰. 43, p. 56) and Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, i. 202), even thought the word was of Persian origin. According to Ibn Khallikān, it was in Persian that the orthography in Arabic characters became fixed as طغرى and طغرا (*ṭughrā*) with *alif maḳṣūra*. This is why it has been taken by Turkish literary usage for an elative Arabic feminine *fuʿlā*, and declined, according to Turco-Persian syntax, with feminine adjectives: *ṭughrā-i gharrā* "the illustrious or brilliant *tughra*". Some western writers also put it in the feminine ("die Tughra").

Arabic has for some time used the verb *ṭaghghara*, "to place the tughra upon" (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, ii. 211). Popular Arabic has confounded tughra with *ṭurra* طرّة "border of a piece of cloth or the upper border of a document" and this last name is given to the tughra in Djabartī (iv. 95, 2) and in present day usage in Egypt. This confusion, easily explained from the place in the document where the *tughra* was put (cf. below), is fairly old (cf. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*; cf. also Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, II/ii. 308, note).

In dialects, tughra is pronounced *tūra* and *tura*, for example in Gagauz (Radloff, *Proben*, x.; Moschkoff, p. 98) and thus becomes a homonym of a word, which means in Turkish "stick or sinew used for playing on a large drum, a twisted handerchief used in a game to strike someone in the hollow of the hand" (the Arabic *ṭurra*, already mentioned, is also found with this meaning: cf. also Arabic or Persian, *durra*, *derre*, "nerve").

In spite of all these attempts at assimilation by foreign languages, the word *tughra* must be considered as of purely Turkish origin. From valuable notes in Kāshgharī (i. 388), we know that it comes from the Oghuz *tughragh* (تغرغ) which meant:

1. "seal (*ṭābiʿ*) and cipher (*tawḳī*ʿ) of the Oghuz ruler (*malik*), but the (settled) Turks do not know it";

2. "any horse provisionally lent to the army for the days of a royal review or for the duration of a war (it is probable that this comes from the royal mark stamped upon the horse)".

Kāshgharī also gives (ii. 217) the verb *tughragh la-n-maḳ*, "to receive the *tughragh*" referring to a document or to a page (Turk. *oghlan*, Ar. *ghulām*)

The change *tughragh* > *tughra* is explained by the dropping, regular in Osmanli of the final guttural *gh* of the Oghuz. We have many other examples of the same phenomenon.

Like other Turkish and Persian words ending in *a* and borrowed by the Arabic, tughra in the latter langua gewas given the termination *-wāt* in the plural: *tughrāwāt* (cf. Ḳalḳashandī, xii. 162 like *aghāwāt*, *bāshāwāt*, *ḳalfāwāt*, *ustāwāt*, *khurdawāt*, etc.

On the other hand, the existence of the old form *tughragh* enables us to dispose of a number of rash etymologies proposed for *tughra*, like that of Zenker who sees in it, with metathesis, the optative *tur-gha(y)* "let it be so" or that of Tychsen who sees in it the word *doghru* "truth" (*Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum*, Rostock 1794, quoted in the *Description de l'Egypte*, xvi 338—339).

The theory which connects *tughra* with the name of the fabulous bird *tughri* deserves more space. The writers who have maintained it, Aḥmad Midḥat Efendi, Aḥmad Wefīḳ Pasha, Ziyā Gök Alp (*M. T.M.*, N⁰. 3, p. 404, 445) and Colonel ʿAlī (*T. O. E. M.*, N⁰. 43 and 44 of the year 1334), say that this bird was the badge (Ziyā Gök Alp says „totem") or *ongun* (اونغون) of the great Khāḳān of the Oghuz and that each of the 24 tribes under him and each of the 4 khāns who commanded them in groups of six had their *tamga*. Unfortunately not one of these authors gives their authority for their statements. The quotations from Rashīd al Dīn and Maḥmūd Kāshgharī only contain descriptions of this fabulous bird (we may add that it is mentioned in the *Shāhnāma*, ed. Mohl in folio, v. 619, 621; the Khāḳān makes a present of this bird to Bahrām Gūr).

Kāshgharī, although better placed than we are to discuss the etymology of *tughragh*, only says *wa-lā adrī aṣlahu*, "I do not know its origin".

History of the tughra. Unfortunately we do not know the pattern of the tughra used by the Oghuz or the Saldjuḳs, who were of the same race. The title of the *ṭughrāyi* or official appointed by the latter to draw the tughra has been preserved through the fame of one of them, who was vizier to Malik Shāh and Masʿūd and author of the *Lāmiya al-ʿadjam*, d. in 514 according to some, 518 according to others [see the art. AL-TUGHRĀʾĪ]. His biographer (Ibn Khallikān, ed. de Slane, i. 462; Ibn al-Wardī Cairo 1285, ii. 131; Ibn al-Athīr, *Recueil des Hist. des Croisades*, i. 327) all say that *ṭughrāyi* means the official who draws the *tughra*. M. Babinger mentions also a *raʾis dīwān al-inshāʾ* or *al ṭughrāwīya* from the *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al Surūr* (Cairo 1300, ii. 118), a work by ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bahāʾī, d. in 815 (1412).

We again find the tughra among the Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt, who no doubt borrowed it from the Saldjuḳs (through the Aiyūbids?). According to Ḳalḳashandī, it was only used down to the reign of Shaʿbān b. Ḥusain (1363—1376). This statement is confirmed by Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, *loc. cit.* who says the tughra was no longer in use in his

time, i. e. between 766 and 845 (1364—1442).

Ḳalḳashandī (xiii. 162—166) gives details of the tughra (طغرى) which the sulṭāns of Egypt placed upon *manshūr* (q v , plur *manāshīr*) or rescripts addressed to the chiefs of a 1,000 and to the *emīr ṭablkhāna*)

It was the duty of a special official to prepare these tughras on rectangular pieces of paper. The scribes then inserted these rectangles in the spaces left blank for them in the *ṭurra* or "upper part of the document", above the *basmala* (cf also Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II/II. 308—309)

The tughra was formed of the *alḳāb* of the Sulṭān, written on one line The text of the tughra of Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāsir Muhammad b. Ḳalā'ūn was *al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Nāṣir al-dunyā wa 'l-dīn, Muḥammad b. al-Sultān al-malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Kalā'ūn* (fig 1).

The uprights (*muntaṣib*) of all the vertical letters like *alif*, *kāf*, *lām*, *ṭā*, *ẓā*, which number 35 in this tughra, are considerably elongated isolated uprights alternating with groups of two (Ḳalḳashandī gives the exact measurements of the spaces left between the verticals). To secure this regular arrangement, some letters were displaced, this was the case with the *alif* of *al-malik*, which was inserted between the two *lāms* of *al-sulṭān* Under the line of titles were the words *khallada 'llāhu sulṭānahu* which were written, not by the official of the tughra, but by the scribe who wrote out the *manshūr* itself on which this formula encroaches a little (perhaps intentionally)

The size of this tughra, according to al-Kalḳashandī, was "a half *dhirā' al-kumāsh al-kāhirī*" in width and height The size of the characters or of the *ḳalam* varied according to the number of uprights

We refer to the same work for a description of fig. 2. In it we have 45 uprights (for 47 vertical letters), which are arranged in pairs with their extremities horizontal But the most striking peculiarity here is the fact that at the bottom of the verticals (traced in the *kalam djalīl al-thulth*) is written the name of the sultān, Sha'bān b Husain (in larger characters or *kalam al-ṭumār*).

We may call attention to the peculiar features of the two *nūn*'s (supplied by the words Sha'bān and [i]bn) which are in the centre It is probable that this is the junction of the two curves to be mentioned below

The Ottoman tughra, although derived in all probability from the same model (Saldjuḳ), differs markedly, in appearance at least, from the Egyptian tughra.

The oldest Ottoman tughra known to me is found on the coins of the emīr Sulaimān (806—816 = 1403—1416). All that von Hammer says on the subject of tughras dating from Murād I or his father Orkhān does not seem to be based on anything tangible Fekete, it is true, according to Khalīl Edhem, who gives no definite reference, speaks of coins of Murād I with the tughra, but this author's *Catalogue* does not mention these coins Colonel 'Alī (p. 110—111) also gives the scheme of the graphic evolution of the tughra from Murād I but without saying whence he had taken it.

It should be noted that the tughra of the emīr Sulaimān already contains the principal elements of this cipher, i e.

1. The verticals to the number of 3, which are taken from the *alif*'s in the name of the prince and his father. The words "Emīr Sulaimān" are surmounted by "(i)bn", in turn surmounted by Bāyazīd. In a tughra of Meḥmed (i)bn Bāyazīd (Mehmed I; cf Khalīl Edhem, *Muze-i humāyūn Meskūkāt-i 'Osmānīye*, Constantinople 1334, i. 31), there are 4 verticals but this number is exceptional and is only found, for the sulṭāns, at a comparatively remote period.

2 The oval or elliptical curves, not closed, to the number of two, which meet in the lower part of the name of the prince and which turning first to the left, ascend, then turn to the right to cut the verticals in their upper parts and then disappear on the right Exceptionally, we find one or three curves. The number two at quite an early period became sacred for the sulṭān's figure

These curves seem originally to have been prolongations of the letters *nūn*, which occur in the word (i)bn and in the name of the prince or of his father or in the tughra of prince Sulaimān, in that of Murād I (according to Colonel 'Alī), in that of Meḥmed I, where the second *nūn* is supplied by the word sultān (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *loc. cit*) or in the later tughra in which, according to Fekete, the *nūn*s of the word *ibn* and *khān* have been prolonged It is true that they are found very early, even when the names do not supply a second *nūn*, cf the tughras, incomplete it is true, given by Khalīl Edhem, p. 44, 48, 55, 65, 67 and 68.

At first the names and the patronymic were placed in the escutcheon, circumscribed by the curves but in the later development of the tughra this space was left party vacant. At first only the name of the sultān was left there; the name of his father and later the two names were placed quite at the bottom of the verticals where they formed a crowded group of intersecting lines, forming a more or less geometrical figure called *sere* which means "the little palm, space between the finger and the thumb" (properly "spreading out" = gerundive of the verb *ser-mek*, cf the saying *ser-e serp-e*, *sele serpe*; the word is found with the same meanings in Kirghiz, cf Radloff, *Wörterbuh*, iv 458).

Between the *sere* and the escutcheon is inserted the word *al-muẓaffar* "victorious" with the addition of *dā'iman* "always", which is placed in the form of a very conventional seal in the centre of the escutcheon. The final *alif* of the word *dā'imā* (*dā'iman*) is lengthened and, turning sharply round to the left, cuts through the curves. These words appeared for the first time according to I. Ghālib Edhem (*Catalogue*, p. ; and 206 note) on the coins of Ibrāhīm II, whose reign began in 1049 A. H.

The two extremities to the right of the curves are given an elongated and more elegant form They have become one more characteristic feature of the modern tughra of which they form the arms (*tughra ḳollarī*) From the tops of the three verticals descend three broken lines like floating flames. As to the word Khān, after having figured at the end of the name of the sovereign's father, it was added to that of the sovereign from the time of Maḥmūd I (1730—1754).

In the field to the right of the tughra, was frequently placed a flower. In the same place the sulṭāns later put their title of *ghāzī* when they had the right to it (Maḥmūd II put his poetic

note de plume ʿAdlī there, cf. fig. 8). For the other modifications in detail undergone by the tughra, cf. Fekete, p. xliv., note 1.

The form of tughra which we have just described has often been imitated by private individuals who used to substitute for the name of the sulṭān religious formulae to make *lawḥa* or calligraphic plaques to hang up in mosques, libraries, cafés or private houses. In Egypt we even find tradesmen's signs of this kind, but they are now disappearing and it was quite recently allowable to order a *ḵhaṭṭāṭ* or a maker of faience to make a tughra in one's own name (cf. fig. 12, 13).

The official use of the tughra ceased in Turkey with the dethronement of the last sulṭān (law of Ankara from Nov. 1, 1922).

If we now compare the Osmanlı tughra with the Mamlūk tughra to ascertain the graphic element which is common to both, we find that this element reduces itself to the uprights of the vertical letters. We are thus led to conclude quite naturally that the essential feature of the tughra is a certain number — not fixed — of upright strokes.

Writers have talked of a tughra formed on the coins of Murād II (ʿAlī, p. 113, Khalīl Edhem, *loc. cit.*) made simply of oval curves but I do not think we really have a tughra here. At least it is an incomplete one We have seen that if in some Mamlūk tughras there were lines analogous to these curves, they were not an indispensable element.

Although supplied later by the method of writing the words, the decorative motif represented by the verticals must be older than the use of the Arabic script among the Turks.

The symbol of the tughra If we suppose the tughra is not simply a conventional mode of writing, what symbol does it represent?

We have already mentioned that some see in it the figure of a bird. Others have gone so far as to see in it a horseman galloping at full speed (Tychsen) but the most popular theory is that which owes its fame to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, i. 231). According to him, the tughra would be the imitation of the mark left by the hand of sulṭān Murād I, who not being able to write, dipped his hand in ink (!) and stamped it instead of a signature on the treaty concluded with the Ragusans. This explanation, which seems to overlook the fact that the sulṭān in question had a chancellery, is taken by v. Hammer from Engel (*Gesch. des Freystaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, p. 141), who does not give any authority. It is not known in the east and is clearly a legend, which originated no doubt in Ragusa itself. It nevertheless has had a great vogue: Barbier de Meynard accepted it (*Rec. des Hist. des Croisades*, iv. 138 note) and it was defended quite recently by arguments taken from the antiquity of the use of finger prints.

Looking at the primitive form of the tughra (cf. above) all the hypotheses which we have just given, fall to the ground at once. It is interesting to note that Fekete came to the same negative result, starting from the design of the Ottoman tughra, which however is more complicated. Later interpretations being based on more elaborate forms of the tughra are of little importance.

This is why, the fact that the tughra or the *pençe*, which is the imitation of it (see below), is sometimes given the form of a bird in Turkish decorative art (a specimen of the year 1181 A.H. is given in figure 14). Similarly the fact that *pençe* means "claw" and *sere* "palm" is not an argument in favour of von Hammer's theory, who however did not think of quoting it (the French word "griffe" is used also with the meaning of "stamp for a signature").

In thus simplifying the problem, one is led to ask if the hooks of which we have spoken have not some symbolical significance. One question arises which we put forward with all reserve: do not these verticals represent the *tugh*, a word which we know was applied by the Turks to the horse or yaktails floating on the end of a pole, or earlier to flags in general? The main argument that can be produced against the suggestion is the rarity of the denominative verbal suffix *-ra*, from which we should have to derive *-ra-gh* (in *tughragh*) by a formation parallel to the well known suffixes *-la* (*-la-gh*). We have however called attention to this suffix in our *Grammaire de la langue turque* and more especially in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii. (1923), p 174 The fate of this hypothesis can only be decided by a more profound study, which has still to be undertaken, of this suffix.

As to the argument that one might be tempted to draw from the flames floating at the top of the tughra or from the fact that in the *pençe* the custom became established of very often drawing two verticals for the pashas of two tails and three for the pashas of three tails or *wazīr*, these are all interpretations *a posteriori* which prove no more than those we have rejected above (as a curiosity we give as fig. 15 a signature in which the words *ḵhāliṣ al-fuʾād* are arranged in three verticals of a *tugh* although they refer to a woman). It is also to be noted that numismaticians sometimes seem to take the word *tughra* in the larger meaning of "*motif* of decoration by letters" (*J.R.A.S.*, ix. 300, 381 [1848]).

Nishāndjı. We have seen that the Saldjuk or Mamlūk rulers had officials whose particular duty it was to draw the tughra (in Turkish *tughra čekmek*, in Persian *tughra keshīden*) It was the same among the Ottomans, who had officials for this purpose called *nishāndjı* and *tewḳīʿi*.

The *nishāndjı* was with the three *defterdār* and the *defter emīni*, one of the five high officials of the court of the class of the *ḵhodjagiān* (Mouradja d'Ohsson, iii. 350; von Hammer, xvii. 54).

Apart from his special office he had, at least at first, certain quite important legislative duties and he used to be called *muftī-i ḳānūn*, "jurisconsult of secular law", in contrast to the muftī par excellence or shaikh al-Islām, "jurisconsult of religious law". In his house the *ḳānūns* were prepared. The text was checked by his *mumeyiz* and the *nishāndjı* himself then drew the tughra upon it. It may be further noted that the majority of the *ḳānūns* that have come down to us were prepared by *nishāndjis*.

These officials had also at first the right to examine and control all documents presented to him to be marked with the Sulṭān's monogram, which gave them a kind of supervision over the departments which sent them up (Mouradja d'Ohsson, *loc. cit.*).

According to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the *tewḳīʿi* (*nishāndjı*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (of 1087, *M. T. M.*, p. 515), the following were the formalities to be gone through: When a firman is promulgated re-

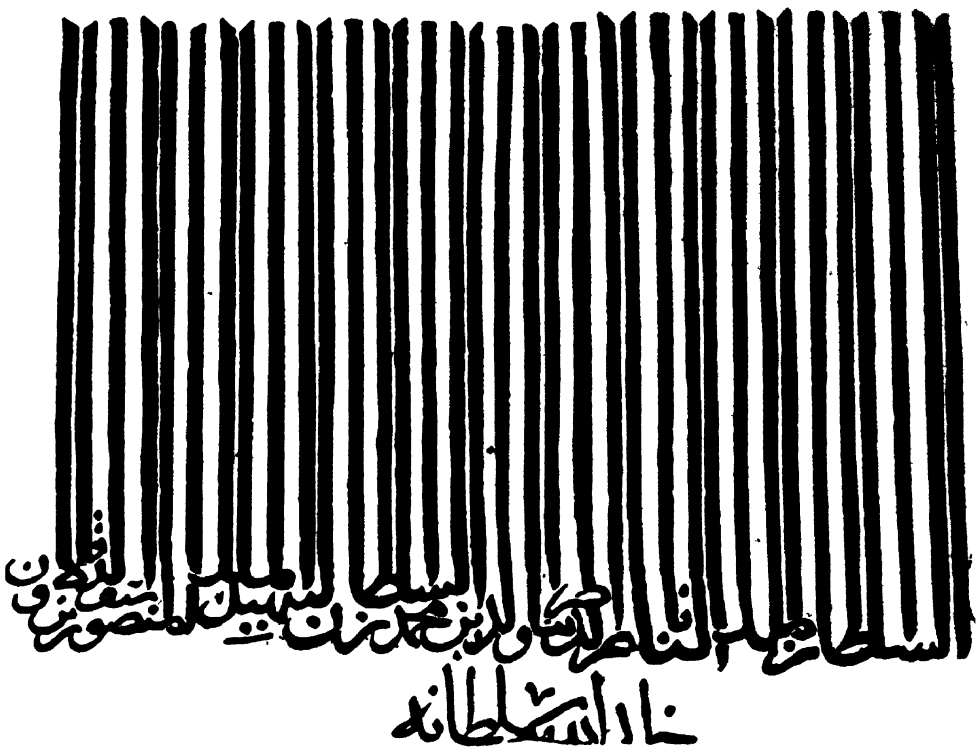


Fig. 1

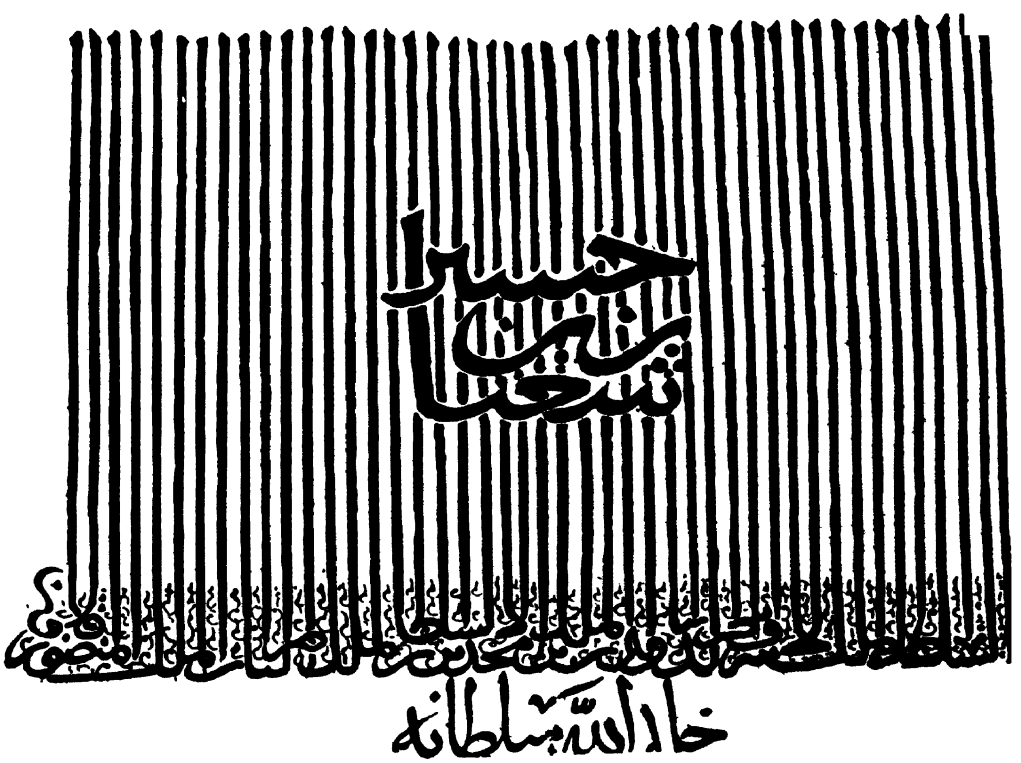
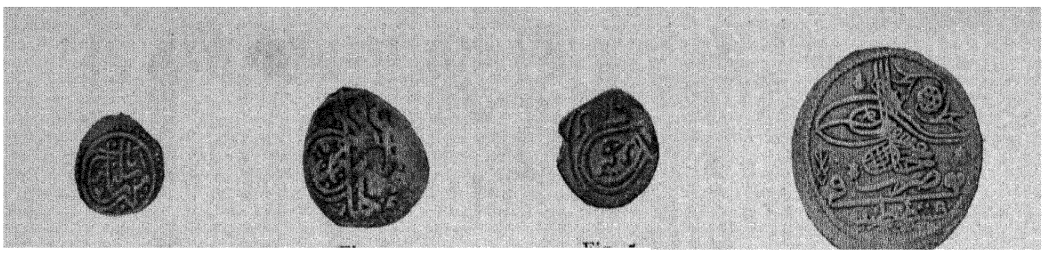


Fig. 2



(1403—1413). (1595—1603). (1640—1648). Fig. 6 Tughra of Maḥmūd I (1730—1754).

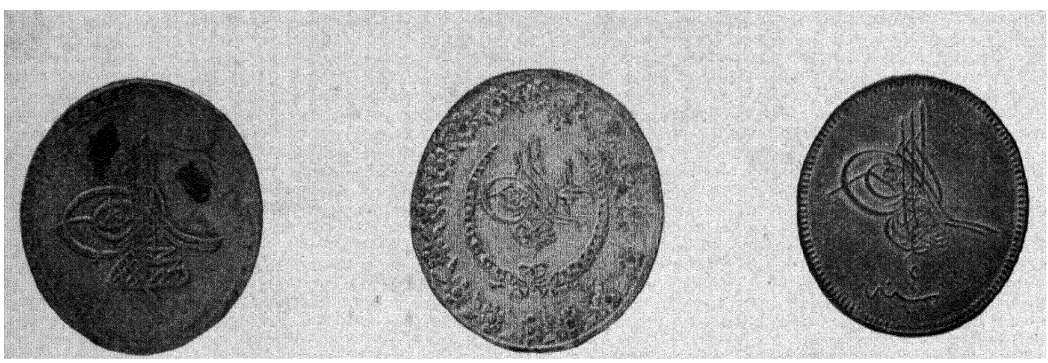


Fig. 7 Tughra of Muṣṭafā III (1757—1773).

Fig. 8 Tughra of Maḥmūd II (1808—1839).

Fig. 9 Tughra of ʿAbd-ül-ʿAzīz (1861—1876).

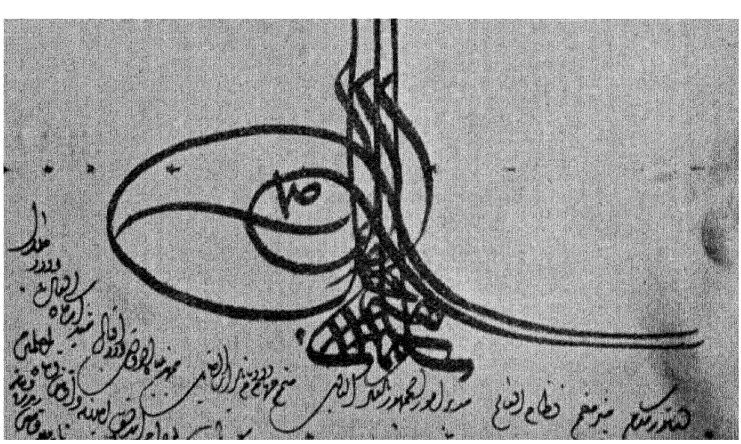


Fig. 10
Tughra of Sulṭan Süleymān II (III) b. Ibrāhīm on a firman of the first ten days of Żi'l-Ḳaʿde 1099 = of 28th August to 6th September 1688

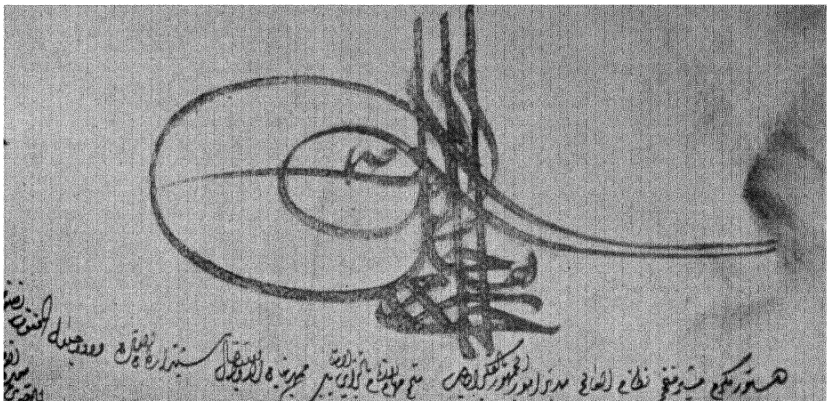


Fig. 11
Tughra of Sulṭān Aḥmad II b. Ibrahīm on a firman of the second ten days of Djumāda II 1104 = of 16th to 25th February 1693

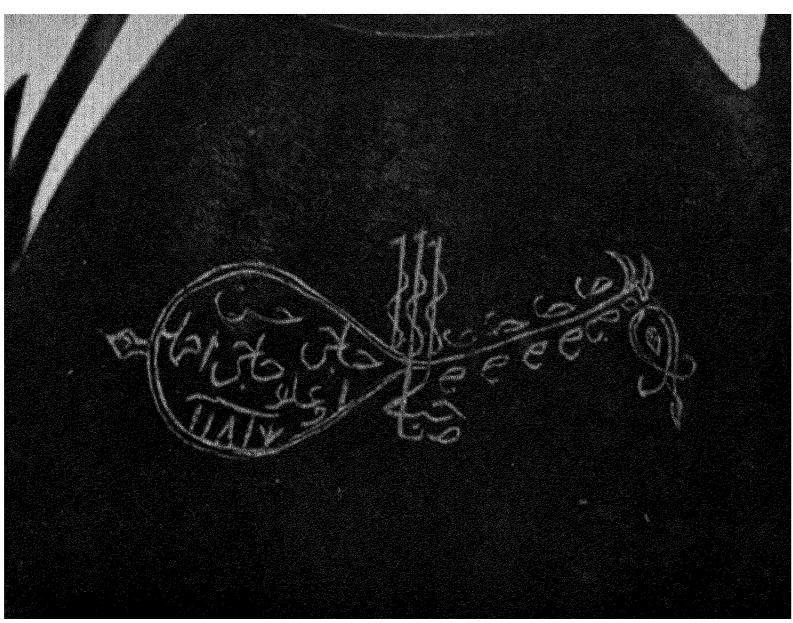


Fig. 14
Owner's mark on a signboard from Mar'ash

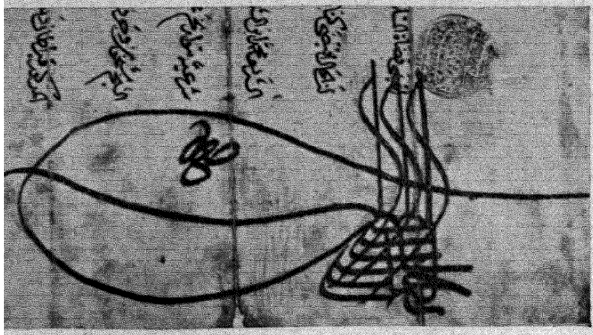


Fig. 16. Nishandji Aḥmad Pasha
10th Rabīᶜ II 1026 = 17th April 1617

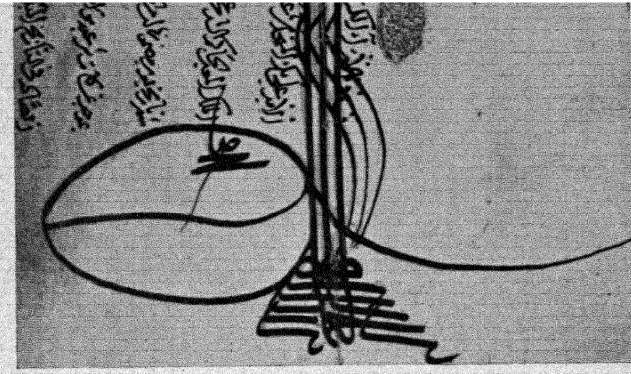


Fig. 17. Tarshundji Aḥmad Pasha
7th Shawwāl 1060 = 4th October 1650

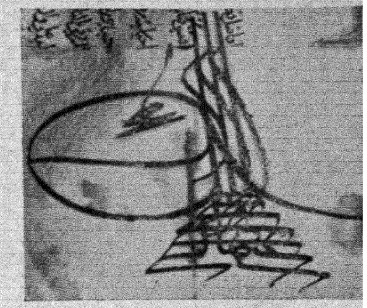


Fig. 24. Boshnaḳ ᶜOsmān Pasha
9th Rabīᶜ II 1093 = 17th April 1682

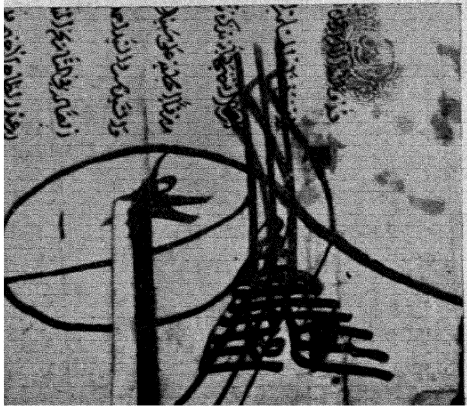


Fig. 18.
Khādim (*Khadum-beyāzī*) ᶜAbd-ür-Raḥmān Pasha
18th Zi'l-Ḳaᶜda 1061 = 2nd November 1651

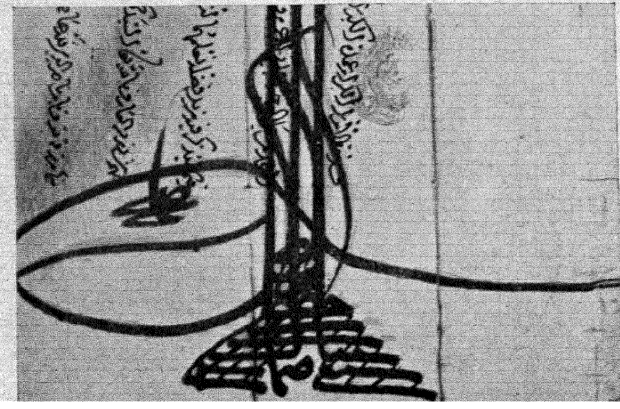


Fig. 19.
Khādim (*Khādum-beyāzī*) ᶜAbd-ür-Raḥmān Pasha
17th Muḥarram 1062 = 30th December 1651

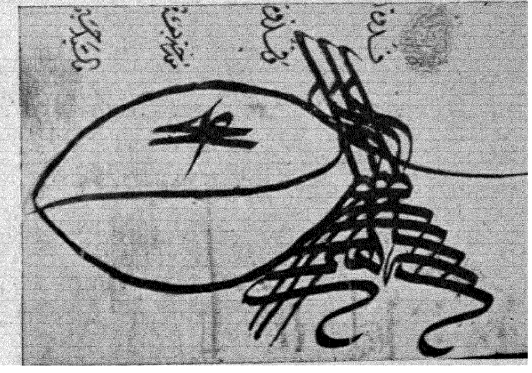


Fig. 20.
(Dāmād) Melek Ibrāhīm Pasha
10th Rabīᶜ I 1072 = 3rd November 1661

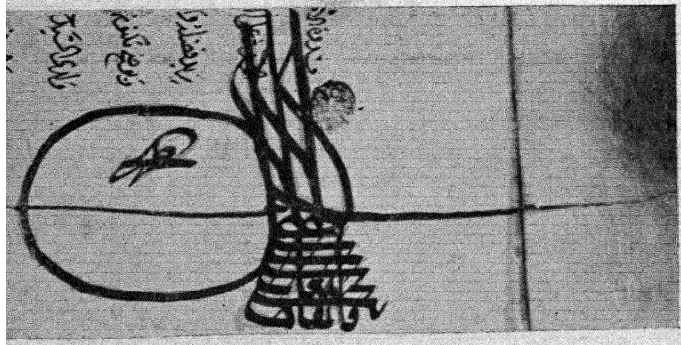


Fig. 21
en^cān, *ḳaymaḳam* (of the wālī) 19th Radjab 1080 = 3rd December 1669

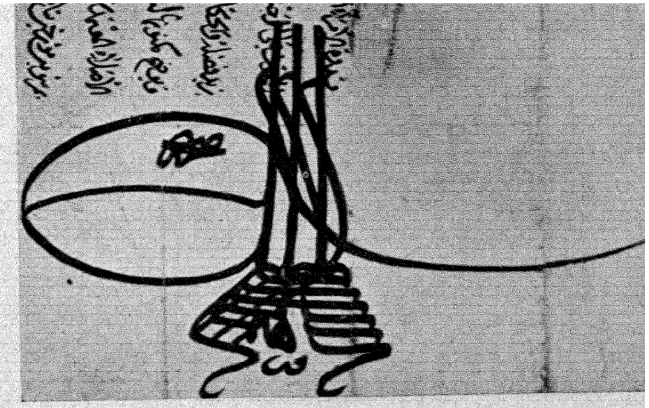


Fig. 22
Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pasha 14th Sha^cbān 1081 = 27th December 16

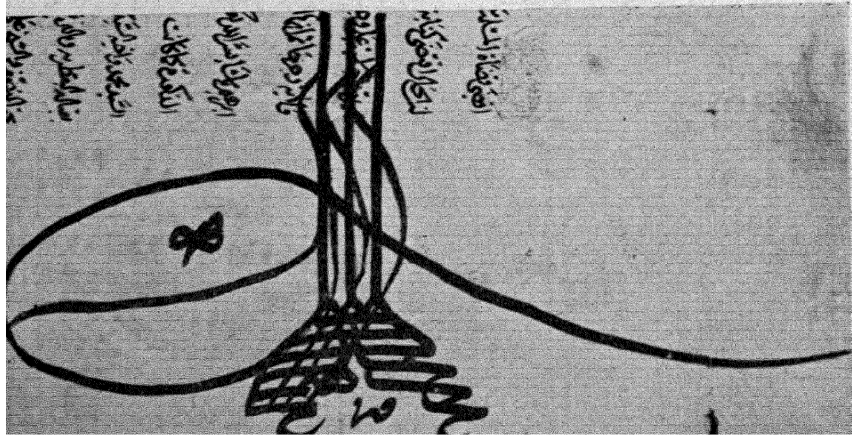


Fig. 23

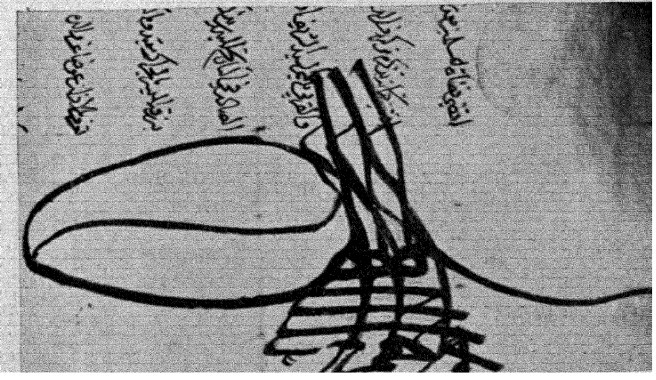


Fig. 25

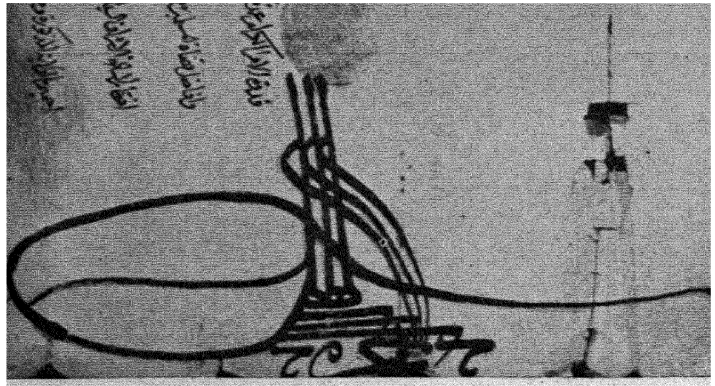


Fig. 26. Ḥamza Pasha 1st Rabīᶜ II 1098 = 14th February 168

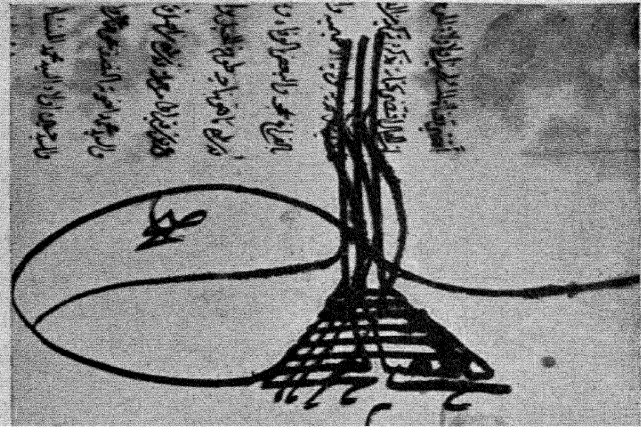


Fig. 29. Čelebi Ismāᶜīl Pasha
15th Djumādā I 1108 = 10th December 1696

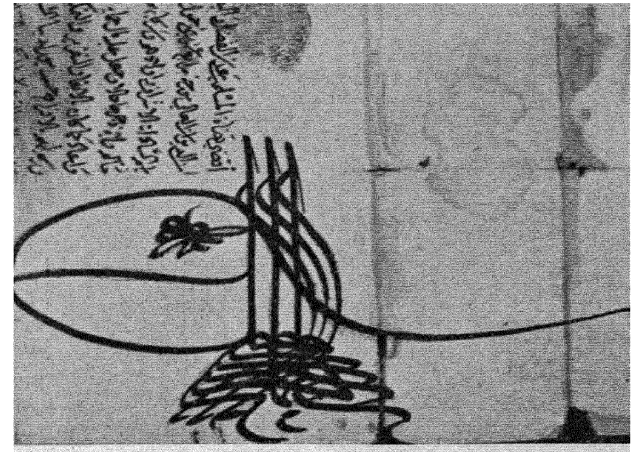


Fig. 27. Serkhosh Aḥmad Pasha
29th Djumādā II 1101 = 15th April 1688

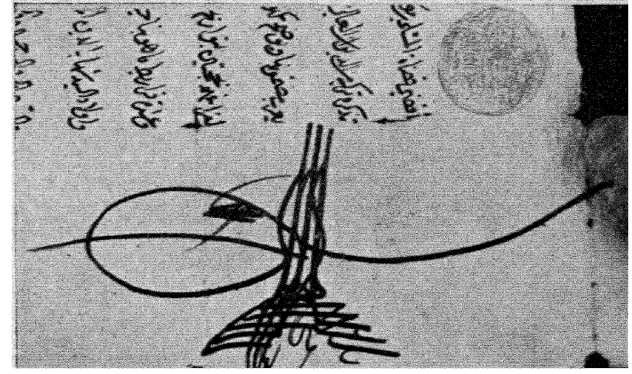


Fig. 28. Moralī or Khaznadar ᶜAlī Pasha
17th Ramaḍān 1103 = 2nd Juni 1692

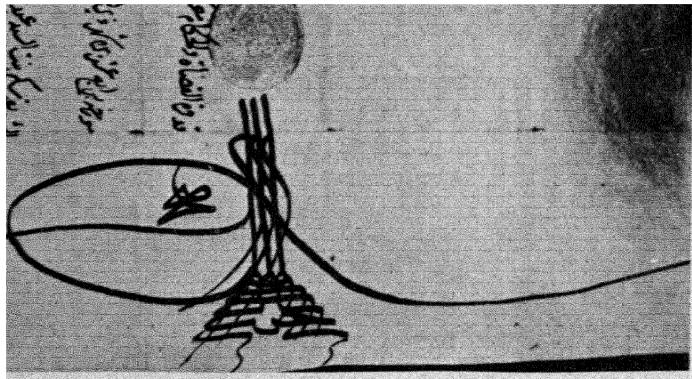


Fig. 30
Dāmād Ḥasan Pasha 24th Zi'l-Ḥidjdja 1120 = 6th March 1709

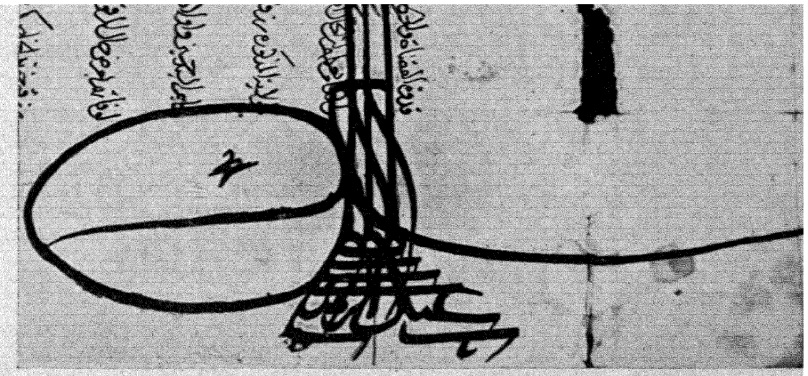


Fig. 31
ʿAbd-ür-Raḥmān Pasha 10th Rabiʿ II 1089 = 1st June 1678

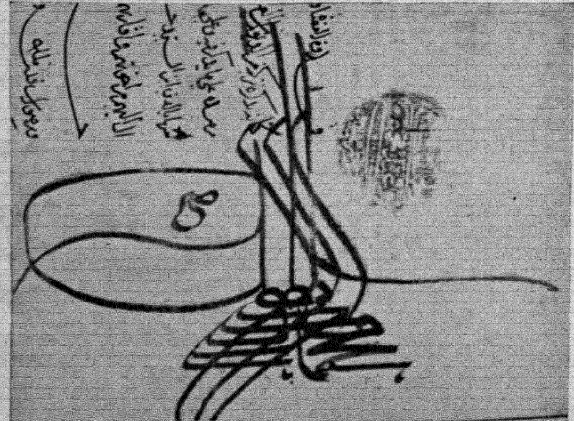


Fig. 32. Ṣadr-ı Sābik Nishāndji Mehmed Pasha

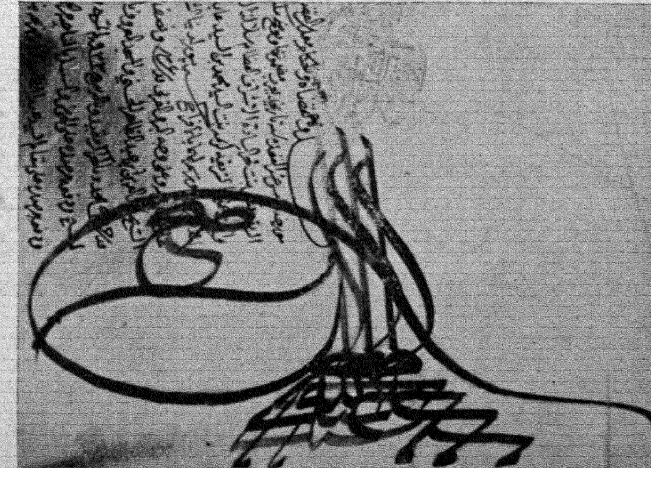


Fig. 33. Boynu-eyri Ḥasan-Pasha-Zāde ʿAbdullah Pasha

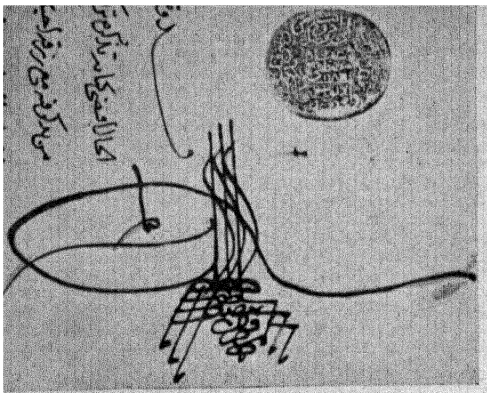


Fig. 34. Nābulusi Muṣṭafā Pasha
12th Radjab 1188 = 18th September 1774

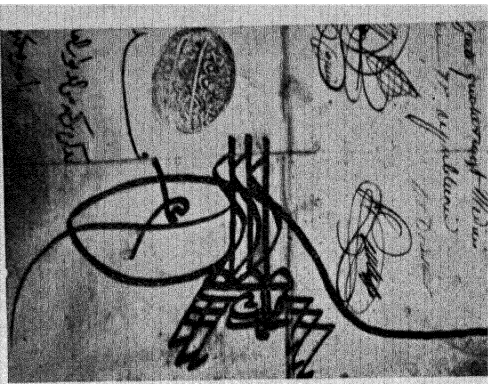


Fig. 35. Siliḥdār Meḥmed Pasha
1st Zi'l-Ḥidjdja 1195 = 18th November 1781

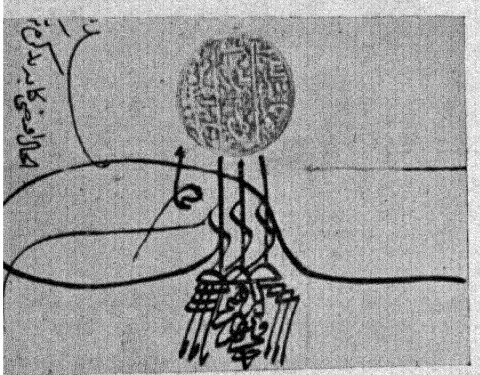


Fig. 36. Ibrāhīm Bey, *ḳaymaḳam*
19th Djumādā II 1199 = 29th April 1785

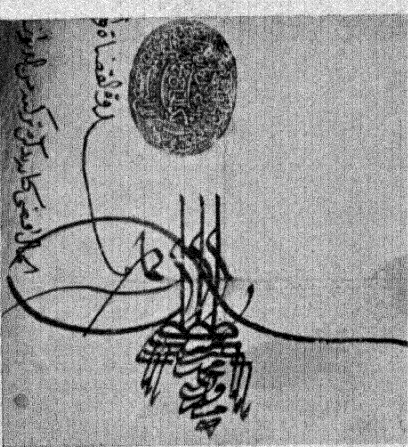


Fig. 37. Yegen Meḥmed Pasha
13th Radjab 1200 = 12th May 1786

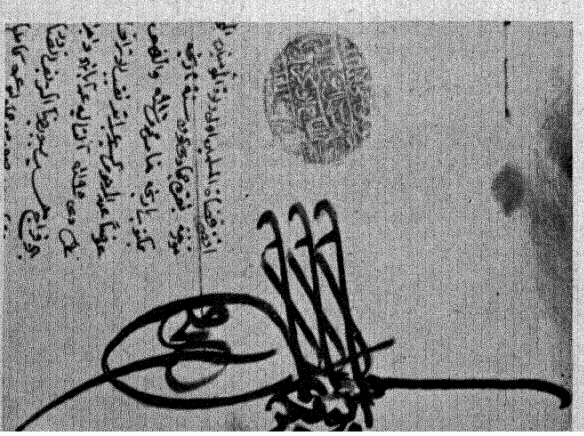


Fig. 38. Loḳmadjï (Ebü) Bekir Pasha
1st Djumādā I 1212 = 1st November 1797

quiring official authorisation (*taṣḥīḥ firmānī*), the law requires that the tughra should be executed by the grand vizier himself. On receiving this firman, the *nishāndjı* inscribes on the reverse the words *defteri gele* "let its register be brought" (in which is the precedent to be examined) and sends it to the *defter emini*. The latter at once sends back the firmān with the required register through the *kisedār* (official in charge of the registers) of the archives (*defter-khāne*). After finding the required reference, thenishāndji verifies it and keeps the firman ordering it.

He also receives in a sealed bag (*memhūr kise*) the *berāt* issued by the *ḳaẓasker*, writes on the register opposite the names of the beneficiaries of these berāt the word *ṣaḥḥ*, "verified, seen, approved", again seals the bag and sends it by its *kisedār* to the *ḳhaghat emini* (who collects the chancellery dues).

According to the ḳānūn of Meḥmed II, the nishāndjis had to be recruited from the *muderris* of the grade of *dākhil* and *ṣaḥn* i e from among lawyers (evidently on account of the qualifications demanded by them as regards legislation) and also from the *defterdār* and the *re'is ul-kuttāb*. The early defterdār ranked on this occasion as equal to the *beylerbeyi*'s, the early *re'is al-kuttāb* only ranked equal to the *sandjak-beyi*

The *re'is al-kuttāb* became more important and the nishāndjis gradually saw their functions reduced to the calligraphy of the tughras. Among their duties, however, they retained the control of the registration of transfers of *timar* (q v. *ze'āmet, khāṣṣ*) and of the *wakf* villages (*Kānūn-nāme* of Meḥmed II, edited by Mehmed ʿĀrif in 1330, p. 14, note 5, suppl to *T. O. E. M.*).

According to the same *ḳānūn-nāme*, in the *dīwān-i humāyūn*, the nishāndjis occupied the place of honour (*ṣadr*) along with the *wazīr*s, the *ḳaẓasker*s and the *defterdār*s

Precedence was arranged as follows the *wazīr* had beside them, on one side the *ḳaẓasker*s, followed by the *defterdār*s, and on the other the *nishāndjis*. If a nishāndjı had the rank of a vizier or beylerbeyi (which gave him the right to the title of pasha) he had precedence of the defterdār; if he was only a *sandjakbey* or *emīr liwā* (which only gave him the title of *bey*) he came after the *defterdār*, but before the *ḳāḍīs* of the old and present capitals of the empire The *nishāndjı* and the *defterdār* had the same chancery title (*elḳāb*; cf. *Münshe'āt-i Feridūn Bey*, p. 9). The nishāndjis, having the rank of vizier, had the same privileges as the other viziers (*ḳānūn-nāme* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān). According to Mouradja d'Ohsson (iii. 373) the *nishāndjis* received a state salary of 6,620 piastres. Other details may be found in the same *kānūn-nāme* of the ceremonial of the *dīwān* as far as the nishāndjis were concerned. Like the other *dīwān khodjalarī*, they wore the ceremonial turban called *mudjewwese* An *ust* or over-garment of wool, a *ḳaftan* or under-garment of *lokmalī ḳuṭni*. According to v. Hammer (xvii. 54), the robes of the nishāndjı were red, while those of the other *khodjagiān* were violet. Their horses had a covering (*ʿabāyi*) and harness (*rakht*) of the second class (*orta*) Their *khāṣṣ* was a little over 4 *yük* (400,000 aspers).

Tughrakesh. With the extension of the empire, the *nishāndjis* found themselves obliged to call in the help of other officials and the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥmed II contains the following provision *tughra-i-sherīfi wuzerālar* (sic) *ʿeküp nishāndjī-ya yardım etmek ḳānūnumdur* "I have ordered the *wezīr* to assist the *nishāndjis* to draw the *tughra*" (p. 14). It was the *wezīr* of the dome (*ḳubbe wezīrleri*) who had this privilege. they were called *tughrakesh wezīr* and acted in their own right (Aḥmad Rāsim, ii. 633; cf Naʿīmā, ii. 72, 7 infra: *ʿumʿum dewlet-i ʿosmāniyenin ḥall u-ʿaḳdīnī saḥa werdiler we-ismin ṭughrā-i-sulṭānī-ye muṭābiḳ ola*). The commanders-in-chief had the same privilege, cf. the following expressions. *serdārlīḳ ṭughrā-i gharrāsī ile emirler gidip* "orders were issued with the tughra of the commander-in-chief" (Ewliyā Čelebi, v. 103); *kāffā khaṭṭ-i sherīf ile serdār-i muʿaẓẓam we-tughrakesh dustūr-i mukerrem im* "I am by autograph order of the sultān commander-in-chief and vizier" (*ibid.*, iv 127, 13).

The name *meshḳ-i tughra* "exercise (or *pensum*) of the tughra" was given to the favour which the sulṭān granted to those he wished to distinguish by entrusting them with the task of preparing the tughra (It was done with a brush or *kīl ḳalem*).

The work of the *nishāndjis* was somewhat lightened by the fact that the orders of the Porte destined for the capital did not have a tughra; only firmans sent to the provinces were *tughralī* ("supplied with a *tughra*") (Mouradja d'Ohsson, Bianchi and Kieffer, under the word طغرالو). Cf. above however on the tughra of the *tāṣḥīḥ fermānī*.

In conclusion, we may add that the high officials and even the governors of the second class in tracing their *pence* frequently gave it a form very like that of the tughra. I have photographs of orders issued by the former wālīs of Egypt (fig. 16 *sq.*) in which the *pence* is resembles the sultān's tughra. In stead of (in the *pences* of 1061 and 1062 side by side with) muẓaffar two, and later three, elliptic circles are found. With the three shafts they form letters *ṭā* which apparently are an *a posteriori* reminiscence of the initial of the word *ṭūgh*. In stead of *dā'ima*, *ṣaḥḥ* is found. In stead of being at the top of the document, they were put on the margin of the right side and perpendicular to it (I do not see why some writers will not admit that this peculiarity was dictated by feelings of deference to the sulṭān)

When the nishāndjı disappeared at the reforms, officials called *tughrakesh* were kept to draw the tughra

In the *sālnāme* (official year-book) of the Ottoman empire of the year 1334 (1918), p 123, is found the name of a tughrakesh of the rank of *sānıye* (*thānıya*) who belonged to the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* (*beylikdjı dā'iresi*)

In the earlier annuals (e g 1302 = 1886, 1323 = 1907, 1324 = 1908), there are two *tughrakesh*, known respectively as *ewwel* and *sānı* (*thānī*) who are mentioned as forming part of the *muhimme odasi*, after the other officials i. e. the *bash kʿātib* (later *mudīr*), *mumeyis* (later), *muʿāwin*, *nāmenuwīs* (earlier) and two *mukābeledjı* They had the ranks of *mutemāyiz*, *sānıye* and *sālise*.

The earliest year-book of the Ottoman empire for the year 1263 (1847) does not mention the *nishāndjı*, who however no longer existed nor the *tughrakesh*, who was no doubt considered not of sufficient importance: the list of officials was less complete in this volume than in the others (cf. *J. A.*, Sept. 1847).

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-

Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo 1337, xiii. 162–166; Howland Wood, *The toughra as found upon coins*, *Numismatist*, xviii., 1905; ʿAlī, *Ṭughrā-i-humāyūn* (Turkish), *T. O. E. M.*, viii, 1917—1918, No. 43, p. 53—58 and No. 44, p. 109–125; Fr. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Die Tugra der osmanischen Prinzen*, *M. O. G.*, 1921–1922, p. 167—170; do., *Die Handfeste (Pençe) der osman. Wesire* (with three plates), *M. O. G.*, 1923–1926, p. 257–268, F. Babinger, *Die grossherrliche Tughra*, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des osmanischen Urkundenwesens*, in *Beiträge zur Kunst des Islam*, *Festschrift fur Friedrich Sarre zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, Leipzig, p. 188—196 (*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1925); L. Fekete, *Einfuhrung in die osmanisch-turkische Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, p. xlii–xliv.

(J. Deny)

Ṭughrā, Mullā Ṭughrā-i Mashhadī, a Persian literary man, was born in Mashhad (the date is not known) and went to India towards the end of the reign of Djahāngīr. After spending some time in the Deccan, he became *munshī* to Prince Murād Bakhsh in the reign of Shāh Djahān. He accompanied the latter on his expedition to Balkh. The conquest of the latter town and of Badakhshān by this prince (1055—1057 = 1645—1647) was celebrated by him in a prose work (*risāla*). This *risāla* called *Mirʾāt al-Futūḥ* was later imitated by a certain Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn who in 1135 (1722—1723) wrote a panegyrical biography of a high military officer of the Mughal Empire, Saif al-Dawla ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 1150 = 1737—1738) entitled *Futūḥāt-nāma-i Ṣamadī*.

Ṭughrā later went to Kashmīr in the train of the *Dīwān* (Privy Councillor) Mirzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. Here he spent the last years of his life and died before 1078 (1667—1668). He is mentioned as already dead in a book written in this year (Rieu, p. 742). The year 1130 (1717—1718) in which, according to Pertsch (*Die persischen Handschriften der ... Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24), a work by Tughrā was completed, according to the colophon in the Gotha MS. No. 9, is to be referred to the copyist and not to the author of the text. Ch. Stewart (*Catalogue Mysore*, p. 64) gives 1323 A.D. as the year of Ṭughrā's death, I cannot suggest how such an error arose.

Tughrā wrote poems as well as prose (*rasāʾil*). Among his poetical works may be mentioned *Sāḳi-nāma*, a comprehensive *Mathnawī* in imitation of a work of the same name of an earlier poet Ẓuhūrī (d. 1025 = 1616), *Taʿrīf-i Kashmīr*, a description of Kashmīr in *Mathnawī* form. Here also he imitated an earlier poet, Hakīm Zulālī (d. 1026 = 1617). Ṭughrā also wrote a preface to the works of this poet (cf. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library*, p. 816, 819). The *Taʿrīf* was apparently composed in Kashmīr i. e. after the poet had left the Mughal court. Ṭughrā, like almost all Persian poets, also wrote *ghazals*, *rubāʿīyāt*, *muḳaṭṭaʿāt* etc. His *risālas* written in very affected, pompous prose seem however to have enjoyed greater popularity than his poems. These exist in a number of MSS., while those of the poems are less numerous (in Europe at least). Ṭughrā wrote about 30 of them — a list of them extant in MSS. will be found in the books quoted below in the *Bibliography*. — Here it is sufficient to mention in addition to the *Mirʾāt al-Futūḥ*: *Miʿyār al-Idrāk*, an essay on the Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ; *Firdawsīya* and *Tadjalliyāt*, two descriptions of Kashmīr in prose; *Tadhkirat al-Aṭḳiyāʾ*, panegyrics on twelve contemporary scholars and poets of Kashmīr; *Mirʾāt al-ʿUyūb*, a satire on an emīr of the court of Golkonda; *Djulūsīya*, a panegyric on Awrangzēb and *Parīkhāna*, a panegyric on the Shāh of Persia ʿAbbās II.

Lastly may be mentioned Ṭughrā's letters to various contemporaries. An edition of 18 of his *risāla*'s with the letters and commentary appeared (lith.) at Cawnpore in 1871 and Lucknow in 1885.

Bibliography. *Grundriss der Iran. Philologie*, ii. 334, 336—338, Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 742, 850, 875, 1068, 796, 677, 971, 1036; Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 205 (where a preface by Tughrā's to the *Dīwān* of Ḳudsī is mentioned), p. 267; Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i. 844 *sqq*; Ch. Stewart, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, p. 64, Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 868 *sqq*, 963, W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 480, 649, 679, 865, 691, 696, do., *Die persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, p. 24; E. Browne, *Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts in ... Cambridge*, p. 20, 42, 107, 122, 196, 208, 261, 296, 299, 302; E. Edwards, *Cat. of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, London 1922, s. v.

(V. F. Büchner)

al-Ṭughrāʾī Muʾayyid al-Dīn Fakhr al-Kuttāb Abū Ismāʿīl al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Iṣfahānī, better known by the name of Ṭughrāʾī (so named after the scroll, consisting of the name of the sovereign and his titles, written at the top of official documents above the Basmala), Arab poet, was born in 453 (1061) probably in Isfahān. His early career is imperfectly known, but he appears to have first been engaged as secretary in Irbil. Then he entered the chancellory of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns and served during the reign of Malikshāh and his son Muhammad. He was without equal as regards the beauty of his calligraphy, but according to the prolix statement of ʿImād al-Dīn, his work was tediously slow. The vizier of Sulṭān Muḥammad who may have feared his rivalry was his enemy and should have liked to have him removed, but could find no cause. That Ṭughrāʾī aspired to higher things is evident from the remark of the biographers that he spent money in bribes to obtain the position of vizier, but was not successful. His chance seemed to have come when Sulṭān Muhammad died, while he was with prince Masʿūd at Mawṣil, while the Wazīr al-Sumairimī was with prince Maḥmūd at Isfahān. In conjunction with other nobles they persuaded Masʿūd to throw off allegiance to Maḥmūd, whom al-Sumairimī had proclaimed Sultān of the Western provinces of the Saldjūḳ empire. Sulṭān Muḥammad had died in 511 (1117—1118) and it was only in 513 that they tried to make a bid for the throne. An ill-equipped army accompanied by Masʿūd and Ṭughrāʾī, who was at last vizier, marched to meet the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Hamadān which

sulted in the complete defeat of Mas'ūd. He himlf was made a prisoner as also was Ṭughrā'ī who id thus fallen into the hands of his enemy. as'ūd was pardoned, but Ṭughrā'ī condemned death, because he was declared a heretic. He as ordered to be shot with arrows by a company soldiers, but some verses uttered by him as was facing death caused the vizier to defer e execution of the sentence. It was however rried out at a later date, which is generally fixed the year 515 (1121—1122). The chronology these events is far from certain. Ibn al-Athīr dates e battle in the year 514 and one account even ves 518 as the date of Tughrā'ī's execution. This tter date is certainly wrong, because al-Sumaanī was murdered in the month of Ṣafar 516 in ghdād near the Nizāmīya Madrasa by a negro ave who was said to have belonged to Ṭughrā'ī id committed the murder to avenge his master. The reputation of Tughrā'ī rests principally upon s poem, the *Lāmīyat al-'Aǧam*, composed in ghdād in 505 (1111—1112), in which he comains about the evil times in which he lives. his poem, published by Golius with a Latin anslation, was perhaps the earliest specimen of rabic poetry accessible to wider circles in Europe id was several times reprinted and translated to other languages. It has also been the subject a number of Arabic commentaries. The *Dīwān*, inted in Constantinople, was collected after the thor's death and contains, in addition to the *āmīya*, poems in praise of notables and princes, id the latest compositions are perhaps those in aise of his youthful master, prince Mas'ūd

There was another branch of study cultivated Ṭughrā'ī, namely alchemy and in this pseudoience he composed a number of works, which, Dhahabī put it, were the cause of the waste of itold wealth, both by the author himself and by ose who made use of his works. The language in ese is abstruse as usual with this class of literature he following titles of his works are recorded id several of them exist in manuscript 1. *Ǧāmi' -Asrār* (MS in Gotha?), 2 *Tarākib al-Anwār* erhaps only part of the title of the first-named), *Ḥaḳā'ik al-Istishādāt*, 4 *Kitāb Dhāt al-Fawā'id*, *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā Ibn Sīnā fī Ibṭāl al-Kīmīyā'*, *Maṣābīh al-Hikma wa-Mafātīh al-Rahma*, for lvanced students only (MS. Paris, N°. 2614); in ldition to these the Paris MS, N°. 2607 claims be a commentary of the *Kitāb al-Rahma* of ǧābir b. Ḥayyān under the title of *Sirr al-Ḥikma Sharḥ Kitāb al-Raḥma* but the authorship is ncertain

Editions of his poems: *Dīwān*, Constantinople 300; *Lāmīya* by Golius, Leyden 1629, reprinted H. van der Sloot in Franeker 1769; E. Pocock, xford 1661 with Latin translation, reprinted in 770 by J. Hirth in *Institutiones Arabicae*, Jena; . G. Pareau, Utrecht 1824 and A. Raux, Paris 303 with French translation English translations J. D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabic Poetry*, xford 1796; reprinted by W. A. Clauston, *Arabic oetry*, Glasgow 1881; L. Chappelow, Cambridge 758 (after Pocock's Latin version) French transtion by P. Vattier, Paris 1660, after Golius and e one by Raux mentioned above. Commentaries· ullāh al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *Ghaith al-Musaǧǧam bi-Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Aǧam*, also called *Ghaith al-dab alladhi 'nsaǧama fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-Ǧam*, printed Cairo 1290 and 1305. This is a voluminous work and enlarges upon all subjects connected with the poem or otherwise. Several abbreviations exist of this commentary: one, called *Ḳaṭr al-Ghaith al-Musaǧǧam* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Alawāmī, was printed Būlāḳ 1290; another, much curtailed abridgment with the title *Kitāb al-'Arab min Ghaith al-Adab*, was printed Bairūt 1897. Other commentaries found in manuscript are *Naṣhr al-'Alam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Aǧam* by Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Hadramī (died 939) of which a number of copies are found in libraries; *Nabdh al-'Aǧam 'an Lāmīyat al-'Aǧam* composed in Constantinople in 962 by Ǧalāl b. Khiḍr, the oldest commentary is perhaps that by Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Bakā' 'Abd Allāh b al-Ḥusain al-Ukbarī (d. 616). The commentary by Kamāl al-Damīrī is also a mere extract from that of al-Ṣafadī, and many more.

Biographies of Ṭughrā'ī are found in almost all historical works giving obituaries, all appear to draw upon the same sources Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv 50—60, Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, i. 159; Ṣafadī, *Ghaith*, Cairo 1305, i 6 *sqq*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *passim*, Bundārī, ed. Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, *passim* Verses of his are cited in all later anthologies.

Bibliography. given above

(F KRENKOW)

ṬUGHRIL I B. MUHAMMAD, a Seldjūḳ ruler in the 'Irāḳ 526—529 = 1132—1134, b 503 = 1109, had as his guardian (*atābeg*) the doughty emīr Shīrgīr and received as his fief a large part of the province of Ḏjibāl with the towns of Sīwa, Kazwīn, Abhar, Zandjān, Ṭālaḳān etc On the death of his father (511 = 1118), the Atābeg Shīrgīr was thrown into prison and his place taken by the emīr Kundoghdī, who was on bad terms with Sultān Mahmūd, Tughrīl's brother. With Kündoghdī he took part in the unfortunate campaign against the Georgians in 515 (1121) and was in a serious position when his atābeg died in the same year and his relations with his brother, never very good, became still worse In these straits he was easily persuaded by the able and turbulent Arab Dubais b. Ṣadaḳa [q. v] that it would be easy to seize the province of al-'Irāḳ and get rid of the caliph and the sulṭān. The enterprise failed however and the two sought refuge with Sulṭān Sandjar, who took up their cause and began negotiations on their behalf with Mahmūd in al-Raiy (end of 522 = 1128) Some years later (525 = 1131) Maḥmūd died and his son Dāwūd was summoned to the throne temporarily until Sandjar had finally decided the succession The latter declared for Tughrīl, but in the meanwhile another brother Mas'ūd had claimed the throne and was approaching with considerable forces. In the battle that followed at Dīnawar (526 = 1132) between Sandjar and Mas'ūd the latter was defeated and sent back to his province of Gandja while Ṭughrīl was installed as sultān Sandjar then departed and left his nephew to enforce his recognition upon his opponents. He was successful in routing Dāwūd's adherents but the latter himself escaped to Baghdād. Mas'ūd was soon in power there and was able to persuade the caliph to mention him in the *ḵẖuṭba* and designate Dāwūd as his successor (527 = 1132). Ṭughrīl was not a match for his brother and, after wandering about a great deal, sought refuge with the ispahbad of Ṭabaristān where he spent the whole of the winter of 1132—1133. In the

following year fortune was rather more favourable to him and he succeeded in again taking the capital Hamadhān but, on arriving there, he fell ill of a cholic and died early in 529 (Oct.–Nov. 1134). *Recueil*, II. 174, wrongly gives 528. His widow later married Ildegiz [q. v.] who raised Ṭughrîl's son Arslān to the Seldjūḳ throne (555 = 1160).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SELDJŪḲS (M TH HOUTSMA)

ṬUGHRÎL II B. ARSLĀN, the last Seldjūḳ Sulṭān in the ʿIrāḳ 571—590 (1175—1194)' was born in 564 (1168—1169) and when still a minor was raised to the throne by the Atābeg Pehlewān, after his father had been poisoned to thwart his endeavour to escape the burdensome tutelage of the atābeg (cf Houtsma in *Acta Orientalia*, iii 140 *sq*) It was only on the death of Pehlewān in 581 or 582 (1186) that Tughrîl, now grown up, who had enjoyed a careful education and was distinguished by physical and intellectual gifts — he composed a number of short Persian poems — showed that he was not at all inclined to do as his father had done, and be content with the mere name of sulṭān. He was assisted by the fact that Pehlewān's successor, Kîzîl Arslān, had quarrelled with the widow of his deceased brother and their two sons, so that he was able to make arrangements with a number of Turkish amīrs and seize the Seldjūḳ capital Hamadhān. In order to be more sure of completely disposing of his dangerous opponent, Kîzîl Arslān asked the caliph to send him troops from Baghdād while he himself advanced from Ādharbāidjān but the incapable leader of the Baghdād army, the vizier Ibn Yūnus, attacked Tughrîl at Dāymarg (584 = 1188) and suffered a terrible defeat from the impetuous bravery of his opponent. Little however was won thereby for Ṭughrîl's cause, for Kîzîl Arslān was coming nearer and the caliph was equipping a new army. To add to his troubles, the young Sulṭān quarrelled with his own people and on his return to Hamadhān hanged several of his most prominent supporters The result was that he could not hold out in his capital, which was very soon taken by Kîzîl Arslān, spent some time ravaging the region of Urmiya, Khōi and Salmās, endeavoured in vain to win the caliph to his side, applied without success to several Muslim princes, including Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, for help and had finally to surrender to Kîzîl Arslān, who imprisoned him in the castle of Kahrān near Tabrīz in 586 (1190) Kîzîl Arslān then himself occupied the throne of the Seldjūḳs but, when he was murdered next year at the instigation of the widow of his brother, Ṭughrîl succeeded in escaping and found an asylum with the Banū Kafshūd in Zandjān. The lack of unity among the sons of Pehlewān, now the rulers of Ādharbāidjān, gave him the opportunity of coming again to Hamadhān and marrying Pehlewān's widow, only however to put her to death He also took Isfahān and al-Raiy and sacked the stronghold of Tabaraḳ near the latter town (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, III 507 *sq.*) but this brought upon him the enmity of the powerful Khwārizmshāh who only a short time before had taken al-Raiy. He was not inclined to lose this city and sent troops there to take it from the Seldjūḳ Sulṭān. The wise course would have been to avoid their superior numbers but Ṭughrîl felt it a point of honour to defend the Seldjūḳ claims on the ʿIrāḳ even at the cost of his life, calmly awaited the approach of the enemy in spite of the advice of his friends, then threw himself with a few faithful followers on the foe and was immediately slain (29th Rabīʿ I 590 = March 25, 1194).

Bibliography: Cf. the article SELDJŪḲS (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

ṬUGHRÎLBEG, RUKN AL-DĪN ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B MIKĀ'IL, the first Seldjūḳ Sulṭān, 429—455 (1038—1063) For the beginnings of Seldjūḳ power, the rise of Ṭughrîlbeg and of his brother Čaghrībeg, the reader may be referred to the article on the latter. Here we begin with the year 429 (1038) when Ṭughrîlbeg entered Naisābūr and his name was mentioned in the *ḵhuṭba* there. Al-Baihaḳī, p. 691, gives interesting details of this. Ibn al-Athīr and others say that as early as this he received an envoy from the Caliph, who complained of the robberies of the rude Ghuz which is very probably correct, for we know that the Seldjūḳs in their earliest document (Baihaḳī, p. 583) call themselves *mawālī* (clients) of the Commander of the Faithful and that there were from the first certain relations between the Seldjūḳs and the Caliph. Ṭughrîlbeg had however very soon to abandon the town again on account of the Ghaznawids, and only after the defeat of Masʿūd at Dandānakān on 7th Ramaḍān 431 (May 22, 1040), were the latter forced to withdraw from Khorāsān and leave this province to the Seldjūḳs. The leaders of the latter, among whom may be mentioned Tughrîlbeg, Čaghrībeg, Ibrāhīm Ināl and Ḳutulmish, had begun to extend their rule over the adjoining lands also, each for himself, although Tughrîlbeg was conceded a certain pre-eminence. The first to submit to him were the Ziyarids of Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān on payment of an annual tribute in 433 (1041—1042). In the following year he assisted his brother Čaghrībeg in the conquest of Khwārizm; he then restored order in al-Raiy, where the unruly Ghuz were laying waste the country under Ibrāhīm Ināl, and conquered the Būyid Madjd al-Dawla, who had still been holding out in the stronghold of Ṭabaraḳ. The rule of the Seldjūḳs was recognised in Kazwīn and Hamadhān also, Farāmarz, the lord of Iṣfahān, agreed to pay a sum of money Through the intervention of the Caliph, who sent the celebrated jurist al-Māwardī to Ṭughrîlbeg for this purpose (435), the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla sought to make peace with the Seldjūḳs but, as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor Abū Kalīdjār in 439 (1047). Ibrāhīm Ināl, who had ravaged Kurdistān with his Ghuz and was now on his way to Baghdād and had reached Ḥulwān and Khāniḳīn, was therefore instructed to retire and seek another field for his activities. He thereupon turned against the Abkhaz and Byzantines, took the prince of the Abkhaz, Liparites, prisoner and carried off such vast booty that 10,000 waggons were not sufficient to transport it (440 = 1048). A quarrel resulted between him and Ṭughrîlbeg which ended in his being taken prisoner, but he was pardoned and even later installed in al-Mawṣil as commander. Ṭughrîlbeg released the captured Liparites without a ransom and sent an embassy to Byzantium to negotiate peace but, owing to the raids of the Ghuz, this could not be of long duration. In the meanwhile he was continually extending his power, received the homage of the Marwānids of Diyār-

kr and in 492 (1050) besieged Iṣfahān whose ler Farāmarz, according to circumstances, kept the good graces of the Seldjūks or of the Būs in turn. The siege of a fortified town was t a task for his rude warriors, so that it dragg- on and Farāmarz was only forced to surrender want of supplies in the following year. The wn pleased him so well, that he decided to ake it his residence and to give Farāmarz Yazd d Abaraḳūya in compensation In 446 (1054) we d him, after a severe illness, in Āḏharbāidjān to eive the homage of the lords of Tabrīz and ndja. A raid into Byzantine territory had no ticular results, the siege of Malāzkart had to abandoned (cf Matth of Edessa, ch. 78; Ce- nus, ed Bonn, ii. 590). It is true that he was n busy with other schemes, in the autumn he llected his troops and had large supplies of nitions accumulated in Hamaḏhān with the ject of undertaking the great campaign against ghdād. He was invited to do this by Ibn al- slima [q v.], vizier of the caliph, who had been nducting a secret correspondence with him, because Būyid rule of Malik al-Rahīm, successor of Abū hidjār since 440 (1048), which was exercised by ir military commandant in Baghdād al-Basāsīrī v] who had a secret arrangement with the Fāṭi- ds, was intolerable to him and the caliph Tughrîl- g did not hesitate to accede to this appeal and in madān 447 (1055) reached Hulwān on his way Baghdād where his arrival caused great dismay -Malik al-Rahīm, who was in Wāsiṭ, at once stened to the capital but al-Basāsīrī found it visable to depart and seek refuge with the Maz- id of al-Ḥilla, Dubais There was now no stacle to open negotiations with Tughrîlbeg Ramadān 22, 447, the caliph had his name ntioned in the *ḵẖuṭba* and three days later the tān entered Baghdād. The presence of the rough uz however soon led to plundering and murdering l threatened to end in a regular street war with citizens, so that Tughrîlbeg had at once to ervene to put an end to this state of affairs l, under the pretext that al-Malik al-Raḥīm l brought it about, he had him arrested in te of the Caliph's intercession and the rule of Būyids was ended for ever The alliance with caliph was cemented by his marriage with a ghter of Čaghrībeg, but the sulṭān and caliph y met after the former had brought Dubais l other rebellious Arabs to terms (end of 449 = . 1058). He was given the title of "King of East and of the West". Soon afterwards how- r a change set in; al-Basāsīrī had in the anwhile been working actively for the Fāṭimids l even Ibrāhīm Ināl had been tempted to rebel inst Tughrîlbeg, handed over his post in al- wṣil to al-Basāsīrī and himself went to Hama- īn where many of the Sulṭān's Ghuz who were tive under the long period of inactivity in the ḳ, joined him. Ṭughrîlbeg therefore set out m Baghdād with the troops that had remained hful to him and when the sons of Čaghrībeg ne to his assistance with more troops, was able take Ibrāhīm Ināl prisoner at al-Raiy and had n promptly executed. In the meanwhile al-Basā- entered Baghdād, which was now empty of ops, and had the name of the Fāṭimid caliph Mustanṣir inserted in the *ḵẖuṭba* (8th Dhu ʿa'da 450 = Dec. 27, 1058), while the Caliph l his vizier Ibn al-Muslima appealed for the to Ḳuraish b. Badrān [q. v.] who was a friend of al-Basāsīrī's. The latter succeeded in bringing the Caliph in safety to Ḥadithat ʿĀna and handed over the vizier to the vengeance of al-Basāsīrī who inflicted a cruel death upon him Exactly a year later Ṭughrîlbeg appeared on the scene, brought the caliph again into his capital and defeated the troops of al-Basāsīrī, who was himself slain in the battle (end of 451 = beg. 1060) The memory of these events was still kept alive in Yāḳūt's time in Baghdād by certain proverbial sayings (*Muʿḏjam*, iii. 595, 10 *sqq.*) Ṭughrîlbeg then went to Wāsiṭ, made peace with Dubais and appointed farmers for the collection of tribute in Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. In 452 (1060) he was again back in Baghdād attending to a business which he had very much at heart, namely, the seeking of a daughter of the caliph in marriage, against which the pride of the ʿAbbāsids revolted. It was only when Ṭughrîlbeg's vizier, al-Kundurī, threatened to confiscate the revenues of the caliph, that the latter yielded and the wedding took place during an absence of the sulṭān in Armenia (454 = 1062) On his return to Baghdād, in the following year, however, he was only allowed to see his bride veiled, and he departed for al-Raiy without the consummation of the marriage being mentioned. Moreover he was now an old man of 70 and his end was near, for he died in al-Raiy on 8th Ramaḍān 455 (Sept 4, 1063) On the death of his brother Čaghrībeg, he had married one of his wives, as he was himself childless. He had designated her son Sulaimān as his successor but the latter was at once compelled to leave the field for another son of Čaghrībeg's, namely Alp Arslān [q v.]

Bibliography. See the article SELDJUḲ

(M. TH HOUTSMA)

ṬUGHTEGÎN B. ʿABD ALLĀH AMÎN AL-DAWLA ZAHÎR AL-DÎN ABŪ MANṢŪR, founder of the dynasty of the Būrids. Ṭughtegîn began his military career as a mamlūk in the service of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Tutush [q v.] who afterwards manumitted him, entrusted him with the education of his son Duḳāḳ and even gave him the latter's mother Ṣafwat al-Mulk as a wife. After Tutush had fallen in battle with his nephew Barkiyārūḳ (488 = 1095) Duḳāḳ was recognised as lord of Damascus. He showed the greatest respect for his stepfather and, following the example of so many other Atābegs, Tughtegîn soon thrust himself into the position of actual ruler. On the death of Duḳāḳ in Ramaḍān 497 (June 1104) he had homage paid first to a son of the deceased named Tutush, who was only a year old, and then to a brother of Duḳāḳ, the 12 year-old Artāsh (or Bektāsh). Artāsh however was soon thrust aside and Ṭughtegîn recognised as the ruler. The former thereupon entered into negotiations with king Baldwin I of Jerusalem. It was not long before Ṭughtegîn came into conflict with the Franks. When the Fāṭimid vizier al-Malik al-Afḍal sent a large army to Palestine, Ṭughtegîn was persuaded to send forces to support him. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 498 (Aug 1105) however Baldwin inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslims near al-Ramla. In Ṣafar 499 (Oct 1105) Ṭughtegîn defeated a Frankish Count who had been harassing the district of Damascus by repeated raids and destroyed his fortress, only two days journey from the town. Soon afterwards — or according to another authority a little earlier —

he also took Rafaniya where a nephew of Count Raymond was in command. He was less successful when he tried to take the fortress of ʿIrḳa N. E. of Tripolis, the commander of which had broken his allegiance to his lord, al-Ḳāḍī Ibn ʿAmmār [q v] of Tripolis, and sought the help of Ṭughtegīn. The latter succeeded in taking several strongholds but on hearing of his success, Count William of Tripolis took the field and defeated the Damascus troops so thoroughly that they fled in disorder to Ḥimṣ whereupon he took ʿIrḳa (Shaʿban 502 = March 1109). In 504 (1110/1111) the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Muhammad [q v.] at the request of the Syrian fugitives decided to intervene vigorously against the Crusaders, ordered the ruler of al-Mawṣil to collect an army and take the field against the Franks and issued orders to all the vassals of the Saldjūḳs to join Mawdūd's army. After a few successes, the Muslim leaders began to quarrel and on Rabīʿ I, 507 (Sept 1113) Mawdūd was murdered by an Assassin in Damascus. Several Muslim rulers including Ṭughtegīn were suspected of complicity in this deed. But when Sulṭān Muḥammad appointed the police-prefect of Baghdād, Aḳ-Sonkor al-Bursuḳī [q v], as Mawdūd's successor, the Ortoḳid Īlghāzī I [q v] rebelled as he felt himself insulted by this appointment. Ṭughtegīn joined him, as he was regarded in Baghdād as the instigator of Mawdūd's assassination and therefore feared the vengeance of the Sulṭān. On the alliance of these two Muslim leaders with the Christians and the further course of the war, cf the article ILGHĀZI In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 509 (March–April 1116) Ṭughtegīn went to Baghdād and submitted to the Sulṭān who gave him a friendly reception and even appointed him governor of Syria with the right to recruit levies and regulate taxation Ṭughtegīn after some time again joined Īlghāzī and they continued their joint war on the Franks [cf ILGHĀZI] In course of time however Tyre fell into the hands of the Christians. This important commercial town belonged politically to Egypt but in 506 (1112—1113) the citizens out of fear of the Franks had appealed for help to Ṭughtegīn. The Atābeg sent them a governor named Masʿūd who held his office for some years The Tyrians then complained of his conduct to the Fātimid caliph who at once dismissed him and appointed another governor When the Crusaders threatened to attack the town, the new governor appealed to Ṭughtegīn The latter could not force the besiegers to retreat and had to begin negotiations The garrison and the inhabitants were given free passage with their portable possessions and in Djumādā I, 518 (July 1124) the Franks entered Tyre.

Tughtegin, "one of the most dreaded enemies of the Christians", died on the 8th Ṣafar 522 (Feb 12, 1128) He is described by the Oriental historians as an able and just ruler. In accordance with his wish, his eldest son Tādj al-Mulūk Būrī succeeded him as lord of Damascus

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ṬULAIḤA B. KHUWAILID B. NAWFAL AL-ASADĪ AL-FAḲʿADĪ, one of the tribal leaders who headed the *ridda* as prophets

In 4 A.H., being in command of the Banū Asad with his brother Salama, he suffered defeat from the Muslims in the expedition of Ḳaṭan. The following year he took part in the siege of Madīna Early in 9 A H Tulaiḥa, as one of ten Asadis, probably representing only a section of the tribe, came to Madīna and submitted to Muhammad, Sūra xlix 14–17 is said to rebuke their arrogance, but a tradition that only Ṭulaiḥa embraced Islām, points to political submission rather than conversion, he alone being considered a convert only because the *ridda* was explained as religious apostasy The whole story may have been invented as a parallel to Musailima's visit to Madīna.

Tulaiḥa rebelled in 10 A. H.; he concentrated his forces at Samīrā, assumed the role of prophet, and is said to have offered terms to Muḥammad, who sent Dirār b al-Azwar to keep him in check No encounter of any consequence followed until after Muhammad's death, when Tulaiha succeeded in gaining the support of the Banū Fazāra and an important portion of Ṭaiy, and joined the revolt in central Arabia, sending troops to the battle of Dhu 'l-Ḳassa.

In Radjab 11 Khālid b. al-Walīd marched against Ṭulaiha, and with threats persuaded most of the Banū Taiy to follow him. The battle took place at Buzākha, Ṭulaiḥa's defeat was due to the defection of ʿUyaina b. Hisn, chief of the Banū Fazāra, disappointed, it is said, by his failure to obtain an encouraging revelation Tulaiha fled with his wife, many of his followers, refusing Islām, were burnt alive, and his mother sought death in the flames

After Buzākha, Tulaiḥa lived for a time in obscurity, near Ṭāʾif or in Syria He was eventually converted after the Asad, Ghaṭafān and ʿĀmir's submission; passing through Madina on the *ʿumra* some time later, his presence was denounced to Abū Bakr, who mercifully refused to molest the convert On ʿUmar's election, Ṭulaiḥa went to do homage to him; the Caliph reproached him for slaying ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan and Thābit b. Aḳram at Buzākha, and asked him what was left of his divination "One or two puffs of the bellows", Ṭulaiḥa modestly answered.

His subsequent military career was long and creditable he performed acts of valour at Ḳādisīya, at the head of his tribesmen, led the Muslim infantry at Djalūlā, and the victory of Nihāwand has been credited to his plan of attack. He is generally reported killed in this action (21 A. H.), but we find him mentioned in 24, one of 500 Muslims who garrisoned Kazwīn, and the date of his decease remains uncertain; 21 was probably fixed upon because it was the year in which Khālid, Nuʿmān b. al-Muḳarrin and ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib also died.

His real name was Ṭalḥa; the diminative is contemptuous (cf. Maslama—Musailima). Of his revelations, which he claimed to receive from an angel

(Gabriel or Dhu 'l-Nūn), very little is known, one is a prophecy of conquest in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, another mentions the millstone, a common metaphor for victorious military action. He appears rather as a soothsayer than a prophet, for his few known utterances concern actual events, and no religious system is discernible.

Tulaiha was a gallant warrior, considered the equal of a thousand horsemen, but he lacked the qualities of a leader, to judge from his short career as a rebel ʿUmar wrote to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Muḳarrin concerning him: "use him in action and consult him on military matters, but do not entrust any command to him". Mention is also made of his oratory and poetical improvisations on the field, he appears to have been a perfect type of the pagan tribal leader, combining the offices of soothsayer, poet, orator and warrior.

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AL-ṬULAIṬILĪ, an ethnic by which the learned Spaniard ABU 'L-KĀSIM SĀʿID B. AHMAD AL-ANDALUSĪ, commonly called "the Kādī Sāʿid", is sometimes known Born at Almeria in 420 (1029), Sāʿid began his studies at Cordova and completed them at Toledo, then the capital of the dynasty of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [see this article] and the centre of a very brilliant intellectual activity. He very soon made a name for himself by his knowledge of law, history, mathematics, astronomy. Appointed Ḳāḍī of Toledo by the Dhu 'l-Nūnid emīr Yahyā al-Maʾmūn, he held this office till his death in Shawwāl 462 (July 1070).

Sāʿid wrote a treatise on astronomy, a universal chronicle and a work in the style of the *Kitāb al-Niḥal* of Ibn Hazm, which now appears to be lost At the present day, we only possess by this author a history of the sciences, called *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* (ed by Cheikho, Bairūt 1912). This book is divided into two parts. In the first, the author treats of the peoples who do not cultivate the sciences, and confines himself to generalities In the second, Ṣāʿid studies the eight nations who have been interested in the sciences namely the Hindus, the Persians, the Chaldæans, the Greeks, the Occidentals, the Egyptians, the Arabs and the Jews At the present day only the chapters on the Greeks, Arabs and the Jews deserve our attention The brevity and the anecdotal form of the notices, the absence of any technical development, moreover, show clearly that Ṣāʿid had never intended to compose a profound treatise after the manner of the specialists but only a simple popular work. The *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* unfortunately soon lost in the eyes of the public the character, which its author had given to it. Very soon from being a summary of the history of the sciences, it came to be regarded as a leading work dealing thoroughly with all human knowledge Soon, and this is more serious, the work of Ṣāʿid was even regarded, no longer as a compilation but as a first hand source of information. In the xiiith century this error was definitely sanctioned by the Arab authors who wrote on the history of the sciences Ibn al-Ḳifṭī borrowed largely from the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam* and it can be estimated that the parts taken from this work form a good quarter of his *Taʾrīḵh al-Ḥukamāʾ*. Even Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, in his great work called *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, has reproduced several biographies of physicians, the text of which has been taken from Sāʿid's work. Finally the Christian Bar Hebraeus has taken from the same treatise the division of peoples into the friends and the enemies of science as well as the general sketch of each of the races studied in his Arabic chronicle, *Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal.*

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TULUMBADJÎ, a Turkish noun meaning. 1. (obsolete) regular fireman; 2. (modern usage) volunteer or irregular fireman; 3 (figuratively) a badly brought-up person (R Youssouf), a street rowdy, a rough (Redhouse), derived from *tulumba*, "pump, hydraulic machine" (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, 1680, p 1375, cf. *Relation de l'Ambassade de Mohammed Effendi*, Paris 1841, p. 52).

The word *tulumba* is for the Italian *tromba* with the same meaning, with change of *r* into *l* and epenthesis of the disjunctive vowel *u* between the two initial consonants One also says *yangîn tulumbasî* "fire-engine" to distinguish it from the other meanings of the word *tulumba* which are "sounder, pipette of the surgeon or douanier (*istimara tulumbasî* wine-pipette), waterspout in the sea" The word *tulumba* has become popularised in Turkey by its naval use, if one may judge from the common phrase *ḳarga tulumba etmek*, a transitive verb, which means "to work (cf Venetian *carga*) the pump, i e for two or more people to carry some one — especially ill, wounded or dead — by taking him by the head and feet" (Mehemed Djewdet, *Akhz-i thār*, p 156, Ḥusain Raḥmī, *Djān pazarî*, *Iḳdām* of the December 8, 1922) The Turkish *tulumba* (and the Italian *tromba*) may be compared with their synonyms, the old French *trompe* (Jal, *Gloss Nautique*), the Basque *tromba* (*ibid*), the modern Greek τρόμπα or προύμπα (Hesseling, *Les mots maritimes*) The word *tulumba* has passed into most of the Balkan languages· Roumanian (périmé, Damé), Bulgarian, Greek of Rumelia (P. Louis Ronzevalle). The Persian *tulunbe* (Nicolas) and, in part at least, the Arabic of Syria and Egypt and the north coast of Africa *ṭurumba* or *ṭulumba* must be borrowed from the Turkish.

One knows how frequent and violent are the Constantinople fires, especially in the past. A Turkish proverb says "if it were not for the fires in Constantinople, the thresholds of the houses would be of gold" (*Istambolun yangîni olmasa, ewlerin eshiyi altundan olurdu*).

Many things combined to make the old capital of Turkey perpetually threatened by fire and to keep away from it until quite recently even the most enterprising insurance companies.

1. The houses were almost all of wood (*akhshāb*) and painted with oil (aspic oil, in the time of Baron de Tott). Through laziness, as well as from fatalism and fear of earthquakes, of relatively rare occurrence, however, the Turks did not build of stone The government, which, it was said, was afraid to allow any places of any strength in which rioters might hold out, was very reluctant to grant permission to build houses of stone (*kʿārgīr*, popularly *kʿāgır*, *kʿawgır*, *kʿewgır*, *gʿewgır*). Apart from Pera, where hewn stone appears relatively early, there were only the mosques, fountains, khāns, public baths, *bezesten* (markets, covered in and closed at night, for valuable merchandise) and a few houses of the Fanariots, some ancient monuments, like the aqueduct of Valens, which might escape the action of the fire and sometimes even served to bar the advance of the flames.

It should also be noted that the lead melted from the domes of some of these buildings during a fire ran into the street and made approach to them dangerous There were also places for shelter built of masonry in the better class houses Called *gʿewgır* par excellence, and strengthened by iron doors, they were regular strong-boxes for articles of value They were fire-proof, but one had to wait some weeks to open them after a fire, for fear that a prematute draught might carry the flames inside. As, in the case of a fire, nothing was left but these cellars, the chimneys and the foundations of stone, the debris was easily cleared away and the town was rapidly rebuilt, but this was only an illusory advantage for it sometimes happened that an afflicted quarter was burned down again, even before it had been completely rebuilt.

2 The streets were narrow and the landlords were able to prevent the government from widening them (as was the case, for example in the reign of ʿOthmān III).

3 Rises in the wind are frequent on the shores of the Bosphorus, where the breeze from the sea frequently changes its direction. It is said that there is a recrudescence of fires, when aubergines (*patlïdjan*) are in season, when the breeze which bears the same name (*patlïdjan meltemi*) blows on the kitchens

4 The older Turks used to be exceedingly careless in the use of tobacco-pipes (*čubuḳ*) and *tandïr* (or *tandur* for *tannūr*), a kind of heating box for the winter

5. Attempts by incendiaries (*kondakčï*) were not rare. They used to throw into the houses dolls made of inflammable material (*ḳondaḳ*, a word of Greek origin) either for political reasons, or simply out of vengeance. It may be said that every crisis in domestic politics was accompanied by violent fires, the people adopting this simple method of manifesting their discontent. The firemen were sometimes their accomplices and fed the fire instead of extinguishing it. Among the best known cases of incendiarism are those which occurred during the rule of the unpopular chief eunuch, Beshīr Agha under Maḥmūd I (according to Jouannin, *Turquie*, p 343, this was the first occasion on which the *ḳondaḳ* was used), during the occupation of Egypt by the French and on the accession of Maḥmūd II. As to fires started out of personal vengeance, they were very frequently the work of negro slaves dissatisfied with their masters (according to Basili).

It would take too long to enumerate the fires recorded in Turkish annals. We shall mention only those which were of particular violence of the period from 1750 to 1756 (principally from v. Hammer, *Histoire*, xv., p. 200 *sq.*). In 1750: on February 3rd, a fire which lasted 30 hours and burned up 6,667 houses and the "Porte" of the Agha of the Janissaries; 18 days later: a fire which destroyed the house of the muftī among others (started out of malevolence), two months later the market for arms In 1751 2,000 houses destroyed at the same time as the *eski odalar* or "old barracks" of the Janissaries In 1752 several fires directed against Beshīr Agha (cf. above) In 1754 four great fires. In 1755, reign of ʿOthmān III on 12th July, 16 hours' duration, 2,000 houses, 3 months later, a fire of 36 hours which consumed a large number of houses, notably the Sublime Porte or Porte of the grand vizier and that of the *defterdār*. Finally in 1756 on July 6th, there broke out the greatest fire recorded since the conquest of Constantinople. 8,000 houses were destroyed (Théophile Gautier writes 80,000). Fanned by the wind, after being temporarily checked by Saint Sophia, the flames went in 13 directions and ultimately combined to form one vast conflagration This catastrophe has been described by de Tott.

Théophile Gautier noted 14 fires, most of them considerable, in one week during his sojourn in Constantinople In his time, there were very few houses over 60 years old. In our own day the Fātiḥ quarter has been completely destroyed Thus in spite of Muslim fatalism, the outbreak of fire was no trifle. Watchmen, usually musicians (*mehter*), were stationed in the tops of the towers of Galata, and later on those of the Serʿaskerat, and announced outbreaks by beating drums and by hanging from the towers baskets during the day and lanterns during the night, varying in number according to the quarter to be indicated Stambul, Galata, Scutari

The night watchmen (*bekčï* or *pazwand* for *pasbān*) used to utter their cry of *Istambolda* (or *Galatada*) *yangïn war*! which travellers have made well-known (de Amicis used it as the title of a chapter of his *Constantinopoli*). As soon as the alarm was given, the grand vizier, the *kapudan pasha* and the Agha of the Janissaries, sometimes the sultān himself, went to the spot and each official had to pay a kind of fine to his superior, if he allowed the latter to reach it before him. Th Gautier particularly noticed the local colour provided by the odalisque dressed in red, whose duty it was to warn by his mere appearance the sultān who was in his ḥarem (cf. Robert de Flers, *Vers l'Orient*, p. 362).

The institution of firemen in Turkey is however of relatively recent date. Ewliyā Čelebi (xviith century), who gives a long and varied list of trades including the very humblest, does not mention any particular organisation for fighting fires. They were content to limit the area affected by demolishing houses with the help of long poles with hooks on the end (*ḳandja*) and the destruction was completed with axes. Castellani also mentions the chains which were tied round walls in order to pull them down, and Basili talks of sheets sewn together and soaked with water, to protect the houses adjoining the centre of the conflagration.

According to the historian Rāshid (1st ed., vol. iii., fol. 111b—112), it was in Ramaḍān 1134 (June–July 1722) in the reign of Aḥmad III and in the viziership of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, who was fond of innovations, that pumps were used for the first time, made and directed by the renegade Gerček Dāwūd (of French origin, according to Mouradja d'Ohsson). The results were so encouraging that a body of firemen was established with Dāwūd as commandant (*tulumbadjî bashî*). He was given quarters in the recruits' barracks (*ʿadjamî odalarî*) situated near the new barracks or *yeñi odalar* in the Shahzāde-bashî quarter. This body of picked men was recruited at first from the Janissaries and the other regiments (*odjak*) It enjoyed special pay and various privileges. The office was hereditary, according to Thalasso. As to precedence, they ranked next to the Janissaries and before the *djebedjî* or army service corps. Gradually however, they lost their military character, just as the *djebedjî* did A connection with the different odjaks survived, however, in this way that each corps of soldiers had its own firemen but, except for those of the odjak of the *bostandjî* who were regarded as regular Janissaries, the others were young artisans (*eṣnāf delikanlîlarî*), who only remotely resembled soldiers. The corps of Turkish firemen seems however to have very soon degenerated. Less than thirty years after their creation, they were holding to ransom and extorting money from people whose houses had been burned, or who had asked them to protect threatened houses, and sometimes, de Tott says, gave themselves up to such pleasantries as turning the hose on the spectators.

They wore a plated (*kalaylî*) helmet (*tas*) without a visor, held in horror in Muslim lands, a head-dress which, according to Castellani, was surmounted by a spike and resembled, according to him, the *galerus* of the Salian priests, while Luṭfî Efendi, more prosaically, compares it to a soup-tureen (*čorba tasî*). On it was the badge (*nishān*) of the *orta* to which the fireman belonged The helmet of the *tulumbadjî bashî* was of solid silver. The firemen turned out to fires with arms, legs and chests bare. At other times they wore huge turbans (*sarîk*) and red cloaks (*ḳapot*) called *ḳartal ḳanat* (for' *ḳanadî*) i e eagle's wing. On their bare feet they wore *yemeni*, also red.

The pumps were quite small and two men were able to carry them They were a little improved in 1754 by the adoption of hose of more pliable leather. The number of pumps was increased shortly afterwards, in the reign of ʿOthmān III, and they were distributed among the watchmen, instead of, as previously, storing them with the chiefs of the different quarters (v. Hammer, *Histoire*, p. 263).

The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 precipitated the break-up of the corps of firemen Their only remained the pumps of the War Ministry (*bāb-i serʿaskerî*), served by a collection of vagabonds (*derme čatma*). A little later in 1243 (1827–1828), *mudîr* or "directors" were appointed to each engine and new firemen were enrolled (*ḵẖāridjiden nerefāt taḥrîrî*), especially among the Armenians, a nation considered, however, according to Basili, as not of very active physique. There was nevertheless a certain improvement in the service, according to the same Basili. This improvement does not seem to have been maintained if we may judge by the depths to which the institution soon sank. The *tulumbadjî* became regular brigands, who took advantage of the fires to plunder as they pleased: as to their habit of blackmail, we have seen above that they were only keeping up an older tradition. Recruited from among the porters (*ḥammāl*) and the boatmen (*ḳayîḳčî*), the most turbulent corporations in Turkey, they formed a body of 20,000 men ready for anything. From the fear which they inspired in a feeble government they succeeded in maintaining their positions, even after the institution of a regular fire brigade, to be discussed below, and according to Thalasso, they continued to draw rations of bread. Their jailbird figures were to be seen running through the streets preceded by a grotesque courier or herald. He alone seems to have retained the helmet; he was clothed in fiery red, had a hatchet at his side and in the right hand a pike with which he beat dogs and people not prompt enough at getting out of the way. This courier was called *ḳara ḳulaḳ* (black ear) i e. "lynx", because according to legend, this animal performs a similar duty for the lion, whom he precedes on his hunts. Sometimes they had violent fights with the regular firemen. These latter were never at peace among themselves, and the Muslim companies fought with those consisting of Armenian or Greek Christians.

The tiny pumps, holding only three or four gallons, were painted in bright colours, surmounted, as the case might be, with the crescent or the cross and bearing the names of the different quarters or, what comes to the same thing, of the different mosques or churches. The firemen, who lived by preference beside the fountains (*česhme*) to be able to fill their pumps more quickly, had the latter opened to them during the night by the *saḳa* (*saḳḳā*), the latter also having to assist at putting out fires. Some writers (e g Ducket) have paid a tribute to the skill and courage of the *tulumbadjî* but criticisms like those of von Hammer are more frequent. The least one can say is that the corps lacked discipline

The modern regular firemen (*itfāʾiye*). The modern fire-brigade was created after the conflagration of June 5, 1870 (the greatest since that of 1831 in the same quarter, it was described by de Amicis from oral information) Its organisation was entrusted to the Hungarian Count Edmond Széchenyi (*Sečeni Pasha*), who had previously been in command of the Budapest Fire Brigade. The first battalion began its duties on January 3, 1876 and in the course of its first year extinguished 77 fires, some very serious. It had a staff of 580 men, 2 large horse-drawn pumps, 8 small pumps, a first aid waggon, a water-waggon (with 16 buckets) and a waggon for the engines. This equipment was later improved. Three other units were added later: there was one of two battalions in Pera (*Taḳsim* the headquarters of the corps was also at Pera), Stambul (Seraskierat), Scutari in Asia and at the Admiralty. There were also naval firemen and a battalion of sappers. All these units together formed the regiment of firemen (*itfāʾiye alayî*) which formed part of the first army corps or of the Imperial Guard (*ḵẖāṣṣe ordu-i humāyūnu*) Each of the battalions was commanded by a *binbashî* and Count Széchenyi ranked as a general of divison (*ferîḳ*). Details of the cadres of this regiment are given in the Turkish military yearbooks (*sālnāme-i ʿaskerî*).

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(J. Deny)

ṬŪLŪNIDS, the name given to the first Muslim dynasty of independent governors and rulers of Egypt. The founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn [q. v], entered Fusṭāṭ as the deputy of the fieffee of Egypt, the Turkish general Bāyakbāk, on 23rd Ramaḍān 254 (15th September 868), and in the course of the next ten years succeeded in uniting Egypt and Syria under his rule, in virtual independence of the Caliphate. He died on 10th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 270 (10th May 884), having nominated as his successor his son Khumārawaih [q. v.], who, after a brilliant reign of twelve years, was murdered at Damascus on 17th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 282 (7th February 896). The army commanders subsequently raised to the throne two young sons of Khumārawaih, the elder, Djaish, being deposed on 10th Djumādā II 283 (26th July 896) in favour of his brother Hārūn. With the assassination of Hārūn on 19th Ṣafar 292 (1st January 905), the rule of the dynasty virtually came to an end, though his uncle Shaibān b. Aḥmad held local authority as amīr of Egypt for twelve days longer.

The stages in the establishment of the empire of the Ṭūlūnids, and their relations with the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, are fully related in the articles AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN and KHUMĀRAWAIH. By the terms of the treaty negotiated on the accession of the Caliph Mu'taḍid (279 = 892), the possession of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (excluding Mosul) was made over to Khumārawaih and his heirs for a period of thirty years, in return for an annual tribute of 300,000 dīnārs (which was the sum formerly remitted by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn to the Caliph Mu'tamid in respect of Egypt alone). This treaty marks the apogee of the power of the dynasty; the subsequent weakening of their position led to the revision of its terms in 286 (899), by which their dominions were restricted to Egypt and Syria, and the annual tribute raised to 450,000 dīnārs. The breakdown of their administration in Syria in face of the Ḳarmaṭians supplied a pretext for the sending of imperial troops to Damascus in 289, at the instigation (according to Ṭabarī, iii. 2222, 9 *sqq*) of the Syrians themselves. Thence the victorious general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān organised, with the aid of the fleet of Ṭarsūs, a combined military and naval expedition into Egypt, and meeting with comparatively little opposition, captured Fusṭāṭ on 2nd Rabī' I 292 (12th January 905) The city was plundered and the inhabitants subjected to barbarous ill-usage, the military suburb of al-Ḳaṭā'i', founded by Aḥmad, was razed to the ground, and the surviving males of the house of Ṭūlūn were carried in chains to Baghdād and there kept in confinement

The power of the Ṭūlūnids was based entirely on the army created by Aḥmad, the core of which consisted of Turkish, Greek, and Sūdānī slaves, and probably also Greek mercenaries. With the local levies the army numbered more than 100,000 men The most severe discipline was imposed upon the regular troops, and enforced by provost-marshals, probably one for each corps In 258, according to Ya'ḳūbī (ii. 624), an oath of personal allegiance to Aḥmad was administered to all the troops; from this time also begins the building of al-Ḳaṭā'i' and the other military works in Egypt. Though the conquest of Syria in 264 added to his army not only new militia forces but also the private troops of the former Turkish governors, it imposed on him a greater strain in maintaining his authority intact over such heterogeneous forces, bound to him by only the weakest of ties. The revolt of his son al-'Abbās (265—268) — in reality a rebellion of a number of his own officers — followed by the defection of Lu'lu', constituted a serious menace to the stability of his position, from which he had hardly recovered at the time of his death. By the personal courage of Khumārawaih, after an inauspicious beginning, the danger of disruption was averted for the time being, and the numbers of the standing army even increased by fresh purchases in Central Asia. Nevertheless, it was mainly by lavish expenditure, and some relaxation of Aḥmad's iron rule, that Khumārawaih succeeded in holding the army together; the annual cost of its upkeep in his reign amounted to 900,000 dīnārs. Owing to his extravagance, moreover, the treasury was exhausted, and already on the accession of Djaish a section of the army refused to acknowledge him owing to his lack of funds. The gross incapacity of Djaish further alienated the principal Turkish generals, who escaped to Baghdād, and were received with princely honours by the Caliph Mu'taḍid. During the reign of Hārūn the central government lost almost all direct control of the army, in which the Greek element now predominated. The principal commanders in Egypt, Badr, Ṣāfī, and Fā'iḳ,

each obtained control of a portion of the troops, and drew on the revenues of the State for their upkeep; in Syria, the general Ṭughdj b Djuff (the father of the future Ikhshīd) was practically independent at Damascus. The mutual rivalries of the generals go far to explain the disasters suffered by the Egyptian armies in Syria during the Ḳarmaṭian outbreak, which in turn further weakened the resources of the Ṭūlūnids The disintegration was accentuated by rivalries among the members of the dynasty and by the growing estrangement between Hārūn and his amīrs. On the appearance of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān at Damascus, he was joined not only by Ṭughdj, but also by Badr and Fā'iḳ with all their troops. Of the remainder of the army, the greater part deserted during the operations which led up to the capture of Fusṭāṭ, largely owing to Hārūn's inability to pay them

In addition to creating an army, Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn also gave his attention to the strengthening of the fleet, and to the provision of naval defences and stations, partly in order to maintain his hold on Syria, where he created a naval base at ʿAkka (see also Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 707—708) The fleet was kept up by his successors, but was destroyed at Tinnīs by naval forces from Ṭarsūs, commanded by Damyāna, which accompanied the expedition of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān.

The details of the reforms which Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn effected in the financial administration of Egypt are rather obscure. All the sources quote the statements that the revenue from *kharādj*, which under his predecessors had yielded only 800,000 dīnārs, rose at the end of his reign to 4,300,000 dīnārs, and that he left accumulated savings which amounted to ten million dīnārs In addition to the income from *kharādj* (which included the rent paid by the amīrs for their estates), the treasury received an annual rent from the royal domains (*al-amlāk*), which were administrated in the name of the fieffee of Egypt, at this time Djaʿfar al-Mufawwaḍ, son and heir of the Caliph Muʿtamid (*P. E. R. F*, N⁰ 836), the supervision of these occupied a separate department of the administration (Ibn Saʿid, p. 67). The transmission of detailed information by later writers was probably rendered impossible by the destruction of the *dīwān* after Muḥammad's reconquest (Maḳrīzī, i. 325, 12). It is agreed, however, that, so far from laying additional burdens on the country, the increase of revenue was accompanied by the reformation of abuses, the suppression of oppressive imposts, and the establishment of a strict supervision over the amīrs and the finance officials. These measures, helped by a series of uniformly high floods, together with the fact that the sums which had hitherto been drained away to Baghdād were now spent within the country, resulted in an outburst of great prosperity. A somewhat obscure narrative (Ibn Saʿīd, p. 38) hints at an attempt to create a flax monopoly, which was afterwards given up, but it is indicated also by the same authority (p 67) that in the last years of his reign Aḥmad made other experiments of the same sort. It is certain that Egyptian commerce must have expanded greatly, but no data bearing on this appear to have been preserved During the reign of Khumārawaih the financial administration probably began to deteriorate Details are again lacking, but the fact of a decline may be inferred from the reckless expenditure characteristic of his reign and his easygoing attitude to the amīrs, which allowed them a free hand in the management of their estates. The loss of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, who had been Aḥmad's right-hand man in financial matters, must also have affected the efficiency of the administration. At the death of Khumārawaih the treasury was completely empty, and the virtual abdication of the central government to the amīrs undoubtedly resulted in the reintroduction of the familiar abuses into the financial system. The ruler Hārūn was a mere child (he was only twenty-two years old at his death) and the conduct of affairs was left in the hand of Abū Djaʿfar b. Abāli, under whom things went from bad to worse, while the final disaster was aggravated by an exceptionally low Nile in the year 291.

In the general domain of administration Aḥmad's reign also marks a considerable advance The chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) was organised on the model of the *dīwān* at the court of the Caliphs, and the ruler held regular public sessions for the hearing of complaints (*maẓālim*). A papyrus document (*P. E R. F.*, N⁰. 805) seems to indicate that a general survey of Egypt was made between 258 and 261. Jews and Christians suffered, on the whole, no molestation, and owing to Aḥmad's predilection for native Egyptian officials were probably extensively employed in the administration. On the other hand, the country was frequently disturbed during Aḥmad's reign by risings and private wars The ʿAlids in the Ṣaʿīd gave constant trouble, which even Aḥmad's wholesale deportations of them to al-Madīna could not stop; the Arabs in the Delta were so turbulent that in order to divert them from their customary brigandage and violence, Khumārawaih (following the example set by the former finance minister Aḥmad b. Mudabbir) enrolled a picked body of their young men as his bodyguard, with the name of *al-Mukhtāra*. Arabs from Buḥaira formed, together with Berbers, the forces of Hārūn's rebel uncle Rabīʿa. To meet these disorders Aḥmad adopted severe measures: in addition to wholesale executions during his lifetime, he is said to have had 18,000 persons lying in his prisons at the time of his death. The difficulties of the Ṭūlūnids were increased by a certain tension with the theologian class, in spite of their efforts to conciliate the latter by lavish almsgiving and other marks of respect to religious feeling During the breach between the Ṭūlūnids and the Caliphate, the theologians apparently sided with the latter, and regarded Aḥmad and Khumārawaih as usurpers. Aḥmad's chief ḳāḍī, Abū Bakra Bakkār, is not above suspicion of having privily abetted his rebel son al-ʿAbbās, and was imprisoned for refusing to sign the *fatwā* against al-Muwaffaḳ. Among other significant indications of this conflict is the fact that the list of ḳāḍīs of Egypt contains gaps between 270 and 277, and between 283 and 288.

The majority of the public works erected by the Ṭūlūnids were dictated by their military policy and the needs of the new city of al-Ḳaṭaʾiʿ Ibn Ṭūlūn's new mosque was built because of the overcrowding of the mosque of ʿAmr by the troops of the vast military camp. Such other works as the aqueduct and the hospital were scarcely less military in purpose. His restoration and endowment of the tomb of Muʿāwiya in 270, however, has the obvious air of a political manœuvre, to enlist the sympathy of the Egyptian anti-Shīʿites and the Syrians on his side against the Caliphate. On the other hand,

Aḥmad, who had received an unusually liberal education, showed himself a keen patron of learning and the arts, and there is every reason to suppose that he encouraged the spread of education in Egypt. It is possible that a trace of his activities is preserved in a document relating to the endowments of a mosque school at Ushmūnain (*P.E.R.F.*, No. 773). Khumārawaih's interest in music, painting, and even sculpture, together with the general luxury of the period, must have contributed to the development of local arts and crafts, to which also Maḳrīzī's account of the bazaars in al-Ḳaṭā'i' bears indirect witness. Like all enlightened despots, Aḥmad and his son took care not only to humour the people by free distribution of food, magnificent spectacles, and lavish generosity, but also, by the alleviation of hardships and by practical measures for the improvement of their economic condition, to secure their interest on behalf of the dynasty and at the same time raise their capacity as revenue-producers. In spite of a foreign domination, therefore, and its militarist basis, the Ṭūlūnid period was one of marked material prosperity and progress for the mass of the Egyptian population, and was in afterdays recalled as a golden age: *kānat min khuyār 'l-duwal wa-aiyāmuhum min maḥāsin 'l-aiyām*, "They were numbered among the most brilliant of dynasties, and their days among the most beneficent of days".

Bibliography: See under AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN and KHUMĀRAWAIH, also al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (ed Rhuvon Guest), p. 212–248, and 477—480 of the supplement, and W. Bjorkmann, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928), p. 18. — The relevant sections in the encyclopaedia of Nuwairī (*Nihāyat al-'Arab*) have not yet been published For the mosque and other public works of the Ṭūlūnids see now K. A. C Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, volume 1.

(H. A. R GIBB)

TUMAN, original (Turkish) pronunciation tumen, usually written tūman, at first used vaguely for "very many", later the numeral for "ten thousand". The Turkish numeral was first explained by G Ramstedt (*J S F. Ou.*, XXIV. 22) from the Chinese, later by N. Mironov (*Zap.*, XIX, p. XXIII) from the Tokharian (*tmām* or *tmān*, "ten thousand") Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (I 337) still knows the Turkish word only in its indefinite meaning; according to him *tumen turluk* means "very varied", *tumen ming* not 10,000 × 1,000 = 10 millions, but 1,000 × 1,000 = 1,000.000. The word seems to be first found with the meaning "ten thousand" in the Mongol period As an army division, the tümen consisted of 10,000 soldiers (*N. E.*, XIV/I. 280); sometimes the word tümen is also used with the meaning of *il* (tribe); as a territorial unit, the tümen was said to be the area that produced 10,000 fighting men (e. g in Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Aḏjā'ib al-Maḳdūr*, Cairo 1285, p. 17), which can hardly be right as the tumen was the smallest administrative or taxation area. Every province (*wilāyet*) of any size was divided into a number of tümen, e. g. that of Samarḳand into seven; it can hardly be supposed that this wilāyet alone could put 70,000 men into the field. With this meaning (the name of the smallest administrative unit) the word tümen was used in the period of Mongol rule in Persia (the Persian 'Irāḳ, for example, was divided into 9 tümens: *G. M. S.*, XXIII/I. 47) and also in what is now Russian Turkestan with the exception of Farghāna [q. v.] In Turkestān this usage (tümen sometimes also stands for wilāyet) survived even in the first two decades of Russian rule, in the kingdom of the Khān of Bukhārā [q. v.], and later even after the revolution of 1920 in the Bukhārā republic. The whole village population liable to pay taxes is sometimes called tümen (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl Ross, p 301) The dwellers among the mountains who live under different conditions, are sometime distinguished from the villagers; for example the *Waḳf-nāma* distinguishes between the student (*ṭullāb*) from the tumen and the students from the mountains (*kūhistān*) in the medrese built in Samarḳand by Shaibānī Khān [q. v].

As a money of account the tumen or tuman in the period of Mongol dominion was 10,000 dīnārs. In all three Muḥammadan states that arose out of the Mongol empire — Persia, the Golden Horde and the line of Čaghātāi — small (dirhem in Persia under Ghāzān Khān [q. v.] 2 1 grammes = 33 1 grains, later smaller) and large silver (dīnār = 6 dirhems) coins were struck; large sums were calculated in tumans of 10,000 dīnārs or 60,000 dirhems; cf. the conversion given by Hamd Allāh Kazwīnī (*G. M S*, XXIII/I. p. 29) 128,000,000 dirhems = rather more than 2,133 tumans (fuller details in W. Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis' na stene Aniyskoi mecheti Manuche*, St. Petersburg 1911, p. 15 *sqq.*) Calculations were also made in the time of Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids in tumans of 10,000 dīnārs; in Turkistān these dīnārs were called *kebekī* after Kebek Khān (*N. E* XIV/I. 74; cf. also under ČAGHĀTĀI KHĀN). At a later date, for a time, only copper coins were in use in Turkestān and these also were calculated in dīnārs and tumans; for example according to Bābur (facs. ed. Beveridge, p. 56b), the cost of feeding the troops of the province of Ḥiṣār was estimated at 1,000 tumans of copper coins (*fulūs*) According to the *Waḳf-nāma*, already quoted, copper coins were equal to one dīnār; 20 of the dīnārs were exchanged for one miṯḳāl (about 66 3 grains = 4 3 grammes) of silver.

In Persia the word tuman in the xviiith century meant a much smaller sum than at an earlier date About 1660 Raphael du Mans gives the value of the tuman as 40 French francs (*P. E. I. O V*, ser II, vol xx, p 183) Sir Thomas Herbert (1630) and Fryer (1677) give the value as £ 3.6.8 in English money. The tuman as a gold coin was first struck by Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Ḳādjār [q. v] in 1212 (1797), at first weighing 95 grains (6.16 grammes), later reduced to 70 (4.5) and again to 53 grains (3.4 grammes). Under Nāsir al-Dīn who struck a few large gold ten tuman pieces, the tuman was worth ten ḳrāns or 10,000 dīnārs, the dīnār, now of course, being not a coin but a very small money of account. The tuman continued to be the standard gold coin down to the reign of Aḥmad Shāh but was abolished by the new dynasty its place being taken by a *pahlawi* of 29 grains (1.88 grammes).

Bibliography: In addition to the literature quoted in the article, cf. the dictionaries (Freytag, Vullers, Radloff) s. v., which are however very defective in this connection.

(W. BARTHOLD)

ṬŪMĀNBĀI II, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF (mir Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī) was the last of the Mamlūk

Sulṭāns. He reigned from 14th Ramaḍān 922 (17th October, 1516) to 21st Rabīʿ I 923 (15th September, 1517). He was bought as a slave by the emīr Ḳānṣūh, afterwards the Sulṭān Ḳanṣūh al-Ghūrī [q.v.] to whom he was related, and given to Sulṭān Ḳāʾitbey [q. v.]. The latter had him trained in the class of clerical Mamlūks (*al-kitābīya*). He was manumitted by Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Nāṣir II probably in the beginning of the year 902 (1496) and promoted to be *dj̲amdār* [q.v.]; a little later he entered the Sulṭān's bodyguard. There he remained till the accession of his relative, Sulṭān Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, who made him an emīr of 10; in 910 (1504) on the death of the heir to the throne, he became *emīr ṭablak̲h̲āne* and chief butler, in 913 he became *dawādār kabīr* [q.v.] and, as was usual in the last period of the Mamlūk dynasty, Major-domo (*ustādār*) and Superintendent of the domains (*kāsh̲if al-kush-sh̲āf*), he thus had attained the highest civilian post. He became deputy in the absence of the Sulṭān (*nāʾib al-g̲h̲aiba*) when the latter went to Syria against Sulṭān Selīm. On the defeat and death of Sulṭān Ghūrī he checked the rout among the retreating troops and emīrs and restored order as far as possible so that the emīrs and people had confidence in him. He was unanimously elected Sulṭān and with much reluctance finally accepted the choice although he well understood the difficulties of the position; the want of money in the first place was serious, for the Turks had captured several million dīnārs from Sulṭān Ghūrī, some of which he had with him in camp and some in his fortresses Besides this the army was exhausted and the great emīrs could not be trusted. The question was decided for him by a learned shaikh Abū Saʿūd al-Djārihī (a quarter near old Cairo still bears his name) who made the emīrs swear fealty to him. The caliph was a prisoner with Sulṭān Selīm, but his father wrote the diploma of appointment and paid homage to the new Sulṭān. Ṭūmānbāi granted the highest offices to the emīrs returning from Syria An appeal for assistance came from Ghazza and troops were very soon sent thither. About this time Selīm sent an offer of peace. Ṭūmānbāi was to recognise him as suzerain. The Sulṭān was ready to make peace but the emīrs were disinclined to do so and managed to get the envoys put to death, which made the continuation of the war inevitable The troops sent by the Sulṭān under the emīr Djanberdī were defeated at Ghazza by Sinān Pāshā [q. v.] and returned to Cairo. Selīm thereupon crossed the desert and although harassed by the Bedouins reached Egypt with his forces in good order. Ṭūmānbāi wished to attack him at Ṣāliḥīya immediately on his arrival there but the emīrs decided to await him before Cairo between Maṭarīya and Djabal Ahmar at Raidānīya The guns were put in position in the sand to bar the Turkish advance. The plan was betrayed however to the Ottomans and a portion of the army went round the Egyptian position and attacked it on the flank. In an hour the mobile, cleverly placed artillery of the Turks mowed down the greater part of the Mamlūk army. The valiant Sulṭān Ṭūmānbāi at the head of a small body fought his way to Sulṭān Selīm's tent and cut down the emīrs there in the belief that Selīm was among them. Returning safely he saw the flight of the Egyptians and followed them to the Nile where he rallied the scanty remnants of his army. The Turks took and plundered Cairo and slew all the Mamlūks who fell into their hands. Ṭūmānbāi once more succeeded in taking the city and held out there for two days He then had to take to flight across the Nile to Upper Egypt. From there he negotiated with Selīm, who promised to retire if his name was put on the coins and mentioned in the Friday service. Ṭūmānbāi was ready to accede but his emīrs prevented him and slew the Sulṭān's envoys. Selīm therefore put to death the emīrs and Mamlūks taken in Cairo and ordered troops to be sent across the Nile, but as they landed in small bodies they were cut down by Ṭūmānbāi's superior forces. Selīm therefore decided to bring his artillery into action. He placed guns on the bank of the Nile and bombarded the enemy who suffered terribly and took to flight. The Turkish forces could now cross undisturbed. Ṭūmānbāi again collected an army whereupon Selīm sent an envoy to negotiate with him. The latter, a former Mamlūk of Ṭūmānbāi's, however began to use insulting language and was wounded during the parley and sent back. In the night indecisive fighting took place. On the next day Ṭūmānbāi challenged his former follower Djanberdī to a single combat which ended in the Sulṭān's victory But in spite of the bravery displayed by the Mamlūks, they were routed by the superior forces of the Turks and the Beduins who had joined them. Ṭūmānbāi fled to a Beduin chief, who was under a bond of gratitude to him, but he was compelled by his people to betray his hiding place. Selīm had him taken prisoner and brought to his camp where he overwhelmed him with reproaches for the murder of his ambassadors Ṭūmānbāi's noble bearing made a good impression on the Sulṭān; he was inclined to give him his life but on the advice of the emīrs, who had gone over to him, he had him hanged a week later at Bāb Zuwaila Thus died the last Mamlūk Sultān. The causes of his defeat were the corrupt state of Egypt, the eternal feuds among the Mamlūks, the lack of funds, but the main reason, as must again be emphasised, was the superiority of the Turkish artillery. The brave Mamlūks did not care to use firearms and did not realise their full importance as they believed that the deciding factor should be personal valour.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v., Stuttgart 1862 (which gives Arabic sources still in MS, see introd., p. 15); v. Hammer, *G. O R.*, Pest 1827 (with list of sources); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311 and for those who do not know Arabic the translation of part 3 of this work by Lieut Colonel W. H Salmon, London 1921, in *Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S., xxv. In addition to Iyās Zunbul's history of the conquest of Egypt by Sulṭān Selīm is very important, s. Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, ii. 43 and 298. Of indirect use for this period is H. Jansky, *Beiträge zur osman. Geschichte*, ii. 173 *sqq.*, where the Turkish sources are given in full (M. Sobernheim)

TUNIS (in Arabic Tūnus or Tūnis), in 36° 47′ 39″ North Lat. and 10° 10′ East Long (Greenw.), capital of the regency of the same name. Tunis at the present day consists of two adjoining, but very different cities, with two quite distinct forms of town life: a native but not exclusively Muslim town, an almost unchanged survival from past

centuries, and a European town of recent origin and completely modern appearance, still steadily and rapidly growing; the old town is about three quarters of a mile from the end of the lagoon called the Lake of Tunis or Bahira (*al-Buḥaira*); this town rises gradually from east to west till it overlooks the shallow, generally dry salt lagoon known as the *Sabaḵḵat al-Sīḍjūmī*; on this side however, the highest point of the Mannūbīya, which has extensive views, lies outside the ramparts To the southeast and close at hand rise the heights of Sīdī Belhassen and of the Djabal Djallūd, farther away the hills of Bir Kassa; to the north the heights of the Belvédère and of Ras-Tabia and beyond them the Djabal Aḥmar and the Djabal Naheli. These slight undulations do not prevent Tunis from communicating easily with the plain of Mornag and the valley of the *wād* Miliane on the one hand, and on the other with the plain of the Manūba and the valley of the Medjerda, also by the north bank of the lagoon with Goulette and Carthage. The natural defences are good without being excellent (Tunis has been taken frequently without much difficulty); except for cisterns, all drinking-water has to be led in from a distance. But from the economic point of view, the position is very advantageous, at the exits from Central Tunisia, in a fairly fertile region, and sufficiently near the sea to give rapid connection with the nearest European coasts.

We need not spend time over the attempts of Arab writers to explain the name Tunis from an Arabic root. They claim with equal fatuity, following one another, to identify the original town with the Biblical Tarshīsh. A plausible etymology has yet to be found; but the name is said, like the town itself, to go back to Punic times, if not beyond them. Tynes is mentioned by Diodoros and Polybius as a considerable town built behind fortifications, no doubt concentrated around the present Kaṣba at some distance from the lagoon, then perfectly navigable. It was besieged and taken successively by the Libyans, who rebelled at the beginning of the fourth century B C., by Agathocles, and by Regulus. The headquarters of the mutinous mercenaries, it later fell into the hands of Scipio Africanus. It was perhaps destroyed by Scipio Emilianus (cf Gsell, *Hist anc. de l'Afr. du Nord*, vol. I, II., III, *pass.*)

Was Tynes — the future Tunis — which is not to be confounded with another Tynes (called the "White", on Cape Bon), as Tissot has said "one of the principal centres of the aboriginal race ... the Libyan city par excellence, in contrast to the Phoenician colony" which was Carthage?

In any case it was for long eclipsed by its illustrious rival and it was only much later that it became a city of the first rank. It was of no particular note in the Roman, Vandal and Byzantine periods. A Roman road connected it with Carthage; a few references in geographical or ecclesiastical works alone remind us from time to time of its existence. Are we to take as history or legend the life of St. Olive, of the Vandal period, who is said to have given her name to the great mosque (*Djāmiʿ al-Zaitūna*), and whose remains were officially claimed in 1402 by King Martin of Aragon?

With the Muslim conquest, Tunis suddenly emerges from the shadow; and it comes into history as a Muslim city, the heir to some extent of Carthage and soon to rival Ḳairawān. When Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān in 698 had taken and destroyed Carthage, the old capital, his first care was to turn the little town at the end of the lagoon into a naval base, from which fleets could set out on more distant expeditions, but where on the other hand he was sheltered from the possibility of a sudden attack by the Byzantine navy. He gave Tunis an arsenal (*dār al-ṣināʿa*) and he probably brought from Egypt a thousand Copt families to supply this new naval dockyard with experienced workmen. Of the town itself we do not yet learn anything very definite; we can only venture a vague surmise as to the nature of various elements that migrated thither. at first undoubtedly, Christian merchants and officials, but very soon increasing numbers of native converts to Islām, with Arab soldiers, arrogant, greedy and turbulent. The first great truly Muslim foundation of a religious nature, the Great Mosque, for centuries the spiritual centre of the city, is attributed by tradition to the Omaiyad governor Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb (built in 114 = 732) who also rebuilt the arsenal. But we do not know who built the ramparts, of which al-Yaʿḳūbī tells us they were of clay (*ṭīn*) and unbaked brick (*lubn*), except in the part near the lake which was built of dressed stone (*ḥiḍjār*). To sum up there was not in the case of Tunis, as at Ḳairawān, a regular creation but rather a sudden development, a political social and religious transformation, of great importance, an adaptation, — perhaps more gradual than one thinks at first — to the new role assigned to it by circumstances and the far-seeing will of the conqueror.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, Tunis begins to develop its commercial possibilities, but it is still particularly renowned as a centre of legal and religious teaching Before the fame of Kairawān was definitely established, Tunis already possessed celebrated teachers who by their teaching contributed to the Islāmisation of the whole country: e g the traditionists ʿAlī b. Ziyād and ʿAbbās b al-Walīd al-Fāirsī At the beginning of the Fātimid period, Abu 'l-ʿArab al-Tamīmī compiled a useful account of these early generations of Tunisian savants (*Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt ʿUlamāʾ Tūnus*, ed. and transl. by Muḥ Ben Cheneb with the "Lists of Savants of Ifrīḳiya"). The Great Mosque now had a number of necessary additions made to it and was embellished in various ways. Some important alterations were no doubt due to the Aghlabid Aḥmad, the great builder; an inscription in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph dates to 250 (864) the dome which is in front of the miḥrāb. Stone and marble were in any case easy to procure here for all buildings, civil or religious. Carthage is near at hand and its ruins were ready to be plundered and to provide in abundance building material, columns and capitals.

In politics, Tunis seems to be the focus of opposition, the centre of resistance to the central authority exercised from Ḳairawān; the Tamīmī *djund* quartered within its walls was an element of disorder and a source of strife. The town took part in most of the risings, which were put down by the Umaiyad, and ʿAbbāsid governors and later by the Aghlabid emīrs. It was implicated in the great rebellion of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī, and the troops of Ziyādat Allāh I took it by assault end destroyed its ramparts in 218 (833). After one of these risings, Ibrāhīm II punished it severely and thought to control it by transferring his court

and seat of government there in 281 (894); for these he had erected a number of buildings, including the Kasbah (*al-ḳaṣaba*). But two years later, he went back to Raḳḳāda and when his son ʿAbd-allāh II made a second attempt to settle in Tunis he was killed in 290 (903) in a palace which he had just built for himself. His two assassins were put to death, one at the al-Djazīra Gate (of the Peninsula, i e. Cape Bon), the other at the Ḳairawān Gate. Tunis was not yet ready to become the capital of Ifrīḳiya.

The Fāṭimids and their Ṣanhādja successors, whose capital was at Ḳairawān or Mahdīya, founded by them, deliberately neglected Tunis which seems to have remained faithful to orthodoxy. It is a fact of no little significance that the greatest of its saints, its patron saint, still greatly venerated, lived in the first half of the tenth century, just in a period when official Shīʿa and rebel Khāridjism were fiercely contesting the domination of Ifrīḳiya: Sīdī Maḥrız (Muḥrız b Khalaf) who was the inspirer and the recipient of the famous *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zaid (in 327 = 939), the classic précis of the Mālikism of North Africa (cf. Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-Īmān*, iii. 138). It was he who after the short but disastrous occupation of the town by Abū Yazid in 332 (944) restored the courage of the inhabitants, urged them to build a solid wall around the town and stimulated them to take up commerce on better organised lines. The old court of the silk-merchants (*Funduk al-Harāʾıriya*) almost opposite his *zāwiya*, a little beyond one of the main gates of the city, may go back to him and the same is probably true of the little market, which has given its name to this gate. Bāb Souika (*Bāb al-Suwaika*) Unanimous tradition further attributes to Sīdī Mahrız the foundation of the Jewish quarter, the *Hāra*, at some distance from his *zāwiya* in the direction of the Great Mosque · a measure evidently intended to retain there a people particularly skilled in commerce, which was a source of prosperity for the town.

The flourishing situation of Tunis is attested in the tenth century by Ibn Hawḳal, who extols the abundance of its products, the pleasantness of its situation and the wealth of its citizens He mentions especially the potteries, and the system of irrigating the gardens around the towns by water-wheels Further details are given in the next century by al-Bakrī the ramparts and ditch; the five gates namely: *Bāb al-Djazīra* in the south, the gate which opened on the harbour (*Bāb al-Bahr*) and *Bāb Ḳarṭādjanna* (of Carthage) on the east, *Bāb al-Sakkāʾın* (Gate of the water-carriers; evidently the same as Bāb Souika) in the north and *Bāb Arṭa* in the west The harbour, the entrance to which could be closed by a chain, was defended on the north by a wall and in the south by a stone castle: the Castle of the Chain (*Ḳaṣr al-Silsila*) Al-Bakrī admires the Great Mosque, the entrance staircase of which (east side) had, as at the present day, twelve flights, the many and well filled sūḳs, the ḥammām of which there were fifteen, and the abundance of provisions (fruit and fish); he too mentions the potteries. Passing to another sphere he notes the success of the teaching of *fiḳh* among the Tunisians.

Tunis therefore seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity for about a hundred years, until the terrible event in the middle of the eleventh century which upset completely the economic and political conditions of the whole country: the invasion by the Hilālī Arabs. While the helpless Zīrids, overwhelmed by the new conquerors, shut themselves up in Mahdīya, Tunis fell for a time into the hands of the Riyāḥid chief ʿĀbid b. Abi 'l-Ghaith in 446 (1054). But to secure protection, it placed itself a little later under al-Nāṣir, the Ḥammādid of al-Ḳalʿa, who sent it a governor in 451 (1059), the Ṣanhādjī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b Khurāsān The latter soon declared himself independent and in this way was founded the first dynasty of Tunis, which except for an interruption of 20 years (1128—1148) maintained itself till the Almohad conquest, exactly a century later.

At first oppressed by the Riyāḥid Banū ʿAlī, who were established in Carthage in the *Muʿallaḳa* (La Malga), Tunis came to terms with them to secure herself from their raids; in return for an annual tribute, they promised to spare the district and its inhabitants; they even very soon began to attend the markets of Tunis, both as buyers and sellers. The town survived the attempts made on it by the Zīrids of Mahdīya, and by the Normans of Sicily; but it was disturbed by civil troubles, rival political parties, riots and fighting among the ṣoffs, rivalry between the different quarters. It was nevertheless in this most disturbed period that its sea-trade began to develop on a large scale, trade with Italy was organised and developed; the business relations which were increasingly entertained with the Christians offered unexpected prospects The Banū Khurāsān themselves did a great deal to promote the prosperity of Tunis. The greatest of them, Ahmad, fortified it in the first half of the xiith century, he built the earthworks mentioned by al-Idrīsī. It was he also who built the citadel (*al-ḳaṣr*) to which the present mosque of El-Ksar may originally have been attached. It is in this quarter, near the street of Sidi Bou Krissan, which seems to preserve their name in a corrupt form, that there still exists the cemetery of the Banū Khurāsān, which was probably originally joined up with that of *al-Silsila* (on the site of the Sadiki Hospital). The principal door of the Great Mosque dates from the same dynasty With the two great suburbs of Bāb Souika and Bāb al-Djazīra, which are already extending to the north and to the south of the city proper (*al-Madina*), Tunis has now a fairly definitive configuration Its now considerably increased importance made it henceforth the capital of Ifrīḳiya. It was to be so from the time of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (554 = 1159) to the present day, and its political history is henceforth merged in that of Tunisia.

After the terrible alarms caused by the unsuccessful attacks of Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Raghrāghī in 595 (1199), then by the ephemeral rule in 1203–1204 of the last Almoravid Yaḥyā b Ghāniya, it was reserved for the Hafsids to restore to Tunis the feeling of security and to add to its monuments and make it a capital worthy of the name. Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ, who was still ruling in the name of the caliphs of Marrākesh, built in the Bāb Souika quarter (in the street El-Halfaouine) a Djāmiʿ, which bears his name, corrupted, it is true, into Bāy-Muḥammad. But it was the first independent ruler of this dynasty, the devout Abū Zakarīyāʾ, whose buildings mark most clearly that a new era had begun in the town. In 1230 he built outside the town, towards the southwest, the

fortified *muṣallā* (*Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān*) which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes in the next century; he then proceeded to rebuild the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah completely and flanked it by a mosque for his private use: the Mosque of the Almohads or of the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah, the minaret of which, in pure Almohad style, is dated Ramaḍān 630 (March 1233) in a beautiful inscription outside it (cf. O. Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientif. en Tunisie*, Algiers 1882, p. 5—9). He formed a fine library, which was scattered by one of his successors, Ibn al-Liḥyānī. He introduced to Tunis the *madrasa* of the east: the Shammāʿīya, near the old Sūḳ al-Shammāʿīn (now Sūḳ El-Blaghdjia), later completely restored, was the first medersa in North Africa It was he also who sheltered the three daughters of Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya in the palace thereafter known as Ḳaṣr al-Banāt. Lastly it was he who organised the quarter of the sūḳs immediately around the Great Mosque and built the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn (of the merchants of oils and perfumes) and perhaps also the Sūḳ al-Ḳumāsh (Sūḳ for textiles)

In place of this interest in commercial and religious matters his son al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, a caliph fond of display, had a taste for luxury and splendour. He built a hall of audience, *Ḳubba Asārāḳ*, in 1253 in the court of the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah, pleasure gardens in the adjoining suburb at Ra's al-Tābiya (Ras-Tabia) on the road to Bardo and at Abū Fihr (site uncertain in spite of the identification with al-Baṭṭūm proposed by Ibn Abī Dīnār; H. Abdulwuhab places it in the Djabal al-Aḥmar, near al-Ariana, ed of Ibn Faḍlallāh, p 12, n. 1) of which Ibn Khaldūn gives a glowing account, both connected with the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah by a private road to enable the ladies to go there without being seen. In 665 (1267) al-Mustanṣir completed the restoration, celebrated in verse by Ibn Hāzim, of the old aqueduct of Carthage (*al-Ḥanāyā*); he also brought water to the great pond of Abū Fihr and thence to the Great Mosque

His mother ʿAṭf, the worthy widow of a pious ruler, built a second medersa, the Tawfiḳīya, attached to the Djāmiʿ al-Tawfiḳ or al-Hawā, which is of the same period. The first century of the Ḥafṣid rule produced two other mosques the Djāmiʿ al-Zaitūna al-Barrānī (in 1283) outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, built by order of the false al-Faḍl to take the place of a funduḳ, where wine was sold, and the Djāmiʿ al-Ḥilaḳ (of the Rings) in the same quarter as the Muṣallā. A third medersa, Madrasat al-Maʿrid (of the Rendez-vous) built by Abū Zakarīyā', son of Sulṭān Abū Isḥāḳ in the Sūḳ al-Kutubīyīn (of the booksellers) — it too was built as an expiatory work on the site of a funduḳ, frequented by wine-drinkers —, has disappeared without leaving a trace. Finally the ramparts were rebuilt, in parts at least, with the *Bāb Djadīd* (New Gate), *Bāb al-Manāra* (Gate of the Beacon) and probably also the *Bāb al-Banāt* which no longer exists.

The Tunis of about 1300 is already very like the native town of to-day. The Madīna, which stretches from north to south is shut in between the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah on the west — the fortified dwelling of the ruler who commands both the town and the plain of La Manouba — and on the east, in the lowest lying part, the Bāb al-Baḥr which gives access to the arsenal and thence to the lagoon. Halfway up and in the very centre the Great Mosque opens its doors directly on the new sūḳs which surround it: the name *Bāb al-Buḥūr* is attested for the northern gate, but was the western one already called *Bāb al-Shifāʾ*? Each sūḳ, by a custom still maintained, closes its doors at nightfall; the *Bāb al-Raḥ* near the sūḳ of the same name is, as at the present day, the southern exit to this quarter. Around the Madīna and outside the main gates are grouped certain manual trades Inside the Bāb al-Djazīra we have the dyers, at the Bāb Djadīd, the smiths, at the Bāb al-Manāra, the saddlers. Close to the Bāb al-Baḥr there were no doubt several funduḳs allotted to Christian merchants but the latter, requiring more space, soon began to build outside the gate a little quarter or suburb of their own, the first sketch of a European quarter. The houses of the city were closely built together; no open spaces were left, no room for markets or assemblies: the Baṭḥāʾ of Ibn Mardūm cannot have been anything more than a cross-roads

In the outer quarters however, more modern and less crowded, large open spaces serve as markets for pottery and alfa grass (Place des Potiers and El-Halfaouine) in the Bāb Souika quarter, those for animals (horses: *al-Murḳāḍ*; for sheep *Rahabat al-Ghanam*) and perhaps also the corn-market (Place du Marché au Blé) in the Bāb al-Djazīra quarter. Each of these quarters is protected by an outer wall which ends at the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah; the gates of this first line of fortifications are for the southern quarter (*Rabaḍ*). *Bāb Khālid* (originally no doubt *Bāb al-Manṣūr*) in the west, *Bāb al-Djuʿ ḏjānī* in the south, *Bāb al-Fallāḳ* (outside of which is a *Ḳaisārīya*) and Bāb ʿIlāwa (Bāb Alleoua) in the S. E ; for the northern quarter, in the N E. *Bāb al-Khadrāʾ*, in the N. W. *Bāb* [*Abī*] *Saʿdūn*, and in the west *Bāb al-Aḳwās* (of the Arcades) perhaps identical with *Bāb al-ʿUlūḏ* (Bāb El Allouche) the first mention of which is later. It is beside the last gate that we should like to locate the rabad of the ʿulūdj called "rabatins", Christian mercenaries in the pay of the sovereigns of Tunis, if Leo Africanus did not expressly locate it outside the Bāb al-Manāra As to the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah itself, of its two gates one opened on to the country, *Bāb al-Ghadr* (of Disloyalty), the other into the city, *Bāb Intaḏjmī* (cf the *Bāb Imaztaḏjmī* of Tlemcen, cf. *Bughyat al-Ruwwād*, ed. Bel, i. 34).

Between the Bāb ʿIlāwa and the Bāb al-Khadrāʾ, a whole series of open drains (*khandak*) into which the gutters ran, flowed eastwards into the lake. The cemeteries lay around the town; in time they were built up to and pushed farther out by the expansion of the suburbs; to the south-west the vast Djellaz (*al-Zallāḏ*), more isolated, preserves the memory of the mystic Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shāḏhilī (Sidi Belhassen), the founder of the Shādhilīya brotherhood, who lived there in the first half of the xiiith century. Close to the Bāb al-Djurdjānī, beside a cemetery of the Hintāta (*al-Makbara al-Hintātīya*), lie the tombs of many "saints" whose *manāḳib* (records of their miraculous powers) for the most part unpublished, contain useful information for Tunisian topography of the Hafṣid period, supplementing that given by al-Zarkashī or Ibn al-Shammāʿ. The famous Lalla Mannūbīya (cf. *J A.*, 1899, p. 485—494; and *Kitāb Manāḳib al-Saiyida ʿĀ'isha al-Mannūbīya*, Tunis 1344), d. 1267, has given her name to a village overlooking the town in the S. W. (La

Apancubia) and women still go there to invoke her to obtain a cure for barrenness.

An even greater source of pride to Tunis than these marabouts, whose political influence however is undeniable, as in the case of Abū Muḥammad al-Murdjānī, the tutor of the future caliph Abū ʿAṣīda, were its increasing numbers of lawyers, men of letters and students. Religious sciences flourished there, as al-Abdarī notes (in 1289). We may mention for the end of the xiiith century the chief ḳāḍī Ibn Zaitūn. To this development in the study of belles-lettres and of Mālikī law, the Muslim refugees from Spain made valuable contributions: Ibn al-Abbār and the chief ḳāḍī Ibn al-Ghammāz came from Valencia; from Seville came the Banū ʿAṣfūr and also the Banū Khaldūn, ancestors of the most celebrated historian of North Africa (born in 1332)

The fourteenth century, to the great admiration of the traveller Khālid al-Balawī (in 1335—1340), is the golden age of legists and commentators; among these may be mentioned the chief ḳāḍīs Ibn ʿAbd al-Rafīʿ, Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, ʿĪsā al-Ghubrīnī, the ḳāḍī Ibn Rāshid al-Gafṣī, the muftī Ibn Hārūn and particularly the illustrious imām Ibn ʿArafa But in the field of politics we have nothing but weakness in the rulers, unrest and insecurity. The nomad Arabs threatened the capital without difficulty, the Marīnids twice occupied Tunis. The development of the city to the west and south-west, so vigorous in the preceding century, was succeeded by a period of stagnation, not to say decline We may however note the foundation of two madrasas, one in 1341—1342 by the sister of the caliph Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, the *ʿUḳīya* (restored later; rue Onk el-Djemal), the other now in ruins, by the chamberlain *Ibn Tafrāgīn* (rue Sīdī Ibrāhīm) But it was a sign of the times that military demands had first claim on the architect. the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥassān after his defeat at Ḳairawān in 1348, restored the ramparts of Tunis and dug a ditch around them; Ibn Tafiāgīn considerably strengthened the outside walls and formed considerable *ḥubūs* for their future maintenance

We have to come down to 1400 and the xvth century to find, with a more stable political situation, a marked revival in building activity; but nothing on a really grand scale During their long reigns, Abū Fāris and his grandson Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān only founded two libraries and a few madrasas; their interests lay more in charitable works; these are the earliest Muhammadan hospital (*māristān*) of Tunisia, finished in 823 (1420) and in the suburbs numerous zāwiyas offering shelter by day or night; or in water-works, inspired also by a sense of religious duty: a great cistern (*maʾdjal*) in the Muṣallā, a hall for ablutions (*mīḍaʾa*) in the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭarīn in 854 (1450), drinking-troughs (*siḳāya*) and the kind of public fountain at which one drinks by sucking a narrow pipe called "sucker" (*maṣṣāṣa*) The whole reflects a somewhat anaemic piety, incapable of great energy, a religion gradually passing more and more under the control of marabouts and brotherhoods The families of Ḳaldjānī and Banū al-Raṣṣāʿ are mentioned in this period as jurists of standing; in 1451 Tunis had an eighth khuṭba in the faubourg of Bāb Souika; but the dominating figures of the period were Sīdī b. ʿArūs (cf. his *Manāḳib*, Tunis 1303) who came from Morocco, and was buried in his zāwiya in 1463, the founder of the brotherhood of the ʿArūsīya; Sīdī Ḳāsim al-Djalīzī from Spain (d. in 1497) whose tomb-zāwiya near the Bāb Khālid henceforth called Bāb Sīdī Ḳāsim has a tiled roof in the Spanish style; and Sīdī Manṣūr b. Djirdān, who died in 1499.

Commerce seems to have been flourishing Relations with Europe, in spite of many incidents, were maintained and even became closer; the importance of industry and internal trade under Abū Fāris even before he freed them from all taxes (*madjba*) is seen from the figures for 1420 given in the *Tuḥfat al-Arīb* of the converted Catalan Fra Anselm Turmeda, also known as ʿAbd Allāh al-Turdjumān, whose tomb still stands inside the Bāb al-Manāra. We note in the enumeration of the chief business centres, the existence of funduḳs for oil, vegetables and charcoal, a sūḳ of the coppersmiths (*Sūḳ al-Ṣaffārīn*), a sūḳ of the basketmakers (*Sūḳ al-ʿAzzāfin*); still exists the rue El-Azafine and the present *Sūḳ al-Ḳashshāshīn* (vendors of bric à bric). The number of houses, officially estimated at 7,000 in 1361, according to Ibn al-Shammāʿ, had risen to 10,000 in 1516 (Leo Africanus). The traveller van Ghistele gives for 1485 valuable information on the life led by Christians in Tunis As to the rulers, emphasizing the tradition begun by their predecessors, they tended to live outside the town, very often on their estate of *Bardo*: This Tunisian "Prado", mentioned as early as 1410 and frequently altered, soon became a vast collection of buildings. The ʿAbdallīya palace at the Marsa, as well as the library of the same name attached to the Great Mosque, are attributed to the last independent Ḥafsid Abū ʿAbd Allāh (in 1500).

The troublous xvith century made the unfortunate town one of the principal objectives of the Spaniards and Turks in the course of their long wars. Sacked in 1534 by Khair al-Dīn's [q. v] forces, it was plundered the next year by the victorious army of Charles V. The inhabitants had fled in a body before the Christians through the Bāb al-Fallāḳ, the name of which was in consequence changed to *Bāb al-Falla* (of the Rout). The conditions in which the Ḥafsid restoration was brought about and maintained were evidently not very favourable for the development of the town. The attention of the rulers was wholly occupied with the fortifications, supplemented by those of la Goulette, and even they do not seem to have been finished till after the autumn of 1573 when Don John of Austria had driven out of Tunis the Kāʾid Ramaḍān, who for four years had been governor there for Euldj ʿAlī. The Ḳasaba or Kasbah was greatly strengthened; in particular on the site of the arsenal, which had been demolished, perhaps some time previously (cf. Grandchamp, *R T.*, 1914, p 9—10), there arose on the shore of the lagoon a fortress in the shape of a star joined to the ramparts of the city by two entrenchments. This was the *Bastion* of Ibn Abī Dīnār, the *Nova Arx* of a plan published in 1575 (cf. Monchicourt, *Essai bibl. sur les plans imprimés de ..... Tunis-Goulette au XVIème siècle*, *R. Afr.*, 1925, p. 31). But the labour was in vain. The inhabitants abandoned the town to the ravages of the Spanish garrison (cf. *R. T.*, 1914, p. 12), and in September 1574 the Turks took the Bastion and razed it to the ground. Sinān Pasha established a sufficiently stable rule in Tunis to allow an architectural revival to begin shortly after.

The influx from Spain, which had been going

on for several centuries, suddenly assumed vast proportions when in 1609 the dey ʿOthmān welcomed the Moriscoes expelled by Philip III. Those who had been used to a town life settled at Tunis in two localised groups: in the street of the Spaniards (S. W. of the Madīna) and in the Quarters of the Spaniards (*Ḥawmat al-Andalus*, near the Place Halfaouine). To these Muslims from Spain is due the industry of making red caps or *shāshīya*, which according to Peyssonnel in 1724 produced 40,000 dozen per annum and engaged over 15,000 people. These Spanish Muslims, with the Ḥanafī Turks from the east and the important part played by renegades of European origin and the corsairs, combined to give Tunis its peculiar character in the xviiith century The dey Yūsuf I was the first to make a name by public works, a list of which is given by Ibn Abī Dīnār: the creation of a commercial quarter around the Bāb al-Banāt and the restoration in the same neighbourhood of a sūḳ for woollen yarn (*al-ghazl*); the building of a sūḳ for merchants from Djerba, and improvement of several other sūḳs, and the continuation of the Ḥafṣid sūḳs to the north· *Sūḳ al-Baṣḥāmiḳīya* (makers of Turkish trowsers, street of Sīdī B. Ziyād), *Sūḳ al-Birka* for the sale of black slaves and *Sūḳ al-Turk* (El-Trouk) for Turkish tailors; the installation of a café; water conduits to various points in the town, such as the Great Mosque and above the Sūḳ al-Turk. There his favourite ʿAlī Thābit built the pretty *mīḍaʾa* (in 1620) which at present adorns the Belvedere; the latter also restored the old mosque of the faubourg of Bāb al-Djazīra Probably the rebuilding of the eastern door of the Great Mosque ought to be dated to the same time (*Bāb al-Djanāʾiz*, Gate of the Interments) Yūsuf built in the street of Sīdī B Ziyād a Ḥanafī medersa (in 1622) and a mosque of the same rite with an octagonal minaret, beside which is his tomb. After his time the power of the deys began to weaken they no longer undertook great works Aḥmad Khōdja (1640—1647) was content to rebuild the al-Shammāʿīya and al-ʿUnḳīya medersas; Muḥammad Lāz to build in 1649 the curious minaret of the mosque of al-Ḳasr or El-Ksar; at his death in 1653 a mausoleum (*turba*) for himself and his family was built in the square of the Ḳasaba or Kasbah.

The Murādid beys built a great deal; in the same style as the mosque of Yūsuf Dey and in a street quite near it, Ḥammūda built the Hanafī mosque of Sīdī b. ʿArūs (finished in 1654) with a family mausoleum beside it. He also rebuilt the minaret of the Great Mosque; he built a māristān in the street El-Azafine and began to rebuild the Aqueduct. His son Murād built the Medersa al-Murādīya (in 1673), in the Sūḳ for Textiles and while his second son Muḥammad al-Hafṣī founded the Sūḳ of the Shāshlyas, his grandson Muhammad gave the town the original mosque of Sīdī Mahriz (after 1675). The French architect Daviler is said to have supplied the plan for the domes. About 1666 we have an excellent description of Tunis in the memoirs of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (Paris, vol. iv., 1735). The Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah, at first the residence of the pashas before the collapse of their authority, comprised two main buildings: the first housed the dey's guards, officers and their families; the other behind it contained a long hall (*al-saḳīfa*) in which the dey gave audience to the soldiery and in the remotest part were his private apartments The *Dīwān*, where the Āghā presided over the council of the soldiery, was a large oblong court (cf. also a detailed description by La Condamine in 1731, *R. T.*, 1898, p. 86): the religious tribunal of the Charâa (*al-Sharʿ*) still sits here The district west and northwest of the madīna (especially the Rue du Pacha) formed the aristocratic quarter, the real Turkish quarter. The sumptuous houses of the beys and the other high personages were adorned with marbles; the central court, which was, a regular feature, was ornamented sometimes with a kiosk or a little pool of water; the furniture and the decoration already showed an unfortunate tendency to imitate Italian work of poor quality.

With the extraordinary development of the activities of the corsairs the number of Christian slaves increased (6,000 in 1654; on their life cf. Pignon, *R. T.*, 1930, p. 18 *sq*); whence the multiplication of those strange prisons called by the name of the Saint to whom was dedicated the chapel contained in them. Father Dan gives 9 in 1635; there were very soon 13. If we must, with P. Grandchamp (*La France en Tunisie au XVIIème siècle, Avant-propos des t VI et VII*, Tunis 1928—1929) regard as a legend the story of St. Vincent de Paul's captivity at Tunis from 1605–1607, special importance on the other hand should be attached to the mission of the Lazarist Julien Guérin (1645 to 1648) who succeeded in converting Muḥammad Shalabī, the celebrated Don Philip, son of the dey Aḥmad Khōdja, and to the work of another missionary, Jean le Vacher, consul of France for 1648 to 1653 and 1657 to 1666 (cf. R. Gleizes, *Jean le Vacher*, Paris 1914 and in *Revue des questions histor.*, July 1928). It was in his time that the first public chapel was built at the consulate and dedicated to St Louis; it was he who raised from its ruins the church of St. Antony, in the centre of the Roman Catholic cemetery around which he built high walls, outside the Bāb al-Bahr (on the site of the present Cathedral), it was he who organised worship in the chapels of the prisons; it was he again who obtained from the Dīwān a site and permission to build a new French consulate or "funduḳ of the French" finished in 1661 (rue de l'Ancienne-Douane; Grandchamp, *op. cit.*, vi, p. xxii.—xxxii.). From 1672 the Italian Capucins were in charge of the mission their house is described about 1730 by St. Gervais (*Mémoires historiques*, Paris 1736, p. 86) as well as the Greek Church and the richly endowed Hospital of the Trinitarians. Protestants were buried outside the Bāb Ḳarṭādjanna in the cemetery of St. George where the English church now stands. In spite of consular protection, the Christian merchants never seem to have been very numerous. The French "nation" for long numbered only six merchants. Foreign trade was mainly in the hands of the Jews, among whom the fugitives from Spain or Portugal (expelled in 1492 and 1496), who had come either directly or through Italy, were distinguished from the Tunisians of old stock (*Twānsa*); the "Portuguese" or "Livornese" (*Grāna*) ultimately formed a separate community; they gave their name to the Sūḳ el-Grāna. The Jewish cemetery was outside the walls, to the east of the Bāb Souika quarter in the vicinity of the present Rue Sīdī Sifiane; then it expanded southwards.

In the political troubles which mark the end of the xviith century and the beginning of the xviiith, Tunis was twice occupied by the Algerians (in

1686 and 1694) with bloody disorders. The ramparts could not resist a serious attack; they followed "no rule of fortification, for one cannot consider as fortifications the square towers attached to the walls at intervals". Again, even under the Ḥusainids, Tunis was at the mercy of the Algerians; pillaged by the latter in 1735, it was in vain that in 1756 the Tunisians tried to withstand them with the help of defensive works hurriedly thrown up by ʿAlī Pasha and his son Muḥammad an entrenchment with loopholes and a ditch between the two recently built forts on the Djabal Djellāz and the Mannūbīya, a fortified redoubt behind the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah. At this period two other forts are mentioned crowning the slight eminences on the N. W. These are no doubt the *Burdj al-Sawāra* or *Ṭābūnat al-Rīḥ* (of the Windmill, it is the fort of the Spaniards) and the *Burdj al-Rābiṭa* (of the siloes [of the Bey], this is the Rabta), itself flanked at a little distance by the little *Burdj Fīlfil* (cf. Plantet, *Corresp.... Tunis*, ii. 501, and for the year 1829: Monchicourt, *Relations inédites.. Filippi..*, p 47 and 91).

In the intervals of peace the town was also enriched with other buildings. It was in the reign of the founder of the new dynasty, Husain b. ʿAlī, that the princess ʿAzīza ʿUthmāna, great granddaughter of the Dey ʿUthmān, died in 1710 and was buried near the Medersa al-Shammāʿīya Many charitable and pious institutions benefited from her bountiful gifts Husain, himself a great builder, built in Tunis (cf *al-Mashraʿ al-Malakī*, *R T*, 1895, p. 328—329) in the southern quarter of the Madīna, the *Djāmiʿ al-Djadīd* or "Mosque of the Dyers" with an octagonal minaret He planned out the streets and buildings which adjoin the *Sūk al-Sakkādjīn* (of the harness-makers), it was in his reign that the Mausoleum of the Dey Kara Muṣṭafā was built beside the mosque of el-Ksar,; it was he who moved the seat of the government to the Bardo. In spite of the decline in religious teaching acknowledged in the preceding century by Ibn Abī Dīnār (p 399, transl p 506), he showed a real interest in building medersas: Madrasat *al-Nakhla* (of the palmtree), the Medersas *al-Husainīya* and *al-Djadīda*. His immediate successor ʿAlī Pasha, following his example, built four *al-Bāshīya*, in the Sūk of the booksellers, *al-Sulaimānīya*, in memory of his dead son Sulaimān, Madr *Biʾr al-Hidjār*, Madr *Ḥawānīt ʿĀshūr*, and a little later ʿAlī Bāy founded another *Djadīda* It is to this same ʿAlī Bāy that we owe the mausoleum of the Ḥusainids (*Turbat al-Bāy*) not far from the Mosque of the Dyers, and (built in 1775) the home for aged poor called *al-Takya* (the Tekia) About the year 1800 the famous minister Yūsuf Sāhib al-Tābaʿ, keeper of the privy seal, built in the Ḥalfāwīn square the mosque that bears his name, probably, as the raised outer gallery shows, on the site of the *Masdjid al-Muʿallaḳ ʿala ʾl-Ḥalfāwīyīn*, which Ibn Nādjī mentions in the xiv^th^ century (iv 149), in the same quarter he set up the Halfāwīn fountain (in 1804), inside the *Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām* and at the other end of the town a large watering-trough inside the Bāb Allewa.

His sovereign Ḥammūda Pāsha, who finished the *Dār al-Bāy* (Caroline of Brunswick stayed there in 1816) a little above the Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah, devoted all his energies to military works and to barracks. To defend Tunis, particularly against the Algerians, he had the outer ramparts rebuilt by a Dutch engineer. This work, which took from 1797 to 1804 according to the inscriptions on the bastions adjoining the gates, was never completed on the south side (cf. H. Hugon, *R. T.*, 1905, p. 373; and G. Dolot, *R. T.*, 1908, p. 298). On this side they were satisfied with the advanced entrenchment made by ʿAlī Pāshā and the outer walls of the houses which formed an almost continuous line of defence. Ḥammūda built barracks (in 1798) alongside of his magnificent villa at al-Manouba, and others in 1814 at the close of his life, in the middle of the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn (it now houses the Bibliothèque Publique and the Direction des Antiquités; cf. M. Houdas, *Note sur trois inscriptions de Tunis*, in *Bull. Archéol.*, 1911). In the same period many other barracks were built in the Madīna· Rue de la Caserne (*al-Ḳashla*; now the Société Française de Bienfaisance), Rue de l'Église (now the Administration of the Ḥubūs), Rue des Moniquettes, Rue Sīdī B. Ziyād; but by far the largest, that of the "First Regiment" (*Bīrindjī Alāy*; now the Caserne Saussier), was built near the Murkād, on the site of the former musallā, by the Bey Husain b. Mahmūd, then by his brother Muṣṭafā (in 1835—1836) An artillery depot (now the Caserne Forgemol) was built outside the town in 1839 by Aḥmad Bāy, the creator of the "Tunisian army" While ʿAlī Pasha had been content to send on two occasions (1743 and 1744) for a founder from Toulon, who repaired several cannon in an emergency workshop, under Ḥammūda Pāshā a regular foundry was established under the permanent charge of some Frenchmen in a wing of the *Ḥafṣīya* palace (the Hafsia; street of the same name). Lastly Ahmad Bāy organised the *Dabdāba* (cf. *R T*, 1922, p. 276), where the bread and oil required for the army was made (Rue Dabdaba, a little north of the Dār al-Bāy and Rue des Teinturiers)

Just when these military undertakings seemed to be going to transform Tunis into a garrison town, the European colony, which was developing with greater freedom every day as a result of the French occupation of Algiers (in 1830) and the reforms made by the beys, gained a footing in the Madīna. Shops were opened by the Christians. Religious edifices sprang up in addition to the old Church of the Holy Cross (Rue de la Kasbah; moved in 1833 to the old Hospital of the Trinitarians, Rue de l'Église), the registers of which are valuable for the history of Roman Catholicism in Tunisia In 1831 the Italian school was opened at Sulema, the Jewish in 1840 at Morpurgo, in 1841 the Bourgade College in the *Zanaḳat al-Bāhāṣ* (Impasse du Missionaire). The whole of the quarter of the Place de la Bourse (recently renamed Place du Cardinal Lavigerie) with the present Rue de l'Ancienne-Douane, des Glacières and de la Commission became completely European. Outside the ramparts, the modern town began to spread towards the lake; thus the Consulat de France was moved in 1861 to the building which is now the Résidence Générale Other consulates however are still within the city: those of Spain (rue Sīdī el-Būnī), Great Britain (place du Cardinal Lavigerie), Italy (rue Zarkoun; this is soon to be moved)

European influence became so strong that the administration of the town itself was at length affected. Under the Ḥafṣids each of the two fau-

bourgs had its shaikh, probably under the *shaikh al-madīna*: these three officials survived under the Turks; assisted by patrols of citizens taken in rotation (*lawwāḏja*) they saw that the town was policed at night after the closing of the gates. Below them the *muḥarrik* were heads of the quarters. The day police, under the Ḥusainids, was the business of the *dawlatlī*, this destitute dey, who had under him 50 *ḫānbā* and 55 *ḫabiḏjī* (cf. E. Pellissier, *Descr. de la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853, p. 52—53) and acted as police magistrate in the long hall called *Drība* in the street of Sīdī B. ʿArūs. The Ḳaṣaba was administered separately under an āghā. In 1858, however, a municipal council was formed (a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a dozen notables) the budget for which was provided by a tax on wines and spirits. In 1860 the *dawlatlī* was replaced by a general of division (*farīḳ*) who had under him "zapties" (*ḍābiṭīya*). Vigorous steps were taken to bring the city up to date. a telegraph line was laid to Algiers and a railway to La Goulette; a drainage system was laid out and water brought from Zaghouan by the French engineer Colin The water-tower took the place of the covered reservoir (*ḫazna*) which stood in the preceding century beside the gate of the outer ramparts, Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh, adjoining the Ḳasaba or Kasbah

Preoccupation with such modern works left little time for any great religious buildings; one may however mention the imposing zāwiya of Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī (d. 1850; cf. *R T.*, 1918, p 124, and on the jurists of the Ḥusainid period al-Sanūsī, *Musāmarāt al-Ẓarīf*, Tunis n. d.) who enjoyed a veneration which shows no signs of decreasing. In 1875 the Ṣādiḳī College was founded (in the barracks of the rue de l'Église) called after the bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ. In 1880, the Ṣādiḳī Hospital was built Among the mansions, the Żarrūḳ palace (rue des Juges) was at first the residence of the deys. The Dār Husain (now the Palais de la Division) built in the xviiith century by a minister of the bey, was restored in 1876, the Khair al-Dīn palace, an enlargement of the old Ḥafṣīya, was the court of justice for a time at the beginning of the protectorate (rue du Tribunal); the Palace of Muṣṭafā b Ismāʿīl was in the rue du Pāshā; that of the Khaznadār (Place Ḥalfāwīn, rue du Palais) became the Jewish Hospital, but has not been used for some time now. It may be noted that after the rising of the sons of Ḥusain b. ʿAlī against ʿAlī Pāshā in the middle of the preceding century, the Halfāwīn quarter, inhabited by faithful "Ḥusainīya", enjoyed the favour of the bey to the detriment of the quarter of Bāb al-Djazīra, the stronghold of the *ṣoff* opposed to the "Bāshīya" (cf. *R. T.*, 1918, p. 314).

The French occupation (from 1881) has produced tremendous developments in Tunis which are still going on. The European town stretches from the Porte de France (the old Bāb al-Bahr) to the lagoon, where the quays are; it stretches from the Belvedere to the Djellāz, then, in the south of the southern quarter, within and without the walls, it covers the heights of "Montfleury". The outer wall is still standing. That of the Madīna has almost completely disappeared except for a few gates. The Ḳaṣaba or Kasbah, entirely rebuilt, is used as barracks. The Dār al-Bāy houses the Direction de l'Intérieur; the other offices with the new Ṣādiḳī College (1897) and the Palais de Justice are modern buildings stretching along the Boulevard Bāb Benāt from the Place de la Kasbah. An electric tramway runs round the Madīna but does not enter it. An attempt has been made to retain the oriental character of the city itself A number of buildings are now used for other than their original purpose but the general appearance of the city is just what it was fifty years ago. Religious instruction remains centralised in the Great Mosque, the minaret of which was entirely rebuilt in 1894; in 1896 the resident Millet founded the Khaldūnīya in the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn, to instruct young Muslims in the elements of modern sciences The Sūḳs continue to group the native trades in gilds each under an *amīn*; some of them are visited by large numbers of tourists and a busy trade is done with them in "Oriental" articles, perfumes, carpets and leather goods; public criers offer for sale books and jewellery in the Sūḳ of the Booksellers and Sūk al-Berka. The wretched Jewish quarter, abandoned by those of its inhabitants who have acquired sufficient to enable them to live beside the Place des Potiers or in the European town, will shortly be replaced by modern buildings and broad streets The Muslims on the other hand live in the native town, except a few rich families who have villas at the end of the Avenue de Paris and the few amīns of the houses in the new village of el-Omrane (S. W. of the Belvedere). Finally we must mention the growing population of the remoter suburbs (Radès and Hammam-Lif, or Carthage La Marsa) European, Muslim and Jewish, which really now form one with Tunis

The Municipal Council was reorganized by decree of Oct. 31, 1883, supplemented by the decrees of 1888 and 1914 relating to the communes of the Regency. It consists of a President, two Vice-Presidents (French) and 17 members appointed by decree (8 European, 8 Muslim and 1 Tunisian Jew). At the last census (1926) the population of Tunis had risen to 185,996 divided as follows: French 27,922, other Europeans 51,214, native Muslims 82,729, Tunisian Jews 24,131

Bibliography: Saladin, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1908 (statements should be verified); Dessort (*in collaboration*), *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1924 (the only useful chapter is that which deals with Europeans in Tunis in the xixth century before the occupation); G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture*, vol 2, Paris 1926—1927 (excellent descriptions of the principal monuments; s. p. 871—875, a study of the architecture of the Muslim palaces of Tunis) — Cf. also the references in the text, and in the article TUNISIA.

(ROBERT BRUNSCHVIG)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿOMAR B. SULAIMĀN, an Arabic author of the xixth century. He belonged to a Tūnisian family devoted to learning, especially to theological studies. His grandfather Sulaimān was a copyist of books and, when he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, left his three sons behind under the guardianship of his maternal uncle Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Azharī, a learned theologian. On completing his pilgrimage. Sulaimān, as he had lost all his property, did not return to Tūnis, but stayed first of all in Djidda where he made a living by copying books. There he became acquainted with some people from Sennār and on their advice went to their land. The ruler gave him a hearty welcome, assigned

him a house and other property and allotted him a regular income. Sulaimān there married a woman of Sennārī who bore him a son (Aḥmad Zarrūḳ) and a daughter.

When ʿOmar, the second son of Sulaimān by his first marriage in Tūnis, had grown up, he went with his grand-uncle on the pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way met by accident his father Sulaimān, who was on his way to Cairo on business with a caravan from Sennār. From Mecca, where his grand-uncle died, ʿOmar returned to Cairo in order to study at al-Azhar. Later he visited his father in Sennār, resumed his studies at al-Azhar and in 1201 (1786) married. Two years later he returned to his native city of Tūnis where a son Muḥammad (al-Tūnisī) was born in 1204 (1789). ʿOmar stayed only three years in Tūnis and then went with his family back to Cairo to devote himself once more to study at al-Azhar. There he soon obtained the office of *naḳīb al-riwāḳ* [cf. 1., p. 535b], being appointed warden of the fraternity of Maghribī students. In 1211 (1797) ʿOmar learned of the death of his father from his step-brother in Sennār and of their poor circumstances He at once went there and never again returned to his own family. Fortunately for the latter, in the same year Ṭāhir, ʿOmar's younger brother, came to Cairo on business, intending afterwards to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He adopted his brother's family and sent the young Muhammad, who at the age of 7 had already read the Ḳurʾān through, to study at al-Azhar When, after Ṭāhir's departure for Mecca, Muhammad's means of subsistence gradually came to an end, he decided to seek his father in the Sūdān as news had reached Cairo that soon after his arrival in Sennār he had gone on to Dār Fūr. Among the members of a caravan which had reached Cairo from Dār Fūr he met a friend of his father, who at his request took him back with him to Dār Fūr This must have been in 1218 (1803) In Dār Fūr he met first his father's step-brother Aḥmad Zarrūḳ who took him to Djultū (in the district of Abu 'l-Djudul), where his father ʿOmar lived The latter had attained a position of great prestige at the court, become wealthy and prosperous and had also founded a new family. By order of the king ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (d. 1214 = 1799; cf. the list of kings of Dār Fūr, 1, p 917a) ʿOmar had composed commentaries on two theological and legal works (cf. *Voyage au Dar-Four*, p. 107; on the other literary activities of ʿOmar, see p 424) When Muḥammad arrived in Dār-Fūr, a certain Muḥammad Kurrā (Nachtigal, *Saḥāra und Sudān*, iii, Berlin 1879, p. 387, calls him Abū Shaikh Kurrā) was acting as regent for the infant ruler Muḥammad al-Faḍl; he later met his death in a rebellion. Muḥammad received a kindly welcome from Kurrā to whom he was introduced by Aḥmad Zarrūḳ. Kurrā also enabled ʿOmar to make a journey to Tūnis to visit his relations on his promising to return. For the period of his absence ʿOmar left his estate at Djultū in the hands of his son Muḥammad.

ʿOmar went first to Wadāʾī where he stayed some years; for he managed to attain a very nigh position at the court of the local Sābūn sulṭān, being appointed a vizier and getting land in the village of Abalī. But after awaiting his son there in vain, he decided to go on to Tūnis. Muḥammad stayed some seven and a half years in Dār Fūr after the departure of his father and became thoroughly acquainted with the land and its people. It was only after the conclusion of a war between Dār Fūr and Wadāʾī that he was able to go to the latter country on an embassy from the sulṭān of Dār Fūr. He came first to Wāra, the then residence of Sulṭān Sābūn who showed him much kindness, as he had done to his father. Muḥammad was thus likewise detained a considerable period in Wadāʾī. But his position became more and more difficult, in the first place because his uncle Aḥmad Zarrūḳ who had followed ʿOmar to Wadāʾī and on the latter's departure had been entrusted with the care of his children and house in Abalī took full possession of ʿOmar's property and only gave his son the minimum necessities of life A second difficulty was the ill-feeling that developed with Aḥmad al-Faʾsī (on him cf *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p 66 *sq.*, 497 *sqq.*, 508) who had been appointed ʿOmar's successor in the vizierate on his suggestion. He slandered Muhammad to Sābūn so that the latter became suspicious and ceased to show him favour. ʿOmar, who came to Wadāʾī at his son's request, was able, it is true, to get Aḥmad al-Faʾsī dismissed, but on his (ʿOmar's) departure he regained his old rank. In these circumstances Muḥammad readily took advantage of the Sulṭān's permission to leave Wadāʾī after eighteen months there. He joined a caravan going to Fezzān with which he travelled through the land of the Tubu (Tibesti) to Murzuk, the capital of Fezzān. Here he stayed three months, during which the ruler there, Muntaṣir, died. From Murzuk he continued his journey to Tripoli and finally reached Tūnis via Sfāḳes (Sfax) about 1228 (1813) about ten years after leaving Cairo for the Sūdān.

Muhammad at first settled in Tūnis, later however, he moved to Cairo and there entered the service of the viceroy Muḥammad ʿAlī When in 1824 the latter sent an army to the Morea under his stepson Ibrāhīm Pāshā, Muhammad went through the campaign as chaplain (*wāʿiẓ*) to an infantry regiment (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 6). An incident of the siege of Missolonghi (1825–1826) is related by him in his *Voyage au Ouadāy*, p. 634–635.

At the end of the war, Muḥammad acted as reviser of the Arabic translation of European medical, especially pharmacological, works in the veterinary college founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī in Abū Zaʿbal (N. E. of Cairo). There Dr Perron became acquainted with him after his arrival in Egypt, took Arabic lessons from him and induced him to write down his memoirs of his travels in the Sūdān, primarily for Arabic reading lessons. When in 1839 Perron became director of the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAin medical school in Cairo, on his recommendation Muḥammad was appointed chief reviser there. A. v. Kremer, who came to Egypt for the first time in 1850, mentions Muhammad as one of his teachers whom he esteemed highly (cf. A. v. Kremer, *op. cit.*; cf. *Bibl.*). As he further tells us, Muḥammad also devoted himself to the editing of important works of the earlier Arabic literature, for example the *Maḳāmas* of al-Ḥarīrī [q. v] and the *Mustaṭraf* of Ibshīhī [q. v.; this is probably the Būlāḳ edition of 1272 = 1856]. According to Jomard (cf. *Voyage au Darfour*, p. x.), Muḥammad was also appointed to undertake, for an edition of the Arabic lexicon *al-Ḳāmūs*

of Fīrūzābādī [q. v.], a revision of the Calcutta edition of 1230 (1817) for which purpose he corrected the text of the latter with the help of seven or eight manuscripts The new edition was printed at Būlāḳ in 1274 (1857). In his later years Shaikh Muḥammad used to lecture every Friday on Ḥadīth in the Zainab mosque He died in Cairo in 1274 (1857) (so v. Kremer, *op. cit.*).

The many observations and enquiries made by Muḥammad al-Tūnisī in his long sojourn in the Sūdān about the ways and people of the districts visited by him were written down, with, his own experiences, at Perron's instigation in two comprehensive works, which Perron translated into French They are.

1. *Voyage au Darfour par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy* [*Tunsī*, popular nisba for *Tūnisī*, cf. Stumme, *Gramm des tunesisch. Arabisch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 66], *Réviseur en Chef à l'École de Medecine du Caire, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr Perron, Directeur de l'École de Médecine du Caire*, Paris 1845 (lxxxviii. 492 pp. in 8°, with map). The *Préface* to this book by Jomard (p. i.—lxxi.) also appeared separately under the title *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, suivies d'un Vocabulaire de la Langue des Habitants et de Remarques sur le Nil-Blanc supérieur*, Paris 1845 Perron had previously published information about this book and specimens of his translation in *J.A.*, ser iii., vol viii., 1839, p. 177–206 (Letter to J. Mohl) and in the *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève*, N. S., 5th year, vol. xxviii (N°. 56), 1840, p. 325 *sq* A very full review of Perron's publication was given by Sédillot in *J.A.*, ser. iv., vol. vii, 1846, p. 522—543.

Perron published the Arabic text of the Dār Fūr-journey under the title. *Tashḥīdh al-Adhhān bi-Sīrat Bilād al-ʿArab wa 'l-Sūdān* (= *L'Aiguisement de l'Esprit par le Voyage au Sudan et parmi les Arabes*) in 1850 in Paris in autograph (310 pp. in 4°, with 4 pp. in French of introduction, emendations and additions to the translation)

2 *Voyage au Ouadāy, par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar al-Tounsy, traduit de l'Arabe par Dr. Perron*, Paris 1851 (lxxv., 756 pp. in 8°, with map and 9 plates with pictures). Jomard added to this book also a long preface (p. i.–lxxv.) with historical and geographical observations Perron himself in the introduction (p. i—35) deals particularly with the divisions of the Sūdān.

The Arabic text of the second work, which Perron (*loc. cit.*, p. 34) intended to publish, never appeared. The manuscript was probably in his possession but where it went after Perron's death in 1876 in Paris, to which he returned in 1850, I do not know.

Muḥammad al-Tūnisī is the first to give us full and reliable information about important parts of the Sūdān. On Dār Fūr, we had before his time only the scanty notes of the explorer W. G. Browne and on Wadā'ī a little information gleaned by Burckhardt. It was not until several decades later that H. Barth and S. Nachtigal were able to visit these lands and describe them in more detail in their books. There is no reason to doubt al-Tūnisī's reliability; Perron checked his statements with the help of a number of people from Dār Fūr and Wadā'ī settled in Cairo and obtained complete confirmation of them. It cannot however be denied that there are certain defects in the Shaikh's description. A certain lack of order in the arrangement of the material, the lack of any approach to a regular system, a fondness for digression and a disposition to believe much too readily statements about the popular Islām of the country (e. g. especially about magic) are not such serious defects as the fact that he gives no exact geographical, topographical, statistical and meteorological data (cf. thereon the criticisms by Barth, in *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, iii., Berlin 1859, p. 525 *sqq.* and Nachtigal, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, xxi., 1875, p. 176 and in *Sahāra und Sudān*, iii, p. viii). Nevertheless Tūnisī's two works form an important and still too little appreciated source for the ethnographical, cultural, and political conditions in the Sūdān lands through which he travelled. In conclusion it should be emphasised that the Shaikh's two books supplement one another; the much larger work on Wadā'ī also contains a good deal of information about Dār Fūr.

As an appendix we may give a brief account of a countryman of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī who resembled him in many ways, the Tūnisian Shaikh Zain al-ʿĀbidīn. The latter, an educated, well-read man, who had studied at al-Azhar and grown up in constant intercourse with Europeans, in 1818 or 1819, when at a mature age, set out for the Sūdān where he (like Tūnisī) seems to have spent about ten years, to some extent as a missionary and adventurer learned in religious matters. He went first to Sennār and Kordofān, then stayed a considerable time in Dār Fūr and Wadā'ī making his living by teaching. After over three years in Wadā'ī he returned via Fezzān to Tūnis His experiences and observations there he recorded in an Arabic book of no great length which was printed (when and where?). It was translated into Turkish and printed at Stambul in 1262 (1846) (cf. *Z D. M G.*, ii. 482) This Turkish version was translated by G Rosen as *Das Buch des Sudan oder Reisen des Scheich Zain el-Ābidīn in Nigritien*, Leipzig 1847).

The importance of this book lies in the description of the state of civilisation and organisation of society in Dār Fūr and Wadā'ī We are told of the court life, of the soldiers, a campaign, the natives, slaves and negroes, of trade, superstitions, a wedding etc. These interesting notes are an important supplement to the far fuller description of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī Noteworthy is an account of excavations made by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn with the permission of the Sulṭān of Wadā'ī in ruins near the capital (p 47—49, 61—75). Zain al-ʿĀbidīn left Wadā'ī just as a change on the throne took place; the name ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm given in Rosen's translation to the new ruler (p. 108) should be emended to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (cf. Nachtigal, *op. cit.* iii. 284, where an ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, grandson of Sābūn, is mentioned).

Bibliography: The main source for the life of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī and his family are the two books of travel, especially the autobiography in the introductory chapter to the *Voyage au Darfour* (p. i—25), besides scattered references like *op. cit.*, p. 48—49, and in the *Voyage au Ouadāy* p. 37, 39, 50, 62, 66—67, 129, 199, 211 *sqq*, 215, 497—499, 508, 512 *sq.*, 643—645. The biographical sketch by Jomard (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. viii.—x.) is not free from errors and omissions; cf. also Perron's notes (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. lxxxi.—lxxxii.) and A. v. Kremer's *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 324. Cf. also, in addition to the references

in the article, Wüstenfeld in Lüdde's *Zeitschr. fur vergleich. Erdkunde*, i. (Magdeburg 1842), p. 67 and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 491 (where the book on Wadā'ī is not given!)

(M. STRECK)

TUNISIA. Tunisia consists of the eastern declivity of Barbary; it corresponds approximately to the Ifrīḳiya of the middle ages Since 1881, Tunisia or the Regency of Tunis has been a French protectorate.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

With its present frontiers, Tunisia, which lies between 8° and 11° E. Long. and 32° and 37° N Lat. has an area of 125,180 sq km Along its western frontier it is bounded by Algeria (département of Constantine), on the south by the Sahara and, far to the southeast, by Italian Libya (Tripolitania). The Mediterranean washes its shores, which are usually low-lying, on the north and east. The climate is on the whole moderately warm; but the rainfall varies greatly with districts and even with years, and being influenced by the proximity of the sea and also of the Sahara, it varies very much with latitude and still more with altitude The relief is very varied although the average height above sea-level is not great, the mountain-ranges, which are the continuation and end of those of Algeria, run generally from S. W. to N. E.

In the northwest, the mountains of Khrumiria and of the Mogods, of chalk and sandstone, rarely exceed 3,000 feet, towards Algeria; subjected to a heavy rainfall, covered with oaks and brushwood, they contain mines of zinc and iron (Duaria) They run along the coast where in turn we have, with the little port of Tabarka, the dunes of Nefza, Cape Nègre and the little peninsula of Cape Serrat. In the east, they gradually diminish in height down to the hills which surround the alluvial plains of Bizerta and of Mateur, both well watered and growing good crops of wheat The lagoon of Bizerta, which communicates with the sea by a narrow strait, forms an excellent roadstead with deep water opposite Sicily, which is not a great distance away. The plain of Mateur, now almost entirely covered with soil except for a number of marshes still existing, is dominated by the curious massif of the Dj. Achkeul. Farther east, the Ra's Sīdī ʿAlī al-Makkī above Porto-Farina (*Ghār al-Milḥ*) bounds the Gulf of Tunis on the north, which is being filled up by deposit brought down by the Medjerda and the Wād Miliane. Utica, a port in the Roman period, is now 6 miles from the sea; the peninsula of Carthage, formerly an island, is connected to the mainland by an isthmus, which separates the Sebkha el-Riana from the lagoon of Tunis, the lagoon, at the end of which stands Tunis, the capital, communicates with the sea by the strait of La Goulette (*Halḳ al-Wād*). The district of Tunis, which has not a great rainfall, is less suited for cereals than for the vine and fruit-trees

The Medjerda, which runs through northern Tunisia from west to east, is the only real river in Tunisia and its level is very low in summer, from November to April it is flooded and very turbid. Its lower course (Medjez el-Bab, Tébourba) is separated by the gorges of Testur from its middle course, where it drains the great alluvial depression of Dakhla (the region of Suk el-Arba and Suk el-Khemis) as rich in cereals and pasturage as the adjacent chalk-hills of Beja. Its valley is bordered on the north by the limestone hills of Bejawa and Tebursuk, while to the south the very undulating relief of the centre and west of Tunisia present an alternation of rounded hills of limestone and great plains, the prolongation of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria. this High Tell (districts of Tebursuk, of Kef, Sers, Ebba-Ksur, Thala) covered with natural woods of Aleppo pines, and tall shrubs and great pastures, enables wheat to be cultivated, except in the drier part of the southwest, which has to be content with barley. This, especially towards the Algerian frontier, is the part of Tunisia which is richest in mines (iron at Djerissa and Slata, phosphates at Kalaa-Djerda and Kalaat es-Senam). The rivers, tributaries of the Medjerda (W. Mellegue, W. Tessa, W. Siliana) and W. Miliana (plains of Fahs and Mornag), flow directly into the Gulf of Tunis.

To the south of the High Tell rises the most marked mountain barrier The "backbone of Tunisia" runs from the neighbourhood of Tebessa to the Dj. Zaghwān (4,300 feet high, 30 miles from Tunis) and to the Dj. Raṣāṣ and Bu Ḳarnain; it includes the highest peaks: Shambi (5,150 feet) and Semama in the Byzacene range, the massif of Mactar, Serdj, Bargou, Kirine and the chain of Zeugitania. But it permits communication to be maintained easily with the south, through several passes or defiles, notably the great corridor of Ksur-Sbiba. On the other hand, the watercourses on the southern slopes, like the W. Merguellil, Zerud, El-Hatab (which waters the plain of Gamuda) which flow irregularly and even intermittently, lose themselves — when they flow at all — in the saline hollows called Sebkhas: e. g. S. Kelbia and S. Sidi el-Hani in the plain of Ḳairawān These are in the region of the great steppes, the land of the camel, which stretches to Gafsa, only interrupted by a few limestone-hills of no great height, covered in the west with alfa or white artemisia, and jujube-trees towards the the east, where it gradually slopes down to the olive-groves of the hinterland of Sfax, it nevertheless contains extensive agricultural land and areas suitable for cattle rearing. The only towns in it, besides Ḳairawān, are at the outlet of the passes of the "backbone": Sbeitla, Kasserira, Feriana. But it becomes more and more desert-like in character towards the south as a result of a decrease in rainfall, and ends, beyond Gafsa and the rich deposits of phosphates at Metlawi and Redeyef, in the depression of the Shotts (Sh el-Gharsa, 80 feat below sea-level, Sh el-Djerid, Sh el-Fedjedj, enclosed by the the Dj Sherb and Dj. Teboga), in the oasis of Djerid (Tozeur, Nefta) and those of Nefzawa (Kebili, Douz), which produce dates; here the Sahara begins. More to the S. E. the Dj. Dahar (1,300—2,000 feet), of limestone and chalk, with the massif of the Matmata, is only the eastern border of a great basin in the Sahara.

On the N. E. coast of the Regency, where prosperous farms have been established, the important peninsula of Cape Bon, in the prolongations of the "backbone", lies between the gulfs of Tunis and of Hammamet, the coastal plains of which are connected by the passes of Zaghwān (Fum al-Kharrūba) and of Grombalia. Then to the south of the orange-groves of Nabeul and Hammamet, the Sahel of Susa, with its valleys, is still sufficiently well watered to support by its olives and

other crops a dense population which lives in large fortified villages: Kalaa-Kbira, Kalaa-Srira, Msaken, Maknine; the regularity of the coastline is interrupted by the little peninsulas of Monastir and Mahdia.

Beginning at Ras Kapudia, roughly on the level of el-Djeur, the coast turns inwards and leaves out in the bay of Sfax the islands of Kerkenna, which are separated by shallows from the shore, and then runs along the Gulf of Gabes (the ancient Little Syrtes) where sponge gathering forms a source of revenue. At the end of the Gulf rise the palms of Gabes. Between them and the oasis of el-Hamma adjoining the Shotts, lies the passage from the central or eastern plains of Tunisia to those on the extreme south coast: Arad, off which lies the large flat green island of Djerba, Djefara bordered by lagoons; a few olive-groves however flourish around Zarzis and Ben-Gardane

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2. History.

The conquest of what is now Tunisia cost the Arab invaders who came by land from the south-west at least half a century of fierce fighting with the native Berbers and with the Byzantine governors. In North Africa as in the East, Islām was bound to come into conflict with Byzantium, but in the middle of the seventh century the situation in the exarchate of Africa was eminently favourable to the prospects of the ultimate conquerors: religious dissensions, a distant but all too faithful echo of disputes provoked in the east by monothelist doctrines, were rending the Christian community of Carthage and detaching from Byzantium the majority of those who were strictly attached to orthodoxy; the governors, less and less under the control of the Emperor, were aspiring to a state of independence which forced them to rely for support on the chiefs of the great native tribes; and the tribes, taking advantage of this, gradually cast off all Byzantine authority so completely that at the time of the Muslim conquest, all the south of Byzacene seemed to be practically independent of Carthage.

The two first invasions of the Arabs with an interval of 18 years between them, were only raids, razzias; but they prepared the way for better organised expeditions for the methodical conquest of the country. Besides, by a remarkable coincidence, on each occasion the invaders found Byzantine Africa in the throes of a political crisis: in 647, the patricius Gregory had just broken with the Emperor and settled himself in the midst of the Berbers, far from the coast, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, governor of Egypt, crushed him near Sbeitla and proceeded to lay waste the Djerīd, in 665, the people of Carthage were most unexpectedly in open revolt against the empire, when Muʿāwiya b Ḥudaidj ravaged Byzacene and took the stronghold of Djalūla.

Was the government of the Maghrib added by 667 to that of Egypt? The real occupation only dates from the period 669—775, marked by the victories of ʿUḳba b Nāfiʿ and the foundation of Ḳairawān. this was the period of the definite occupation of Byzacene and the beginning of the conversion of the Berber tribes to Islām, but the most important event was the foundation of the new city, a Muslim town, an arsenal, caravanserai and market-place, which henceforth raised its mosque and its ramparts in the plains, facing the heights of central Tunisia which were still defended by a line of Byzantine forts.

After the governorship of Abu 'l-Muhādjir, of which little is known, ʿUḳba returned in 681; but two years later on his way back from an imprudent raid which had taken him as far as Tingitania, he fell in the Zāb before Tahūda, killed in a vigorous native rising against the invader. This rising which began in the Awrās, embraced Ḳairawān, its leader Kusaila, supported by the Byzantines, was for several years the head of a vast Berber state, which offered a desperate resistance to new Arab attacks. He himself fell fighting in 688 in the district of Sbība, whence Zuhair b. Ḳais al-Balawī is said to have come. It was however only in 693 when the position of the Umaiyads at home permitted a policy of expansion to be resumed, that Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān was able to lead an army of 40,000 men to the invasion of Byzacene and advance swiftly northwards in an attempt to crush the Byzantines before turning back against the rude Berbers of the Awrās. He took Carthage in 695, but two years later lost it again defeated by the patricius John, and again by the Berbers under the legendary figure of Kāhina [q v.] in the plain of Baghai. He fell back on Barḳa and in the following year in a combined offensive by land and sea, he took Carthage finally. In 698, the Arabs had at last taken almost the whole of the modern Tunisia from the Berbers and Byzantines Ḥassān was able to "found" Tunis and his successor Mūsā b. Nuṣair to take Zaghwān, then to lead the "Ifrīḳiya" Berbers themselves to the conquest of the west.

The greater part of the Byzantine colony had been able to escape by sea, mainly to Sicily and Malta The majority of the inhabitants who remained in the country seems to have been very quickly converted to Islām, except for a few groups, Christian (*afārik*) or Jewish. But even after they had entered Islām the Berbers of Ifrīḳiya, like those of other parts of North Africa,

tried on several occasions to regain their autonomy on the convenient pretext of religious heresies. The whole history of the eighth century is made up of risings, which in the name of socialist Khāridjism roused the natives against the Arab rulers, and also of mutinies by the Arab soldiers themselves, who readily broke the bonds of discipline.

Hanẓala b. Ṣafwān was able to put down the rising of the Ṣufrī ʿUkāsha, but he had to fly to the east when the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī took Ḳairawān. After the last Umaiyads had proved powerless to retake this distant province which was slipping from them, the ʿAbbāsids, seeing Spain cast off their suzerainty, were anxious at least to retake Ifrīḳiya from the Ibāḍī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb; their general Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath recaptured Ḳairawān, rebuilt its ramparts and installed himself there as governor, but not for long. The Arab soldiery, dissatisfied with him, forced him to depart in 765. Not even his successor al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, an old companion in the east of the ʿAbbāsid propagandist Abū Muslim, was able to hold out against the rebel Mudarīs; he fell in the rising in 767 and anarchy prevailed for five years.

From 772 to 794, Ifrīḳiya was ruled by a regular petty dynasty of officials of the caliphate, the Muhallabids, Yemenīs by origin, who succeeded for a time in securing some degree of peace and order in the country. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, with the help of 40,000 new troops, finally disposed of the Ibāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥātim, rebuilt the Great Mosque of Ḳairawān (774) and organised the gilds of the capital, his son Dāwūd in 788 at Kef crushed the Berber confederation of the Warfadjūma, and his brother Rawḥ, governor in his turn, concluded with the Ibāḍī of Tiaret, Ibn Rustum, an agreement which put an end to the spirit of rebellion among the Berbers in Ifrīḳiya.

Henceforth it was only the Arab soldiery who constituted a serious danger for the domestic peace of the country. After the death of the last Muhallabid al-Fadl an era of bloodshed and trouble begins again. The aged general Harthama b Aʿyān sent for the purpose, restored the authority of the caliph of Baghdād and built the *ribāṭ* of Monastir; but his successor Muḥ. b. Muḳātil al-ʿAkkī was driven from his post by the Tamīmī soldiery of Tunis whom his tactlessness had roused (Oct. 799). At this moment, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, son of the governor killed in 767, suddenly appeared as an ʿAbbāsid champion in his province of the Zāb. He brought Ibn Muḳātil back to Ḳairawān. As a reward and to establish a stable government at last, Hārūn al-Rashīd on the advice of his councillors decided to appoint him tributary "emīr" of Ifrīḳiya Ibrāhīm received his diploma of appointment in July 800; the power was to remain for over a century in his family, down to 909, without interruption.

The dynasty of the Aghlabids [q. v.] left its mark deeply upon Tunisia. Under an outward subordination to the caliph of the East, the emīrs, practically independent and hereditary, pursued a policy of pacification, organisation and expansion. The hostility of the Tamīmīs, whose centre was Tunis, was always active. Ibrāhīm, although a Tamīmī himself, came into conflict with these warriors of Muḍar, who could ill endure the authority whether near or distant of the ʿAbbāsids, the friends of their ancient Yemenī rivals. He had to rely on a soldiery which contained many non-Arabs from Khurāsān; but he relied mainly for his personal security on a recently formed negro guard and on the fortifications of Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm (or al-ʿAbbāsīya) which he built in 801 a league to the south of Ḳairawān. It was probably there that he received the ambassadors of Charlemagne. In 802 he had to deal with a rebellion in Tunisia, in 805 with one in Tripoli, 810—811 with the mutiny of his own general ʿImrān b. Mukhallad who even laid siege to Ḳairawān. It was in his reign that the frontiers on the east coast began to be covered with the little military posts called *maḥris*. When he died in 812, Tripoli was again in full insurrection.

His son Ziyādat Allāh (817—838) who has left the reputation of an energetic, but cruel and violent man, had a powerful opponent to deal with. Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī was within an ace of destroying him, and for several years the whole of the north, including Tunis, was completely lost to the emīr; but by a stroke of genius, Ziyādat Allāh diverted to a holy war against Sicily the ardour and cupidity of the most turbulent soldiery, who embarked at Sūsa in 827, full of enthusiasm under the leadership of the illustrious Ḳāḍī Asad b al-Furāt. Palermo was taken in 831; Messina fell 12 years later Ziyādat Allāh, who in 821 had built the ribāṭ of Sūsa, was now able to devote his attention to works of a more peaceful nature, like the building of the Great Mosque of Ḳairawān. His architectural activity was followed on a great scale by his successor. In 850 the Great Mosques of Sūs and Sfax were built; the Emīr Aḥmad in particular, about 860, erected ramparts around these two cities and built the famous "reservoir of the Aghlabids", a great reservoir to supply Ḳairawān.

In 874, Ibrāhīm II, the last great prince of the dynasty, succeeded his brother Muḥammad, whose passion for hunting cranes earned him the name *Abu 'l-Gharānīḳ*. Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm was abandoned for a new residential town with the government offices: Raḳḳāda, the site of which is still known 5 miles south of Ḳairawān; but from 894, after Tunis which had rebelled, had been taken by assault the emīr frequently moved his court to the reconquered city, on which he wished to keep a close watch. The foreign policy of the reign is marked by important events. At first in the southeast there was the disturbing exploit of al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad the son of the first Ṭūlūnid, who, in spite of his father, led a force from Egypt against Tripoli in 880 in an attempt to conquer Ifrīḳiya. Tripoli was saved by the Nafūsa Berbers; Ibrāhīm arrived in time to seize a treasury of Ṭūlūnid dīnārs, which served to improve the financial condition of his state; the improvement was of a short duration however, for it was not sufficient to refill the coffers, emptied at the beginning of the century by the civil troubles and later by the heavy expenditure. The terrible rising of 893 was provoked simply by a brutal requisitioning of slaves and horses in the plain of Gamuda for the benefit of a needy government. On the other hand, the conquest of Sicily was completed with the capture of Syracuse in 878 and of Taormina in 901; and when Ibrāhīm, on the complaint of the always hostile Tunisians, had agreed to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbdallāh in obedience to an order sent him by the caliph, it was as a *muḏjāhid* before Cosenza in Calabria that he died on Oct. 2 of the same year.

In the meantime the religious revolution which was to overwhelm Ifrīḳiya was preparing in the west. In the ninth century the whole of the Berber south (Hawwāra, Lawāta, Miknāsa) was ʿIbāḍī from the Awrās to Djerba and Tripoli, the Nafūsa in particular, who to the south of Gabes barred the road to the east, before Ibrāhīm II had massacred them in 896. But Khāridjism had not been able to prevent orthodoxy from gaining the upper hand in the greater part of the country and from producing illustrious men, like the Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, the companion of Ibn al-Ashʿath and the ascetic Buhlūl, popular and very influential, in the eighth century; in the Aghlabid period, the golden age of the discussions on points of law, which were contemporaneous with the foundation of the various schools, and the gathering of the principal collections of traditions, two pupils of the famous Mālikī jurist of Egypt, Ibn al-Ḳāsim Asad b. al-Furāt, of a Khurāsān family, d. in Sicily in 828, and his pupil Saḥnūn (Ibn Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī), born in Syria and son of a mercenary, who in 850 as Ḳāḍī of Ḳairawān brought about the triumph of Mālikism, which was threatened by the Hanafism of several teachers; his *Mudawwana* is still a classic, and Mālikism, in spite of apparent eclipses, is still the *maḏhab* par excellence of Tunisia The eastern origin of the more notable teachers and doctrines is a remarkable fact; it was also from the east that the propagandist (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh came in 893 to the Kitāma Kabyls of Ikdjan (Little Kabylia east of Babors) to convert them to the cause of the Shīʿī Mahdī ʿUbaidallāh

An Aghlabid expedition sent in 902 against the Kitāma barely reached its objective, and in the reign of Ziyādat Allāh III, who in 903, had murdered his father, the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd Allāh, the Shīʿa danger became pressing, in 905 while the Mahdī was hastening from Syria to North Africa to await at Sidjilmāsa the proper moment to appear, his faithful *dāʿī* was cutting the emīr's troops to pieces. Events then began to move rapidly. Ziyādat Allāh had in vain had the Shīʿīs condemned by an assembly of jurists at Tunis and sought the aid of the ʿAbbāsids; in the spring of 907, Baghaia fell; in March 909, after the fall of Loibeus, Ziyādat Allāh fled to Baghdād and the *dāʿī* entered Raḳḳāda, in spite of the mute hostility of the orthodox teachers. Finally in December of the same year, the Mahdī in person received the homage of the people of Ḳairawān In this way was founded in Ifrīḳiya, solely through the efforts of the Kabyl infantry of the Kitāma, the heretical caliphate of the Fāṭimids (ʿUbaidids) which was to transform the political conditions of the whole of North Africa, before returning to its original home in the east.

From the first, the new dynasty had its eyes on Egypt, and down to the day when it was able to install itself there definitely, never ceased to send out military expeditions to prepare the way for conquest. In January 911, ʿUbaid Allāh had Abū ʿAbdallāh, to whom he owed the throne, put to death just as the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr had disposed of his own propagandist Abū Muslim. In 913 an army led by his eldest son invaded the Faiyūm while another took Alexandria; and it was only after the check to this first attempt at eastern expansion that the Mahdī decided to found a capital in Ifrīḳiya, but on the sea: the strong town of Mahdīya [q.v.], a starting point for fleets against the east, and a refuge against the expected attacks of the Berbers of the interior (916—918); but in 919 a second expedition again seized Alexandria and held it for a short time. In the west, the successes were overwhelming: Sicily which had rebelled was brought to obedience, and when ʿAbd Allāh died at the beginning of 934, the whole of the Maghrib, where the Ibāḍī state of Tiaret, the Idrīsid of Fās and the Ṣufrī of Sidjilmāsa had collapsed, recognised the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Nizār (al-Ḳā'im bi-Amr Allāh) maintained with difficulty his authority over the vast empire he had inherited. His fleet, it is true, was able to plunder Genoa in 935, but it was a raid of no more importance than that of the Tuscans on Carthage under Boniface of Lucca in 828. On the other hand, he all but succumbed to the formidable rising led by the Nakkārī Abū Yazīd b. Kaidād, the Ifranid, the "man with the ass" (*ṣāḥib al-ḥimār*) who proclaimed himself *shaikh al-mu'minīn* and under the mask of religion led the Hawwāra of the eastern Awrās to attack the towns of Ifrīḳiya The Khāridjī Berbers sacked Beja, Lorbeus, Ḳairawān (in 944) and Sūsa, seized Tunis and with their ranks swollen by volunteers from the Zāb and Nafūsa, invested the caliph in his headquarters at Mahdīya (in 945). At the most critical moment, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim died in 946. His son Ismāʿīl (al-Manṣūr), supported by the people exasperated by the excesses of the invaders, re-established the situation with the help of the faithful Kitāma. Defeated in a series of bloody battles, Abū Yazīd saw his partisans scattered and he himself fell mortally wounded into the hands of his enemies at a place where in time the Ḳalʿa of the B. Ḥammād was to be built (947).

This troubled period was succeeded by one of calm and prosperity. Al-Manṣūr at once displayed his power by founding the luxurious town of Ṣabra (al-Manṣūrīya) which was to eclipse its neighbour Ḳairawān (947). Commerce and industry flourished, and at sea the Ḳā'id Rashīḳ was the terror of the Christians. Under al-Muʿizz, who came to the throne in 953, the long awaited hour arrived· in spite of occasional outbursts of rebellion in support of the Omaiyads of Cordova, the Maghrib as a whole seemed subdued, the raids of Spanish Muslims on the coasts of Sūsa and Tabarka in 956 were mere reprisals and not indications of a real danger. Hopes of conquering Egypt, weakened by the death of the Ikhshīdid Kāfūr, seemed to be justified. In July 969, the freedman Djawhar at the head of the Kitāma occupied Fusṭāṭ on behalf of al-Muʿizz just as Abū ʿAbd Allāh had taken Ḳairawān for his master, the Mahdī. The following year his troops entered Damascus. Then when he had built the town of Cairo for his sovereign, who was still in the west, he urged him to rejoin him, to oppose the threatening progress of the Ḳarmaṭians. After the last Zenāta rebel had been crushed in the Maghrib, the Fāṭimid, who now wore a crown in the eastern fashion, began his preparations for departure in August 792. On June 10, 973, he reached Cairo, the new capital of his dynasty.

Before leaving Ifrīḳiya for ever, al-Muʿizz had entrusted its government (excluding Sicily) to one of his most valued helpers, the Berber emīr Bologgīn (Bulukkīn) whose father Zīrī b. Manād, a great enemy of the turbulent Zenāta, had always placed his Ṣanhādja of the region of Titteri

and Medea at the service of the ʿUbaidids. This plan of ruling the country by a line of Berber princes was a complete success. Under the Zīrids [q. v.], who regularly received their investiture from Cairo, Ifrīḳiya enjoyed happy days of material prosperity and an abundance of the necessities of life due to the development of agriculture and native industries (carpets, cloth and pottery) and trade with the outer world; there was an extravagant splendour about the great official ceremonies. Law and medicine, which under the Fāṭimids had already produced such famous men as Ibn Abī Zaid, Isḥāḳ b. Sulaimān al-Isrāʾīlī and his pupil Ibn al-Djazzār, flourished; literature produced the poet Ibn Rashīḳ. The Jewish colony of Ḳairawān attracted and produced celebrated Talmūdists.

The brilliance of this period had been hardly affected by the defections, more and more serious, of the Zenāta of the west, who proclaimed allegiance to Cordova, nor by the secession of Ḥammād who, in the reign of his nephew Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (995—1016), founded an independent dynasty in his famous Ḳalʿa (in 1007) On the contrary it was under al-Muʿizz b Bādīs, in the first half of the XIth century that it seems to have reached its zenith. But this al-Muʿizz, ostentatious to excess, held in great honour by the caliphs of Cairo, respected throughout the Maghrib, committed the fatal mistake of awakening the old religious hatreds in the name of which the north Africans used to rebel against their eastern rulers. Rallying around him the Mālikī townsmen of Ḳairawān, who under his eyes one day proceeded to a regular massacre of the Shīʿīs, he transferred his homage to the ʿAbbāsid of Baghdād and ended by breaking openly with the Fāṭimids, through a series of steps covering the period down to 1050.

The revenge of the suzerain whom he had cast off was terrible; the Egyptian wazīr al-Yāzūrī, who felt personally insulted, sent against the rebel vassal marauding bands of nomad Hilālī Arabs who were quartered in the Ṣaʿīd, to the east of the Nile The year 1051, when the first Hilālīs, the B. Riyāḥ, arrived in Ifrīḳiya, marks a turning point in the history of Tunisia Al-Muʿizz was twice defeated at Ḳairawān which he vainly hurried to fortify, in 1057, overwhelmed by the nomads who ravaged all the lowlying country, he secretly moved to Mahdīya under the escort of Arab emīrs whom he had been forced to take as sons-in-law The invaders, hundreds of thousands in number, profoundly altered the appearance of North Africa, economically, ethnographically and politically. the Berbers were driven back, the country arabicised, nomadic life and insecurity introduced, agriculture ruined and central power broken up The chief towns fell into the hands of the Arabs or rather became autonomous little states under local chiefs or governors who proclaimed themselves independent; some even paid homage to the Ḥammādids of the Ḳalʿa, whose protection they desired. In this way were established in Tunis the B Khurāsān, in Bizerta the B al-Ward, at Gabes the B. Djāmiʿ, at Gafsa the B. al-Rand; in the centre there was anarchy.

In the midst of countless difficulties, the Zīrids held out at Mahdīya, from which they now held only the coast between Sūsa and Gabes. Tamīm (1063—1108), son and successor of al-Muʿizz, vainly tried to regain some lost ground, he made peace with the B Ḥammād but did not succeed against Tunis and, shut up in Mahdīya, had to withstand the attacks of the Arabs and also of a new enemy in the Christians. In 1087 Mahdīya was taken at the instigation of the Pope by the Pisans and Genoese under Pantaleon of Amalfi; Tamīm had to pay an indemnity and admit the merchandise of the victors without duties. Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, who died, probably murdered, in 1116, then his son ʿAlī, who died in 1121, had recognised the suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo, obtained the support of the Arab tribes, and won some successes by land and sea, when an unexpected adversary overwhelmed them. The Normans, who had already conquered Sicily and Malta, now intervened in the affairs of Ifrīḳiya; in 1118, a rupture occurred with the Zīrid, who appealed to the Almoravids of the distant west. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, at first forced to make terms and accept the protection of Roger of Sicily against the threat from the Ḥammādids of Bougie, could not prevent the Sicilian admiral George of Antioch from driving him out of Mahdīya in 1148. Roger II, then William I, lords of Djerba and the coast towns from Sūsa to Tripoli, organised a kind of tolerant protectorate there, the objects of which were mainly commercial. But this was of short duration; the inhabitants, rising against the Christians, very soon regained their freedom; Sūsa and Mahdīya alone had to wait till 1159—1160 before being delivered from the infidels by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who coming from the extreme Maghrib defeated at Setif in 1151 the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya, united under the Riyāḥid emīr Muḥriz b. Ziyād, crushed all opposition, seized the fortresses, massacred Jews and Christians and restored for more than fifty years the political unity of North Africa.

In spite of the prestige of its new masters, the caliphs of Marrākesh, Ifrīḳiya did not yet know peace. Almohad authority was not felt directly but through the intermediary of a governor settled in Tunis; this representative of the ruling power, usually a near relative of the sovereign, very soon proved incapable of restoring order to the province, where to the continual threat from the Arabs there was added from 1185 onwards the trouble caused by the Turkoman bands of the Armenian adventurer Ḳarāḳush and by the final attempt of the B. Ghānīya Almoravids, ʿAlī (d in 1188) and his brother Yaḥyā. The coming of the caliphs in person, Yūsuf in 1180 and Yaʿḳūb al-Mansūr in 1187, at the head of their armies, was not enough to improve the situation. Yaḥyā was favoured by fortune· in 1200 he had disposed of his former ally Ḳarāḳush, suppressed his rival Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ragrāgī, the "caliph" of Mahdīya, and from his base of operations in the Djerīd extended his rule over the whole of the modern Tunisia. It required the expedition of the caliph al-Nāṣir in 1205—1207 to put an end to the Almoravids by reducing Yaḥyā to a precarious position and to install a powerful provincial government, entrusted at first to the "Shaikh" ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ (1207—1221), the hero of Alarcos. Thus the Ḥafṣids got their first grip on power.

This family of the Ḥafṣids [q. v.], of which another member had been since 1184 governor in Tunis, was descended from a chief of the Hintāta Berbers (a Maṣmūda tribe of the Moroccan Atlas) who had played a very prominent part in the im-

mediate entourage of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart. They established themselves definitely in Ifrīḳiya in 1226 with the appointment as governor of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh who was supplanted two years later by his brother Abū Zakarīyāʾ (1228–1249). The latter, while gradually becoming independent, contented himself however with the title of emīr and was the true founder of the great Tunisian dynasty which with various vicissitudes of fortune occupied the throne for three and a half centuries. In spite of their repudiation of Muʾminid suzerainty and the return to Mālikism, the Ḥafṣids always proclaimed an unswerving fidelity to the Almohad tradition of which they liked to consider themselves the authentic representatives. The organisation of their government with a few slight changes reminds one of the early Almohad constitution. Even when the second independent emīr, the son of Abū Zakarīyāʾ, known as al-Mustanṣir, had been proclaimed caliph by Mecca about 1250, the sovereign remained surrounded by an important body of Almohads, the corner stone of the political edifice and of the army, and the coins retained their Almohad character in type and weight The government departments were collected into three great branches. the army, the treasury (*al-ashghāl*) and the chancellery The governors of provinces were for long chosen preferably, indeed almost exclusively, from among the nearest relatives of the monarch. But it would be wrong to deny the part played in the higher administration, as in the intellectual life of the country, by the numerous Muslim refugees from Spain, "Andalusī" expelled at the "reconquest" of the XIIIth century.

The Ḥafṣids in their desire to pacify Ifrīḳiya came continuously up against the Arab problem. The nomad B. Sulaim having driven back the B. Riyāḥ were masters of the interior; their factions, hostile to one another, subjected the country districts to regular contributions. Among them, the Kuʿūb, who were a Makhzan tribe, frequently interfered in the dynastic disputes, threatening Tunis, supporting pretenders of their own choice, and driving the people of the towns to desperation. In 1284 they obtained from a sovereign who owed his throne to them, a charter of *iḳṭāʿ* granting them the revenues of several cities; the rivalry of their two branches, Awlād Abi 'l-Lail and Awlād Muhalhal, was to have immediate repercussions on the central power in the course of the XIVth century.

Down to the death of al-Mustanṣir in 1277, the dynasty had its brilliant periods. In spite of sporadic rebellions, its rule extended from Tripoli right into Algeria and was solidly established in the principal towns, Tunis, Constantine and Bougie. Its prestige extended beyond the limits of North Africa, attracting the attention of Spain and Christian Europe. This is the period when commercial relations were established on a regular basis with Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Pisa, Sicily and Venice: treaties of commerce and navigation, Christian consulates at Tunis, the importance of the customs duties, which justified the tribute paid by Tunis to Sicily and later to Aragon. A body of Christian mercenaries was gathered round the Ḥafṣid, who was however seriously threatened by the attack on Carthage by St. Louis's Crusaders in 1270.

To sum up, Ifrīḳiya enjoyed a more stable and more prosperous régime than in the preceding two centuries: the renaissance of legal studies and of architecture [cf. TUNIS] is evidence of this. Unfortunately the successive revolutions provoked by the claims to the throne of princes of the blood true or alleged — as in the case of Ibn Abī ʿUmāra in 1283 — rapidly weakened the authority of the Caliph and diminished, to the advantage of the Arabs, the by no means too secure cohesion of the subject peoples. The direct line of al-Mustanṣir, after the forced abdication of his son al-Wāthiḳ (in 1279), only produced one further ruler, Abū ʿAsīda (1295—1309), and died with him. It was the descendants of another son of Abū Zakarīyāʾ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (1279—1283), who — after the reign of a third son, Abū Ḥafṣ (1284—1295), then that of a cousin, Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Liḥyānī (1311—1317) — finally held the power, beginning with Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr (1318—1346).

Ḥafṣid unity, destroyed for a period by the secession of Bougie, which made itself an independent state, was reconstituted. Djerba, in the hands of the Christians since its conquest by Roger of Loria in 1284, was taken from them in 1337; the ʿAbd al-Wādid threat was averted by the alliance with the now powerful Marīnids But this alliance itself concealed a danger, since, profiting by the internal disorders, the ambitious Marīnid sulṭān Abu 'l-Ḥasan, already lord of Tlemcen, did not hesitate in 1347 to invade Ifrīḳiya and to install himself in Tunis with his jurists and his court It required a victorious rising of the Arabs to bring about a Hafsid restoration in 1350, and about seven years later the troops of the Marīnid Abū ʿInān were able to occupy Tunis again, although only for a brief period.

It was at this period, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm (1350—1369), that the personality of the intriguing chamberlain Ibn Tafrāgīn (d. 1364) began to make itself felt; his efforts, however, did not succeed entirely in consolidating again all the lands of the empire. The south in particular gradually slipped away from the caliph; local dynasties established themselves there: the B. Yamlūl at Tozeur, B al-Khalaf at Nefta, B. Makkī at Gabes and the B. Thābit at Tripoli. But Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (1370—1394) who had begun his career at Constantine, restored the glory of the dynasty; by his continued expeditions he reduced the rebels to obedience, in his reign, a Franco-Genoese crusade, a reprisal against the excesses of the pirates, failed before Mahdīya (in 1390).

His son Abū Fāris (1394–1434) encouraged the development of the navy, and even despatched a fleet against Malta in 1428; but he had on the other hand to defend himself from the Catalans and Sicilians of Alfonso the Magnanimous who had taken the Kerkenna islands in 1424 and in 1432 made a great attack on Djerba. He built the forts of Ras Adar, Rafraf and Hammamet against them. In 1424 he took Tlemcen and established his suzerainty there.

The Ḥafṣid fifteenth century, marked by the increasing importance of the freedmen employed under the name of "ḳāʾids" as governors and generals, is dominated by the figure of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān, the last great sovereign, who reigned from 1435 to 1488. Abroad, in spite of the activity of the Tunisian corsairs, there were friendly relations with Europe. Catalans and Genoese were given concessions of the coral fishing at Tabarka and of the tunny fishing at Cape Bon. At home, maraboutism, coming from the west, extended its hold and agriculture developed as the result of a period of comparative quiet, in spite of the eternal source of disorders, the nomad Arabs.

On the death of ʿUthmān, things became rapidly worse; three caliphs succeeded one another in the space of a few years; then in the reign of Abū ʿAbdallāh (1494—1526) the empire, torn within by the rebelliousness of the tribes, began to collapse before the blows of the Spaniards who pursued the Turkish corsairs in these regions. In 1510 Pedro Navarro deprived it of Bougie and Tripoli, in 1520 Hughes de Moncade temporarily occupied Djerba. Finally in August 1534, the unfortunate al-Ḥasan, son and successor of Abū ʿAbdallāh, found himself driven from Tunis by the celebrated Khair al-Dīn Barbarossa.

He did not return till July 1535, when the town was taken by Charles V, whose vassal he became; and he surrendered to the Spaniards the fortress of La Goulette in perpetuity. The conditions of the protectorate became still harsher in 1540 when Andrea Doria had taken Sfax, Sūsa and Monastir. In 1542, after great Spanish reverses and the defection of his own troops in the struggle against the Ḳairawān rebel Sīdī ʿArafa and against the redoubtable marabout confederation of the Shābbīya, which held the whole of Central Tunisia, al-Ḥasan went to Europe to seek support but in his absence he was dethroned by his son Ahmad (Ḥamīda).

The "cruel and brave" Ḥamīda endeavoured in vain to reconquer the kingdom of his fathers. A new champion, the Turkish corsair Darghūth, who had only been delivered out of the hands of the Genoese in return for the surrender of the island of Tabarka, was driven from Mahdīya by the Spaniards in 1550; but in the following April he was able to escape cleverly from Andrea Doria in the passes of Djerba, then from his base at Tripoli he occupied Gafsa at the end of 1556 and Ḳairawān at the beginning of 1558, where he left troops under the command of Haidar Pāshā In 1560 he inflicted a disastrous defeat on the expedition led against Djerba by the viceroy of Sicily, the Duke of Medina-Celi; but he fell at the siege of Malta in 1565

The continual fighting between Hamīda and the Spanish governor of La Goulette, in spite of several treaties made between them, facilitated the occupation of Tunis at the end of 1569 by the lord of Algiers, ʿAlī Pāshā (ʿEuldj-ʿAlī), who put a garrison in it. In the autumn of 1573, when Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, had recaptured Tunis from the Turks, he restored Ḥafsid power for the last time in the person of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, to whom Serbelloni was appointed as adviser. In Aug.—Sept. 1574, Ottoman troops brought from Constantinople on Sinān Pāshā's fleet seized La Goulette and Tunis, putting an end to the Spanish occupation, which had always been limited and precarious, and also to the old Ḥafsid dynasty, the "national" one so to speak, which after periods of glory had gradually sunk into helpless impotence; its last outburst of vitality was the return of Ḥamīda (in 1581), who held the Tunisian steppes and the Djerīd for several years.

Before returning to Constantinople, Sinān made Tunisia a Turkish province under the rule of a *pāshā*, at first under Algiers, from 1587 directly under the Porte. An *aghā* was in command of the army of occupation of 4,000 men, each hundred of whom was under a dāy (*dāʾī*). But in 1591 the tyranny of the *dīwān*, the governing body consisting of the higher officers, provoked a bloody revolution, at the end of which one of the 40 dāys was given supreme power. Under the rule of the dāys elected by the Janissaries, the Pāshā, the representative of the Sulṭān, had now only an honorary position. The Dīwān on the other hand was remodelled and enjoyed great influence, as did the corporation of the corsairs (*ṭāʾifa* of the rais). From the religious point of view, Ḥanafism enjoyed official precedence.

The regency owed its final organisation to the third dāy, ʿUthmān (1594—1610), who evolved under the name of *mīzān* a code of laws and maintained order in the country with the support of a bāy whose task it was to collect the taxes in two annual circuits with armed forces (*maḥalla*). Through the intermediary of the *ḳapūdān rāʾis* the state controlled piracy on the high seas and shared largely in its profits, which became considerable after a number of renegades — notably Ward, an Englishman — had developed its technique. Moriscoes expelled from Spain (in 1609) and settled in Tunis and Cape Bon (Solīman, Grombalia) and in other localites (e. g. Tebourba, Medjez el-Bāb, Testour, Guellat el-Andleus) gave a great stimulus to market-gardening and to industry (hosiery and dyeing) Subordination to Turkey had relaxed to such an extent that France, who thanks to the Ottoman capitulations, enjoyed a privileged position throughout the Turkish empire and had established a consulate at Tunis in 1577, had in 1606 to send an ambassador S. de Brèves, to deal directly with the "Powers" of Tunis.

Under the son-in-law and successor of ʿUthmān, Yūsuf (1610—1637), the Regency regained Djerba from the Pāshā of Tripoli and, what was something quite new, delimited its frontiers with Algeria as a result of Algerian attacks in 1614 and 1628. The next Dāy, Ustā Murād (1637—1640), a Genoese renegade and old corsair, fortified Porto Farina which he peopled with Spanish Moors But already the authority of the Dāys was declining and there is no interest in detailing the 24 Dāys (Khodja, Lāz and others) who ruled from 1640 to 1702, generally as puppets in the hands of the Bāys, who had succeeded in supplanting them.

The Bāy Murād (1612—1631), originally a Corsican called Pāshā, had in his lifetime handed over his office to his son Muḥammad (Ḥammūda), thus creating a precedent which secured his family hereditary power. Ḥammūda (1631—1663) made Pāshā in his turn in 1659, relying on a corps of spahis (q v. *sbāʾihīya*) which he distributed between Tunis, Ḳairawān, Le Kef and Beja, became the real master of the country. He was the founder of the line of the Murādids — his sons Murād and Muḥammad al-Ḥafṣī, his grandsons Muhammad, ʿAlī and Ramadān — whose power was constantly threatened by civil troubles (e. g. the rising of Muhammad b. Shukr) which culminated in the assassination of his great-grandson Murād Bū Bāla in 1702.

The first half of the xviiith century is marked by a resumption of trade with Europe, particularly with Marseilles and Livorno, for which Christian and Jewish merchants from Spain and Italy were largely responsible. The Marseilles companies established at Cape Negro or Bizerta competed with the Genoese of Tabarka for the trade in coral and gained profits from the exportation of leather and cereals. The foreign relations of the Regency were extended, including for example

Great Britain and the Low Countries; in the second half of the century, as a reprisal for piracies, in addition to the traditional expeditions of the Knights of Malta, European squadrons several times bombarded the coast and demanded reparation.

The position at home, at first fairly flourishing, as is seen from the public works and religious buildings erected throughout the country (medersas, mosques at Tunis, Beja, Ḳairawān, including those of Sīdī Sāḥib) gradually became worse under the later Murādids, until in 1685—1686 and 1694 Algerian invasions were possible. The tribes, among whom were the dreaded Awlād Saʿīd, became insubordinate; for a long time Le Kef was in the hands of the B. Shannūf and Kalaat es-Senam in those of the Ḥanānsha. The Dj. Ouselat was a hotbed of sedition. Frequent epidemics of plague decimated the people

After the bloody reign of Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf (1702—1705) who combined for the first time the titles of Bāy, Dāy, Pāshā and Āghā of the soldiers, Ḥusain b. ʿAlī Turkī was proclaimed Bāy on July 10, 1705 in the middle of a new Algerian invasion, the Ḥusainid dynasty which still rules was founded. Ḥusain restored peace and did a great deal of building (e. g. at Ḳairawān); but having tried to establish a regular order of succession for the benefit of his direct descendants, he was dethroned by his nephew, ʿAlī Pāshā (1735—1756), supported by the Algerians, thus arose new troubles, aggravated by the revolt of Yūnus, son of ʿAlī, in 1752 Finally after further intervention by Algeria, Husain's son Muḥammad ascended the throne (1756—59), and the reigns of ʿAlī Bāy (1759—1782), Muḥammad's brother, and of his son Hammūda (1782—1814) did much to heal the wounds of the state and to restore real prosperity to Tunisia.

Like agriculture, foreign trade made progress Although the Bāy had in 1741 destroyed the factories at Cape Negro and Tabarka, his relations with Christian powers became more numerous: many treaties were made, now signed in the name of the Regency by the Bāy alone, who was a regular monarch. France, although on several occasions at war with Tunis, finally appointed a Consul-General there. A war with Venice lasted 8 years (1784—1792). ʿAlī Bāy, who had subdued and scattered the rebels of the Dj. Ouselat in 1762, could not dispose of the Algerians, who still gave a great deal of trouble to Hammūda. The latter, aided by the *Ṣāḥib al-Ṭābaʿ* Yūsuf, massacred the mutinous Janissaries in 1811 and reorganised the government.

The XIXth century was to bring marked changes into the political situation of the Regency. First of all there was the suppression of the corsairs and piracy — one of the principal sources of the revenues of the state — forced upon Maḥmūd (1814—1824) by the European powers, as a result of the congresses of Vienna and Aix La Chapelle; there were further the incalculable consequences of the taking of Algiers by France in 1830, in the time of the Bāy Ḥusain (1824—35). For half a century Tunisia made vain efforts to adapt herself to the new conditions by a domestic reorganisation and to steer between a slack and intermittent Ottoman suzerainty and the interference of the Christian nations in her affairs through their consuls.

The suzerainty of the Porte, encouraged by Great Britain, disputed by France, was only manifested in a few firmāns of investiture and in the sending of Tunisian troops to the Crimea (in 1855) against Russia (a Tunisian squadron had also cooperated with the Turkish fleet at Navarino in 1827). French, English and Italian influence on the other hand continued to increase steadily. It is true that the French plans for establishing Tunisian princes in Algeria did not succeed. On the other hand, Tunisia no longer levied the tribute which Christian states had formerly paid in return for the right of trading with her. The Bāy Aḥmad (1837—1855), a kind of "enlightened despot", abolished slavery, granted liberties to the Jews, organised the "Tunisian army" on the European model with French instructors, and visited Louis Philippe in Paris in 1846. But his vast expenditure, further increased by the building of the arsenal of Porto Farina and the palaces of Mohammadia, emptied the coffers of the state, already very poorly supplied; new taxes had to be raised: *maḥṣūlāt*, *ḳānūn* on the olive-trees, monopolies.

His cousin Muhammad (1855—1859) introduced the *maǧbā*, a poll-tax of 36 piastres, from which the towns of Tunis, Sūsa, Monastir, Sfax and Ḳairawān were exempted; but the most important event of his reign was that under pressure from the consuls in the "fundamental agreement" (*ʿahd al-amān*: Sept 9, 1857) which reproduced the *ḫaṭṭ-i sherīf* [q. v.] of Gulkhane of 1839, he proclaimed the equality of all the inhabitants of Tunisia before the law and taxes, liberty of conscience, liberty to trade and to work, and the right of foreigners to acquire landed property. His brother Muhammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859—1882) on April 26, 1861 promulgated a constitution, which he had had approved by Napoleon III. executive power remained in the hands of the hereditary but responsible Bāy (the throne passing to the eldest of the princes of the Husainid family), assisted by ministers chosen by him; legislative power was divided between the Bāy and Grand Council of 60 nominated members The judicial power was independent; the tribunals followed a civil and penal Tunisian code; provincial administration was in the hands of the "ḳāʿids", assisted by elected "shaikhs", the Bāy had only a civil list and the farming out of taxes etc. was abolished.

In spite of these reforms, the situation became rapidly worse; the disastrous financial policy of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār (appointed minister in the reign of Aḥmad Bāy) which had recourse to loans and to the raising of the *maǧbā* taxes, provoked a a rebellion of the tribes under ʿAlī b. Ghadāhum in 1864 and the institution of an International Financial Commission (Tunisians, French, Italians, Maltese) in July 1869 In 1864 the constitution had been suspended. In Oct 1873, the general Khair al-Dīn succeeded to Khaznadār, who was dismissed; during his ministry, which, lasted till July 1877 and was marked by intelligent reforms, there was a slight improvement. But the regular resources of the country were so small and the debts so great that the Financial Commission came to nothing; the bad administration of Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl (Sept. 1878) proved the last straw, while a bitter struggle for influence was going on between the French and Italian consuls, Roustan and Maccio, regarding the concession of public services.

France, encouraged since the Congress of Berlin in 1878 by Great Britain and Germany, then inter-

fered. As a result of raids by Khrumirs into Algeria and various other incidents, the minister Jules-Ferry sent 30,000 men to invade Tunisia in April 1881. On May 12, in spite of Turkish protests, General Bréart, without having struck a blow, forced Ṣādiḳ to sign the treaty of Kassar-Said (known as that of Bardo), which practically handed over to France the control of the military, foreign and financial affairs of the Regency. A French "resident Minister", in the first place Roustan, was appointed, through whom all dealings of the Bāy with the French government had to be conducted. Thus, although the word was not used, were laid the foundations of the "Protectorate", which became effective and final when, after the rising in the centre and south (under ʿAlī b. Khalīfa) and its rapid suppression by a second French expedition, the Bāy agreed by the convention of La Marsa of June 8, 1883, to "proceed with such administrative, judicial and financial reforms as the French government" should consider useful.

The establishment of the Protectorate marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Tunisia Never since the Muslim conquest had any political event had such a profound effect on the organisation of the country and the life of its inhabitants. The original feature of the rule, which in spite of criticism has now lasted for half a century, lay essentially in the outward maintenance of the old machinery of government, upon which a new framework and new institutions were merely superimposed.

H. H the Bāy remains in theory the sovereign of the Regency, the "lord" (*ṣāḥib*) of the kingdom of Tunis; but the Resident Minister, since June 23, 1885 called the Resident-General, under the French Foreign Minister, and the plenipotentiary of the Republic in the Regency, is in practice the real ruler. Being both Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Bāy (who can correspond with Paris only through him) and President of his Council, he countersigns the beylical decrees, the promulgation of which was made compulsory by a decree of Jan. 1883; he has also under his orders the commanders of all the forces on land and sea and all the administrative services The military guard left to the Bāy is exceedingly small (600 men); his subjects, forced to serve in the Tunisian army (beylical decree of Jan. 12, 1892 on recruiting), form in a way a part of the French army, over 10,000 fell for France in the war of 1914—1918.

On the council of ministers, alongside of two, later three, native ministers, sit the "Directeurs" or French heads of departments, the number of whom has grown rapidly, as well as the general commanding the division of occupation and the naval commander of Bizerta who act as ministers of war and of the admiralty Each of these high officials issues by-laws The "Caidats" into which the tribes are divided have become territorial divisions; above the "caid" there is placed a French "contrôleur civil".

Tunisian legislation, which applies to Tunisia alone, is often quite original. Only questions relating to the Resident-General, to the contrôleurs civils and to French justice have been settled by decree of the President of the Republic. The actual position in politics and administration and a juristic system which has gradually taken root seem to justify the recent view, which sees in Tunisia the existence of a "double sovereignty", that of the Bāy, traditional, and that of France, more recent and progressive.

The first great task of the protecting nation has been to eliminate as much as possible foreign interference in its two forms, financial and judicial France having guaranteed the Tunisian debt, Great Britain and Italy agreed to the suppression of the Financial Commission, which was carried out in Oct. 1884.

Tunisia, given a regular system of financial administration and a normal budget, regained its economic stability. The Bāy was given a civil list, for the upkeep of his family and his court. The French government still puts down officially in the budget certain expenses like an important subvention to the archbishopric of Carthage. Through the decree of July 1, 1891 the monetary unit is no longer the piastre but the franc.

The French law of April 10, 1883 having created French tribunals in the Regency, and the beylical decree of May 5 1883 having agreed that all those who formerly had the benefit of capitulations were amenable to the new courts, the foreign powers, one after the other, renounced (1883–1884) their consular jurisdictions, just as in 1896–1897 they had to abandon the customs privileges which they also held under the capitulations. Italy alone made reservations; and if at the expiration of her treaty of 1868 with Tunisia and immediately after her defeat at Adowa in Ethiopia, she had to recognise the fact of the Protectorate — which Turkey declined to recognise officially until the treaty of Sèvres in 1920 — she has nevertheless retained an advantageous position in the Regency which she does not cease to covet. Her subjects are entering it in larger numbers than the French; she is developing her influence through the press (the daily *Unione*), banking and especially cultural institutions (schools, societies) which by virtue of her agreements are not under French control; she complains however of certain steps which put her subjects at a disadvantage. In 1919 France recognised her ownership of the oases of Ghat and of Ghadames (the frontier with Tripolitania had been delimited in 1910) by an agreement, which is far from having put an end to the disturbing "Italian question" in Tunisia

The Protectorate has enabled France to carry out in the Regency a remarkable work in the way of utilizing natural resources, and in supplying intellectual and social needs (hospitals, dispensaries medical men, benevolent societies, various scientific and learned institutions). Modern implements and more rational knowledge and methods have produced encouraging economic results. Primarily a land of agriculture — cereals, the vine, olive, vegetables dates, to which may be added cork and alfa grass — and cattle-rearing, Tunisia is becoming more and more an exporter of iron, lead and zinc but especially of phosphates (since the discoveries of Ph Thomas in 1885) It imports fuel, tropical products and a quantity of manufactured objects.

Its foreign trade is about 3 milliards of francs For a number of years, it is true, its balance of trade has shown a deficit; the revenue from tourists is not sufficient to balance this.

To facilitate European colonisation and to modernise the administration of lands, Tunisia by decree of July 1, 1885 was given an important *loi foncière* based on the Acte Torrens: optional registration

of lands, on a favourable decision by a "Tribunal mixte" instituted for this purpose (at Tunis 7 French and 3 Muslim magistrates, at Sūsa 4 French and 2 Muslim); a decree of March 1924 also foreshadowed the establishment of a survey. In the early period of the occupation, colonisation by French agriculturalists was left almost entirely to individual initiative. An official policy of settling French citizens on the land has only been actively pursued since about 1900. The Domain purchases lands to sell them later on a system of very easy payments to Frenchmen, e. g. former students of the École Coloniale d'Agriculture in Tunis. The Italians compete with the French, less by the size of their farms, than by the number of their farmers.

In default of a great immigration of French citizens, France has begun in Tunisia a policy of naturalisation by the decrees (the one presidential and the other beylical) of Nov. 8, 1921, but as a result of litigation begun in this connection by Great Britain before the Court of the Hague, they have been replaced by the French law of Dec 20, 1923; naturalisation, considerably facilitated to foreigners and strangers who request it, becomes automatic (with however the power to decline it) in the second generation, obligatory in the third, for foreigners settled in the Regency. Great Britain has accepted in the main these regulations which concern chiefly her Maltese subjects The Italians however by their agreements escape any forced naturalisation; but some of them become naturalised voluntarily. The "néo-français", among whom the Muslims do not number 2,000, while they include about 5,000 Jews, form over a quarter of the present French population

The Jews, of whom several thousands of European origin have retained Italian nationality, remain for the most part subjects of the Bāy under native authority and jurisdiction, except in personal matters in which they are dealt with by a "Tribunal Rabbinique" of Tunis (reorganised by decrees of Nov. 1898 and Nov 1929) and by "notaires israélites" (decrees of Febr. 1918 and Apr 1927) The Tunisian Jews do not perform military service and in general cannot become government officials. Their rapid development in European civilisation raises the problem of their obtaining in large numbers or en bloc French citizenship. The decree of Aug 30, 1921 established, for all the Jews in the contrôle civile of Tunis, without distinction of nationality, a "Conseil de la Communauté" of 12 members elected for four years by suffrage of the second degree, with authority to deal with matters of relief and worship. The government appoints the administrators of the other Jewish communities; it also appoints the Chief Rabbi of Tunisia. The practice of religion is declining, but Zionism on the other hand enjoys undeniable favour.

The government of the Protectorate has always tried to improve, without offending religious beliefs, the native administration and the economic and religious conditions of the Muslims (cf above) If there are many problems to be solved, some of which are being studied, the work done so far is however quite appreciable In spite of its resistance to the adoption of western ways of living, the Muslim world of Tunisia is undergoing a radical transformation, of which it would be rash to predict the results. The *Dustūr* movement (Tunisian constitutional party, desiring autonomy), which made progress in the years following the war, was skilfully checked by the Resident-General Lucien Saint. It looks at present as if the native population are satisfied with the nature of the reforms towards which, during the last ten years (1920—1930), the domestic policy of the Protectorate has been directed.

The liberal measures already taken, notably in 1922 and 1928 the creation of and reorganisation of the Grand Conseil, follow two fundamental principles: an appeal to the more and more direct collaboration of the natives, and an extension of the powers of the elected assemblies. New rights are being given in the French colony: elected municipal councils, a greater liberty of the press and of combination.

At the time of writing, Tunisia is preparing to celebrate in tranquillity the jubilee of the Protectorate.

List of Bāys since the French Occupation.

Muh. al-Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī (1882—1902)
Muh. al-Hādī (1902—1906)
Muh. al-Nāsir (1906—1922)
Muḥ. al-Habīb (1922—1929)
Aḥmad (1929—).

List of Resident-Generals:

Roustan
Paul Cambon (appointed in March 1882)
Massicault (Nov. 1886)
Rouvier (Nov. 1892)
Millet (Nov. 1894)
Stéphen Pichon (March 1901)
Alapetite (Dec 1906)
Flandin (Oct. 1918)
Lucien Saint (Jan. 1921)
Manceron (Jan 1929).

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b. on the middle ages. E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927; Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Benou 'l-Aghlab*, Paris 1927; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīk fī ḥaḍārat al-Ḳairawān*, Tunis 1330; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (*passim*), Paris 1907; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIème au XIVème siècle*, Constantine–Paris 1913; van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident, J. A.*, 1907; Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der roman. Volker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzuge* (*passim*), Munich 1906; Giménez Soler, *El comercio en tiera de infieles durante la edad media, Bol. R. Acad. Buenas Letras*, Barcelona 1909—1910; La Mantia, *La Sicilia ed il suo dominio nell' Africa settentr., dal sec. XI al XV, Arch. Stor. Sicil.*, 1922; Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis depuis le XIIème siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIème*, Paris 1929; Boissonnade, *Les relations commerciales de la France méridionale avec l'Afrique du Nord du XIIème au XVème siècle, Bull. géogr. du Comité des tr. hist.*, 1929; Alemany, *Milicias christianas . . . del Almagreb* in *Homenaje á Codera*, Saragossa 1904; Delaville De Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVème siècle*, Paris 1886 (p. 166—200); Cerone, *Alfonso il Magnanimo ed Abu Omar Othman, Arch stor. Sicil. orient.*, 1912—1913.

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b. Muslim historians Ibn Abī Dīnār al Ḳairawānī, *Kitāb al-Muʾnis*, Tunis 1286, tr Paris 1845 (*Expl scient. Algérie*, vol. vii.) al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusīya*, Tunis 1287, unfinished ed.; Muḥ. b. Yūsuf, *al-Maʿshar al-malakī* (1705—1765), tr. Serres and Lasram Tunis 1900; Ibn Makdīsh, *Nuzhat al-Anṣār* lith. Tunis 1321; Muḥ. al-Bādjī, *al-Khulāṣa . . fī Umarāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, Tunis 1323; Ibn ʿAbd al ʿAzīz and Ibn Abī 'l-Diyāf, unpubl.;

c. European writers: Lanfreducci e Bosio *Costa e discorsi di Barberia* (1587), ed. and tr

Monchicourt-Grandchamp, *R. A.*, 1925; Barker, *A true and certain report of ... captain Ward*, London 1609; Prévost de Beaulieu-Persac, *Mémoires*, ed. La Roncière, Paris 1913, p. 228—264; Pijnacker, *De reyse naer Africa, Tunis, Algiers ... in den jare 1625*, Haarlem 1650; Savary de Brèves, *Relation de ses voyages ... aux royaumes de Tunis et Alger*, Paris 1628; Attardo, *Relazione della guerra ..... fra Algieri e Tunisi quest'anno 1628*, ed. Roy, *R. T.*, 1917; Th. d'Arcos, *Lettres inédites écrites de Tunis (1633—36)*, Algiers 1889; Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie*, Paris 1637; Thévenot, *Voyages ...*, Paris 1664—1674; Pagni, *Lettere ... di quanto egli vidde e operò in Tunisi*, Florence 1829; D'Arvieux, *Mémoires* (vol. IV.), Paris 1735 (voyage to Tunis in 1666), Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryving der Afrikaensche gewesten*, Amsterdam 1668; Galland, *Relation de l'esclavage d'un marchand Cassis à Tunis*, ed. in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, Paris 1809; Coppin, *Le bouclier de l'Europe*, Lyon 1686, *Histoire des dernières révolutions du royaume de Tunis*, Paris 1689; La Faye, *Etat des royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1703; Lucas, *Voyage ... Afrique* (followed by a *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de Tunis*), Paris 1712, Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire des Etats barbaresques*, Fr tr., Paris 1757, Peyssonnel, *Relation d'un voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie . . en 1724*, Paris 1838; Shaw, *Travels* (1727), Oxford 1738; Tollot, *Nouveau voyage fait au Levant* (1731), Paris 1742, La Condamine, *Voyage au Levant* (1731), frag ed, *R. T.*, 1898, Godefroy, Comelin and La Motte, *Etat des royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1731; Hebenstreit, *Voyage à Alger, Tunis et Tripoli . . en 1732*, Berlin 1780; St Gervais, *Mémoires historiques ... royaume de Tunis*, Paris 1736, *Lettres sur l'histoire politique de la Tunisie de 1728 à 1740*, ed. Gandolphe, *R. T*, 1924—1926; Poiron, *Mémoires concernant l'état présent du royaume de Tunis* (1752), ed. Serres, Paris 1925, Desfontaines, *Fragments d'un voyage . . Tunis et Alger* (1783—1786), Paris 1838; Stanley, *Observations on the city of Tunis*, London 1786; Poiret, *Voyage en Barbarie*, Paris 1789, Nyssen, *Mémoire sur Tunis* (1788), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist Col Fr.*, 1923; Caroni, *Ragguaglio del viaggio ... in Barberia*, Milan 1805, tr. Conor-Grandchamp, *R. T.*, 1917; Chauteaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1807), Paris 1811; Maggill, *An Account of Tunis*, Glasgow 1811, Blaquière, *Lettres from the Mediterranean*, vol 2, London 1813; Frank, *Tunis* (1816), in *l'Univers pittoresque*, vii, Paris 1850; Noah, *Travels in . . . the Barbary States*, New-York 1819; Filippi, *Fragmens . . sur la Régence de Tunis* (1829), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist. Col. Fr.*, 1924—1926; cf. also Bauer's correction, *Relaciones de Africa*, vol. 3, Madrid 1922. — After 1830, in addition to numerous articles in magazines and journals (*Le Tour du Monde, Revue de l'Orient*, etc....), books multiply: Grenville-Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean, Algiers and Tunis (1832—33)*, London 1835; Calligaris, *Notice sur Tunez* (1834), ed. Monchicourt, *R. Hist. Col. Fr.*, 1928; Ewans, *Reise ... von Tunis* (1835), Nuremberg 1837; Puckler-Muskau, *Semilasso in Afrika*, Stuttgart 1836; Niculy, *Documenti sulla storia di Tunis*, Livourne 1838; Capitaine X, *Une promenade à Tunis en 1842*, Paris 1844; Kennedy, *Algeria and Tunisia in 1845*, London 1846; Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeers in 1845—47*, Berlin 1849; Chassiron, *Aperçu pittoresque de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1849; Pellissier, *Description de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1853 (*Expl. scient. Algérie*, xv.; cf. also *R d. Deux Mondes*, May 1856); Daumas, *Quatorze ans à Tunis*, Algiers 1857; Finotti, *La Regenza di Tunisi*, Malte 1857; Dunant, *Notice sur la Régence de Tunis*, Geneva 1858; Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862; Flaux, *La Régence de Tunis au XIXème siècle*, Paris 1865; François, *Tunis et la Régence sous Mohammed el-Sadok Bey*, Paris 1867; De Gubernatis, *Lettere sulla Tunisia*, Florence 1867; Michel, *Tunis*, Paris 1867; Maltzan, *Sittenbilder aus Tunis u. Algerien*, Leipzig 1869; do., *Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis u. Tripolis*, Leipzig 1870; Zaccone, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875; Rae, *Barbary, Journey from Tripoli to .... Kairouan*, London 1877, Féraud, *Notes sur un voyage en Tunisie et en Tripolitaine, R A*, 1877; Nachtigal, *Tunis, Deutsche Rundschau*, 1881; Pinchia, *Ricordi di Tunisi*, Turin 1881.

d. The collections of documents published by Plantet, *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour (1577—1830)*, 3 v., Paris 1893—1899; Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie (1582—1700)*, 8 v., Tunis 1920—1930; Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel (1590—1726)*, 3 v, The Hague 1910—1917, Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs aux corsaires tunisiens (1777—1814)*, Tunis 1925;

e. Special works: Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, Algiers 1864; Fitoussi, *L'Etat tunisien (1525—1901)*, Tunis 1901, 2nd ed. in the press; Masson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque (1560—1793)*, Paris 1903, do, *Les Compagnies du corail*, Paris-Marseilles 1908; La Roncière, *Histoire de marine française*, 5 v., Paris 1909—1920; Conor, *Les exploits d'Alonso de Contreras en Tunisie (1601—11)*, *R.T*, 1913; Spont, *Les Français à Tunis de 1600 a 1789*, *R. Questions Hist*, 1900; Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*, London 1884; Marchesi, *Tunisi e la Repubblica Venezia nel secolo XVIII*, Venice 1882; Nallino, *Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII*, in *Cent. Amari*, Palermo 1910; Grandchamp, *La mission de Pléville-le-Pelley à Tunis (1793—94)*, Tunis 1921; do., *Le citoyen Guiraud, proconsul de la République française à Tunis (1796)*, *R.T.*, 1919; Loth, *Arn. Soler, charge d'affaires d'Espagne à Tunis (1808—10)*, *R. T.*, 1905—1906; Dupuy, *Americains et Barbaresques (1776—1824)*, Paris 1910; Hugon, *Les emblèmes des beys de Tunis*, Paris 1913; Serres, *La politique turque en Afrique du Nord sous la monarchie de Juillet*, Paris 1925; Rouard de Card, *Les arrangements conclus par le général Clauzel avec le bey de Tunis (1830—31)*, Paris 1927; Gonni, *La regia marina sarda sulle costi di Barberia (1830)*, *Boll. Ufficio stor.*, 1930; do., *Una squadra sardo-napoletana a Tunisi (1833)*, *ibid.*; Grandchamp, *Le différend de la Tunisie avec la Sardaigne et Naples en 1833*, *R. T.* (appearing shortly); Monchicourt, *La mahalla d'Ahmed Zarroug dans le Sahel (1864)*, *R. T.* 1917

4. On the French Protectorate and Tunisia since 1881, there is now a vast literature. The following are the principal works:

a. Establishment of the Protectorate. *Documents diplomatiques, Affaires de Tunisie (1870—1881)*, Paris 1881; D'Estournelles de Constant, *La politique française en Tunisie*, Paris 1891; Crispi, *Politica estera (1876–1890)*, transl. *R. T.*, 1913; Chiala, *Pagine di storia contemporanea*, vol. 2: *Tunisi*, Turin 1895; Broadley, *The last Punic War*, Edinburgh-London 1882; *L'expédition militaire en Tunisie*, Paris n.d., Cappello, *La spedizione francese in Tunisia*, Città di Castello 1912; Rouard de Card, *Traités de la France avec les pays de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1906; do, *La Turquie et le protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1916;

b. Political questions since 1918: *La Tunisie martyre*, 1920; Raynaud, *La Tunisie sans les Français*, Paris n. d.; Jung, *Les réformes en Tunisie*, Paris 1926; Winkler, *Essai sur la nationalité dans les protectorats de Tunisie et du Maroc*, Paris 1926; Aguesse, *Souveraineté et nationalité en Tunisie*, Paris 1930; Tumedei, *La Questione tunisina e l'Italia*, Bologna 1922, Sarfatti, *Tunisiaca*, Rome 1924; Bonura, *Gli Italiani in Tunisi*, Rome 1929; and numerous articles in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, from which are reprinted: Rodd Balek, *La Tunisie après la guerre (1919—21)*, Paris 1922; Cavé, *Sur les tracés de Rodd Balek (1924—27)*, Paris 1929; and a *Chronique de Tunisie (1922—28)*, Tunis 1928;

c. General descriptions Hesse-Wartegg, *Tunis*, Vienna 1882, Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia*, London 1887 (in appendix a very useful *Bibliography of Tunisia*, to which nothing is added in Rouard de Card, *Livres français des XVII*ème *et XVIII*ème *siècles concernant les Etats barbaresques*, Paris 1911); Lapessan, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1887, 1917 [2], Faucon, *La Tunisie*, 1893; *La Tunisie Histoire et description*, 4 v., Paris-Nancy 1896, 1900 [2]; *La Tunisie au début du XX*ème *siècle*, Paris 1904; Loth, *La Tunisie et l'œuvre du Protectorat français*, Paris 1907, *Notice générale sur la Tunisie (1811—1921)*, Toulouse 1922; Despois, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1930;

d Social life, novels of manners: Lapie, *Les civilisations tunisiennes*, Paris 1898; Canal, *La littérature et la presse tunisiennes de l'Occupation à 1900*, Paris n. d., Duhamel, *Le prince Jaffar*, Paris 1924, Hubac, *Les masques d'argile*, Paris 1928. — Cf also for the natives, the works quoted under "Language" and numerous articles in the *Revue Tunisienne*:

5 For non-Muslims, in addition to Darmon (see also under "Religion").

a. Christians. Mesnage, *Le christianisme en Afrique, Eglise mozarabe*, Paris-Algiers 1915, Gleizes, *Jean Le Vacher*, Paris 1914, do, *Captivité et œuvres de St. Vincent de Paul en Barbarie*, Paris 1930; Anselme des Arcs, *Mémoires de la mission des capucins de Tunisie (1624—1865)*, Rome 1889; Pons, *La nouvelle Eglise d'Afrique (depuis 1830)*, Tunis 1930;

b. Jews: Cazès, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, Paris 1889; Chalom, *Les Israélites de la Tunisie*, Paris 1908; Arditti, *Recueil des testes législatifs et juridiques concernant les Israélites de Tunisie (1857—1913)*, Tunis 1915; Tibi, *Le Statut personnel .... des Israélites tunisiens*, Tunis 1923; Slouschz, *Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique*, Paris 1909; do, *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia 1927.

6. For the history of Muḥammadan art. G. Marçais, *Manual d'art musulman L'architecture*, Paris 1926—1927.

3. Administration.

a. French administration. At the beginning of the Protectorate and by virtue of the beylical decree of Feb. 4, 1883, the Resident-General was immediately asssisted by a "Secretary General of the government of Tunisia", who had control of all the official correspondence and held the same position with the Prime Minister as the Resident did with the Bey. This office was abolished on July 14, 1922 and to some extent replaced by a "Delegate to the Residence General", whose powers, fixed by presidential decree of Feb. 10, 1923, are very different and in practice not so considerable, although he is vice-president of the Council of Ministers, inspecteur des contrôles civils, and takes the place of the Resident when away or prevented from appearing. By virtue of a residential resolution of Nov. 10, 1926, the Resident is assisted by a civil cabinet and a military one.

This same resolution of 1926, supported by a number of beylical decrees of the same day, remodels the main government offices of the Regency and defines the activities of the principal services organised and directed by the French since the occupation: the "Direction Générale des Travaux Publics" created on Sept 3, 1882, the "Direction Générale des Finances" on Nov. 4 of the same year, the "Direction Générale de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts" on May 6, 1883, the "Direction Générale de l'Agriculture, du Commerce et de la Colonisation" on Nov 3, 1890, the "Direction Générale de l'Intérieur" (which includes the departments of public health and public assistance) and the "Direction de la Justice Tunisienne" of July 14, 1922 (the two latter were created as a result of the suppression of the office of Secretary General). We may add the "Office des Postes et Telegraphes", which was created on June 11, 1888, and became an autonomous "Direction" by the decree of Nov. 18, 1927.

If we except the southern part, which is held to be a military zone (capital Médenine) and governed by a "Service des Affaires indigènes" (2 officers of higher rank, 20 captains or lieutenants, 11 military interpreters, paid out of the French budget), Tunisia is divided for administrative purposes since 1922 into 5 "regions" (Bizerta, Tunis, Le Kef, Susā and Sfax) each of which is sub-divided into a certain number of "contrôles civils", in all 19: Beja, Bizerta, Tabarka, Suk el-Arba, Tunis, Zaghouan, Grombalia, Téboursuk, Le Kef, Maktar, Medjez el-Bab, Susa, Kairawan, Thala, Sfax, Gabes, Gafsa, Tozeur, Djerba. The "contrôleurs civils", French officials instituted by presidential decree of Oct. 4, 1884, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; their duties, defined by the residential circular of July 22, 1887, consists mainly in supervising the native administration and aiding in French colonisation; they have the title of vice-consuls and perform the duties of French consular agents. Their status was regulated by residential resolution of April 25, 1922.

French law is administered in the Regency by two tribunals of first instance, one at Tunis (4 chambers), the other at Susā, and by 14 regular "justices de paix" to whom are to be added the justices "foraines", whose courts are itinerant The tribunals are amenable to the Court of Appeal in Algiers. Penal law is administered, for offences and misdemeanours, by correctional tribunals, and in the same cases as in Algeria by "juges de paix". Crimes are judged by criminal tribunals sitting at Tunis and Susā, composed of 3 French professional judges and 6 assessors, whose appointment is regulated by the presidential decree of Nov. 29, 1893· their nationality depends on that of the accused; there is no jury. All the French magistrates, who are in every respect the same as in Algeria, are appointed by presidential decree on the nomination of the "Garde des Sceaux".

France is responsible for the budget for the army and the navy. Bizerta is the headquarters of a naval prefecture which covers the whole of the shores of North Africa. The general commanding the "Division d'Occupation" assumed in 1926 the title of "Commandant supérieur des troupes de Tunisie".

To complete the list of the principal public services of Tunisia, mention must be made of the two companies which have concessions for the most important ports that of Bizerta, founded in 1886, that of Tunis, Sūsa and Sfax founded in 1894; and the 3 railway companies *a* the Company Bône–Guelma, called Compagnie Fermière as a result of the convention of July 22, 1922 (almost all the Tunisian system, which consists primarily of a long line following the coast, two lines Tunis–Algeria through the valley of he Medjerda and by the High Tell, a line from Susā to the phosphate mines west of Gafsa through the steppes of Sbeitla and Feriana); *b* the Compagnie des phosphates de Gafsa (narrow gauge lines connecting Sfax with Gabes, Redeyef and Tozeur), *c*. the Tramway Company of Tunis (electric system in the suburbs· 2 lines Tunis–La Marsa, one via La Goulette and Carthage)

Besides the government departments, Tunisia has a certain number of deliberative assemblies, nominated or elected The French alone are electors to the chambers of commerce and agriculture, elected for 6 years, one third retiring every two years. the chamber of commerce of Tunis, chamber of agriculture of Tunis, chamber of commerce and agriculture of Susā, chamber of commerce and agriculture at Sfax, all four instituted in 1895, chamber of commerce of Bizerta, instituted in 1902. Women have the right of voting but cannot themselves be members. The chamber of mining interests which meets in Tunis, crested by residential resolution of July 15, 1922, represents indiscriminately French or Tunisian owners, directors, managers or engineers of mines in Tunisia; its 12 members are elected for 6 years and half retire every 3 years.

60 places have been created municipalities. By virtue of the decrees of Jan. 14, 1914 and Jan. 1, 1924, the municipal councils appointed by decree for 3 years, one third only elected each year, consist of a native president, one or more French vice-presidents and a varying number of native or European councillors. Their deliberations, which are public, are subject to the approval of the prime minister.

The decree of July 13, 1922, replaced by that of March 27, 1928, instituted "regional councils" whose members, elected for 6 years, were at first representatives on the one hand of the native municipal councillors and of the (native) councils of the ḳā'idate, and on the other of a slight majority of Frenchmen representing French municipal councillors or chambers of commerce and agriculture; they now also include a vice-president of the municipality of each capital of a region, the delegates to the Grand Council elected by universal suffrage, representatives of the chamber of mining interests and native chambers of commerce. The regional council, a consultative body on economic and financial questions, meets twice a year, for 6 days at most at each session, in the capital of the region under the presidency of a contrôleur civil, appointed by the Resident General, who has however no vote. The French members elect a vice-president and a secretary, another vice-president and another secretary are appointed by the native members.

The principal representative assembly, the "Grand Conseil", replaced on July 13, 1922 the "Conférence Consultative" of 1896, which had in the meanwhile been several times remodelled A number of decrees and resolutions of March 1928 regulate its composition and powers. It consists of a French and a native section which in principle deliberate separately. The French section, presided over by the Resident General, numbers 52–22 representatives of economic interests, 6 elected by the chamber of agriculture of Tunis, 2 by the chamber of commerce of Bizerta, 4 by that of Tunis, 4 by the mixed chamber of Susā, 4 by that of Sfax, 2 by the chamber of mining interests, and 30 representatives of the French colony, elected regionally by all French inhabitants over 21 years of age and domiciled in Tunisia for at least two years, 6 for Bizerta, 10 for Tunis 4 for Le Kef, 5 for Susā, 5 for Sfax and all the "territoires militaires". The members of the Grand Council, aged at least 25, are elected for 6 years, half being elected every 3 years. The Council examines and votes the budget It can also express its wishes, except on political or constitutional questions, give its opinion on questions submitted to it by the government, and itself put questions to the government France reserves the right to approve a decree dissolving the Grand Council or to overrule its decisions even on budget questions. The Grand Council meets once a year in ordinary session for a maximum period of 20 days; it may also be convoked for an extraordinary session. Each section elects its own officers and appoints two grand commissions: financial commission and commission for economic machinery. The French section sends 5 representatives of economic interests and 7 of the French colony. The plenary sittings of the Grand Council are not public. A "Commission Arbitrale", presided over by the Resident-General deliberates on all proposals, votes or motions, on which the two sections have held different opinions. Its 14 members are appointed half by the French section and half by the native section: in case of persistant disagreement, the Resident General takes part in the voting, as well as the ministers or directors present, i. e. the government has a casting vote between the two disputing sections

b. Finance. The fiscal resources of Tunisia are composed, in decreasing proportion, of direct taxes. 1. the "taxe personnelle" (*istiṭān*) which has replaced the old *maḏbā* (cf. Barthès, *Les impôts arabes en Tunisie*, Algiers 1923) and is levied on every male inhabitant of Tunisia over 20 years of

age; 2. ground taxes (*ḳānūn* on the date-palms, *ḳānūn* on the olive-trees, *ʿušr* or tithe on cereals, from which lands newly brought under cultivation are exempted for five years, *marādjiʿ* on orchards and irrigated lands except those of Djerba, *khudar*, "special tax on the cultivated lands of Djerba", tax on cattle instituted in 1918, tax on the vine instituted in 1919, tax on undeveloped land instituted in 1927, tax on the rentable value and on the rentals of urban and suburban estates levied mainly for the benefit of the communes); 3. taxes on commercial and industrial profits (licence instituted in 1927 and mining dues); 4. tax on the income from personal property, mortgages etc, created in 1918; and a few taxes called "assimilées".

Indirect taxes, which are increasing in importance, are: *a.* stamp and registration duties, *b.* customs duties, calculated in such a way as to favour French products, *c.* a series of duties on the manufacture and sale of various products, which in 1920 replaced the old *maḥṣūlāt*, under the name of "indirect contributions". In addition there are *d* the revenues from monopolies (tobacco, salt, matches, playing-cards), *e.* the profit from the Post Office, *f* from various industrial enterprises and *g.* from the state lands.

c. Native administration. The native ministers number 3. the "prime minister" (*al-wazīr al-akbar*), assisted by the "minister of the Pen" (*wazīr al-ḳalam*), with the Director General of the Interior at his side; the Minister of Justice (*wazīr al-ʿadlīya*) whose office was instituted on April 26, 1921 and who is advised by a French "Directeur de la Justice Tunisienne".

The basis of the territorial organisation of Tunisia is the division into kaidates, at present numbering 37: Beja, Bizerta, Mateur, Aïn-Draham, Suk el-Arba, Suk el-Khemis, Tunis-ville, Tunis-banlieue, Zaghouan, Soliman, Nabeul, Téboursouk, Le Kef, Tadjerouine, Ouled-Ayar, Ouled-Aun, Medjez el-Bab, Susā, Monastir, Mahdia, Souassi, Kairawān, Djelass, Fraichich, Madjeur, Sfax, Djebeniana, La Skira, Arad, Gafsa, Hammama, Djérid, Djerba, Matmata, Nefzaoua, Ouerghemma, Tatahouine. In Tunis-ville, the kaid keeps the old name of *shaikh al-madīna*. The kaid (*ḳāʾid*), appointed by decree, has retained functions which are administrative, judicial and financial: he acts as intermediary between the government and the people, has to see that the public peace is maintained, deals without appeal with civil or penal affairs of slight importance and collects taxes. He has at his disposal a native gendarmerie (*udjāḳ*) composed of "spahis" (*sbāʾihīya*) who collect the fines (*khidma*) from defaulting taxpayers. There is a tendency to replace by a fixed salary the taxes which he used to collect for himself from those under him; some steps have already been taken in this direction.

The kaids are assisted or supplemented by *khalīfa*s appointed by decree since Nov. 28, 1889; they now number 67 divided into 2 grades, of which 20 are in the upper grade. Since June 4, 1912, there has been a group of "kaids stagiaires" (*kāhiya*) or "probationers" and of khalifas of an exceptional class, now numbering 16, who represent the kaid in certain spheres of his duties.

Each kaidate is subdivided into a certain number of shaikhates, in all 604, placed under the authority of a shaikh appointed by the government on the nomination of the kaid. The shaikh is responsible for public order and aids in the collection of taxes.

A number of decrees and resolutions of 1922, modified in 1928, have instituted and organised (except in military territory) "councils of kaidates", whose purpose is to discuss the economic needs of the kaidates and to reply to government enquiries and elect representatives to the regional councils. Each shaikhate sends 4 delegates, 1 or 2 principals, the others subsidiary, of at least 30 years of age, chosen from among themselves, subject to ministerial approval, by the notables, i. e. by the most distinguished taxpayers, over 25 years of age, living in or owning land in the shaikhate outside the communes. The lists of notables drawn up by the kaid are revised by a commission on which sit along with him the civil comptroller and the ḳādī. Solicitors, officials or policemen cannot be delegates to the council. The sittings, which last 2 days, are quarterly. The elections take place every 6 years.

Native chambers of commerce and agriculture were created in 1920, reorganised in 1924 and 1928. the "chambre d'agriculture indigène du nord" which includes an agricultural section (1 member for each kaidate, chosen by the government from two candidates presented by the delegates of the shaikhates) and a section for rural economy (2 members, matriculants or agricultural engineers, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the delegates from the shaikhates); the "Chambre de Commerce indigène du nord" which includes a commercial section (12 elected Muslims and 5 Jews) and a section for general economics (2 Muslim or Jewish members, chosen by the government from 4 candidates presented by the electors). The electors must be at least 25 years of age and the candidates 30.

Since 1928 it has been provided that these two assemblies should have joint meetings with the similar French bodies. There has also been founded, inside each "chambre mixte" of Susā and Sfax, a native section of 7 members.

We have already seen what share the natives take in the municipal councils and regional councils. In the Grand Council they form a distinct section of 26 members, 10 of whom represent the 5 regions (2 each), 3 the territories of the south, 4 the native chamber of commerce of the north, 4 the native chamber of agriculture of the north, 2 each of the native sections of the mixed chambers, 1 the Jewish community of Tunis. This section of the Grand Council is usually presided over by the Delegate to the Residence General or a high French official of the protectorate nominated by the Resident, exceptionally by the Resident-general. The two sections may agree to deliberate in common; the votes are then considered as having been given by a single assembly.

Tunisian law, the statutes of which were settled by decree of Jan. 1928, carefully preserves the distinction between lay and religious jurisdiction. At the head of the first category, the tribunal of the "Ouzara" (*Uzarāʾ*) at Tunis has comprised since 1921: *a.* a kind of court of appeal for all Tunisia, the two courts of which (civil and penal) each sit with 3 magistrates; *b.* a criminal court which judges cases of first instance and without appeal; *c.* a court of arraignment; *d.* a commission des requêtes, a kind of court of appeal. The Ouzara is completed by regional tribunals with 3 magistrates created at Sfax, Gabes and Gafsa in 1896, at Susā and Ḳairawān in 1897, at Kef in

1898, at Beja in 1926. In 1906 "commissaires du gouvernement" were attached to them, i. e. French lawyers speaking Arabic. Parties can be represented by "oukils" (*wakīl*, pl. *ukalā'*). In conclusion it may be noted that the regional tribunal of Tunis is still called *Dīība*, and that Tunis has also the tribunal of the "Orf" (*'Urf*), a kind of tribunal for trade and commerce on which sit the Shaikh al-Madīna and ten assessors.

Bibliography. Zeys, *Code annoté de la Tunisie*, 1901 (annual supplements down to 1912); Lagrange and Fontana, *Codes et lois de la Tunisie*, Paris 1912 (supplements to 1928); *Journal Officiel tunisien*; A. Girault, *Principes de colonisation et de législation coloniale* (vol. v., *La Tunisie et le Maroc*), 5th ed., Paris 1928.

4. Muslim Religion.

With the exception of the island of Djerba, 3/5 of the inhabitants of which are Khāridjīs, Tunisia has for long adopted Mālikite sunnism. The descendants of the Turks or those who claim to be such profess to be Ḥanafīs; they are a small, but aristocratic, minority, and privileged from the fact that they include the beylical family.

a. Institutions. — Shar'. Under the Hafsids [q. v.] the highest religious functions were performed in Tunis by the "Ḳādī of the community" (*ḳāḍī 'l-djamā'a*) and the "Ḳādī for marriages" (*ḳāḍī 'l-ankiḥa*) appointed, like the chief muftīs [q. v.] or khatīb [q. v.], by the sovereign. Below them again there was a *ḳāḍī 'l-mu'āmalāt* and a *ḳāḍī 'l-aḥilla*. The "Ḳādī of the camp" (*ḳāḍī 'l-maḥalla*) accompanied the government troops in the field.

Ibn Abī Dīnār (p. 276; transl., p 470) has pointed out how the Ḳādī gradually allowed himself to come under the domination of the muftī to such an extent that they are associated in the tribunal of the "Charâa" (*Shar'*; cf. Saint Gervais, p. 93—95), and that under the Turks the Ḥanafī chief muftī (*bāsh-muftī*) took the title of Shaikh al-Islām [q. v.], which he still retains; the Mālikī bāsh-muftī, who occupies a position which is officially not so high, has sometimes been honoured with the same title.

The "Charâa", exclusively applied in personal law (civil law, marriage, divorce, trusteeship, guardianship, inheritance), is formed in each town of the interior by a Mālikī *madjlis* one kādī with one or more muftīs. In Tunis, a Ḥanafī madjlis sits in the "Dīwān" alongside of a Mālikī one; both take cognisance of cases submitted to them by litigants from the interior or remitted to them by other ḳāḍīs.

The operation of these courts, formerly regulated by decrees of 1856 and 1875, is now fixed by that of Dec. 15, 1896, which defined the procedure of the *murāsala*'s by insisting that they should be recorded in a register kept by notaries. The decree of March 6, 1926 installed a system of legal assistance, which frees the natives from a tax of enrolment created on March 3 of the same year. In conclusion, registrars were appointed by decree of January 28, 1930.

Notariate. The native "notaries" (*'adl*, pl. *'udūl*) are appointed by beylical decree. Their recruitment and method of practice have long been regulated by the decree of 30th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1291 (Jan. 8, 1875); appointments were made on the nomination of the ḳāḍīs; former students who had received the diploma of the Great Mosque were almost automatically appointed notaries without necessarily practising. The decree of May 8, 1928 made appreciable modifications to the earlier statute; new regulations were again made by the decree of July 1, 1929, which came into operation on Jan. 1, 1931. In future, Muslim notaries must be at least 24 years of age, have spent two or three years in a notary's office, and — most remarkable innovation — have passed an examination which demands a knowledge of Tunisian legislation. The diploma of the Great Mosque confers the right to present oneself for the notariate examination of the "first category", which enables the recipient to practise in a large town; the notaries of the "second category", after a slightly different examination, can only practise in towns of less importance. The registers (daybook and minute-book), supplied and checked by the ministry of Justice, are subject to a regular and serious system of inspection.

Ḥubūs. The *wakf* [q. v.] properties in Tunisia are called "habous" (*ḥubūs*). The public habous have been managed since Khair al-Dīn's time in 1874 by a central office (*djam'īya*) reorganised by decree of March 19, 1924; at its head are a director and an administrative committee: it is divided into a certain number of offices, and has a representative (*nā'ib*) in each of the principal centres of the Regency who delegates the actual managing agents (*wakīl*) The decree of July 17, 1908 has placed the Djam'īya under the control of a "conseil supérieur des habous" directed by the Minister of the Pen and the Director-General of the Interior. The Djam'īya has the right to supervise the management of private habous

The legislation relating to the habous has been cleverly got round with the help of the three following processes (cf. H. de Montety, *Une loi agraire en Tunisie*, Cahors 1927): *a* the contract of "enzel" (*inzāl*) or transference of habous on payment of a rent in perpetuity (decree of May 26, 1886, frequently modified and supplemented; since 1905, the enzelist debtor has been able to redeem the rent; the sale of land is by public auction except that the rights of the occupants of rural estates are safeguarded); *b*. exchange in kind or money (decrees of Jan 11 and Nov. 13, 1898); *c*. long-term leases (Jan. 31, 1898).

The *Bait al-Māl* is under the Djam'īya. It gives grants for charitable purposes and receives estates for which there are no heirs.

Brotherhoods. It would be very risky to give definite figures about the Muslim religious brotherhoods of Tunisia (cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, *passim*). We cannot adopt without reserve those given in the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*. The total number of adherents is certainly much greater than the figure of 58,143 given there. According to an unpublished official enquiry made in 1924 by the Résidence Générale, the administrative district of Le Kef alone has 18,000 *ḵhuān* or *fuḳarā'*, while the members of the brotherhoods form a third of the population in the district of Beja, which includes in all 66,000 Muslims. There are over 13,000 in the annexe of Tatahouine alone. The four orders most widely spread are: the *Ḳādirīya* and the *Raḥmānīya*, then the *'Īsāwa* and the *Tidjānīya* [q. v.]; the *'Arūsīya* are also quite numerous. Further, in addition to local groups like the *Bū-'Alīya* of Nefta, there are scattered groups of *Madanīya*, *Shādhilīya* and *Ṭaiyibīya*. The administrative officials of Tabarka

nd Thala agree in estimating in their areas the roportion of Raḥmānīya and Ḳādirīya respectively t 50 % and 40 % of the total number of members; ut this proportion is of course smaller elsewhere, here rival orders have had more success. We ay note the spread of the recently-formed sect f the *ʿAlawīya*, which originated in Mostaganem n Algeria, and seems to have its Tunisian centre t the Zāwiya [q. v.] of Ksibet el-Mediouni near onastir. While Tunis, Menzel bou-Zelfa, and the jerīd are centres of important brotherhoods, Le ef contains the most influential mother-zāwiyas t is true that the political role of these organisations practically nil and that even their religious in-uence is gradually declining.

The right of asylum of the zāwiyas was abolished n Feb. 6, 1883.

b Education· The Ḳurʾānic schools are called *uttāb* At the top, the "medersas", directed by ertificated former students of the Great Mosque, aintained by the Djamʿīya under the supervision f the Director of Public Instruction, are now ractically nothing more than hostels for the students t the Great Mosque; at the very most a few itorial lectures are given there. Only the medersa *al-Asfūrīya* trains *muʾaddib* or teachers for the *kuttāb*.

The Great Mosque. Under the Turks, the reat Mosque gradually became the centre of all eligious teaching, in our day, it has secured a onopoly of it and is attended by some 2,000 udents, from Tunisia, Tripolitania, Algeria and ven sometimes Morocco. The organisation of its ourses, in what may be called the modern period, oes back to the edict (*manshūr*) of Aḥmad Bāy f Ramaḍān 27, 1258 (Nov. 1, 1842) known as *l-Muʿallaḳa*, because it was affixed to the Bāb l-Shifāʾ gate of the Great Mosque The principal rrangements were· 30 teachers (*ʿālim*, pl *ʿulamāʾ*) f whom 15 are Mālikī and 15 Hanafī, were each give 2 lectures a day, except on Thursday and riday, the days of the Two Feasts and the month f Ramaḍān; their pay was to be 2 piastres a day, xcept when absent without regular cause. The wo Shaikhs al-Islām, Mālikī and Ḥanafī, were ppointed inspectors (*nuẓẓār*) and were to receive 00 piastres a month, they were to be assisted i their task by the two ḳādīs, one of each rite, ho drew 3 piastres a day These four also audited ie accounts of the administrators of the Bait l-Māl, from which the above salaries were paid

the funds of the Bait al-Māl shewed a substantial irplus, it was to be divided under certain con-itions among the most diligent students. The ppointments of teachers were to be made by eylical decree (*ẓahīr*) on the advice of the ispectors and the two ḳāḍīs.

But it is only from Khair al-Dīn's time that a iore detailed organisation dates: the decree (*amr ālī*) which he made Ṣādiḳ Bāy issue on 28th Dhu -Ḳaʿda 1292 (Dec. 26, 1875) lays down in 67 rticles the subjects to be taught, the list of authors be expounded, the privileges and duties of ie students, teachers and supervisors, and regu-itions for the library. — The number of partial iodifications afterwards made caused this decree to e replaced by that of Sept. 16, 1912, of which ie 81 articles with a few additions still govern ie institution. In it we find, somewhat mixed up, ongside of pedagogical provisions of an old shioned type, strong recommendations in favour f correctness and good behaviour and, in article 19, the prohibition to doubt principles traditionally admitted by the ʿulamāʾs.

The subjects taught, more numerous and more varied than the "eleven branches of learning" provided for at the Azhar by the regulation of 1872 are, in the order in which they are given in article 1: Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), traditions relating to the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), biographies (*siyar*), dogmatic theology (*tawḥīd*), the reading and proper recitation of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾāt*, *taǧwīd*), technology (*muṣṭalaḥ*), judicial methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), the law of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), the determination of the hours of prayer (*mīḳāt*), syntax (*naḥw*), grammatical morphology (*ṣarf*), elocution and rhetoric (*maʿānī*, *bayān*), style, composition, literature (*lugha*, *inshāʾ*, *adab*), history and geography (*taʾrīkh*, *ǧugrāfiyā*), drawing and calligraphy (*rasm*, *khaṭṭ*), versification (*ʿarūd*), logic (*manṭik*), dialectic (*ādāb al-baḥth*), arithmetic (*ḥusāb*), geometry (*handasa*), astronomy (*haiʾa*), mensuration (*misāḥa*). Of these subjects the latter are somewhat neglected. The rigidly traditionalist spirit and the archaic methods of instruction used in the Great Mosque are obstacles to all progress in profane sciences, and to any liberalism in religious matters. Under history and geography the programme, in addition to a brief résumé of Muslim history, gives only two books to be studied the *Rakm al-Ḥulal* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, both of the XIVth century. The geometry is still Euclid, whose propositions are read in al-Tūsī's version (XIIIth century).

The courses, which are free, are divided into three stages, and there are examinations to pass from one to the other. The following is a list of the works on religion and language expounded in the highest course (art. 4):

tafsīr
- the *Asrār al-Tanzīl* of al-Baiḍāwī,
- the commentary of the two Djalāls;

ḥadīth
- the *Muwaṭṭāʾ* with commentary of al-Zarkānī,
- the *Saḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī with commentary of al-Ḳasṭallānī,
- the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim with commentary of al-Ubbī,
- the *Shifāʾ* of the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ with commentary of al-Shihāb al-Khafādjī;

siyar
- the *Mawāhib al-ladunīya* of al-Ḳastallānī with commentary of al-Zarḳānī,
- the *Sīra al-kilāʿīya*;

tawḥīd
- the commentary of al-Djurdjānī on the *Mawāḳif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Idjī,
- the commentary of al-Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of ʿUmar al-Nasafī,
- the *Kubrā* of the Shaikh al-Sanūsī;

uṣūl al-fiḳh
- the *Tawdīḥ* of Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa ʿUbaid Allāh al-Maḥbūbī,
- the commentary of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī on the *Muḳhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib,
- the commentary of al-Maḥallī on the *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī;

fiḳh
- the *Tabyīn al-Ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of ʿUthmān al-Zailaʿī (commentary on the *Kanz al-Daḳāʾiḳ* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Nasafī),
- the *Durar* (commentary of the *Ghurar*),
- the commentary of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Bāḳī on the *Muḳhtaṣar* of Khalīl,
- the commentary of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Khirshī on the same;

taṣawwuf: the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī;
naḥw: the *Mughnī al-labīb* of Ibn Hishām;
maʿānī, bayān: the third part of the *Miftāḥ* of Yūsuf al-Sakkākī with commentary of al-Djurdjānī, the *Muṭawwal* of al-Taftāzānī;
lugha, inshāʾ, adab: the *Muzhir* of al-Suyūṭī, the *Fiḳh al-Lugha* of ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī, the commentary of al-Marzūḳī on the *Ḥamāsa*, the *Mathal al-sāʾir* of Ibn al-Athīr.

The thirty original teachers along with a teacher of *tadjwīd* take the title of "teachers" (*mudarris*) of the first class; they are qualified for the higher course. For the middle cource there are 12 teachers of the second class, half Mālikī and half Ḥanafī, and also a teacher for tadjwīd. The elementary course is conducted by "voluntary" teachers (*mutaṭawwiʿ*), certificated former pupils, who are unpaid (art. 9). The teachers have two months' leave a year, from the middle of July to the middle of September, and the month of Ramaḍān in addition; there is also a holiday every Friday, the days of the two feasts and the four days that follow each of them, the day of ʿArafa and the two preceding days, the 10th Muḥarram, the 11th, 12th, 13th Rabīʿ I (art. 29); Thursday is expressly restored as a working day (art. 28). — Each student carries a roll book which the teachers endorse once a month (art. 32), and in which they certify that the course has been attended by the person concerned (art. 33). — Supervisors appointed by the inspectors secure that discipline is maintained (art. 40) The duties of these inspectors are carefully laid down in accordance with the regulations of the *Muʿallaḳa* (art. 44 *sqq*).

A complementary decree of the same date, in 11 articles, settles the conditions of the final examination which gives the right to the diploma of the *taṭwīʿ*. Success in a written examination on fiḳh admits to classes for two consecutive sessions (art 6). The oral examination allows six hours of preparation with the assistance of the books in the library (art. 7). A special *taṭwīʿ* is provided for the reading and recitation of the Ḳurʾān (art. 9).

Since 1928, 50 "auxiliary" teachers (*muʿāwin ʿala ʾl-tadrīs*) have been appointed by competition from among the *mutaṭawwiʿīn*; they draw a fixed salary of 500 francs a month. From Jan. 1, 1931 the annual emoluments of the teachers of the second class are fixed at 13,000 francs, those of the first class at 16,000 francs. The budget of the Tunisian state has since 1924 included a subvention for the Great Mosque; being continually increased, it rose from 50,000 francs the first year to 250,000 in 1927 and to 770,000 in 1930.

The recent reorganisation of the Muslim notariate has provoked vigorous protests on the part of the students who can no longer pass straight into their profession and whose studies at the Great Mosque do not enable them to pass without further preparation the new examination required of future notaries. The whole question of the reform of religious instruction has thus been raised, or at least that of the introduction of modern legal teaching into the Great Mosque. A commission appointed by the government in December 1929 is studying the possibilities of reform and painfully endeavouring to draw up a programme.

The Catalogue of the Library, which is in course of publication in Arabic, was published incompletely in French by B. Roy and Bel-Khodja (Tunis 1900).

Modern Education. In addition to the Ṣādiḳī College (417 pupils in 1928—1929) where the double system of teaching French and Arabic prepares for administrative careers, the young Muslims are attending in increasing numbers the French schools: primary establishments (among which are Franco-Arab schools and special schools for Muslim girls, cf. *R. M. M.*, vi. 123—126) and secondary (open to all). In Dec. 31, 1928 (cf. *Statistique générale de la Tunisie*, année 1928) the Muslim population was sending to the French primary schools of the Regency 25,876 boys and 2,930 girls (in addition to 67 boys and 617 girls in the private schools), to the Lycée Carnot of Tunis 359 pupils out of a total of 2,000, but only 28 at the girls' Lycée out of over 1,200, and lastly 461 pupils in three other institutions in Tunis (Collège Alaoui, École normale d'Instituteurs, École professionnelle E. Loubet).

An "École supérieure de langue et littérature arabes" in Tunis gives after examination a certificate in spoken Arabic to its European students, and a certificate in written Arabic and a higher diploma in Arabic to its pupils, whether Muslims or not.

Inaugurated under the influence of the Residency, the Muslim Society *al-Khaldūnīya* organises for nearly 200 young members popular courses in Arabic on all kinds of subjects.

Finally the Department of Justice in Tunisia has courses of law given in Arabic to prepare natives for legal careers.

Bibliography: R. Daimon, *La situation des cultes en Tunisie*, 2nd ed., Paris 1930.

5. Population.

a. Ethnography. The population of the Regency includes, in addition to the native Muslims and Jews, an increasing number of Europeans, the result of a considerable immigration of Italians and of the French Protectorate. The census of 1926 gives a total of 2,159,708 (density 17,3 to the square kilometre) of whom 1,932,184 are Muslims and 54,243 Tunisian Jews (not including the Jews who have acquired a European nationality). The 173,281 Europeans were distributed as follows: 71,020 French (41%), 89,216 Italians (51.5%), 8,396 Maltese (English subjects) (4.8%), 4,649 of various other nationalities (2.7%). The Italians, who come mainly from Sicily and Sardinia, are masons, miners (Le Kef), agricultural labourers and vine-growers on a small scale (Beja, Medjez el-Bab, Grombalia, Zaghouan). The French are principally officials, merchants or colonists.

The bulk of the Europeans are in the Tunis area (103,000 or 60%) and in some of the towns of the coast. about 6,700 in Bizerta, 4,150 at Ferryville, 6,900 at Sūsa and as many at Sfax. The Tunisian Jews, of whom 28,141 (more than half) are in the Tunis area, are over 3,700 in Sūsa and nearly 3,300 in Sfax. They are also fairly numerous in Bizerta, Beja and Nabeul, and there are very few in the interior (a few called *Bāḥūṣīm* live in tents towards Sers), but there are groups of some size in the south, nearly 2,500 in Gabes, nearly 3,800 in Houmt-Suk (Djerba) out of 4,645 inhabitants, and over 2,500 in the military territories.

Excluding Tunis the capital with 185,466 inbitants, 12 other towns have over 10,000; ese are

Sfax	27,723
Sūsa	21,298
Bizerta	20,593
Ḳairawān	19,426
Msaken	16,620
Gabes	15,119
Nefta	13,250
Mokmine	12,191
Ḳal'a Kabīra	11,830
Tozeur	11,056
Beja	10,468

We may note that Msaken and Ḳal'a Kabīra, ith in the Sahel, are inhabited exclusively by uslims.

b. Tribes. In the present state of our knowledge e cannot sketch with certainty the evolution of e present divisions of the Muslim population Tunisia. Even if we set aside the urban centres d the more thickly populated areas (districts of zerta, Beja, Tunis and Sūsa) where very varied ements are found together and intermingled, the nstitution of the great tribes, clearly individualised different periods in the history of the country, far from being clear. We do not know the igin of many of them; even their disappearance not always free from mystery.

For a long period the Arab soldiers were imerically insufficient to produce a real change the old Berber bloc. But the great new factor is the invasion in the middle of the xith century the Hilālī Arabs, followed in the xiith and iiith centuries by the Sulaim; they drove up to the highlands the greater part of the native rbers, occupied the plains and completed the abicisation of the country; it is true that, frequently sing with bodies of natives, they completely bjected them to their influence, so that it is ipossible to-day to discriminate at all between Arab tribes" and "Berber tribes". We can only y that of all North Africa, Tunisia is on the hole the most arabicised region.

In the xivth century Ibn Khaldūn gives us me information about the surviving Berbers. One oup lived on the island of Djerba (Khāridjī arāba) and in the mountains of the south iwāta (*Hist. des Berbers*, transl i. 235) to the south Gabes in the Djabal which bears their name, aṭmāṭa (*ibid.*, i. 246) in the district they still habit, Zanāta driven from Tripolitania, who had ken refuge in the Djabal Demmer, where the ost important body was the confederation of e Warghamma (*ibid.*, iii. 288) Other Zenāta, e B. Wartādjīn (*ibid.*, iii. 204), maintained their dependence in the oasis of al-Ḥamma, while the arandjīsa Ifranids (*ibid.*, iii. 225—226), half riculturalists, half cattle-rearers, between Tunis d Ḳairawān were exposed to the exactions of e Ku'ūb Arabs. A remnant of the Sumāta (*ibid.*, 231) still exists near Ḳairawān. But the most mpact Berber group, formed of Hawwāra (*ibid.*, 278—279) in part nomads, occupied the region of e High Tell. Wanīfan of Tebessa at Marmādjanna o doubt the present Bermadjna), Ḳaiṣar between ɔba-Ksur and Lorbeus, Baṣwa of Tebursutk on e Djougar. The Baṣwa had, however, already corporated a body of Riyāḥ Arabs who were neighbours of their relatives, the B. Ḥabīb; and in the same way in the mountains of the north, Arabs of Muḍar, the B. Hudhail, had become fused with the Hawwārid tribe of the B. Sulaim.

Among the Arab invaders, the Hilāl, pushing further west, only left in Ifrīḳiya a few of the B. Zughba near Tunis. The B. 'Awf of the Sulaim, on the other hand, as is shown by the *Riḥla* of al-Tīdjānī (in 1306—1309), occupied the whole of the eastern coast district: from Nabeul to Sūsa were the Dallādj, then up to el-Djem the Ḥakīm, who were later joined by the Ṭurūd (these latter were later moved on towards Wargla), then up to al-Mubāraka the B. 'Alī of the Ḥiṣn. The hinterland was dominated by their Ku'ūb relatives and masters, of whom the two rival ṣoffs, Awlād Muhalhal and Awlād Abi 'l-Lail, played in Ḥafṣid politics that considerable role which has been well brought out by G. Marçais. During spring and summer, the Mirdās b 'Awf, of whom a detached branch arrived near Beja, regularly replaced the Ku'ūb in their winter quarters, the Djerīd. Finally, starting from al-Mubāraka, the southern plains were occupied by other Sulaim, the Dabbāb these were, in the interior, the Awlād Aḥmad, reinforced by the confederation of the B. Yazīd (Ṣahba, Ḥamārna, Khardja, Aṣābi'a), the Sharīd and Zughb; on the coast, the Nawā'il, as far as Gabes, and the Maḥāmīd of the confederation of the Washāḥ, up to the present frontier of Tripolitania.

Some of these names reappear in the memoir published in 1536 by B. de Mendoza, in *Les Arabes du royaume de Tunis* (publ. by La Primaudaie). The B 'Alī, the most powerful of all, mentioned by Leo Africanus, were at that time scattered along the coast from Bizerta to Djerba; the Awlād Abi 'l-Lail in the district of Mateur and Beja; the Awlād Muhalhal who swallowed up the Awlād 'Awn, between Ḳairawān and Beja. But alongside of these appear the dreaded Awlād Sa'īd of obscure origin, who extended from Monastir to the interior of Cape Bon; the Awlād Yaḥyā in the region of Tebursuk; and near Tebessa, probably of Hawwārid stock, the Ḥanānsha whose chiefs long exercised political influence from their citadel of Ḳal'at al-Sinān (cf. Féraud, *Les Harār ...*, *R Afr*, 1874).

In spite of the considerable adulteration and wastage of the tribes, their old names have frequently survived. In the south, where the Berber element is flourishing, we still have the troglodyte Maṭmāṭa and the Warghamma, the tribes of which have reconquered the plains: 'Akkāra of Zarzis who live in tents from February to June to harvest the barley and pasture their flocks and herds, Twāzīn, who, formerly nomads, now tend to settle in the gardening country of Medenine and Ben-Gardane, the Djabalīya who inhabit villages in the highlands of the annexe of the Tatahouine, and the Wadarna, partly settled and partly nomad. Two shaikhates bear the name of the Lawāta, in the kaidates of W 'Awn and Bizerta In the High Tell towards Algeria, the Wanīfa[n] group comprises several tribes among whom are the Wargha (cf. this name in the *Hist des Berb.*, transl., i. 275). The Washtāta, now in the country round Beja and Suk el-Arba, are not unknown to Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid*), like the Nafza (i. 182 and 290) settled in our days on the northern coast.

The names of the mediaeval tribes of Arab origin are fairly well preserved in the south; the Nawā'il

and the Maḥāmīd, it is true, were driven into Tripolitania by the counter-offensive of the Warghamma, but the berberised Dabbāb form a shaikhate in the annexe of Tatahouine, and the important B. Zīd (= Yazīd), a section of whom still call themselves Khardja, still lead a nomadic life with the Ḥamārna near Gabes. We also find scattered and in diminished numbers giving names to shaikhates the Hedil or B. Hudhail (kaidate of Aïn-Draham), the Ṭurūd (Bizerta), the Ḥakīm (Suk el-Arba), the Awlād Muhalhal (O. Ayar), the Kuʿūb Awlād al Ḥādjdj (Djelass, cf. *Hist. des Berb.*, transl. i. 143). Several of the O. Bellil or Awlād Abi 'l-Lail survive in the plain of Beja, and of the Riyāh near Zaghwan. It was only in the XVIIth century that the Khrumirs or Khumairs settled in the mountains of the northwest, not far from the Mogods or Muḳʿid, whose name at least has an Arab sound, and in the Sers and around it, as a Makhzen tribe, the Drīd or Duraid, a branch of the B Athbadj b Hilāl, who were for a period across the Algerian frontier The Naffāth in the hinterland of Sfax are mentioned as Arabs by Ibn Khaldūn (*Hist. des Berb.*, transl. ii. 101 and 290)

Among the groups mentioned under the later Ḥafsids, some Awlād Yahyā survive in the kaidate of Tebursuk, the Awlād Saʿīd are very scattered but their chief centre is the domain of Enfida, the O. Awn or Awlād ʿAwn form a whole kaidate around Silliana, N. E. of Maktar.

Finally, in the present mosaic of the tribes of Tunisia, some of quite uncertain origin, if it is not maraboutic, are of sufficient importance to be mentioned· not far from the coast, to the south of el-Djem up to the north of Gabes, the Mathālīth, ʿAgārba and Mahadhba; in the interior, occupying the steppes, the Swāsī, Djlās, Frāshīsh, Mādjir and Hamāma, who form the same number of kaidates; in the High Tell, the Wartān, the O. Ayar or Awlād ʿAiyar, the Gwāzīn; in the Nefzawa and Tunisian Sahara, the Gharīb, Mrāzīg, the Adāra, and the Awlād Yaʿkūb.

c Native Life Nomadism is clearly dying in Tunisia; there are no longer migrations of considerable extent nor in large bodies ("smalas") except in very bad years Usually the tribe remains stationary and a few herdsmen take the flocks away. It is the flocks only which move the cattle pass the winter in the steppes and the summer in the Tell; the route most frequently traversed is the couloir Sbiba-Le Kef, the migrants like to spend some time in the plain of Gamouda. The Mathālīth alone go in summer as far as Bizerta and the Djlāṣ and Swāsī as far as the neighbourhood of Beja. The Nefzawa and the Tunisian Sahara are of course still peopled by nomads.

The government of the Protectorate actively pursues a policy of leading the natives to adopt a settled life by making it easy for them to acquire land and directing their energies towards agriculture. Alongside of the old contract of *khamāsa*, regulated by the *Ḳānūn al-Filāḥa* of Khair al-Dīn in 1291 A H. (cf *Bibl* in W. Marçais, *Takrouna*, p 252), the sale on credit by the Domains of the "terres salines" (around Sfax for a radius of about 50 miles), and of the hanshīr of Sherahil (near Ḳairawān) suitable for growing olives (decrees of 1892 and 1905), has been the occasion of putting into practice the contract known as *Mughārasa*: the native farmer, who contracts to plant with olive-trees the whole extent of a piece of ground granted to him, becomes the owner of half the ground when the trees begin to bear. The new legislation dealing with ḥabūs estates has made it possible to settle on the land a number of native families, by establishing their rights as "occupants" in a legal and definite form (most recent decree: that of July 17, 1926). In the military territories of the south, the "terres collectives" of the tribes are under special regulation laid down by the decree of Dec. 23, 1918, modified in 1926; each collectivité or group of lands forms a unit and is represented by a council of notables; in the capital of each kaidate sits a council (conseil de tutelle locale) which has local authority and whose decisions can be revised by a central council in Tunis The authority of one of these bodies being always required when land changes hands, or is let on a long lease, or similar occasions, the native ownership is safeguarded Finally, besides the technical progress made since the occupation, the Tunisian agriculturist owes to the Protectorate his powers to form irrigation companies (decree of May 25, 1920), the distribution of lands for cultivation to native farmers, the creation of the native chambers for agriculture and the institution of an "Office public de crédit agricole" for the natives (decrees of June 10, 1925)

In 1928, the number of animals belonging to natives and Europeans respectively was as follows. horses 77,000 and 10,500, asses 157,000 and 2,500, mules 28,500 and 11,500, cattle 430,000 and 55,000, sheep 2,000,000 and 103,500, goats 1,360,000 and 30,500, pigs 6,000 and 13,000, camels 151,500 and 300. — The natives own about 9,000,000 taxed olive-trees (the Europeans 878,000) and 4,800,000 untaxed (the Europeans 1,100,000). We may note that several thousand natives live by fishing.

Throughout the Regency the tent is disappearing before the *gourbi*, a sure sign that the people are becoming settled, or even before the house. In the south we find two peculiar types of habitation: the subterranean dwellings of the troglodytes, over 7,500 in the districts of the Maṭmāṭa, Medenine and Tatahouine, and the *ghurfa* "ksurs" (*kuṣūr*) (keel-shaped buildings with curved sides, long, narrow and low used as storehouses) of which the most remarkable are Medenine and Metameur. The number of town-dwellers is relatively large among the natives, for it reaches 18%; Tunisia has always been remarkable for the development of its urban life. In Tunis, the foreign Muslim elements (*barrānīya*) are grouped in several separate communities.

Native commerce is becoming more and more modernised, one of its most striking achievements is the organisation of co-operative buying by the Djerbian grocers who are established in large numbers in Tunis. As to the local industries, they have been suffering for a considerable time from the fierce competition of European produce; it is true that the government does its best to support it, especially as regards native works of artistic interest; regular training courses have been instituted for the purpose, and attention is being devoted to the improvement of technical or artistic methods in manufacture. Besides milling, the manufacture of oil and soap, the main old-established industries of the Regency are dyeing, now threatened by the aniline dyes imported from Europe, the manufacture of wool (in various districts: blankets at Djerba, Gafsa and in the Djerīd), of cotton (at Tunis), of silk (at Tunis and Ksar-Hellal), of goat and camel-hair (in the south), the weaving of carpets (by

omen, especially at Ḳairawān), and of "shaias" it Tunis with a fulling-mill at El-Bathan) and of eramics (at Nabeul). We may also mention the anufacture of sieves (at Tunis, Ḳairawān and Sūsa), f mats, baskets and esparto (at Nabeul), tannery and ioemaking (at Tunis, Ḳairawān and Nabeul), saddry (at Tunis), cutlery, metal-work, stone- and oodwork. The tinsmiths are all Jews, as are some ioemakers, many tailors and almost all the jewellers

The trade-gilds, of which the most important i Tunis is that of the manufacturers of shashiyas *ḫwāšḫī*) of Spanish origin, are regulated by eylical decrees; they may admit Jews but the *mīn* is always a Muslim. The shwāshī have a ommon reserve fund; their trade mark (*nīšḫān*) as to be approved by beylical decree. In spite f the competition of importations (from France, ustria and Czecho-Slovakia) and the disappearance f the Turkish market, the production of shashiyas is ill much the same as it was 25 or 30 years ago, e. about 50,000 kg. of which about the half re exported.

According to statistics, not yet published, comiled by the Direction de l'Agriculture, the gilds f Tunis are constituted as follows:

	Masters	Workmen
Makers of shashiyas. . .	200	600
Sailors . . .	60	100
Makers of burnous	120	150
Millers	10	40
Silkweavers	300	1,200
Cotton spinners . .	100	300
Dyers . . .	30	45
Shoemakers	200	300
Saddlers and leatherworkers .	20	70
Jewellers and goldsmiths .	45	70
Carpenters	90	125
Smiths	20	35
Painters and decorators . .	100	230
Tanners.	25	45

Masters and workmen combined only number bout 4,630

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6. Language.

a. Berber. Berber dialects have almost entirely isappeared from Tunisia. Berber speakers are now nly found in the region of Sened (kaidate of afsa), the dialect of which has been studied by rovotelle, at Tamezred among the Maṭmāṭa and i the island of Djerba, where the women in particular preserve the old idiom.

b. Spoken Arabic. The linguistic arabicisation of Tunis is thus practically complete but it has proceeded along lines of which we do not know the details. W. Marçais would allow, at least for the Sāḥil, that it has been more rapid than is usually thought. Since before the coming of the Hilāl and Sulaim (xith—xiiith centuries), the "urban centres, those permanent foci of arabicisation", Susa, Monastir and Mahdia, have been disseminating among the peasants of the surrounding country their own town-language which, gradually transformed by a rural population, has given birth to various rustic dialects. In their consonant system and their grammar the Beduin dialects differ, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, from the Arabic of the towns and therefore from that of the Sāḥil.

Von Maltzan has pointed out (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 655—656) that the Arabic spoken in Tunis has retained the classical consonant system more perfectly than any in the Maghrib. We need only note the fusion of the *ḍ* and *ẓ*, both pronounced like an emphatic sonant interdental spirant; the *ḳ* is pronounced as a postpalatal sonant (*g*) in borrowed words (e g *sīgárrō*, *gúmrug*) or influenced by Beduin dialects (e. g. *bágra*, *nāga*); *ǧ*, sonant palatal (French *j*), is treated after the article as a solar letter and has a tendency to pass into *z* in words which already contain this sound (e. g. *ǧawz* > *zūz*). The confusion which appears in the use of the liquids *l*, *r* and *n* affects borrowed words almost exclusively.

The "nunation" has disappeared except in some rare formulae; it has left traces in certain adverbial accusatives where the vowel of the old termination has survived, sometimes even lengthened (e. g. *dā'iman* > *dīma*, *dīmā*).

The careful observations of W. Marçais for the dialect spoken at Takrūna still constitute the only satisfactory record of the Tunisian vowel sounds. Although the dropping and weakening of vowels is far from being so serious as in the extreme Maghrib, it is a broken down vowel system. Sometimes to facilitate pronunciation, transitional sounds are developed, secondary ultra-short vowels, notably before a laryngal preceded by *ī* or *ū* (cf. the *pataḥ ḫāṭūf* of Hebrew). It will be remembered that in Tunis the women have preserved the old diphthongs *ai* and *aw* while the men have reduced them to *ī* and *ū*; the Beduin dialects in general bring them back to *ē* and to *ō*, but some of them make a false diphthong with an ultra-short second element: *ĭe*, *ŭo*. With some nomads the *imāla* *ā* > *ē* open is forced in certain positions into a very much closed *ẽ*. Educated people read the *kasra* of the classical language as *ī* in an open syllable, but almost like the French *e* in a closed syllable.

H. Stumme, to whom we owe a detailed morphology of Tunisian Arabic, has laid down the following rules for accentuation: if the word ends in two consonants or with a consonant preceded by a long vowel, the accent is on the last syllable; in the other cases, it falls on the penultimate syllable, if the latter is long or closed, if not it goes back to the first syllable of the word; exceptions: the verbal form *yáfa'lu* (for *yáf'alū*) and *f'ál* (for *fá'al*) a type at once verbal and nominal. The accent goes back from the last syllable to the penultimate when the first syllable of the following word is accented.

The conjugation naturally reveals the essential features of all the Maghribī dialects: the alternation sg. *naf'al*, pl. *naf'alu* in the first persons of the

aorist. A few notes on the syntax have been made by Th. Noldeke.

The vocabulary has made borrowings from Turkish and Italian, it is every day taking more from the French. But French is affecting Judaeo-Arabic much more, and it will perhaps die out without being studied

c. The native press. For a long time the publication of newspapers was forbidden in Tunisia; even printing and bookselling were not unrestricted but subject to an administrative control regulated in 1875 by the decree relating to teaching in the Great Mosque. From 1859 the "Journal Officiel" (*al-Rāʾid* [*al-rasmī*] *al-Tūnusī*) gave a certain amount of information, mainly relating to administration, but it also accepted other articles. The press decree of Oct. 14, 1884 and particularly the more liberal one of Aug. 16, 1887, modified however several times later, permitted the establishment in the Regency of a press in French, Italian and Arabic.

In 1888—1889 the daily papers *al-Ḥāḍira* belonging to Bū Shūsha and *al-Zuhra* belonging to Shādhlī appeared in Arabic. The *Zuhra* still exists and is now regarded as conservative although in its early days it was thought to be very advanced. Alongside of it, the principal newspaper is *al-Nahḍa*, which appears every day except Monday The majority of the present Arabic journals are weekly. *al-Zamān* (liberal), *Lisān al-Shaʿb* and *al-Ṣawāb* (both nationalist in tendency, especially the former), *al-Nadīm* (literary, satirical, much appreciated); also the humorous *al-Zahw*, which admits to its columns the popular dialect. *Al-Wazīr* is in theory a monthly as is *al-Munīr* which is very irregular. Recently an illustrated monthly magazine has appeared dealing with history and literature. *al-ʿĀlam al-adabī*, but the most widely circulated Arabic magazines in Tunisia come from Egypt, notably *al-Siyāsa* The "Journal Officiel" which has also had a French edition since 1883, confines itself to publishing twice a week documents of an official nature. Lastly a kind of almanac, *al-Ruznāma al-Tūnusīya*, which appeared from 1899 to 1921, has been replaced by an annual, almost exclusively administrative. *Taḳwīm al-Tūnusī*.

It is interesting to note the unsuccessful attempts to create a local Arabic press, which have been made at Sfax with *al-ʿAṣr al-ǧadīd* or at Ḳairawān with *al-Ḳairawān*. On the other hand, a little weekly in French edited by Muslims has been a success in Sfax: the *Tunisie Nouvelle* belonging to Zuhair ʿAiyādī; in Tunis also where Bāsh Ḥānbā's *Le Tunisien* was already established about 1910, Shādhlī Khair Allāh edits the *Voix du Tunisien*, which has taken the place of the *Etendard Tunisien*, which in turn succeeded the *Libéral*; since August 1930, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Laroui has been publishing the *Croissant*. Those organs show a Tunisian nationalist spirit, which is exclusively Muslim.

The Jews, who used to have a fairly abundant literature and press in Judaeo-Arabic (in Hebrew characters), of which E. Vassel wrote a history down to 1907 (*La Littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, 1905—1907), no longer publish in this dialect, which is disappearing before French, except the intermittent and poor *al-Ṣabāḥ*. Their three weeklies are in French: the conservative *Égalité*, the *Justice* ("assimilatist") and the best known, the *Réveil Juif* (Zionist) founded in 1924 at Sfax by Félix Allouche and recently transferred to Tunis.

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AL-ṬŪR, 1. DJABAL AL-ṬŪR, more rarely ṬŪR SĪNĀʾ, Mount Sinai. The Arab geographers (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reinaud, p. 69, al-Ḳalḳashandī, transl. Wustenfeld, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, xxv. 100; Maḳrīzī, *Gesch d Kopten*, transl. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit*, iii 113; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557) explain the name as of Hebrew origin; it occurs once in the Ḳurʾān as *Ṭūr Sīnīn* (xcv. 2, emended in Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 104 to *Ṭūr Sīnā*) The mountain which lay not far from the Red Sea (*Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*) was climbed from al-Amn (Elim ?), where the children of Israel once encamped. In the vicinity was the Wādī Ṭuwā, where Moses spoke with Allāh before he was sent to Pharaoh (Ḳurʾān, xx 12; lxxix. 16; Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, iii 553, Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, ii 213)

On the north side of the mountain (now Djabal Mūsā) in what is now called the Wādī Shuʿaib (valley of Jethro) at a height of 5,000 feet is the monastery of Catherine, on the site of the castle built by Justinian I probably between 548 and 562 A D. (Grégoire, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.*, 1907, p 327—334) to protect the monks of Sinai (Procopius, *περὶ κτισμάτων*, v. 8, ed. Haury, iii/ii., p 168 *sq* ; Eutychios, *Annals*, in *Corp. Scr ipt Christ. Orient*, series iii., vol. vi., p. 202—204). According to the Book of Churches (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of Shābushtī (quoted by Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, ii. 675; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, i. 434), the "Church (*kanīsa* for which Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, writes *dair*) al-Ṭūr" was on the top of the mountain, built of black stone and strongly fortified; there was a spring outside and another inside the building. The monastery was inhabited by monks and much visited on account of the miracles wrought there (Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, fig. x., p. 21). In this description the Christian church of the Mother of God (*θεοτόκος*), which was built also by Justinian on the slope of the mountain, probably on the site of the present Chapel of Elijah (see below), is confused with the monastery at its foot.

The monks of the monastery possess a copy of an alleged letter from Muḥammad granting protection (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i. 268—270; Moritz, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1918, Abh. iv., p. 6—8; cf. a similar letter of protection for Coptic Christians, publ. by G. Graf, *M. V. A. G.*, xxii. 181—193; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 21—23) and a number of genuine documents of the time of the

lṭāns Ināl, Khushḳadam and Ḳā'itbey (Moritz, . *cit.*, p. 25 *sqq.*). They mainly deal with the otection of the Christian monks from the raids the marauding Beduins of the country round, t seem to have been regarded by the latter as ipty threats, as their frequent renewal shows ā'itbey issued no fewer than 22 firmāns for the onastery during the 30 years of his reign [1]) The onastery was frequently stormed, set on fire, its idens robbed and pilgrims and merchants plunred; sometimes the monks even had to seek uge in the monastery of the village of al-Ṭūr e below) (Moritz, *op. cit*, p. 28).

Within the monastery "between the church and e dwellings on the northern part of the buildings" ere is still a mosque, the pulpit of which is, according to an inscription, presented by Abū l al-Manṣūr Anūshtakīn al-Āmirī in Rabīʿ I o (Nov. 1106) in the reign of the caliph Āmir Aḥkām Allāh (Moritz, p. 50–52) The monastery Sinai in this inscription is called the "upper onastery" (*dair al-aʿlā*') to distinguish it from onasteries in al-Tūr (Ῥαιθοῦ) and Fārān. According another inscription, this same Anūshtakīn founded ee masādjid (places for prayer) on the Munādjāt īsā, a mosque on the hill of the monastery of Fārān d another below Fārān al-Djadīda, and a lighthuse on the shore of the coast (al-Sāhil). By inādjāt Mūsā is certainly meant the traditional ıai, now Djabal Mūsā (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 54); was only in the xivth century that the name s transferred to a smaller hill east of the monastery St Catherine, which is now called (like a hill ar Fīrān) Djabal Munādja. Of the three Masādjid ly two could have been on the top of Djabal Ṭūr, namely the Christian church built in 364 A.D. St. Julian and a small mosque, also mentioned al-Idrīsī; the third place of prayer no doubt on a small plateau 500 feet below the summit which now stands a chapel of Elijah erected at later date The mosque on the "hill of the onastery of Fārān" is perhaps to be sought on Djabal al-Muḥarrat, that of new Fārān in the is of Fīrān, in the gardens of which the inbitants of the "city of the Amalekites" Fārān er settled (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i. 188; Moritz, *cit*, p. 56) Moritz supposes the lighthouse . *cit.*, p. 57) to have stood at that point on the ast where the Wādī Fīrān enters the sea and re is a poor anchorage.

In a Syrian description of the seven climes the xiiith century A. D. the mount of Sinai (*Ṭūrā de-Sinai*) forms the centre of the crescent ped map in the second clime (Chabot, *Notice sur e mappemonde syrienne*, in *Bulletin de géogr. t. et descript.*, 1897, p. 104 and pl. iv.).

The tradition that Selīm I visited Sinai on his yptian expedition is an invention, neither his rnal nor Ibn Iyās make any mention of it oritz, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1).

The little town of al-Tūr lies S W. of the abal Mūsā on the Gulf of Suez, about 50 miles m Rās Muḥammad, the most southern point of Sinai peninsula It is in regular caravan comnication with the monastery of St. Catherine, ne of the monks of which usually stay there 'eill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, 1908, p. 82). It at the only spot on the west coast of the ninsula which is completely free from coral fs and has therefore an anchorage. As al-Ṭūr further excellently supplied with water, and has large palm-groves in the vicinity, it has always been the most important harbour in the peninsula. In ancient times it was called Ποσείδιον (Agatharchides in Strabo, xvi. 776 and Diodorus, iii. 42) and later (from the Arab tribe of the Ῥαιθηνοί) Ῥαιθοῦ (Ῥαηθώ in Suidas); probably the monastery there dated from the pre-Arab period.

Ḳalḳashandī already knows al-Ṭūr as the most important Egyptian harbour for the ships of the pilgrims to Mecca, until about 450 (1047) ʿAidhāb [q. v.] took its place. It was not till 780 (1378–1379) that the harbour of al-Ṭūr was restored and the pilgrims henceforth again took the northern route (Weill, *op. cit*, p 92—94). After the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese al-Ṭūr gradually lost its importance and sank to be a mere fishing-village, until in the second half of the xviiith century a quarantine station was put there for pilgrims returning from Mecca and the place began to flourish once more. Sulṭān Murād built the fort of Ḳalʿat al-Ṭūr near the old monastery but both are now completely in ruins.

Bibliography: al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G A.*, iii. 179, Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud, p 69, al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 2; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iii 557; Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, ii. 214; *Kitāb al-Kawākib*, ed. by Ibn al-Zaiyāt, Cairo 1907, p. 12, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii. 509 *sq.*; al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, p. 231, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, publ. de la Bibl. Khédiviale, Cairo 1893, v , p 43; Ḳalḳashandī, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten*, transl. Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1879, p. 100, 169 *sq.*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, 1/i. 79, note 112, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 73, 547, R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai* (*Biblioth de l'école d. haut. études*, fasc. clxxi), Paris 1908, p. 93 *sqq.* and pass.; Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, i. (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi.), p. 122, s. v. AL-ṬŪR and ʾṬŪR SĪNĀʾ.

2 ṬŪR ZAITĀ or DJABAL ZAITĀ, the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem (see AL-ḲUDS, ii. 1094 *sqq*) still called DJABAL AL-TŪR. According to tradition, 70,000 prophets died there of starvation and are buried there. The Ascension of Jesus, according to an old tradition, took place from the Mount of Olives. Between it and the town ran the Wādī Djahannam (vale of Cedron, now Wādī Sittī Maryam with the well of Siloam, Arabic ʿAin Sulwān) over which ran the bridge of al-Sirāṭ The village of Kafr al-Ṭūr now stands on the hill.

Bibliography. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 558; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 215, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B.G.A.*, v. 101; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 8; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 171 *sq.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 124; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, ed. Schefer, p. 26; Mudjīr al-Dīn, Būlāḳ 1283, p. 412; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 72, 74, 162, 211, 218—220.

3. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Tabor (still called Djabal al-Ṭōr). At the spot where Jesus revealed himself to his disciples, the monastery of Dair al-Ṭūr or Dair al-Tadjallā' stood on the hill. In the crusading period there was a fortress on the top, which Saladin captured and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had restored in 608 (1212). The Crusaders tried

in vain to recapture it in 614 (1217). Baibars in Djumādā II 661 (1263) used the fortress as a base of operations for his raids against ʿAkkā.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 649, 675; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, i. 426, 434: Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 69; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 438, 440; iv. 46 *sq.*; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 75, 434 *sq.*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 124, note 4

4. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Gerizim (3,000 feet) above Nābulus, the sacred mountain of the Samaritans. Jewish tradition makes it the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac. The hill is still called Djabal al-Ṭōr or Djabal al-Ḳiblī to distinguish it from the Djabal al-Shamālī or Islāmīya (Ebal) to the north of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii. 214; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74

5. ṬŪR HĀRŪN, the hill of Hōr (5,600 feet) west of Petra, called after Aaron, who according to an old tradition, is buried there (Josephus, *Archaiol.*, iv. 4, 7). When the children of Israel accused Moses of having slain him, he showed them on the top of the hill the bier on which Aaron lay. In al-Masʿūdī the hill is called Djabal Maʾāb in the district of al-Sharā; he also mentions the caves in the mountain On the eastern peak (5,200 feet) of the Djabal al-Nabī Hārūn is Aaron's grave (Ḳabr Hārūn) which is still a place of pilgrimage for the Beduins.

Bibliography Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wustenfeld, iii 559; Ṣafī al-Dīn *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed Juynboll, ii. 215, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, i 94; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 429 *sq.*, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 74, Dalman, *Petra*, 1908, p. 15 *sq.*, 42, 168; do, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, p 2, 8, 26 (E. HONIGMANN)

ṬŪR ʿABDĪN, the name of a mountainous plateau in northern Mesopotamia. It stretches roughly from Mārdīn in the west to Djazīrat b. ʿOmar (called briefly Djazīra, q v.) in the east. The Tigris forms the eastern and northern boundary, from Djazīra up to the point where it is joined by the Batman-su from the north A line drawn from the confluence of the two rivers to Mārdīn would roughly mark the western boundary of the area known as Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, while the Koros-Dagh which lies in the northern part of this western boundary is also to be regarded as belonging entirely to Ṭūr ʿAbdin, as an outlying portion of it. In the south the frontier is very well marked, for there the rocks of the tableland slope steeply, often precipitously, to the Mesopotamian plain and seen from the latter look like a strong well-built wall. The road, in constant use from the earliest times, which goes from Mārdīn via Nasībin to Djazīra, runs a short distance from the southern edge of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. With the latter are usually included the mountains in the centre of which is the town of Mārdīn (hence sometimes called after it; cf. also the Turkish name Mārdīn-daghlari: see Schläfli, *op. cit*, p. 48) It stretches — west of Mārdīn part of it is called Djabal al-ʿAfṣ — roughly up to 40° 15′ east long. (Greenw.) and is separated by a very marked depression from the gigantic basaltic ridge of the Karadja-Dagh.

The average height of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in its central portion about 3,000—3,500 feet above sea-level. In the district between Midyāt and Ḥiṣn Kaifā on the Tigris (cf. ii., p. 320) and in the mountains of Mārdīn, individual peaks reach 4,300 feet. In general however, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn lacks any marked heights and looks everywhere like an undulating plain which is cut by deep and broad wādīs The largest is the Wādī Khaltān, which flows into the Tigris at Finik (N. W. of Djazīra).

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists almost entirely of limestone, often with beds of marl. In places however we find angular basalt blocks scattered, which are of volcanic origin. Such outcrops of basalt are found especially in the east, towards Djazīra, where the basaltic Ēlīm-dagh rises as a continuation of the southern wall of limestone of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and also west of Mārdīn where the lava from the Karadja-Dagh flowed out. To the nature of the rock composing it, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn owes its many caves, which are often, as in ancient times, used as dwellings. Such caves are numerous, for example in the region of Midyāt (mentioned as early as the Assyrian inscriptions), and notably at Ḥiṣn Kaifā, which is the regular troglodyte capital. Cf. thereon Lehmann-Haupt, *op cit.* (see *Bibl.*) p. 370 *sq* ; Streck, in *Z D M.G.*, lxvi. 310 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, viii. 2457 (art HORREN), see also above ii., p. 320.

The eastern and western part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in general characterised by an absence of trees, but in its centre east of Midyāt, a strip of forest runs from north to south. Here we have many small hills overgrown with stunted trees (dwarf oaks) and shrubs. As a result of the scarcity of forests and the fact that most of the rainfall sinks into the porous limestone, there is a serious scarcity of water in a large part of Tūr ʿAbdīn For watering the cattle, water is collected in cisterns, often very old, and large ponds. The south has the most plentiful supply of water, there we find numerous springs and countless little streams running southwards through the hills, usually to disappear in the sands of the Mesopotamian plain at no great distance from the foot of the mountains. The streams that flow from the southern side of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn enter the river Djaghdjagh, which divides into two arms above Naṣībīn The southern slopes of the Karadja Dagh, as well as the Mārdīn mountains, are drained by the Khābūr [q. v.] which receives the waters of the Djaghdjagh at Ḥesaka (36° 25′ N. lat.)

In spite of many barren patches and the generally unfavourable irrigation conditions, there are many stretches of ground which grow cereals well and excellent pastures, especially in the hollows which hold the fertile reddish-brown earth, and on the slopes of the little hills, which are preferably used for the vine. At all the monasteries we find well cared for vineyards. Terraces to which the soil has been carried have also been built to grow the vine and fruits. The people are exceedingly skilled in irrigating their fields. In addition to cereals (usually barley) and the vine, cotton and all kinds of fruits (especially very fine apricots) are grown. In the wooded portions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn gall-apples and manna resin are gathered, and are found in large quantities. A ridge west of Mārdīn, the already mentioned Djabal al-ʿAfṣ, takes its name from the plentifulness of gall-apples there (*ʿafṣ*). On the wines and other products of the

soil of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see Prym and Socin, *Der neuaram. Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Gottingen 1881, i., p. viii. and Cumet, *op. cit.*, p. 429. On the manna of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn cf. Flückiger, in *Archiv der Pharmazie*, vol. cc., Halle 1875, p. 159—164

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was already known to the Assyrians. They call it the Kashiari mountains; it is found under this name as early as the inscriptions of the early Assyrian King Adadnarārī I (c. 1300—1270 A. D.) and Salmanassar I (c. 1270—1240); see the pertinent texts in *Alt-oriental. Bibliothek*, vol. i. (= Ebeling–Meissner–Weidner, *Die Inschrift. der altassyr. Konige*), Leipzig 1926, p. 58 *sq.*, p. 118 *sq.* The Kashiari are still mentioned in the documents of the later kings of Assyria. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn–Kashiari corresponds fairly well to τὸ Μάσιον ὄρος (Masius), a term found in the later Greek writers (Arrian, Ptolemy); cf. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 259; Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii. 82—87, xiv 169, Streck, *Assurbanipal* etc (= *Vorderasiat. Bibloth.*, vol. vii), p 790, R. Kiepert, in *Formae orbis antiqui*, Heft v. (*Mesopotamia* etc), 1909, p. 8. The view put forward by Lehmann-Haupt (s. *Z A.*, xiv. 371; *Klio*, ix , 1909, p. 409 and *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol i., Berlin 1910, p 368 *sq.*, 510, 513) hardly seems to me tenable, that Kashiari and Masius represent a wider geographical conception than that of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and mean the whole eastern or southern part of the Taurus of the ancients i e. include the Karadja Dagh and the Hazru Daghlari to the north of Maiyāfāriḳīn (Farḳīn).

In the cuneiform inscriptions we find besides Kashiari two other names which apparently refer to parts only of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn *Nīrbu*, probably used for the centre of this plateau (see Streck, in *Z.A.*, xiii. 82; xiv. 169) and *Izala*, to all appearance a special name for the southern strip of Tūr ʿAbdīn and particularly for the district of Mārdīn (probably including the Māidīn Hills) In the Babl.-Assyr texts mention is made of the wine of Izala In Achaemenid documents also there is probably a reference to Izala (see *Z. D. M G*, lxi. 726), it occurs twice in late classical sources and is common in Syriac literature in the name of the mountain Izelā (Arabic Djabal al-Izal), cf thereon Streck, in *Z A.*, xiii. 104—105; xiv. 171; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, x. 1390, Socin, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxv 238 and G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p 167 *sq*

As to the Aramaic name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn = "Mount of the Servants" (of God) — cf. the analogous place-name Kephar ʿAbdīn in Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1871, N⁰ 950, 20ᵉ —, it is of course of Christian origin and belongs to the period when the region had through the number of its monasteries become a great centre of eastern monachism The earliest attestation of the name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in a Syriac Lives of Saints of the time of the emperor Julian, i. e. about the middle of the fourth century; see Wright, *op. cit.*, N⁰. 960, p. 1136 and Socin, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 239.

Of great topographical importance for the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn region is the *Descriptio orbis Romani* of Georgius Cyprius of the first decade of the seventh century, because it gives a whole list of forts in this area; see the edition by Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 46, l. 913–938. There we find Κάστρον Μάρδης (= Mārdīn) followed immediately by Κάστρον Τουραβίος (l. 914); it is very natural to emend this name with Hoffmann in Gelzer (p. 158–159) to Τουράνδιος = Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Here we may point out that of the Roman forts of Mesopotamia one group were near the Tigris and the others on Ṭūr ʿAbdīn; cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, p. 322. In the Syriac Lives of Saints above mentioned of the time of Julian there is a reference to the building of two large fortresses in the region of Tūr ʿAbdīn

In the chronicle of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene, which at the earliest was compiled at the end of the seventh century, we also find the name Tūr ʿAbdīn (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr = Nachr. d. Gott. Ges. der Wissensch*, Berlin 1901, p 141, 158); but here it apparently denotes a smaller area, the southern border (= Izala ?).

In the Arab authors of the middle ages we also find the term Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. For the pre-Islāmic period we have it in verses of the poet Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī, which tell us that the legendary founder of the kingdom of al-Hadr [q. v.], Sāṭirūn, also ruled the land of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (see *B. G. A.*, ed. de Goeje, vi 95, 11–12 = Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iii 559, 5 and cf. also Yāḳūt, ii 284, 13 *sq*). Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is also mentioned in a poem the subject of which is Khosraw and Shīrīn: see *B G A.*, v. 159, 19 *sq.* Masʿūdī (*B G.A.*, viii 54, 1) mentions that in Tūr ʿAbdīn remnants of the Aramaeans still survive. Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii. 90, 8) and Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 175, 12) point out that the Hirmās (the modern, already mentioned, Djaghdjagh), a tributary of the Khābūr [q v], rises in Tūr ʿAbdīn We may also mention that the Arab geographers (see *B.G.A*, ii 73, 3 and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Paris, p. 282) also have the special name Djabal Māridīn = Mārdīn Hills (cf. above) for the southern borders of Tūr ʿAbdīn, the district of Nasībīn and Dārā. The modern Syriac pronunciation of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (one also hears Ṭūr al-ʿAbedīn) is *Ṭūrē da ʿAbdē*. The name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is locally not unknown, especially in Christian circles, but belongs to the literary rather than to the spoken language. At the present day in Syriac, this hill-country is called usually *Ṭōr* or in Arabic *al-Ṭūr*, also *al-Djabal* and *Djabal Tōr*, or *Djabal al-Tūr*, cf. Prym and Socin, *op cit*, i., p. i., ii. and Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 387 As Schlafli, *op. cit*, p 49 tells us, the Turks use the term *Kara-Dagh*, the Kurds *Mawa-Dagh* or *Čia-rēsh* = "Black Mountain".

The district of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn passed with the rest of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra) into the hands of the Arabs in the years 18–19 (639–640); see Balādhurī, p 176, 3–5 = Yāḳūt, iv. 390, 15–16 and Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iv. 36, 156. The Ṭūr belonged to the Mesopotamian province of Diyār Rabīʿa under the caliphs.

As regards its political history after the conquest, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn generally shared the fortunes of the adjoining districts forming the rest of Mesopotamia. On the interior, Tūr ʿAbdīn proper, there is comparatively little in the Arabic sources. On the other hand, important towns on its borders like Mārdīn, Djazīrat b. ʿOmar, Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Nasībīn are frequently mentioned. There is important material for local history in Syriac literature, particularly in chronicles and hagiographic texts, but it has still to be collected and sifted (cf. especially J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 3 parts, Rome 1719—1728). Valuable information for

the history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the xvth century, especially for the period of Tīmūr's campaigns, is contained in a continuation of the *Chronicon Syriacum* (of profane history) of Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Faraj) by anonymous monks (one of whom belonged to a monastery in Bāsebrīna); see the edition by O. Behnsch, in *Rerum saeculo quinto decimo*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum*, ed.... O Behnsch, Breslau 1838, cf. also Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 328. In the middle ages and down to the present day the history of the Kurd tribes in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and the country round it is of importance. The history of the Kurd dynasties of Djazīrat b. ʿOmar and Ḥiṣn Kaifā is of special importance in this connection; cf. the account based on the Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma* by Bart, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, vol. xxx. (1859), p. 117 *sq.*; see also the article KURDS.

In the redistribution of territory which followed the War, Tūr ʿAbdīn was left to the Turks. In the administrative division of the Turkish empire as it existed down to the War, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn belonged to the wilāyet of Diyārbakr and to the sandjak of Mārdīn, which was divided into five ḳaḍās: Mārdīn, Djazīra, Midyāt, ʿAwīne, and Naṣībīn; see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 412, 496 *sq.* For the administrative division since 1921 and 1927 cf. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Saʿdī, *Yeñi Türkiya Memleket Djughrāfiyāsī*, Stambul 1927, p. 174.

In the early middle ages and the first centuries of Islām, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was probably inhabited almost entirely by Christian Aramaeans Later, more and more Muslims (mainly Kurds) settled there, so that with the gradual decline in the numbers of Christians, the result of frequent persecutions by the Muslims, the proportion altered more and more in favour of the latter down to the War According to Cuinet's statistics, not however too reliable (*op cit.*, p 412, 496 *sq*), the sandjak of Mārdīn which in area at least is larger than Tūr ʿAbdīn in the wider sense, had in 1890 in all 194,072 inhabitants, viz 122,522 Muslims, 67,970 Christians, 1,500 Yazīdīs, 1,500 gypsies and 580 Jews the Christians were thus a third of the whole population. In the two kadās which are almost entirely within Tūr ʿAbdīn, the ḳadā of Midyāt and that of ʿAwīne, Cuinet (*op. cit.*, p 513, 517 *sq.*) gives the population in 1890 as 31,920 Christians and 37,712 Muslims. In the central ḳaḍā of Midyāt the numbers were about equally balanced: 22,632 Muslims and 22,126 Christians. The present distribution of nationalities and creeds within Tūr ʿAbdīn is not known. Muhammadans are however certainly in an overwhelming majority, since the Christians suffered severely during and after the War; in particular many Armenians had to leave the country. When in a new persecution in 1924, the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Ignatius Elias III, was driven from his residence in Dair Zaʿfarān (east of Mārdīn), the bulk of his followers (3—4,000) migrated with him to Syria; cf. H. C. Lake, *Mosul and its Minorities*, London 1925, p. 113.

Christianity spread in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at a very early date from Edessa, which is quite near At the Council of Chalcedon (451) among the six Mesopotamian bishops we find one of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, but not one of Izala as Noldeke assumed (*Z.D M.G.*, xxxv., 219, note 2) on the authority of Mansi's statements in *Concilior... collectio*, vii. 403; here *Inseles* = *Izala* is, as the new edition in Schulthess, *Die syrisch. Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon* (= *Abh. d. Gott. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., N. Folge*, vol. x., No. 2), p. 135, shows, a wrong reading. Since the time of the Christological quarrels, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has been the citadel of the Jacobites; nowhere do or did they exist in such solid masses as in these highlands and in Mārdīn and its vicinity. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper originally seems to have been a single Jacobite bishopric; about 1089 it was divided into two dioceses, the bishops of which lived in Ḳarṭamīn and Ḥāḥ respectively. Later, in the xiiith century, other sees were created in the chief towns of the district. In the middle of the xivth century differences between the patriarch of Mārdīn and the Bishop of Salāḥ (2 hours journey north of Midyāt) led to a schism, in the course of which the bishops of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn cast off the authority of the patriarch and chose the bishop of Ṣalāḥ as patriarch of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Ḥiṣn Kaifā. This split lasted for over a century. Cf thereon Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 62—63, 75. Lists of the bishops of Hāḥ, Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Kartamīn may be found e. g in Wright, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 1350—1351.

In addition to Jacobites there were in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the middle ages, and even later, communities of Nestorians. The oldest monastery there, that of Mār Awgen, was for long in their possession (see Pognon, *op. cit*, p 109). These Nestorians were won over to Rome in the xvith and xviith century and henceforth called themselves Chaldaeans (Kaldānī), as a religious community with their own ritual The members of this so-called Chaldaean church settled in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn have at their head two bishops (in Mārdīn and Djazīra); according to a native Chaldaean cleric, they numbered in 1914: 8,070 souls, cf. *Annuaire Pontificale Catholique*, xvii. (1914), p. 502—511 and based on it Lubeck, in *Histor.-polit. Blatter fur das kathol. Deutschland*, vol. 154, Munich 1914, p. 92, 101—102 According to Cuinet, there were in 1890 in Tūr ʿAbdīn about 4,000 Syrians (Suriyānī), i e Jacobites in union with Rome, who were under a Patriarch of Mārdīn and a bishop of Djazīra. According to Cuinet there were in the administrative district of Mārdīn also 28,666 Armenians, of whom the one half professed to belong to the Orthodox Church, the other in fairly equal portions to the Roman Catholic and to the Protestant churches. The Armenian Protestant community is a creation of the activity of American missions The prosperity caused by the civilising influence of the American missionaries, who had their main centres in Mārdīn and Midyāt, spread practically over the whole of Tūr ʿAbdīn but has ceased since the War; cf. on this American mission: Sachau, *Reise* etc., p. 404, 410, 413, 422—423. Finally Cuinet gives from about 1890 as further Christian inhabitants of the sandjak of Mārdīn 6,730 Greeks (who had to leave Turkish territory after the War) and 580 Jews.

We may assume with certainty that before the War the Jacobites were the largest in numbers of the Christian communities in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper, but we have not the material available to enable us to make an approximately reliable estimate of their numbers. Cuinet's estimate (for the sandjak of Mārdīn !) which puts the Jacobites at 13,754, only half that of the settled Armenians, is obviously based on incorrect premises and seems unreliable. In 1838 Southgate (see *op cit*, ii. 268, 275) estimated the number of Jacobites (from information given him by the Patriarch of the day) at 6,000 families

or 60—70 villages with populations of 50—60 families. In the mountains, i. e. in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper, according to him there were 30,000 Jacobites, to which were to be added 5,000 settlers in the vicinity of the monasteries; in Mārdīn there were 2,000, Jacobite Christians in the immediate neighbourhood of Mārdīn and in the plain of Sindjār 6,000. Badger who visited Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in 1850 put the number of Jacobite villages there at 150 (see Badger, *The Nestorians* etc, i. 63). That the number of Jacobites of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn from the time of Badger and Southgate till the beginning of the War steadily if slowly decreased there is no reason to doubt.

The Muslim part of the population of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists mainly of Kurds. They have spread more and more widely in the heart of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in recent centuries and the Christian peasants with whom they are constantly warring are being driven more and more from the southern slopes of the mountains towards the plains On the constant state of civil war among the people of the villages of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn see Pognon's observations, *op. cit*, p. 108—111. For Kurdish tribes or families settling within the region of Tūr ʿAbdīn cf. Niebuhr, *op. cit*, ii. 388, Lerch, *Forschungen uber die Kurden und iranischen Nordchaldaeer*, St Petersburg 1857–1858, vol. ii (Glossary); Schläfli, *op cit*, p 49–51. Lists of tribes in Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramaeische Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, ii. 416–418 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, ii. 275—284; Sachau, *Reise*, p 387, Sykes, *op. cit*, p. 578 (under N°. 15), see also above, vol ii 1132, 1141, 1144. The followers of the Yazīdī religion in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are also Kurds but their numbers are insignificant. The most important Yazīdī tribe there is called Djilkī (Tshelkī); see Niebuhr, *op. cit*; Prym and Socin, *Dial des Tūr ʿAbdīn*, ii. 379, Sachau, *Reise* etc, p 387, Menzel in Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition*, Leipzig 1911, i, p cxvi

Arab Beduins also encamp occasionally in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn especially on its southern outliers; for the names of some of them see Taylor, *op. cit*. p. 54–55 and M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit*., ii. 68 A special position is occupied by the large tribe of the Meḥallemī (Muḥallemīya) whom we find as early as the already mentioned anonymous continuation of the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus (year 1407; see Behnsch's edition, p. 6, 7–10) They are the result of the intermarriage of Arabs and Kurds (with Arab influence predominant) and are said to have renounced Christianity over 300 years ago. They dwell mainly in the ḳaḍā of ʿAwīne, the part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn running west of Mārdīn to the Tigris; on this tribe see Niebuhr, *loc. cit*; *Z. D M G*, i. 59; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 421; Sykes, *op. cit*., p. 356, 578.

Three languages are spoken in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Kurdish, Syriac and Arabic. They have all strongly influenced each other. The most widely disseminated is Kurdish, which all the Christians also understand and speak in addition to Syriac. The Kurdish dialect here spoken is the northern and western branch of the Kurmāndjī dialect, which is now better known from the investigations of Lerch, Prym and Socin, and Makas (see above ii., p. 1152) See especially Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Forschungen, Erzählungen und Lieder im Dialekte des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn und des Bohtān*, 2 parts (text and transl.), St. Petersburg 1887—1890.

The Jacobites, like most of the other Christians of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (especially the Kaldānī), use among themselves a peculiar Syriac dialect, usually called briefly Ṭōrānī, "The language of Ṭōr". It differs very much from the modern Syriac idiom spoken in the east (in the district of Urmia and Mōṣul and in Eastern Kurdistān) by the Nestorians and Chaldaeans (Kaldānī). The Jacobite modern Syriac (or modern Jacobite) is much closer than this dialect to Edessene, i. e. to the Syriac literary language. It cannot however be said to be derived from this without further enquiry, but is to be traced to an older form of the language which was closely related to Edessene. Ṭōrānī texts of importance for our knowledge of the language have been collected by Prym and Socin and also by Sachau. On texts taken down by Prym and Socin in 1869 from the mouth of a Midyāt man see Prym and Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 2 parts (text and transl.), Gottingen 1881; cf. thereon the important review by Noldeke, in *Z D M.G.*, xxxv. 218—235. Sachau through the intermediary of the American mission got specimens taken down in Ṭōrānī by a Syrian priest; this MSS. material is now in the Berlin State Library, see Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch Handschrift.*, p 812—816 (N°. 278—292) Of these so far only one text (N°. 290, the story of the wise Ḥaiḳār) has been published, namely by Lidzbarski, in *Die neuaramaischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1896, vol. i., p. 1—77 (text) and vol. ii., p. 1—41 (transl.). The Aramaic texts collected by Parisot in 1897 from Tūr ʿAbdīn (s. *Contribution à l'étude du dialecte néo-syriaque du Tour ʿAbdin*, in *Act du XIème Congrès Intern. des Orientalist.*, Paris 1897, vol. iv., p. 179–198) differ in language considerably from those collected by Sachau and Prym and Socin. Do we perhaps have here another modern Syriac local dialect? A. Siegel has prepared an excellent *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaram Dialekts des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Hannover 1923, based mainly on the texts published by Prym and Socin; cf. thereon Littmann's review in *O.L.Z.*, xxix., 1926, col. 1003—1008. Of other works, the grammatical and lexicographical sketch of Ṭōrānī given by Noldeke, in *Z.D.M.G*, xxxv. 218 *sq*, should also be noted; cf. also Guidi's observations, *op cit*, xxxvii 294—301. On the boundaries within which the modern Jacobite dialect is spoken cf. Prym and Socin, *Der neu-aram. Dial. des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, vol. i., p. vi.—viii.; *ibid.*, p vii. (repeated in *Z.D.M.G*, xxxv. 255), and in Sachau, *Reise*, p. 412—413 a list is given of the localities in which at the present day (or rather 1870 and 1880) Ṭōrānī is still spoken. There are also Syrian villages in Tūr ʿAbdīn where Aramaic is no longer spoken but only Kurdish.

Arabic is understood by the majority of the inhabitants of the larger villages It is more frequently spoken in the south towards the Mesopotamian plains and particularly in the region of Mārdīn. The dialect of Mārdīn, which shows many peculiarities, belongs to the Tigris groups of the dialects of Mesopotamia (cf. above i., p. 339b). It is closely related to the Arabic spoken around Mōṣul. Cf. Socin, *Der arab. Dial. von Mōṣul und Mardin* (a collection of texts), in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi., 1882, p. 1—53, 238—277; xxxvii., 1883, p. 188—222 (also separately, Leipzig 1904).

The number of villages in the sandjak of Mārdīn, which however includes territory not in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, is given by Cuinet (p. 412, 496) as

1,062; of these 410 are in the ḳaḍā of Midyāt and 97 in that of ʿAwīne. A manuscript Syriac chronicle (according to Prym and Socin, *Der neuaram. Dial.* etc., i., p. iii.) estimates the number of villages in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at 243. In *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxv. 258—269, Socin gives a list of 168 names, cf. also the list of places in Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, ii. 416—418 and in Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlung*, ii. 275—284. One should also consult the geographical indices to the catalogues of Syriac manuscripts, especially Wright, *Catal. of the Syriac Manuscr. in the British Museum*, London 1870, p 1239 *sq.*; Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syrisch. Hss. der Kgl Bibliothek in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, p. 923 *sq.*; Payne Smith, *Catal. codd. mss. biblioth. Bodleiana*, vol. vi., Oxford 1864, p 664 *sq.* and Zotenberg, *Catal. des mss. syriaques ... de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1874, p. 230 *sq.* The number of Syrian villages in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has already been mentioned; most places have a mixture of nationalities and religions, i. e. have Muslim (Kurd) as well as Christian (Jacobite, Armenian etc.) elements in their population. In earlier times Ṭūr ʿAbdīn must have been better cultivated and more thickly populated; this is shown by the numerous ruins that exist.

For the larger towns on the edge of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn like Mārdīn (Māridīn), Ḥiṣn Kaifā, Djazīrat b. ʿOmar and Nasībīn see the special articles. The capital of (inner) Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper is Midyāt (Syriac. Midyād) which lies practically in the centre in a beautiful plain surrounded by hills (3,400 feet above sea-level) in about 41° 25′ E Long and 37° 25′ N. Lat This very old place, already mentioned in the early Assyrian inscriptions (as Matiāte; see Streck, *Z.A.*, xiii. 95; xiv. 169; xix. 249) lies at the intersection of two great roads which cross Tūr ʿAbdīn from North to South (Nasībīn–Ḥiṣn Kaifā) and from east to west (Djazīra–Mārdīn). Before the War, Midyāt is said to have had an exclusively Christian (mainly Jacobite) population of about 5,000.

Of the other larger places in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn may be mentioned· Ṣawr (15 miles N E of Mārdīn), the capital of the ḳadā of ʿAwīne (see above). East of it lies the village of Ḳilliṯh and somewhat S E. of the latter Erbil (Kurdish· Hablēr· cf above ii , p. 523 and Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlung*, ii. 206, 238) North of Midyāt, halfway between it and Ḥiṣn Kaifā, is Kefr Djōz (Kurdish. Kārdjūz), a fairly large Kurd village, in the neighbourhood of which is the Muslim place of pilgrimage Tell ʿAbād (ʿAbāde), which Rawlinson wished to identify with the old Armenian royal city of Tigranocerta (cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 415 *sq* , Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*, i. 372—373, 539). Twelve miles north of Midyāt is the village of Ḥāḥ with many ruins, which testify to its former importance We may also mention Zāz and ʿArnās, both N. W. of Ḥāḥ, one and a half and three hours' journey distant respectively, and twelve miles S E. of Ḥāḥ the large village of Middō. Two hours west of the latter is the large Christian village of Bāsebrīna (Old Syriac: Bēṯh-Sabrīna) which plays an important part in the ecclesiastical history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. 20 miles S. E. of Mārdīn on the S. W. spurs of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn lie the great and impressive ruins of the town of Dārā built by Anastasius I (491—518) and later refortified by Justinian I (527—565) (also called from its founder Anastasiopolis); its name is still borne by an adjoining village. On the ruins of Dārā cf. Sachau, *Reise*, p. 294—398, and especially Preusser, *op. cit.*, p. 44–49 (with plates 53—61).

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn plays a very important part in the history of eastern monachism. According to a tradition in Nestorian circles, St. Eugenius came from Egypt in the fourth century and founded a monastery in the southern part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and thus laid the foundation of the monastic system which developed to such an extent in Mesopotamia. St. Eugenius, who had many followers, is said after his death in 363 to have been buried in the monastery built by him. This is not the place to go into the question of the truth of the Syriac legend of St. Eugenius; it may be sufficient to refer to the serious objections raised to it by Labourt, in *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sasanide*, Paris 1904, p. 302 *sq.*; cf. also Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syrisch. Liter.*, Bonn 1922, p. 235—236 In any case, it is certain that in the middle ages Tūr ʿAbdīn became a regular monks' citadel like an eastern Mount Athos. When Niebuhr (*loc. cit.*) is told that there are over 70 ruined monasteries in this mountain land, one need not think this is an exaggeration At the present day, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is still full of remains of old monasteries. Only a few are in good repair and still inhabited by monks. Great churches, for the most part of the viiᵗʰ—xᵗʰ centuries, are still to be seen. These monuments of the mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of the east are of considerable importance for the history of Christian art. They have been studied recently by different investigators, notably Pognon, G. L. Bell, Preusser and Guyer; for the literature see the *Bibl.* Pognon has earned special praise for collecting the numerous Syriac inscriptions on the churches and monasteries visited by him.

Strzygowski, Guyer and Herzfeld have devoted special attention to the dates and appreciation as documents of the history of art of the buildings of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn; cf M. v. Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 269—273, 293; Guyer, in *Repert f Kunstwissensch.*, xxxviii , 1916, p 215—237 and in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (s, *Bibl*), ii. 45, 336, Herzfeld, in *O. L. Z.*, xiv.. 1911, p. 402 *sq* , 413 and in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii 277, 296, 298—299, 336, 345 Strzygowski's thesis that the art of the Mesopotamian monasteries is older than that of Syria and that Mesopotamia, especially Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and not Egypt, is the cradle of monasticism, has been rejected, in my view on good grounds, by Guyer and Herzfeld, who champion the later date of the Mesopotamian buildings compared with the older Syrian; cf. also Becker's remarks (*Isl.*, ii 396) against the assumption of priority for Mesopotamian monachism.

The mother-house of all the Mesopotamian monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the already mentioned Mār Awgen (Kurd : Marōke), is 13 miles N E. of Mārdīn (41° 30′ E. Long. and 30° 7′ N Lat) clinging to the cliffs of the southern declivities of the plateau. In the middle ages it was the headquarters of the western Nestorians and is now inhabited by Jacobite monks. Half-an-hour's journey from Mār Awgen is another old monastery, Mār Yuhannā, founded by a disciple of St. Eugenius and bearing his name (on him cf. the work by Yeshūʿdenaḥ, N⁰. 2 quoted above ii., p. 801ᵃ).

In the middle ages one of the most important monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was the Monastery of

Abraham, frequently referred to in Syrian literature briefly as "the great monastery (on mount Izlā"); cf. e. g. the indices to Chabot's edition of Yeshūʿdenaḥ's work just mentioned. Its founder was the celebrated creator of definitely Nestorian monachism, Abraham of Kaskar (d. 588); on him see vol. ii., p. 801a. G. Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, p. 170 *sq.*) wished to identify this monastery with the monastery in ruins at Mār Bauai (= Mār Bāb, 3 miles S. W. of Mār Awgen) mentioned by Taylor. This is not possible. we must rather identify the monastery of Abraham with Dēr Mār Ibrāhīm, visited by Hinrichs on his journey in 1911; see his notes in Bell, *Churches and Monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Heidelberg 1913, p. 49—50 or p. 105—106.

At the present day the principal monastery of Tūi ʿAbdīn and the greatest centre of pilgrimage for the Jacobites is now the monastery of Kartmīn (Old Syr · Karṭamīn), about twelve miles S. E. of Midyāt. This coenobium, perhaps the most celebrated of the Jacobites in Asia, was in the middle ages one of the richest and most venerated in the whole of the East In its greatest days it held 300 monks, while at the present day there are only about a dozen there. It is said to have been founded in 399 under Arcadius, its founders are said to have been St. Samuel (d. c 406) and Simeon (d 433). It is still usually called among Syrians Mār Gabriel after its great Abbot, St Gabriel (d 667). The Muslims and Greeks usually call it Dēr ʿAmr (in travellers also we find Der Amar and quite wrongly Der el-Amr) = Dair ʿUmar, the monastery of ʿOmar The caliph ʿOmar at the time of the Arab invasion is said to have given the Abbot rights of jurisdiction over all Christians in the country In Kaitmīn are three churches, i.e. two, in addition to the principal called after St Gabiiel, which are dedicated to the Virgin and to the forty Martyrs. The structure of the church of St Gabriel, perhaps the oldest in the country, is typical of the monastic churches of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. The village of Kartmīn is built among the ruins of another monastery, that of St Simeon. For the history of Kartmīn cf. the essay by Nau, in *Act. du XIVème Congrès Intern. des Orient à Alger*, vol ii, Paris 1906, p. 76 *sq* and the Syriac chronicle discussed by Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 273 *sq*

Among the oldest churches in Tūr ʿAbdin is that of Mār Kyriakos in Arnās and that of Mār ʿAzaziel in Kefr Zeh (1½ hours S.E of Arnās); stylistically they are closely connected Accoiding to Guyer, the village of Hāh is the archaeological centre of Tūr ʿAbdīn. In it are two very interesting old churches Mār Sōvō (Sābā) and that of the Virgin, the al-ʿAdhrā', which is very rich in ornament, and has come down to us practically unimjured from the time it was built Among the latest of the mediaeval churches is that of Mār Yaʿḳūb in Ṣalāh; this monastery became one of the most important in the country when it became the residence of a separate patriarch for Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.

We may further mention that ruins of monasteries and churches — Pognon, *op. cit*, p. 116 mentions twenty — are particularly numerous in Bāsebrīna (cf. above), but they are mainly of more recent origin. In conclusion we may just mention the famous monastery of Dēr al-Zaʿfarān (one hour east of Mārdīn) which till 1924 was the residence of the Jacobite patriarch; he now lives in Aleppo, cf. on it especially Petermann, *op. cit.*, ii. 343 *sq.*; Sachau, *Reise*, p. 405 *sq.*; Parry (who stayed six months in it), *op. cit*, p. 103–140 and Preusser, *op. cit.*, p. 49—53 (with plates 62—65).

As already mentioned, there was in the area of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in Roman Byzantine times a large number of forts which were mainly intended to defend the Roman frontier from Persia. Ruins of such citadels may be seen in several places, for example the Παβδίον of Byzantine writers is probably identical with the modern Ḳalʿat Ḥātim Ṭaiyi' (about three hours' journey south of Bāsebrīna): cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 2nd ser., i. 13. Another citadel frequently mentioned in the classics, Sarbane (the forms Sisara and Sisaurana also handed down are probably corruptions), is probably to be located on the site of the modern Sērwān (cf. Weissbach, *op. cit*, 2nd ser, i. 2433). On other celebrated citadels, like the "new citadel" (Arab. *al-Ḳalʿa al-Djadīda*), apparently the modern Ḳalʿat Djadīd (two and a half hours' S.W. of Ḳalʿat Hātim Taiyi'), and the citadel of Ḥaitham (Syr. Ḥesnā de Ḥaitham), often mentioned in Syriac or Arabic sources, which must have stood near Bāsebrīna, see Guyer in Petermann's *Mitteil*, vol. 62 (1916), p. 297. On the citadel of Finik on the north bank of the Tigris (above Djazīra) which is mentioned as early as late classical writers (as Πίνακα, Phoenice) and has played a notable part in the history of the Kurds (cf. above ii., p 1139b) see Tuch, in *Z D.M.G*, i. 57—61; M. Hartmann, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), index (s v.).

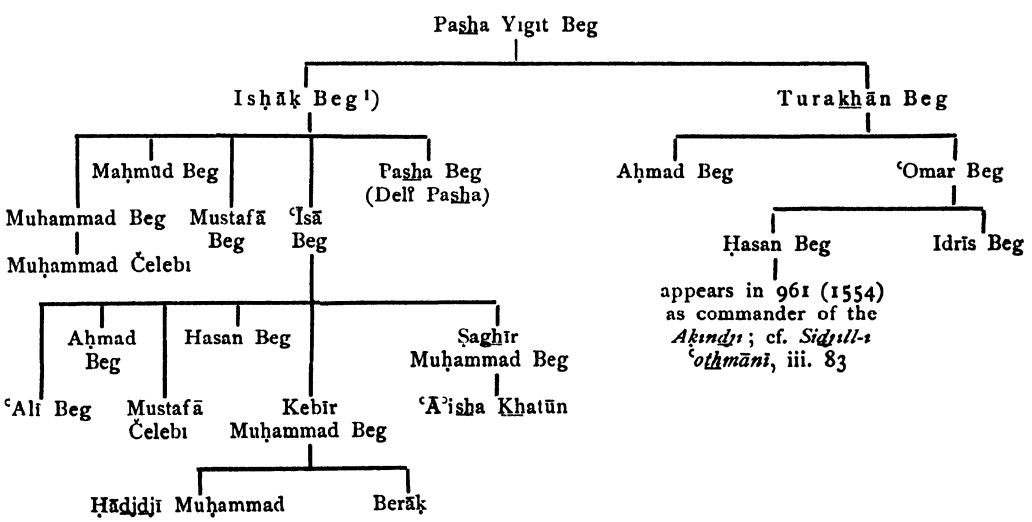
Bibliography. In addition to works mentioned in the text *B G A.*, passim (indices); Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, iii. 559 See also the geographical indices to the catalogue of manuscripts, especially Wright for the British Museum (p 1336 s. v. Izlā Mons; 1341 s. v. Tūi ʿAbdīn) and Sachau for the Royal Library in Berlin (p. 913 s. v. Izlā and p 926 s v. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn). — Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreib nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Landern*, ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 387—388; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 132, x. 71 *sq*, 76—77, xi 439—442, H. Southgate (1838), *Narrative of a tour through Armenia, Koordistan* etc, London 1840, ii, p 268 *sq*, 273—275, 313—314; G. P. Badger (1842, 1844, 1850), *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i. 45—58, 63, 66—69; C. Sandreczki (1850), *Reise nach Mosul una durch Kurdistan nach Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857, i 267—307, iii 341—360; H. Petermann (1853–1854), *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii. 31—43, 340—347; A. Schlafli (1861), *Reisen in den Orient*, Winterthur 1864, p. 43—61; J. G. Taylor (1861—1863), *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *J.R.G. S*, xxxv, 1865, p. 21—58, Czernik, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil*, Erg -Heft. No. 45, 1876, p. 14—15, Socin (1870), *Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, in *Z.D.G.M*, xxxv, 1881, p. 237–269; Prym and Socin, *Der neuaram. Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Gottingen 1881, i, i—x (geograph -ethnograph. division by Socin); G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer*, Leipzig 1880, p 167—173; Sachau (1880), *Über die Lage von Tigranokerta*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W*, 1880, part ii., 1881, p. 9–19, 27, 65–75; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1883, p. 378—435; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1892, p. 407—519; Parry, *Six months in a Syrian Monastery*, London 1895;

M. Hartmann, *Bohtān* (= *Mitteil. der Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, vol. i. and ii.), Berlin 1896—1897, s. the indices s v. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn etc.; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (1899), *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, Berlin 1910, p 337—380, 504, 508, 510, 513; H. Pognon (1891, 1905), *Inscriptions Sémitiques* etc., Paris 1907, p. 39—50, 72—75, 91—100, 108—116, 120—125, 186—202, or N⁰. 13—14, 22—35, 51—54, 60—62, 67—71 and 92–106 with plate vi.–vii., xvi., xix–xxi., xxiv.–xxv., xxvii.–xxix., xxxvii.–xli.; E. Banse (1908), in *Petermann's Geogr Mitteil*, vol. lvii., 1911, p. 119–122, 172–175; E Banse, *Auf den Spuren der Bagdadbahn*, Weimar 1913, p. 68—87; G. L. Bell (1909 and 1911), *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 296—322; G. L. Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, in M. v. Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 224–262; G. L. Bell, *Churches and Monasteries of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Neighbouring Districts* (= *Zeitschr f. die Gesch der Architektur*, Beiheft ix., p. 57—112), Heidelberg 1913; Preusser (1909), *Nordmesopotam. Baudenkmäler* (= *17. wissenschaftl. Veroffentlich. der deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, Leipzig 1911), p. 23–55 with plate 34–66, W A and T. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, London 1914, p. 42—68, Sykes (1906), *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 354—357, 578; S. Guyer (1910), in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, lxii., 1916, p. 208–210, 254, 296—299; K. Uhlig, *Mesopotamien*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. fur Erdkunde*, Berlin 1917, p. 5, 7—8, 56—58; Th Naab (about 1905), *Drei Jahre in Mesopotamien*, Basel 1918, p 131—138, Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archaeolog Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911–1920, passim; s. index in vol. iv. 47, s.v. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. — In his above mentioned essay *Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn* (*Z D.M G.*, xxxv. 237 *sq.*) Socin utilises and sums up, in addition to accounts of the already mentioned travellers Southgate, Badger, Sandreczki, Taylor and Czernik, also the somewhat scanty descriptions by Shiel (the first European to penetrate to the interior of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in 1836), de Beaufort (1840) and Goldsmid (1864). Many travellers have only touched the southern edge of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn when taking the road from Diyār Bakr via Mārdīn and Naṣībīn to Mōsul; for example· Niebuhr, Buckingham (1816), Southgate, Badger, Banse, Wigram; others, like Layard (1849) going from north (Armenia) to Mōṣul only skirted the eastern edge of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. The journey by water, frequently undertaken e. g. by Moltke (1839) and Schläfli, on the Tigris by *Kelek* from Diyār Bakr to Mōṣul gives a knowledge of the north and west borders of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. The following travellers (in chronological order) have visited the interior of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn: Shiel, de Beaufort, Badger, Sandreczki, Taylor, Goldsmid, Socin, Fagnan, Sachau, Lehmann-Haupt, Naab, Sykes, Bell, Preusser, Guyer (1910), Viollet (1910), Hinrichs (1911). No detailed account of Guyer's journey has been published, nor of those of Viollet and Hinrichs (cf. for these two: Bell, *Church. and Monast*, 1913, p 61, 105—106). It may be added that in the reports of the above mentioned American missions much valuable material will be found about religious, social and ethnographical conditions in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.

On cartography cf. the notes by R. Kiepert in M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 410—411. The map of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn by H. Kiepert appended to Socin's article in the *Z. D. G. M.*, xxxv. is now practically obsolete and we have much fuller and better material available. The best maps of this district now are: R. Kiepert (1893), *Karte von Syrien und Mesopotamien* (1 : 850,000), east sheet prepared by R. Kiepert in 1893 which accompanies M. v. Oppenheim's book; R. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien* ² (1 : 400,000), Berlin 1914, sheets Diarbekir and Nṣēbīn. Maunsell's map: *Eastern Turkey in Asia* (1 · 250,000), London, War Office (1903), sheet 25 (Mardin) and 26 (Bohtan–Jezire) should also be mentioned. A special map of the *Umgebung von Mārdīn una Neṣībīn* (1 : 200,000) was prepared in 1918 by the Kartographische Abteilung der preussischen Landesaufnahme in Berlin. (M. Streck)

TURAKHĀN BEG, an Ottoman general, conqueror of Thessaly and warden of its marches. The hitherto obscure origin of Turakhān Beg is now explained in his last will and testament of Djumādā I 850 = August 1446 (in a certified Greek translation in Epam. G. Pharmakidis, 'Η Λάρισα, Volo 1926, p 280—287) where he calls himself son of the "late Pasha Yigit Beg" (τοῦ μακαρίτου Πασσᾶ Γιγὴτ Βέη). Accordingly, his father was the well known Pasha Yigit Beg (called by the Serbians and Italians Pasaythus, Basaitus etc.; cf. C. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, iv 7, note 5) who conquered Üskub (Skoplje, on Jan. 6, 1392) and governed a part of Bosnia after 791 (1390) in the modern southern Serbia as Ottoman warden of the marches and must have died about 1413 in Üskub. There his tomb is still shown (*turbe*; cf. Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1927, p. 5 with a picture). There is no support for the statement of the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i. 37 that he did not die till 835 (1431); nor for the statement that the grand vizier Isḥāḳ Pasha had been his "slave" (*kole*) This is obviously due to confusion with Isḥāḳ Beg, the first governor of Bosnia, whose "lord" (*Efendi*) he is called in a curious gloss in the *Altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, p. 28, 3 (which is probably followed by Ṣolaḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 52). Nor was Yigit Beg the son of Isḥāḳ Beg, as has been stated in C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, ii/i. 127 (probably following Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 315, 13), but obviously his father, as is evident beyond doubt from the Arabic inscription on the mosque of Ghāzī Isḥāḳ Beg at Skoplje of the year 842 (1438—1439) (cf. the text in Elezović, *op. cit*, p. 11 infra). When then Isḥāḳ Beg appears in C. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive* (Sarajevo 1911), p. 200, as the son of Pasha Yigit Beg ("Pašaitbeg"), this is quite correct although his epithet there, Hranušić, is an unnecessary slavisation (cf. p. 192 infra) It is therefore evident that Isḥāḳ Beg and Turakhān Beg were sons of Pasha Yigit Beg, i. e. were brothers. We do not know when and where Turakhān was born. The meaning of the name also is uncertain, if it is not to be connected with *Tarkhān* (cf. in Astrakhān) mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 410; its pronunciation is assured by the Byzantine form Τουραχάνης in G. Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, in the *Chronicon breve*.

Nothing is known of the early career of Turakhān Beg. His name is found for the first time in May 1423, when he appeared in command of the cavalry in the Peloponnesus, broke through the ruined trenches of the Isthmus at Hexamilia, took most of the defences recently restored by Emperor Emanuel on this tongue of land and, meeting no resistance, ravaged the interior of the country. He attacked a number of Byzantine towns like Mistra, Leondári, Gardhíki, Dabiá (cf *Chronicon breve*, in the Bonn edition of Ducas, p. 199) and subdued the Peloponnesus for the Ottomans as far as the lands held by the Venetians. This whole campaign (cf. Phrantzes, p. 117; Chalcocondyles, p. 238) was most probably intended as a reconnaissance against Venice. Soon afterwards Turakhān appeared, if Ducas reports correctly, with his cavalry on the Black Sea (p. 50, 4). He also took the field against the Albanians and inflicted a decisive defeat on them (cf. Chalcocondyles, p. 239, 2, 252, 1) and reappeared in the Peloponnesus, where from Naupaktos he prevented the despot Constantine from taking the town of Patras (Phrantzes, p 150, 18) At the end of 1431 he again destroyed the walls of the Isthmus of Corinth, besieged Thebes in the summer of 1435 and conquered it in a few days (cf Phrantzes, p. 157, 18 and 159, 17). At this time the Byzantine historian Georgios Phrantzes made his acquaintance in Thebes (p. 160, 3 *sq.*). In the beginning of Nov. 1443, Turakhān Beg commanded one of the Ottoman corps in the battle against John Hunyadi. His peculiar conduct in the battle of Izlādī (cf. *Altosman. Chron.*, ed. Giese, p. 58, transl. p 90) was held to be responsible for the defeat (cf. Katona, xiii. 253: *Twrhambeg*, Chalcocondyles, p. 315) and he was sent in custody to the state prison of Bedewī Čardak at Tokat. Nothing is recorded of the next ten years of his life. In the early days of October 1453, Sultān Muḥammad II sent Turakhān with his two sons Aḥmad and ʿOmar with a large force to the Peloponnesus, where he again took the outer defences of the Isthmus, invaded Arcadia plundering and burning, and ravaged and burned the whole Gulf of Messene passing via Ithóme (i.e. Messene). When the difficulties of communication made it necessary to divide his army, his son Aḥmad was captured in the pass of Dervenaki between Mycenae and Corinth by the brother-in-law of Matthaeus Azanes, the despot Demetrius of Sparta (cf. Phrantzes, p. 235 and W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, p. 426), but was liberated in December 1454 by his brother ʿOmar (*ibid.*, p. 383, 11 *sq*) In October 1455 Turakhān appeared with his sons in Adrianople (Phrantzes, p 385, 1 *sq*). He died in the middle of 1456, probably at a great age (Phrantzes, p. 386, 1). His official residence as governor was at Larisa in Thessaly (Turkish: Yeñishehr-i Fanār, q.v.), the lands of which he held as a fief. There he built a mosque and numerous other buildings for charitable purposes; even a Christian church, in Tirnovo (Greek Tyrnawos) not far from Larisa, which is still standing, was built by him His tomb, a chapel-like *turbe*, is in Larisa on the north east edge of the town. The cemetery around it with a monastery has now disappeared Turakhān Beg had two sons, Aḥmad and ʿOmar, who accompanied their father on his campaigns. ʿOmar, who appears as Ottoman warden of the marches in the Peloponnesus, while his brother Aḥmad succeeded his father in Thessaly, was left in 1456 by Muhammad II on the Peloponnesus with an army (Phrantzes, p. 388, 11 *sqq*), in 1463 acquired the country round Naupactos and in 1467 after an initial reverse inflicted a defeat on the Venetians (Phrantzes, p. 425, 23, a fuller account of ʿOmar, Ὀμὰρης [Phrantzes always writes Ἀμὰρης], is given by Chalcocondyles, cf. the Index s. v. Omares). On the further life of the two brothers, of whom Aḥmad, like his father, had made the pilgrimage,



1) The left part of the genealogical table is taken from the book by Cl. Elezović, *loc. cit.*, p. 121. It requires to be checked, as there might be confusion with the descendants of an Ewrenos-oghlu, among the sons of ʿĪsā Beg at least. Cf. also C. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, iv. 8, note 1, where attention is called to such possible confusions.

not much is known. ʿOmar seems to have been the more active of the two. In 1477 he fought on the Isonzo against the Venetians (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 151), next year defeated the Albanians (*ibid.*, ii. 157) and was still alive in 1484, as his will dated Muḥarram 889 (February 1484), shows (cf. E. G. Pharmakidis, *op. cit.*, p. 287—303 or 307—310). ʿOmar Beg had two sons, one of whom, called Ḥasan Beg, is known from his will written in Shawwāl 937 (May 1351; cf. Pharmakidis, p. 310 *sqq.*), while the other, Idrīs Beg, made a name in his day as a poet and excellent translator of Hātifī's *Khosrew u-Shīrīn* and *Laylā u-Madjnūn* into Turkish (cf. Sehī, *Tedhkire*, p. 36 *sq.*). The family of Turakhān-oghlus, which was established around Larisa and owned extensive estates until quite modern times, later played no important part in history. A certain Fā'iḳ Pasha, recorded as a late descendant of Turakhān Beg, by his extortions as governor of Rūm-eli made his name hated; he was beheaded in the court of the Serai in Stambul at the age of 70 in March 1643 (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, p. 322 from Naʿimā, and Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, iv 535). J. Ph. Fallmerayer in 1842 saw "at the chief mosque [of Larisa] a biography of Turchan-Beg preserved there" (cf. *Fragmente aus dem Orient*[2], 1877, p. 381 *sqq.*) but this seems to have since disappeared (like the MS. biography of the Ewrenos-oghlus [q. v.] mentioned by Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i. 117). The genealogical table on p. 877 gives a conspectus of the descendants of Pasha Yigit Beg, the real founder of this Ottoman noble family.

Bibliography: D. Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, London 1838, vol. i; cf. the German transl. by F. G. Buck, Stuttgart and Tubingen 1839, i. 226 *sqq.*, from an Arabic biography of T. and his family preserved in the public library at Tyrnacos in Thessaly. (F. BABINGER)

ṬŪRĀN (or Ṭawārān?), the old name of a district in Balūčistān.

According to Tabarī, i. 820, the kings of Tūrān and of Makurān (Mukrān) submitted to the Sāsānian Ardashīr (224—241). The Paikulī inscription only mentions the Makurān-shāh. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 38, thinks that these princes at first owned the suzerainty of the Sakas and their submission to Ardashīr was the result of the conquest of Sakastān (= Sīstān) by this monarch.

Balādhurī does not mention al-Ṭūrān. According to one of his sources, Ḥadjdjādj [q. v.] appointed Saʿīd b. Aslam to Mukrān and "(all) that frontier". Iṣṭakhrī, p. 171, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 226, among the inhabited places in Ṭūrān mention Mhālī (?), Kīzkānān, Sūra (Shūra) and Ḳuṣdār (or Ḳuzdār). Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 232, says that Ṭūrān is a valley with a fortified town (*ḳaṣaba*) also called al-Ṭūrān and in its centre is a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) commanded by an ignorant Baṣrian. Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 232—233, mentions Ḳuzdār separately from the *ḳaṣaba* of the same name. Ḳuzdār was the town (commercial?) of Ṭūrān possessing "a district and several towns". A certain Mughīr (or Muʿīn b. Aḥmad) had seized Ḳuzdār and only recognised the direct authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The statements in Idrīsī, i. 166, 177, confuse the situation, for he gives the name al-Ṭūbarān to the station in Makurān which Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 55, calls al-Tābarān [ten farsakhs S. E. of Fahradj, on the river which is now called Sarbāz and flows into the sea near Gwattar], but then associates Kuzdār and Kīzkānān (towns in the district of Ṭūrān!) with this Ṭubarān. On the other hand, he places Ṭūrān 4 days' journey from Ḳuzdār, in the direction of Mastundj, i. e. to the north. As the site of Ḳuzdār [q.v.] is known (85 miles S. of Kalāt at a height of 4,050 feet: cf. the article BALŪČISTĀN), Ṭūrān (the town) must be located at Kalāt.

The town of Ḳandābīl, five farsakhs (more accurately 5 *marhal*) from Ḳuzdār, is outside of Ṭūrān and is the capital of the district of the Budhas (Balādhurī, p. 436: Zuṭṭ al-Budha). Ḳandābīl, lying in the plain, is identified with Gandāwa (75 English miles N. E. of Khozdar, to the north of the Indus, at a height of 314 feet above sea-level).

The position of Kīzkānān, the residence of the already mentioned Muʿīn b. Aḥmad (chief of Ṭūrān according to Iṣṭakhrī, or of Ḳuzdār, according to Ibn Hawḳal), is unknown. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 192, 275—276, connects Kīzkānān with Ḳīkān (cf. Balādhurī, p. 432) and seeks it at Kalāt. In this case, Kīzkānān = the *ḳaṣaba* al-Tūrān. The land between Kīzkānān and Kandābīl, inhabited by Budhas and possessing vines, bore the name of its chief Ayl (or Utl [?]).

Yāḳūt, iii. 557, reckons Ṭūrān (the *ḳaṣaba* of which is Kusdār and which has several *rustāḳ*) among the *nāḥiya* of Sind. He also mentions a *nāḥiya* of Ṭūrān in Madāʾin and a village of Ṭūrān belonging to Harāt.

The Arabs write Turan with *ṭ* which may represent some local aspiration of *t*. In principle there is nothing to object to in the connection of Ṭūrān with Tūrān but it would be unwise to go beyond stating the similarity of the names. The connection is still weaker if we connect Ṭūrān with Ṭūbarān and Ṭabarān.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. Persiens*, i. 56, thinks the name Ṭūrān may come from the Iranian term Tūra, which means "enemy, non-Iranian countries"; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 31—33, 187, 190; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 332; Hüsing, *Volkerschichten in Iran, Mitt. d. Anthrop. Gesell. Wien*, xxxxvi., 1916, p. 200, seeks the real Tūrān not in Turkestān but in Tūrān of Ḳusdār (inhabited by the ancestors of the Brahūi of our day!). (V. MINORSKY)

TŪRĀN, an Iranian term applied to the country to the north-east of Iran. The form of the name is not earlier than the Middle Persian period. The suffix *-ān* is used to form both patronymics (Pāpakān) and the names of countries (Gēlān, Dailamān) (cf. *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, I/ii., p. 176; Salemann, *ibid.*, I/i., p. 280 expresses doubts as to whether *-ān* is from the genitive plural *-ānām*).

Three questions are raised by the name Tūrān: 1. its origin, 2. its later acceptation, which identifies Tūrān with "the land of the Turks", 3. its modern geographical, linguistic and political applications.

The Tūra. In the Iranian sphere, the element Tūr of Tūr-ān has analogies in the Avestan Tūra- (Tura-). In the parts preserved of the Avesta, we have 1. Tūra, the father of two pious individuals, who bear the Iranian names of Arəǰahwant and Frārāzī but of whom nothing more is known (*Yasht*, xiii. 113—123); 2. the people called Tūra or Tura, probably nomads (*Yasht*, xvii. 55: *āsu-aspa* "having swift steeds"). [The adjective from Tūra, with epenthesis, is *tūirya*].

The Tūryans are several times represented as enemies of the Iranians and of the true religion (cf. *Yašt*, xvii. 55 where they pursue Aši wanuhi). A subdivision (?) of the Tūryans is called Dānu (*Yašt*, xvii. 55—56), which may be connected with the Sanskrit *dānawa* "demons". A particularly hateful figure is that of the "Tūryan brigand" Franrasyan (= Afrāsiyāb), whose fruitless attempts to seize the royal power (*xᵛarənа*) are related at length in *Yašt*, xix 56—64. But the same *Yašt*, xix. 93, admits that the *xᵛarənа* had once been in the possession of Franrasyan, when he played the part of defender of Iran against the tyrant Zainigav. The hostility to Franrasyan might therefore have political roots

Quite a number of passages reveal that there were pious people among the Tūra. The family of the Tūryan Fryāna is particularly praised in a very early passage in the Gāthās (*Yasna*, xlvi. 12). The passage in *Yašt*, xiii. 143 is very well known. "we sacrifice to the *frawašis* of the pious men and the pious women of the Aryan (Iranian), Tūryan, Sairimyan, Sāinyan and Dāhyan lands".

An indirect indication of the abode of the Tūra is given in *Yašt*, v. 57, where the descendants of *Vaēsaka, lieutenant of Franrasyan (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i 248, 264: Wēsa), are located at the pass of Xšathrō-suka, situated "very high" in Kanha (= Bukhārā ?; cf Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 196, in Chinese: Khang = Samarkand). On the other hand, the name of the canton Tur, which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy mentions in Khwārizm (ed. Soukry, § 34; cf. below), is very significant.

Several hypotheses have been put forward regarding the ethnical character of the Tūra. Geiger, *Ostir Kultur*, p 194, thought that this term referred to all the peoples of the steppes without distinction of race ("ein Kollectivbegriff.. , der keine ethnographische Trennung bezeichnete, sondern die Steppenvolker der Ebenen vom Kaspisee bis an den Sīr und daruber hinaus umfasste"). Geiger thought it possible that there were Tatar elements among the Tūra ("Überreste einer tatarischen Urbevolkerung" ?). It should however be noted that Geiger's attempt (p. 198) to find the Huns among the Tūra is now rejected (*hunu*, "son, descendant"; Bartholomae, *Altir. Worterb.*, col. 1831).

The term *dānu* (cf. above) may also have a non-ethnical significance and mean the non-Mazdaean Tūra ("demons") [Christensen (1928) has revived Geiger's thesis; he supposes that Tūra was "originally the designation of the nomad peoples, whether they were of Iranian race or not"].

On the other hand, Blochet, in his article "Le nom des Turks dans l'Avesta" supports the popular etymology Tūra = Turk and seeks to explain the names of the Tūryan Dānu, Kara Asabana and Vara Asabana, by the Turkish words *ḳara* "black" and *gor* (?) "clever": "the name Turk, or at least the root from which it comes [sic !], was in existence at a date long before the sixth century". In this connection it may be recalled that whatever may be the etymology of the name Turk (cf. *ark-tuṛk*, "force, power": F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii. 10; *turkum*, "family": Kāshgharī, i. 368), the name Tūra is readily explained in Iranian as "courageous", "brave"; cf. *tūr* in Persian and in Kurdish and the significant allusion of Firdawsī to the character of Tūr, son of Farīdūn. It is true that the etymology of Kara and Vara is still obscure and that, according to Firdawsī, a member of the Vēsa family bears the name of Kurūkhān (?) (ed. Vullers, i. 261), but alongside these names one could place other Tūryan names of clearly Iranian appearance, including that of the third companion of Kara and of Vara, Dūraēkaēta "whose wish goes far". (This argument would lose its value if we could prove that the princes of Tūra were of foreign origin, but at the same time, one would lose all means of identifying the people).

The most elaborate hypothesis concerning the Tūra is that of Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 155–157. According to him, the celebrated ancestral home of the Iranians Airyanəm waēǰō was in Khwārizm. The legendary wars of Iran and Tūrān reflect the struggles between the settled Iranians (who, proud of their superior culture, had monopolised the name *airyana*) with the nomad Massagetai "fish-eaters" (cf. Avesta *masya* "fish" and the Scythian plural suffix *-ta*). It is these Scythian Massagetai, living at first to the east of the Oxus and the sea of Aral, who must have taken the name of Tūra. The district of Tūr which the Armenian translator of Ptolemy (Ananias of Shirak ?) mentions in Khwārizm must be a memory of the Tūra people. [The connection of the district of Tūr with the Bactrian satrapy of Τουριούα (Strabo, xi. 517) has still to be settled (cf. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, p. 194, 202)] The later migrations of peoples have completely changed the ethnical map of Asia and gradually the term Tūra was transferred to the new enemies of the Iranians, the Sacaraucae, the Tokharians, the Yüe-či, the Kūshāns, the Khionites, the Hephthalites and the Turks.

The Sanskrit translation of the *Avesta* renders Tūra by Turuskaḥ. This last word seems usually to refer to the Turks, but as the Sanskrit translation is very late (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil*, ii, p. 50), its interpretation of ethnical terms has no value.

The influence of the *Šāh-nāma*. The connection between the Tūrān and the Tūra was found quite late (cf Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1871, i 553 and especially Geiger, *op. cit*, 1822, p. 193) The Middle Persian sources which might retain traces of the evolution of Tūran from Tūra have had no direct influence on the formation of the current connotation of Tūrān. We can therefore say that the principal source of oriental and European views on this subject has been the *Šāh-nāma*. The parallel Persian and Arabic sources, also based on the Middle Persian *Ḵʷātay-nāmak*, have served only as a supplement to Firdawsī's poem

Tūrān is mentioned in the chapter of the *Šāh-nāma* relating to the tripartition of the world by Farīdūn (Thraētaona, Frēdhōn), the last universal monarch (ruler of the clime Xvanīras); cf Macan's edition p. 58; Mohl, i. 138; Vullers, i. 77–78.

Tūrān and its eponym. *Yašt*, xiii. 143 (cf above), which is very early, reflects the idea that the world is made up of five nations. On the other hand from the Pahlavi *Dēnkart* we know that an Avestan book, now lost, spoke of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Farīdūn (Thraētaona, Frēdhōn); Sarm, Tūč and Ērēč (Pahlavi forms). We have evidently a case of two sets of traditions being amalgamated by giving the ancient peoples Iranian eponyms. But as the changes had taken place in the world as known to the Iranians, the two eldest sons of Farīdūn had to be given, one in the west the

other in the east, apanages in conformity with the political divisions of the period (Sāsānian ?). The west was thus identified with Rūm (Byzantine empire) and the east with the Turks, neighbours of the Persians since the defeat of the Hephthalites under Khusraw I (ca. 557).

The ancient legend of the tripartition of the world among the sons of Thraētaona symbolised the relationship of the ancient peoples of whom they were the eponyms. In the time of Firdawsī, the legend was totally deprived of ethnical foundation and the contradictions had to be concealed by playing upon words. In the *Shāh-nāma*, Farīdūn gives his sons the name of Salm, Tūr and Īradj only after subjecting them to a test to reveal their characters. The eldest, who has escaped the danger without scathe (*salāmat*) receives the lands in the west (*Rūm wa-xāwar*) with the title Xāwar-khudāy. To the dashing second son (*tūr* = courageous) is given Tūrān and he becomes Tūrān-shāh, or Shāh-i Čīn, "lord of the Turks and Chinese" (Türk wa-Čīn; cf. ed. Vullers, reign of Farīdūn, verses 460 and 295) The youngest, as brave as he is prudent, receives "Īrān and the plain of the heroes" (or perhaps of the Kurds: cf. *ibid.*, verses 291, 300 and 321) with the title *Īrān-khudāy*.

In the Arabic writers (cf. Ṭabarī, i. 226) the name of the eldest son still has the form Sarm < Sairima. But as the Pahlavi alphabet does not distinguish *r* and *l*, Firdawsī (as well as the *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh*) preferred the variant Salm which lent itself to a play on the Arabic root *s-l-m*. [Modi's attempt· *Asiatic Papers*, Bombay 1905, p. 244, and Blochet's: *Rev. de l'Or. Chrétien*, 1925, xxv., p. 431, to connect Sairima directly with Rome (*sRim, cf. Armen. hRom) is wild in every respect]. That the connection of Salm with the west is still very slight is evident from the fact that the two brothers Salm and Tūr fight east of the Caspian Sea (Tha'ālibī moves the scene of war to Ādharbāidjān) and hold there jointly a naval stronghold Alānān-diz (Dihistānān Ṣūr, on the Cape of Ḥasan-kuli ? on which see Barthold, *K. istorii oroshéniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 33). The name of the Alāns (ancestors of the Ossetes and descendants of the Sauromates = Sairima ?) in these regions can relate only to a period about the first century B.C., when the Iranians still ruled around the Caspian (Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 108).

The name Tūr (Firdawsī and *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh*) appears in the *Dēnkart*, viii. 13 as Tūč and this form predominates in the Arabic sources: Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 15: Ṭūdj or Ṭūs; Dīnawarī, p. 11 (the sons of Nimrūd: Īradj, Salm and Ṭūs); Ṭabarī, i. 226, *Fihrist*, p. 12; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii. 116, Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, p 102; Tha'ālibī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 41 (Tūz, Tūž). In any case the form Tūr chosen by Firdawsī to explain Tūr-ān as the apanage of the bearer of this name differs from the forms found in the Pahlavi and Arabic sources. According to Marquart, *Beiträge*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 664—7, Tōč < Taurič (from Tūra); according to Christensen, Tūč is from Tūr + č = "of Tūryan origin".

Tūrān as a geographical term. The term Tūrān, formed from the name of the people Tūra, which is derived from that of its eponym Tūč/Tūr, and ultimately applied to the country of the Turks, ought to be found in the Sāsānian *Khwātay-nāmak*, the source used by the Arab historians and by Firdawsī. It is true that the *Bundahish*, xii. 13, 39, etc. uses only the term Turkestān [while Salmān, "land of Salm" *ibid.* xx. 12, there designates the country from which the Tugra comes] but we find Tūrān in the *Dēnkart* viii, and in the fragments from Turfān (F. W. K. Müller, ii. 87).

For Firdawsī, Tūrān, land of the Turks and of the Chinese, is separated from Īrān by the Oxus (*Shāhnāma*, ed Vullers, reign of Farīdūn, verses 295, 309, 322, 456, 459, 542, 792, reign of Nawdhar verse 133; ed. Mohl, v. 680, reign of Bahrām Gūr). On the other hand in the account of the defeat of Afrāsiyāb, the beginning of his domains seems to be extended to "Ḳibčaḳ". Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 110, from the manuscripts, emends this name to Ḳočḳār (*bāshī*) and identifies it with the encampment of the Ḳarlukh [q. v] 5 farsakhs beyond Taiāz [q. v.]; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 24. *Kṣry bās*. In the same way the capital of Afrāsiyāb, Kang-diz, is located by Firdawsī somewhere near China, without any connection with the country of Kang (Bukhārā) (ed Vullers, verse 1381; cf. Bartholomae, col. 437; Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 109). These details may record the early stages in the western movements of the Turks. As to the Chinese, subjects of the kings of Tūrān, Firdawsī may have substituted their name for that of the old Avestan people Sāinav, already assimilated to the Chinese in the *Bundahish* (Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, ii. 554)

The Muslim writers, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, have not been logical in the use of the term Tūrān. But since for the Arab geographers, the land of the Turks began only to the east of the Sīr Daryā and did not include Transoxiana (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, *Gibb. Mem Ser*, p 64), it seems that there was a tendency to identify Tūrān with Transoxiana, i. e. with the lands between the Amū-Daryā and the Sīr Daryā. According to Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 114, the Persians call the land beside the Oxus, Marz-i Tūrān For Yāḳūt, i 892, Tūrān is the country of Mā warā' al-Nahr (Transoxiana); after the tripartition of the world by Afrīdūn, the Turks called their land Tūrān after their king Tūdj (Yaḳūt also mentions a village of Tūrān near Ḥarrān). Very curious is the archaicising reference in Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie* (ca. 1320), ed. St. Petersburg, p. 114, according to which the Sayhūn (Sīr-Daryā) forms the frontier between Transoxiana, i. e. "the land of the Hayāṭila called Tūlān (= Tūrān)" and the land of Turkestān which is called Farghāna (on Haiṭal = Transoxiana, cf. also *Ērānšahr*, p. 307). Much more vague is the use of the term in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* (xiv^th century) where the Volga is called Nahr-Tūrān and the summer camps of the old kings of Tūrān (the former Khāns of Ḳipčaḳ: Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 138) are located at Arḳ-tagh (?), identified by Quatremère and Marquart with the Ural Mountains.

In the *Ẓafar-nāma* (xv^th century), Tūrān is only used for poetical comparisons (i. 34, 624: "the heroes of Tūrān in Iran"). Abu 'l-Ghāzī (xvi^th century) sometimes uses it is a mythological term (ed. Desmaisons, p. 2, 129, 140), sometimes identifies it with western Siberia (p. 177), sometimes seems vaguely to regard the lands of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh as situated between Iran and Tūrān (*Īrān birlän Tūrān arasï*; p. 96).

The term Tūrān became known in Europe from Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris 1697,

p. 63, where we are told that Afrāsiyāb, a Turk by birth but a descendant of Tūr, son of Farīdūn, was king "of all the country which lies beyond the river Oxus... to the east and north, this country used to be called Tūrān but it has since received the name of Turkestān". This last term is already found in the maps of Ortelius and Mercator in the XVIth century (Oberhummer). The term Tūrān became naturalised in Europe only in the XIXth century. Its vague character has earned it a certain degree of popularity as applied to ideas where accuracy of definition is out of the question.

Bibliography Justi, *Iran Namenbuch, sub* Tūra, Sairima, Bartholomae, *Altiran. Worterbuch, sub* Tūra, tūirya, Sairima; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1875, I. 270, 546, 575, 579; Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, 1882, p. 193—202; Brunhofer, *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder- und Central-Asien*, Band I· *Iran una Turan*, Leipzig 1893, in the series *Einzelbeitrage z. allg. u vergl Sprachwiss* (cf. Bartholomae *Wochenschr f. klass. Phil*, 1890, col 1161); Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p 155—157; cf. also Marquait, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II. 78, 136; Marquart, *Über d Volkstum d. Komanen*, Berlin 1914, p 104, 196; Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung u. Herkunft d Indogermanen*, Berlin 1913, p 404; Blochet, *Le nom des Turks dans l'Avesta, JRAS*, 1915, p 305—308; Blochet, *Le pays des Tchata et les Ephtalites*, *RRAL*, 1925, N⁰ 6, p 331—351; Blochet, *Les sources grecques et chrétiennes de l'astronomie hindoue*, *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien*, XXV., 1925, p. 430—431, Blochet, *Le nom des Turks*, *ibid*, XXVI, 1927—1928, N⁰. I, p. 188—206; Oberhummer, *Die Turken u d. osmanische Reich*, Leipzig-Vienna 1917; Oberhummer, *Der Name Turan, Túrán*, Budapest April 1918, p 193—208; Christensen, *Etudes sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*, *D. Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab*, Copenhagen 1928, p 16; Gray, *Foundations of the Iranian religion*, Bombay 1929, in *Journ Cama Orient. Inst.*, N⁰. 15, p. 12

Turanian languages. The inventor of this term seems to have been the historian Bunsen (1854) who applied it to those languages of Asia and Europe, which are neither Indo-European nor Semitic. The real populariser of the term was Max Muller, *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of Three Families of Languages, Semitic, Arian and Turanian*, London 1855, who includes in this group (for he avoids the term "family") of agglutinative languages not only Finno-Ugrian and Altaic but also Siamese, Tibetan, Malay etc Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes*, Paris 1874, extended the term to include Sumerian. J. Oppert, in *Les Peuples et la Langue des Mèdes*, Paris 1889, wrongly taking the language of the second column of the Achaemenian inscriptions (the Neo-Elamite) for Median concluded that the Medes were "Turanian". Turanian became a regular dumping ground for languages awaiting classification But already Castrén (1862) pointed out the proper line of criticism. He first of all isolated the quintuple group of "Ural-Altaic" languages with its branches, Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed, Turko-Tatar, Mongol and Tunguz. Later researches have brought further restrictions by separating the first two of these from the last three, which form the Altaic group. G. Ramstedt, the founder of the comparative grammar of this group, has, after some hesitation, solidly established the relationship of Turkish with Mongol and their connection with Tunguz is also admitted. On the other hand, the connection of Altaic with Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed still lacks decisive proof As to the term Turanian, it has been completely banished from modern linguistics. Cf. Deny, *Langues turques, mongoles et toungouses*, in *Les langues du Monde*, Paris 1924; Poppe, *La parenté des langues altaiques*, *Histoire et état actuel de la question* (in Russian), Bākū 1926; Sauvageot, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaiques*, Paris 1929.

Pan-Turanianism. This political term is used on the one hand as synonymous with the Pan-Turkish movement (*Turk-ḏuluk* "Turkism") and on the other is applied to something much more vague, the tendency to a rapprochement among the "Turanian peoples".

In the latter meaning, it has been particularly employed in Hungary where the first appearance of the term Tūrān, in the ideal sense of the distant fatherland, dates from 1839 (according to Count Teleki. "eine gewisse Schwärmerei für Stammland und Stammverwandte") The review *Turan* founded at Budapest during the World War by the *Turanische Gesellschaft*, to judge from the Bulgar and Turkish prospectuses, was intended to study the history and civilisation "of the peoples who are related to us" (in Turkish: *bizim-le ḳarabeti olan milletler*) The editor however (1918, N⁰. I, p 5) took up quite a distinct attitude in the following pronouncement: "our Tūrān is geographical; it is neither the Tūrān of Max Muller, the subject of lively controversy, nor the Tūrān of political aspirations" Count Teleki and Prof. Cholnoky (*Turan, ein Landschaftbegriff*, *ibid*, N⁰. I, p 85) conceived this region as lying between the following boundaries. the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau, the mountains at the sources of the Sir-Daryā and the Irtish and the plateau of Akmolinsk. Setting aside the value of the ideas of these authors on the uniformity of this geographical milieu and on the influence it has exerted upon the peoples who have lived there, it must be recognised that from the point of view of geographical terminology (cf above) such a use of the word Tūrān is quite new and personal. Broadly speaking, this Tūrān is a useless term substituted for Turkestān, which has at least the merit of being a definite conception

In Russia also we can find tendencies parallel to those of the Hungarian "Turanians". The group called "Eurasian" has interested itself in geo-politics and the cultural influences of the Eurasian peoples; cf I. R., *L'héritage de Čingiz-ḫan* (in Russian), Berlin 1925, Prince N. Troubetskoi, *Sur l'élément touranien de la culture russe* (in Russian), Paris 1927. Much clearer in principle are the tendencies of the Pan-Turanian movement comprised in the narrower sense of "Pan-Turkish" but in the absence of a complete study of this cultural and political movement we can only give a summary account of its stages of development and programme.

The Ottoman empire at the period of its greatest expansion was quite without any tendencies to Turkism. The highest offices were filled by non-Turks, whose conversion to Islām was often of recent date The levies of Christian children [cf. DEWSHIRME] provided the state with the most capable civil and military officers (cf. Lybyer, *The Govern-*

ment... of Suleiman the Magnificent, Cambridge Mass. 1913, p. 51—56) The theory of the *sulṭān-khalīfa* excluded the possibility of preferring the Turkish elements to the other Muslim subjects of the empire. Even in the xix^th^ century the word *turk* had in the Ottoman empire the definite meaning of "peasant, rustic, yokel" (cf. the popular proverbs). In this connection the poem by Meḥmed Emīn Bey, written during the war with Greece in 1897, marks the date of the complete change of meaning of the word: *Ben bir türk-um, dinim djinsim ulu-dur*: "I am a Turk, my religion and my race are exalted ones".

Several factors have determined the development of the "Turkist" movement, sometimes called Tūrānian.

a. The formation in the xix^th^ century of numerous national movements (Greek, German, Italian, Slav, Armenian, Arab) several of which were directed against the Ottoman empire.

b. The reverses suffered by the Ottoman empire, which deprived it of its possessions in the Balkans, in Africa and finally in Asia also (Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Mawṣil) With each diminution of Ottoman territory the Turkish element of Anatolia gained in importance, not only as regards numerical proportion but also from the point of view of the only sure and stable basis upon which the state could be established.

c. The progress made by Turcology, which has drawn up an inventory of the Turkish peoples, established the affinity of their languages and thrown light upon the early history of the Turks [More direct has been the influence of the romantic work by L Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, Paris 1896 (Turkish adaptation by Nedjīb ʿAṣīm). Among the earlier works which have exerted an influence on these lines Ziyā Gok Alp mentions de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Turcs, des Mongols et des Huns*, Paris 1756—1758 and Lumley Davids, *Turkish Grammar*, London 1832 and 1836. Here also we should mention the sketches of national movements published by the *R. M. M* and the work of R. Hartmann tending to establish a bond of union among Turkish peoples].

d. The formation in Russia of a Muslim *intelligentsia*, primarily Turco-Tatar, and the impetus given to the Turkish press in Russia by the events of 1905. The emigrés from Russia, like ʿAlī Husain-zāde (Bākū), Yūsuf Aḳ-čura (Ḳazan) and Aḥmad Aghā-oghlu (Ḳarabāgh) have been the driving forces in the movement and even had to overcome considerable opposition emanating from the Turks of Turkey.

At the beginning of the xx^th^ century, three political theses were to the front in Turkey· Pan-Islāmism, Ottomanism and Pan-Turkism. An open discussion of these was instituted (in 1902–1903) in the journal *Türk* published in Cairo. The Pan-Turkish point of view was championed by Yūsuf Aḳ-čura-oghlu whose article *Üč tarz siyāset* (reprinted at Stambul in 1327) has played an important part in the elaboration of the programme of the movement. Aḳ-čura criticised Ottomanism as tending to diminish the privileges of the Turks and contrary to Islām which recognises equal rights for all believers. On the other hand, Pan-Islāmism would exacerbate the non-Muslims and meet resistance from certain European powers. The author then declared for Pan-Turkism, thinking it would overcome the greatest obstacle, represented by Russia, with the help of other governments (*R. M. M.*, xxii., p 179—221).

In the same journal *Türk*, Aḳ-čura's thesis was criticised by the liberal ʿAlī Kemāl, in the name of Ottomanism, and by Aḥmad Ferīd on grounds of possibility, for pan-Islāmism seemed to him unrealisable and pan-Turkism so far non-existent.

In the early days of the revolution of July 1908, Ottomanism (= equal Ottoman citizenship for all ethnic elements) triumphed officially but before a year had passed the Committee of Union and Progress had reluctantly to recognise there were irreconcilable tendencies among the nations that composed the Ottoman empire. The Turkist movement was growing rapidly.

On Dec. 24, 1908, the Turkish Assembly (*Turk Derneyi*) was founded at Stambul with the object of studying the situation and the activities (*aḥwāl we-afʿāl*) of all Turkish peoples. In practice, the interest of this body has been confined to questions of language, which have been discussed in the reviews *Yeñi-lisān*, *Genḏj ḳalemler* etc. In 1911 the Turanian Society for the propagation of knowledge (*Tūrān neshr-i meʿārif djemʿiyeti*) was created and in December appeared N^o^. 1 of the periodical *Turk-yurdu* edited by Y. Aḳ-čura. On May 25, 1912, the *Turk oḏjaklarī* (Turkish Hearths) were founded, circles for the study of Turkish culture

At the same time the great theorist of Turkism, Ziyā Gok Alp [q. v.], elected in 1910 a member of the Central Committee of Union and Progress, began his activity first at Salonica (1909) and later at Stambul (1912) In a series of poetical works he aroused the memories dormant in the blood of the Turks and sang the Turkish ideal as personified in the mysterious land of Tūrān· "The children of Oghuz-khān will never forget this country which is called Tūrān" (*Turkluk*, 1911). This land is associated with Attila, Fārābī, Ulugh Beg, Ibn Sīnā (the Turkish origins of the latter [q.v.] are not by any means proved). "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey, nor Turkestān, their fatherland is the great eternal land of Tūrān" (*Tūrān*, 1914).

The teaching of Ziyā Gok Alp was summed up in the formula "Turkicise yourself (from the point of view of culture, *ḫarṭḳ*), Islāmicise yourself, modernise yourself (from the point of view of civilisation, *medeniyet*)". The systematic exposition of the theories of this writer will be found in *Turkčuluyun esāslarī*, "The foundations of Turkism", published at Angora in 1339 (1923) a year before the author's death. In this work, the idea of Tūrān is a little more practical. Ziyā Gok Alp defines the nation as a group of individuals connected by language, religion, ethics and aesthetics. Tūrān is not a mixture of Turks, Mongols, Tunguz, Finns and Hungarians. "The word Tūrān is a name covering the Turk tribes exclusively". The reunion of the Turks can only be brought about by stages The immediate ideal of Turkism is the cultural union of the Oghuz-Turks, i. e. the Turks of Turkey and the Turkomans of Āḏharbāidjān, of Persia and Ḵhwārizm. Their political union is not at present envisaged but one cannot foretell the future. On the other hand, if the Tatars, the Özbegs and the Ḳirghiz succeed in creating civilisations of their own and in forming separate nations, they will retain their respective names, but in that case "Tūrān" will serve as a common term

for all the peoples enumerated, forming an ethnical union (*djāmi'e*).

Tūrānian romanticism has had various repercussions in the purely literary field in the works of Aḥmad Ḥikmat (*Altîn ordu*), Khālide Edīb Khānîm (*Yeñi Tūrān*, 1913), Aḳa Gündüz (*Muḥterem ḳātil*, a drama produced in 1914 whose subject is a Turkish rising in the Caucasus), Müfide Ferīd Khanîm (*Ay Demir*, a Turkish rising in Central Asia). On literary Tūrānianism during the War, cf. M. Hartmann, *M.S.O.S.*, 1918, xxi., p. 19—22.

During the War of 1914, the Young Turks (Committee of Union and Progress) governing the Ottoman empire officially professed Ottomanism, at least so far as Muslims were concerned, but in fact the deportations of Armenians in 1915 were realising the programme of the Turkicisation of Turkey.

Expansion towards the East. The war of 1914 had drawn a curtain between the Turks of Turkey and their kinsmen. The Russian revolution of 1917 entirely modified the situation. By the clause added at the last minute to the treaty of Brest-Litowsk, Turkey obtained the return to the frontier of 1877 in Transcaucasia (surrender by Russia of Batum, Ḳars and Ardahān). The refusal of the Turks of Ādharbāidjān to resist the Ottomans put an end to the Transcaucasian confederation (April 22, 1918), which was replaced by three independent republics (Ādharbāidjān, Georgia and Armenia) Under the command of Enwer Pāshā's brother, the Turks advanced as far as Petrowsk on the Caspian Sea but the armistice of Mudros (Oct. 30, 1918) forced them to turn back The English then occupied and later withdrew from Transcaucasia. While in the capital, occupied by the Allies, Dāmād Ferīd Pāshā's government *in extremis* was making a last attempt to unfold a programme of Ottomanism, the nationalist government was formed in Asia Minor (summer of 1919) and by energetic measures was able to retain the ground gained by the Young Turks at Brest-Litowsk. The republic of Armenia was conquered (Peace of Alexandiopol of Dec. 3, 1920). Georgia declared its neutrality and submitted to the ultimatum (of Feb 23, 1921) which demanded the evacuation of Artwin and Ardahān. On March 16, 1921, the Turkish-Soviet treaty was signed at Moscow and on Oct. 13 confirmed at Ḳars, with the participation of the three Caucasian republics (now Soviets). Turkey withdrew her claim to Batum but, what was not in the Brest-Litowsk treaty, received the district of Igdir on the Araxes (which Persia had ceded to Russia in 1828) and thus enabled her territory to be contiguous to that of Nakhičewān, which had been created as a dependency of the Soviet republic of Ādharbāidjān

The government of Angora thus secured concrete gains in Transcaucasia but publicly disowned Enwer Pāshā's achievements, who had at first allied himself with the Soviet government but finally raised the standard of revolt in Turkestān where he dreamed of founding a Turkish empire. He fell in a skirmish in eastern Bukhārā on Aug. 4, 1922 ("as a martyr to Turkism" as his colleague Dr. Nāẓim said at the trial of the Young Turks in August 1926); cf. Castagné, *Les basmatchis*, Paris 1927.

Cultural Movement. The old leaders of the Tūrānian movement had early rallied to the government of Angora. (The poet Meḥmed Emîn and Aḳ-čura Oghlu arrived at Angora in April 1921). From April 23, 1924 the Turkish Hearths (*Turk odjaklarî*) resumed their activity in Angora under the leadership of Ḥamdullāh-Subḥi. Their first *kurultai* met at Angora on March 28, 1926. In 1928 Yūsuf Aḳ-čura produced at Stambul the annual *Turk yîlî* (The Turkish Year) with summaries of the doings of Turks abroad. As a result of the Russian revolution of 1917 a new wave of emigration swept over Turkey. The supporters of the old nationalist governments overthrown by the Soviets established the review *Yeñi Kafkasiya* (1924) which was succeeded in March 1929 by the *Odlu Yurt* "Land of Fire" (= Ādharbāidjān). These organs of Turkish solidarity have not however linked up with the local Turkish press.

As regards the Turks in what was the Russian empire, since the revolution of 1917, they have realised and even gone beyond their old programme of establishing their own civilisation and autonomy. But alongside of this natural evolution, the Turks of the U. R S. S have actively and passively taken part in all the phases of the Soviet revolution For the moment (1930) it is impossible to separate the results of the particular and general factors and to say to what point the tendencies of all the peoples of Turkish origin are converging.

The communications and discussions at the first Turcological congress at Bākū from Feb. 26 to March 6, 1926 (131 delegates, Soviet and foreign, including two from Turkey) were of great interest (see the shorthand reports published in Russian, Bākū 1926, and Menzel's detailed analysis in *Der Islam*, 1918) The decision of the congress regarding the optional adoption of the Roman alphabet (conpulsory since 1928) had a great influence on the introduction of the new alphabet into Turkey (1928) (cf. H. Duda, *Die neue Lateinschrift in d Turkei*, *O L.Z*, June 1929, col 441—453; E. Rossi, *Il nuovo alfabeto*, *Oriente Moderno*, Jan 1929, p. 33—48)

It is difficult to foretell the future of the Pan-Turkish movement. The cultural attraction of Angora, this great centre of Turkism, is legitimate and inevitable. But Angora is now a lay capital entirely free from the Islāmic prestige of the old Stambul. The intensity of its influence will therefore depend primarily on the worth of the Turkish culture (*ḳarth*) which will be developed there. Even the bringing of all Turks "descended from Oghuz" under one culture according to Ziyā Gok Alp's idea would not be easy, because, for example, the Persian Turks, the immediate neighbours of Turkey, are very much under the influence of Persian culture, the persistence of which is a historical fact. As to the political union of the Turkish peoples, account must be taken of the very different conditions under which they live. Their lands are very scattered. They are separated by the Caspian Sea and the desert. In Transcaucasia the corridor between Georgia and Armenia on the one side and Persia on the other is very narrow and is of no importance, unless a complete reversal of the situation in Transcaucasia and in Persia should take place simultaneously, which is quite beyond the programme of Turkism pure and simple.

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(V. Minorsky)

TŪRĀNSHĀH b. Aiyūb al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Shams al-Dawla Fakhr al-Dīn, founder of the Aiyūbid dynasty of the Yemen

He was born at the beginning of Radjab 569 (February 1174); two years before, the death of the last Fāṭimid ʿĀḍid [q. v.] had formally made Saladın lord of Egypt, the relationship of vassal and overlord between him and the Zangid Atābeg Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd had now become unnatural and threatened to end in war; King Amalrich of Jerusalem, with whom Saladın had been fighting, was still unsubdued, the Crusaders of Kerak and Shawbak [q. v.] were harassing the roads to Egypt. That Saladın should choose such a time for the conquest of Yemen is remarkable and is not completely explained by the religious grounds which induced him to wage this war, namely the expulsion of the Khāridjī Mahdī [q. v.] from Zabīd and of the Shīʿī Banū Karam [q. v.] who were formally incorporated in the Fāṭimid hierarchy from ʿAden. It is characteristic of Saladın's foresight that he wished to secure for himself a province to which he could retire on any emergency; the general situation indicated that this could only be found in the south, where alone his troops could be employed; for if he wanted to avoid an open breach with Nūr al-Dīn, it was best to leave Frankish power in Palestine as a bulwark between them for the time. Only a year before, he had sent to Nubia one of his five brothers, an elder one, Tūrānshāh, whose name popular rumour had connected with the death of the last Fāṭimid; but Tūrānshāh did not think the country worth the difficulty and expense of taking it. The old-established relations between the holy cities and Egypt now attracted his attention to the Arabian peninsula at the northern approach to which the port of Aila [q. v.] had already been occupied in 566 (1171). Tūrānshāh was therefore sent to Yemen, took Zabīd in Shawwāl of the year 569 (May 1174), ʿAden in the same year and in the following year drove from Ṣanʿā' the Ḥamdānid ʿAlī b. Ḥātim al-Waḥīd, whose power to resist had been weakened by the continual attacks of the Zaidī Imām Aḥmad b. Sulaimān of Ṣaʿda. Tūrānshāh however did not feel comfortable in a country where snow never fell and he could not obtain his favourite fruits. As a result of urgent representations to his brother, he obtained a transfer to Syria in 571, which had in the meanwhile passed to Saladın on the death of Nūr al-Dīn. After spending three years in Damascus as governor of Syria, his brother transferred him to Alexandria where he died on 1st Ṣafar 576 (June 27, 1180)

The career of Tūrānshāh is not unimportant but the initiative was always Saladın's; Tūrānshāh was more a man who enjoyed life. Even while still in Egypt he had acquired considerable wealth; from the Nubian campaign he brought back many slaves, including the Christian metropolitan; before the Yemen campaign he had been given large old family fiefs in ʿBaalbek, in Yemen itself his brother gave him rich estates as his personal property. On leaving there, his main anxiety was that his representative should send him the revenues promptly. This man with all these estates nevertheless left behind him 200,000 dīnārs of debts which his brother paid The body of Tūrānshāh, always homesick for Syria, was taken by his sister Sitt al-Shām Zumurrud and buried beside the medresa built by her in Damascus.

The Aiyūbid conquest was of considerable significance for the Yemen. The three small states there were combined and united to a great power. The occupation was very thoroughly carried through. It is true that the last Hamdānid was able to escape to the highlands, but the last Mahdī ʿAbd al-Nabi' and his two brothers and the last real ruler of the Karam, the major domo Yāsir, were put to death some time after their surrender by Tūrānshāh's orders. The latter's departure so soon after the conquest was not calculated to keep the conquered territory together. Dangerous risings at once broke out. It was only when Saladın sent his other brother Tughtegīn Saif al-Islām who stayed there from 578–593 (1182–1196) that Aiyūbid rule became more of a reality He was followed by his sons Muʿizz al-Dīn Ismāʿīl till 598 (1201) and al-Nāṣir Aiyūb till 611 (1214); both were assassinated. In 612 (1215) the head of the family, Saladın's brother al-ʿĀdil Saif al-Islām Abū Bakr, sent his young grandson al-Masʿūd Yūsuf there. The gradual breakdown in family discipline however had resulted shortly before this in a great-grandson of Saladın's brother, Nūr al-Dīn Shāhānshāh called al-Muzaffar Sulaimān, on the appeal of Nāṣir's brother, establishing himself in Yemen, posing as a Ṣūfī with a retinue of Ṣūfīs. Along with Tūrānshāh, five brothers of the family of the Banū Rasūl had come into the country and soon attained great importance as indispensable councillors and wealthy owners of land. In the fight between Sulaimān and Yūsuf, ʿAlī b. Rasūl brought about the success of the latter, conquered the Ḥidjāz in his name and was appointed wālī of Mecca in 619 (1222). His son ʿOmar, after the death of the weak Yūsuf in 626 (1228), assuming

the name al-Manṣūr, founded the dynasty of the Rasūlids, which ruled the land for over two centuries as a native Yemen dynasty, after the foreign rule of the Aiyūbids had prevailed for only half a century.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed Tornberg), xi. 260 *sqq.*, cf. index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, i. 123 *sq* (in de Slane, ii 284), Khazradjī, *al-ʿUḳud al-luʾluʾīya* (*G. M. S.*, iii), iv. 26 *sqq*; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894, p. 98; von Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 98

(R. Strothmann)

TURBAN, the headdress of males in the Muslim east, consisting of a cap with a length of cloth wound round it. The name turban is found in this form in European languages only (English turban, turband; French turban, tulban; German Turban; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, turbante; Dutch tulband; Rumanian tulipan, all going back to older forms with o· tol(l)iban, tolipan, tolopan, tourbant, tourban, torbante) and is usually traced to the Persian *dulband*, from which is also said to be derived the word tulip (cf Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Worterbuch*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 682, where also is cited from the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, liii. 54 the Spanish name of the hammer-headed shark, torbandalo) It should be remembered however that the word *dulband* is by no means so widely disseminated in the east as one would have expected from the general use of the word turban in Europe, but is limited to the Persian (and to a smaller extent Turkish) speaking area and even here is not the only name in use. The commonest word in Arabic is *ʿimāma*, which properly means only the cloth wound round the cap and then comes to be used for the whole headdress, and in Turkish *ṣarīḳ* is the usual name for the turban. Besides these however, there are a large number of other names for what we often loosely call turban and for its parts in different Muslim countries; these are given in a preliminary list at the end of the article.

The origin of this form of headdress ought probably to be sought in the ancient east; a turban-like cap seems to be found represented on certain Assyrian and Egyptian monuments (cf Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, p 40; Josef von Karabacek, *Abendlandische Kunstler zu Konstantinopel*, *Denkschr. Ak Wien*, lxii., 1918, p. 87 *sq* and von Hammer, *G. O R*, vii. 268 and *Staatsverfassung*, p. 441). In Arabia the pre-Muhammadan Beduins are said to have worn turbans, and it has been supposed that the high cap is the Persian and the cloth wound round it the true Arab element of the turban (Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p 44, 237).

In Islām in course of time the turban has developed a threefold significance, a national for the Arabs, a religious for the Muslims and a professional for civil professions (later divided into religious and administrative offices *waẓāʾif dīnīya wa-dīwānīya*) in contrast to the military.

Many details about the Prophet's turban have been handed down by tradition but most of these ḥadīths bear obvious traces of a late date. They therefore prove nothing for the time of the Prophet but only show what later ages wanted to believe. To the latter the turban, as succinctly expressed in a ḥadīth, signified "dignity for the believer and strength for the Arab", *waḳār li 'l-Muslim waʿiss li 'l-ʿArab* and the Prophet to them is the owner of the turban par excellence (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*). The makers of turbans in Turkey (*dulbendḏjiān*) have actually chosen the Prophet as their patron saint, for he is said to have traded in turbans in Syria before his call and to have exported them from Mecca to Boṣrā (Ewliyā, i. 590). The only reliable ḥadīth is negative: the *muḥrim* is not allowed to wear the turban, nor *ḳamīṣ*, *sarāwīl* etc. This ḥadīth is also found in Bukhārī in the *Bāb al-ʿAmāʾim* (*Libās*, bāb 15) contrasted with the following, mostly weak, ḥadīths. According to one, for example, Adam is said to have worn a turban which Gabriel wound round his head on his expulsion from Paradise; previously he wore a crown (*tādj*). The next was Alexander Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain who wore a turban to conceal his horns. A much quoted ḥadīth runs "turbans are the crowns of the Arabs" (*al-ʿamāʾim tīḏjān al-ʿArab*), which is variously explained to mean, either that turbans are as rare among the Arabs as crowns among other peoples for most Beduins only wear caps (*ḳalānis*) or no headdress at all, or that the Arabs wear turbans as the Persians crowns, so that the turban would be a national badge of the Arabs as the crown of the Persians. A similar hadīth runs "wear turbans and thus be different from earlier peoples" (*ʿtammū ḵẖālifu 'l-umam ḳablakum*).

Still more numerous are the hadīths which describe the turban as a badge of Muslims to distinguish them from the unbelievers; turbans are a mark of Islām (*al-ʿamāʾim sīmā al-Islām*); the turban divides the believers from the unbelievers (*al-ʿimāma ḥāḏjiza bain al-kufr wa 'l-īmān* or *bain al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*); the distinction between us and the unbelievers is the turban on the cap (*farḳ mā bainanā wa-bain al-mushrikīn al-ʿamāʾim ʿala 'l-ḳalānis*); or the prophecy: my community will never decay so long as they wear turbans over their caps (*lā tazālu ummatī ʿala 'l-fiṭra mā labisu 'l-ʿamāʾim ʿala 'l-ḳalānis*); and on the day of judgment a man will receive light for every winding of the turban (*kawra*) round his head or round his cap. Thus "to put on the turban" means "to adopt Islām". Nevertheless the stage was never reached where it was a religious duty (*farḍ*) to wear the turban; it is however recommended (*mustahabb*, *sunna*, *mandūb*) and a general recommendation runs: "wear turbans and increase your nobility" (*ʿtammū tazdādū ḥilman*).

Especially at the *ṣalāt* and on going to the mosque or tombs is the wearing of the turban recommended and it is said two rakʿas (or one rakʿa, or the salāt) with a turban are better than seventy without; for it is not proper to appear before one's king with head uncovered. Or: God and the angels bless him who wears a turban on Fridays. In great heat and after the prayer however, it is permitted to take off the turban, but not during the prayer itself, on the other hand the want of a turban is no reason for absenting oneself from prayer. At other times also — in great heat or at home or while washing — the turban may be removed, and as a rule the Arabs always wore the turban "until the ascension of the Pleiades", i. e. until the beginning of the great heat Even in later times the turban played an important rôle in the spreading of Islām, e. g. in the Sudan (cf. A. Brass, in *Isl.*, x. 22, 27, 30, 33; *M. S. O. S. As.*, vi. 191 *sq.*).

It has not always been the custom in Islām for

none but Muslims to wear turbans. The later regulations for dress demand, it is true, that only believers may wear turbans while unbelievers are only to wear a cap (*ḳalansuwa*). But in earlier times unbelievers were only to wear turbans of another colour or with some distinguishing mark. Rulers who were not generally well disposed to members of other faiths were always distinguished by strict regulations about dress; but with a change of attitude the observation of the prescriptions became slacker until it again became necessary to enforce them more strictly. In later days appeal was frequently made to an alleged dress regulation by ʿOmar I, which is however probably a later invention and was probably transferred from ʿOmar II to ʿOmar I. The latter is said to have been the first to forbid Christians to wear the turban or dress resembling that of the Muslim (cf. now Tritton, *Islam and the protected Religions*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1927, p. 479—484). Further laws about dress are attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd who, like ʿOmar II, is said to have issued a general order forbidding Christians to wear the same dress as Muslims. Mutawakkil is said to have prescribed yellow for the unbelievers, including the turbans if they wore any, and the Fāṭimid Hākim black because this was the colour of the hated ʿAbbāsids. At one time Christians were forbidden to wear red, at another any one who wore white was to be punished by death. In Egypt and Syria in the eighth century A. H. Christians wore blue, Jews yellow and the Sāmira red and they might also wear silk, turbans, and neck-veil (*ḥarīr*, *ʿimāma*, *ṭaylasān*) of these colours (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, xiii 364).

Turkey has had a whole series of dress regulations of its own. the earliest was enforced by ʿAlā' al-Dīn Pasha (d 732 = 1331) in the reign of Orkhan (cf. above i, p. 247b). He introduced a cone-shaped cap of white felt but only for officials in the Sulṭān's service; other subjects apparently had freedom of choice in their dress. In the reign of Meḥmed the Conqueror (*Fāṭiḥ*), further laws about rank, titles and dress of the officials were issued. Under Sulaimān the Legislator, ranks and professions were carefully graded as described in the *Shamā'ilnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* of Luḳmān b Saiyid Ḥusain about 1580 (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17, Karabacek, p. 4) Sulaimān also regulated the use of the turban, hitherto apparently quite arbitrary, and issued regulations about the trade of turban-makers, *ṣarïḳdjïlar* (v Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443). Unbelievers were given red, yellow and black, while white was restricted to the Ottomans. About 1683 in the reign of Murād IV, only the Stambul Turks wore white turbans, the Arabs in Egypt various colours, the people of Barbary, white with gold. Jews and Christians in the east in those days wore blue (*Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient*, ed. M. Goupil Fesquet, Paris 1839—1840) and according to Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (Copenhagen 1774), Christians wore a blue stripe on their caps so that the tax-collector could at once readily recognise them.

In other countries also the colour of the turban was not at all uniform and for every colour authority was given from alleged ḥadīths of the life of the Prophet, which of course are all weak. A pious Muslim like Kattānī deduces from the contradictory description of the shape and colours of the Prophet's turban that he allowed himself considerable liberty and sometimes wore the turban without the cap and sometimes the cap without the turban, and sometimes both together; in the house or when visiting the sick he put off both, but never when addressing the community, when he wished to make an impression on the people.

The commonest colour for the turban is white. The Prophet is said to have been fond of this colour and it is considered the colour of Paradise. There is not actually a ḥadīth telling us that the Prophet's turban was white, but probably only because white was the normal colour. The angels who helped the believers at Badr are said to have worn white turbans.

If now the following references speak of turbans of other colours, they are not in direct contradiction with white, for the colours in question are connected with the events and have therefore a special reason. For example another tradition says that at Badr the angels wore yellow turbans with the object of encouraging the fighting Muslims. According to another story, only Gabriel had a yellow turban of light, the other angels white, and others again reconcile the various statements about the angels at Badr by ascribing to some white, others green, black, red etc. turbans. The Prophet is said to have at first liked the colour yellow but later forbade it

The Prophet is said to have worn a black cloak and a black turban on entering Mecca and at the address at the gate of the Kaʿba, also on other occasions at addresses from the minbar, on the day of Ḥudaibīya and during his illness. In black there is said to be a subtle allusion to sovereignty (*siʾdad*) and besides black is the foundation of all colours The ʿAbbāsids claimed that the black turban of the Prophet worn at the entry to Mecca had been handed down to them, and in a tendencious ḥadīth in which Gabriel prophesies the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, he of course wears a black turban. Turbans of black silk (*ḳhazz*) are said to have been at first permitted but later forbidden by the Prophet, the so-called *ḥarḳānīya* turbans are black (the derivation of the word is uncertain, according to Suyūṭī from *ḥ-r-ḳ*, to burn) and the Prophet is said to have worn them on his campaigns. Many great men in Islām are also said to have worn black turbans, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Zubair, Muʿāwiya etc. and Suyūṭī wrote a whole book on black dress (*Thalaḏj al-Fuʾād fī Lubs al-Sawād*). Later writers often claim the black turban as the special headdress of the *ḳhaṭīb* and the *imām*.

The Prophet is said to have at first liked to wear blue but then forbade it because the unbelievers wore it On behalf of red, it is urged that the angels at Uḥud (or also at Hunain) wore red turbans According to others, Gabriel wore red at Badr and on one occasion appeared to ʿĀʾisha in a red turban. The so-called *ḳiṭrīya* turban which the Prophet wore is also said to have been red. Sometimes also striped material has been used as turban cloth, e. g. yellow and red or green and red (Fesquet).

In the history of religion the green turban is important, as the well known badge of the descendants of Muḥammad. Tradition is unanimous that the Prophet never wore a green turban, and there is no support for the colour green in law or tradition. But green is the colour of Paradise and it is also said to have been the Prophet's

favourite colour and some say that the angels at Ḥunain (or also at Badr) had green turbans. The green turban as a badge of the sharīfs is however of much later origin: the ʿAbbāsid al-Maʾmūn in Ramaḍān 201 is said to have clothed the eighth Shīʿī Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā in green, when he designated him his successor; the latter died before he could succeed, the ʿAbbāsids went back to black and there were even persecutions to compel the ʿAlids to wear black (cf Ibn ʿAbdūs, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Märk, p. 395 *sq*). They seem however for a period at least to have worn a piece of green cloth in the turban as a special badge (*shaṭfa*) and to have been fond of wearing green, especially in times of liberty of conscience. In 773 A. H. the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ashraf Shaʿbān ordered that the turban cloths (*al-ʿaṣāʾib ʿala ʾl-ʿamāʾim*) of the ʿAlids should be green and from 1004 A. H. the whole turban became green by order of the Ottoman governor of Egypt al-Saiyid Muhammad al-Sharīf. This fashion spread from Egypt to other Muslim countries, at first regarded as a late innovation and sometimes disputed, but has now become generally approved It is now regarded as a law that no non-ʿAlid should wear the green turban nor strictly anyone who is only connected with the Prophet on the mother's side but this last point is frequently disregarded. A short essay has recently appeared on the green turban in the Baghdād monthly *al-Murshid*, II 6 (July 1927) *Taʾrīkh Aṭwār al-ʿAmāʾim*, p. 229—232, cf also *al-Khuḍra Shiʿār Āl Muḥammad* by al-Saiyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, I. 4 (March 1926), p. 106—108.

Not only the colour but other *ādāb* of the turban are regulated by religion· 1. When should a boy be first given a turban? When his beard begins to grow, when he reaches maturity or at the age of say 7 to 10 years. One should go by the practice of the country; but in any case it shows shamelessness to wear a turban before one's beard begins to grow 2. How should a turban be wound? Here again the answer is given by stories of how the Prophet wound his It should be wound standing (trousers on the other hand are put on sitting), with the right hand, twisted to the right around the head and not simply laid upon it and in doing this, one should act according to the sunna, as regards pulling under the chin (*taḥnīk*) the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the size of the turban. As in putting on any other garment, one should utter a *basmala* while the *ḥamdala* is only used for new articles of clothing. A new turban should if possible be put on for the first time on a Friday. It should be carefully done before a looking-glass but one should not spend too much time over it. People of position may have their turban wound by two servants. There are countless ways in which a turban may be wound; 66 are mentioned but these are not all 3 The question whether gold and silver ornaments may be worn in the turban is usually answered in the negative. In the course of the development of the headdress, it was the women in particular who adorned their turban-like headdress in this way. Silk on the other hand is allowed with certain restrictions. 4. The turban has acquired considerable religious significance as a symbol of investiture, since there is no crown or coronation proper as symbols of sovereignty in the Muslim east. The prototype is again an act of Muḥammad's; he is said to have put a turban on ʿAlī at the pond of Khumm and again when in Ramaḍān of the year 10 he appointed him governor of the Yemen; he is next said to have wound the turban on every governor in order to teach him fine manners (*taḏammul*) and to give him dignity. Following this example, the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet, put the turban on their viziers and later on sulṭāns. For example Ḳalḳashandī, III. 280 *sq.* describes the investiture of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭān Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir in 742 by the Egyptian ʿAbbāsid caliph Ḥākim II. The caliph wore a black neck-veil (*ṭarḥa*) with white stripes (*markūma bi ʾl-bayāḍ*) and placed on the head of the sulṭān a black turban (*ʿimāma sawdāʾ*) with white stripes round the edge (*markūmat al-ṭaraf bi ʾl-bayāḍ*). Then we have a description of the investiture of Nāṣir Faraj by Mutawakkil in 801 A. H. where we are told *ʿimāma sawdāʾ markūma, fawḳahā ṭarḥa sawdāʾ markūma.* The turban is also an essential feature of the robe of honour (*khilʿa*) which Muslim rulers used to bestow upon their viziers and emirs (there is a poetical description of a turban, for example, in Miḥyār al-Dailamī [d. 428 = 1037], *Dīwān*, I. 242, a description of a robe of honour of the Mamlūk period: Ḳalḳashandī, IV. 52 *sq*) and this is the origin of the differences in the turbans of the different classes, which were such that the initiated could at once tell an individual's profession by his turban. In general it may be said that the largest turbans belonged to the highest and most respected ranks, especially of the clerical profession, and the differences in sizes of the turban are, according to some, more important than those of colour. With this is connected the endeavour to give oneself as large a turban as possible and against this religion has had to fight: a warning is uttered against wearing too large a turban as it is an extravagance — but not among learned men; on the contrary, they ought to be recognisable at once by some external feature to attain success in their labours Hence the dress of the scholar is not a censurable innovation (*bidʿa*), although earlier men of learning did not wear it. All other statements about the sizes of turbans, including definite lengths like seven or ten ells, are again defended from the example of the Prophet.

To mention a few isolated examples, we have in Ḳalḳashandī, III. 280 the description of the turban of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Mustaʿīn, who in 815 was for a period independent Sulṭān of Egypt; his turban was round, of pleasing appearance (*laṭīfa*), with a tail hanging behind (*rafraf*) $1/2 \times 1/3$ ells in length (The Christian patriarch also had a larger and more regular shaped turban than the other priests) The dress of the Sulṭān of Morocco is described for example in the published portion of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿOmarī (*Waṣf Ifrīḳiya wa ʾl-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis about 1923), p. 31, as not too large with *taḥannuk* and *ʿadhaba*; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, V. 203: with a long narrow turban. The head-dress of the Ottoman Sulṭāns is frequently described. The turbans of dead Sulṭāns were kept in their tombs, e. g. in the mausoleums in Brussa (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, I. 446) and in other places we find them modelled in stone on the tombs.

The turban, generally speaking, has, as we have said, become the badge of the civilian profes-

sions. Turban-wearer (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*. Ibn Shīth, *Maʿālim al-Kitāba*, p. 34 or *rabb al-ʿimāma*) is synonymous with civilian and there is the expression. he abandoned the turban of men of the law and assumed in its stead the cap (*sharbush*) and the dress of the emirs (Maḳrīzī-Blochet, p. 335, note). Ḳalḳashandī often uses *al-mutaʿammimūn* in this sense, e g. xi. 114 · *al-m. min arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīnīya wa 'l dīwānīya* and *al-m. dūna arbāb al-suyūf* To distinguish the various officers, the officials in Turkey under the old régime had different badges on their turbans, clusters of feathers and egrettes (*supurge* and *balïḳdïrïl*), and soldiers wore on them decorations awarded for bravery (*sorghuč* and *ẓelenk*; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i 446). Fesquet says that secretaries and scholars wore the turban high with many windings, merchants and artificers loose and broad and slaves very small

It is on this point that we find the differences in the various countries and especially between the east (Syria, the ʿIrāḳ, Egypt, Persia) and the west (Spain, North Africa) This is noticeable in the description of western dress in Ḳalḳashandī and in the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, and vice-versa in the accounts of eastern customs as given by the Moroccan Kattānī In Muslim Spain very few turbans were worn at all, the neck-veil (*ṭaṭlasān*, *Masālik*, p 42, Ḳalkashandī, v. 271) was rather worn instead; the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the chin-strap (*taḥnīk*) are, originally at least, apparently western fashions. In 1596 we find the Turks being struck by the narrow turban of striped silk worn by the Persian ambassador (*G. O R.*, iv 275)

In modern times there has arisen a movement against the turban, which is more or less apparent through the whole of the east. Men are reluctant to wear a turban and the young people and the women laugh at it and say *al-daffa khair min al-laffa*, "the board for washing the dead is better than winding a turban" But the conservative classes vigorously attack the *biḍʿa* implied in this and declare that contempt for the turban is heresy and unbelief. Associated with this we often find abandonment of the old Muslim style of hair-dressing with clean upper lip and a beard on the chin. These two things are essential features of emancipation and are regarded by many as signs of the Day of Judgment (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿa*). This modern development is attacked in a number of special treatises on the turban mentioned below, notably the last one by Kattānī, and according to them, any one who succeeds in restoring the turban to a country, acquires the merit of reviving a good tradition (*iḥyāʾ al-sunna*). The modern development however can hardly be checked, and in Turkey a hundred years ago the turban was officially replaced by the fez, which in its turn had to give way in 1925 to the modern European hat (*shapka*) (cf *Oriente Moderno*, v. 630 *sq*), just as in modern Persia the turban has been driven out by the *kulāh*.

The turban could also be used for many purposes other than that for which it was primarily intended. We give a few examples: in Saʿdī, *Būstān*, p 156, a man in the desert giving a dog dying of thirst water uses his cap (*kulāh*) to get water out of the well and his turban-cloth (*destār* or *maisar*) as a rope. The turban was often used as a pocket, also as a rope to tie up criminals, or to tie firmly in the saddle or to strangle. In 1623 the rebel Turkish *ʿulamāʾ* chose the turban of Shaikh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn as their standard (*G. O. R.*, iv. 590). In Mamlūk coats of arms *ʿiṣāba* means the cross or long bar, in European heraldry a turban is the sign of a Crusader (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, *Führer*, p. 272). Some mussels of the genera of *turbo* and *clanculus* are called turban: Persian turban = *turbo cidarus*; Pharaoh's turban = *clanculus Pharaonis*; Turkish turban = *balanus tintinnabulum* (Grande Encyclopédie), and Turkish loans used to be known as "turban stock", and "turban lotteries" the shares of the Banque Ottomane, which were of very uncertain value.

As a survey of the many names for the turban and its parts we give below an alphabetical list with short notes. The merit of first making a classification possible is due to Dozy, who in his *Dictionnaire des Vêtements* and in his *Supplément* has collected ample material, which should generally be consulted. There are also the more recent works by Karabacek, Brunot and Kattānī.

ʿAdhaba is the end of the turban-cloth which usually hangs behind from the turban "between the shoulders" When this form of turban first came into use cannot be ascertained exactly; it is of course said to have been worn by the Prophet and by the angels at Badr and according to Ibn Taimīya, Muḥammad had a dream in this connection in which God pointed to the place between the shoulders; but many orthodox people regard this dream as anthropomorphism. The leaving of one end hanging down is recommended and a turban without tails and *taḥnīk* is said to be *biḍʿa*. On the position and length of the tail there are differences of opinion; the most usual is four fingers long between the shoulders. The Ṣūfīs wear the tail on the left because the heart is on that side; wearing the tail behind the right ear was a privilege of the Ḥafṣid sulṭāns; the legists of the Imāmīya are said to have left two tails hanging down, one before and one behind, and the so-called Baghdād turban had two tails. ʿ-*dh-b* VIII means: "to wind the turban leaving a tail hanging".

ʿAḳāl, a cord of brown camel hair, which the ʿAneze wear instead of a turban cloth wound two or three times round their head-dress, which is called *kūfiya*.

ʿAmāma, turban, another form of *ʿimāma*. According to the dictionaries, the pronunciation with *a* is wrong but according to Brunot, p. 121, this is the pronunciation in Algiers. It is there an unwound turban, and is also given as a present to the walī of the woman one wishes to marry

ʿArakīya, perspiration-cap, a little cap of some light material which is worn below the turban-cap, to collect the perspiration, and which often peeps out below it. The Turks say *ṣarïḳ ʿarakīyesï* The name *maʿraḳa* is also found; some write *ʿarāḳīye* and would connect the word with the ʿIrāḳ (Brunot, p. 120; Kattānī, p. 33). In everyday language the word is said to mean ordinary cap (*ḳalansuwa*) and in earlier times in Syria it was a sugarcone-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women.

ʿAṣb[*a*] = *ʿiṣāba*, bandeau. Bukhārī (*Libās*, bāb 16) says that the Prophet once wore a black *ʿiṣāba*. Among the Mamlūks, *ʿaṣba* was the double camel-humplike erection on the *ṭurṭūr* worn by men and women (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times it is a square black silk kerchief worn by women (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, p. 50 *sq.*).

ʿAzāba (another form of *ʿiṣāba*?) seems to be

a headdress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt.

Baiḍa is properly an iron helmet but, according to Kattānī, p. 3, may also mean a turban

Bughṭāḳ or *Bughṭāḳ* or *Bukhṭāḳ* from *Bughlutāḳ* etc. may mean turban and especially the high head-dress worn by Mongol princesses and ladies of rank, adorned with gold and pearls.

Burnus, *barnūs* was in earlier times not a cloak but a high cap and in this sense it is used in Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 13. Of later writers, for example, Ḳalḳashandī, v. 204 still uses it in this sense. the Sulṭān of Morocco wears a high white burnus. The corresponding verb is *tabarnasa*.

Burṭul[*la*], a high cap, with the pronunciation *barṭala* a low skull-cap; in modern language it means the *tāḏj* of a bishop. The Persian has *pertele* from it.

Dannīya (perhaps from *danīna*), the "pot-hat" of the ḳāḍīs called *ʿurf* in Turkish.

Destār (Pers.), turban-cloth, *destār bendān*, the "turban-wearers", are learned men, dervishes etc.

Dhuʾāba, the tail = *ʿaḏhaba*. This word seems to occur usually in Egyptian writers. In the dress of the Fāṭimid caliph and officials an end of the turban cloth is left hanging down with or without a *taḥnīk* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣairafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introduction). According to Ḳalḳashandī, iv. 43, the Ṣūfī Shaikhs have a small *dhuʾāba* at the left ear. According to Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, ii. 226, scholars and *ḳāḍī*s wear a *shāsh* with ends hanging down between the shoulders

Dulbend (Pers.) is perhaps the original of our word turban, cf von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, p 442, *G. O R*, iii 17. *Dulbend-dārān* are the turban-wearers, Turkish *dulbend aghasī*, the keeper of the sulṭān's turbans.

Farūdīya, a square kerchief worn by women who make a kind of *rabṭa* with this and the *ṭāḳīya* and *ṭarbūsh*. Two or three pieces of cloth used to be used, which formed a kind of small turban but quite distinct from that worn by men. The turban proper is distinctly a man's head-dress but the women have occasionally had similar fashions. The vigour with which theologians attack women who wear turbans or otherwise ape men's dress, quoting hadīths to support their strictures, shows only too clearly the existence of such practices (cf. Kattānī, p. 42, 112 *sq*.).

Fez [q. v.], the red cap originally belonging to Fās in Morocco, which was replaced in Turkey in 1925 by the European hat (*shapḳa*), while it is still commonly in use for example in Egypt

Fidām, turban, also a mouth-veil worn by the Parsīs and a kind of muzzle for camels and oxen.

Fiṇdjān seems to have been a head-dress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver.

Ghifāra in early times was a kind of *tāḳīya* for women, a red cloth with which they protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain it was the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafāʾir* of red or green wool, and Jews a yellow one. It would therefore perhaps correspond to the cap often called *shāshīya* in the Maghrib which was worn under the turban.

Gulūta (Pers. pronunciation of the Arabic *kallawta*), a cap worn by women and children.

Hen(n)in (French), a high head-dress worn by women in France and Burgundy, a xvth century fashion influenced by the east, which still survived in Germany in the xvith century. The form changed and was sometimes shaped like a sugar loaf or dome, sometimes like a roller or a truncated cone; sometimes it had two peaks, like the double henin worn by Queen Isabella of Portugal (Karabacek, p 11, 67 *sqq*., 84; there it is explained from the Arabic *ḥanīnī* "tinkling" [from the metal pendants on it ?] which occurs once in the *Arabian Nights*).

Ḥarfīya is a 'name for the cap of the turban; cf. Brunot, p. 105.

Ḥunṭūz is a head-dress worn by women in Morocco, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole looking something like a camel's hump; cf. Kattānī, p. 112 *sq*.

ʿImāma, the most general Arabic word for the turban cloth and also for the whole turban; other forms are *ʿamāma*, *ʿimma*, plur *ʿamāʾim* and *ʿimām*. The verb is *ʿ-m-m*, II, V, VIII, X. Details and variations according to colours, profession, and countries are mentioned above. Among special kinds may be mentioned *ʿimāma Yūsufī* [q v.], *ʿimāma Sūsī* from Sūs in Morocco

ʿImma is properly the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. Kattānī, p. 4: *ḥasan al-ʿimma* = *ḥasan al-ʿimām*.

ʿIṣāba, turban-cloth like *ʿaṣba*, in modern times also a head-dress for women, as in the *Arabian Nights*· *ʿaṣāʾib muzarkasha* of women and an *ʿiṣābat al-ḥuzn*. The *ʿasāʾib sulṭānīya* under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt (Ḳalḳashandī, iv. 46, Suyūṭī, ii. 110) were the flags of the Sultān in the public processions (*mawākib*), for the flags envelop the head of the lance like a turban (Kalḳashandī, ii. 128; cf. Kattānī, p. 12 *sq*, 36).

Ḳalansuwa [q. v.], a high head-dress.

Ḳalewī or *kal(l)ewī* in old Turkey was a state turban which was worn in Stambul by the Grand Vizier, the High Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha*) and the chief eunuch (*ḳizlar aghasī*) and in the provinces by the pashas of three tails; cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i 440, 444; do., *G. O. R*., iii. 17; vii. 268, viii 191.

Kalfa, plur. *kalfatāt*, a high cap, another form of *kallawta*.

Kallawta, *kalūta*, plur. *kalāwit*, a cap. The word is perhaps connected with the French *calotte*, Pers *gulūta* and perhaps even with the Latin *calantica*, *calautica*, *calvatica*; in Syriac, *kalwā* is found with the meaning of tiara, mitre This name was particularly common under the Turkish dynasties of Egypt; under the Ayyūbids, the sulṭān, the emīrs and the soldiers wore yellow *kalūtāt* without turbans (*ʿamāʾim*) with *dhawāʾib* hanging down behind (Kalḳashandī, iv. 39, Maḳrīzī, ii. 98). In the reign of Ashraf Khalīl b Ḳalāʾūn caps embroidered with gold were introduced (*kalūtāt al-zarkash*; Maḳrīzī, *op cit*); according to another source (Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*), they were red with *ʿamāʾim*; from the time of Ashraf Shaʿbān they were worn larger. The emīr Yelbughā al-ʿOmarī introduced a special form, the so-called *kalūtāt yelbughāwīya* which were large, but under Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ still larger *kalūtāt čerkesīya* appeared (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*). In those days a set of robes of honour included a *kalūtat zarkash* (Ḳalḳashandī, iv. 52 *sq*.).

Ḳalpaḳ [q. v.].

Ḳamṭa, a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which the Egyptian women twisted round their *ṭarbūsh*.

Ḳawuḳ [cf. the article ḲAWUḲLU].

Keffīye, *kefie*, popular pronunciation of *kūfīya*, *Kelle puṣḥ*, a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted.

Ḫurāsānī in old Turkey was the round turban worn by viziers and other officials, who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *muḏjewweze* (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444). According to d'Ohsson, ii. 135, ʿOṯmān I is said to have worn a cap of a red material, which was called *tāḏj-i ḫurāsānī* and was worn by the Tatars and the Čaghatai.

Ḳināʿ, plur. *aḳniʿa*, also *miḳnaʿ(a)* was a cloth, which men and women wound on the head, like the *ʿiṣāba* and the *kūfīya*. Sometimes also it seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again to be the same as *ṭarlasān* (Kattānī, p. 12, 106). From *al-kināʿ* came the Spanish *alquinal*. Bukhārī has a *Bāb al-Takannuʿ*.

Kisā, properly a general word for garment, is a piece of flannel worn by learned men in North Africa, around the body and head. In earlier times every one wore it and called it *haik*, which was the name for a woman's veil (cf. Brunot).

Konfil, a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis.

Ḳubʿ, plur. *aḳbāʿ*, was in Egypt the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand, *kursī al-ʿimāma*; the *ḳubʿ* thus corresponds in a way to the modern *ṭāḳīya* and *ʿarakīya*. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *ḳubʿ* for *ṭāḳīya* *Ḳubʿ ḫatāʾi azraḳ* is a similar cap of blue Chinese silk. According to Maḳrīzī, ii. 105, there was a market called *sūḳ al-aḳbāʿiyīn* in Cairo. *Kubbaʿa* = Chald *kōbʿā*, Syr. *kūbʿā*, Hebr *ḳōbaʿ* is also said to have been a kind of cap or turban, but it also means the capital of a column

Kūfīya, popularly *keffīye*, plur *kawāfi*, is in Arabic probably a loanword from the Italian (*s*)*cuffia*, Lat vith century *cofea*, Span (*es*)*cofia*, Port. *coifa*, Fr *coiffe*, Engl. *coif*, to which the Turkish *uskuf*(*iya*) is also said to be traced. It is a rectangular piece of cloth worn by the Bedouins and their women in Egypt, Arabia, and the ʿIrāḳ on their heads, of linen or silk in various colours, almost a yard square. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin and above it the Bedouins sometimes, and townsmen usually, wind a turban. This form, which was already known in Egypt in the Mamlūk period and is mentioned in the *Arabian Nights*, has in modern times come into prominence again as part of dress of the Wahhābīs.

Kūḏj is a head-dress worn by women, along with an *ʿiṣāba*. The word is perhaps a corruption of *seraghūḏj*, *seraḳūḏj*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap.

Ḳūḳa, a Persian word, is applied in Turkish to the plumed head-dress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries (cf. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444).

Kulāh is the general Persian word for the cap, which replaced the turban in Persia. In old Turkey it meant more particularly the sugar-loaf-shaped head-dress of the cooks, confectioners and woodcutters of the Serail, and also a white felt headdress worn by the Janissaries = *keče* and one of red cloth worn by the *bustanḏjis* = *baretta*. *Surḫ kulāhān* is the Persian name for the Shiʿī Persians corresponding to the Turkish *ḳïzïlbaṣḫ*; cf. Babinger, *Islam*, xi. 81 [1].

Kulōta (cf. *kallawta*) means in Persian a veil worn by women or a child's cap = *gulūta*.

Kumma, *kimma*, plur. *kumām* is a little tight-fitting cap; cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv. 232, 5; Kattānī, p. 40 *sq*.

Kurzīya, *karzīya*, *kursīya*. The word seems to be a loanword in Arabic and Berber and to come from the Persian; it is found mainly in the Maghrib and Spain and was there applied to a man's headdress of white wool or strips of wool which the Berbers wound round their heads like a turban cloth. But now it seems to mean a cloak; cf Brunot.

Lāṭiʾa (supply *ḳalansuwa*) means a small tight-fitting (*lāṣiḳa*) cap, but is probably not a proper name for it; cf. Kattānī, p. 37, 40, 43.

Libda, *lubbāda*, a small cap of brown or white felt (*libd*) which the common people in Egypt wear under the *ṭarbūṣ* The very poor wear it alone, without *ṭarbūṣ* and turban

Liṯām, a mouth-veil for men [q. v.].

Mandīl, *mindīl*, a loanword from the Latin *mantile*, is applied to cloths generally, but may also mean the turban, especially in Turkish and Persian It is found in this sense also in Arabic authors, like Thaʿālibī and Maḳrīzī, but they probably get it from the Persian

Maʾzar means in Persia the turban, probably derived from *miʾzar*, which however means a veil.

Maʿraḳa, a parallel form for *ʿarakīya*, perspiration-cap

Mighfar, also pronounced *miḥfar*, the helmet, is a network of iron worn to protect the head in battle under the cap (*ḳalansuwa*)· the Prophet is said to have worn one at the entry into Mecca. Soldiers wore a turban around the helmet, not only when fighting, but also in times of peace (Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, p. 59) Thus the Turkish sultān Murād IV, who was continually in the field, used to wind his turban cloth around his helmet (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 443) Hence the phrase "to slacken the turban" = to live in peace and security (Kattānī, p. 4) while "the turban on the neck" (*fī ʿunḳihi mindīl* or *ʿimāma*) is a sign of submission

Miḳnaʿa is the same as *ḳināʿ*, a head-cloth but the former is usually smaller. The *miḳnaʿa* of women is also called *ghifāra*.

Mikwar(a), *mikwāra* is a word for turban and *mukawwir* thus came to mean the same as *mutaʿammim*, i. e. theologian, man of learning, and in Muslim Spain, the officials and jurists, because these alone wore the turban there.

Miṣḫmaḏh, *miṣḫwaḏh*, *miṣḫwāḏh*, *miṣḫwaṣḫ* are rarer words for turban.

Muḏjawwaza, Arabic, but apparently only found in Turkish, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, which was worn with the turban cloth from the time of Soliman's dress edict, as the proper court and state head-dress. Soliman is said to have been the first sulṭān to wear it himself (v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 442; Pečewī, i. 4· *M surḫ*); the *muḏjawwaza* was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. The conqueror (*Fātiḥ*) Meḥemmed II is said to have worn his turban over a spiral *tāḏj*, like the *muḏjawwaza* of scholars, and the turban of his son Bāyazīd II, like his father's, resembled the type worn by learned men (Karabacek, p. 15;

Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii. 17; vii. 268; viii. 191).

Mukla, a large turban worn by learned men of unvarying shape, but also the head-dress of Copt priests with a long narrow band.

Nuṣṣ raʾs = "half the head", is a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib, the name is also found in Egypt. In Morocco the *ṭarbūsh* is also called "*niṣf al-raʾs*" because it covers half the head, tightly fitting; cf. Brunot.

Perīshānī, the "untidy turban", was the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Soliman; *G. O. R.*, iii 17

Pertele, Pers pronunciation of *burṭulla*

Rabṭa of women consists of the *ṭāḳiya*, *tarbūsh* and *farūdīya*; together they make a kind of woman's turban, but it is very different from that worn by men.

Ruzza is a small turban for young people in Morocco (cf. Brunot)

Sāḏj is a green or black *ṭailasān*, cf. Kattānī, p. 106.

Salīmī, a special variety of the kind of turban called *Yūsufī*, called after Sulṭān Selīm I, who is said to have preferred it, as did Selīm II also, *G O. R*, iii. 17, vii 268.

Sharbūsh, *sharbush* pl *sharābīsh*, *sharābish*, probably from the Persian *serpūsh*, but the latter is a woman's head-dress In Syriac we find *sarfūshā* in Bar Hebraeus The sharbūsh was the head-dress of the emīrs under the Mamlūks in Egypt; according to Maḳrīzī, ii 99, it resembled the *tāḏj*, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and one formed part of a set of robes of honour It had a markedly military character and the *sharbūsh* of the emīrs is contrasted to the turban of the jurists (Makrīzī-Blochet, p. 335). In Cairo in those days, there was a special market for sellers of *sharbūsh*, in which however in Maḳrīzī's time only robes of honour were sold, and in Damascus there was a madrasa called *al-Madrasa al-Mālikiya al-Sharābishiyā* Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the sharbūsh fell into disuse (and was replaced by the *kalūtāt čerkesīya* ?)

Ṣarīk also *ṣarghī*, a bandage, is the usual Turkish name for the turban *Ṣarīḳlī* = turban-wearer e g. *ṣarīklī ḥoḏja* = cleric with the turban, *ṣarīkḏjī* = turban-maker; *ṣarīkḏjī bashī*, the sultān's turban-keeper. The first guild regulation of the turban-makers dates from Soliman's time, when their shops were first opened, and regulations about the wearing of turbans were drawn up (v Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i 443).

Shadd [q. v.], the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, a name used particularly in North Africa and Egypt. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian Nights* have *shadd* for *ʿimāma* Sometimes *shadd* was particularly the white and blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslims was called *shāsh*; the *shadd baʿlabakkī* was particularly well-known. The *shadd tāḏj al-khalīfa* at the court of the Fāṭimids was the office of the turban-winder to the Fāṭimid caliph; Ḳalḳashandī, iii. 484.

Shāl. The word has passed into the languages of Europe, "shawl" etc., and means the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women e. g. in Arabia and North Africa.

Shapḳa is the Turkish word for the modern European hat, which was introduced into Turkey by law in 1925. Only clerics already wearing turbans (*ṣarīḳlī ḥoḏja*) were allowed to retain their turbans. A number of publications appeared at the time on the hat question (*shapḳa mesʾelesi*).

Shāsh, from which we get the English word "sash", meant the turban-cloth in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Persia. Under the Aiyūbids the ḳāḍīs and learned men wore turbans with large *shāshāt*, some let a tail (*ḏhuʾāba*) hang down between the shoulders or wore the neck-veil in addition (*ṭailasān*; Ḳalḳashandī, iv 42; cf. Maḳrīzī, ii. 98 and Suyūṭī, ii. 226). The *shāsh* however also meant a cap (= *shāshiya*) and formed part of a set of robes of honour; e g. Ḳalḳashandī, iv. 52 *sq.*: *shāsh rafīʿ*, *mawṣūl bihi ṭarafān min ḥarīr abyaḍ*. From 780 we also find the *shāsh* as part of a woman's dress; it is the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double *ṭurṭūr*; cf. Karabacek, p. 67 *sqq*.

Shāshiya in Egypt was a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. On the other hand, however, it was the name given to the paper cap, put upon criminals, and also to iron helmetlike caps. To put on the shāshiya = to adopt Islām. In modern Morocco, it is a black cap for young people in the form of the *ṭarbūsh*, also a head-dress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Derḳāwa dervishes wear, in Algiers a woman's cap (Brunot), in the oasis of Siwa it is pronounced *shaṣha*. Shāshiya seems originally to have been the turban-cloth made of *shāsh* muslin, cf. *Z D.M.G.*, xxii. 161.

Shemle was in Turkey in the reign of Soliman a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people (*G.O R.*, iii. 17). In North Africa it is a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban (*ʿimāma*); cf. Brunot.

Shimrīr = Span. *sombrero* is the name given in Morocco to the European hat, sometimes also called *ṭarṭūr*; cf. Brunot.

Sidāra is a skull-cap like the *ṭāḳiya* worn under the *miḳnaʿa* and *ʿiṣāba*.

Sikka, the name for the Turkish dervish cap; cf. Jacob, *Bektashīye*, p. 40.

Sudūs, *sadūs* is a green *ṭailasān* worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from cold.

Tāḏj [q v], "Crown", also turban.

Taḥnīk (*al-ʿimāma*) is a special adjustment, in which the turban-cloth is brought under the chin as a protection against heat and cold or its two ends tied under the chin. This form is found particularly in the Maghrib and those who use it defend it intolerantly and describe all other forms of the turban as innovation (*biḍaʿa*), as the dress of the devil or of the Copts, or as a survival of the turbans of the followers of Lūṭ (Kattānī, p. 70). The opposite of *taḥnīk* is *iḳtiʿāṭ* or *tʿtidjār* (even letting the ends hang down is also wrong in contrast to it) while other rare synonyms for the *taḥnīk* are *talaḥḳī* or *iltiḥā*. From the Maghrib, the Fāṭimids seem to have brought the *taḥnīk* to Egypt, and the *ustāḏhūn muḥannakūn* were the chief emīrs (eunuchs) at the Fāṭimid court who held the highest offices in the personal service of the Fāṭimid caliph (Ḳalḳashandī, iii. 484; Ibn al-Ṣairifī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, Introduction). Farther east also the *taḥnīk* was occasionally found; for example even al-Ṣūlī is said to have recommended it. But it is not *sunna* with the Shāfiʿīs, while, for example, Ibn Ḳaiyim recommends it.

Ṭailasān [q. v.], neck-veil of the ḳāḍīs.

Ṭāḳ, a green *ṭailasān*, a name of very rare occurrence.

Ṭāḳiya, plur. *ṭawāḳī*, is originally a Persian word and in Persia was the turban or a high cap. French *toque* and Spanish *toca* are perhaps connected with it. The name seems to be first found in Mamlūk Egypt in the xivth century, when it was a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth Under Nāṣir Farad̲j it was extended in height from $^1/_6$ to $^2/_3$ ells and swollen out like a cupola (perhaps under the influence of old Egyptian models) and called the Circassian *ṭāḳiya*. Egyptian women are said to have imitated this for erotic or other reasons and this form then made its way to the east. The *ṭāḳiya* was stiffened with paper and in a Fāṭimid cap, similar in shape, of the xith century have been found fragments of papyrus with writing upon them These headdresses were quilted and had a rippled appearance. Other forms were evolved from them, such as the bottles, barrels, cones and the so-called unicorns (Maḳrīzī, ii. 104; Karabacek, p. 73; cf. *ṭurṭūr*). In modern times *ṭāḳiya* is used as a synonym for *ʿaraḳiya*; cf. Brunot; Kattānī, p. 98.

Ṭals, parallel form for *ṭailasān*.

Ṭarbūsh, probably, like *sharbūsh*, going back to the Persian *serpūsh*, only found in Arabic from the xvith century, was a tight-fitting cap, in Egypt usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. Around this cap, men of rank wore the turban-cloth and under it the small *ṭāḳiya* or *ʿaraḳiya*. In Syria and in the ʿIrāḳ the *ṭarbūsh* has sometimes a peak, which hangs behind or at the side and is kept in position by a piece of cloth. In Egypt this cap used to be called *shāshiya* (in Morocco we still find both terms in use side by side), in Spain *ghifāra Ṭrābshī* is a name given in Morocco to a young man, who does not yet wear the turban (Brunot). The *ṭarbūsh* there is always imported from Europe, the *shāshiya* on the other hand is made in the country itself.

Ṭarḥa = *ṭailasān*.

Tasākhīn is also a kind of *ṭailasān*.

Ṭurṭūr, *ṭarṭūr* (*a*), *ṭanṭūra*, *ṭantūra*, in Arabic a loanword of unknown origin (the Latin *turrita*, tower-shaped, has been compared), a high cap round which the turban can be wound. *Ṭarṭūra* seems to be found as early as a papyrus of the viith century A. D. (Karabacek, p. 67), and in the fourth century A. H. it was a popular headdress in Ḳairawān (Karabacek, p 68) The *ṭurṭūr* at a later date seems to have been a head-dress of the Bedouins (they swore by it, *wa-ḥaḳḳi ṭurṭūrī*, there is a saying, "he fell at the first blow like the *ṭurṭūr* of a Bedouin") and to have gone out of fashion with the denizens of the towns. A *ṭuṭūr* of paper used to be put on the heads of criminals and prisoners captured from the enemy, and it was worn also by the "prince of the New Year" (*nawrūz*) at a popular festival in Cairo, which was prohibited in the reign of Barḳūḳ. The pointed *ṭurṭūr* was in the xivth century, with or without the turban, the head-dress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it (Karabacek, p. 68); at a later date dervishes in Egypt wore sugar-loaf-shaped *ṭurṭūr* with trimmings (Lane, *Manners* etc.); in Turkey it was worn by the volunteer corps of the Delis, in Algiers by the Dey's čawshes, in Morocco by the negro soldiery. The name is found wherever Arabic is spoken and *ṭurṭūr* in Arabic seems to correspond to *tād̲j* in Turkish and Persian. About 780 A. H. the double *ṭurṭūr* with two peaks like a camel's hump, and the *shāsh* above them, appears as a lady's fashion in Egypt and was taken to Europe (Karabacek, p. 71), and in modern times we find among the Druse and Maronite women of the Lebanon a *ṭurṭūr* plated with gold or covered with horn like the horn of a unicorn. In Fās, Algiers and Tunis also, the name is given to certain forms of women's head-dress (cf. Brunot, p 119; Karabacek, p. 80)

Uḳrūf, *uk̲hrūf*, a high cap common in the Maghrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material.

ʿUrf was in old Turkey a large globe-or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men. corresponding to the Arabic *dannīya* and the Persian *kulāhi-ḳāḍī*. Sulṭān Meḥemmed II was fond of wearing the *ʿurf* embroidered with gold; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i 444; do. *G.O.R.*, vii 268; viii. 191.

Urṣūṣa, *arsusa*, *russa* is said to be a melon-shaped hat

Uskūf also *uskūfiya*, from the Italian *scuffia* = Arabic *kūfiya*, was a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officers of the Janissaries and some officials of the Serail like the Baltad̲jis wore, also called *ḳūḳa*. Sulaimān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is said to have invented it; he is said to have introduced it out of affection for D̲jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and even to have worn it. It came into general use in the reign of Murād I and became a kind of ruler's crown; cf v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 444 *sqq.*; do. *G O.R.* iii. 17.

Yūsufī, *ʿimāme-i Yūsufī* is an old name for the Turkish turban, it is said to have been originally invented by Joseph and to be called after him. Selīm I and II wore these *Yūsufīs*, which were then called *Selīmīs* after them; cf v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i. 442 *sq.*; do. *G O R.*, iii 17

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N⁰. 14 is the most detailed monograph on the turban and has been much used for the above article. Of other writings he mentions N⁰. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, but has himself only seen and used N⁰ 8. In addition to N⁰. 14 we have used N⁰. 2 for some points.

Of European literature in addition to the works of Dozy, Karabacek and Brunot cited above we may mention a few general works on costume: Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostums*, 5 vols, plates with brief descriptions, pl. 297 on the turban, J. v. Falke, *Kostumgeschichte der Kulturvolker*; Alb Kretschmer, *Die Trachten der Volker, Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostumbibliothek.* — 16 forms of turban are illustrated by Fesquet, 44 different ones by Niebuhr, and no less than 286 are given by Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi. 29 *sq* on Cod turc, vii., Bologna (according to *E I*, ii 751), cf. Victor Rosen, *Remarques sur les mss orientaux de la Collection Marsigli à Bologne* (*Atti della Real Acc. dei Lincei*, 281, 1883—1884), p. 182 (W. BJÖRKMAN)

TURBAT-I ḤAIDARĪ. [See ZĀWA]

TURBAT-I SHAIKH-I DJĀM, a place in the north-east of Persia (province of Khurāsān), not far from the Afghān frontier, its position is approximately 61° East Long and 35° N. Lat It is a stage on the Mashhad-Herāt road (the distance from Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām to Mashhad is about 96 miles, roughly half the distance between Mashhad and Herāt) and lies on a tributary of the Harīrūd In the first half of the xix^th century the number of houses was given at about 200 (Conolly, about 1830), towards the end of the century (1894) Yate put the number at about 250. The last named traveller observed that the place was called Djām by the inhabitants; the inhabitants themselves are called Djāmī In 1894 there were about 4,000 families, all agriculturists; they used to have a chief of their own; when Yate visited the little town, however, the Djāmī were under the direct authority of the district governor. Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām has also a primitive citadel built of clay, east of the village is the tomb of the saint to which the village owes its name. He was the mystic Shaikh Aḥmad-i Djāmī (d. 536 = 1142; cf. the article AḤMAD DJĀMI). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ed. Paris, iii. 75 *sqq.*), he was called Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad and the place belonged to his descendants, quite free from the authority of the state. What Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further tells about the Shaikh is obviously local tradition without any great historical value. The tomb was visited by Tīmūr and at a later date by Humāyūn.

The mediaeval name of Turbat-i Shaikh-i Djām was Būzdjān (also Pūčkān, Yāḳūt, iii. 890 *sq.*, gives a further variant Fuzz or Fazz, while some scholars have the nisba al-Fazzī; the nisba, al-Būzdjānī, of course, is also found). It was the capital of the district of Djām (also written Zām) in the N. E. of Ḳūhistān. According to Yāḳūt, Būzdjān lies 4 days' journey from Nīsābūr and 6 from Herāt, while al-Iṣṭakhrī (p. 282) gives four days' journey as the distance from Būzdjān to Būshandj. The town, on which no fewer than 180 villages were dependent, lay in a fertile and well-watered neighbourhood. According to Ibn Rusta (p. 181), Djām belonged to the 19 *rasātīḳ* dependent on Nīsābūr. Al-Muḳaddasī (at least according to the text quoted in de Goeje, p. 319, note *e*) says that the name Būzdjān is only applied to the town (*ḳaṣr*) proper, not to the whole district which included the villages depending on it [cf. the article SHAHR]. We have the less doubt about this notice as the not very clear passage, p. 321, note *b*, again seems to identify *al-ḳaṣr* with *al-madīna.*

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 356 *sq* ; E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 35 *sqq.*; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii. 264 *sq.*, 278, 286 *sq.*, C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Perse*, p. 121, 149 *sq.* (V. F. BÜCHNER)

TURFAN, usually written Ṭurfān, locally pronounced *Turfan*, a town in Chinese Turkistān. The oasis, fertile although suffering from a scarcity of water, between the depression of Lukčun, which lies below the sea-level, and the ranges of the Thian-shan, has been of importance from ancient times not only for trade between China and the west but also politically; the settlements mentioned in ancient times and the early middle ages were however not on the site of the modern Turfan but west and east of it. In the second century B. C. the principality of Ku-shi was here, in the year 60 B C it was destroyed by the Chinese and eight small principalities took its place, including anterior Ku-shi in the region of Turfan; the capital of this was the little town called Kiao-ho by the Chinese, the site of which is marked by the ruins about 4 miles west of Turfan called Yarkhoto by Klementz (*Nachrichten uber die von der Kais. Akad der Wiss. zu St Petersburg im Jahre 1898 ausgerustete Expedition nach Turfan*, St Petersburg 1899, p. 24 *sqq.*) Considerable importance was later attained by the Chinese settlement Kao-čang, called in Turki first Khočo (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, i. 103. Kūdjū), later Ḳarā-Khodja, now the ruins of Idiḳut-shahrī, 20—25 miles east of Turfan. Immediately south of the modern Turfan lie the ruins called Old Turfan by Klementz (*op. cit.*, p. 28), according to S Franke (*Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutšahri bei Turfan*, *Anhang zu Abh. Preuss. Akad.*, 1907, p. 36) these ruins "must date from ancient times and have been an unimportant place", but they occupy a rather larger area (3 square kilometres) than Idiḳut-shahrī.

Turfan is not mentioned in the Mongol period and not on the Chinese map of 1331 (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. ii). The only suggestion that there was perhaps a town of Turfan in ancient times also, is found in a Śaka document found in Tun-Huang and published by Sten Konow (*Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter: Publications of the India Institute*, iii. 3, Oslo 1929, p. 137 and 148) where a town called Tturpaṃni is mentioned. The first Chinese (in the Ming-shi) reference to Turfan (Chinese T'u-lu-fan) is in the year 1377; some foreign em-

bassies on the way to China were robbed at Turfan and a Chinese army was sent against the king of Turfan as a reprisal (*Med. Res.*, ii. 193). To a somewhat later date belongs the first Muslim account of Turfan; according to the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, Khīzr Khodja, Khān of Moghulistān (c. 1389–1399), undertook a campaign against "Ḳarā Khodja and Turfan, two very important towns on the frontiers of China"; the inhabitants were forced to adopt Islām and the two towns were henceforth regarded as within the territory of Islām (*Dār al-Islām*) (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 52) When the celebrated embassy of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh [q. v.] passed through the country in 823 (1420) the inhabitants were, however, for the most part still idolators; there was a large temple of idols there and a great statue of Buddha Śakyamuni (Shākemūnī) and many other idols, some old, some of recent erection (*N. E.*, xiv, p 310 and the original text of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [q.v.] in Barthold, *al-Muẓaffarīya*, p. 27) The present inhabitants of Turfan (Turfanlïḳ) know that Uighurs used to live there, but these Uighurs are now considered to have been Muslims, all Buddhist relics are ascribed to the Kalmucks (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p 20) or to king Dākyānūs [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF].

Turfan suffered in those days from want of water even more than it does now. In the reign of Wais-Khān (1418—1428) agriculture was conducted in a very primitive and laborious fashion; the Khān had a deep well dug and out of this he himself and his slaves drew water for their fields in earthen vessels (*kūza*) (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 67) Conditions seem to have improved later; towards the end of the xviith century the land of Čalïsh (the modern Karāshahr) obtained its corn from Turfan (*Zap.*, xv., 251; quoted by M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i. 302). The present underground irrigation channels are said not to have been made till the xviiith century (Sir A. Stein, in *Geogr. Journ.*, 1916, Sept., p. 47).

Under the princes claiming descent from Čaghatāi Khān in the modern Chinese Turkistān (xvth—xviith century) Turfan is frequently mentioned as the residence of various Khāns, at a later date it was, like the rest of the country, subjected first to the Kalmucks, then after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire in 1758 to the Chinese. In 1765 the town of Uč (west of Aḳ-su, q v.), which had rebelled against the Chinese, was destroyed and its population completely wiped out, in order to restore the town, inhabitants were imported from other towns, especially from Turfan. Uč was was henceforth known as Uč-Turfan or Uṣh-Turfan, to distinguish the two, Turfan proper was called Old Turfan (Kohne Turfan). In the time of Ya'ḳūb Beg (1866—1877) Turfan was the frontier town of his dominions in the east; in 1876 it was visited by a famine and in 1877 occupied by the Chinese without resistance. Turfan now belongs to the territory of the "king" (*wang*) of Lukčun. The first European to visit Turfan was Dr. A. Regel (see below) in 1879. The modern fort of Turfan is said by Regel to have been built by Ya'ḳūb Beg; east of it is the Chinese fort, which, according to Grum-Gržimailo (*Opisanie puteshestviya v Zapadnïy Kitai*, i, St. Petersburg 1856, p. 275), was not built till 1886; but it is already mentioned by Regel. Still farther to the east, according to Regel, lay the "ruins of the Turfan of the last centuries "with" numerous fine tomb-mosques and a beautiful minaret". The minaret and the medrese, to which it belongs, have been several times illustrated (Klementz, *op. cit.*, p. 49; O. Donner, *Resa i Zentralasien 1898*, Helsingfors 1901, p. 120; A. v. le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig 1926, pl. 2). The minaret was not, as has been asserted, a Christian belfry, but was only built in 1760 by a *wang* of Lukčun. These ruins are probably identical with the Old Turfan of Klementz, which in this case would belong to a later date than Franke (see above) and Grünwedel ("a terribly ruined old town of the Uighur period") have assumed; Klementz also (*op. cit.*, p. 28) seeks "to identify the Tu-lu-fan of the Ming geographers with the present Old Turfan, which lies S E of the modern Chinese Turfan". The ruins of most of the buildings of the old town seem to have been destroyed between 1879 and 1898, but, as Oldenburg established in 1909, more has survived than one would suppose from Klementz's description The modern town is of some importance as a commercial centre, the highest estimate of the number of inhabitants is about 20,000

Bibliography. (in addition to the references in the article). A. Regel, *Turfan*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxvi, 1880, p. 205 *sqq.*, Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford 1928, p 566 *sqq.* where further references are given; G. Grum-Gržimailo, *Opisanie puteshestviya v Zapadnïy Kitai*, i., St. Petersburg 1896, chap. xii–xvi., A. Grunwedel, *Bericht uber archaologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–1903*, Munich 1905 (*Abh Bayer. Akad*, Kl. i., vol. xxiv., ser. i.), p. 4; S. Oldenburg, *Russkaya Turkestankaya Ekspediciya 1909—1910*, St. Petersburg 1914, p 25.

(W. BARTHOLD)

TURGAI, the name of a river system and of a small town in the steppes of Central Asia The main river Turgai is formed of the Karïn-saldï Turgai, which receives the Tastï Turgai, and the Kara Turgai, and flows into Lake Durukča, north of it runs the Sarï Turgai, which is called Ulkun-tamdï in its upper course and receives from the west the Muildï-Turgai and the Saïï-bui Turgai The Sarï Turgai flows into Lake Sarï-Kopa. In Turkish *turghai* or *torghai* means "little bird" (Radloff, *Worterbuch*, iii 1184, 1457); Ḳarā Turghai is a name of the starling. The fortifications of Orenburg are called Ṭorghai Kala.

The modern town of Turgai on the river of the same name was built in 1845 by Major Tomilin as a fortress and one of the centres of Russian power among the Kirgiz [q v.] under the name of the Orenburg fortress (Orenburgskoie Ukreplenie). In 1865 the territory of the Orenburg Kirgiz was divided into two provinces (*oblast'*), the Ural and the Turgai. When the Turgai province in 1868 was divided into districts (*uïezd*), the fortress was made the capital of the district and called Turgai As there was no suitable centre in the province itself, the Turgai province was administered from Orenburg. The governor lived there and in it was published from 1881 the official gazette, *Turgaiskiya Oblastnïya Viedomosti*. Among the four capitals of district in this, province, the town of Turgai only takes the third place and has never been important; the number of inhabitants according to the census of 1897 was only 896, to that of 1911, 1,657. The southern part of the province with the town of Turgai is less suitable for agriculture and Russian

colonisation than the north, on account of the scarcity of fertile areas, although in the sixties about 1,300 hectares were cultivated on the river Turgai alone From Turgai, trade routes lead northwards to Orsk and Kustanai, and southwards to Irgiz and Perowsk (now called Kïzïl-Orda).

Before Russian rule the present Turgai territory was inhabited only by nomads and hardly mentioned in political history. An exception is Nasawī's account (ed. Houdas, p. 9 *sqq.*) of the campaign of the Khwārizm-shāh [q v.] Muḥammad in the year 612 (1215—1216) against the Ḳipčaḳ and his encounter with the Mongols, cf Barthold, *Turkestan* etc. = *G. M. S*, N S v., p 370 *sqq*, J. Marquart, *Ostturkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, p 128 *sqq* where on p. 133 a later date (midsummer 1219) is assumed.

Turgai now belongs to the autonomous republic of Ḳazaḳistān Instead of the earlier division into provinces and districts, the land is now divided into administrative areas (*okrug*), the town of Turgai now belongs to the area Aktynbinsk, the most southerly part of the former Turgai province to the area of Kïzïl-Orda.

Bibliography: *Rossiya*, xviii., *Kirgizskiy Krai*, Petersburg 1903, esp. p. 341 *sq.* and map, articles by Ya. Polferov and A Kaufman, in *Enciklop Slovar'*, Brokgaus-Efron, xxxiv (1902), *Aziatskaya Rossiya*, i., Petersburg 1914, p. 347 and 351. — On modern conditions I have been informed by word of mouth.

(W. Barthold)

TURKISTĀN or TURKESTAN, a Persian word meaning the "land of the Turks". To the Persians of course only the southern frontier of the land of the Turks, the frontier against Īrān, was of importance and this frontier naturally depended on political conditions. On their very first appearance in Central Asia in the sixth century A D, the Turks reached the Oxus (cf. ĀMŪ-DARYĀ). In the time of the Sāsānians therefore the land of the Turks began immediately north of the Oxus, according to the story given in Tabarī (i. 435 *sq*) the Oxus was settled by an arrow-shot of Iiash as the frontier between the Turks and the "territory (*'amal*) of the Persians". According to the Armenian Sebēos (seventh century A. D) the Vehrot, i. e. the Oxus, rises in the land of Túrk'astan (*Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebèos*, transl. by Fr. Macler, Paris, 1904, p. 49, J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 48); in another passage in the same work (p 43; Marquart, p. 73) T'urk'astan is associated with Delhastan i. e. Dehistān (in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrek [q. v.]).

By the victories of the Arabs, the Turks were driven far back to the north, for the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and fourth (tenth) centuries, Turkestān therefore began, not immediately north of the Oxus, but only north of the area of Arab culture known as "the lands beyond the river" Mā warā' al-Nahr [q.v.]. Turkistān, the land of the Turks, was then regarded as the regions north and east of Mā warā' al-Nahr. [The town of Kāsān in Farghāna [q. v.] north of the Sïr-Daryā [q. v.] was "where the land of Turkistān begins" (Yāḳūt, iv. 227). The towns of Djand and Shahrkand on the lower course of the same river were in Turkistān (*op. cit*, ii. 127, iii. 344); in Turkistān lay the town of Khotan (*op. cit.*, ii. 403). From this use of the name it has been held (especially by M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, p. 1) that the name "Turkestan" was first applied by the Russian conquerors of Central Asia quite arbitrarily to the land of Mā warā' al-Nahr. As a matter of fact, the name Turkistān had long regained its earlier significance as a result of the Turkish conquests, perhaps less in literature than in everyday usage To the people of Persia and Afghānistān the "Turks in Turkistān" were their immediate neighbours on the north; thus in a lullaby taken down in Shīrāz in 1886 we are told "Two Turks came from Turkistān, brought me to Hindūstān" (V Žukovskiy, *Obrazcï persidskago narodnago tvorčestva*, St. Petersburg, 1902, p 169 *sq.*). Through the Özbeg conquests of the xvith century a new Turkistān arose south of the Āmū-Daryā. The corresponding province of Afghānistān still bears the name of Turkistān, as the southern frontiers of this Turkestān some travellers (R Burslem, *A Peep in Toorkistan*, London, 1846. p. 57 *sq.*) give the pass of Aḳ Rabat north of Bāmiyān [q v.]; others (J. Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, new edition, London 1872, p 130) the pass of Hadjikak, a little farther south, where the watershed between the basins of the Helmand [q v.] and the Āmū Daryā is; farther west, in the region between the Murghāb and the Āb-i Maimana, the frontier of Turkistān is given as the range of Band (or Tïrband)-i Turkistān. The name Turkistān was introduced into the scientific terminology of the xixth century, not by the Russians but by the English, probably under the influence of the Persian und Afghān usage.

In literature, especially in travellers' records, a distinction has usually been made between Russian, Chinese and Afghān Turkestan, although the word Turkestan (or Turkistān) had an administrative significance only in Russia and Afghānistān Sometimes instead of these we find the terms West and East Turkestan The governor-generalship of Turkestan was founded in 1867 by the Russians with Tashkent [q. v.] as its capital. The frontiers of this governor-generalship were sometimes contracted, sometimes extended. From 1882 to 1898 the province of Semiryečye, at one time included in Turkestān, belonged to the governor-generalship of the Steppes with Omsk as its capital. In 1898 Semiryečye and the Transcaspian province (Turcomania) were incorporated in Turkestan.

In 1886 Prof. I. Mushketow attempted to give the name "Turkestan" a definite geographical significance, independent of administrative conditions Under the influence of A. Petzhold's book *Umschau im Russischen Turkestan nebst einer allgemeinen Schilderung des Turkestanischen Beckens*, Leipzig 1877, he proposed to give the name Turkestan or the Turkestan basin to the lands between the central mountains of Central Asia and the basin of the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau and the sea of ice; Mushketow had no doubt that the frontier between Russia and England in the not distant future would be established on the Hindū-Kush [q. v.] He proposed to replace the term "Chinese Turkestan" by the Chinese Han-hai (interpreted by European scholars since Richthofen as the "dry sea"). Mushketow deals only with geographical facts and hypotheses, without regarding the etymological significance of the words or any ethnographical considerations

Mainly on ethnographical grounds the word Turkestan has gradually dropped out of use

in Soviet Russia. After the revolution, a "Turkestan republic" lasted a few years with the old capital Tashkent. In comparison with the earlier governor-generalship the area of this republic was much smaller; in the north isolated parts were attached to the Kirgiz republic [cf. KIRGIZ]. After the principle of nationality had been finally carried through in 1924, the common name of the land had to give way to terms formed of the names of the various peoples like Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadjikistan. Only a few, mainly economic questions, are still settled in Tashkent for all the lands in question, for Turkestan in such cases the expression Central Asia (*Srednyaya Aziya*) is used

Turkestan was also the name in use under the Özbegs for a town on the middle course of the Sīr Daryā From the accounts of the Arab geographers it may be assumed that in the fourth (tenth) century the town of Shāwghar (in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p 485: Shâvaghar) must have stood there. unfortunately no trace of it has been found In the xivth century and probably as early as the xiith, the later Turkestan was called Yasī and is mentioned as late as the history of Timūr (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed, ii 9) as a village (*ḳarya*) The importance of the town increased from the cult — first known in the Mongol period — of the saint Aḥmad Yesewī [q. v.], regarded as the converter of the Turks to Islām (on his period see also Barthold, in *Der Islām*, xiv.'112), and especially after the splendid tomb had been erected there by Timūr The saint was regarded as the patron of the land of the Turks and was called Ḥaḍrat-i Turkistān, which probably explains the new name of the town At the time of the Russian conquest the circumference of the town was about 2 miles, the population about 5,000 and in 1908 it had risen to 15,000

Bibliography In addition to the reference in the text: Mushketow, *Turkestan*, St Petersb. 1886, 2nd ed 1915 W. Barthold, *Stand und Aufgaben der Geschichtsforschung in Turkestan* (*Die Geisteswissenschaften*, i 1913–1914, p 1075 *sqq*), do, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928 (*G M S*, new ser v), do, *Istoriya kulturnoi žizni Turkestana* Leningrad 1927; W. Masalskij, *Turkestansky krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p 600 *sqq*, A Dobrosmîslow, *Goroda Sîr-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, Tashkent 1912 — On the tomb see especially M Masson, in *Izv Sredne Az. Geograf Obshč*, xix. (1929) p. 39 *sqq*

(W. BARTHOLD)

TÜRKMÄN-ČAI (better T-čayī), a village in the district of Gārmārūd in the province of Ādharbāidjān. Türkmän-čai, "the river of the Turkomans", is really the name of the stream on which the village stands; it comes down from the Čičäklı pass (between Türkman-čai and Sarāb). It is one of the northern tributaries of the river of Miyāna (Shāhär-čayī) which flows into the Ḳïzïl-üzän (cf. the article SAFĪD-RŪD). The village of Türkmän-čai marks a stage on the great Tabrīz–Zandjān–Ḳazwīn–Tihrān–Khurāsān road. The distances are Tabrīz–Türkman-čai c. 60 miles; Turkman-čai–Zandjān c. 80 miles. Hamdullāh in the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, *G. M. S.*, xxiii. 183, puts these distances at 16 and 25 farsakhs respectively. He calls the village Türkmän-kandı; the word *kand* = village, only used in Ādharbāidjān and unknown elsewhere in Persia, is certainly of eastern Iranian origin (cf. Sogdian, *kanth*, town; cf Barthold, *Istoriya Kultur. Žizni Turkestana*, Leningrad 1927, p. 38); the word must have been brought into Ādharbaidjān by Turkish invaders. Ḥamdullāh also says that at one time the village was a town, the Iranian name of which, Dih Kharrān (several variants), he gives.

Clavijo, ed Sreznewski (St. Petersburg 1881, p. 172 and 354), calls Türkmän-čai *Tucelar* and *Tunglar* (evidently a corruption of Türk-lär) and says that it is inhabited by Turkomans.

Turkman-čai is known in history from the treaty signed there between Russia and Persia on Feb. 10/22, 1828 This diplomatic document consists of two parts. 1. By virtue of the political treaty, which was to take the place of the treaty of 1813, Russia annexed the khanates of Eriwān and Nakhičewān and received from Persia a contribution of 5,000,000 tūmāns = 20,000,000 roubles, but this was later reduced. 2 A special agreement fixed at 5% *ad valorem* the customs duties between the two countries and regulated the personal status of Russian subjects, in criminal cases they were to be tried by Russian courts, civil cases concerning both nationalities were dealt with by Russo-Persian tribunals with the participation of the Russian consular representatives etc. This particular agreement of 1828 is the historical origin of the Persian capitulations. By the most favoured nation clause, all the states of Europe in time secured similar rights. On its accession to power in 1917 the Soviet government renounced *sua sponte* all the old political and judicial privileges in Persia and this renunciation was sealed by the Persian-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921. Since 1918 Persia has shown a desire to abrogate capitulations generally, but not till May 10, 1927 did she address a circular note to this effect to the powers, several of whom, from May 10, 1928, have made new treaties on a basis of equality

The frontiers of 1828 between Russia and Persia (Little Ararat–Caspian Sea) still remained unchanged even after 1921.

Bibliography Türkmän-čai is mentioned by all the travellers who have gone from Tabrīz–Ḳazwīn, cf. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, Paris 1854—1860, iii. 83—84 (the village has 200 houses) and the atlas pl. lvi. (room where the treaty was signed); Brugsch, *Reise*, Leipzig 1862–1864, i. 181, Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, ii 85; H Schindler, *Reisen, Zeitschr. Gesell. Erdk.*, 1883, p. 333 (100 houses, altitude 5,285 feet).

The text of the treaty of 1828 in F. Martens, *Nouveau recueil des traités*, vii/2, 1830, p. 564–572; Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-buldān* i. 410–418; Yuzefovič, *Dogovorî Rossii s vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, p 214—227, Hertslet, *Treaties concluded between Great Britain and Persia*, etc, London 1891. Analysis of the treaty in Greenfield, *Die Verfassung des pers. Staates*, Berlin 1904; K. Vollers, *Das Orientalische Munzkabinett der Universität Jena im Jahre 1906*, Dresden 1906, p. 7. (V. MINORSKY)

TURKOMANS, a Turkish people in Central Asia. The name has been used since the fifth (xith) century, first in the Persian plural form Turkmānān, by the Persian historians Gardīzī [q. v] (cf. also now the printed edition by Muḥ. Nazim, *E. G. Browne Mem*, vol. i, Berlin 1928) and Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī [q. v.] in the same sense as the Turkish Oghuz, Arab. Ghuzz [q. v.]. The Oghuz of course used to live in Mongolia, where they are mentioned as early as the Orkhon

inscriptions of the eighth century. These Oghuz are, so far as we know, only called Turks, not Turkomans, the Turkomans are mentioned only in the west, first (in the transcription T'o-kū-Mong) in the Chinese Encyclopaedia of the viiith century A. D., *T'ung-tién*, chap 193 (F. Hirth in *S B Bayr Akad.*, ii. 1899, p. 263 *sq.*). According to *T'ung-tién* To-kū-mong was another name for the land of Suk-tak i e the land of the Alans (see ALLĀN and SUGHDĀḲ) which in the beginning of our era stretched as far east as the lower course of the Sīr Daryā [q. v.], which in the fourth (tenth) century was the main centre of the Oghuz.

In the Arabic geographical literature the Turkomans (al-Turkmān or al-Turkmānīyūn) are only mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (or al-Maḳdisī, *B G A*, iii. 274 *sq*.) in the description of a number of towns N.W and N.E of Arbīdjāb or Sairām, the situation of which cannot be exactly defined. By the fifth (xith) century the origin of the word Turkoman had already been forgotten, the popular (Persian) etymology *Turk mānand* "like Turks" is found as early as Mahmūd Kāshgharī (iii. 307) From his time onwards we often find "Turks and Turkomans" opposed to one another The language and particularly the type of the Turkomans was influenced by their migration to the west so that only a "similarity" was allowed to exist between them and the rest of the Turks The Turkomans living in Central Asia at the present day are particularly easy to recognise by their long heads (dolichocephalic), this formation of skull is partly produced by artificial deformation in the cradle, but is also explained by intermixture with Iranian nomadic peoples of Central Asia Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (i 80 and 393) calls the Karluḳ [q v] Turkomans as well as the Oghuz

On the wide dissemination of Turkomans in western Asia as a result of the political events of the fifth (xith) century, see GHUZZ and SELDJŪḲS As a result of the political importance of the Seldjūḳ dynasty, we possess fuller notices of their people, the Turkomans, than of the all other Turkish peoples of the middle ages Rashīd al-Dīn (text in *Trudī Vost otd Arkh Obshč*, vii 32 *sqq*.) for example gives the names of the individual "Ghuz tribes" In a linguistically older form (e. g. Salghur for Salur, Yazghīr for Yazīr) we find these names in Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i. 56 *sqq*.) Of the 24 names given by Rashīd al-Dīn, 21 agree with the list in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī. Three names (Yayīrlī, Karīḳ and Ḳarḳīn) are found only] in Rashīd al-Dīn and one (Djaruḳlugh or Čaruklugh) only in Mahmūd The total number of tribes according to Rashīd al-Dīn was 24 (the same number occurs in many Turkish and Turkoman legends), according to Maḥmūd 22, but the latter also knows (iii 307) that the original number was 24, two tribes are said to have separated in the pre-Islāmic period from the rest and formed the people of the Khaladj [q. v].

The name Oghuz was not ousted by that of Turkomans till the Mongol period; in the vith (xiith) century the word Ghuz is found even in official documents (text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i. 28 *sq*.). On the place of abode of the separate tribes nothing is said either by Rashīd al-Dīn or by Mahmūd Kāshgharī In the historical references (e. g. *Zap*, ix. 303; Nesewī, ed. Houdas, p 39, *G. M. S.*, xvi. 120 and 122, where *Tāḳ* should be read for *Yāḳ*) the Yazghīr or Yazīr are the earliest (end of the vith = xiith and beginning of the viith = xiiith century) to be associated with a definite region — east of Balkhān [q. v.] where the fortress of Tāḳ, later the town of Durūn, now a ruined site near the railway station of Boharden, once stood. According to Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (*G M. S*, xxiii/1 159 supra· there and in the transl. ii. 155, wrongly Bāzar) there was much corn there, the Yazīr seem therefore to have taken to agriculture. At a later date the Yazīr are called Karatashlī or Karadashlī, it was only towards the end of the xviiith and beginning of the xixth century that they were driven out of Ākhāl (see ĀKHĀL TEKKE) by the tribe of Tekke

Among the Turkomans who migrated into western Asia the ethnic Turkoman gradually disappeared and has survived only in a few districts Ibn Battūta [q v.] still calls even the Ottomans Turkomans (*Voyages*, ii 321) In the ninth (xvth) century Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*G. A. L*, ii 135) gives a list of the Turkoman tribes living in the empire of the Mamlūks [q v] from Ghazza [q v] to Diyār Bakr [q v] (*P E L O V*, vii s. v xvi 105) Of the tribes mentioned there only that of Dulghādir (see DHU 'L-KADR) attained any political importance The only really important Turkoman states in western Asia were the kingdoms of the dynasties of the Ḳara-Koyunlu [q v] and the Aḳ-Koyunlu [q v.] The still celebrated Turkoman carpets are first mentioned in the west (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p 379, from Ibn Sa'īd) The carpets were made by women, mainly by girls.

The Turkomans were among the few Turkish peoples of Central Asia, who retained their old ethnic even after the Mongol period. But very few of the old tribal names survived, the names of the most important and largest tribes of the present day (the Tekke, Goklen, Yomut, Ersarī, Sarīk etc) are not mentioned before the Mongol period As with other nomads or semi-nomads, new formations were produced by the activity of single individuals, thus a clan of the Sarīk still calls itself Bairač, after a leader who fell in 1651 (year of the hare) (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed Desmaisons, p. 324 *sq*.). The most information about the Turkomans in the xvith and xviith centuries is given by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q v] in his larger work and also in his history of the Turkomans, *Shadjara-i Tarākima* (not mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia*), which so far is only accessible in a Russian translation (Arkhabad 1897)

As the Turkomans were unable to form a state of their own, they dwelt in various kingdoms (Persia, Khwārizm, Bukhārā, and in the xviiith century Afghānistān also) As a matter of fact, the Turkomans usually succeeded in practice in maintaining their independence against these kingdoms; they frequently inflicted disastrous defeats on armies sent against them The separate tribes were also frequently at war with one another In the xixth century the Tekke tribe especially distinguished itself by its victories over other Turkoman tribes It was only in poetic literature that the Turkoman people felt itself united. they all regarded Makhtūm Ḳulī of the tribe of Goklen, who flourished in the second half of the xviiith and first half of the xixth century, as their common national poet (his father Dawlat Mamad was writing in 1167 [1753—1754]) (*Zap*, xvii 146). Towards the end of the xviith century a section of the Turkomans migrated from Mangīshlak [q. v.] and went north-

wards from the Caspian Sea into Russian territory, where they still dwell in the basin of the Kurna and of the Manïč: the number of these Turkomans in 1912 was 15,534, less than in 1906 (15,990). Even for these Turkomans, completely separated from their kinsmen, Makhtūm Ḳulī was still the national poet.

The Russian conquests in Central Asia, especially the occupation of Krasnowodsk (1869) and the campaign against Khiwa (1873) made inevitable the subjection of the Turkomans, and was concluded by the storming of Gok-tepe [q. v] in 1881 and the "voluntary" surrender of Merw in 1884 and of the lands south of it in 1885. The treaties determining the frontier in the following years settled the present distribution of the Turkoman lands in Russia, Persia and Afghānistān. Russian Turkomania was at first administered as a separate (Transcaspian) district, but in 1898 it was incorporated in the governorgeneralship of Turkestan [q. v] After the Revolution and the settlement of the problem of nationalities Turkomania was organised in 1924 as a Socialist Soviet Republic According to the census of 1926—1927 the population of this republic was 1,030,641, of whom 719,792 were Turkomans; in the towns and larger villages there were 136,982, of whom only 8,790 were Turkomans. On the number of Turkomans in Persia and Afghānistān we have of course no accurate statistics. According to Aristow's estimates (1896) the figure was only 80,000, 50,000 in Afghānistān and 20,000 in Persia.

Bibliography. (so far as not given in the article itself). H Vámbéry, *Das Turkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen geschildert*, Leipzig 1885, p 382 *sqq* ; N. Aristow, *Zamïetki ob etničeskom sostavïe tyurkskikh plemen*, St. Petersburg 1897, A Semenow, *Očerki iz istorii presoedineniya vol'noi Turkmenii (1881—1885)*, Tashkent 1909, R. Karutz, *Unter Kirgizen und Turkmenen*, Berlin [n d]; L. Oshanin, *Ïsyačeletnyaya davnost' dolikhocefalii u turkmen i vozmožnïe puti eë proiskhoždeniya* (*Izv. Sredneaz. Komiteta*, 1 131 *sqq*), do., *Nekotorïe dopolnitel'nïe dannïe k gipoteze skifo-samatskogo proiskhoždeniya turkmen*, Tashkent 1928, *Turkmeniya*, vol 1, Leningrad 1929; in this W. Barthold, *Očerk istorii turkmenskogo naroda*, A. Samoylovič, *Očerki po istorii turkmenskoi literaturï*, N Aitakow, *Tri godo Turkmenii*, Ashkhabad 1928.

(W. Barthold)

Turkoman Literature.

The literature of the Transcaspian Turkomans until quite recent times was confined to a popular unwritten literature consisting mainly of poems by the *ʿāshïḳ*'s. This backward condition of the written literature is due to the fact that these Turkomans have never formed a state and that they have retained a nomadic mode of life and never adopted the settled habits of town life. Although there is a great resemblance between the popular literature of the Turkomans (consisting of proverbs, riddles, tales, songs, lullabies, etc.) and that of the Oghuz living farther west, i. e the Turks of Persia, the Caucasus and Anatolia, we find among the Turkomans very many more traces of the pre-Islāmic period.

The written literature of the Turkomans consists of lyric poems and epics, poetry of a religious and didactic nature as well as popular romances, which were recited among the Turkomans by *baḳshī* [q. v], i. e. wandering musicians. In form and subject, these poems differ very little from those popularised in Ādharbāidjān and in Anatolia by the *ʿāshïḳ*'s. They are written in the syllabic metre and in the quatrains called *ghoshgha* [cf. ḲOSHMA]. Among the Turkomans this word is used in the general sense of poem. The popular anonymous romances deal with the same subjects as those of Ādharbāidjān and Anatolia, like the *Fisher and his Companion* (*Saiyād ile Hemrāh*), *ʿĀshïḳ Gharīb*, *Kor Oghlu*, *Ṭāhir and Zuhra*, *Yūsuf and Aḥmad*, motives which belong originally to the Oghuz. We may also note the close relation between the popular music of the Turkomans and Ādherī music. These links between the different Oghuz Turk groups may be explained partly as a continuation of their common ancient culture and partly as a result of mutual influences of later date Thus there are obvious connections between the famous romance *Yūsuf and Aḥmad* (which has also been adopted by the Özbegs) and the book of *Dede Ḳorḳut* which is a remnant of the ancient Oghuz epic In addition the intercourse of the Turkomans with the centres of Turkish culture in Khurāsān, Khwārizm and Turkestān have caused the Turkish literature of Central Asia to influence Turkoman literature Among the Turkomans the Oghuz-Ādherī poets like Nesīmī and Fuzūlī and the poems of the great Čaghatāi poet ʿAlī Shīr Newā'ī are also studied and the memory of the last, as well as of his patron Sulṭān Husain Baikara is still alive among the people The influence of Ahmed Yesewī and of his pupils is visible in the work of the best known Turkoman poet, Makhdūm Ḳulī (cf *Ilk Muteṣawwifler*, p 199)

We have as yet very little information about the early works of the Turkoman literature composed in the what is now Turkmenistan. Abu 'l-Ghāzī in his *Shadjara-i tarākima* mentions a poetical work called *Muʿin al-Murīd* which, according to him, had been popular among the Turkomans down to his own time But this work, written in 1313, although containing some references to nomad life, in reality originates among the Turks of Khwārizm and has no connection with the Turkomans. Next comes the *methnewī*: *Rawnak al-Islām*, attributed by tradition to Shaikh Sharaf of Khwārizm, but Zekī Welīdī has shown that the work was composed in 889 (1484) by a poet named Wafā'ī. This book is still studied among the Turkomans; it is written in the *ʿarūḍ* metre but has no literary value. Perhaps this Wefā'ī was one of the poets in the entourage of the Turkoman princes of Khurāsān of the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī We know however that as late as the Timūrid period, poems in the Turkoman-Čaghatāi style were recited in Khurāsān, and from the *Tedhkire* of Sām Mīrzā [q. v.] and from the *Tedhkire* in Čaghatāi of Ṣadīḳī, called *Madjmaʿ al-Khawāṣṣ*, we know the poems of several Turkoman poets belonging to the xvith century (for the *Madjmaʿ al-Khawaṣṣ* see: W. Pertsch, *Die turk HSS. zu Gotha*, N⁰. 169). These poems however were intended for town-dwellers and were not known among the nomads. A work which was known to the Turkomans is the *Shadjara-i tarākima* of Abu 'l-Ghāzī (not mentioned in the article

ABU 'L-GHĀZĪ). This book was published in 1897 by Tumanskı at ʿAshḳābād (a sixth manuscript was recently discoveied by Samoilovitch, cf *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U R S S.*, 1927, N⁰. 2, p. 39—42). Although this work contains some borrowings from the historical books of the Oghuz, it also includes ancient popular traditions of the Turkomans As the language of the known manuscripts has been much altered by copyists, it has not the value it might have had as a specimen of the old Turkoman dialect

The literary traditions of the Turkomans of the present day and the other sources available only help us for the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. Samoilovitch, the best authority, has been able to collect the names of about 20 poets belonging to Turkoman tribes. Their poems celebrate the battles and rivalries between the different tribes and aie read, without exception, by all the Turkomans The tribe of the Goklen, probably because it adopted a settled life before the others, produced most poets in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries in the first place the greatest poet Makhdūm Kulı, his father Dewlet Muhammad Molla Āzādī, then his son-in-law and pupil Dhalīlī, and lastly Saiyidī, the poet of the Ersārī, who sought refuge among the Goklen Dewlet Muhammad Molla Āzādī in 1167 (1753) composed a *methnewī* entitled *Waḳʿa-i Āzādī* in the *ʿarūḍ* metre, a moralising poem showing the influence of Čaghatāi literature The same poet also wrote poems in the style of the *ʿāshiḳs* Among the poets of the XVIIIth century may also be mentioned Maʿrūfī and Sheidāyī. Another poet, a product like Āzādī of the *medrese*, of the XIXth century is ʿAbd al-Sattār Ḳādī of the tribe of the Teke, whose *Djengnāme* was published by Samoilovitch in 1914 This *methnewī*, written in the metre ⏑ – – –/ ⏑ – – –/ ⏑ – – –, is a historical poem describing an episode of a struggle between the Sunnī Teke and the Shīʿī Persians The work is not, however, a pure specimen of the popular language of the Turkomans

Makhdūm Ḳulı received his education in the *medrese* of Shīr ʿAlī Khān in Khwārizm but his real life has been much obscured by legends His popularity has been so great that the works of many other poets have also been attributed to him, even although the *mukhallaṣ* of these poets are given at the end of the poems Among the Turkomans of Khīwa and even among the Ózbegs, the expression "to read Makhdūm Ḳulı" means "to read didactic poems in Turkoman". We do not know which of the 279 poems attributed to him are really his. Among them we find pieces of a religious and didactic nature as well as warlike poems inspired by the struggle with the Persians. These poems are our most important source for our knowledge of the Turkoman conception of life The *ghoshghı* of Dhalīlī and Saiyidī also reflect this popular wisdom and are written in the *ʿarūḍ* metre and in the form of *mukhammas*, *musaddas* etc

Since the Russian revolution of 1905, there have been signs of a revival among the Turkomans but it is only since 1917 that the movement has been a steady one. The centre of this renewed intellectual activity is ʿAshḳābād. School-books, periodicals and newspapers are published in the Turkoman dialect and an institute for Turkoman culture has been founded. Ethnography, music and popular literature are being studied and the foundations laid for a marxist literature just as in the other lands belonging to the Union of Soviets. Although the products of this new literature are not yet of much literary value, several important works have been published, like the collected works of Saiyidī and Dhalīlī and the *Ṣaiyād ile Hemrāh Ḥikāyesi* (by scholars like Geldiyeff and Kulmehmedoff). These researches by learned Turkomans assisted by Russian orientalists will probably in the near future throw much light on unknown periods of this literature.

Bibliography. The earliest account of Turkoman poets and of Makhdūm Ḳulı is found in A Chodzko, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, 1842 After him Berezin published several Turkoman poems in his *Chrestomathie*. H Vámbéry in his *Travels*, London 1864 gives some information about Makhdūm Ḳulı, in 1879 the same author published in *Z D.M G*, XXXIII 31 fragments of his poems. This article, however, as well as that of Ostroumof, publ in 1907, contains many errors. The most important researches have been those of Samoilovitch in the following articles 1. *Turkmensky poet-bosyak Kor Mulla i jego pesnja o Russkikh* (*zhivaja Starina*, serija XVI, St Petersburg 1907, p 215—23), 2 *Pojezdka v Turkestan v 1906—1907 g* (*Zap. Vost Otd Imp Russk Arkh Obshč.*, XVIII., p. XVIII.—XIX), 3. *Po povodu izdaniya N P. Ostroumova "Svetoč Islama"* (*Zap*, XVIII 158—166), 4 *Materialy po Srednoaziatsko-turetskoj literature* (*Zap*, XIX 1—30), 5 *Ukazatel k pesnyam Makhtum-Kuli* (*Zap*, XIX); 6 *Učebnik Turkmenskago narečiya* (*Zap*, XVIII.); 7 *K'statye "Ukazatel k pesnyam Makhtum-Kuli"* (*Zap.*, XIX., p 125), 8 *Abdu-s-Sattar Gazy, Kniga razskazov o bitvakh tekintsev Turkmenskaya istoričeskaya poema XIX veka*, St Petersburg 1924

H Vámbéry, *Yusuf und Ahmed*, Budapest 1911; this story has also been printed at Kazan in 1904, some sections have already been published by Vámbéry in *Čagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, p 95—114 On the *Muʿin al-Murid* cf Zekī Walīdi, *Khwārizmde yazılmish eski turkče Etherler*, in *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasi*, II 315—45 The various manuscripts of the *Rawnak al-Islām* have been described by Samoilovitch (a new manuscript of the XIXth century is in my private library), the work was printed for the first time at Kazan in 1850; in 1905 it was again published at Tashkent by Ostroumof. The *Dīwān* of Makhdūm Kulı publ. at Constantinople in 1340 by Sheikh Muḥsin Fānī contains more mistakes than Vámbéry's edition. For a critical bibliography of the publication relating to Makhdūm Ḳulı see· Zekī Walīdī, *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasi*, II 465—474; Ḳul-Mehmedof, *Seydī ghoshghıları*, ʿAshḳābād 1926; do, *Dhalilī ghoshghıları*, ʿAshḳābād 1926; do., *Sāyād ile Hemrāh*, ʿAshḳābād 1927. The last and most complete publication on Turkoman literature is the article by Samoilovitch, *Očerki po istoru turkmenskoy literatury*, in the periodical *Turkmeniya*, vol. i., 1929, publ. by the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviets.

(KÖPRÜLÜ ZĀDE FU'ĀD)

TURKS.

A. (GENERAL)

I. Historical and Ethnographical Survey (W Barthold)
II. Languages (A. Samoilovitch)
III Čaghatai Literature (W. Barthold)

B. (THE OTTOMAN TURKS)

I Language (J. H. Kramers)
II Dialects (T. Kowalski)
III Literature (Koprulu Zade Fu'ād)
IV. History (J. H Kramers)

A. — I. Historical and Ethnographical Survey

The word Turk (Chin. Tu-küe, Greek Τοῦρκοι) first appears as the name of a nomad people in the sixth century A D. In this century a powerful nomad empire was founded by the Turks, which stretched from Mongolia and the northern frontier of China to the Black Sea. The founder of the empire, called Tu-men by the Chinese (in the Turkish inscriptions. Bu-mïn) died in 552, his brother Istämi (Chin. She-tie-mi, Greek Διζάβουλος, Διλζίβουλος and Σιλζίβουλος, in al-Ṭabarī, i 895 and 896· Sindjibū Khākān) by whom the conquests in the west were made, seems to have lived till 576. The two brothers seem to have been quite independent of each other The Turkish empires in question were distinguished by the Chinese as the empires of the Northern Turks and of the Western Turks In 581 under the influence of the Chinese dynasty of Sui, which had now risen to power, a final breach was made between the two kingdoms. In the next century both had to submit to the nominal suzerainty of the T'ang dynasty (618—907), the Northern Turks about 630, the Western in 659 In 682, after 50 years of foreign rule, the Northern Turks succeeded in regaining their independence and former power To this new empire, which lasted till 744, belong the "Orkhon inscriptions" (called after the river Orkhon in Mongolia), the oldest monument of the Turkish language From time to time, especially in 699 and 711, these rulers succeeded in bringing the Western Turks under their rule but could not subdue them permanently. Of the Western Turkish tribes the Turgesh were the most distinguished, whose chiefs in the last years of the viith century assumed the powers of Khāns. The kingdom of the Türgesh was ended by the Arabs under Nasr b Saiyār in 121 (739) (Ṭabarī, ii. 1593 *sqq*, 1613, 1689 *sqq*.)

Various views have been expressed regarding the relations of these, the oldest Turks, to their predecessors, the nomad peoples in the east and west The attempt has been made to prove that in earlier centuries also there were Turkish languages, of course under other names, and to explain from the Turkish isolated words that have survived from the pre-Christian period. In the west it has been often assumed that the ancient nomad people par excellence, the Scythians, or at least a section of them, were related to the Turks In Curtius vii. 7, 1, in the history of Alexander the Great, Carthasis, a brother of the king of the Scythians who dwelt beyond the Yaxartes [cf. SÏR-DARYĀ], is mentioned. Th Noldede pointed out to A. Gutschmid that this might be the Turkish *Kardashï* "his brother" so that we have here "perhaps the first reference in history to a Turkish people" (A. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarlander von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, Tübingen 1888, p. 2, note 1). Noldeke himself, as he observes in his preface to Gutschmid's work, "no longer wished seriously to support this suggestion casually thrown out by him"

To an even earlier period belong the references in Herodotos, iv 23 to the people of the Agrippaeans or Argimpaeans and to the sap of a tree called ἄσχυ which was drunk mixed with milk The word ἄσχυ (according to Mullenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iii 15 Turk *adjï* or *ačï* "bitter", Tomaschek, *S B Ak Wien*, cxvii 60 equates it with a hypothetical *argh*[u] in the meaning of "food"; cf. also F. Braun, *Razïskaniya v oblasti gotoslavyanskikh otnosheniy*, St Petersburg 1899, p 88) has been sometimes held to be the oldest Turkish word that has come down to us The Turks are described by the Chinese as descendants of the Hiung-nu (Huns) In the *Ï s'ien-han-shu* in the account of a treaty concluded in 47 B C between the Emperor of China and the ruler of the Huns, a Hun word (in Chinese transcription *king-lu*, old sound *king-luk*) is mentioned as meaning "ceremonial sword of the Huns" This word is connected by Fr Hirth (*Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc , 1900 p 222) with the Teleut *kïngïraḳ* "a two-edged knife" (Radloff, *Worterbuch*, ii 709) and the eastern Turkestan *kïngraḳ* "a broad knife" (R. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turk Language*, ii 163) In still older Chinese sources, the same Hun word is mentioned in the account of an event of the year 1022 B C., which makes Hirth consider it "the oldest Turkish word on record" (*The Ancient History of China*, New York 1911, p 67) K Shiratori (*Bulletin de l'Acad* etc , 1902, xvii , N° 2, p 1 *sqq*) has made an attempt to explain a large number of Hun words preserved in Chinese sources from the Turkish, but at a later date the same scholar (*J A* , ccii , 1923, p 71 *sq*.) attempted to show that the language of the Huns was a Mongol language with an admixture of Tunguz elements

As eastern neighbours of the Huns the Sien-pi are mentioned in Chinese sources, by whom the Huns were driven out of Mongolia towards the end of the first century A D., at a later date several dynasties were founded by the Huns and also by the Sien-pi in China, among the Sien-pi dynasties, that of the Northern Wei (386—534) was of special note. The Sien-pi are usually regarded as a Tunguz people (e. g E Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* [*Turcs*] *occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, p 155, note 5), but, as P. Pelliot announced at a lecture given in St Petersburg in autumn 1925, a Sien-pi glossary has survived in Chinese, from which it is evident that the Sien-pi were a Turkish — speaking people. So far as I know, nothing has so far appeared in print about this glossary, and so long as a source like this is not accessible to us, the question of the origin of the peoples concerned cannot of course be decided If it should be definitely proved that the Huns were Mongols, and the Sien-pi Turks, it would follow that in these days, unlike later times, the Turks lived to the east of the Mongols. How the name of the people, which survives only in Chinese transcription, was really pronounced,

we do not know. E. Blochet (*G.M.S.*, xii. 201) connects Sien-pi with Sibir. In Byzantine and Armenian sources we find a people called Sabirs mentioned for the first time in 463 and the last in 558 (cf J. Marquart, *Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, Leipzig 1903, index), but of migrations of the Sien-pi to the west nothing is known

N. Poppe has recently dealt with the question of the origin and early history of the Turks from another standpoint, the linguistic An Altaic primitive language (*Ursprache*) is presupposed, to which the primitive Turkish, the primitive Mongol and the primitive Tunguz go back The primitive Turkish was on the same level of development as the language of the Orkhon inscriptions, "the phonetic system of the Orkhon Turkish is completely in keeping with our ideas of the primitive Turkish phonetic system" (*Ungarische Jahrbucher*, vi. 98)

The writer of course does not assert that all modern Turkish languages are descended from the language of the Orkhon inscriptions, this would be impossible, if only because the inscriptions themselves mention several tribes of Turks; it was only an "archaic dialect" "The period of primitive Turkish" must be placed "at the latest in the centuries just before the Christian era" (*op cit*) In general the Turkish languages are on a higher level than the Mongol ones, even "the modern Mongol of any district one likes to choose" in the Mongol world "is much more archaic than the oldest Turkish languages known to us" "The Mongol of literature, not however the living dialects", is phonetically "almost at the same stage of development as the Altaic primitive language" (*op cit.*, p. 117).

Special attention is devoted by the author (*op cit*, cf also *Bulletin de l'Acad* etc, 1924, p 289 *sqq.*, *Asia Major*, i 775 *sqq.*, *Korosi Czoma-Archiv*, ii. 65 *sqq.*, *Ungarische Jahrbucher*, vii 151 *sqq*) to the relation of the "Čuwassisch" (his form) to the other Turkish languages. Čuwass does not go back to the primitive Turkish language but the latter and the oldest form of Čuwass both go back to a "Čuwass–Turkish primitive language" and these with the primitive Mongol go back to an "Altaic primitive language". The division in the Čuwass-Turkish original language is with caution brought into connection with the migrations of Hun tribes to the west. The Čuwass are descendants of the Western Huns, the Čuwass-Turkish primitive language was then the language of the Huns The change characteristic of the Turkish language (unlike the Čuwass) of $r > z$ and $l > \underline{sh}$ did not take place as Ramstedt thought (*J. S. F. Ou*, xxxviii /1, 31) between the fourth and sixth century, but much earlier, perhaps about the beginning of the Christian era

V Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G*, lxxviii 122) supposes the word "Turk" means "strength, power" (cf also F. W. K. Muller, *Uigurica*, ii 97: *ark turk*, "might and power"), it is said to have been "at first probably the name of a single tribe or more probably rather of a ruling family". In the inscriptions, the word *turk* seems to have a political rather than an ethnographical significance, the expression "my Turks, my people" (in Thomsen, i., E. 18; ii., E 16; ii., S. 10) points in this direction. Alongside of the Turks, the Oghuz or Toḳuz ("nine"; from the number of their separate tribes or families) Oghuz are frequently mentioned, sometimes as enemies of the Turks and their rulers, sometimes as the Khān's own people, esp. i., N. 4, ii, E 30, where the Khān calls the Toḳuz Oghuz his "own people" and regards their rising against his rule as the dissolution of all order in heaven and earth. The Khān and his followers had probably belonged originally to the people of the Oghuz; the Oghuz hostile to the Khān dwelt to the north of his residence, which was near the mountains of Ötüken (on this word see now also B Vladimircov, in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad* etc., 1929, p. 133 *sq.*), according to Thomsen (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii. 123) "probably a part of the present range of Hangai near the river-system of the Orkhon in northern Mongolia" The people of the Uighur are also mentioned in northern Mongolia, on the Selenga river, although only in one passage (ii, E. 37). The Oghuz enemies of the Turks had about 680 a Kaghan of their own, a vassal of the Chinese emperor; in the eighth century he is no longer mentioned The leader of the Uighur bore the more modest title of an *eltabir* (e g. ii., E 38), in the inscriptions the expressions *ḳaghanlïgh budun* "people under a Kaghan" (e. g. i, E 9; ii., E 9) and *eltabirlïgh budun* "people under an eltäbir" (e. g ii., E. 38) are contrasted In addition to the Turkish Ḳaghan in the east (according to the Chinese view in the north), there was also a Turkish Ḳaghan, the Ḳaghan of the Turgish (or Turgesh) in the west From Arabic (Tabarī, ii 1593, where the town of Nawāket is mentioned, on its situation: *B G A*, vi., text, p 29 and 206) and Chinese sources we know that his royal residence was on the river Ču [q v.] His people is called *on ok* "ten arrows" town the number of their tribes There was a third Turkish Kaghan, the Kaghan of the Kirgiz [q v.] on the Yenisei, the Khān of the inscriptions claims to have himself given the ruler of the Kirgiz the title of a Kaghan (i., E 20; ii., E. 17) The opinion that to become a Khān (Ḳaghan) the title had to be received from another Khān is also found in Muslim sources (ʿAwfī in Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviya*, i. 96).

"East of the western Turks and into their territory between the Altai and the upper course of the Irtïsh" (so Thomsen, *Z D M.G*, lxxviii, 172) lived the Karluḳ, a people of undoubted Turkish origin In 766 the lands of the Western Turks passed into their possession; their ruler at that time, like the ruler of the Oghuz on the Sïr-Daryā, bore the Turkish (originally Tokhari cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 204, W. Bang, in *Ung Jahrb*, vi. 102, note 3) title of *yabghu*, which is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as the title of a prince. The only Turkish people at that time already leading a settled life (at least in the east) was the Basmïl in Bishbalïḳ [q v], their ruler had the title of *Iduk-kut* "holy majesty" (ii., E. 25). The prince of the Uighur in the same region had the same title in the xiiith century, when its origin had already been forgotten (hence the attempts to explain it in Rashīd al-Dīn and Abu 'l-Ghāzī; cf the passages given in Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, part i., p xxvii. and xxxix). A Grunwedel seems to have heard the pronunciation *idikut* in this very region; hence the name of the ruins of Idikutshari at Turfan (A. Grünwedel, *Berichte uber archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung*, Munich 1905). Thomsen (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 171) describes the Basmïl as only "a tribe related to the Turks". That they were not a pure Turkish

people seems to be clear from the name. Aristow (*Zamětki ob etničeskom sostavě tyurkskikh plemen*, St Peterisburg 1897, p 91 *sq*) has pointed out that according to Ducange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*) the children of a French father and a Greek mother were called Basmoule or Gasmoule in Byzantium Even in the xith century, in Mahmūd Kāshgharī (i 30), the Basmīl are mentioned among the peoples, who have a (non-Turkish), language of their own although they also know Turkish.

The other peoples mentioned in the inscriptions were probably not Turks, notably the Tatars, although Turkish numerals like *otuz* (30) and *tokuz* (9) are prefixed to their names As Thomsen (*Z D M G*, lxxviii 174) rightly points out, they were "undoubtedly the Mongols".

From the Oghuz ("Turks") rule over Mongolia passed about 745 to the Uighurs, whose ruler henceforth assumed the title of Ḳaghan His dynasty ruled till 840 Of this period also we possess inscriptions, including one published by Ramstedt (*J. S F Ou.*, xxx. 3), of the Ḳaghan who reigned from 746 to 759 The view, also shared by Thomsen (*Z. D M. G.*, lxxviii 128 *sq*), that the Uighur belonged to the confederation of the Oghuz and that there is only a slight difference of dialect between the forms Oghuz and Uighur is not confirmed by this inscription; the Uighur appear as a separate confederation, distinct from the Oghuz; the Ḳaghan calls himself ruler over the On (10) Uighur and Toḳuz Oghuz, although according to Chinese sources, the Uighur also numbered nine tribes. Some of the Oghuz appear to have remained, in Mongolia under the rule of the Uighur, and others to have migrated west and south. Among the latter was the tribe of *Čol* (in Chinese transcription Č'u-yue, in Chinese translation Sha-t'o = "sand-desert") which belonged originally to the Western Turks In the viith century, the Sha-t'o lived on Lake Barkul (properly Barskul) where they were exposed to the attacks of the Tibetans, and at a later date (since 712) somewhat further west at Bishbalïḳ After 808 they were driven from there also by the Tibetans and had to go over on to Chinese territory In the history of China, they are best known in connection with the suppression of the rebellion of Huang-Čao (877–883); in Muslim history this is ascribed to the people of Toghuzghuz [q. v] In the tenth century, three shortlived dynasties were founded in the province of Ho-nan by the Sha-t'o Turks (the Later T'ang 923–936, the Later Tsin 936–947 and the Later-Han 947–951)

In the Chinese inscription of Ḳarabalgasun, composed by the Uighur Ḳaghan who died in 821, the adoption of Manichaeism by the Uighur is recorded The Uighur had become acquainted with Manichaeism in a campaign against China in 762 in the town of Lo-Yang (near Ho-nan), and four Manichaean missionaries were taken from there back to their land (Mongolia) "The land with barbaric customs and the smell of blood" was to be "changed into a land where men lived on vegetables, the land where men slew one another, to a land where they exhorted to the good" (*J A.*, xi. 1, 194). Buddhism and Syrian (especially Nestorian) Christianity at this time developed a zealous missionary activity in China and among the Turks. The expeditions to Chinese Turkestan have found many Turkish fragments which testify to this activity; but the inscription of Ḳarabalgasun seems to be the only record that has survived about the conversion of a Turkish ruler to one of these religions The Soghdians [cf SOGHD] in particular seem to have spread Manichaeism in China and among the Turks; besides the Chinese inscription, there is a short one formerly thought to be Uighur, now recognised as Soghdian by F. W. K. Muller (*Ein iranisches Sprachdenkmal aus der nordlichen Mongolei*, in *S B Pr. Ak W.*, 1909). According to R. Gauthiot (*Essai de Grammaire sogdienne, Première partie, Phonétique*, Paris 1914–1923, xiii), the language of this inscription is "somme toute, la tradition la plus vieille et la plus constante du sogdien". From the Soghdian script developed the Uighur which later, probably in the same ixth century, was to drive out of use completely the oldest Turkish alphabet, that of the Orkhon inscriptions The Uighur alphabet was adopted by the Mongols in the xiiith century, in the period of the Mongol empire, the Uighur alphabet was used in all countries from Mongolia to South Russia and Persia.

About 840 the Kirgiz put an end to the Uighur empire Two new kingdoms were founded about the middle of the ninth century by the Uighurs driven out of Mongolia, one in Kan-čou [see KANSU, better Kan-djóu], the other in Bishbalïḳ and Karā-Khodja. Manichaeans are mentioned in both in the tenth century as well as in Khotan (*J A*, xi. 1, 265 *sqq.*)

The ruler of Bishbalïḳ and Ḳarā-Khodja undertook the defence of his co-religionists against the Chinese Emperor (Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i 300 *sq.*) and the ruler of the Sāmānids (*Fihrist*, p. 337) In Bishbalïḳ and Karā-Khodja, Manichaeism had probably already spread under the predecessors of the Uighur, the Toḳuz-Oghuz. Tamīm b. Bakr al-Mutawwa'ī, who is quoted by Yākūt (*Mu'djam*, i. 840, supra) and was certainly utilized by Ibn Khurdadhbih also (*B G A*, vi , text, p. 30 *sq*), seems to have visited not the Uighur but the Toghuzghuz proper (Toḳuz-Oghuz).

At that time Manichaeans predominated, especially in the Khākān's (*Ḳaghan*) capital; in the country west of the capital there were Manichaeans also but the Zoroastrians were more numerous there. Whether, as Chavannes and Pelliot (*J A*, xi. 1, 269) suppose, the turkicisation of what is now Chinese Turkestan was for the most part ("en grande partie") first carried through by the Uighur, is doubtful. This process may already have made considerable progress under the predecessors of the Uighur Kāshghar and all the lands east of it are from the very beginning regarded by the Arabs as purely Turkish areas.

Of the two Uighur kingdoms, one (in Kan-čou) was conquered by the Tanguts in 1028 and the second was still in existence in the Mongol period. In the year 924 the proposal was made to the Uighur in Kan-čou by the founder of the kingdom of the Kitai [cf. ḲARA-KHITAI] Apaoki, who had shortly before driven the Kirgiz out of Mongolia, that they should return to their original homes on the Orkhon, but the Uighur had already settled down to the conditions of their new home and did not wish to become nomads again (E Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, i 214; J. Marquart, *Ǧuwainī's Bericht uber die Bekehrung der Uighuren*, *S. B. Pr. Ak.*, 1912).

The victory of the Kitai over the Kirgiz really marks the end of Turkish and the beginning of

Mongol rule in Mongolia. The Kirgiz were the last Turkish people to live in Mongolia and the only one whose memory has survived there to the present day. All the pre-Mongol tombs in Mongolia, including the Uighur, are called "Kirgiz tombs" (*khīrgīz ur*). The hills of Ötukan mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions as Turkish country κατ' ἐξοχήν were according to Mahmūd Kāshgharī (*Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, i. 123) in the Tatar steppes

Most references to the Turkish peoples are from this time found in Muslim sources. For the older period also the information in the Turkish inscriptions and in the Chinese annals is often supplemented by the western sources. From Byzantine sources we learn that Turks in 576 conquered the Tauric Bosporus, in 581 they were before the walls of Chersonesus, but their rule over the Tauric Peninsula was not of long duration, by about 590 Byzantine rule had been restored there (A Vasil'yev, in *Izv. Akad. Mater. Kul'turī*, v. 185 *sq.*).

There are also Byzantine sources from 568 (Byzantine embassy under Zemarchos to the Turks) to 598 (letters of the Turkish Kaghan to the Emperor Maurice; cf the latest study of these sources in E Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue [Turcs] occidentaux*, St Petersburg 1903, p. 233 *sqq*).

Of the Byzantine envoys only the first, Zemarchos, crossed the Volga and visited the residence of the Kaghan of the Western Turks which, as Chavannes has shown, at this time was in the Aḳ Tagh ("White Mountains") north of the town of Kuča There were often negotiations for joint campaigns against the Sāsānids, but no lasting alliance was made, in a few years the Turks were at war with the Byzantines as well as with the Persians After the conquest of the Alans [cf ALLĀN] by the Turks the kingdom of the Sāsānids became bounded by the land of the Turks not only in Central Asia but also west of the Caspian Sea It was probably against these Turks that the walls of Derbend [q. v] were built The tradition of the Turkish nomad empire was continued by the Khazars, who became a great power in the seventh century [see BULGHĀR and KHAZAR], just as at a later date the Golden Horde carried on the traditions of Čingiz-Khān's [q. v.] empire. The language of the conquerors of the sixth century has left no more traces in Eastern Europe than the Mongol has in the lands of the Golden Horde. The language of the Bulghār and Khazar belonged to the above mentioned older stratum of Turkish now represented only by the Čuwass and the Turkish elements in Magyar, Turkish proper was brought to Europe only towards the end of the ninth century A D. by the Pečenegs.

In the lands east of the Caspian Sea also, defences were erected by the Sāsānids against their Turkish neighbours A wall of brick was built to defend the province of Djurdjān [q. v.] but it was not able to prevent the victorious invasion of the Turks (Balādhurī, p 336; *B G A.*, vi, text, p 261 *sq*); the remains of this wall on the right bank of the river Gurgen are called Kīzīl-Alan at the present day (description e. g. by I. Poslawskiy, in *Protokolī Turk Kružka Lyub. Arkh.*, v. 185). The loss of the province of Djurdjān probably explains the erection of another wall also of baked bricks on the frontier between Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān [q v] attributed to Khusraw Anūshīrwān (*B. G A*, vii. 150). During the fighting between the Arabs and Turks in the year 98 (716—717), the Turks of Djurdjān were led by Ṣūl, the Dihḳān of Dihistān (Ṭabarī, ii. 1320). Ṣūl here is certainly a Turkish proper name or title, probably for Turkish *Čur* In the history of the fighting against the Turks in the Sāsānid period, the word *Ṣūl* appears in one passage in Ṭabarī as the name of a people, and on this J Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 51 and 73) bases his views on the people or tribe *Čol* [see also above under DJURDJĀN]. But this statement probably does not refer to the Gurgen region, as the Ṣūl are mentioned along with the Alans (Ṭabarī, i 895) According to a late source (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ix. 21), the Turks on the Gurgen had adopted the language and religion of the Persians; they must therefore have already conquered this region under the Sāsānids, probably as early as the sixth century, although in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the same persons (Ṣūl and his brother Fīrūz) are mentioned as Turkish conquerors of the land and as fighting against the Arabs.

The fighting in the lands south of the Āmū-Daryā [q v] generally went in favour of the Turks; as Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p 53 and elsewhere) and following him Chavannes (*Documents* etc , p. 252) have shown, the northeastern boundary of the Sāsānid empire at this time was the Murghāb. The Turks and with them their protégés, the last Sāsānids, were less successful later in the same area, during their struggle with the Arabs. In the accounts of this fighting only the "Turks" are mentioned, not separate Turkish peoples, an exception is the mention of the *Djabghū* of the Ḳarluk (the name of this people is written Kharlukh in Arabic and Khallukh in Persian) in the year 119 = 737 (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 1612 *infra*), more frequently the same prince is called "Djabghū of Tukhāristān" [q v] A portion of the Karluḳ had therefore by this date reached the lands south of the Āmū-Daryā, where they have survived to the present day (now regarded as an isolated family of the Özbegs). There were also Arab embassies sent on peaceful missions to the Turks e. g the caliph Hishām (105—125 = 724—743) is said to have asked the "king of the Turks" to adopt Islām. Unfortunately in the only record we have of this mission (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i 839, the source of Yāḳūt is Ibn al-Faḳih, cf. *Bulletin de l'Acad.* etc , 1924, p. 241) we are not told where this king's capital was.

We get more detailed accounts of the separate Turkish peoples and their habits only from the Arab geographers of the third (ninth) and especially the fourth (tenth) century In this geographical literature the word "Turk" is used only as the name of a group of peoples and branch of languages, not as in the Orkhon inscriptions and the Chinese Annals of a single people or kingdom Five peoples in particular are mentioned (*B G A.*, i. 9) who spoke one language and could understand one another the Toghuzghuz [q.v], the Khirkhīz (Kirgiz, q v), the Kīmāk [cf. KIMAK], the Ghuzz [q. v.], i. e the Oghuz, and the Kharlukh, i. e. the Ḳarluḳ [q v.]. As at the present day, the lands on the Upper Yenisei were even then the extreme limits in the northeast of the land inhabited by Turks; they also marked the limits of the world as known to the Arabs; according to the Arab view, the lands of the Kirgiz, then the extreme northeasterly of Turkish peoples, stretched to the Ocean. The Oghuz and Ḳarluḳ were the immediate neighbours

of the Muslim lands in Central Asia. The land of the Oghuz adjoined the Muslim lands of Djurdjān in the west as far as Fārāb [q. v.] and Asbīdjāb (the modern Sauām near Čimkent [q. v]); in the east, still farther to the east, lived the Karluḳ. To go to China one had to travel through the lands of the Ḳarluk and the Toghuzghuz over 30 days from the eastern frontier of Farghāna [q v.] through the land of the Ḳarluḳ to the frontier of the land of the Toghuzghuz, thence about two months through the land of the Toghuzghuz and through China to the shore of the Ocean (*B G.A*, II 11, other descriptions vary) Two other names of peoples are mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih (*B G A*, VI, p. 28 *sq.*), not far from the winter quarters of the Ḳarluk east of Tarāz (at the modern Awliyā-Attā, q v.) were the winter quarters of the Khaladj (q v, where only the southern branch of this people are dealt with, for the Khaladj who migrated to Persia, see SĀWA), between the rivers Talas and Čū, nearer to the latter, was the town of the "Khākān of the Türgesh". Further notices are given in the Persian sources in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and in Gardīzī [q v] The Tuigesh according to these were divided into the Tukhsī (so vocalised in Mahmūd Kāshgharī) and the Az; the Tukhsi lived on the Čū [q v], the town of Sūyāb was in their territory East of them on the Issīk-Kul [q v.] lived the Čigil (the pronunciation is established by a story giving a popular etymology in Mahmūd Kāshgharī, I 330). South of the river Narīn [see SĪR-DARYĀ] lived the Yaghmā, a branch of the Toghuzghuz, their king was a descendant of the royal family of this people The town of Kāshghar was in their territory According to Mahmūd Kāshgharī (I. 85), the Yaghmā and the Tukhsī lived on the river Ili [q v.], as did a part of the Čigil. The term Tukhsī-Čigil (I 354) is also found. The Čigil were divided into three parts in addition to the Čigil on the Ili there were Čigil in villages near Kāshghar and in a little town or stronghold called Čigil near Tarāz, this latter was near the land of the Oghuz and was frequently besieged by them The Oghuz therefore called all the Turks from the Āmū-Daryā to China Čigil. In this sense the word Čigil is sometimes used by Kāshgharī himself, it is recorded that the word *Yarlīgh* "edict", which implies a certain degree of culture, was unknown in the language of the Čigil and of the Oghuz (III 31) The Yaghmā were also called Karā Yaghmā ("black Y "), there was also a village of this name near Ṭarāz (III 25 *sq.*) The name Turkoman first occurs in the geographical literature in Muḳaddasī in two passages (*B. G A.*, III. 274 *sq*) with a not quite certain significance

On the Sīr-Daryā below Sawrān, that is in the land of the Oghuz, are mentioned the towns of Balādj and Barūkat "frontier forts against the Turkomans", who had by that time already adopted Islām "out of fear". In another passage, in this region between the Talas and the Čū, i. e. in the land of the Ḳarluḳ, is mentioned a king of the Turkomans, from whom the lord of Asbīdjāb regularly received gifts Kāshgharī also says that not only the Oghuz (I. 27 and 56; iii. 304) but also the Karluk (I. 393) were called Turkomans, the well known popular etymology in Rashīd al-Dīn (*Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, VII 26, *infra Turk mānend* "resembling the Turks") is found as early as Kāshgharī (iii. 307). As F. Hirth (*S. B. Bayr. Akad.*, 1899, II. 263 *sqq.*) has told us, the word Turkoman, in Chinese transcription To-kū-mong, appears much earlier, in the eighth century A.D., in the T'ung-tien Encyclopaedia, there also it refers to the west, to the land of the Alans. It is possible that the Oghuz or Turkomans (as early as the eleventh century we find the names used promiscuously) are descended from nomad Iranians who had become turkicised and this explains their peculiar craniology (dolychocephalic).

Whether non-Turkish, perhaps Mongol, peoples wandered westwards with the Turks has still to be investigated As one of the seven tribes of the Kimāk are mentioned the Tatars (Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otčet* etc., p 82), also called a tribe of the Toghuzghuz (*op cit*, p. 34). A full account of the Turkish peoples, their lands, their language and dialects including also the not purely Turkish elements, is first given by Mahmūd Kāshgharī, but he does not seem to be always reliable, even apart from the fact that the name Turk, as frequently elsewhere in Muslim literature, is sometimes given to non-Turkish peoples of Eastern Asia.

According to one passage (I 27 *sq*) there were twenty Turkish peoples, who fell into two groups, a northern and a southern one, each of ten, as follows, from east to west as the author tells us. The ten peoples of the northern group were the Bedjenek, Ḳifdjāḳ, Oghuz, Yamāk, Bashghrut, Basmīl, Kāy, Yabāḳū, Tatār, Kirḳız; the ten peoples of the southern group were the Djikil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Ighrāḳ, Djaruḳ, Djumul, Uighur, Tankut, Khitāi, Tafghāč. This order for the northern group obviously cannot be the right one. As in Istakhrī (see above) the Ḳirḳız (the Kirgiz on the Yenisei) are moved to the extreme northeast, although according to another passage (I. 123), the Tatārs lived in Ütükan (Ötuken on the Orkhon), i e much further east The Yamāk (Yemek, originally a tribe of the Kimak [q v], not mentioned by Kāshgharī) lived on the Irtish (I 273). The Bashghurt (the Bashkirs, see BASDJIRT) obviously could never have lived so far to the east (to what was already known of them, it may be added that Ibn Fadlān [q v] in 922 [309—310] met the first Bashkirs to the south of the Emba, much farther south than any other mention of them, see *Bull de l'Acad.* etc., 1924, p. 246) Of the northern peoples the Kāy, Yabāḳū, Tatāi and Basmīl had their own languages, although they could also speak good Turkish (on the Kāy cf. J Marquart, in *Osttürk. Dialektstudien*, p. 53, where there is an erroneous association with the name of the Oghuz family Ḳāyī, in Mahmūd Kāshgharī Ḳayigh, cf thereon Koprulu Zāde, in *Türkiyāt Madjmūʿasī*, I 187 *sqq*) The Yabāḳū lived on the great river Yamāi (III 21), on the situation of which the author does not seem to have had any very clear idea, it was probably the Ob (still called by the Tatars Omar or Umor). The Yamār was crossed in the Vth (XIth) century (the author had spoken with participants in the campaign) by a Muslim army under Arslān Tegīn in the war against the Yabāḳū under Bukā Budradj and their allies the Basmīl (on the war see especially III. 173 *sq* ; on various episodes other passages, on the crossing II 5; cf C. Brockelmann, in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, p II *sq*)

Of the ten peoples Djikil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Ighrāḳ, Djaruḳ, Djumul (in other passages like I 382: Djumal), Uighur, Tankut, Khitāi, i. e. Ṣīn,

Tawghādj, i. e. Māsīn) of the southern group the Djumul were one of the non-Turkish speaking peoples, who nevertheless knew Turkish quite well We are told even of the Uighurs that they had another language, in addition to their "pure Turkish", in which they communicated with one another The Tankut (Tangut), like the inhabitants of Khotan and Tubut (Tibet), were people with a foreign language, who had settled in the land of the Turks. Khotan had its own language and alphabet; they did not speak good Turkish there In Ṣīn and Māsīn the inhabitants had a language of their own but the people in the towns could also speak Turkish well Their letters to the Turks were written in the Turkish alphabet. A wide meaning is given to the word Sīn in one passage (i. 378), there were three Ṣīns, the upper or Tawghādj (Māsīn), the central or Khitāi (Sīn), and the lower or Barkhān, this was also the name of a fortress on a high hill near Kāshghar, there were rich gold-mines there

Of these peoples the Djaruḳ (probably to be pronounced Čaruḳ) lived in the town of Bardjuḳ (Barčuk), the modern Maral-bashi (i. 318, on the site of Barčuk cf especially Valikhanow, *Sočinenïya*, p 85 *sq*) This enables us to define roughly the habitation of the not originally Turkish Djumul (east of Barčuk and west of the Uighur) During the fighting on the Yamār, the Djumul were the allies of the Yabāḳū and had therefore presumably not yet adopted Islām In the land of the Uighur there were five towns, among them Bishbalïḳ and Kūdjū, i e Kočo or Karā-Khodja near Turfan The Uighur were Buddhists and worshippers of *Burkhān* (idols) The only evidence that there was also Christianity among the Turks is the translation of the word *badjāk* (*bačak*) known also from Manichaean texts (e g *Chuastuanift*, App to *Abh Pr euss. Ak*, 1910, p 39) by "Christian fast" (i 345)

In other passages Mahmūd Kāshgharī mentions other Turkish tribes, who are not included in the list of the twenty Turkish peoples; e g the Adhkish (i 89), known from the geographical literature also (e g *B G A*., vi 31) and the Kudjat (i. 298) settled in Khwārizm and known also to Baihakī (ed Morley, p 91) Of the peoples of Eastern Europe, in addition to those already mentioned, the Bulghār and Suwār are called Turks, the Khazar are not mentioned, they had probably ceased by then to have a separate political existence. In contrast to Istakhrī (*B. G. A*., i. 222 and 225) who says the Khazar and Bulghār had a common language distinct from Turkish, Kāshgharī includes the dialects of the Bulghārs, Suwārs and Pečenegs in one group.

The dialects of the Kirgiz, Ḳipčaḳ, Oghuz, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Čigil, Ighrāk and Čaruḳ were pure Turkish. The dialects of the Yemek and Bashkirs were closely allied to this language. The language of the nomads from the Itil to the Yamār were generally purer than the language of the (originally probably not Turkish) settled peoples, such as the Arghū from Samām to Balāsāghūn (in the towns there Soghdian had survived alongside of Turkish) and the Kendjāk (Kendjek) in the villages near Kāshghar. Various phonetic peculiarities of the different dialects are discussed, including several which are still of significance in Turkish, like the interchange of *y* and *dj*, *ḳ* and *kh* etc In the vocabulary Oghuz (Turkoman) had already the form still characteristic of the south Turkish dialects. Turkoman was already so different from the other Turkish languages in vocabulary that Turkoman and Turk were contrasted like Oghuz and Čigil (i. 3, ii 253 *infra*)

Although in the first centuries of the Hidjra campaigns were undertaken into Turkish territory, in addition to the defensive fighting against Turkish raiders, the successes of the Muslim arms had little influence on the conversion of the Turks The principle laid down by the Prophet for the Abyssinians was applied to the Turks: "Leave them in peace so long as they leave you in peace" (see Goldziher, *Muh Studien*, i 270; ii. 127; in the first passage translated "Leave the Turks alone as they have left thee"; in another sense and in somewhat different form the hadīth is quoted in *B G A*, v. 316, vi 262; Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 838 *infra*). Islām was adopted by the Turks in the ivth (xth) century of their own free will In 291 (904) the last great inroad of heathen Turks into the frontier lands of Islām, the Sāmānid kingdom, was driven back (Tabarī, iii. 2249); in 382 (992) Muslim Turks entered Bukhārā victoriously for the first time. Of even greater importance was the conquest of Asia Minor by the Muslim Saldjūḳs in the fifth (eleventh) century Other sayings about the Turks are now ascribed to the Prophet He is said to have remarked "Learn the language of the Turks, for they are destined to long rule" (Kāshgharī, i 3). Allāh said to the Prophet: "I have a host which I have called "Turk" and settled in the east, if any people shall arouse my wrath, I shall give them into the power of this host" (*op cit*, p 294) On the story of the adoption of Islām by a numerous (200,000 tents) Turkish people see KĀSHGHAR, where also is the suggestion that this story is connected with the rise of the dynasty of the Ilek-khāns [q. v] or the "race of Afrāsiyāb" No source tells us from what people this dynasty came, they and their people are always simply called "Turks" In Kāshgharī also these rulers are simply called "Khāḳān kings" (*al-mulūk al-khākānīya*, i 30 *infra*, or simply *khākānīya*, e g i 347 *supra*) Khotan was conquered in the early decades of the fifth (eleventh) century by the Muslim rulers of Kāshghar but nothing is known of the exact date or any details of the campaign According to Kāshgharī, an emīr named Djenkshī was the cause of the conquest of Khotan (iii 279) This shows that there was a story then known of the conquest which has not come down to us In Kāshgharī's time, the frontier towns of Islām in the modern Chinese Turkestan were Kusen or Kučā (i 336) and east of it "between Kučā and Uighur" on the hill-fortress of Bügur (i. 301) in the north, Čerčen (in Kāshgharī, i. 364 Djurdjān) in the south. At a later date the Turks living farther west were converted to Islām. According to Ibn al-Athīr (ix 355 *sq*), a Turkish people which had its winter home near Balāsāghūn and its summer pastures in the vicinity of the land of the Bulghārs i. e probably in the Ural, adopted Islām in Ṣafar 435 (Sept.-Oct. 1043). Their name is not given, in spite of the great area covered by them, they were less numerous than the Turks in Central Asia converted in 960. According to Ibn al-Athīr, they had only 10,000 tents, according to Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iii. 120) only 5,000.

Some alterations in the ethnographic conditions of the Turks were produced by the advance of

the Ḳıpčaḳ [q. v.] from the Irtish to the southwest as far as the Sîr-Daryā and in another direction towards Eastern Europe Just as the migrations of the Oghuz explain the formation of the present group of South Turks, so probably the migrations of the Kıpčaḳ explain the formation of the group of Western Turks. On the Sîr-Daryā in the vıth (xııth) century we find the Ḳıpčaḳ mentioned along with the Ḳanglī, and the distinction between the two is left very vague (cf. also J. Marquart, *Ostturk Dialektstud*, p 78 and 172) In the time of Mahmūd Kāshgharī there was not yet a people called Ḳanglī; the word Kanglī is there quoted (iii. 280) only as the "name of a great man among the Kıpčaḳ". In the second half of the sixth (twelfth) century the Kıpčaḳ had not yet adopted Islām, even when living close to the Muslim lands on the Sîr-Daryā, in a document in which the arrival of a prince of the Kıpčaḳ in Djand [see SÎR-DARYĀ] is recorded, the wish is expressed that God may convert him to Islām (*razzaḳahu Allāh ʿizz al-Islām* cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., i. 79).

Most information about the Kıpčaḳ in Eastern Europe and about their predecessors, the Pečenegs and Oghuz (Greek Οὔζοι, probably the Russian Torki, the Russian annals also mention the Berendei, probably the Oghuz family of Bayundur, cf. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, i 56), is found in the Greek and Russian sources From the middle of the xııth century in the Russian annals all Turkish peoples of Eastern Europe with the exception of the Kıpčaḳ (Polowčı) are included under the name Černîi Klobuki ("black caps") (cf. on this D. Rasowskiy, in *Seminarum Kondakovianum*, Prag 1927, i 95 *sq*.). Whether, as might be thought from the identity of the names, the Karaḳalpaḳ are descended from the Černîi Klobuki cannot yet be decided. It would also be in favour of the western origin of the Karaḳalpaḳ (first mentioned in the xvııth century) that, unlike the people of Central Asia, they lived mainly by cattle-rearing Although Islām had already conducted "successful propaganda" among the Pečenegs (J Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzuge*, p. 73), it made little progress among the Turks of Eastern Europe before the Mongol period.

In Central Asia, the spread of Islām was not checked by the foundation of the empire of the non-Muslim Kara Khıtai [q. v.] nor by the persecution of Islām in the beginning of the vıth (xııth) century At the time of the foundation of the empire of the Ḳara Khıtai (soon after 1130), the principality of the Khān of Balāsāghūn was still the most northerly Muslim country in this region; when the empire broke up there were Muslim kingdoms north of the Ili also, namely that of the Karluḳ [q v] in Ḳayāliḳh, and that founded by a member of the same stock in Almaliḳh near the modern Ḳuldja [q. v.]. In the time of the Chinese traveller Č'ang Č'un (1221), the town of Č'ang-ba-la, i. e. the Uighur capital Djanbaliḳ already mentioned by Kāshgharī (i 103), was the frontier town of the non-Muslim lands to the west (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i 67 *sq*.); according to the Armenian Hethum (journey in 1254), "Djambalekh" was immediately east of "Khutapai", the Khutukbai of the modern maps, immediately east of Manas (*op cit*., i. 169). The region of the modern Manas was therefore the limit of the spread of Islām in Central Asia at this date.

In contrast to the lands of the modern Chinese Turkestan which had long been under Turkish influence, the turkicisation of Mā warāʾ al-Nahr and Khwārizm only seems to have made appreciable progress after the Mongol conquest; this is suggested by the appearance of geographical names of Turkish origin like Ḳarā Kol on the lower course of the Zarafshān (Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 17) and Ḳarā Sū (*Ṭabaḳāt-ı Nāṣırī*, transl. Raverty, p. 474) or Sū Karā (Ibn al-Athīr, xıı 122) in Khwārizm Turkish culture was brought to Asia Minor and Ādharbāidjān by the Saldjūks. The Turks were probably settled here at first to guard the frontier and to fight against the Byzantines and the growing power of the Georgian kingdom [cf GEORGIA] Nothing is known of the gradual progress of Turkish culture in these countries now completely Turkish (in Southern Persia the Turks have for the most part remained nomads, by the ninth (xvth) century the process had been completed. Saladin brought bodies of Turkish troops to Egypt whence some of them found their way to North Africa and Spain; on the Turks in Spain see especially ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, ed. Dozy, p 210 These soldiers were of no importance for the spread of Turkish culture.

The foundation of the Mongol empire was of much greater significance for the Turks than for the Mongols themselves In spite of all attempts by later writers to prove the contrary, the view of Abel-Rémusat (*Recherches sur les langues tatares*, p. 240) must be upheld that the area inhabited by the Mongols had the same western frontiers at the time of the rise of Čingiz Khān as it has to-day (with the exception of the much later migrations of the Kalmucks [q. v.]) Of the descendants of the Mongols who came westwards in the time of Čingiz Khān and his successors only the Moghol in Afghānistān, whose dialect has been investigated by G Ramstedt (*Mogholia*, in *J S Ou*, xxiii. [1905], 4), have retained their Mongol speech to the present day Their habitats have not yet been exactly defined Dr Emil Tınkler (*Afghanistan*, Gotha, 1928 = *Peterm Mitt.*, supplement 196, p. 53 *sq*.) in spite of all his enquiries found no Mongol speaking people in Afghānistān. Most of the Mongols have been merged in the Turks and thus strengthened the latter numerically and especially politically Of special importance in the political history of the Turks, since their conversion to Islām in the xıvth century, was the kingdom of the Golden Horde By the end of this century, this kingdom had become completely turkicised, its documents were written in Turkish, and Čuwass, which had earlier been spoken on the Volga, had given way to a pure Turkish language After the break up of this empire, three new "Tatar" kingdoms were formed in Kazān [q v], Astrakhān and in the peninsula of Krîm [q v.], which only came under Islām and Turkish influences in the Mongol period A new "Tatar" kingdom also arose on the Irtîsh [q. v.] in Siberia, at the modern Tobolsk; this land now became instead of Bulghār the outpost of Islām in the north. The word Tatar, originally applied to the Mongols, now became the name of a Turkish people and, especially in the Crimea, was used by themselves. In Russia the word "Tatar" was given a very wide meaning, although not quite so extensive as in China and in European Sinology (cf. the preface to Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*). Down to the second half of the xixth century (W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*,

vol. I., Contents, has still the same usage), all not-Ottoman Turks were called Tatars by Russian scholars and under their influence by Europeans generally; thus arose the term "Turco-Tatar", which has not yet entirely disappeared. In the lands of the Golden Horde arose the peoples of the Özbeg and Noghai, called after princes of the house of Djučī [q v]. The Özbeg migrated in the xvth century to Mā warā' al-Nahr, where in the xvith century they put an end to the power of the Čaghatāī and founded the kingdoms of Bukhārā and Khīwa [q. v], to which towards the end of the xviiith century a third Ozbeg kingdom was added, that of the Khāns of Khokand. The people called "Noghai" by the Russians are always called Manghīt in Oriental sources in the xvith century and later. Under Russian suzerainty, the Manghīt or Noghai formed an imperfectly unified nomad state east of the lower course of the Volga, the native Turkish element in Astrakhān still belongs to people of the Noghai In the xviith century the Noghai were driven out of the lands east of the Volga by the Kalmucks. The term Noghai has now been extended by the Özbegs to the Turkish inhabitants of the Volga area, called by the Russians "Tatar" (now also by themselves) The Kazak [see KIRGIZ] had separated from the Ozbeg as early as the xvth century, down to the xixth century they had their own Khāns, some of whom had considerable forces at their disposal.

The last Turkish kingdom to arise out of the Mongol empire in the east was the kingdom of the Moghol from Kāshghar to the Chinese frontier, which arose after the fall of the kingdom of the Čaghatāī [see ČAGHATĀI-KHĀN (at the end), and DŪGHLĀT] In spite of their name, these Moghol, at least in the xvith century, spoke Turkish. They had adopted Islām only about the middle of the xivth century Muhammad Khān (1408—1416) is given special credit for the spread of Islām among them; if a Moghol did not wear a turban a nail was driven into his head (*Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl Ross, p 58) Nevertheless in 823 (1420) Buddhist statues are still mentioned in Turfan, including some "newly made" (*N E*, XIV 310, *al-Muẓaffarīya*, p 27) In the same century the Buddhist cultute of the Uighur had to give way to Islām Uighur as the name of a people gradually fell into disuse, probably with their conversion to Islām, and the name Moghol also began to disappear after the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Kalmucks in 1682 The "yellow Uighur" (*Sarïgh Uighur*) also mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* (see index) at Tuen-huang, Su-djóu and Kan-djóu have alone retained their own name and the Buddhist religion down to the present day; they dropped the Uighur script only in the xviiith century and adopted the Tibetan in its place (*Bibl. Buddhica*, xvii., preface). In the province of Kan-su, in addition to the Chinese speaking Dumgan, Islām is also professed by the Turkish speaking Salar already mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 404 [see CHINA, KAN-SU and SALUR]

In the west the Turkomans have been most prominent in political history, in addition to the Ottoman (also of a Turkoman stock) or Anatolian Turks [see TURKEY]; the kingdoms of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep (Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, q. v) and of the White Sheep (Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, q. v.) were a considerable political power, especially in the xvth century. There were also many Turkoman tribes in the empire of the Mamlūks [q. v.] from Diyār Bakr [q. v.] to Ghazza [q. v.]; a list of them is given by Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 105). Only the family of Dulgadir (Turkish pronunciation from Dhu 'l-Ḳadr, q. v.) attained some importance, in the xivth century they founded a little kingdom of their own, as vassals of the Mamlūks.

In Central Asia, the Turkomans were not merged, like so many of the Turkish peoples mentioned in the early Mongol period, into the new formations of the Mongol period, although among the Turkomans there were migrants from the kingdom of the Golden Horde, this is indicated in the xvith century by the name of the tribe Sayin-Khānī (on the epithet Sayin-Khān see BĀTŪ-KHĀN) S E of the Caspian Sea (*Turkmeniya*, vol. I, Leningrad 1929, p 47 *sq.*). The Turkomans were never able to form a state of their own in Central Asia, but it was only in 1884 that an end was put to their independence by the advance of the Russians from the north and the Afghāns from the south.

In the xviith and xviiith centuries, the Turkomans, like other Turkish peoples of Central Asia, notably the Ḳazaḳ and Ḳïrghïz, suffered a great deal from the attacks of the Kalmucks, the founders of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia. The Kazaḳ und Ḳïrghïz were driven out of a part of their lands by the Kalmucks, it was only after the destruction of the Kalmück empire that the conditions that had previously existed there were restored A section of the Turkomans still live in the gouvernement of Stawropol, into which they had been driven by the Kalmucks towards the end of the xviith century from their earlier habitations on the peninsula of Mangïshlaḳ [q v] At an earlier period, the Turkomans fought unsuccessfully for this peninsula with the Noghai and later with the Kazaḳ. In contrast to the Kazaḳ, the Ḳïrghïz had not their own khāns, either on the Yenisei or in Semirečye [cf. ḲIRGHIZ]. The Ḳïrghïz on the Yenisei, where they lived down to the beginning of the xviiith century, have remained quite unaffected by Islām, as have the Turkish peoples living in the Yenesei area at the present day, who after the Russian revolution took the name of "Khakas" (in its origin a mistaken reading of the Chinese transcription for Ḳïrghïz). The mountain peoples in the Altai on the upper Ob are also non-Muslim Turks. The Altai people (*Altai Kizi*) were called "mountain Kalmucks" by the Russians, but after the Russian revolution took the name of "Oirat", which properly belongs to the Kalmucks, their land is now the "autonomous Oirat territory". Completely distinct, even in language, from the other Turks are the Yakuts (who call themselves Saka or Sakha, probably connected with the ethnic Sagai in the Yenisei area) who were driven out of the Yenisei territory, probably not before the xiiith century, into the valley of the Lena. The language of the Yakuts shows, in vocabulary and grammatical structure many divergences from Turkish, although this language, unlike Čuwass, is directly descended from the primitive Turkish language.

In the first half of the xvith century, all the lands from the Balkan Peninsula and north shore of the Black Sea to the Chinese frontier were under the rule of Muslim Turks. The economic life of almost all these countries at this period

showed a considerable setback compared with earlier periods; nomadic life had developed at the expense of agriculture and especially of the towns; the future of these lands had also been undetermined by the fact that world trade had taken other routes The Turks were neither economically or intellectually fit to cope with the rising power of Russia. Through the conquest of the Volga territory by the Russians (Ḳazān 1552, Astrakhān 1554), the connection between the Turks of Central Asia and their relatives in the west was broken; it was restored by another route but only for a short period during the rule of the Turks on the western shore of the Caspian Sea (1578—1603) As early as the xviiith century, Russia had laid down the principle that all the lands of Northern Asia should be divided between Russia and China, but this process of settlement was only completed by the Treaty of St Petersburg of Feb 12–24, 1881.

Islām as a religion [cf e g BARABA] and Turkish as a language have made new progress under Russian rule; in the Caucasus, as well as in Central Asia, Turkish as a *lingua franca* is much more widely disseminated than before, the level of civilization has also been raised by the influence of European culture introduced by Russia After the Revolution of 1917, and especially after the principle of nationality had been put into practice in 1924, republics were formed in Soviet Russia among the Turkish peoples also on a national basis under their own government and following their own lines of development The Ozbeg and the Turkoman Republics form separate parts of the Union of Socialist Soviet republics (U.S.S.R.), and the Ādherbāidjān Republic is a part of the Transcaucasian alliance Seven autonomous republics (the Krïm-Tatar, Čuwass, Bashkïr, Tatar, Kazak, Kirgïz and Yakut republics) are members of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R S F S.R), as are four autonomous territories (the Karačai, Balkar-Kabardin, Karakalpak and Oirat region) with preponderatingly Turkish populations

With the carrying through of the principle of nationality the names of certain peoples have received meanings which they did not possess before. At one time, many Turks in Central Asia, especially the town-dwellers, were content to describe themselves as Turkish-speaking Muslims and inhabitants of a particular town, the question with what Turkish people they should be numbered was a matter of indifference, names which originally did not refer to nationality, like the word Sart [q.v.], were also used This word has now been driven out of use, and the term Özbeg is now used in a much wider meaning than formerly, those who used to call themselves Sart are now called Özbegs Names have also been invented (on the word Khakas see above) the Taranči [q.v.], who belong to Kāshgharia, and the Kashgharlïk now call themselves Uighur, a name which does not belong to them historically Uighurs never came so far west Most of the Turkish peoples in Soviet Russia have joined the movement to introduce the Roman alphabet; the Čuwass, Khakas and Oirat refuse to join it and adhere to the Russian alphabet

An attempt to estimate the total number of Turks was made by N. Aristow, *Zamᵉetki ob etničeskom sostavᵉe tyurkskikh plemen i narodnostei i svᵉdᵉniya o ikh čislennosti*, St. Petersburg 1897, p 170. According to Aristow, in 1885 there were about 26,000,000 Turks, but even he thought the figure should be higher. At the present day, the number of Turks living in Soviet Russia alone is about 16,000,000; the total therefore is probably over 30,000,000. Much higher figures have been given by Turkish publicists and statesmen. Ahmed Agnev, 70—80,000,000 (A. Samoylovič, in *M. I.*, 1912, p 490), Mustafā Kemāl Pāshā, 100,000,000.

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II The Turkish Languages

1 The Classification of the Turkish Languages and their geographical Distribution

The Turkish languages are divided according to their general phonetic character into two main unequal groups the R-languages (*takhār* = nine) and the Z-languages (*tokuz* = nine) Among the old languages, Bulghār or one of its dialects belonged to the first group; among modern languages, the Čuwash alone, but we find sporadic cases of *r* corresponding to *z* in all the Turkish languages To the second group, the Z-group, belong all the other Turkish languages, ancient and modern, including Yakut. The question of the ethnic and linguistic origin of the predominating nationality in the nomad union of the Huns as well as those of other ancient peoples of Central Asia and eastern Europe (Siangpi, Avars, Khazars) is still uncertain or insufficiently elucidated The languages of the Z-group were formerly dispersed over the territory corresponding to modern Mongolia, southern Siberia and the steppes of the Altai and later gradually occupied all the modern habitats of the Turkish peoples, from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Mediterranean, except the Čuwash region

The Z-group is again divided into two groups the D-languages (*adak* or *aḍaḳ* = foot) and the Y-languages (*ayak* = foot) This division is attested as early as the xiith century by Maḥmūd Kashghaṛī, but is much older To the D-division belonged the following ancient languages the Kïrḳïz, Turkish in the strict sense and Uighur. This group is at the present day represented by a limited number of languages and dialects in Eastern Siberia, Mongolia and China proper and is divided into three sections the T-section or Yakut (*ataḳ* = foot), the D-section or the Tannu-tuwin dialect, or Soyote or Uriankhay, and the Ḳaraghas dialect, related to the latter (*adak* = foot), and the Z-section composed of the Kamasine, Koybal, Saghay, Kačine, Beltïr, Ḳïzïl, Čulïm-kuerik, Shor and Sarïgh-Uighur (*azaḳ* = foot) The dialects of the Z-section of the D-division which at the present day are found in the northeast part of the Turkish world, existed, according to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, in Eastern Europe in the xiith century. The philologists of the middle ages writing in Arabic included Bulghar in the Z section. A trace of one of the Z-dialects is still to be found in eastern Europe in the name of the Sea of Azov (*azaḳ* = the "foot", i e. estuary of the Don)

According to Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, the Ḳïpčaḳ

and Oghuz languages, spoken in the west of Central Asia and in Eastern Europe, belonged in the xith century to the Y-division of the second great group of Turkish languages (*ayak* = foot) At the present day this Y-division is the largest, for it is found over large areas in Asia and Europe, from western Siberia and the Altai to the Mediterranean (excluding the Čuwash) Mahmūd Kāshgharī in the xith century noted a criterion for the establishment of two sections in this Y-division. *kalghan* and *ḳalan* (remained). The latter section includes the Oghuz of the xith century and their modern descendants, pure or mixed the Turkomans, the Ādharbāidjānis and the other Turks of Persia, Anatolia and the Balkans, the Gagauz of Bessarabia and the Tatars of the Southern Crimea, i e the S. W part of the Turkish world The Oghuz section of the Turkish language is distinguished by this criterion, *ḳalan* not only from the first section of the Y-division (*kalghan*) but also from all the other Turkish languages except Čuwash The first section — *kalghan* of the Y-division — is much larger than the second, and the peoples of all the central part of the Turkish world from Tobolsk to Baghčiserai and from Kasimow (q v., in the province of Riazan) to Turfan speak its dialects The *kalghan* section can be further divided It includes two sub-sections *tawlï* and *taghlïk* (highlander) The criterion *ï* connects the *tawlï* sub-section with the *ḳalan* section (in both *sarï* = yellow, in place of *sarïgh* of the northeastern division and the *sarïk* of the *taghlïk* subsection) and with the Čuwash, whereas the criterion *taw* connects it with the Čuwash (*tu*) and Yakut (*tïă*) Korsch considered the correspondence of *aw* and *agh* to be very old and thought that the Turkish languages were originally divisible into two groups, the northern (*aw*) and the southern (*agh*) But this correspondence has not yet been attested by any ancient document

The dialects of the *tawlï* sub-section are represented in the N W. part of the Turkish world by the Teleut-Altai-Teleng group and the Kumandï and Lebed dialects in Altai, by the Kïrghïz [q v], Ḳazaḳ and Ḳaïakalpaḳ [q v] dialects, by some of the purest Özbeg dialects, by the dialects of the Tatars of Tobol-Tumene and of Kazan, of the Mishars, Bashkirs, Noghais (of Astiakhan [q v], of Stavropol, etc), of the Kumïḳs of Daghestan [q v], of the Balḳars and Ḳaïačays of the Northern Caucasus, of the Tatars of the Crimean steppes, of the Karaits (except those that have been osmanised) and the Krïmčaḳs (the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea) The dialects that form a transition between the *tawlï* sub-section of the Y-division to the D, are represented in Siberia by the Čulïm, Aba, Černï (yïsh) which have *y* instead of *d*, but *agh* in place of *aw* and *ïgh* in place of *ï* (*ayaḳ*, *taghlïgh*)

The *taghlïk* sub-section of the *kalghan* section of the Y-division, which we have just mentioned, is represented in the southeastern part of the Turkish world by the dialects of the settled populations of Western and Eastern (Chinese) and in part of Afghān Turkestān, by the Özbeg dialects (except the Khīwan and those of the *tawlï* type), the Taiančï and those of the Turks of the oases of Kāshghar [q v.], Khotan [q. v.], Aḳsu, Turfan [q. v.] etc. This sub-section sometimes called, not very happily, Čaghatāi shows a mixture of the northwest *tawlï*. sub-section with the northeast D-division. The Özbeg and Sart (of the turkicised Iranians; cf SART) dialects of the former Khānate of Khīwa (Khwārizm, q. v) form a transition between the dialects of the southwest and northwest; their criteria are *ḳalghan*, *taghlï*.

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2 General Sketch of the Turkish Languages.

The syntax of the Turkish languages is based on the following principle the governing parts of a grammatical statement or of a group of statements follow the parts governed This is why the principal part of a statement — the attribute — is usually placed at the end, the completed parts follow the complement, the qualified parts are placed after their qualification, the principal statements follow incidental ones. In keeping with this principle, the auxiliary morphological elements, which can historically be traced back to governing roots, follow the stems of the words to which they refer and cannot precede them The auxiliary morphological elements represent a series of links starting from the post-positions which remain phonetically unchanged, to the formative and modificative suffixes, which unite with the preceding word to form a unit as regards accent and vowel harmony, which we shall discuss later.

It is thought that the accent in Turkish languages originally fell on the first syllable, as is still the case in the Mongol languages In modern Turkish languages, the principal accent usually falls on the last syllable but even now the first syllable still, particularly one with a broad vowel (*a*, *e*, *o*, *o*), retains a trace of the old accent in the form of a secondary accent, stronger in some and weaker in other dialects By the existence at one time of an accent on the first syllable we can explain the fact of progressive vowel harmony which is of two kinds First, by the law of assimilation, the posterior vowels (*a*, *ï*, *o* and *u*) are followed only by posterior vowels and the anterior vowels (*e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*) always by anterior, this assimilation was also extended to consonants, especially to *k*, *g*, *l* *ḳat* stop !, *ḳatghan*, stopped; *kel*, come !, *kelgen*, come (p. p.) In some dialects we see more or less weakening in this fundamental vowel harmony as a result of the influence of other languages, particularly Iranian (some Turkoman and Ādharbāidjān dialects, the Turkish of Anatolia, and the Iranicised Özbeg dialects) The harmony of the second kind is much less consistent than the harmony of the first kind. the assimilation between rounded vowels (*o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*) or unrounded (*a*, *ï*, *e*, *i*) The rounded vowels are ordinarily followed by the narrow rounded vowels (*u*, *ü*) in the nearest and by preference closed syllables, while the broad vowels (*a*, *e*) remain unrounded The non-rounded vowels are followed usually by non-rounded broad or narrow vowels: *bïl*. know !, *bïl* + *dïm*: I knew; *öl* die, *öl* + *dum* I died; *besh*: five, *besh* + *ten*: of five, *kol* lake, *kol* + *den*. of lake.

It is only in some dialects (e. g. the Ḳara-Ḳïrghïz) that the vowel harmony of the second class is extended to all the broad vowels, while in others (e g in Kïrghïz-Kazaḳ) to the anterior broad vowels (*e*, *o*) only: *kol* = lake, *kol* + *dor* = the lakes (in both dialects) but *kol* = hand, *ḳol* + *dar* (Kïrghïz-Kazaḳ) and *ḳol* + *dor* (Ḳara-Ḳïrghïz). Harmony of this kind has attained its greatest development with regard to the narrow vowels in the Turkish of Stambul, in which, however, it does not affect the broad vowels

In the Turkish language there are nine fundamental vowels *a*, *a* (open), *e* (closed), *o*, *o*, *ï*, *i*, *u*, *u* There used to be long vowels, which did not attract sufficient attention except in Yakut and Tuikoman In some languages (e g the Kazan-Tatai) the number of vowels is over nine and the series has undergone modifications (*o* > *u*, *o* > *u*, *e* > *i*, *i* > *ï*) The Turkish consonant system has not yet been sufficiently studied either, and sufficient attention has not been paid to the existence, in addition to mute and sonant consonants, of middle consonants (e g. in Turkoman and Ādharbāidjānī) The progiessive assimilation of the sonant vowels with mutes and vice-versa is widespread *yaz* + *dï*, he has written, *tut* + *tï*, he has seized, *koz* + *da*, in the eye, *baṧh* + *ta*, on the head

There are other kinds of progressive assimilation of consonants Cases of progressive dissimilation are features of certain dialects only (e. g Ḳazak, Ḳïrghïz, Altai) *ata* + *ŧar*, the fathers, *kol* + *dor*, the lakes. A very distinctive feature of the Yakut language is the regressive assimilation of consonants: *at* + *ïm*, my horse, *at* + *ïñ*, thy horse; but *ap* + *par*, to my horse, *ak* + *kïttan*, from thy horse

In the majority of the dialects the only initial sonant consonants are *b*, *m* and exceptionally *n* and *d*; the sonants *d*, *w*, *g* are found initially in Turkoman, Ādharbāidjānī and in Anatolian Turkish and were found in the Oghuz of the xiᵗʰ century Words cannot begin with the consonants *r*, *l*, *ñ*, *z* (the latter, except in loanwords, is only found initially in a few onomatopoetic words) nor with two consonants Two consonants at the end of a word are only admissible in cases where the first of them is *r*, *l* or *s* This is why we find supplementary vowels in loanwords. *arâḏjab* < *raḏjab* (Arab), *ïstap* < *steppe* (Russ), *fikïr* < *fikr* (Arab.)

Morphological formations or modifications are, as we have already said, produced by the addition of one or more formative or modificative suffixes to the verbal or nominal roots and to stems, which, even without this accretion, have a certain definite meaning. the verbal stem, the 2ⁿᵈ pers. sg with imperative meaning (*tap* = find!), and the nominal stem — that of the nominative, genitive, accusative and some other cases of the sing or plur. (*aṫma*, apple, of apple, the apples). Cases of formation by analogy are also found: *bïr* = one, *bïr* + *ar* = by one, and by analogy *ïki* = two, *ïki* + *rär* = by two (Čaghatāi); or *beṧh* = five, *beṧh* + *dr* = by five, and by analogy. *altï* = six, *altï* + *ṧhar* = by six

There are two fundamental grammatical categories. the noun and the verb. Nouns are divided into pronouns, numerals, and nouns in general; there are no special morphological features for the adjective. Nor can one make a sharp distinction between nouns and adjectives, e. g. *temïr* = iron and of iron, *taṧh* = stone and of stone, *su* = water and pertaining to water. The adjective forms with the noun it qualifies a grammatical whole, thus the suffixes of the plural and of the declension are added only to a qualified noun while the adjective is undeclined. The verbal forms are divided into 1 finite verbs, very limited in number, 2. verbal nouns having the meaning of nouns of action or of agency and 3. verbal adverbs (gerundives). The adverbs of nominal or verbal origin are very few in number and like the postpositions and interjections form a secondary grammatical category, in addition to the noun and verb.

The possessive suffixes in the nouns correspond to the possessive pronouns of the Indo-European languages: *at* + *ïm* = my horse, *at* + *ïñ* = thy horse, *at* + *ï* = his horse, *ata* + *m* = my father, *ata* + *ñ* = thy father, *ata* + *sï* = his father, *at* + *ïmïz* = our horse, *at* + *ïñïz* = your horse, *ata* + *mïz* = our father, *ata* + *ñïz* = your father. The same suffixes in certain verbal forms are used as personal endings *kel* + *gu* + *m*, I shall come, *kel* + *gu* + *ñ* = thou wilt come, *kel* + *gu* + *sï* = he will come (Čaghatāi); *kel* + *dï* + *m* = I came, *kel* + *dï* + *ñ* = thou didst come, *kel* + *dï* (*kel* + *d* + *ï*ᵖ) = he came

The predicative (enclitic) demi-suffixes, derived from personal pronouns and, in certain dialects, having been influenced by the possessive suffixes, correspond in the nouns to the substantive verbs of the Indo-European languages while the verbs take the most used personal endings sg 1ˢᵗ pers *ben*, *men*, *bïn*, *mïn*, *in*, *im*, 2ⁿᵈ pers *sen*, *sïn*, *siñ*, pl 1ˢᵗ pers *biz*, *uz*, *iz*, *miz*; 2ⁿᵈ pers *siz*, *siñiz* Examples. *aḏgu-ben* (*bïn*, *men*, *mïn*) > *ayï-yïm* I am good, *yazar-ben* (*bïn*, *men*, *mïn*) > *yazar-ïn* (*ïm*) I write In the old language the demonstrative pronoun *oṫ* was used in the third person of the substantive verb *aḏgu* + *oṫ*, he is good, in the modern languages — the predicative demi-suffix *dïr* (*dï*), from the verbal from *turur* = he is erect

The suffix of the plural *ŧar*, *lar* is used with nouns as well as with verbs *at* + *ŧar* (*at* + *tar*) — the horses, *at* + *tï* + *ŧar* — they have thrown.

The personal verbal forms are formed as follows: in the imperative from the pure verbal stem; in the other cases from the stems of one or other mood or tense In addition to the possessive and predicative suffixes, special suffixes are also used as personal endings, e. g. *zu*, *zun*, *sun*, *sunï* for the 3ʳᵈ person of the imperative, *ḳ*, *k*, for the first pers of the plural of the preterite and conditional in the modern dialects (*kel* + *dï* + *k*, we have come, *kel* + *se* + *k* if we had come) The latter suffix (*ḳ*, *k*) is used in the Ādharbāidjānī dialects, in some Anatolian dialects and in the Gokleng dialect of Turkoman, instead of the predicative enclitic of the first pers. plur. of nouns and verbs

In the majority of the modern Turkish languages there are five cases in declension with special terminations: genitive (*ïñ*, *nïñ*, *nïn*, *ni*, *in*), accusative (*i*, *ni*, old *ig*), dative (*ḳa*, *a*, *yaz*, *ghar*, *ghan*), locative (*da*), ablative (*dan*, *dañ*, *dïn*), but in the old languages and in some modern ones there were also affixes for the directive, instrumental and other cases.

Grammatical gender does not exist; there are only two numbers

The differences in phonetics and vocabulary are more marked in the Turkish languages than those of morphology. Čuwash and Yakut occupy

a position apart; all the other Turkish languages may be regarded as dialects and variants of a single language.

The Turkish languages show considerable conservatism in the whole extent of their known history (from the viiith century) The comparative historical study of the Turkish languages is still in its initial stages (the works of Radloff, Grønbeck, Thomsen, Melioranski, Bang, Blockelmann, Deny) As a result of the researches of Ramstedt, Gombocz, Németh and Poppe, it may be regarded as more or less proved that the Turkish languages are related to the Mongol and Čuwash is closely allied to both A new light has been thrown on the past history of the Turkish by N Marr, who has examined Čuwash from the point of view of the Japhetic theory and places the Turkish languages in a group not any larger than that proposed by the earlier theories of the Turanists.

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3. Literary Scripts and Languages.

The oldest dated monuments of Turkish writing date from the eighth century. These are the inscriptions on the steles erected in honour of princes of the Turkish dynasty of the sixth–eighth centuries, Kul-Tegin and Bilge-Khān, found in 1889 by Iadrincev in the valley of the Orkhon in Mongolia. Other inscriptions in the same script, large and small, are known in Mongolia, Siberia and Western Turkestan. The Siberian monuments were discovered in 1721 by Messerschmidt in the valley of the Yenisei Manuscripts in the same hand, approximately of the ninth century, have recently been found in excavations in Chinese Turkestan This script, deciphered in 1893 by the eminent Danish linguist V. Thomsen, was given by him the name of Turkish runes. Others have called it the Orkhon alphabet. The name "Kok-Türkisch" proposed by W. Bang for the Orkhon inscriptions has been rejected by Thomsen, Radloff and others. The Turkish runes are derived from the Aramaic alphabet through the intermediary of the Old Soghdian alphabet; but some of them have an independent origin and are ideographic in character, e g. *o* (*ḳ*) = arrow, (*a*) *ȷ* = moon, (*d*) *ȯ* = house Some documents in Turkish runes may be dated to the seventh or even the sixth century A D.

The language of the Turkish runes, whether on stone or in manuscripts, is distinguished by a certain archaism in its phonetics (the sounds *ď*, *ȷ*), in morphology (by the directive and instrumental cases, genitive in *-šñ*, ablative in *-da*, verbal forms in *-sar*, *-ɨghma*) and in vocabulary (*ḳañ* = father, *og* = mother)

The Uighūr alphabet, which came into general use in the viiith–ixth centuries among the Turkish people of the Uighūrs, is derived from one of the northern Semitic alphabets, also through the intermediary of the Soghdian; it has been wrongly suggested that it is derived from the Estranghelo The Uighūr literary language belongs to the same group as the Turkish of the Mongolic monuments but with certain dialectic differences (genitive in *-nïñ*, ablative in *-dïn*). The Uighūr xylographic and manuscript literature, found by the English, Russian, French, German and Japanese expeditions, is very vast In addition to the Uighūr alphabet, the ancient Turks of Chinese Turkestan used Turkish runes, Manichaean, Syriac and Brahmī alphabets. Among the Turks of China, who did not adopt Islām, the Uighūr alphabet remained in use down to the beginning of the xviiith century After the conversion to Islām of the Turks of Central Asia followed by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet (tenth–eleventh centuries), the Uighūr alphabet remained in use as the court script. It was used in the xiiith–xvth centuries among the Golden Horde and among the Timūrids for the Ḳipčaḳ and Čaghatāi languages (Yarlïḳs, works in prose and verse) At the beginning of the xvith century, there were still at Stambul experts in writing Uighūr (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Baḳshī). In Western Europe, Klaproth, Rémusat and Jaubert began to read the Uighūr script in the first half of the xixth century.

Founded on the literary Uighūr of the pre-Islamic period, there developed in the lands of the Ilek-Khāns [q. v] or Karakhānids, converts to Islām, the Turkish literary language of Central Asia of the Muslim period written in the Arabic alphabet It may be supposed that Arabic was the script of the original of the oldest document of this language known to us, the *Kudatghu-bilig* ("the science of giving happiness"), a didactic poem of the eleventh century, composed by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Hādjib [q. v.] at Balāsāghūn and Kāshghar. The language of this work, which has come down to us in two later copies in Arabic and one in Uighūr script made at Herāt in the xvth century, cannot be considered as pure Uighūr. M. Koprülüzāde regards the language of the *Kudatghu-bilig* as Karluk but it would be safer to call it Ḳarakhānid.

Data are lacking to enable us to decide if there was a literature in the Bulghār language in the Bulghār kingdom on the Kama where Islām was established in the tenth century. In any case Bul-

ghār elements are found in the sepulchral inscriptions of the XIVth century in the Volga region The development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia went on without interruption from the eleventh century but its centre changed from time to time.

We may date to the XIIIth century the didactic work in quatrains by Edīb Aḥmed entitled *ʿAibet ul-Hakā'iḳ*, the language of which is closely related to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig*, without being identical with it. The absence of early manuscripts prevents us giving a definite name to the language of the *Ḥikmet* of Ahmed Iesswi (XIIIth century), the founder of Turkish mysticism, whom M. Koprulu-zāde takes to have been a Karluk also Literary activity in the different parts of the Djūčid kingdom or "Deshtī-kipčaḳ", in Khwārizm which included the mouth of the Sīr-Daryā [q v], in the capital Sarāi [q. v] and in the Crimea, had attained a considerable development by the beginning of the XIVth century. A uniform literary language did not come into use in the Djūčid state, in all the literary materials of this epoch which we possess, the elements of the literary language of the Ḳarakhānid period are combined with those of local dialects still living, Ḳipčaḳ and Oghuz (Turkoman). The copy of the romance in verse of the XIVth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the *Khosraw u-Shīrīn* of the poet Kutb, an imitation of the corresponding work of Nizāmī, dedicated to Tembek and his wife of the White Horde, is in a language very close to that of the *Kutadghu-bilig* but showing also Kipčaḳ (*sala* = village etc) and Oghuz elements. Khwārizmī's poem *Mahabbet-nāme*, written in the XIVth century on the Sīr-Daryā and preserved in two copies of the XVth and XVIth centuries in the British Museum, reveals far more Ḳipčaḳ and Oghuz than Ḳarakhānid linguistic elements

In the XIIIth century in the Turkish Muslim world the different literary languages were not yet clearly separated from one another The formation of the Mongol empire which embraced almost the whole Turkish world of the period created for a time an atmosphere favourable to the development of a uniform literary language for a considerable part of the Muslim Turkish peoples In its beginning literary activity in Turkish in the lands of the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor was no doubt to some degree bound up with that of Central Asia and Eastern Europe It would be very difficult to determine exactly where the romance in quatrains of the XIIIth century by a certain ʿAlī entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* was written, its language has much in common with the literature of the XIVth century of the Golden Horde, in which the Oghuz-Turkomans shared, and it later became very popular in the region of the Volga. Differing from Brockelmann, who connects the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* with the literary products of Anatolia, Merdjānī, a Kazan scholar, thinks it is Bulghār The language of the prose work of the XIVth century with passages in verse called *Ḳiṣaṣ ul-Enbiyā'*, written by Rabāt-i Oghuz, is closely related to the Ḳarakhānid language. It would not be correct to call its language Čaghatāi The Syriac Christian Turkish inscriptions on the tombs of Semiriečie of the XIIIth–XIVth centuries are in a language closely resembling the Ḳarakhānid (*ud* = bull, *yond* = horse, *yertunču* = this world, *ata* = father, *ana* = mother).

We may date in the XIVth and XVth centuries the beginning of the development — starting from the Central Asiatic Turkish literature which we may suppose to have been the only literature of the period — of the different literary languages of different parts of the Muslim Turkish world. The greatest development was that of the Ottoman Turkish and Čaghatāi Turkish literary languages The first goes back to Central Asiatic Turkish literature through the Anatolian Turkish literature of the Saldjūḳ period Čaghatāi Turkish represents the third, longest (XVth—XXth centuries), and most brilliant phase of the development of Central Asiatic Turkish literature and takes its rise directly out of the second phase, the Djūčid The Čaghatāi language developed in the lands of the Tīmūrids, which consisted of the domain of the second son of Čingiz-Khān, Čaghatai [q v] The Kīpčaḳ and Turkoman elements of the preceding phase of development of the literary Turkish of Central Asia were replaced in Čaghatāi by living elements from the predominant Turkish dialects of the Čaghatāi country The emperor Bābur says that the language of the most distinguished figure in Čaghatai literature, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Newāī, is identical with that of the dialect of the town of Andidjān The Čaghatai poetical language was distinguished from that of prose by its morphology and its vocabulary.

Until lately some scholars have used the term Čaghatāi cf [ČAGHATĀI LITERATURE] wrongly by applying it to the language of the literary monuments of the XIIIth century as well as to the living Turkish dialects of Western and Eastern Turkestan A renaissance in Čaghatāi literature, prose and poetry, was observable in the XIXth and early XXth century in the khānates of Khokhand and Khīwa At the present day in Özbegistān Čaghatāi is giving way to the Ozbeg literary language, the fourth phase of the development of Turkish Central Asiatic literature, the sphere of which has been considerably restricted by the coming into use in the XXth century of new literary languages by the peoples of Central Asia Even in the XVIIth century, the historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān wrote in Khīwa in Özbeg and not in Čaghatāi, contrary to the tradition of the time

The Turkomans of Central Asia, who took part in the foundation of the literary language of Khwārizm in the time of the empire of Djūčī, had in the centuries following their own literary language, especially for poetry, which after the XVth century came under Čaghatāi influence and did not develop further In our own day there is growing up in Turkmenistān a new literary language based purely on living Turkoman dialects (particularly Tekke and Yomut)

Ādharbāidjānī (*Āzerī*) developed among the Turks of Persia from the same stock as the language of the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia; after a flourishing period in the XVIth century under the patronage of the early Ṣafawids [q v.], it continued in existence in the following centuries, without being able to make progress against the influence on the one hand of Persian culture and on the other of Ottoman Turkish. The rehabilitation of Ādharbāidjānī, which is closely related to the spoken dialect, began in the middle of the XIXth century in Transcaucasia (Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhūndow) It became strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish at the beginning of the XXth century and the result has been two rival currents which still exist at the present day

In spite of the division of the Golden Horde into different khānates in the XVth century, the

Crimea retained a literary language based on Ḳïpčak and known to the Ottomans as Crimean or Desht (steppe), but the influence of Ottoman culture, felt especially in the historical literature and belles-lettres, interfered with its further development. The official language of the Khān's chancelleries in the Crimea retained down to the XVIIIth century the Djūčid tradition to a great degree At the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth century Mīrzā Gasprinskii tried to establish a Pan-Turkish literary language in the Crimea, based on a simplified Ottoman and closely resembling the living dialect of the south of the Crimea. Gasprinskii's paper, the *Tardjumān*, circulated as far as Kashghar. In the Crimea at the present day as in Ādharbāidjān the struggle between two rival influences, Ottoman and local, still goes on in the literary language, and the situation is complicated by the fact that the living dialects of the Crimea belong to two different groups, southwest and northwest.

The Djūčid literary language was also inherited by the khānate of Kazan where it was influenced by Čaghatāi and old Ottoman and in the XIXth century by modern Ottoman In the second half of the XIXth century, since Ḳayūm Nasīrī, there began among the Tatars of Kazan a movement to link up the literary language with the local dialect. The movement, in spite of the opposition of followers of Gasprinskii, has attained complete success. A barrier has now also been set up against infiltration of Russian influence into the Tatar literary language, which used to be very marked in certain authors, not only in vocabulary but also in syntax The Tatar of Kazan is used not only among the Tatars but also among the Mishars and the Noghais of Astrakhān, before the foundation of the Bashkīr republic, it was also used by the Bashkīrs and Tepters [cf. TEPIYAR] The Bashkīrs at the present moment are creating for themselves a literary language of their own, but without completely avoiding the struggle between various tendencies of which the most powerful is one which takes a middle course and refuses to base the literary language on dialects having too pronounced peculiarities in phonetics and vocabulary The Kazan-Tatar literary language is the most developed and most stabilised, next to the Turkish of Anatolia, and like it enjoys a popularity which reaches far beyond the boundaries of the Volga region.

Literary Turkish languages began to increase in number especially after the Russian Revolution of 1905 and still more after that of October 1917, with the awakening of national sentiment and the consciousness among the different nations of the Turkish world of possessing a culture of their own. The literary (Ḳïrghïz-)Ḳazaḳ language, young, but rich and flexible, developed considerably at the beginning of the XXth century. It is comparatively free from Arabic and Persian borrowings and, in close touch with the popular dialect, uses the Arabic alphabet ingeniously reformed by Baytursun. With the foundation of the Ḳïrghïz republic, the (Ḳara-)Ḳïrghïz have undertaken to create a literary language of their own, distinct from (Ḳïrghïz-)Kazak

In the northern Caucasus is being formed the Ḳarachai-Balḳarian literary language, the development of which is hampered by the scanty population and the proximity of more developed languages, Crimean and Ādharbāidjānī. The latter shows its influence still more in Daghestān, where it is on the point of being recognised officially and is offering serious competition to the young local literary language, the Ḳumïḳ, which began to develop in the XIXth century by ousting Arabic, which was the language in every day use in Daghestān.

As to the alphabet, two forces are at present at work against one another in the Turkish Muslim world. One advocates the Arabic alphabet reformed to fit the Turkish phonetic system and has succeeded in giving new Arabic alphabets to the Kazan-Tatar, (Kïrghïz-)Kazaḳ, (Ḳara-)Ḳïrghïz, Özbeg, Turkoman and Crimean languages. The other is in favour of a Latin alphabet with additional letters for all the Turkish languages; it has been well received in Turkey itself, has gained a decisive victory in Ādharbāidjān, where the movement started in the middle of the XIXth century, and it is still making progress among the other Turkish peoples. The new Turkish uniform alphabet based on the Latin was formally adopted in 1927 by the Turkish Muslim peoples of the Soviet Republics.

The oldest Turkish writing found in the Runic alphabet had Semitic features and in many cases did not indicate the vowels (*kghn* = *kaghan*, *ygh* = *yaghïz*, *kïlnmsh* = *kïlïnmïsh*), the sound *a* being indicated in the first syllable only when it was long (*t* = *at*, horse, *at* = *āt*, name). In the Uighūr alphabet, the vowels were marked more frequently than in the Runic and more precisely than in the Arabic alphabet used later to distinguish the sounds *o*, *u* from the *o* and *u*, to the latter was added the letter *ṡ* *soṡ* = *soz* Under the influence of the Arabic alphabet, this practice was dropped from the Uighūr writing of the Muslim period The notation of consonants in the older Uighūr writing was more precise than in the later alphabet, which used the letters *t* and *d* indiscriminately and introduced other simplifications, which led Radloff to defend the erroneous Uighūr consonant system, later corrected by Thomsen Uighūr orthography as regards vowels, with the exception of the special notations for *o* and *u*, was adopted in Central Asia at the time of the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and henceforth a distinction was made between Čaghatāi and Ottoman orthographies In Asia Minor under the immediate influence of Arabic orthography a special Turkish orthography became established which was very characteristic of the old Ottoman writing (no indication of vowels, use of Arabic *haraket*'s etc) In later centuries, some of these Arabic orthographical peculiarities were, it is true, abandoned but to the present day Ottoman orthography is distinguished from Čaghatāi by a considerable restriction in the indication of vowels (Ott *kl* = Čagh. *kïl*, Ott. *bï* = Čagh. *bïr*) and the use of the Arabic characters *ṡ* and *ṫ* to mark the sounds *s* and *t* in words of Turkish origin, in combination with posterior vowels (*ṡu* = water = Čagh *su*, *ṫagh* = mountain = Čagh *tagh*) The old Kazan-Tatar orthography was based on that of Central Asia but in some cases also it showed the influence of old Ottoman.

The movement for the reform of orthography in the form of the adoption of a phonetic script began to make itself felt in the Turkish Muslim world from the end of the XIXth century. It has had most results, not in Turkey but among the Turkish peoples of Russia, and particularly among the (Ḳïrghïz-)Ḳazaḳs. The Turcological congress

of 1926 at Baku decided in favour of a mixed orthography — a combination of the phonetic with the etymological —, for the establishment of which steps have now been taken with the help of the reformed Arabic alphabet and the new Turkish Latin alphabet.

The modern non-Muslim Turkish minorities, Čuwass, Yakut, Turks of the Altai and Yenisei were, until quite recently, to be classed among the illiterate peoples, although the Yakuts preserve the tradition that they possessed an alphabet in olden times and although among the Turks of the Altai the Mongol alphabet as adapted to the Turkish language is still used, although to a very limited degree All these peoples received from the Russians in the xviiith and xixth centuries, the Russian alphabet, slightly adapted to their particular requirements. In 1917 the Yakuts replaced the Russian alphabet by a Latin one based on the international phonetic alphabet and prepared by a Yakut student, M. Novgorodov. The Tannu-Tuwins (Ouriankhais or Soyots) who are much under the influence of Mongol culture are at the moment trying to develop a national literary language and to choose themselves an alphabet

The Greek alphabet used for the Turkish language from the ninth century in the Turk Bulghār kingdom on the Danube was quite recently in use among the turkicised Greeks of Anatolia and Stambul. The turkicised Armenians have adapted the Armenian alphabet to the Turkish language There are Ādharbāidjānī manuscripts written in the Georgian alphabet The Karaites who speak Turkish have from early times used the Hebrew alphabet.

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4 Turkish Borrowings from neighbouring Languages and vice versa.

In the pre-Muḥammadan monuments of the Turkish languages we find words borrowed from Chinese, Soghdian, Sanskrit and the northern Semitic languages. Foreign influences may even be observed in the syntax of these monuments, especially in passages which are translations from other languages In the modern dialects of Siberia and Mongolia, especially in Yakut, there are a number of Mongol elements which have come in by direct borrowing as well as through intermixture of races. It is by the latter means that the palaeo-Asiatic linguistic elements and other elements not yet elucidated have entered these dialects The name of the river Yenisei, *Kem*, known from the time of the Orkhon inscriptions, comes from the Kot language where it means "river" as in the modern dialect of the Soyot Turks Finnish elements are found in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region. At the time of the foundation of the Mongol empire of Činghiz-Khān [q v], a certain number of borrowed Mongol words found their way into the majority of the Turkish languages. It was in this way that the old Turkish word *yular* "halter", preserved by the Yakuts, Soyots and the Turks of Anatolia as well in the women's language of the Altai Turks, was gradually ousted in the xiiith century by the Mongol *nokta*, which is now used in all the other Turkish languages including Čuwass. The Turkish dialects of the Özbegs, Turkomans, Ādharbāidjāns and of the Turkish tribes of Persia show considerable Iranian influence as a result of the intermingling of races and cultures. As a result of the complicated intermixture of the Turks with other races of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula and of the cultural borrowings, we find in the language of the Turks of Anatolia and the Balkans, Greek, Slav — especially Serb —, Armenian, Kurd, Italian, French and other elements in addition to Arabic and Persian The intermixture of the Turks with the natives of the Northern and Southern Caucasus has introduced into their dialects elements from the phonetics and the vocabulary of the Caucasian languages. The Turks who entered Syria and Egypt have been very strongly influenced by Arabic, as have the Kumïks of Daghestān, among whom, unlike other Muslim Turks, the names of the days of the week are Arabic and not Persian In the other parts of the Turkish world, the adoption of Islām brought more Persian than Arabic elements. The Arabic and Persian loanwords in the Turkish literary languages are sometimes over 50%, but they also found their way into the popular dialects of Turkish tribes but little influenced by Islām, like the Kazaks and the Kïrghïz (*ten* = body, *žan* = soul).

A certain number of Arabic and Persian words have also found their way among the non-Muslim Turks, not only among the Čuwass, but also among the Turks of the Altai and Yenisei and even through the intermediary of Russian among the Yakuts (*ampar* = *anbār*). The influence of Russian makes itself especially felt in the Turkish dialects of the Volga region and among them in Mishar in particular, but there are Russian loanwords in all the Turkish languages of the U.S S.R.

The Turkish languages in their turn have from early times influenced the neighbouring languages, beginning with Chinese. There are Turkish words in the Mongol languages, in several Finnish languages (especially Ceremiss and Magyar), in the Iranian languages, in modern Arabic, in Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, in the Slav languages of the Balkan Peninsula and of Eastern and Western Europe History records fewer cases of the loss of their language by a Turkish people (the Bulghārs in the Balkans, the Kumans in Hungary, the Tatars in Lithuania, the Dungans in China and the Turks in India) than of cases of the turkicisation of other peoples in Siberia, in Central Asia, in the Caucasus, in Asia Minor, in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe (the Mishais). We find turkicised gipsies in Turkey, Transcaucasia in the Crimea and in Turkestan

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(A. SAMOYLOVITCH)

III. ČAGHATĀI LITERATURE

Under the influence of the brilliant development of Turkish literature in the Čaghatāi kingdom [cf. ČAGHATĀI-KHĀN] under the rule of the Tīmūrids, this eastern Turkish literary language has been given the name "Čaghatāi" in the east itself, as well as in European literature In an anonymous Turkish work (probably written in India, Brit. Mus., Or. 1912; Rieu, *Cat. Turk. MSS*, p. 268), all Turkish dialects are divided into two languages, Čaghatāi and Turkoman Ibn Muhannā (Turk. ed., p. 73, Melioranskiy, *Arab. filolog.*, p. xx) uses the word "Turkistānish" in the same sense The language of the Turks is said to have come from Turkistān just as Arabic came from the Hidjāz The "language of the Turks of our (presumably Persian) lands" is also contrasted to Turkistānish as well as to Turkoman In Radloff's *Wörterbuch* (iv. 15), the word Čaghatāi is quoted only in the form Djaghatāi and as an Ottoman word; cf. also Shaikh Sulaiman Bukhārī, *Lughat-i Čaghatāi wa-Turkī ʿOthmānī*, Istambul 1297–1300, abbreviated edition with German translation by Dr. S. Kúnos, Budapest 1902 (*Publ. Sect. Orient. de la Soc. Ethn. Hongroise*, i.)

Radloff (*Zap.*, iii. 1 *sqq*) presumes a purely eastern origin for the Čaghatāi literary language. The Uighūr alphabet and literary language had survived from the pre-Muḥammadan period among the Muslim Turks; through the adoption of many Arabic and Persian words the Uighūr alphabet gradually fell into disuse, we have books written in "pure Uighūr language" but in the Arabic alphabet, such as the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* of Rabghūzī written in 710 (1310–1311) (Radloff in the introduction to his edition of the *Kudatku-Bilik*, p. lxxviii has tried to show that the "Ilek-Khāns" in whose lands the earliest Muslim works in Turkish were written are "without a shadow of doubt to be regarded as Uighūr rulers"). In the period of the Mongols the Uighūr alphabet and language were widely disseminated Many "pure Uighūr" words and grammatical forms were in this period driven out of use by borrowings from "Central Asian dialects", but there are still in Čaghatāi words and forms of Uighūr origin, which are only used in the literary language As the Eastern Turks, unlike the southern Turks (Constantinople), had no common literary centre, the Čaghatāi literary language has been influenced in different districts by various local dialects.

In contrast to this view it has now been proved (notably by A. Samoylovič in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, p. 1 *sqq*) that already in the pre-Mongol period in addition to the oldest Muslim centre of Turkish literary activity, Kāshghar [q.v.], there was a second literary centre in Khwārizm and on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā This region retained its importance in the Mongol period under the rule of the Khāns of the Golden Horde. The literature of the Čaghatāi kingdom seems not to have arisen till later and to have been influenced by the literature of the Golden Horde Djamal al-Kurashī, the author of the *Mulhikāt al-Ṣurāh* written in Kāshghar, made the acquaintance of the learned Shaikh al-Islām Husām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Mahāmid Hāmid b. ʿĀsim al-ʿĀsimī al-Bārčīnlighī in 672 (1273–1274) in Bārčkend (also called Barčīn and Bārčīnligh) on the lower course of the Sīr-Daryā In addition to theological works in Arabic, the Shaikh also wrote verses in the three literary languages of Islām (this is probably the first time we have them classed together like this), his Arabic verses were of beautiful form (*faṣīha*), his Persian ingenious (*malīha*) and his Turkish in keeping with the truth (*ṣahīha*). To the frequently recurring (as early as the *Kitāb Baghdād* of Aḥmad b. Abī Tāhir Taifūr, ed. Keller, p. 158) contrast between the perfect form of Arabic writings and the ingenious ideas of the Persian is now added the truthfulness of Turkish, and indeed the works of the Čaghatāi poets by their simpler language and more simple train of thought give an impression of being more true to life than their Persian models (cf. E. Berthels, *Newāi-i ʿAttār*, in *Mir-Ali-Shir*, p. 24 *sqq*, esp. p. 80)

Among the works written in the kingdom of the Golden Horde, Khwārizmī's *Maḥabbat-Nāma* (written in 754 = 1353 on the banks of the Sīr-Daryā) had a direct influence on Čaghatāi literature Besides the Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 7914, Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284 *sq.*, we also have the *Maḥabbat-Nāma* in the Uighūr manuscript written in Radjab and Shaʿbān 835 (March-April 1432) in Yazd for the emīr Djalāl al-Dīn, Or. 8193 (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1924, p. 57 *sq.*; *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, p. 99 *sqq*). The *Taʿashshuk-Nāma* of the Tīmūrid prince Sīdī Aḥmad written in 839 (1435–1436) (in the same MS., Add. 7914) is modelled on the *Mahabbat-Nāma*.

A few Turkish poets who lived in the Čaghatāi kingdom are known of the viiith (xivth) century; Tīmūr's contemporary, the emīr Saif al-Dīn, is said to have written five poems in Turkish and Persian

under the pen-name of Saifī (Dawlat-Shāh, ed Browne, p 108) What has survived to us belongs to the ixth (xvth) century, the period of Tīmūr's immediate successors. Sakkākī was a panegyrist of Ḥalīl Sulṭān (1405—1409) and Ulughbeg (1409–1449) (Brit Mus, Or 2079, Rieu, *Turk. Man*, p. 284). Ulughbeg is also mentioned by the poet Luṭfī, some of whose poems have been included in the Uighūr MS, Or. 8193 (more fully on Luṭfī· Rieu, *Turk Man*, p. 285 and 287; Aḥmad Zakī Walidow, *Džagatayskiy poet Lutfiy i ego diwan*, Kazan 1914) Both poets speak of themselves with great pride Sakkākī says to Ulughbeg "It will be many years before such a Turkish poet as I and such a learned prince as thou appear again". Lutfī says "The Khān Ulughbeg knows how to appreciate the services of Lutfī, whose brilliant poems are not inferior to those of Salmān" [q. v.] (text in W. Barthold, *Ulugbek*, St Petersburg 1918, p. 112 *sq.*) To the same period belongs the panegyrist of another grandson of Tīmūr, the prince of Fārs, Iskandar Sultān (till 817 = 1414), Mīr Ḥaidar Maḏjdhūb (Dawlatshāh, p. 371, Rieu, *Cat. Turk Man*, p 286, A Pavet de Courteille, in *P. Ec. Long Or Viv*, ser. ii, vol vi, p. xxii. *sqq*) His *Makhzen al-Asrār* is intended as a reply to the *Makhzen al-Asrār* of Nizāmī (*G J Ph*, ii. 241 *sqq*) Parts of it have been published by Pavet de Courteille from a manuscript in Uighūr (now in Berlin). This poet also says that earth and heaven have been filled with the echo of his songs Two other manuscripts written in Uighūr belong to the first half of the ninth (fifteenth) century the *Bakhtyār-Nāma*, MS of 838 (1435) in Oxford (*G J. Ph.*, ii 324), and the *Miʿrāḏj-Nāma* with a Turkish translation of the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyāʾ* of Farīḍ al-Dīn ʿAttār [see ʿAṬṬĀR]), manuscript said to be (the Hidjra year does not agree with the year of the cycle) of 10th Djumādā II, 840 (Dec 20, 1436) in Paris (*P Ec. Lang Or Viv*, *loc. cit*)

In the second half of the ixth (xvth) century Čaghatāī literature reached its zenith in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr (b. 844 = 1440—1441, d. Sunday, 11th Djumādā II, 906 = Jan 3, 1501) On the significance of his career and literary interest cf Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Alī-Chīr-Nevâi* (*J A*, xvii, 1861, p 175—256, 281—357), E. G Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, esp p 437 *sqq*, 505 *sqq*, *Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928 Like the other Čaghatāī poets, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, in his *Dīwān* as well as in his numerous other poems, is simply an imitator of Persian poets, but he does not follow his models slavishly, his poems seem to have suited the taste of his time and people perfectly and have enjoyed great popularity down to the present day. Of importance is his last work, finished in Djumādā I, 905 (Dec 1499) *Muḥākamat al-Lughatain* (Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental*, parts 1—2, Paris 1842); the language and culture of the Turks are compared with those of the Persians; the author endeavours to show that the Turkish language is no less suitable than the Persian for poetic efforts and intellectual purposes generally. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is frequently described in European works as a minister or vizier; but as a matter of fact he never held any such official position His influence on affairs of state and his activity as a patron of arts and sciences were the result of his friendship (not always unclouded) with his prince Sultān Ḥusain (1469—1506) Sulṭān Husain was himself a poet. His *Dīwān* was published in Baku in 1926 A son of this Sultān, prince Shāh Gharīb, whose pen-name was Gharībī (in the *Bābur Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, *G M.S*, i 166, probably wrongly Ghurbetī), has left a Persian (not known to Brockelmann) and a Turkish *Dīwān* in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek, No. 15 (Brockelmann, *Katalog*, No 183 and 277), MS dated Ramaḍān 940 (March–April 1534) Bābur [q. v], the founder of the Tīmūrid Empire in India, was the author of a number of poems but is most celebrated for his *Memoirs* (*Bābur-Nāma* also *Waḳāʾiʿ* or *Wākiʿāt-i Bābūrī*; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. Ross, p. 173 *sq*); but Persian was almost exclusively used at the Indian court.

The Tīmūrids were driven out of Central Asia and Eastern Persia by the Özbegs Under the latter, especially in the early period, when they had not yet completely adapted themselves to Persian culture, a good deal of Turkish was written both in verse and prose, but they stuck to the old "Čaghatāī" models without producing anything new or original. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr remained the model for poets in educated circles, and for the poets of the masses Ahmed Yesewī [q. v.], in the modernised form in which we now possess his *Dīwān* The historian Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan [q v] probably stands alone, who endeavoured in his work (ed Desmaisons, p 37) to avoid Persian and Arabic as well as "Čaghatāī Turkish" words and to write so that "even a five-year-old child" could understand him One of the most popular poets (also used as a school text-book) of the Özbeg period was the mystic Sūfī Allāh Yār (end of the xviith and beginning of the xviiith century). Later in Bukhārā, Turkish literature was almost completely driven out by Persian (partly influenced by the local Tādjīkī [q v.]) In Khoḳand [q v] and Khīwa [see KHWĀRIZM] Čaghatāī literature experienced a noteworthy revival in the xixth century Cf especially M Hartmann, *M S. O. S. As*, vii 87 *sqq.* (the expression "revival" [*Nachblute*], p 79), A Samoylovič, *Zap*, xix 0198 *sqq*.

The Uighūr alphabet was no longer used among the Özbegs as it still had often been under the Tīmūrids, but the influence of the Uighūr script can still be seen in the Arabic here (use of vowels instead of the vowel signs prevailing in South Turkish manuscripts) So far little attention has been paid to the question how far Čaghatāī literature was influenced by the literature of the oldest Kāshghar period. That, as M Hartmann thought (*M S O S As.*, vii 79), the *Ḳutadghu-Bilig* (so to be written instead of Radloff's *Kudatku Bilik*) "remained almost neglected in the land itself and was taken to Egypt at an early date", can hardly be held any longer. Samoylovič (*Zap*, xxi 038 *sqq*) has established the fact that on a jar found in Saraičik on the lower course of the Ural of the xiiith century, quotations are given from the *Ḳutadghu Bilig*. Even in the *Tawārīkh-i Khwārizmshāhiya* finished at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1280 (May 1864) of Mullā Bābā Djān (the only known manuscript is in Berlin, acquired in 1929, f. 9b), we have the verses which sound exactly like a quotation from the *Ḳutadghu Bilig* (although not found in it)· *wazīr etkusi dur tamāmī niẓām niẓām olmasa ʿadl taṗmas kıyām* ("all the activity of the vizier should be directed to

rder, where there is no order, justice cannot be arried out").

The same Turkish literary language as was written i the land of the Özbegs is written to the present i Chinese Turkestān (Kāshgharia). Here also day urkish culture has been influenced by Persian; ie only work of importance from Kāshgharia, the *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* of Ḥaidar Mīrzā [q v.], is writ-n in Persian; there are at least two Turkish anslations of it (by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ in the viiith century; by an anonymous writer in Khotan ated 22nd Djumādā II, 1263 = June 7, 1847). Even nder Ismā'īl Khān (1670—1682) Mīrzā Shāh Iaḥmūd Čurās (*Zap*, xxii. 313 *sqq*) wrote his istory in very bad Persian instead of in his own ative Turkish. A little later (beginning of the viiith century) the history in the Asiatic Museum i Leningrad (*Zap*, xv. 236 *sqq*, M. Hartmann, *)er islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1899—1905, p 91 *sqq.*; in addition to this manuscript, there now a second, Petrovskiy 9, in the Asiatic Mu-um) was written in a pure and simple Turkish inguage. On the most recent historical works om Kāshghar cf e g *Zap*, xvii 0188 *sqq* (on ie *Ta'rīkh-i Amanīya* of Mullā Mūsā of Sairām nished on the 11th Shawwāl 1321 [Dec. 17, 1903])

In the xxth century a new Turkish literature as been founded among the Özbegs under Euro-ean (directly under Russian and Tatar) influences ometimes called "Modern Čaghatāi literature"), it ncludes dramatic works among its productions.

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(W. Barthold)

B — I. Ottoman Turks

Language and Alphabets

Ottoman Turkish has since the end of the xvth entury been a language of literature and culture ie forms of which have become securely established uring the four centuries of its existence Its volution and the extension of its sphere of in-uence have been intimately connected with the olitical and cultural development of the Ottoman mpire It has therefore become one of the prin-ipal languages of the Muslim world, being next i importance to Arabic and Persian. After Otto-an culture had begun its orientation to the west i the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [q v.] in the xixth entury and in a greater measure since the end f the Ottoman empire in 1922, this same literary inguage has assumed the character of a national inguage which in Turkey is now never called nything but Turkish (*turkče*). The influence of iis language is still to be traced in the languages f those Muslim and Christian peoples who formerly ormed part of the Ottoman empire.

Ottoman Turkish is a branch of the southwest r Turkoman group of Turkish languages (cf amoylovič, *Nekotorye dopolneniya k klassifikacii tureckikh jazykow*, Petrograd 1922, p. 5 *sq.*; this same group is called by Radloff, *Phonetik der nordlichen Turksprachen*, Leipzig 1883, p. 280, that of the dialects of the south). These were the dialects originally spoken by the Oghuz Turks. With the other "dialects" of this group, the Adherī and Turkoman, Ottoman shares certain phonetic peculiarities like the dropping of the consonant *g* after another consonant (cf. e. g. *ḳalan* compared with *kalgan* of the other groups) and the form *ol-* instead of *bol-* (with certain survivals in Turkoman) for the root of the verb "to be", and, from the morphological point of view, of a special paradigm for the present of the verb (*geliyorum*). In the application of vowel harmony it distinguishes two groups of variable endings, that in which *e* alternates with *a* and that in which we have *i*, *i̇*, *u*, *ü* alternatively with fairly frequent traces of an inflection, which knew only the alternations *u*, *ü* (V. Gronbech, *Forstudier til tyrkisk Lydhistorie*, Copenhagen 1902, p. 18—19). Ottoman is distinguished from Adherī and Turkoman particularly by the change of initial *m* to *b* (*ben* in place of *men*) The conservative character that belongs to the Turkish language in general, due to the fact that the nominal and verbal roots hardly suffer any change, is the reason why the dialects of Ottoman differ very little among themselves [cf below, iii]

Turkish, as taught in the many grammars in European languages, is based, from the point of view of dialect, on the pronunciation which prevails in Constantinople, a pronunciation which is often characterised as light and melodious This is due to the fact that the Constantinople dialect tends to make predominate, especially in the endings, terminations with "light" and unrounded vowels, while we do not have there the pronunciation *kh* in place of *ḳ*, which prevails in the eastern dialects, it is probably also the great number of Arabic loanwords which has brought about the predominance of the "light" articulation. The language taught in the grammars has rather a conventional character, which is seen notably in the great regularity which they represent as prevailing in the vowel system of the roots (the two series *a*, *i̇*, *o*, *u* and *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*) and in the rigorous application of the rules of vowel harmony. This regularity is far from being found in practice, although the language of the educated people tends to develop in this direction. The employment of the Arabic alphabet seems to have distracted the attention of the Turkish grammarians themselves from phonetic questions in general; the establishment of an orthography in the Latin alphabet will no doubt reveal gradually what are the tendencies of Turkish pronunciation.

The question of ascertaining which is the standard Ottoman dialect is however somewhat complicated. The opinion predominating in Turkey itself is that the best *turkče* is that of Constantinople (Ziyā Gok Alp, *Turkdjuluyuñ Esāslarī*, Ankara 1339, p. 97). This however is making the question much too simple. The population of Constantinople is composed of many heterogeneous elements and no doubt a large number of Ottoman dialects have contributed towards the evolution of the language of the ancient capital of the empire. The prevalent view has more real foundation if we apply it only to the language of the educated classes. As regards pronunciation M. Bergsträsser thinks he

can say it is more or less uniform among the educated classes of Constantinople (*Z. D M. G.*, lxxii. 236) There are however still considerable divergencies in the different classes of society, as regards pronunciation and vocabulary; many memories of ancient dialectal differences must have still survived We owe to Vámbéry the interesting statement that the members of the dynasty of ʿOthmān had retained a mode of speech among themselves which differed from ordinary Turkish We are however not at all well informed regarding the evolution of the language of the educated classes. For pronunciation, we possess of the xvth century a few Turkish texts written down in Latin characters (cf especially Foy, *M S O S*, iv and v , and Babinger, in *Literaturdenkmaler aus Ungarns Turkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p 43) But these very interesting documents rather reflect a dialectal pronunciation, later documents also like Holdermann's Turkish grammar of 1730 (cf Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1919, p 14—15) show considerable divergencies compared with the Turkish of Constantinople of today, especially in the retention of endings with rounded vowels

As to the vocabulary of the Turkish of the educated classes, we are in a position of still greater uncertainty, due to the fact that the ideal of what is good Turkish has considerably changed in course of time This ideal down to the middle of the xixth century was strongly influenced by the literary language.

This written literary language developed from the first attempts at writing the Turkish spoken by the different Turkish groups who were established in Asia Minor in the xiiith century (cf below, iv) It is therefore based on several dialects, which did not differ greatly from one another and still less when written in the Arabic alphabet. This Arabic alphabet even caused the disappearance of a number of peculiarities of the Adherī dialect, which was not without influence in the development of literary Ottoman The literary language does not, strictly speaking, possess a real classic, which could serve as an ideal model of language and style, as Arabic has in the Kurʾān and Persian in a more limited sense in the *Shāh-nāma* The epithet classical is usually given to the language of the great Ottoman poets of the xvith and xviith centuries but the exaggerated artificiality of this language did not permit it a lasting influence.

The most prominent feature of the ancient literary language is the almost unlimited employment of words and expressions borrowed from literary Arabic and Persian Like the other Turkish languages, whose speakers became Muslims, Ottoman Turkish shows from the first a number of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian belonging to the sphere of religion and culture. The linguistic character of the Turkish language offers no obstacle to the adoption en masse of foreign words which are not at all felt to be intolerable in the system of the language (cf. e. g E. Sapir, *Language*, New York 1921, p. 210). This circumstance has given Turkish a great richness in possibilities of expression both in the noun and in the verb (by means of the auxiliary verbs *etmek, eylemek, k̲ılmaḳ, olmaḳ* combined with Arabic *maṣdar*'s). And since Turkish literature for the most part began with translations from Persian, which has the same faculty for adoption from the Arabic, the literary language has drawn abundantly from this source to enlarge its powers of expression Thus there arose an ideal of literary beauty which has brought about a wide breach as regards vocabulary between the written language and the spoken language which came to be known as *kaba turkče* There have always, it is true, been scholars who condemned this artificial language (on the *basīt turkče* movement see below, iv. Ottoman Literature) but it was only in the middle of the xixth century that a reaction set in against the abundant use of Arabic and Persian loanwords in the literary language This movement coincides with the ascendancy of European influence on Turkish literature But at the same time the influence of European civilization in general caused to be felt the want of new terms to express new ideas, technical, scientific, political etc , which came into Turkish civilization when it turned towards the west In this difficulty, recourse was again had to the inexhaustible resources of the Arabic vocabulary and also to the morphological possibilities of Arabic The result was that Turkish scholars and men of letters of the second half of the xixth century found themselves faced with an embarrassing wealth of foreign elements in the literary and learned language beneath which the Turkish element tended to be stifled In spite of its faculty for adaptation, the Turkish language seemed to be supersaturated

The study of the Arabic and Persian elements in Turkish presents much interest for the cultural evolution of the language and the people The present pronunciation in many cases enables us to distinguish the words which have really passed into the language of the people, which can be seen from their more complete adaptation to the rules of vowel harmony, and those which remained the property of the scholar and man of letters only (cf. M Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Turkische*, *Sb Ak Wien*, CLXXII/III., G Bergsträsser, *Zur Phonetik des Turkischen*, *Z D M G*, lxxii , and A Schaade, *Der Vokalismus der arabischen Fremdworter im osmanischen Turkish*, *Festschrift-Meinhof*, p 449 *sqq*) The study of the meanings of these loanwords is equally important, many Arabic words have a different sense in Turkish from Arabic in these cases the old lexicographers spoke of *g̲halet-āt-i meš̲hūre* Several works in Turkish are devoted to this subject.

To the generation of Turks of the period of the *Tanzīmāt* the question presented itself as a problem of culture. It was quite naturally thought that the only means of escaping from the impasse was to return to the language of the people in which the foreign element had always been slighter Among the first to urge the use of a simpler language was Sulaimān Pas̲ha (d. 1893), known from the Russo-Turkish war; he recommended the adoption of the simple language of the soldiers and published a Turkish grammer which he called *Ṣarf-i turkī*, avoiding the word *ʿoṯhmānī* which Aḥmad Djewdet Pas̲ha [q. v] had still used in the title of his grammar *K̲awāʿid-i ʿoṯhmānīye* (Constantinople 1311). Another figure in the same period is Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pas̲ha [q v.] whose *Lehče-i ʿoṯhmānī* is a serious attempt to regularise the use of foreign words. The literature of this period, although employing more modern literary

ns, still used the old literary languages which prevailed in the newspapers and periodicals ıool of Muᶜallim Nādjī). But in proportion as Ottoman empire approached its political crisis ards the end of the century, the interest in language increased more and more. At this od we also find a movement for extreme ism of language, conducted especially by the er *Iḳdām*; the great promoter of the *taṣfiye-i* was Fu²ād Rā²if Bey He simply prefeired banish all Persian and Arabic expressions from language and to form new Turkish words, n borrowing them from other groups of Turkish guages, thus creating a language which Ziyā Alp calls "Turkish Esperanto" Even the cographer Sāmī [q. v.] declares himself in theory upporter of this school. Soon this purism e way to a more reasonable purism, which propagated for the first time by the periodical *dj Ḳalemler* in Salonica (1910) and later by *Turk Yurdu* in Constantinople Some inno-ors like ᶜOmar Saif al-Dīn Bey even thought the reformation of the Turkish language ought e the principal article in the Turkish cultural imation (cf. *Newsāl-i ᶜoṯmānī*, Constantinople o, p 305). In 1917 the question was inves-ted by Djelāl Nūri in his brochure *Turkčemiz* er the War, the new programme of the reform he language was expounded by Ziyā Gok Alp *Turkdjuluyuñ Esāslarī* (Ankara 1339, p. 100 . As a result of these new views on language, literary idiom has also taken a direction which igs it closer to the spoken speech, as examples may quote the language of the literary works Khālide Edīb Khanum and Rūshen Eshref On other hand, a knowledge of the written language spread at the same time among much larger ions of the people The introduction of the in alphabet will undoubtedly influence the ual relations of the written and spoken language. longside of Arabic and Persian loanwords, Otto-i Turkish possesses a considerable number from r languages Thus Italian has considerably ched the terminology of navigation, then there a fair number of words from Greek and Al-ian French made its influence felt in the xixth tury but almost exclusively in scientific and si-scientific literature. Indirectly the influence the great languages of Europe, and especially French, has been felt in the simplification of ary style, in the tendency to avoid the heavy rminable phrases of the old Turkish prose

The alphabet used for writing Turkish was Arabic from the earliest known Anatolian iments of the xiiith century. The system of scription differs from that followed in Čaghatāi as much as Ottoman makes a larger use of emphatic Arabic letters (notably the *ṭ* in roots a heavy vowel, which corresponds to a real nction in pronunciation; cf. the article quoted Schaade, p. 451) and uses the "scriptio de-iva" in the roots with vowel *e*, *i* or *ī* and often for *a*. In 1727 printing was officially oduced into Turkey (cf. Babinger, *Stambuler hwesen im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919) this innovation was far from having the cultural ortance for Turkey that printing had for Europe the time of the Renaissance A perfect uni-ity of orthography in Arabic characters was er attained and, especially after 1900, we find eral attempts to make writing in the Arabic character clearer, e. g. by the use of the final form of the letter *h* for the vowel *e* but none of these attempts at reform met with general ap-proval. The technique of Arabic calligraphy has been much cultivated in Turkey. Several scripts peculiar to Turkish have been evolved, like the *dīwānī* hand which was used for official documents issued by the sulṭān and high officials, then the ornamental hand called *ṯuluṯ* and the *rīḳᶜa* which is a kind of cursive hand, that remained in use up till quite recently. Arabic calligraphy (*ḥusn-i ḫaṭṭ*) in Turkey has at the same time maintained a higher level than in other Muslim countries (cf. the collection of biographies, *Ḫaṭṭ-u Ḫaṭṭāṭīn* by Habīb, Constantinople 1305) Other alphabets, which have been employed for Ottoman Turkish are the Greek by the Ḳaramanlīs and Armenian by the Turkish-speaking Armenians (cf e. g E. Littmann, *Ein turkisches Streitgedicht uber die Ehe*, in *A Vol of Or Stud pres to E G Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p 269 *sqq.*). The Hebrew script has never been used for Ottoman Turkish.

In 1928 the **Latin alphabet** was officially introduced into Turkey to take the place of the Arabic Since the Young Turkish Revolution there had been several attempts to simplify the Arabic alphabet for Turkish usage The difficulty of Arabic orthography, requiring entirely different principles to write Turkish words and words borrowed from Arabic and Persian, was rightly regarded as a serious obstacle to the spread of the written language among the masses Thus alongside of several at-tempts to reform Arabic orthography itself (cf. above), there appeared from time to time more radical proposals like the system which Enver Pāsha tried to introduce into the army during the war. This system is based on the Arabic al-phabet, but it does not join up the letters and has a consistent notation for all the vowels. But none of these systems gained any great success. On the other hand, the use of the Latin alphabet had always been resolutely opposed in religious circles, even for purely scientific purposes After the restoration of the Nationalist Turkish state the question remained for some years in suspense. Clerical influence no longer counted and from time to time the position of the Latin alphabet was discussed in the press (brochure by A. Galanti, *Turkiede ᶜarebī we-latin Harflarī we-Imlā Mesᵓelesi*, Constantinople 1925). The question was also in-fluenced by the attitude of other Turkish peoples living in Russia, notably in Ādharbāidjān, and by the discussions at the Turcological Congress at Baku in Feb and March 1926 (cf. *Islām*, xvi. 173 *sqq.*) where Turkey was only poorly represented Finally in 1928 the government, supported by the Nationalist party, decided to push the matter for-ward A law of May 20 officially introduced the use of the European numerals In the meanwhile the government had been studying the new al-phabet and on Aug 21, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha delivered his celebrated lecture on the new Latin alphabet in Constantinople After a few modifi-cations had been made in the first scheme, the new alphabet was at last introduced by a law of Nov. 1. This law orders the use of the Latin alphabet according to the rules elaborated by the *Dil endjumeni* (*Dil encumeni*) and the abolition of the Arabic alphabet, at the same time arranging the stages of the transition. It laid down June 1, 1930 as the final date at which the new alphabet must

be used in all kinds of published documents (cf. the text of the law in *Oriente Moderno*, Jan. 1929, p. 41 *sqq.* and the article by H W Duda, *Die neue Lateinschrift in der Turkei*, in *O L Z.*, 1929, col. 441—453). The newspapers had begun to appear in the new alphabet from Jan 1, 1928 At the same time steps were taken to have the new alphabet taught to all classes of the population by means of courses lasting four months (*millet mektebi*).

The rapidity of the successive measures and the little resistance that seems to have been offered them show not only the strong position of the government but also the feasibility of such a radical reform This is probably due to the fact that the percentage of the population seriously affected by the change was relatively small, on the other hand no one will deny that the Latin alphabet is much better fitted to render the phonetic character of Turkish than the Arabic alphabet The time chosen to introduce the new alphabet was not inopportune but it was equally clear that the sacrifice of an alphabet which for centuries had been bound up with the religious, literary and cultural development of a people meant a cultural crisis which places a great responsibility upon the intellectual leaders of the people The reform is still too recent to be able to judge of its effects

The new alphabet shows several original features (like the use of *c* for the sound *dj*, of *ç* for *č* and of *ı* without dot for *ï*, *ş* for *sh* shows the influence of Rumanian orthography), it is not overloaded with diacritical marks We cannot yet speak of an established orthography but the rules given at the beginning by the *Dil endjumeni* have laid down the principle of an orthography as phonetic as possible, which applies even to words borrowed from other languages written in the Latin alphabet (e g *federasyon* for fédération) This often gives Arabic words a form which makes their identification difficult to those accustomed to the Arabic alphabet In general, we can say that the new alphabet tends to be more suited to the spoken language than was possible with the Arabic alphabet; it has already been pointed out that this circumstance may facilitate in many points the scientific study of the Ottoman language

(J H KRAMERS)

II. OTTOMAN-TURKISH DIALECTS [1])

1. Area of Dispersion.

For the want of the necessary detailed surveys it is impossible as yet to define the exact frontiers of the areas in which the Ottoman Turkish language is spoken It extends over territory in Europe as well as Asia. In Europe in the Balkan peninsula, it is found in islets surrounded by other languages, which have very much broken the Turkish bloc. We may mention the following such Turkish speaking areas. 1. Eastern Thrace with the peninsula of Gallipoli, where the Turks form a solid body with a population of over a million 2 Parts of Macedonia, namely a long stretch on the left bank of the Vardar, the land between Ištip (Štip) and Radoviš (Radovišta), along the Aegean, roughly from Salonika to Dede-Aγač, especially the country round the towns of Drama, Eskiǯe, Gümulǯina (Gümürǯina) On these lands there is a rich literature of the period of the Balkan Wars, some of it politically biased, cf especially *Carte ethnographique de la Macédoine du sud représentant la répartition ethnique à la veille de la guerre des Balkans, 1912*, by I Ivanov (scale 1 : 200,000), also *Etnografična karta na odrinskija viljaet kam 1912 god* by L Miletič (scale 1 : 750,000), *Etnografičeska karta na Makedonija* by the same (scale 1 1,500,000), cf also Vasil Kančof, *Makedonya, etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900. Since that time however the ethnical proportions have been very much altered The exchange of population introduced by the treaty of Lausanne (1923) between Greece and Turkey brought about a considerable shrinkage in the number of Turkish speakers on the now Greek part of these lands, after Greece had sent over 400,000 Turks into Turkey 3 Certain areas in Bulgaria, namely the districts of Deli-Orman, Tozluk and Gerlovo in N E Bulgaria (cf. D G Gadžanow, *Vorlaufiger Bericht uber eine im Auftrag der Balkan-Kommission der kais. Akademie d Wiss in Wien durch Nordost-Bulgarien unternommene Reise zum Zwecke von turkischen Dialektstudien*, *Anz Wien* of 8th Febr 1911 and do, *Zweiter vorlaufiger Bericht uber die erganzende Untersuchung der turkischen Elemente im nordostl Bulgarien in sprachlicher, kultureller und ethnogr Beziehung*, *ebd.*, 24th Jan 1912. For the question of the settlement of the Turks see also L Miletič, *Staroto bəlgarsko naselenie v sieveroiztočna Bəlgarya*, Sofia 1902; the map in A. Ischirkoff, *Das Bulgarentum auf der Balkanhalbinsel im J. 1912*, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen*, Year 1915, is also very valuable, Plate 44 where the distribution of the islets of Turkish speakers is also given), also a considerable area in N E Bulgaria around the towns of Kyrǯaly and Mastanly. In addition, Turks are found scattered throughout Bulgaria, in the territory round Philippolis (Plovdiv) in the Ḳoǯa-Balḳan and elsewhere, cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Das Furstentum Bulgarien*, Prag-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p. 133—146 (out of date). 4 Turkish speakers are found scattered up and down the modern Jugoslavia, the bulk in Macedonia (cf J Cvijić, *Ethnographische Karte der Balkanhalbinsel nach allen vorhandenen Quellen und eigenen Beobachtungen*, *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, March etc. 1913 and do, *Raspored balkanskih naroda*, *Glasnik Srpskog Geografskog Društva*, Belgrade 1913, p. 234–265) Isolated little bodies are found along the Danube, as far up as the interesting island of Adakale at Orsova (cf. the introduction to Vol. 1 of I. Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmarchen aus Adakale*) 5. The whole western and northwestern shores of the Black Sea show considerable Ottoman influence. In the towns and steppes of the Dobrudja a good deal of Ottoman Turkish is spoken (cf St Romansky, *Le caractère ethnique de la Dobroudja*, Sofia 1917, and do., *Carte ethnographique de la nouvelle Dobroudja Roumaine*, Sofia 1915) Unfortunately we do not posses fuller information of the dialectal conditions there. It is important to note that the language of the Christian Gagauz is at bottom Ottoman Turkish The Dobrudjan Gagauz whom I met north of Varna speak a dialect which is almost indistinguishable from the popular dialect of Constantinople. The language of the Bessarabian Gagauz also which we know from

1) For practical considerations the author's system of transliteration is retained in this article. See note p. 926a.

Moškov's rich collection (Radloff's, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stämme*, vol. x., *Mundarten der bessarabischen Gagausen*, St Petersburg 1904), is simply an Ottoman Turkish dialect In spite of the fact that some students have regarded the Gagauz as descendants of the Kumans (C. Jireček, *Einige Bemerkungen uber die Überreste der Petschenegen und Kumanen, sowie uber die Volkerschaften der sogenannten Gagauzi und Surguči im heutigen Bulgarien*, *Sitzungsber. d. kon. bohm. Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1889), their present language contains in fact no Kuman elements

Ottoman influence is very strongly marked on the south coast of the Crimea. The specimens recently published by O Šatskaja of the popular poetry of Baχčysarai and Tuak (near Alušta) may be described simply as Ottoman Turkish (*J A*, April-June 1926, p 341—369). The same must be said of many of the texts in Radloff, *Die Mundarten der Krym* (*Proben der Volkslitteratur der nordl turk Stamme*, vol. VII) The Crimean Tatar literary language does not differ very seriously from the Ottoman written language (Samoilovič, *Opyt kratkoj krymsko-tatarskoj grammatiki*, Petrograd 1916, p 7 infra).

We have no accurate information about the present condition of the Turkish language in the islands of the Mediterranean, especially in Crete, Cyprus and the islands of the Aegean

The Anatolian Turkish speaking area in north, west and south has well marked natural boundaries In the northeast it gradually and apparently without a definite frontier passes into Ādharbāidjānī Many linguistic peculiarities, which even Hoy took to be specifically Ādharbāidjānī (*Azerbajğanische Studien mit einer Charakteristik des Südtürkischen*, *M S O S As*, vi. 126—193, vii 197—265), are also found in Asia Minor dialects, as Giese (cf. above 1, p 531) has rightly pointed out. In the southeast, Ottoman meets the Arabic of northern Syria In northern Mesopotamia it is much broken up by Kurdish and considerably influenced by Ādharbāidjānī from Persia.

In addition to the settled Turks, we find in Anatolia and even in the Balkan Peninsula nomads and semi-nomads In Asia Minor their numbers are still considerable, while they are disappearing on European soil (cf. P Traeger, *Die Juruken und Konjaren in Makedonien*, *Ztschr fur Ethnol*, 1905, p. 198—206, on the Juruks and Konjars in Bulgaria Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 139 *sq*) In Anatolia, Turkish nomads are known under rather vague names like *Aširetler* ("clans"), Jürüks, Turkomans, or by their own tribal names like Avšars (or Afšars) etc. As a rule their language does not differ essentially from that of their settled neighbours

The frontiers of the area of Ottoman Turkish are still being considerably altered In the west, i. e. in the Balkans, it is constantly decreasing, while in the east, on the other hand, in places it is gaining ground.

2. Linguistic Minorities in the Ottoman-Turkish Area.

Steps taken by the present republican government have very much reduced the linguistic minorities within the frontiers of modern Turkey. Nevertheless the Ottoman Turkish speaking area is not yet by any means uniform and there are many other languages in it. The following are the principal minorities· Greeks, formerly very numerous, now, as a result of the exchange of population, practically found only in Constantinople, Armenians (also almost entirely confined to the Constantinople territory), Arabs (Muḥammadan on the Syrian and ʿIrāḳ frontier, Christian in Mersin and district), Kurds in the eastern wilāyets, but also in isolated groups elsewhere in Asia Minor (after Sheikh Saʿīd's rising in 1925, a considerable number were deported to the interior of Asia Minor as a punishment), Nestorian Syrians in the eastern wilāyets (especially Hakkiari), all kinds of Caucasian peoples (Laz, Georgians, Abkhaz, Circassians), who are found scattered all over Asia Minor, most thickly in the N. E, less numerous Albanians (Arnauts), gipsies, Spanish Jews, who live in the larger towns, etc

Turkish minorities are also found in Asia Minor (e g the Krim Tatar emigrants in and around Eski-Shehir) as well as in Rumelia (on the Dobrudja, on the Bulgarian Danube).

3 The mutual Influences of Ottoman-Turkish and neighbouring Languages.

We are at present very imperfectly informed regarding the influence of Ottoman Turkish on its neighbours and *vice versa* We can only indicate isolated phenomena. for example the disappearance of initial *h* (*χ*). *ak* (= Ar. حق), *ain* (= Ar. خائن), *ane* (= Pers خانه), *ani* (= *hany*, *kany*) etc , which is so characteristic of the Macedonian dialects (Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, p. 11; do., *Osmanisch-turkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, *W Z K. M*, xxxiii. 167–168), but is also found in Bosnian Turkish (Blau, *Bosnisch-turkische Sprachdenkmaler*, p. 27), is to be ascribed to the influence of the Southern Slavonic languages Similarly the variation between initial *e*/*je* which is often noticed in Northern Bulgaria, may be ascribed to Bulgarian influence Possibly also the peculiar phenomena of palatalisation in the dialects of the Bessarabian Gagauz (Moškov, p xxvii *sq*) are to be ascribed to Serbian influence.

Blau has studied the Turkish Serbian mixed language of Bosnia, but he devoted himself not to the spoken language but almost exclusively to manuscript material On the Ottoman-Turkish language of the period of Turkish rule in Hungary cf the valuable information in *Litteraturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*(ed by F Babinger, R. Gragger, E Mittwoch and J H. Mordtmann, Berlin 1927).

That in the southeastern regions under the influence of Arabic, a greater variety of gutturals prevails than elsewhere in Ottoman and that in particular the Arabic *ʿain* is pronounced there in Arabic loanwords has been noted by several observers (cf. M Hartmann, in *K. S.*, i. 154; Balkanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, *K.S*, iii. 263).

The interaction between Turkish and the neighbouring languages is best seen in the vast number of borrowings So far, Turkish loanwords in non-Ottoman languages have received more attention than non-Turkish words in Ottoman On the influence of Ottoman-Turkish on the languages of Southeast and Eastern Europe, see especially the work of Fr Miklosich (*Die turkischen Elemente in den sudost- und osteuropaischen Sprachen*, *Griechisch*, *Albanisch*, *Rumänisch*, *Bulgarisch*, *Serbisch*, *Kleinrussisch*, *Grossrussisch*, *Polnisch*, *Denkschriften d*

Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, vol xxxiv.—xxxviii; cf. thereon Fr. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Corollarien zu Miklosich „Die turkischen Elemente...", S. B. Ak. Wien*, vol. cxlvi, 1911) Very valuable also is Fr. Miklosich *Über die Einwirkung des Turkischen auf die Grammatik der sudosteuropaischen Sprachen, S. B. Ak Wien*, vol cxx., 1890; also N K Dmitrijev, *Etjudy po serbsko-tureckomu jazykovomu vzaimodejstviju, Doklady Akad Nauk S S S R.*, 1928–1929 Turkish loanwords in Serbian in Gj. Popović, *Turske i druge istočanske reči u našem jeziku*, Belgrade 1889, in Rumanian Th. Lobel, *Elemente turcești, arăbești și persane în limba Română*, Constantinople–Lipsca 1894, and Lazare Sainéan, *L'influence orientale sur la langue et la civilisation roumaines*, 1, *La langue, les éléments orientaux en roumain*, Paris 1902 L. Ronzevalle, *Les emprunts turcs dans le grec vulgaire de Roumélie et spécialement d'Adrinople* (*J. A*, 1911, July—Dec), discusses Ottoman loanwords in popular Greek, while A. Danon, *Essai sur les vocables turcs dans le judéo-espagnol* (*K. S.*, iv, 1903, v., 1904 and xiii, 1912) discusses the Turkish loanwords in the everyday language of the Spanish Jews.

The Turkish dialects of the Balkans, in Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Rumania, show a very high percentage of Slav or Rumanian loanwords. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Turkish, unfortunately with reference to the written language only, is discussed by M. Bittner (*S B. Ak Wien*, cxlii., 1900), the Greek elements in Turkish by G. Meyer (*Turkische Studien, S. B Ak Wien*, cxxviii, 1893)

Our information is very defective regarding the pronunciation of Ottoman Turkish by the numerous non-Turkish minorities in Turkey A little can be learned from types of dialect in the Karagoz plays, although the greatest caution is necessary since its dialects, as G Jacob rightly points out (*Das turkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, p 29—37, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Hanover 1925, p 143), are not true to life but are traditional caricatures, which cannot be taken as based on actual observation. The Turkish of the Greeks and Armenians living in Constantinople used to be caricatured in the Turkish humorous journals Important material is also supplied by the until recently fairly important daily press, printed in Greek or Armenian type, for the Greeks (the Ḳaramanlîs) and Armenians who can only speak Turkish On such literary material, excluding the spoken language, are based the able *Studien zum Armenisch-Turkischen* of F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst (*S B Ak. Wien*, vol. clxviii/3, Vienna 1912) They deal mainly with the Armenian Turkish of Constantinople. On the language of the Karamanlî (Ḳaramanlı) cf N. Dmitrijev, *Materialy po osmanskoj dialektologii Fonetika "karamanlickogo" jazyka. Zap. Kollegii Wostokowedow*, iii. (1928), p 417—458.

In the pronunciation of the Turkish speaking Greeks, a striking feature is a kind of zeta-ism *š* = *s*, *č* = *c*, *ǯ* = *z*, as *cok* (*čok*), *oɟazak* etc (cf G. Jacob, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgär-Turkischen*, *Z D. M G.*, lii. 701).

In two Turkish speaking Laz from Laz Koi near Adampol on the Bosphorus whose pronunciation I studied for sometime, I was struck by their pronunciation of *ki* as *či*, e. g. *čin* (*ekin*) "seed", and of the *ǯ* as *z*; the same thing was noted in a Laz in Samsun: *oda čilitlıdır* (*o. kilitlidir*) They also pronounced the voiced initial consonants *b*, *d*, *g* voiceless as *p*, *t*, *k* (cf. Jacob, *op. cit.*, p 699).

The Jewish pronunciation, according to the Turks, is characterized by the spirant pronunciation of initial *g* before *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and by the lengthening of the accented vowels in the last syllable. *ben veldîm* (= *geldim*), *baḳtȳm* . .

4 The history of the formation of the present Ottoman speaking areas

The situation we find in the present Ottoman speaking areas is the result of a very long and very complicated process of settlement and assimilisation

It is clear that the inhabitants of Turkey and the adjoining territories who now speak Ottoman Turkish are only to a very small degree descendants of the Turks who migrated hither but, on the contrary, are in the overwhelming majority descended from turkicised native elements

A history of the settlement of Asia Minor and the Turkish parts of the Balkan Peninsula has yet to be written So far not even the necessary preliminary work has been undertaken The process of turkicisation of the territories in question can be represented in general outlines as follows.

Isolated South Turkish groups settled in Byzantine territory even before the Saldjūḳ invasion, both in Asia Minor and in the Balkans In the latter area there must still have been also considerable bodies still in existence, surviving from the earlier North Turkish immigrations which came there by the north of the Black Sea But it is not till the middle of the xith century that we have an immigration on a considerable scale, which may be called Saldjūḳ and lasts till the end of the xiiith century Towards the end of Saldjūḳ dominion in Asia Minor, the process of turkicising the native population must have been begun This process continued during the rule of the petty principalities which arose out of the ruins of the Saldjūḳ empire

The immigration of the Ottoman Turks in the xiiith century seems to have at first played a very minor part in the settlement of Asia Minor, on account of the small numbers concerned. But the political power of the Ottoman state which then began its rapid development had no doubt a far-reaching influence on the process of turkicisation Only through the gradual unification of Asia Minor by the Ottomans and their great conquests in the Balkans were the preliminary conditions for the turkicisation of these lands created During the whole period of Ottoman rule we have to think of continual movements of population going on within its frontiers, sometimes large, sometimes small, and with a continual infiltration of Turkish elements sometimes slow, sometimes fast, from outside, especially from the east. Large areas in the Balkans were colonised, although thinly, by Turks from Asia Minor soon after their conquest. Under pressure from the government, great masses of the non-Turkish population adopted Islām and gradually became assimilated to the Turks even to the extent of exchanging their own language for Ottoman Turkish. The Turks of the Balkans still know in many cases whether they are descendants of Turkish immigrants from Asia Minor or

from converted Christians, who became in time quite turkicised.

The immigration of Turkish elements increased in strength after Russia had extended her power over lands with a Muslim Turkish population Particularly after the annexation of the Crimea in 1783 and on the final subjection of the Caucasian lands in 1864 great bodies of Turkish immigrants poured over the whole Ottoman territory. The attainment of independence by the Balkan peoples on the other hand began the return of large bodies of Turks to Asia Minor, which is still going on This latter process increased in strength after the World War and, as a result of the exchange of population with Greece, led to about half a million Turks being moved from the now Greek part of Turkey and distributed over almost the whole of Asia Minor

That a linguistic area which had been formed in such a complicated fashion cannot be uniform as regards dialect is obvious and it is equally clear that the dialectal relations must be extremely complicated.

As regards language, the Oghuz tribes who migrated into Asia Minor must have been fairly uniform From all that we know of it, the language of the Saldjūḳ Turks was barely distinguishable from what is known as Old Ottoman There were of course dialectal nuances in the speech of the different tribes which in time sometimes became deeper and sometimes disappeared. As regards the mixture and levelling of dialects, it was much favoured, especially in Asia Minor, by the nomadic or at least semi-nomadic mode of life of the pure Turkish population which lasted for a long time and indeed is not yet quite extinct.

North Turkish elements (especially remnants of the Kumans), who were still to be found in the Balkan lands in the Byzantine period, almost entirely succumbed in time to Ottoman influence as regards language Certain linguistic peculiarities which are observed in the dialects of the lands W of the Black Sea (Deli Orman, Dobrudja, Bessarabia) and, which, it is interesting to note, have certain analogies in the adjoining parts of Asia Minor, may perhaps be regarded as the result of contact between north and south Turkish.

In the language of the turkicised masses, one must expect to have to deal with secondary alterations in Turkish sounds, the result of inherited modes of articulation by the peoples concerned. The mobility of the population, military service, and in recent times the school have however tended to introduce a certain uniformity

That the mixture and standardising of dialects have not gone further than we actually find, is due to the fact that new settlements do not as a rule merge completely into the old but exist alongside of them and that every settlement retains its own peculiarities for a long period unaltered.

Apart from the historical sources, which have not yet been fully utilised to write a history of the process of settlement by the Turks, we have in place-names a valuable auxiliary source for the study of the gradual settlement and turkicisation of Asia Minor and Rumelia. Unfortunately very little progress has so far been made with such toponomastic studies In recent years Turkish scholars have devoted some attention to Oghuz tribal names which have become place-names (cf. Koprulüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Oguz etnolodjisine dā'ir ta'rīḵh-i notlar*, *Turkiyāt medjmū'asi*, i. 185–211; H. Nihāl and Aḥmad Nādjī, *Anadoluda Turklere 'ā'id yer ismleri*, *ibid.*, ii. 243—259). The villages of emigrants of recent date usually have artificial names derived from personal names by means of the Arabic ending *-iye*, like *Osmaniye*, *Orχaniye*, *Rešadiye*, etc.

5 Sources of our knowledge of Ottoman Turkish dialects and their value.

The most important source for our knowledge of the present linguistic conditions on Ottoman territory is the observations made by European students. Relatively little has been done by Turks as yet in this connection.

If we were to mark on a map of Turkey the places about which we have a certain amount of dialectological information, we would at once see what an infinitesmal amount of work has so far been done and how far we are from an exact knowledge of the whole linguistic area

The value of the observations upon which we have to rely is very unequal To the majority of students, the folklore content of the texts taken down by them was the main thing while the linguistic interest was quite subsidiary The localisation of linguistic phenomena found in the texts is often made difficult by the fact that the collectors neglect to give the place of origin of their authority The fullest collection of material, that of I Kúnos, is not free from objection as regards method and has therefore to be used very critically

Folksongs, so interesting from the folklore point of view, do not form specially suitable material for the study of dialects For whole songs as well as their individual *mottves* wander with remarkable rapidity over wide areas and their language becomes adapted to the local dialect, not at once and even after a considerable period not completely. The songs therefore occasionally show dialectal forms transmitted from distant areas We have also to reckon with an artificial language for songs, such as has often been noted among Turkish peoples. It is the same with riddles and proverbs, and with the products of folk-literature in general, which show a more or less rigid form

Most texts have been taken down in the towns where the population is as a rule considerably more mixed than in the country and where dialectal conditions are not so clearly distinguishable Texts taken down from the lips of villagers on the spot are exceedingly rare It is no wonder that in such circumstances we cannot yet speak of a study of dialects on Ottoman-Turkish territory on a sound scientific basis

6 Specimens of language taken down in various areas

The texts so far published concern either considerable areas or only very limited smaller ones To the former belong. I Kúnos, *Mundarten der Osmanen*, St. Petersburg 1899 (forms vol. viii. of the *Proben der Volkslitteratur der turkischen Stamme*, ed by Radloff) The provenance of the separate specimens is not exactly given, so that the work is of little value for dialect studies (quoted below as *Mund.*). V. Gordlevskij, *Obrascy osmanskago narodnago tvorčestva*, Moscow 1916; folklore texts mainly taken down in Constantinople,

some also from Asia Minor (especially at Nigde) · Abbreviation *Gord.* T Kowalski, *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*, Cracow 1919; a collection of 141 riddles in phonetic transcription with exact statement of their provenance Abbrev *Zag*

For the separate areas we may mention ·

1 The Danube Island of Adakale. I. Kúnos, *Ada-Kalei torok népdalok*, Budapest 1906 A hundred folksongs collected in Adakale in transcription and with Hungarian translation Abbrev *Adak I ied*; I. Kúnos, *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Rumelischen Turkisch*, Part. 1. · *Turkische Volksmarchen aus Adakale gesammelt, in Transkription herausgegeben und mit Einleitung vers*, Leipzig-New York 1907, Part II. *Deutsche Übersetzung mit Sachregister*, ibid 1907 Abbrev *Adak*

2. Bessarabia W Moškov, *Mundarten der Bessarabischen Gagausen*, Text, St.-Petersburg 1904 (forms Vol x of Radloff's *Proben der turkischen Volkslitteratur*). Abbrev *Gagaus.*

3. Bulgaria. S Čilingirov, *Turski poslovici, pogovorki i characterni izrazi* (in *Bulletin du Musée National d'Ethnographie de Sofia*, II 157—71, III 59—65), Sofia 1922—23. Does not give a correct idea of the dialects of the Bulgar Turks, cf. thereon N Dmitrijev, *Zametki po bolgarsko-tureckim govoram* (*Doklady Akademii Nauk B*, Leningrad 1927, p. 210—215).

4 Macedonia T Kowalski, *Osmanisch-turkische Volkslieder aus Mazedonien*, *W Z K M*, XXXIII, 1926, p. 166—231. Abbrev · *Maz.*

A few specimens from Macedonia also in *Zag.*

5. Thrace and Constantinople. I Kúnos, *Oszmán-torok népköltesi gyűjtemény*, 2 vols., Budapest 1887 and 1889 Very full collection of folklore materials from Constantinople Abbr. *O. T*, L Bonelli, *Locuzioni proverbiali del Turco volgare*, *K. S*, I, 1900, p 308—322 (transcription of 140 proverbs and idioms collected in Constantinople); I Halász, *Torok dalok*, *Nyelvtudomanyi Kozlemények*, XXII (1892), p 526—528 (9 short songs in the Constantinople dialect)

6. Western Asia Minor I Kúnos, *Kisázsiai torok nyelv*, I *Brusza-Aydin vidéki nyelvmutatványok* (*népdalok*), *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, XXII. (1890), p 113—156, 40 songs from the district of Brusa-Aidin in transcription with Hungarian translation and notes Abbrev *Brus-A*, II. *Brusza vidéki szólások*, p 261—274, 165 proverbs from Brusa with Hungarian transl. and notes. Abbrev : *Brus.*, I Kúnos, *Nasreddin Hodsa Tréfái*, Budapest 1899, 165 pranks of Xoǧa Naṣreddīn said to be in the Aidin dialect, which according to Kúnos extends from Aidin to Ḳonya Abbrev *Aid*, K. Foy, *Das Aidinisch-Turkische*, *K. S*, I (1900), p. 177—194 and 286—307; T Kowalski, *Piosenki ludowe anatolskie o rozbójniku Czakydzym*, *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, I. 334—355, 29 čaḳyǯy-quatrains taken down from a man of Dumanly (Ḳaza Ušaḳ). Abbrev.. *Dum.*; T Kowalski, *Cinq récits de Guneï* (*Vilayet Smyrne*), *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, II 204—212. Abbrev. *Gun.*, V A. Maksimov, *Opyt izsljedovanya tjurkskich dialektov v Chudavendgjarje i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867. The majority of the authorities used by W Heffening, in his *Turkische Volkslieder*, *Isl.*, XIII. 236—267 came from Western Asia Minor.

7. Wilāyet of Ḳastamuni J Thúry, *A Kasztamuni-i torok nyelvjárás*, Budapest (Academy) 1885, a grammatical sketch of Kastamunian with a glossary from Ġālib's *Muṭāyabāt-i-turkiye.* Abbrev : *Kast* Cf. also Cl Huart, *Un commentaire du Qorân en dialecte turc de Qastamoûni* (*XVème siècle*), *J.A*, ser. II, XVIII (1921), p. 161—216.

8. N.E. Asia Minor. V. Pisarev, *Njeskolko slov o trebizondskom dialektje* (*Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russ Arch. Obšč*, XIII [1901], p 173—201). Abbrev *Pis.*; L. Bonelli, *Voci del dialetto turco di Trebisonda*, *K S*, III (1902), p. 55—72; I. Kúnos, *Láz dalok*, *Nyelv Közl.*, XXII. (1891), p. 275—298, II Laz-Turkish songs and a list of Laz-Turkish words from the district of Samsun-Trebizond. Abbrev *Laz.*, M. Räsänen, *Eine Sammlung von Māni-Liedern aus Anatolien*, *J.S F O*, XLI. (1926), 290 quatrains from the wilāyets of Erzerum, Rize, Trebizond in accurate phonetical transcription. Abbrev. *Ras.* [poem and verse are quoted]; Balhassanoglu, *Dialecte turc d'Erzerum*, *K. S*, V (1904)

9. Wilāyet of Konya F Giese, *Erzahlungen und Lieder aus dem Vilayet Qonjah*, Halle a S.–New York 1907 Abbrev *G.*; F Vincze, *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des anatolischen Turkisch*, *K S*, IX. (1908), p. 141—179, deals with the dialect of the town of Ḳonya itself. Abbrev.. *Vin.*

10. Antitaurus territory Dr Hamid Zubeir, *Avšar Turk ayytlaryna dā'ir*, *Turk Jurdu*, May 1928, p. 21—24, specimens of the so-called *ayyt* (dirges) of the Avšars of the Antitaurus Abbrev. *Avš*

11 Borders of Syria and Mesopotamia. Balkanoglu, *Dialecte turc de Kilis*, *K.S*, III., p. 261–273, brief sketch of the dialect spoken in Kilis (Klis) in North Syria, do, *Dialecte de Behesni*, *K S.*, IV, on the dialect of Behesni, between Maraš and Diyarbekir, M. Hartmann, *Zur turkischen Dialektkunde*, *K.S.*, I (1900), p 154—156, some notes on the Ottoman dialects of North Syria (Klis, Aintab), E Littmann, *Ein turkisches Marchen aus Nordsyrien*, *K S*, II (1901), Felix v Luschan, *Einige turkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, vol. XXXVI. (1904), p. 177–236, mainly taken down from an Armenian from Aintab.

As is clear from this short bibliographical sketch, many important areas, in European as well as in Asiatic Turkey, have not yet been studied as regards their dialects.

7. Dialectal Division of Ottoman Turkish Territory.

All the names which have hitherto been in use for Ottoman Turkish dialects, e g Kastamunian, Laz-Turkish, Karamanian, Kharput, etc are of no value as designations of dialects They correspond simply to geographical or political administrative conceptions, the connection of which with the boundaries of the corresponding dialects would have first to be proved, if it exists at all.

Even the great division, often taken for granted, of Ottoman into the Rumelian and Anatolian, is of no value from the dialectological point of view and should be discarded as misleading, in view of the history of the settlement of European Turkey We know positively that certain Rumelian districts were colonised from Asia Minor and as a result their dialects still show distinct traces of their Anatolian origin.

After all that has been said above it must be clear that we cannot yet expect in the immediate future a serious attempt at a scientific classification of Ottoman Turkish dialects. What has so far been

done is based rather on intuition and imagination than on established facts. This applies also to the attempt by Kúnos to divide up Asia Minor according to dialects.

Kúnos (*Kisázsia torok dialectusairól*, Budapest 1896) distinguishes the following seven dialects. 1. Zeibek in Western Anatolia between Smyrna and Brusa; 2. Kastamunian in the central littoral of the Black Sea; 3. Laz on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus, 4. Kharput in the east of Asia Minor, towards the Armenian highlands; 5. Karamanian in southeastern Asia Minor between Mersin and Konya, 6. Angorian in the heart of Asia Minor in the valley of the Kyzyl Yrmak, 7. Jürukush Turkoman in use among the wandering tribes (*aširetler*), which are scattered over a wide area of Asia Minor

Zeibek, Angoran and Jurúkush Turkoman are regarded by Kúnos as unmixed dialects of the early Turkish immigrants. The Juruks in particular are taken to be the descendants of pre-Saldjūḳ Turkomans and the Zeibeks of the Saldjūḳ Turks. Angoran is said to be the survival of the language of the earliest Ottoman immigrants. The four other dialects are regarded by Kúnos as dialects of the turkicised original population of Asia Minor, which arose through the influence of the original languages of these peoples upon Turkish According to him, Kastamunian was especially influenced by Greek, Kharput by Kurdish, Karamanian by Armenian, Laz however by an "Indo-Germanic" (!) language, not more precisely defined.

This attempt to classify the dialects of Asia Minor has no scientific basis, although at first sight it appears very plausible.

The first serious attempt to collect the distinguishing features of the spoken Ottoman language is in Jacob's essay in the *Z D.M G*, lii (1898), p 695–729, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgar-Turkischen* J. Deny, in *Grammaire de la langue turque* (*dialecte osmanli*), Paris 1920, draws the attention on certain dialectical peculiarities.

8. Dialects and the Written Language.

The written language has always exercised a levelling influence on the spoken dialects. It is based on the language of the educated classes of Constantinople, which has till now been regarded as a model and is disseminated generally by the schools

Of this language we had till lately only a vague conception. It was only quite recently that Bergsträsser began a serious attempt to define more exactly the living written language of the educated classes, at least from the phonetic side (G Bergstrasser, *Zur Phonetik des Turkischen nach gebildeter Konstantinopler Aussprache*, *Z D. M. G.*, lxxii [1918], p. 233—262) It is proved that this is by no means uniform in its phonetics. Hence the conception of an educated Constantinople pronunciation is only to be used with great caution and with all kinds of limitations.

On the origin of the Ottoman written language (cf. above, ii) we unfortunately still know far too little. We can only suppose that it gradually developed out of the dialect of court circles in northern Anatolia. When the capital was removed to Adrianople and then to Constantinople, the course of development was probably influenced by the dialects predominating there, while it in turn strongly influenced the latter. In any case the written language is closer to the dialects of the parts of Thrace and Asia Minor adjoining the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora than to the dialects of the districts farther west and east.

The earliest literary monuments not infrequently reveal dialectal peculiarities, which we can still trace in various living dialects. Unfortunately their systematic study has hardly been begun.

For the history of the written language and its relation to the older and modern dialects the study of the Old Ottoman texts that exist in transcriptions would be most important [cf. K. Foy, *Die altesten osmanischen Transcriptionstexte in gothischen Lettern*, *M S O S*, 2nd part, iv. (1901), p. 230–277; v (1902), p. 233—293 and Dmitriyev, in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, iii (1928), p. 420].

9 General Characteristics of the Ottoman Turkish Dialects.

The differences between the various dialects of Ottoman are as a rule not great This is connected with the fact that there is not great differentiation among the Turkish languages in general In the area over which Ottoman Turkish is spoken at the present day, it would hardly be possible to find two places the inhabitants of which would not understand one another.

The differences between the separate dialects consist mainly in slight differences in the articulation of certain sounds, in a few sound shiftings and in not inconsiderable differences of vocabulary Morphological differences are as a rule very slight

Many investigators have already pointed out that there is little uniformity within the separate dialects It can be observed everywhere that there is considerable variation in the articulation of separate sounds as well as in the use of grammatical forms by one and the same person Most of our records of the dialects are therefore full of inconsistencies which, although to some extent due to the carelessness of the recorders, in the main give a true picture of the actual conditions This variation must be ascribed to an advanced stage of intermixture of dialects which is almost general.

It must be remembered that many elements of the Turkish people now settled were till quite recently nomadic and moved about over a very large area A great body of emigrants (*muhāǯir*) from all possible Turkish areas has long been breaking up the early linguistic map, especially in Asia Minor. In quite recent years Anatolia has had to receive large bodies of emigrants from the Balkans The measures taken by the republican government aim at as great a uniformity as possible within the state as regards language also, which is being attained mainly through the schools and military service. It is obvious that this is breaking up and destroying the local dialects.

If we remember what has been said above about the historical developments, the present confusion in dialects must be regarded as natural.

To a certain degree, the variation in articulation of separate sounds is to be ascribed to a lack of precision in pronunciation, which is peculiar to the Turks The place of articulation as well as the degree of opening and expanding of the organs of speech often show considerable latitude I need only mention the very indolent and varying pronunciations of the *r* pronounced on the tip of the tongue (cf. Bergsträsser, *op cit.*, p. 251).

From cases of real inconsistency of pronunciation we must carefully distinguish those which are only due to defective notation by the recorders. Thus we often find a varying transcription of a sound which in itself is uniform, like the narrow *e*, which in sometimes written *e* or *i*, or the slightly labial *ų*, sometimes transcribed *u* or *y* etc

10 Concluding Remarks.

Since it is not possible to speak of dialecta unities in the strictly scientific sense, we must for the present be content with an orderly arrangement of the linguistic records, mainly of a phonetic nature, which show a variation from the written language and in different combinations characterize the different dialects On the area of dispersion of most phenomena we are very poorly informed It will have to be left to future systematic investigation to fill in accurate details in the map of the Ottoman speaking area

Since we still know very little of the historical grammar of Ottoman Turkish, it seems advisable to collect and arrange the facts afforded by our collections of material without going into chronological questions

Vowels[1])

Round Vowels.

§ 1 *o* and *u* have a very varying pronunciation in the dialects but with a distinct tendency to abandon the characteristic peculiarities of their pronunciation For many, especially Asia Minor dialects, *o* and *u* pronounced slightly farther back are characteristic, which sound to the ear rather as *o* or *u* so that they have usually been written as *o* or *u*. These varieties of *o*, *u* are frequently found in the first (root) syllable, especially after initial *g* or *k* According to Ras, the shifting from *o* > *o* seems to be almost regular in N E Anatolia Giese often noticed the change from *o* > *o* and *u* > *u* in texts from the wilāyet of Ḳonya It is also recorded by Thúry for Kastamuni (Kast 8) Occasionally also it is found on Rumelian territory, namely in Adakale

Examples. *a* from Ras. *tʿor* (*kor* 110, 3), *tʿomur* (*komur* 123, 3), *opertʿen* (*operken* 131, 3), *don* (*don* 98, 4);

b. from G. *donup* (*donup* 17, 22), *šoɫe* (*šoɫe* 29, 18), *dokerim* (*dokerim* 87, 8), *goturur* (*goturur* 22, 11), *gozumuŋ* (*gozumuŋ* 31, 5),

c. from Adak *buɫuk* (*buɫuk* 6, 31), *sozmi* (*sozumu* 141, 27), *butun* (*butun* 7, 18, 141, 18), *umi umde* (*umi umde* < *ʿomrumde* 8, 32).

Note. This shifting from *o*, *u* to *o* and *u* frequently brings whole words from the anterior (light) to the posterior (heavy) series of vowels, e. g *duγdurup* (*doɫdurup*, *dóγdurup* G 34, 5), *guɫsuŋ* (*goγusuŋu*, *goɫusuŋu* G 90, 2), *kopoɫ* (*kopek* "hound", Deli Orman) etc

§ 2 *o* > *e* We rarely find a case of the complete unrounding of *o* and its transition to *e*· *elmedum* (*olmedum*, *oímedım* Ras 102, 3), *elursa* (*olurse* Räs. 165. 3).

§ 3 *o* in the stem syllable is often pronounced with a higher position of the tongue so that it becomes *u* (regular change in the Volga dialects [1]) This *u* by § 1 may again become *u* We find this with special frequency in texts from Adakale. *gutur* (*gotur* 5, 13), *gutuɾų* (*goturur* 138, 10), *duner* (*doner* 7, 8), *uper* (*oper* 2, 30, 7, 21 etc), *uksuz* (*oksuz* 1, 3)

Sporadic cases of *o* > *u* (> *u*) are also found in Asia Minor *dušekleɾde* (*došekleɾde* G 89, 24), *guren* (*goren* G 83, 7) etc

§ 4. *o* > *u* Analogous to the preceding is the case of the *o* of the stem syllable raised to *u* in many dialects *u* (*o* "he" Räs 178, 3), *uŋ* (*on* "ten" Ras 76, 4), *duγan* (*doγan* Ras 226, 1), *ussaŋ* (*oɫsaŋ* G 56, 23), *γuvan* (*kovan* G 64, 15)

§ 5 In the wilāyet of Angora we find a pronounced diphthongisation of initial *o* to *ʉo* *ʉopeın* (*opeɣım* from Taš-Oluḳ near Kyr-Šehir), *ʉoldu* (*oldu*) etc In these regions initial *go*-, *ko*-, becomes *gʉo*-, *gʉo*-, *gʉo*- or *kʉo*, *kʉo*-, *kʉo*- *gʉoz*, *gʉoz* (*goz* "eye"), *gʉordu*, *gʉordù* (*gorˇdu*), *kʉomur* (*komur*) etc

§ 6. The degree of labialisation of rounded vowels in the syllables liable to vowel harmony is very characteristic of Ottoman dialects but has unfortunately been very little investigated so far. In general one can say that the power of the labial attraction diminishes with the distance from the stem syllable We also find however quite the opposite tendency

The tendency to a marked unrounding of the labial vowels in derivative syllables is found in the dialect of Adakale *bunynle* (*bununɫa*, Adak 138, 1), *ony* (*onu*, *op. cit*, 138, 3), *uldiγım* (*olduγum*, *olduɣum*, *op. cit*, 138, 28), *oγɫym* (*oγɫum*, 79, 4 from foot) etc.

Where the recorders vary between *u* and *y* an intermediate sound is usually indicated which I write *u*, the place of articulation of which is farther back than in the case of *y*, the labialisation of which is however much less pronounced than in *u*

The N E. Anatolian dialects on the coast of the Black Sea favour labial vowels in dependent syllables even when the stem syllable contains no rounded vowel. Very many examples can be found in "Laz-Turkish" in Kúnos *aɟaχlaruna* (*aɟaḳlaryna*), *ɟapturaɟym* (*ɟaptyraɟym*), *aɟažaχmusun* (*aɟažaḳmysyn*), *kaɫsun* (*ḳaɫsyn*) etc.

This peculiarity is confirmed by the specimens recorded by Räsänen· *funduγum* (*fyndyγym*, 80, 1), *daɫɫaruna* (*daɫɫaryna*, 80, 2), *čigaramun* (*čigaramyn*, 147, 1), *sesuni* (*sesıγi*, *sesını*, 147, 4).

On the other hand, the striking fondness for *o* and *o* recorded for the "Aidın" dialect in Kúnos (*Nasreddin Hodsa Tréfái*), not only in the stem syllable but also in the derivative syllables, in

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1) The following signs are used to indicate Ottoman Turkish sounds:

A. vowels (the approximate mode of articulation is added in brackets according to Bell's vowel table) *i* (hfn), *ı* (hfw), *e* (mfn), *e* (lfn), *y* (hxn), *ɔ* (mxn perhaps mxw), *u* (hfnr), *o* (mfnr), *u* (hxnr), *o* (mxnr), *u* (hbnr), *o* (mbnr), *ų* (between hbnr and hxn), *u* (between hfnr and hfw), *a* (lb), *ɨ* (not syllable forming *ı*), *ʉ* (not syllable forming *u*)

B. Consonants. *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, *m*, *d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ž* (= *d͡ž*), *č* (= *t͡š*), *ʒ* (= *d͡z*), *c* (= *t͡s*), *n*, *j*, *g*, *k*, *k*, *γ*, *χ*, *ŋ*, *l*, *ɫ*, *r*, *h*.

C. Special signs ˗ length, ˊ palatalisation, ʿ aspiration, ˜ reduction of voicing, ˏ stress (accent), < = derived from, > = has become

Note: In round brackets are given the equivalents in the written language of the corresponding dialect form. They must not however be in any way regarded as the original or basic form of the word in question.

which, as we know, *o* and *ö* otherwise never occur (cf. Deny, § 25), is doubtful.

Unrounded vowels

§ 7. Ottoman dialects have two varieties of *e*, a narrow (higher), here written *e*, and a broad (lower) variety, written *ę* In many districts, for example, there is a clear distinction between *el* "people, strangers" and *ęl* "hand" The narrow *e* is found either primary or as the result of combination. The former appears in *geǯe* (Räs *dᵉiǯe*, 146, 4), *demek*, *etmek*, *veṛmek*, etc., the latter in *beƚaz* (G 83, 3 *biƚaz*), *ƚel* or *jel* (G 63, 10 *jıl*), *ƚesir*, *jesir* (G 52, 15) etc. That *e* in the immediate vicinity of *ƚ*, *j*, *ý* becomes narrow is a phenomenon also observed in the educated speech of Constantinople (Bergstrasser, *Z D M G*, lxxii 240; cf. Deny, § 189 and p 1090)

§ 8 Most dialects distinguish between an *ı* pronounced with the tip of the tongue and a *y* with the middle of the tongue. There are however also dialects in which there is no such difference and which have no pronounced *y* The absence of a distinct *y* is characteristic of the Macedonian Turkish dialect of the district of Skoplye At first sight of this dialect one is struck by the forms with final *ı*, *ı* (from *y* and *u*) *boƚunı* (*boƚunu*, *boƚuny*, Maz, p. 172, N⁰. 1, 2), *ulı* (*ulu*, *uƚy* "large", N⁰ 3, 1), *oƚdı* (*oldu*, *oƚdy*, N⁰ 4, 6), *baǯası* (*baǯasy*, N⁰ 4, 28)

In N E. Anatolia also we find, at least to judge from Rasänen's records, a similar phenomenon *ƚokᵉarı* (*ƚokary* 67, 1), *satᵉı* (*satty* 69, 3), *kᵉaldım* (71, 1)

§ 9. The position of the tongue in pronouncing final *y* in many dialects is considerably lower than usual so that the vowel articulated is similar to an *a*· *vurǯukƚaryna* (*vuraǯakƚaryny*, Heffening, *Isl*, xiii. 255, N⁰ 32), *γančyƚlara* (*kančyklary* G 87, 14), *pᵉarmaamı* (*parmayymy* Räs 38, 2), *ƚapᵉraa* (*ƚaprayy* Räs 43, 2), *atıma aranım* (*atymy araƚorum* Ras 209, 2)

The confusion of the dative with the accusative noticed in Tozluk (Bulgaria) (Gadžanov, ii 4—5) is probably of purely phonetic origin and to be explained by this peculiarity of final *y* and its confusion with *a*

§ 10 Ottoman Turkish, as is well known, had originally no nasal vowels. But here and there we find the nasalisation of a vowel where a nasal consonant has disappeared· *sõra* (*sonra* or *soyra*), *oƚunũ* (*oγƚunuŋ*, *oγƚunun*) etc. In many districts also we find a kind of nasalisation of final vowels or formation of an indistinct *n*-like consonant after final vowels, where there was no nasal vowel originally. This is especially frequent with careless articulation Most recorders write this nasal element with *n*. *ǯezairiŋ haṛmannaryn* (for *harmannary*) *savruƚur* (G 77, 1), *demišler kın* (*demišler kı* G 27, 19), *o γγzγŋ bobasyn* (for *bobasy*) *demiš γγza* "the father of that girl said to the girl" (G 30, 10—11), *ızmiriŋ ıčında baluzuŋ γγzγn* (for *γγzy* < *kyzy* G 79, 2 from below).

§ 11 Contraction of a diphthong from *eƚ* to *ē*, *oƚ* to *o* is very common in dialects· The *ē* and *o* which thus arise are, as indicated, distinctly longer than the usual *e* and *o*. Examples from G. *šē* (*šeƚ*, 18, 1), *mēdanda* (*meƚdanda*, 19, 6), *bē* (*beƚ*, 86, 6), *čēledim* (*eƚledım*, 86, 3), *ole* (*oƚle*, 38, 22), *soleḍı* (*soƚleḍı*, 18, 11), *bole* (*boƚle*, 54, 21; 83, 21) etc.

Consonants.

§ 12 *γ*, *ý* i. e. a voiced spirant pronounced with the middle or back of the tongue shows a remarkable gradation in the dialects. In addition to narrow varieties that differ very little and sound like carelessly articulated explosives, we have a broad, half vocalic variety of *ý*, here written *ƚ*

γ disappears entirely in many dialects, thus giving rise to diphthongs, long vowels and all kinds of contractions. This is especially the case in the Constantinople dialect. Examples from *O. T*: *ālamā* (*aγƚamaγa*, 1 40, 5), *oƚdūnu* (*olduγunu*, i. 41, 34), *attīγny* (*attyγγny*, 1 41, 33), *ǰasā'n* (*ǰasayγn*, 1 45, 1) etc But this phenomenon is frequently noted elsewhere as well

To judge from Kúnos' specimens, *γ* remains in all positions in the dialect of Adakale *aγƚamaγa* (140, 1), *čoǯuγy* (1, 2), *čaγγrttyrγr* (89, 23), *oγƚy* (*oγƚu*, 64, 3 from below), *oƚduγy* (142, 21) etc.

In the district of Skoplye in Macedonia the dative in polysyllabic substantives in *-aƙ* ends in *-agᵃ* *sanǯaga* (*sanǯaγa*, N⁰ 5, 3), *oƚmaga* (*oƚmaγa*, *oƚmā*, N⁰ 4, 5) etc.

In the same dialect the group *-aγƚ-* becomes *-aƚƚ-*, e g *daƚƚer* (*daγƚar*), *baƚleƚoruz* (*baγƚaƚoruz*), *aƚleƚor* (*aγƚaƚor*) etc This phenomenon is also found in Selanik. In Macedonia, final *-aγa*, *-aγy*, *-γγy* becomes *-aƚ*, *-yƚ* *bardyƚ* (*bardayy*), *kurbyƚ* or *kurbaƚ* (*kurbaγa*), *beƚazlyƚ* (*beƚazlyγy*) etc.

A variety of *γ*, pronounced with a vibration of the uvula, which in popular poetry rhymes with *r* pronounced on the tip of the tongue is worth noting, cf Giese, p 57, note 2, p 64, note 3, also Heffening, in *Isl*, XIII, 254, No. 27, 3· *darƚady* (*daγƚady*).

§ 13 In many parts of Asia Minor original velar *ŋ* or palatal *ŋ́* still survives. It would be of value to ascertain the exact boundaries of this *ŋ*, *ŋ́*, which however is not yet possible In any case Central and Eastern Anatolia seem to possess *ŋ* It is also found on the Syrian-Anatolian borders (e g. Kilis, cf. *K. Sz*, iii 263) In N.E Anatolia, on the coast of the Black Sea, *ŋ* seems to be represented by *n* But Rasanen's records differ *ıtᵉıŋ kᵉopeγuŋ kᵉızı* (N⁰ 222, 3), but in the same *nanı* we have *ƚeni* "new" and in the next *aƚaunda* "at thy foot" Whether as Foy, *K Sz*, i. 289 suggests, the *ŋ* has begun to extend its area in Asia Minor, is very doubtful in view of the unreliability of the material on which he bases his view

In the Constantinople dialect, *ŋ*, *ŋ́* are represented by the corresponding dental variants. So far *ŋ*, *ŋ́* are not known to have survived in any Rumelian area

§ 14. The relations of the unvoiced posterior or glottal spirants deserve special attention In Macedonia, between Skoplye and Salonika, perhaps also beyond, *h* disappears initially (cf from below § 22, § 25), medially between two vowels and finally (cf. from below § 33). A very weak *h* and a somewhat stronger *χ* has survived here only incidentally before consonants We find a similar phenonemon in the specimens from the southern Crimea (Šatskaya and Dmitriyev, *Ž. A*, April—June, 1926, p. 345).

§ 15. The alternation of *v* || *ƙ* after *ó*, *ü* is found in N. W. Asia Minor and in different parts of the Balkan Peninsula. *K'ove* "into the village" I have heard in the villages between Scutari and Izmid. We also find *kovuŋ* (*koƚuŋ*· Kúnos, *Nyelvtud.*

Közlemények, XXII. 130, 15, 143, 13), *sovudu* (*soɣudu* or *soγudu*, *ibid.*, p 151, 21), *ovudu* (*oɣudu* or *oγudu*, *ibid.*, p. 151 22), *gove* (*koɣe*, *ibid.*, p 261, 5 from below) — all from the district, of Bursa-Aidın. *Guve* (*koɣe*) I noted (Zag, N⁰ 45) from a peasant of Mumǯa near Balykesır. The most eastern points are probably those noted by Giese in the wilāyet of Ḳonya. *kove* (G 25, 9), *uveǯên* (*uɰuɰaǯaḳsyn*, G 22, 7) *govde* (*goɣde*, *gokde*, G 88, 9, Juruk)

On Rumelian territory we find *kuva*, *kuve*, *kue* (*koɣe*) from Deli Orman; *kuve* is also the usual form in the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz.

§ 16 Posterior *ḳ* (*q*) became *χ* in many Asia Minor areas, particularly, it seems, in the N. E *goχar* (*kokar*), *čyχaman* (*čykamam*), *soχuɣon* (*sokuɣorum*), *uɣχu* (*uɣku*), *saχaḷ* (*saḳaḷ*) — all from Ḳastamunian (Thúry, p 12 *sq*), *ɣoχuša čyχarχan* (*jokuša čykarken*), *šaχyr* (*šakyr*), *arχama baχtym* (*arkama baktym*), *čuχur* (*čukur*) — all from the Brusa-Aidın territory, according to Kúnos, Brusa-Aidın On *ḳ* > *χ* finally cf from below § 31

§ 17. The *r* sounds offer great variety In general they are characterized by a careless articulation without a pronounced trilling with the tip of the tongue. As a rule a Turkish *r* is pronounced by the tip of the tongue being brought once up to the nearest gum This explains on the one hand the ease with which the *r* becomes silent before consonants and finally (cf from below § 34) and on the other the change to *r* > *z* (or *ɾ* > *s*) In some dialects of N E. Bulgaria *r* disappears before consonants, slightly modifying the preceding vowel which is marked by the recorders as a lengthening *āpa* (*arpa*), *gotūdun* (*gotturdun*), *ḳȳka* (*kyrka*), *vānaɣa* (*varnaja*) (all examples from Gadžanov, 1 5), while in reality there is a change in quality as well as in quantity in the vowel In Kaiseri and district I noticed after final *r* an *s* of a similar character *uaıˢ* (*var*), *ḳᶜonarˢ* (*konar*), *gıdıɣorˢ* (*gidijor*), *bıˢ* (*bir*) etc.

§ 18. *š*, *č*, *ǯ* appear slightly palatalised in many dialects, even in words with posterior vowels This palatalisation is rarely indicated in our specimens (cf Maz. 218, 3 *dišarı* from *dyšarɣ*, *ibid*, v. 3, from below *čekmeže*, Ras 3, 1, *bāaḳča*, 6, 2 *aašlar* from *ayaǯlar* etc) Sounds palatalised in this way sometimes produce a narrowing of the vowels immediately adjoining (cf. § 47) *čišme* (*češme* G 77, 9), *čoǯu* (*čožuyu*, Moškov, *Gagaus*, p. 31, 21) etc.

§ 19. In the Turkish dialects on the S. E. coast of the Black Sea, we find a variety of zetacism, *č* being represented by *c*, *ǯ* by *ʒ*. Examples from Ras *cimene* (*čimene* 64, 4), *dᶜeze* (*geǯe* 67, 3), *kucuk* (*kučuk* 65, 3), *caıra* (*čajıra* 71, 1), *baǯasi* (*baǯasy* 68, 2), *ḳᶜoʒası* (*ḳoǯasy* 68, 4).

As often, here also the language is not quite logical for we sometimes find both *ǯ* and *č* (e g. *ɣapaǯaum* from *ɣapaǯaɣym* 142, 1).

§ 20 *k'* and *ǵ* appear, in the dialects from the region of Trebizond and Rize, slightly advanced before posterior vowels so that they almost become *tˈ* or *dˈ* (cf. § 48). Examples from Räs. . *dᶜˈuneš* (*guneš* 136, 2), *dᶜˈideom* (*gidiɣorum* 138, 1), *dᶜˈel* (*gel* 139, 3), *astᶜˈere* (*askere* 141, 3), *čirtᶜˈın* (*čirkın*, 144, 3).

§ 21 In some parts of Asia Minor aspirated tenues seem to occur. Thus Rasanen in the songs recorded by him usually indicates *p*, *t*, *k*, *ḳ*, as aspirated *pᶜarmaamı* (*parmγymy* 38, 2), *pᶜara* (*para* 33, 4), *dutᶜ* ("mulberries" 44, 4), *raftᶜa* (53, 1), *altᶜın* (53, 1), *tᶜabaḳᶜtᶜa* (50, 1), *kᶜızlara kᶜoǯa ɣazakᶜ* (49, 4), *ḳᶜoɣdum sebetᶜe* (*koɣdum sepete* 160, 1) etc. I have noticed slightly aspirated tenues in the dialects of the region between Sivas and Ḳaiṣeri.

Initial Sounds.

§ 22 In the dialects the initial sound shows a series of peculiar phenomena. Initial vowels are usually pronounced without very definite clearness. The glottal stop is unusual at the beginning of a word, it is sometimes heard in Macedonia where it takes the place of *χ*, *h* sounds which have disappeared *ʾızmet* (*χızmet*), *ʾıč* (*hič*, *χič*), *ʾasret* (*hasret*, *χasret*) etc (cf. § 14 and 23).

§ 23 In many dialects initial vowels, especially at the very beginning, are often introduced by a slight breathing (glottal spirant) *hona* (*ona* G 17, 16), *herleɣ* (*eɣerleɣ*, *eɣerleiɣ* G 56, 1); cf. Giese G 51, note 1; *hateš* (< Pers أتش Zag. N⁰. 39 from Mumǯu near Balykesır), *hoɣle* (*oɣle*, Laz, p. 285, 17), *hokkalık* (*okkalyḳ* Ras., p 18, 2 from Vezirhan).

In Kastamunian there is even said to be a strong posterior spirant *χateš* (*ateš*), *χanbar* (*amber*, cf. Thúry, Kast 16 from below) Sporadic cases are also found in Gagauz *χaɣyyr* (*ajyyr* Gagauz, p 271, 9), *χarap* (*arab*, *ibid*, p 5, 3).

§ 24. In the dialect of the Bessarabian Gagauz an *ɣ* has regularly developed before initial *e* and *o* *ɣev* (*ev*), *ɣeǯel* (*eǯel*), *ɣekmiš* (*ekmiš*), *ɣertesi* (*ertesi*), *ɣobur* (*obur*. *o-bir*), *ɣokuz* (*okuz*), *ɣomur* (*omur*) etc. all examples from Moškov On the other hand among the Turks and Gagauz in N. E. Bulgaria I frequently heard *edı* (*ɣedı*), *etmiš* (*ɣetmiš*), *eni-koɣ* (*ɣeni-koɣ*) etc

A prefixed *ɣ* is also found in N E. Anatolia *ɣaldatᶜı* (*aldatty* Ras, p 142, 3)ᶜ *ɣırmaya* (*yrmaya* Räs., p 105, 1), *ɣırı* (*ırı* "coarse" Räs, p 217, 2).

§ 25 In Macedonia every kind of initial *h*, *χ*, disappears, sometimes leaving a glottal stop (cf § 14 and 22), examples from Radoviš on the Strumitza *ačan* (*χačan*, *ḳačan*), *anym* (*χanym*), *ava* (< Arab. هواء), *oža* (< Pers. خواجه), *ane* (< Pers خانه), *urma* (< Pers خرما), *ak* (< Arab. حفّ) etc.

§ 26. In Macedonia every initial *vu-* of the written language appears as *u-*, every initial *ɣı* as *ı-*, example from Radoviš *urdıller* (*vurdıɣlar*), *ılan* (*ɣylan*), *ılдı ım* (*ɣyldyrym*), *ılemes* (*jɣemez*) etc

In Asia Minor also a similar phenomenon is observed here and there: *uur* (*vurur* Räs., p. 6, 4 from Vezirhan) *ılan* (*ɣylan* Räs., p. 87, 4 from Rize), *il* (*ɣyl* Räs, p. 93, 1 from Rize), *ıḳᶜan* (*ɣykan* "wash thyself" Räs, 137, 4 also from Rize), *ijid ɣıgıt*, *ɣıɣıt* Kúnos, *Brus-A.*, p. 129, 10) etc

§ 27. Initial *i*, *y* before *s* with a consonant following completely disappears in many parts of Rumelian territory or is at least much reduced just as occurs to some extent in the language of the educated classes *stamboɭ*, *stambuɭ* (*istamboɭ*, *istambuɭ*), *smaıl* (*ismaıl*), *smarɭady* (*ysmarɭady*) etc.

§ 28 Loanwords beginning with *r* and *l* are in most dialects adapted to Turkish mouths by prefixing a vowel (cf Radloff, *Phonetik der nordlichen Turksprachen*, § 126). *uruba* (*ruba*, G 18, ult.), *urɣasynda* (*ruɣasynda*, G 27, 19), *yrast* (*rast*, Kúnos, *Aid.*, p. 36, 5 from below, 37, 15 etc.),

urzuğar (*ruzğar*, Kúnos, *Brus -A*, p 122, 10 from below), *ıržeb* (*režeb*, Thúry, *Kast.*, p. 11 and 29), *ileš* (< Pers. ايلش, Dum. = *R.O.*, i. 351, 12), *ılāna* (< Gr. λάχανα, Zag, N⁰. 77 from the village of Ḳuǰak near Muγla), *ılaṭım* (< Arab. ثمن, Kúnos, *Brus*, p. 265, 22).

§ 29 In many parts of Asia Minor, particularly in the west, the unvoiced initial consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *k*, *s*, *č* are frequently pronounced voiced Whether this is a complete voicing is a question which cannot yet be settled for want of phonetic experiments and investigations.

a Initial *p* becomes *b* *barmaχsyz* (*parmaksyz*, *Brus -A.*, p. 135, 4), *buluš* (*pılıč*, Zag, N⁰. 73· Muγla S. E. of Smyrna), *bišır* (*pišır*, G 33, 8), *bekmez* (*pekmez* G 89, 17 Jurük) etc.

b Initial *t* often becomes *d*: *durna* (*turna*, G, p. 53, 1, Brus -A., p. 121, 16), *doušan* (*taušan*, *op cit*, p 122, 3 from below), *davuχ* (*tauḳ*, Brus, p. 264, 5), *dılkı* (*tılkı*, G, p 17, 5), *dutulmuš* (*tutulmuš*, G, p 20, 9). Many examples from Ḳastamunian in Thúry, p. 38—42

c. Initial *ḳ*, *k*, *k'* in considerable areas of western and central Anatolia regularly becomes *g*, *ǧ* *goppek* (*kopek*), *gyz* (*ḳyz*), *guɣu* (*ḳuɣu*), *gučuk* (*kučuk*) — all from Brusa (Kúnos, in *Nyelvtud Közl*, 1890, p 261 *sqq.*); *gašty* (*kačty*, Zag., N⁰. 91 from Aγın near Sēdı Gazy), *gaɣyr* (*kaɣyr*, Zag., N⁰. 34. Mumǧu near Baɣykesır) etc. This phenomenon is also frequent in the north, in Ḳastamunian; cf. Thúry, *Kast*, p 52 *sqq*

The closing of initial posterior *g* in Central Anatolia seems to be very slack so that the sound gives the impression of a voiced narrow sound and is written by many authors with *γ* instead of *g* *γapynǯan γarγıɣı* (*ḳapynǯa ḳarγıɣıy*, G, p. 55, 1), *γalem γuɣaḳlγsyn* (*ḳalem ḳuɣaḳlγsyn*, G, p. 61, 30), *γara γaš* (*ḳara ḳaš*, G, p 73, 22) etc

Sporadic cases of the transition from *ḳ-* to *g-* are also found on Rumelian territory *gavazɣar* (*ḳavvasɣar* Adak, p 8, 23) In Tozɣuḳ (Bulgaria) there are several villages the inhabitants of which are called *gakčıı*, from their habit of pronouncing *k-* as *g-* (Gadžanov, 1 9).

d Initial *s* becomes sporadically *z* *zopa* (*sopa*, G, p 17, 9), *zevde* (*sevda*, G, p 88, 16), *zıɣa* (*sıɣah*, G, p 80, 18), *zyrtylan* (*syrtlan*, Kast, p 12 supra), *zere* (*sara* < Arab. صرعة, *R O*, 11. 206, 3 · Gune) etc.

e. Initial *č* becomes sporadically *ǯ*, e g. *ǯıngene* (*čıngene*. Bius, p. 267, 3), *ǯam* (*čam*. Ras, p 208, 1) etc

§ 30. On the other hand, a directly opposite tendency is frequently observed, namely a partial or complete reduction of the voicing of initial *b*, *d*, *g* Especially in the north or northeast of Asia Minor this tendency appears to be very strong. In what is known as Laz Turkish from the region of Trebizond we find (according to Kúnos, Láz dalok). *pem* (*ben*, p. 275, 3), *pılırdım* (*bılırdım*, p. 275, 4), *peɣaz* (*beɣaz*, p 275, 5), *paχıɣorsun pana* (*kaḳyɣorsun bana*, p. 280, 10) etc. almost without exception.

On the other hand, *t-* for *d-* is only found sporadically: *toɫduram* (*doɫduraɣym*, p. 275, 4 from below), *tıbında* (*dıbında*, p. 278, 8 from below), *tišımı* (*dišımı*, p. 283, 12) etc.

Still rarer is initial *k-*, *ḳ-* for *g-*: *kemunin* (*gemının*, p. 277, 5), *koren* (*goren*, p. 279, 18), *ḳarıp* (*garıb*, p. 282, 10) etc.

These observations by Kúnos are to a great extent confirmed by Räsanen's notes. The voiced initial *b*, *d*, *g* appear in his work with partial or completely reduced voicing although not quite regularly· *ḇır* (p 214, 1, but in the same quatrain *burda*), *ḇem* (p. 217, 3), *ḇāla* (*bayla*, p 218, 3), *ḇeɣuk* (*buɣuk*, p. 221, 1), *ḇenum ḇoɣnumi ḇuken* (p. 221, 4), *ḇula* (*bula*, p. 223, 4) etc.

Similarly *ḏavulumun* (p. 244, 1), *ḏere* (p. 246, 1), *ḏonup* (p. 248, 2), *ḏuɣarɫar* (p. 248, 3) etc., even *t'alına* (*daɫyna*, p. 145, 2, p. 238, 2); also *geleǯeum* (*geleǯeɣım*, p. 244, 4), *gıttıkče* (p 245, 4), *gorınursa* (*gorunurse*, p 246, 3) etc.

To judge from Räsanen's records initial *tenues* and *mediae* are frequently not distinguished from one another in the dialect of Trebizond. *ǵıdesem* (p 225, 3) and *ǵım* (*kım*, p. 225, 4) are written initially with one and the same sign; also *ǵerı* "hither" (p. 233, 2) and *ǵeri* "Peri" (p 233, 4).

I have noticed unvoiced initial consonants which are voiced in the written language, in people from various regions of the former wilāyet of Angora: *fišne* (*višne*, Beš-Tut near Čaŋgry), *patarsyn* (*batarsyn*, Tašoɫuḳ near Kyršehir), *paže* (*baža*, Ḳuzaɣǯe near Jozgad), *tarylyr* (*darylyr*, ibid), *pulut* (*bulut*, Denekmaden) etc I know sporadic cases also from western Anatolia e g from the village of Dumanly in the region of Ušaḳ. Isolated cases of this phenomenon are even found on Rumelian territory (e. g. the so striking *pınmek* < *bınmek* in N. E Bulgaria and among the Bessarabian Gagauz, cf Gadžanov, 1. 6 from Deli Orman)

The frequent variation in our records of the spoken speech as regards voicing of initial consonants arouses the suspicion that there are no pure *mediae* in this position A final solution of the question will only be possible when we are accurately informed regarding the condition of voicing in the dialects, if possible by instrumental records.

Final Sounds.

§ 31. Final posterior-*k* (*q*) becomes -*χ* in the eastern dialects. The boundary between -*k* and -*χ* may, broadly speaking, be said to be the Kyzyɫ Yrmaḳ and the central Salt Steppe, although -*χ* areas are also found on this side of the Ḳyzyɫ Yrmak, notably the Kastamuni district On the other hand, the change from -*k* > -*χ* is quite unknown, so far as I am aware, on Rumelian territory.

Examples. *ɣazyχ* (*ɣazyḳ* from Kúčuk Čaly-Aγyɫ near Jozgad), *ɣalyχ* (*ɣaɣlyk*, ibid), *aɫanaǯaχ* (*alynaǯak*, Ḳuzaɣǯe near Jozgad), *ne ɣapaχ* (*ne ɣapaɫym*, Jozgad), *gıdıɣoχ* (*gıdıɣoruz*, village of Boɣaɫyǯe near Kavza).

Similarly in "Laz Turkish" in Kúnos. *ḳyvraɫyχ* (*kyvraɫyk*, Laz., p. 275, 5 from below), *araɫuχ* (*araɫyk*, *ibid.*, p. 283, 1), *ɣataɫuχ* (*ɣataɫyk*, *ɣataɫym*, p. 283, 4) etc. On the other hand, the texts given by Räsänen from the coast of the Black Sea between Trebizond and Rize show almost regularly an unchanged final-*k*. All the more remarkable then are the forms given by him like *čučeχ* (*čıček*, p. 184, 1), *ičeǯeχ* (*ičeǯek*, p 184, 4) etc., in which final-*k* on the middle of the tongue becomes -*χ*.

The change from *ḳ* < *χ* is found not only at the end of words but also at the end of stems and derivative syllables. *goχu* (*ḳoḳu*, Kast., p. 12, 16),

soχuĻon (*soķuĻorun*, *ibid*, p 12, 18), *aχvdyr* (*aķydyr*, Causat. from *ak-*, G 57, 20), *aĻaχlaruna* (*aĻaķlaryna* Laz, p. 275, 7)

The change of *k* to *χ* appears regularly in the "Aidin" dialect of the tales of Ḥoǧa Naṣreddīn in Kúnos *braχyr* (*brakyr*, p 65, 9), *ǯyĻbaχ* (*čypĻaķ*, p. 64, 5 from below), *saχĻarym* (*saķĻarym*, p 62 ult), *γyrχ* (*kyrk*, p. 63, 1) etc. Possibly his authority came from Eastern Anatolia.

§ 32. Final-*k* pronounced on the middle of the tongue sometimes loses its explosive sound and becomes *ɣ* or *ɻ*, or disappears entirely The cases observed are mainly due to sandhi *guǯu aĻlı* (*kučuk alı*, G, p. 57 ult.), *guǯu χatynym* (*kučuk χatynym*, G, p. 58, 5), *go ĻuzunԀe* (*gok ĻuzunԀe*, G, p 88, 4), *kēɣ ızıne* (*geɣık ızıne*, G, p 91, 18), *zebē gıbı* (*zeɣbek gıbı*, G, p. 83 pu, 84, 3)

§ 33. Final *-χ*, *-h* in loanwords disappears very often in many dialects *padıšā* (G, p. 18, 5), *allā* (G, p. 22, 23, but *allaχ kerımdir*, p. 34, 13), *tembı* (Arab. تنبيه, G, p 23, 7), *sahı* (Arab. صحيح, G, p. 27, 28), *šē ıslam* (Arab *shaıkh al-Islām*, G, p. 40, 28), *ēvā* (Arab هوا, G, p 25, 3) etc. On the pronunciation of *χ*, *h* in the language of the educated classes of Constantinople cf. Bergstrasser, *ibid*, p 253 *sqq*.

§ 34. For many territories the disappearance of final *-r* in verbal forms and in the words *var* and *bir* is characteristic (cf. § 17 and 64) In certain stereotyped cases, it is also found in the popular dialect of Constantinople, as in *bıkerre* (*bır kerre*, *O T*, 1 29, 7 from below) und *bičok* (*bır čok*, *ibid*, 1. 176, 27). Very common are *bī* (*bır*) and *vā* (*var*, from sandhi also *mā ĻorganymmāԀ* < *ĻorganymԀ var*, Zag., N⁰ 92, cf. below § 40a)

In the 3rd pers sing of the present in *-ĻorԀ*, the final *-r* regularly disappears in some districts of Asia Minor (cf below § 64). The loss of final *-r* in the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist is not so regular (cf. § 66)

This dialectal peculiarity is found as early as the Jōnus texts in Muhlbacher, cf K Foy, *Die altesten osmanischen Transscriptionstexte*, ii. 241.

§ 35 The voicing of the final consonants *b*, *d*, *z*, *ǯ* is weakened in the dialects or disappears completely, as it does to a certain degree in the written language also (cf Bergstrasser, *Z D M G*., lxxii., 261 *sq*), so that they become *b̥*, *d̥*, *z̥*, *ǯ̥* or even *p*, *t*, *s*, *č* This phenomenon is really much more frequent than is indicated in our texts. Examples *gedıǯēs* (*gıdeǯeɣız*, G, p 18, 21), *ɣus* (*ɣuz*, G, p. 27, 16), *deɣıs* (*deɣız*, *deɣız*, G, p. 77, 6), *ǯuaԀ* (Arab. *ǰawāb*, *R O*, ii., 205, 17) etc

The latest official Turkish alphabet in Latin characters does not recognise a final *-b*, *-d*, *-ǯ*, but instead has a final *-z*, which is not exactly in keeping with the actual pronunciation

§ 36. *č* at the end of a word, as usually before consonants, especially explosives, becomes *š* *uš* (*uč*, G, p 17, 5), *heš* (Pers. هيچ, G, p 18, 1), *hariš* (Arab. *khārij*, G, p 19, 8), *išmes* (*ičmez*, Zag, N⁰ 66, from Kuǯak in the region of Muɣla), *b̥uluš* (*pılıč*, *op. cit.*, N⁰. 73).

Vowel harmony.

§ 37. Several authors have already pointed out that the laws of vowel harmony are frequently broken in the Ottoman dialects (cf. G. Jacob, *Zur Grammatik des Vulgär-Türkischen*, *Z D M G*, liii. 719. "In Kleinasien ist die Vokalharmonie teilweise arg im Verfall", cf. K. Foy, in *K. Sz.*, 1. 189 *sqq* etc)

Vowel harmony is weakest with regard to labialisation. Attention has already been called to certain features in this connection above (§ 6)

To the very frequent cases of defective harmony belong those in which the final syllable of a word is distinguished in vowel harmony from the other syllables. We very often find the endings *-a*, *-da*, *-dan*, *-ĻarԀ*, *-sa* after light stems and vice versa *-e*, *-de*, *-den*, *-ler*, *-se* after heavy stems. *desdıma* (*destıme*, G, p 60, 15), *sınema* (*sıneme*, G, p 62, 15), *ıtmeɣa* (*etmeɣe*, G, p 82, 14), *ustuna* (*ustune*, G, p. 60, 14), *gelma* (*ʿgelme*, Räs, p. 209, 3), *versam* (*versem*, Ras, p 85, 2), *ʿderlar* (*der ler*, Moškov, p. 32, 25), *ɕolemišlar* (*soǰlemišler*, G, p. 37, 9) and vice versa *ataše* (*ateše*, G, p 60, 17), *bāĻameē* (*baɣlamaɣa*, G, p. 51, 10), *ɣaĻbymyzԀe* (*kalbymyzda*, G, p. 91, 27), *fuķārе* (*fuķara*, Moškov, *Gagaus*. p. 32, 26), *karе* (*kara*, Zag, N⁰ 8 from Ķaļķandelen in Macedonia), *daše* (*taša*, Dum, *R O*, 1. 344, N⁰. 4) etc

As these examples show, *a* very frequently occurs at the end of a word in place of the expected *e*. It is possibly not a real *a* but a very broad variety of *e* (*a*) as the *e* in an open final syllable is generally pronounced very open in the language of educated people also (Bergstrasser, *Z D M G*, lxxii. 239). Dimitrijev (*J. A*, April-June 1926, p 343) calls attention to a similar phenomenon in the language of the osmanised Krim Tatars

On the other hand, we find in the dialects numerous cases of vowel harmony rigidly carried through, where it is not found in the written language Loanwords form the most cases The vowel attraction acts progressively or retrogressively according to circumstances

Examples *a* progressive *meǰden* (*meǰdan*, Brus-A, p 125, N⁰ 4, v 8), *zevde* (*sevda*, G, p 88, 16), *mezer* (*mezar*, *R O*, 1 343, N⁰. 2, 2), *pišmen* (*pišman*, *ibid*, N⁰. 6, 2), *ataš* (*ateš*, G, p 36, 1), *šahan* (*šahın*, Pers. *shāhin*, G, p 75, 14, 61, 2) etc.

b retrogressive *alma* (*elma*, Brus-A, p 121), *esker* (*asker*, *R O*, 1 344, N⁰. 5, 4), *marakļy* (*merakļy*, G, p 17, 4), *sarаķ* (*seraķ*, G, p 17, 17), *dafa* (*defa*, G, p. 23, 19) etc

c. retrogressive and progressive: *barabar* (*beraber*, Ras., p. 19, 3)

Certaind cases are worthy of special mention.

a. *-kı* and *-ken*, progressively harmonised as *-ku*, *-ķan* *oĻurmušķu* (*oĻurmuš kı*, G, p. 37, 3), *varmyĻorku* (*varmaĻor kı*, G, p 37, 4), *bošanyrķana* (*bošanyrken* + *a*, G, p. 51, 9; cf. below § 76), *yušanyı kana* (*kušanyrken* + *a*, G, p. 51, 11) etc.

b *bıɣez* "a little" from *bir az* (G, p. 53, 20; cf. *K. Sz.*, 1. 189),

c by vowel attraction acting retrogressively the demonstratives *bu*, *šu* before light stems often become *bu*, *bo*, *šu* *bogun* (*bu gun*, G, 29, 10), *buɣun* (*bu gun*, *O T.*, 1 26, 13, 27, 9, 33, 16 etc), *šu koške* (*šu k.*, *O T.*, 1. 26 ult.), *šu guɣerǯin* (*šu guverǯin*, *O. T.*, 1. 160, 23), *šu tenǯeremı* (*šu t.*, *O. T.*, 1 227, 26) etc.; cf Foy, in *K. Sz*, 1 187 *sqq*.

Sound Change in Combination.

Assimilation of Consonants.

§ 38. The dialects are characterised by a large number of peculiarities in assimilation. Most of these occur only sporadically. To define the areas

in which they appear is not yet possible. Many of them also occur in the spoken language of the educated classes, especially when speaking more quickly than usual or with a certain amount of carelessness These changes occur in the dialects all the more frequently as the speakers have not before their eyes the regulating influence of the written forms

§ 39 Complete retiogressive assimilation occurs most frequently in the following cases

a *pt* > *tt*. *attas* (*aptas*, Pers *ābdest*, Zag , N⁰. 62, Ḳuǰak near Muγla)

b. *kt* > *tt* and *χt* > *tt*. *ɣutte* (*ɣukte*, *ɣuk-de*, *R O* , II 205, 8 from below, from Güne), *mettup* (*mektūb*, village of Nazylli in the district of Aidyn), *anattar* (*anaχtar*, *O. T*, I. 192, 2, 256, 22).

c. *ts* > *ss* *essin* (*etsin*, G, p 67, 23), *ɣassyɣa* (*ɣatsyɣa*, Brus.-A , p. 146, 8 from below), *ɣassydan* (*ɣatsydan*, *O T* , I 218, 7), *tusu* (from *tutsu* probably through *tussu*, *O T.*, I. 206, 7).

d. *ks* > *ss* > *s* (after dropping gemination, cf. below § 53). *ɣapaǰāsyn* (*ɣapaǰassyn* > *ɣapaǰaḳsyn*, G, p. 37, 10)

e. *zs* > *ss* *gassynnar* (*kazsynlar*, Brus -A , p. 144, 13), *olmessede* (*olmezsede*, G, p. 60, 3)

f *šs* > *ss* *issin* (< *išsin* < *ičsin*, G, p. 38, 6, 12; cf. § 36).

g *ls* > *ss*, unusually frequent. *ossun* (*olsun*, G, p 28, 5), *ussay* (*olsay*, G, p. 56, 23), *gessin*, *satyn assin* (*gelsin*, *satyn alsyn*, G, p. 51, 8)

h *rs* > *ss*· *vassan* (*varsan*, G, p 18, 1), *ɣykylyssa* (*ɣykylyrsa*, G, p. 82, 1).

i *rl* > *ll* (or > *l*, after dropping gemination) *soɣallar* . . . *goɣallar* . *sevellerr* . *savallar* (*soɣarlar* . . . *ḳoɣarlar* . . . *severler* . . *savarlar*, Brus.-A., p 121), *gallar* (*karlar*, *op cit*), *tellikler* (*terlikler*, *O. T.*, I 91, 5), *gitiller* (*geliɣorlar*, Gadžanov, I. 7 below, from Delìorman) etc.

j *ln* > *nn* *anny* (*alny* "his forehead" from Tasoluk near Ḳyršehir).

k. *rn* > *nn* *hidinnebi* (*hydyr-nebi*, Ras , p 263, 1).

l *nm* > *mm* *ɣammyš* (*ɣanmys*, G, p 20, 23), *semmi* (*sen-mi*, G, p 37, 10), *aɣɣazdammy* (*aɣazdanmy*, G, p. 37, 21), *yaterlemmiš* (*ḳaterlenmiš*, G, p 64, 2).

m. *zm* > *mm* *olmammy* (*olmazmy*, G, p 60, 10), *ɣaymamy* (< *ɣaymammy* < *ɣaymazmy*, G, p 77, 26)

§ 40 Complete progressive assimilation occurs mainly in the following cases.

a. *mv* > *mm*, very frequent in sandhi *oldummakyt* (*olduγum vakyt*, *R. O.*, II. 205, 9 from below), *ɣorganymmā* (*ɣorganym var*, Zag , N⁰. 92 from Aγın in the district of Sēdi-Gazy), *nefsim-mariken* (*nefsin variken*, G, p 30, 22), *selam-mirdim* (*selam verdim*, G, p. 62, 11), *olum-mersin* (*olum versin*, G, p. 71, 8) etc.

b. *nl* > *nn* and *γl* > *γγ* *ḳarannyk* (*ḳaranlyk*, Zag., N⁰. 102, Aγın in the district of Sēdi-Gazy), *bunnary* (*bunlary*, G, p. 18, 26), *haɣvanny* (*haɣvanly*, G, p. 18, 23), *goγγume* (*goylume*, G, p 82, 13)

c. *nd* > *nn* *ḳaptynnan* (*kaptyγyndan*, *O. T.*, I. 25, 10), *dedinnen* (*dediγinden*, *O. T.*, I. 134, 2), *gittinnen* (*gittiγinden*, *O T* , I 217, 11) etc

d. *γm* > *γγ* > *γ*. *yurduγu* (*kurduy-mu*, G, p 75, 14), *derdiγi* (*derdiy-mi*, G, p. 75, 15).

e. *rl* > *ır*. *yatmerri* (*ḳatmerli*, G, p. 66, 24).

§ 41. Partial retrogressive assimilation frequently occurs in the dialects in sandhi where a final *-n* under the influence of an initial *b-* in the next word becomes *m*. *baχam ben* (*baḳan ben*, G, p. 78, 4), *bezirgem baby* (*bazirgan baby*, G, p. 85, 16), *uzum boɣunu* (*uzun boɣunu*, G, p. 88, 23), *birim bulursun* (*birin[i] bulursun*, G, p. 56 ult.), *altym bilezik* (*altyn bilezik*, G, p. 70, 15, 84, 7).

§ 42. Partial progressive assimilation *ml* > *mn*· *damna* (*damla*, Zag., No. 97 from Aγın near Sēdi Gazy, *damna damna gol olur*, Brus., p. 264, 3), *alemner* (*alemler*, Brus.-A , p. 154, 6), *ǰumne* (*ǰumle*, Zag , No. 96 from Aγın near Sēdi Gazy) etc.

§ 43 Assimilation in regard to a sound which comes between the end of the stem and the beginning of the suffixed syllables, so far as we know, follows in the dialects the rules laid down by Bergstrasser for the language of the educated classes (*Z D M G* , lxxii., 1918, p 261 *sq.*).

§ 44 Partial progressive assimilation at a distance is often noticed in combinations of *ne* "what" with forms of the verb *eɣlemek*: *neɣnerim* (< *neɣlerim* < *ne eɣlerim*, Brus -A , p. 124, 10), *neɣneɣim* (*ne eɣleɣim*, Brus , p. 270, N⁰. 132), *nenesin* (*ne eɣlesin*, G, p 73, 8) etc

Influence of consonants on vowels.

§ 45 The labial or labio-dental consonants *b*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *f* exercise to a greater degree than is the case in the written language a labialising influence on immediately adjoining vowels, both progressively and retrogressively *bobaɭarym* (*babaɭarym*, G, p 86, 15; the word *baba* appears in many districts as *boba* or *buba*. *buba*, Laz , p 287; Brus.-A , p. 127, 9, *boba*, Räs , p 223, 4, in this form I also know it from N. E. Bulgaria), *boyry* (*bayyryr*, Zag , N⁰. 75 from Kuǰak in the district of Muγla), *bučak* (*byčaḳ*, G, p. 62, 15), *ɣapušyr* (*ɣapyšyr*, Zag., N⁰ 10, ibid), *elbuse* (*elbise*, G, p. 19, 25), *arabuna* (*arabyna*, G, p. 39, 23), *ǧuluš* (*pilič*, Zag , N⁰. 73 from Kuǰak in the district of Muγla), *duvanemisiy* (*divanemisin*, G, p 27, 14), *dovlete* (*devlete*, G, p 58, 10), *homen* (*hemen*, G, p 20, 8), *tumar* (*timar*, G, p 57, 28), *musyr* (*mysyr*, G, p. 82, 3)

§ 46 *ý*, *ɟ* or *ɣ* in contact with vowels, especially with *e*, *a*, *u*, frequently cause a narrowing of the latter to *e*, *y* (or at least to a *y*-like vowel), *u*.

Narrow *e* before and after *ý*, *ɟ*, *ɣ* has already been discussed above (§ 7) Otherwise cf *vuramyɣvz* (*vuramaɣyz*, *R O* , I 350 from the village of Dumanly near Ušak), *haɭɣam* (*haɭɭaɣam*, *haɭɭaɣaɣym*, G, p 60, 4, cf Deny, *Grammaire*, § 644), *duramiɣorum* (*duramaɣorum*, Ras., p 46, 4), *ḳoɣun* (*koɣun*, Zag , N⁰ 120 from Taš Oluk near Kyršehir), *ɣuɣan* (*ɣuɣan*, G, p. 80, 15) etc

Note The new orthogiaphy in Latin characters has brought to light in the written language an *i-*, or *y*-like pronunciation of *e*, or *a* before an *ɣ*. *iyice hatirliyorum* (*eɣiǰe hatyrlaɣorum*), *gostermiyerek* (*gostermeɣerek*), *gorunmiyordu* (*gorunmeɣordu*), *kucaklamiyacak* (*kuǰaḳlamaɣaǰak*) etc. Cf. Deny, § 627, note 2

§ 47. On the influence of palatalised *ś*, *ć*, *ǯ* on vowels see above § 18. In Gagauz, *ǯ* regularly changes *a*, *y*, *o*, *u* to *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* (Moškov, p. xxvii): *čoǰuk* (Gagaus., p. 1, 10), *ɣoɭǰulara* (*op. cit.*, p. 1, 12), *ǯanavar* (*op. cit.*, p. 3, 6), *ɣudaǰek* (*op. cit.*, p. 3, 12).

Influence of vowels on consonants.

§ 48. As in all Turkish languages, in the Ottoman dialects also the articulation of consonants is dependent on the nature of the surrounding vowels. Under the influence of anterior vowels consonants are pronounced farther forward, and farther back under the influence of middle and posterior vowels. In many consonants, especially *k*, *g*, *š*, *č*, *ǯ*, the forward pronunciation is com-

bined with a more or less pronounced palatalisation. According to Rasanen's records, *k* and *g* are pronounced before *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* so far forward and so palatal that they almost become *t'* or *d'* (cf § 20) This peculiarity seems to extend from the coast region of Trebizond and Rize nearly towards Erzerum

In Gagauz, anterior vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* cause a regular and pronounced palatalisation of all adjoining consonants (cf. Moškov, p XXVI—XXVII)

Simplification of groups of consonants.

§ 49 In many cases the complete assimilation leads to the disappearance of a consonant, or the doubling of a consonant is dropped (cf. § 53)

In the following cases we have the simplification of groups of three (or four) consonants

a. *ltm* > *tm* in *atmyš* (*altmyš*, G, p 38, 6 in a man from Isparta; 42 pu., in a Juruk; *O.T*, 1 108, 21 from Constantinople), *ɣuzat'myš* (*ɣuzaltmyš*, Ras., p. 26, 1 from Vezirhan). We also find *āt* < *alt* (G, p. 77, 6). Cf. *R.O.*, II 210, 2 *sqq*.

b. *ftl* > *fl* in *čiflik* (*čiftlik*, almost general "popular" pronunciation of this word)

c. *ftč* > *fč* in *čifči* (*čiftči*, e g. *O. T.*, I. 78, 12 from below).

d. *nžl* > *nšl* > *šl* in *gešlik* (*genšlik* < *genčlik* < *genžlik*, G, p. 56, 20, *genšlik*, Dum , *R.O.*, I. 343, N⁰ 1, 2)

e. *rsl* > *sl* in *aslan* (*arslan*, G, p 58, 8 and frequent elsewhere).

f. *čɣ* (= *t͡šɣ*) > *tɣ* as in *ut-ɣuz* (*uč-ɣuz*, G, p. 92, 4, 5)

g. *čs* (= *t͡šs*) > *ts* · *utsam* (*učsam*, G, p. 72, 7). Groups of two consonants.

a. *lk* > *k* *yākdylar* (*kalkdylar*, G, p 19, 14), *kakmas* (*kalkmaz*, Gun , *R O* , II 6 from below, also elsewhere over a wide area)

b. *rt* > *t*: *gutulmasyn* (*kurtulmazsyn*, Dum., *R.O.*, I 348, N⁰ 17), *batbyt* (*batburt*, G, p. 45, 3).

c. *ks* > *s*. *ɣusek* (*ɣuksek*, Maz , *W Z K.M* , XXXIII. 200, N⁰ 38, 1), *ɣuseklerden* (G, p 56, 16 from the region of Konya), *ɣuseɣikten* (*ɣuksekɣikten*, Brus -A , p 145, 11). The disappearance of *k* is here due to a kind of dissimilation.

d. *tk* > *k*. *izmek'arɣik* (*ɣizmetk'arɣik*, *W.Z K.M* , p 218, 12, from Macedonia)

e. *kž* > *ž*, especially in diminutive forms, before the ending *-žik*, *-žyk* The dropping of *k* is also almost the rule in the written language, cf. Deny, § 511 Examples *bolužik* (G, p 78, 1), *sevdižek* (*O T.*, II 304, N⁰ 72, 1, 305, 5, 333, 23), *ɣapražy'yn* (*ɣapraky-žyyyn*, *O. T.*, II. 334, 5), *sayłyžayıy* (G, p. 56, 24)

On the other hand we find *čarukčaumı* (*čarykčayymy*, *čarykčyyymy*, Räs , p 154, 1).

f Finally we may class here the often noted disappearance of a final *t* after *s* or *š*. *abdas* (*abdest*, Kast , p 16), *dos* (*dost*, G, p. 53, 11), *us* (*ust*, G, p. 77, 5, for *u* cf § 1), *poslu* (*postlu*, G, p. 58, 2), *pušları* (*puštlary*, Maz., *W. Z. K. M*, XXXIII , p 196, N⁰ 35, 8, cf ibid., p 224 *sq.*).

Interchange of sound

§ 50 *r* and *l* in contact with another consonant show a tendency to change place with the latter.

a. *orgetdı* (*ogretti*, *ogretti*, G, p. 28 ult.), *torpaɣ* (*toprak*, G, p. 31, 8), *devriš* (*derviš*, G, p. 29, 29), *pevranalar* (*pervaneler*, G, p. 59, 9), *Belirgad* (*Beligrad*, G, p. 52, N⁰ 3 pass.), *pevra* (*perva*, G, p. 86, 26), *erbišim* (*ibrišim*, G, p. 73, 7). M examples in Thury, *Kast*, p. 15 *sq*.

b. *čolmek* (*čomlek*, Zag., N⁰ 47 from Mu near Balykesir), *čilbak* (*čyplak*, Zag , N⁰ from Ayın near Sēdı Gazy), *talbada* (*tablada* p. 90, 22), *meɣlem* (*melɣem* < Arab. ﻣﻠﺤﻢ, p. 89 *golmek* (*gomlek*, Brus -A , p 126, 11).

This feature is especially found in Asia M

Development of sounds

§ 51. Before the explosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and the fricatives *č*, *ǯ* secondary nasals *m*, *n* *ŋ* are frequently developed. This phenomeno it is true, most frequently noticed in loanwoid it is also found in pure Turkish words *dımbı* (Zag , N⁰. 8 from Kalkandelen in Macedonia), *par* (*vapor*, Radoviš in Macedonia), *hyrsant*, *hur* (*fursat*, G, p. 36, note 2, p 72, 3 from Bo *ibid*, p 69, 11 *fursan*), *fursant* (*fursat*, p 4, 4 from Vezirhan), *šafayk* (*šafak*, Ar. Gune), *goŋgus* (*gogus*, *goɣus*, from Dumanly Kutahia), *garmangaruš* (*karmakaryš*, Thury, K p. 16), *menžılıs* (*mežlis*, Zag , No 103, Ayin near Sēdı-Gazy , Brus.-A , p. 131, 18; Tl *Kast.*, p. 16) etc.

Syllable Division

§ 52 Simple consonants between two vo frequently appear somewhat lengthened. They even be pronounced long under the influenc stress In this case the consonant is divided bet the preceding and following syllables so that division between the syllables divides the conso which produces the effect of pronouncing the co nant as a double one *dołašałym* pronounced with phasis sounds almost like *dol-łaš-šał-łym* Exam *yałłaɣ* (*kałaɣ*, G, p 77, 16), *ɣollarsa* (from *ɣo* "pluck, pull", not from *ɣołłamak* "to send" p. 80, 18), *goppek* (*kopek*, Brus , p 261, N⁰ *eššek* (*ešek*, *ibid* , N⁰ 25), *guččuk* (*kučuk*, p 267, N⁰ 88), *ellımde* (*elimde*, Ras , p *ellım* (*elim*, Ras., p 31, 4, *ellime*, p 34, 2), *sevd'ı* (*sevgılım*, Ras., p 93, 3)

§ 53. On the other hand, we do not fir pronounced double sound where it might be pected on etymological grounds The result is, t with § 52, that e g the two last syllables in *šałłym* "my (beloved) with the shawl covered h and *dołašałym* "let us go around" are pronou identically Similarly *kassab elinde* and *kassab be* are practically indistinguishable in the usual nunciation

This enables us to understand forms like following *evelı* (origin *evveli*, G, p 17, 4) *sakaly* (*ak sakalły*, G, p. 23, 1), *memlekete* (*lekette* [locative!], G, p. 27, 7), *ayamadyk* (*ayyam* from *ayłamadyk*, G, p. 30, 2, cf § 40b), *Bay* (*Baydadda*, G, p 61, 13), *ɣoładylar* (*ɣołładylar* p. 55, 13) etc

§ 54 Many dialects allow two vowels to suc one another directly within a word, where cultured language and other dialects have an *γ* sound. This is usually found where an ori guttural has been lost. Most examples are f in Räsänen's texts from N E. Asia Minor. *dalaža alažaum* (*dałažayym*, *ałažayym*, Räs., p. 151, 1, *genšlıumı* (*genžlıimi*, Räs., p. 153, 3), *t'opuža* (*topužayymy*, p. 154, 2), *ɣureum* (*ɣureɣım*, p. 4) etc.

In the wilāyets of Angora and adjoining districts I have frequently noted the same thing: *eal* (*eɣil* "bend!" from Taš-oḷuḳ near Kyršehir), *ɣopmea* (*opmeɣe* from Ḳuzaɣže near Jozgad), *ḳyɣmyodym* (*kyɣmaɣordum*, *ibid*), *kɣotùleo* (*kotuluɣu*, *ibid.*), *doar* (*doyar* from Denekmaden) etc.

The same phenomenon is recorded from Tozḷuḳ in N E. Bulgaria. *'buıaa*, *beaz*, *'neree* (Gadžanov, II. 4)

§ 55. In most dialects an *ɣ* sound has developed between two vowels coming directly together within a word. But sometimes we find *h* instead of *ɣ* *evahılde* (*evaılde*, *evaɣılde*, G, p. 31, 3), *taχt-ı-pahı* (*taχt-ı-pāɣı*, G, p. 32, 20), *Izmehal* (*Ismaıl*, G, p. 57, 22) etc

Sentence Sandhi.

§ 56 When two words come together, of which the first ends with a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, in all dialects, as is frequently the case in Turkish languages, the first of the two vowels is usually dropped. Examples *Hamz oyuḷ* (*Hamza oyḷu*, G, p 87, 5), *suḷaryyyz ıšdım* (*suḷaryyyzy ıčtım*, G, p 86, 21), *golges oḷmas dal olmas* (*golgesı o. daly o*, G, p. 77, 25), *elım opdu urum* (*elımı o*, G, p 82, 3), *el aɣɣayy* (*elı aɣayy*, G, p. 82, 2 from below), *del Ismaıl* (*delı Ismaıl*, G, p 85, 2), *otl oḷu* (*otḷu o*, G, p 67, 8), *helv almyš* (*helva almys*, G, p 29 ult).

Ne and the interrogative particle *my* deserve special mention *nišlıɣo* (*ne ıšleɣor*, *R O*, II. 204, 7 from below from Güneı̯), *noḷdu* (*ne oldu* very common, cf. e. g. Adak., p. 140 ult.), *nuḷmaly* (*ne oḷmaly*, G, p 83, 15), *napsyn* (*ne ɣapsyn*, Brus -A, p 149, 4 from below), cf also the forms given by Kúnos without references· *nedeže̊n* = *ne edeže̊eksın*, *napaže̊ān* = *ne ɣapaže̊aksyn*, *neže̊ên* = *ne edeže̊eksın*, *nappatyrsyn* = said to be *ne ɣapup ɣatarsyn*), *ayḷarmuḷa* (*ayḷarmy oḷa*, G, p 75, 4), *uyrarmula* (*oyrarmy oḷa*, G, p 53, 11) etc [1])

In the combination of *-a—e-* the second vowel sometimes disappears. *afendım* (*a efendım*), *padišafendı* (*padiša[h] efendi*), *ta zelden* (*ta ezelden*, G, p 60, 18)

Reduction of Syllables.

§ 57 In words of three syllables, the central one, if it is open, is frequently reduced. This feature, also found in other Turkish languages, is much more common in all dialects than in the written language. It is connected with the accentuation of words of three syllables ⊥ – ⊥ or ⊥ – –, cf W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl. Grammatik der Turksprachen*, *S. B Pr Ak W.*, XXXVII. (1916), p. 920; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezyi ludów tureckich*, p. 70, note 1

Grammar.

§ 58 Declension.

Declension offers no peculiarities of a local nature.

The "confusion of the accusative with the dative" noted in various Ottoman speaking districts (Gadžanov, II. 4—5), e. g. *àtıma araɣırım* (for *atymy araɣorum*, Räs, p. 209, 2 from Ḳysarna, in the wilāyet of Trebizond), is, as explained in § 9, due to a phonetic peculiarity.

Similarly the identity of the locative with the dative ending, which is frequently met with, is to be explained by phonetic changes (assimilation, with later dropping of the gemination, cf. § 49 and § 53) *kʿoɣunuze u̯č kʿız var* "in your village there are three girls" (from *koɣunuzde* > *koɣunuzze*, Räs., p. 156, 3), *ɣedı ɣašuna ıtʿʿen* (*ɣašunda* > *ɣašunna* > *ɣašuna*, Räs., p. 149, 4), *ɣaɣlanun cımenına ben bır ıdum* "on the meadow of the alpine pasture I was alone" (< *cımenınne* < *cimeninde*, Ras., p. 107, 1 *sq*) etc

Nominative forms frequently met with in place of expected dative forms are probably to be explained as the result of contraction: *nere* (= *nereɣe*) *gittını bılememıš* "he could not ascertain where (the other) had gone" (*R. O.*, II 205, 4 *sq.* from Guneı̯), *nere čeksen ora gider* "whither (= *nereɣe*) thou dragest her, thither (= *oraɣa*) she will go" (G, p 66, 20), *ındum dere*, *ɣırmaya* "I went down to the valley (= *dereɣe*) to the river" (Räs, p 105, 1). The *ne* (< *neɣe*) "why", often found in dialects, is probably to be similarly explained.

The Pronoun.

§ 59 The personal pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person singular appears in the east of Anatolia in the forms *bene*, *sene*, agreeing with the other cases, for *baya* (or *bana*), *saya* (or *sana*) I have heard them from a Turk from Urfa The same forms are given by Balkanoglu (*K Sz*, III. 264) for the dialect of Kilis Rasanen notes them as heard from a woman from the wilāyet of Erzerum *sene* (Räs., p 16, 2, p 23, 3) We must regard these forms as the result of Ādharbāidjānī influence

Songs in Rasanen from Trebizond and neighbourhood show a dative in *ḇa̯a* (alongside of *bana*), *sa̯a ḇa̯a* (p. 176, 3), *ḇa̯a* (p 263, 2), *sa̯a* (p. 263, 4), alongside however, we have *ḇa̯ya* (p. 134, 1), *sa̯ya* (p 133, 3)

The demonstrative pronoun *bu* appears in N E. Anatolia strengthened by a prefixed *ha* (exclamative *a* with an aspirated anlaut) *habu* (in Rasänen, p. 159, 4, 215, 3, 250, 3, 256, 1). The same *ha* is added to the *bu* in *boɣle*, *burası*, *burada*. *haburadan* (Ras, p 180, 4; 191, 1, 192, 1, 199, 1; 257, 1), *haburası* (Ras, p 258, 1), *habuɣoɣle* (Räs, p 104, 1).

Similarly we find prefixed *ha* in the demonstrative *o*, dialectal *u* (cf. § 4) *ha̯u* (Räs., p. 240, 4).

Conjugation

Personal Endings.

§ 60 1st Pers sing.

In the dialects we find *-n* for *-m* at the end of forms in conjugation, as frequently in old Ottoman (Deny, § 551), cf. W. Bang, *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Turksprachen*, 1, *S B. Pr. Ak W*, XXII. (1916), p. 534, note 1.

Examples from Asia Minor: *ɣapaže̊ān* (*ɣapaže̊ayym*, G, p 17, 13), *ičeɣin* (*ičeɣim*, G, p. 88, 25), *oḷman* (*oḷmam*, G, p 89, 26), *ɣyḳaryn* (*ɣykarym*, G, p 79 19), *enmen* (*enmem*, *ibid*, p 351, 4 from below), *duraryn* (*durarym*, Zag., N°. 33, from Mumǧu in the district of Baḷykesir), *ɣapıɣon*, *geliɣon*, *gidiɣon* (*ɣapyɣorum* etc., Brus -A., p. 134), *gorman* (*görmem*, Thúry, *Kast*, p. 19).

So far as I know, a similar phenomenon is only found in Rumelian territory at Tozḷuḳ in N. E. Bulgaria· *bılmen*, *gitmen* (*bilmem*, *gitmem*, Gadžanov, I. 9), *gelıeryn*, *gelıoryn* (*ibid.*).

§ 61. 2nd Pers sing.

1) M. Koprulü-Zāde Fu'ād is wrong in thinking (*K.Cs.A.*, II. 37 on v. 54), that a contraction like *šad moḷursyn* < *šad-my oḷursyn* represents an archaic feature of the XIIIth century

By confusion of the forms of conjugation in *-ım*, *-sın*, ... *-ız* (*gelirim*, *gelırsın*, .. *gelırız*) with that in *-m*, *-y*, ... *-k* (*geldım*, *geldıy*, ... *geldık*, or *gelsem*, *gelsey*, ... *gelsek*) in the Asia Minor dialects we very often find the personal ending of the 2nd pers. sing. *-y*, where elsewhere we have *-sin*: *gidey*, *varıyı* (*gidersın*, *varyrsyn*, *K. Sz.*, i. 155, from North Syria), *gıdeɣıy* (= *gıdesın*, *ibid.*), *gelıɣoy* (*gelıɣorsun*, Brus.-A, p. 133, 19), *gelıy* (*gelırsın*, *ibid*, p. 133, 23), *oɣredıɣoy* (*oɣredıɣorsun*, Brus, p. 263, 9), *olmazy* (*olmazsyn*, G, p. 69, 12), *soleẑey* (*soiɫeɣeẑeksın*, G, p. 19, 16) etc.

In keeping with this we find: *sen .. sadrazamyn sēisımıy* (for *seisimisin*, G, p. 39, 26 *sq.*), *batyraẑakmyy* (*batyraẑakmysyn*, G, p. 18, 4) etc.

§ 62 1st Pers. plur.

As a result of a similar confusion of the two types of conjugation, the 1st pers. plur of the opt, pres, aor and fut in many, especially East Anatolian dialects, ends in *-k* (*-χ*). *gıdek* (*gıdelım* from the district of Sivas), *kaldyraχmy* (*kaldyraɫymmy* from Kaiseri), *gıdıɣok* (*gıdıɣoruz*, *K Sz*, i. 155 from North Syria), *doχuruχ* (*dokuruz* from Tatlyẑaḳ, S. from Sivas), *bılmek* (*bılmeɣız*, *ibid*), *duraẑauk* (*duraẑaɣyz*, Ras., p. 173, 2), *aɫmyšyk* (*aɫmyšyz* is given by Balkanoglu for Kilis in North Syria, *K. Sz.*, iii. 264) etc.

Outside of the conjugation tables we also find *-k* with the meaning "we are" (instead of the enclitic *-[ĺ]ız*): *bız amelek* "we are workmen" (I heard this in Amasia from labourers from Yozgad), *guzelık* "we are beautiful" (*K Sz*, iii 264 from Kilis).

This phenomenon is characteristic of the east of Asia Minor. While it is not found far east of Angora in northern Asia Minor, in southern Asia Minor it appears to extend much farther east. In the country east of Ḳyzyl-Yrmak, I heard almost exclusively the forms in *-k* (*bız bu sui ičemek*, *bis K'eskine gıderiχ* etc.).

§ 63. 2nd Pers plur

Everywhere that we find in the 2nd pers. sing. *-y* for *-sin*, we also have in the 2nd pers. plur. *-yız*, *-yyz* etc instead of *-sıyız*, *-syyyz* etc *gıdıɣoyuz* (*gidiɣorsuyuz*), *vereẑeyız* (*vereẑeksıyız*) etc.

§ 64. Verbal forms ending in *-r* (3rd pers sing. pres. and aor) lose this *r* in various dialects (cf. § 34). *'nišlıɣo* (*ne išleɣor*, *R. O.*, ii 204 from Guneı), *deɣo-kum* (*deɣorkım*, *ibid*, p 205, 20), *ɣudaɣu* (*ɣutyɣor*, Thúry, *Kast*, p 19), *k'emırı* (*kemıır*, *R. O*, i. 347, No. 15, 4), *ɣašary* (*ɣašaıyr*, G, p 70 from Bozgir) etc.

After final *r* of the form *der* (from *demek*) we sometimes find a vowel-like sound which is difficult to define, like *derʏ* (cf. *R O*, ii. 206, 15).

In some Rumelian dialects (notably in the dialect of Adakale) a final *r* of the aor. partic. almost regularly becomes *ɻ*. *ɣazaɻ* (*ɣazar*), *sačaɻler* (*sačarɫar*), *uldırıɻ* (*oldurur*) etc.

The Tenses.

§ 65. Present

Besides the forms in *-ɣor* we find in dialects those in *-ɣur*, *-ɣur*, *-ɣır* with many slight gradations in the quality of the vowel. The half consonantal *ɣ* may sometimes disappear so that the two vowels come together the vowel of the corresponding gerundive form and the vowel of the ending *-ur*, *-ur*, *-ir*. The final *r* also may disappear completely (cf § 64).

Forms with the vowel *u* and *ı* (*-ɣur*, *-ɣır*, *-ur*, *-ır*, or *-ɣu*, *-ɣı*) are found in the two most north-easterly corners of the Ottoman speaking area: on the one side in the northeast on the coast of the Black Sea, towards the Caucasus, on the other in the northwest, in the N. E. of Bulgaria, in the Dobrudja and Bessarabia.

Examples from the N.E.. *dᴷälilɣur* (*geliɣor*, Ras., p. 68, 1 from the wilāyet of Erzerum), *agaır* (*aḳyɣor*, Ras., p. 166, 1 from Trebizond), *eseɻi* (*esiɣor*, Räs, p. 175, 2, *ibid*), *saryɻı* (*saryɣor*, Räs, p. 194, 4 from the wilāyet of Trebizond), *ḏonanıɻı* (*donanyɣor*, Räs., p. 254, 2), *čaɫkanıe* (*čaɫkanyɣor*, Ras., p. 245, 2; with very broad and low final *ı*; cf. § 9), *atılmaɻe* (*atyɫmaɣor*, Ras, p. 219, 1) etc.

With Räsänen's statements, those of Kúnos for the district of Samsun–Trebizond agree: *ɣayaɻır* (*ɣayaɣor*, *ɣayyɣor*, Laz, p 278, 12 from below), *čyχyɫmaɻır* (*čykyɫmaɣor*, *ibid.*, l 11 from below), *geliɻır* (*geliɣor*, Laz, p 281, 4 from below)

I have noticed forms in *-ır* (*-ɻır*) even south of Sivas *čel'kır*, *tarty'ɫyır*, *sol'ruır*, *'durmyu*, *dül'šünmyir* etc., all from the village of Tatlyẑaḳ, between Sivas and Kaıa-dibi.

Forms in *-ɣu* [1]) were noted by Thúry in Ḳastamunian (p. 19) *bataɻu* (*batyɣor* < *bataɣor*, cf § 46), *ɣudaɻu* (*ɣutyɣor* < *ɣutaɣor*), *ẑyrmaɫaɻu* (*tyı malyɣor*) etc.

Forms ending in *-ɻur* are also characteristic of the dialect of the ottomanised Tatars of the Crimea *saryɻur* (Šatskaya, in *J. A.*, 1926, p. 352, 4), *parleɻur*, *baχyɻur* (*bakyɣor*), *ayleɻur* (*ibid.*, p. 364, 7—9).

The forms in *-ɻur* and *-ɻır* seem to cover an area which begins with the wilāyet of Ḳastamuni and stretches along the coast of the Black Sea far to the east and north I do not know a single case of such forms from the southern half of the peninsula

If we now turn to the western coast of the Black Sea we find very peculiar, complicated conditions which cannot yet be considered to have been quite cleared up.

Among the Bessarabian Gagauz, according to Moškov (Gagaus, xxviii/xxix.), two forms of present are used alongside of each other the one in *-yor*, the other in *-ēr* (cf *oɻnēr*, 2, 30, immediately following it *oɻnaɣor*, 2, 31) As forms like *bā'ryɣerym* (from the village of Etulia in the circle of Ismail) show, *-ēr* has arisen out of *-y-ɣer*.

Still more involved is the position in northern Bulgaria. The present forms there form one of the most important criteria for distinguishing the dialects of the different districts. According to Gadžanow, whose statements I can generally confirm, we have the following forms of the present in conjugation:

a. Vicinity of Šumen, village of Troica (Turkish Turuẑa), 1 5

geleerim, *geleēsın*, *geleeri*, *geleeriz*, *geleēsinyz*, *geleēl'ar* [2]).

b. Northern part of Gerlovo (1. 7):

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1) I cannot see why this present form should be entirely separated from that in *-ɣor* and "probably compared with the Čag. present in *-tur*" (M. Palló, *K. Cs A.*, 1. 86) On the contrary, I think it is hardly possible to seek two different starting-points for the forms in *-ɣor*, *-ɣur*, *-ɣo*, *ɣu*, *-ɻur*, *-ɻu*, *-ɻır*, *-ɻi*, *-ɻe*.

2) Gadžanow writes *geleēlyar*; by *y* he indicates that *l* is not *ł*.

gɛ'lɯrɯm, gɛ'lɯrsɔn, gɛ'lɯrɯ, gɛ'lɯrɯz, gɛ'lɯrsɯnɯz, gɛ'lɯller.

c. Southern part of Gerlovo (1. 8).

gɛ'lɯverɯm, gɛ'lɯversin, gɛ'lɯverɯr, gɛ'lɯveriz, gɛ'lɯversɯnɯz, gɛ'lɯverler, or in a heavy stem

ɣa'pɯvɯrɯm, ɣa'pɯvɯrsɯn, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯr, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯz, ɣa'pɯvɯrsɯnɯz ɣa'pɯvɯrlar.

d. Southwestern part of the district of Tozluḳ (1. 9).

gɛ'lɯrɯm, gɛ'lɯrsɯn, gɛ'lɯrɯ, gɛ'lɯrɯz, gɛ'lɯrsɯnɯz, gɛ'lɯllar.

e. N. E. part of the same area (1. 9)·

gɛ'lɯrɯm, gɛ'lɯrsun, gɛ'lɯrɯ, gɛ'lɯruz, gɛ'lɯrsunuz, gɛ'lɯrɯ

f. Central Deliorman between K'emanḷar and Songurḷar (1 12)

gɛ'leverɯm, gɛ'leverɯsɯm, gɛ'leverɯ, gɛ'leveriz, gɛ'leverɯrsɯnɯz, gɛ'leverɯrler, or in a heavy stem

ɣa'pɯvɯrɯm, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯrsɯn, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯ, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯz, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯrsɯnɯz, ɣa'pɯvɯrɯlar.

g. Vicinity of Dobrič in the Dobrudja (1 13)

geleem, geleesyn, gelee, geleez, geleesynyz, geleellar, also *ɣa'pɯɣem ɣa'pɯɣesɯn* [1]) etc.

h. Old Gagauzes in Kestrič, north of Varna (1 13)·

gɛ'lɯom, gɛ'lɯysun, gɛ'lɯy, gɛ'lɯyz, gɛ'lɯysɯnɯz, gɛ'lɯolar.

i Vicinity of Popovo (Turk.. Pop-k'o$_1$) (1 14)·

gɛ'lɯorum, gɛ'lɯosun, gɛ'lɯoru, gɛ'lɯoruz, gɛ'lɯosunuz, gɛ'lɯoḷar, or *ɣa'poǥrum, ɣa'poǥsun, ɣa'poǥru, ɣa'poǥruz, ɣa'poǥsunuz, ɣa'poǥlar.*

The forms above quoted from N E. Bulgaria and the Dobrudja are exceedingly important for the explanation of the present in *-ɣor* [2]) as they represent an older stage of development than that preserved in the written language The discussion of the question whether a form like *gɛ'liverɛm* is a combination with *ver-* or a phonetic development from *gɛ'lɯɣerɛm* must remain undecided

In the dialect of the island of Adakale the present has been completely ousted by an aorist form in *-ɨ. ɣapaɨ, gidɛɨ, gelɯɨ* (cf. § 64 and 66) But we also find forms in *-ɣɨr*, e. g *aγlaɣɨr* (*aγlaɣor, aγɭɣor*, Adak , p 264, 23).

Isolated forms in *-ɣur* are found in Macedonia· *dok'eɣur* (*W. Z. K. M*, xxxiii. 212, N^0. 59, 7).

The present in *-ɣor* agreeing with the written language covers the whole of Rumelia especially, it seems, Thrace with Constantinople and the western and southern parts of Asia Minor On Asia Minor territories *-ɣor* usually appears without final *-r* 'nišlɯɣo (*ne išleɣor, R. O*, ii 204 from Guneḷ), *k'e'semeɣo* (*ke'semeɣor, ibid*, p 205), 'deɣokum (*deɣorkɯm, ibid*, p. 205, 20), *ko'ɣuɣo* (*ko'ɣuɣor, ibid.*, p 205, 22), *gelɯɣo, gidɯɣo, dɯɣo* (M Hartmann, *K Sz*, 1 155 from North Syria, Hartmann's remark, as if the forms in question were the 2nd pers. sing, is based on an error). The same form is given by Balkanoglu (Neǰib Asım) for Behesni in the wilāyet of Kharput (*K. Sz*, iv. 125).

As to the conjugation of the present, two types can generally be distinguished, a fuller with the endings *-ɣorum, -ɣorsun, -ɣor, -ɣoruz, -ɣorsunuz, -ɣorḷar* and a shortened with the endings *-ɣom, -ɣoŋ, -ɣo, -ɣoz* or *-ɣoḳ* (*-ɣoχ*), *-ɣoŋuz, -ɣorḷar* (*-ɣoḷḷar, -ɣoḷḷa* etc.).

To the former type belong amongst others the conjugation of the present in N E Asia Minor: *d^{e}'idɛɣum* (Rás , p 100, 1), *seveɣrum* (*ibid.*, p. 161, 3), *čalaɨsun* (p. 247, 3), *aldaɨsun* (p. 222, 4), *čaγɨrɨɣɨler* (*čaγγɨrɨɣorḷar*, p. 260, 2), *deɣuller* (*deɣorḷar*, p. 258, 2) etc. N. E Bulgaria also follows this type.

The second type is given by M. Hartmann and Balkanoglu for Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia It is however also found in southern and western Asia Minor *ɣapɯɣon* (*ɣapɣorum*, Brus -A , p 134; cf § 60), *gelɯɣon* (*gelɯɣorum, ibid*), *gelɣoŋ* (*gelɯɣorsun*, Brus.-A , p 133, 8 from below), *ne ɣapɯɣoŋ* (*ne ɣapɣorsun, ibid.*, p. 134, 2) etc While however the 1st pers plur in the east ends in *-ɣoḳ, -ɣoχ* (*gidɯɣoḳ, K. Sz*, 1 155, *sevɣoχ, K Sz*, iv 125, cf § 62), in the west it ends in *-ɣoz* (*isteɣos* (*isteɣosuz*, G, p 19, 15)

Forms with the negation particle *ma, me* show no special features, only *a, e* usually become *ɣ, e*, *ɨ* under the influence of *ɨ* (cf § 46) Gagauz forms like *verɨlmēr* (Gagaus , p 2, 17), *dušunmērsɨn* (*ibid.*, p 5, 25) are present, not aorist forms

In Deliorman the 3rd pers sing. is positive *olγɣɨry*, but negative *oɭmɨɣɨr* (from the village of Yunus Abdaḷ north of Razgrad)

The Aorist.

· § 66. In the aorist participle the final *-r* frequently disappears (cf § 34 et 64) *k'emɨrɨ* (*kemɨrɨr, R. O*, 1 347, N^0. 15, 4), *gelɨ, seslenɨ, beslenɨ, uslanɨ* (all from Brus -A , p. 121), *vɨrɨ* (*verɨr*, Kast , p 19), *ɣašarɣ* (*ɣašaryr*, G, p 70 from Bozgüi) etc

This form which is also the 3rd pers sing , forms the starting point for a series of abbreviated forms. *dileɣ* (*dileɨsɨn*, G, p 32, 12), *duruɣ, ideɣ* (*durursun, edersɨn*, Kast , p 19), *nereden gelɨɣ* "whence comest thou?" (to be distinguished from *nerden gelɣoŋ*, Brus -A., p. 133, 12 from below), interrogative *aɭɣɣmɣ* (*aɭɣɨmɣsɨn*, G, p 29, 10).

In the 1st pers sing we often find final forms in *-n* (cf. § 60)· *ɣudarun* (*ɣutarɣm*), *aɭurun* (*aɭɣrɣm*), *ɣavlarurun* (*ɣaɭvarɣrɣm*, cf. § 50^b) — in Thúry, *Kast*, p 19, also in the negative form *goɨman* (*gormem*), *vaɨman* (*vaɨmam*), *ɣimen* (*ɣemem*) — all three in Thúry, *Kast*, p 19, *oɭman* (*oɭmam*, G, p 89, 26), *bilmen, gitmen* (Gadžanov, 1. 9 from Tozluk in N E -Bulgaria) etc

There are also shortened negative forms *olmaɣ* (*oɭmazsɨn*, G, p 69, 12), *virmeɣ, gorḳmaɣ* (*vermezsɨn, koɨkmazsɨn*, Thúry, *Kast*, p 19).

In the 1st pers sing. in dialects we also find a full form with the *-mez* retained. *gɛ̀mezem* (*gɛčmem*, G, p. 65) — in agreement with old Ottoman , cf Deny, § 631, note.

The 1st pers. plur in N. E. Asia Minor has the ending *-k* for *-z*, both in the positive and the negative forms (cf. § 62). *edeɨuχ* (*ederiz*, Laz., p 278, 9), *derɨk* (almost *dɨrɨk* = *derɨz*, Tatḷyšaḳ, S from Sivas), *doχuruχ, sataryχ* (*dokuruz, sataryz, ibid*), *biz bilmek* "we do not know" (*ibid.*).

It has already (§ 64) been pointed out that in the dialect of Adakale *ɨ* appears for *r* as the final of the aor. partic. *gelɨɨm* (p. 8, 31), *gɔrɨɨsɨn*

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1) Unfortunately Gadžanow gives no further forms

2) On the origin of the present in *-ɣor* cf Th E. Korš, *Proiskhoždenije formy nastojaščago vremeni v zapadno-tureckich jazykach*, in *Drevnosti Vostočnyja*, iii (Moscow 1907), 1—22, K Foy, *M S O S*, vi 159—61; W. Bang, *Monographien zur türk. Sprachgeschichte, S. B. Ak. Heid.*, Year 1918, Abh. 12, M. Palló, *K Cs. A*, 1 85—6 (review of W. Bang's work); Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, § 613; H. W. Duda, *Die Sprache der Qyrq Vezir-Erzahlungen*, Leipzig 1930, 1. 89 *sqq.*

(p. 8, 14), *araḫsyn* (p. 5, 30), *oturṷḫ* (p. 5, 2, 6, 3, 4), *čykaḫ* (p. 5, 28, 6, 6), *haḫkyrṷḫ* (p. 8, 9), *toplaḫ* (p. 8, 13), *ḳurtulṷḫsynuz* (p. 167, 26), *gideḫler* (p. 6, 5), *čalyšyḫler* (p. 5, 3) etc Forms in *-ḫ* and *-r* are used promiscuously. *o gižе orda ḫatṷḫ* (p. 173, 19) and immediately following it: *o geže orda ḫatyr* (p. 174, 8), or *fil kadar olṷḫ* (p. 174, 4) and immediately following it *fil ḳadar oḫur* (p. 174, 14) etc. The differentiation of the vowels before *-ḫ* *gideḫ* but *gelṷḫ*, *ḫapaḫ* but *aḫyḫ* or *alṷḫ* indicates with certainty that *gideḫ* goes back to *gider*, *gelṷḫ* to *gelir*, so that the forms are really aorist forms, as Foy supposed, *M S O.S.*, vi. 161 (cf. § 64, note 1).

In the dialect of Urfa I have noticed in the 1st pers sing. of the negative form the ending *-menem* (as in Ādharī) instead of the literary *-mem*: *soḫlemenem* (*soḫlemem*), *ellemenem* (*ellemem*) etc.

The Future.

§ 67. We usually find contracted forms which may be regarded as coming from the 1st pers. sing. (*bakažam* < *bakažayym*) or from the 1st pers. pl. (*bakažaz* < *bakažayyz*).

The 1st pers. sing frequently ends in *-n* (cf § 60) *ḫazylžan* (*ḫazylažayym*, *R. O.*, 1. 349), *ḫapažān* (*ḫapažayym*, G, p. 17, 13) etc

On the analogy of the former, the 2nd pers. sing. ends in *-žaŋ* or *-žan* *soležeŋ* (*soḫleḫeželeksin*, G, p 19, 16), *uvežen* (*uṷuḫažaḳsyn*, G, p 22, 7) etc Interrogative, or *geležen-mi* (*geležekmısın*, *O. T*, 1 66, 2), *ıstemeḫžan-mi* (*ıstemeḫeželeksinsin*, Gagaus., p. 1 pu) or *batyražakmyŋ* (*batyražaḳmysyn*, G, p. 18, 4, cf. § 61).

The 1st pers pl ends in the east in *-k*, *ḳ* (*-χ*), in the west in *-z* (*-s*). *gideželik* (*gideželiz*, *Turk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23a 9, from the Avšares of the Taurus territory), *duražauk* (*duražayyz*, Räs, p. 173, 2), *aḫrılažauk* (*aḫryḫažayyz*, Ras, p 173, 4), *gedižes* (*gideželiz*, G, p 18, 21) etc.

The 2nd pers plur. on the analogy of the sing *vereženiz* (*vereželeksiniz*, *O T*, 1. 250, 28) etc.

The Optative

§ 68 The 1st pers. sg. of the optative often shows, as in old Ottoman, the personal ending *-m* added directly to the optative stem in *-a*, *-e* *binem* (*bineḫm*, G, p 60, 4), *salam* (*salaḫym*, G, p. 60, 5) etc.; cf. Deny, § 645. Similarly after verbal stems ending in vowels. *avlaḫam* (*avlaḫaḫym*, G, p 60, 5).

The 1st pers. pl. ends in the east in *-k*, *-ḳ* (*-χ*). It usually represents the 1st pers plur of the imper in *-lim*, *-lym*: *gidek* (=*gidelim* from Tatlyžak, South of Sivas), *bilek* (= *bilelim*, *Turk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 24a, 14 from the Taurus territory); *ḳopaḳ* (*ḳopaḫlym*, *ibid.*, p. 24b, 3 from below), *ḳaḫdyraχmy* (*ḳaḫdyraḫymmy*, Ḳayserı), *gidek*, *bakaḳ* (perhaps *baχaχ*, from North Syria; cf. *K. Sz.*, 1. 155) etc.

The Imperative.

§ 69. 1st pers. pl : *ḫataḫuχ* (*ḫataḫym*, Laz., p. 283, 4), but *gideḫilum* (*gidelim*, Ras., p. 172, 1).

In the 2nd pers. pl. of stems ending in vowels or in negative forms we frequently find the ending *ŋ* added directly. *doḫaŋ* (*doḫaḫyŋ*, G, p. 86, 6), *diŋ* (*deḫiŋ*, G, p. 80, 12), *soleŋ* (*soḫleḫiŋ*, G, p. 91, 22), *uyramaŋ* (*oyramaḫyŋ*, G, p. 53, 8), *ayḫašmaŋ* (*ayḫašmaḫyŋ*, G, p. 89, 10) etc., cf. Deny, § 608.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 70. Verbal noun in *-asy* etc. [Bibliography: W. Bang, *Studien zur vergl Grammatik der Turksprachen*, article 1: Über die osmanische Fluchform *odžayı yanası* und ihre Verwandten (*S B.Pr. Ak. W*, xxii. [1916], 522—535); Bohtlingk, *Jakutische Grammatik*, p. 308 *sq.*; Thúry, *Kast.*, p. 21, Brockelmann, *Qiṣṣa-i-Yūsuf*, § 65; do., *Z. D M. G.*, lxx., 212; do, *K. Cs. A.*, 1. 31 (from Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī); Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, § 793—98].

This verbal noun, which only survives in the modern literary language in a few formal expressions, is still quite vigorous in the dialects, particularly in Anatolia. We find it in the following cases:

a. in many curse-formulae: *ah ḳuruḫasy bašymyz* (*O. T.*, 1. 256, 10), *haḫ gozu čykasy heriḫ haḫ* (*ibid.*, 11. 19 *sq*), *batasy* (=*ḫere batasy*, *ibid*, 11 306, 5 from below), *ḫykylup viran ḳalasy* (*ibib.*, 11. 312, 9), *ekmeḫi taṷšan kendisi tazy oḫasyχa* (*Ḳonya vilaḫeti ḫalkyḫat ve harsyḫaty*, p 322, N0. 6, where many other examples are given).

b in combination with *-dek* or *-žek* *gidesiḫežek* (*O T*, 1. 15, 17; 18, 24), otherwise cf. Bang, *op. cit*

c. in various formulae *čyḫdyrasyḫa sevinup* (*O T.*, 11. 2, 31), cf Bang, *op cit.*

d used as an adjective: *Šar-kyšlaḫa bir saat kalasy ḫerde koḫ var* (by a shepherd of Ḳaḫadıbı, South of Sivas).

e. predicative, used like a participle. *oγluŋ oleseželemidir?* (in *Turk Yurdu*, May 1928, p. 23a, 22).

f. as a substantive only in the phrase *veresiḫe* (as in the written language). *veresiḫe bir testi daha aḫarak* (*O. T*, 11. 47, 17), *veresiḫe šarab ičtim* (*O. T.*, 11. 316, 4 from below).

g. very common in combination with *gelmek*, as in the following quatrain from Guneḫ

čaḫa varasym geldı,
čadyr gurasym geldı;
ḫaiym žamdan gorunža,
žamu gyrasym geldı.

§ 71. Gerundives in *-inže*, *-ynža* etc. appear in the dialects with final *-k*, *-z* (*-s*) or *-n* (cf. Deny, § 1392) Examples for *-inžek* *gormeḫinžek*, *ermeḫinžek* (*O T*, 11. 194, N0. 76), *vaiynžaḳ*, *doḫunžaḳ* (*ibid*, p. 260, N0. 10), *bakynžaḳ*, *ḫatynžaḳ* (*ibid*, p. 325, N0. 100), *dušunžek* (G, p. 80, 13); cf. Deny, § 1392, p. 998.

Forms in *-inžez* (*-inžes*) so far had only been found in Macedonia (*W Z. K M.*, xxxiii. 174 and 220), in the region of Ḳonya (Giese), in Maraš (Deny), Trebizond (Pisaref) and among the Turkish speaking Armenians (Deny). To the examples given by Deny (p. 999) I may add.

gene aχšam oḫunžas,
ḳatḫanamam gelinžes.
ne istersen aḫaḫym,
senin goḫluŋ oḫunžas

from Guneḫ, east of Smyrna

Forms in *-inžen* (for explanation cf. § 10) I know only from the texts by Giese: *yapynžan yaryıḫı gečirim daša* (G, p. 55, 1), *beslenimžen arab atlar etlenir* (G, p. 59, 30) etc.

The Verbal Noun in -dik.

§ 72. By the combination of a verbal noun in *-dik* with a pronominal suffix and the postposition

le (in dialects *ınen*, *ynan*, cf § 80) there arises a form with a temporal significance, which is very frequent, especially on Rumelian territory, among the Bessarabian Gagauz, in the dialect of Adakale and in N E Bulgaria. Examples: *tā dama ɣaḳ-ɣaš'tyɣnan bēgır kišnemiš* "when he approached the stall, the horse neighed" (*ɣaḳɣaš'tyɣnan* < *ɣaḳɣaštyɣyy-ıle*, Gagaus., p 126, 3), *sabā oɫdınen* (*oɫduyu-ıle*) "when it became morning" (Adak , p. 2, 36), *suɣa var'dyna* (*' vardyyyy-ıle*), *su bula'nyk-ıse 'gečme*; *'sora kuve var'dyɣna* (*' vardyyyy-ıle*) *ḳaryny bobana ɣoɫ'ɣama* "when you come to water and it is turbid do not cross it, also when you come to the village do not send your wife to your father" (from a folk-tale recorded by me in the village of Duštubaḳ in Deliorman) etc.

§ 73 Instead of the usual construction with *-dıkden sonra* we very often find in dialects *-dıkden gerı*. *eždikdengerı*, *dušdukdengerı*, *aždyḳdangerı* (G, p. 52, 8, 9, 10), *oɫdukdankerı* (G, p 59, 21), *soɫdukdankerı* (G, p. 59, 23), *guldukdenkerı* (G, p 59, 27) etc

The significance of this construction is partly temporal "after", partly causal "since however", cf Deny, p 1035 *sq*

§ 74 Probably by contamination from *-dıkče* and *-dıkte* (or *-dıkten*) arise forms in *-dıkčen*, which are found among the Bessarabian Gagauz as well as in Deliorman. *dakıɣe tuttukčan sōra eve ge'tırıs* "after we have prepared (the boys) for the *daky* ceremony, we bring them (the boys) into a house" (from an account of the ceremonies of circumcision taken down by me in Ḱemanlar, Deliorman), *tā ɣota* (cf § 24) *gittıkčan ɣep kyı myzy adamlar* "even when one crosses, one finds nothing but red men". (Gagaus , p 10, 1) etc

§ 75 In the construction in *-dıkče* in Macedonia, I also found a final *-s* (*-s*) *ušudukčes ček ustume ɣorgant* "when I freeze, draw the blankets over me" (*W. Z K. M*, xxxiii , p 184, 4), *susadıkčes ver agzıma dılnı* "when I thirst, put thy tongue in my mouth" (*ibıd*, l. 6)

Iken etc.

§ 76 We find many dialectal peculiarities in the forms composed with *ıken*·

a -ken (from *ıken*) follows the rules of vowel harmony and after heavy stems becomes *-ḳan*, in the eastern dialects *-χan* (§ 37) Both *-ken* and *-kan* combine with exclamative *-ē*, *-ā* to *-kene*, *-ḳana* Examples *čyχarχan* (*čykarken*, Brus -A , p 122, 4 from below), *bošanyrkana*, *ušenırkene*, *γušanyı kana* (G, p 51, 5, 6, 7), cf. Deny, p. 949, footnote 1.

On the other hand, we find in the dialect of Bessarabian Gagauz *-ḳan* even after light stems *gıderkan* (Gagaus , p 1, 2; 165, 13);

b. -ken, *-kan* frequently appears without final *-n* as *-ke*, *-ḳa*· *gelırke* (G, p. 80, 4 from below), *ḳyz yḳa* (*ḳyz ıken*, G, p. 65, 13), *eldžıke* (*elde ıken*, G, p. 72, 3), *otururk'e* (*W. Z. K. M.*, xxxiii , p. 216, 16 from Radoviš in Macedonia)

§ 77. When the subject of the form in *-maḳta ıken* is a plural, in the dialects (as frequently also in the written language, see Deny, § 1358, p. 954) the plural termination *-ɫar* is added to the locative ending *-da*. *gezınup oturmaḳtaɫar-ken gorurler-kı* (*O. T.*, ii. 29, 10), *uzatmaḳtaɫar-ken* (*O. T.*, ii. 51, 18), *doɫašmaḳtaɫar-ken* (*O T* , ii. 48, 22) etc.

Note: The addition of the plural ending *-ɫ* to the locative ending is also noted elsewher *gozetmekdeler idi* (for *gozetmekdeidıler*, G, p. 3 28) *Otur-madaɫarken* (*O.T.*, ii. 23, 1) is an isolat form; cf *K. Cs. A.*, i. 321.

On the use of the Participle in -an, -en etc.

§ 78 In the northeast as well as in the nor west of the Ottoman speaking territory we find cc structions with the participle in *-an*, *-en* (or *-ɣ -ɣen*) instead of with the verbal noun in *-dık* the gerundive in *-mǯe* etc. (influence of Ādharī *ɣelken doɫana kadar* "until the sail fills" (Rā N⁰ 197, 2), *koǯan d'elene ḳadar* "till thy husbar comes" (*ibıd*, v 4), *her senı gorende* "every tin I see thee" (Ras , N⁰ 266, 3), *ulup gıdene ḳad rahatɫykle ɣašarler* "they live in comfort till the death" (Adak., p 172, 3), *goz ačyp ḳapaɣana ḳad* "in a moment" (Adak., p 206, 18 *sq*)

Vermek as an auxiliary Verb.

§ 79 Accelerative forms combined with *verm* are used much more frequently in many dialec than in the written language. Their original sign ficance seems to have become much weakene According to Gadžanov, there are in Bulgar (Deliorman, Gerlovo) dialects which only ha present forms combined with *ver-*; but it wou have to be considered whether in the forms quote by him the element *-ver-* is not perhaps, at lea occasionally, a phonetic development from *-ɣer-* (c § 65) The people of South Gerlovo, who spea in this way are called by their neighbours *gelıver* (Gadžanov, ii. 6)

In Anatolia I heard this name given to tl people of Konya among whom the acceleratı forms in *ver-* are continually used, *ver-* appea in the dialects also in negative verbal stem *gelmeɣı-vē* (*gelmeɣı ver*, cf. § 34, Brus -A , p. 14 10), *gelmeɣıvırdı* (G, p 69, 4). Cf Deny, § 824.

The Postpositions.

§ 80. *ıle*. *-ıle* is found in the dialects in mar forms *ıle*, *-le*, *-ıɫen*, *-len*, *-ınen*, *-nen*, after hea stems also harmonised. *-yɫa*, *-la*, *-yɫan*, *-ɫan*, *-yna -nan*. *ɣazylan guzun* "in summer and in autumı (G, p 79, 3 from below), *goz ɣašynan* "with tear (G, p 59, 8), *unınen šanynan* "with glory ar prestige" (G, p. 54 ult.), *aɣnan ɣyɫdyz* "moc and stars" (G, p. 52, 5), *dašynan* (*taš ıle*, Brus.-A p. 130, 16), *ɣaɣlan* (Ras., N⁰. 181, 2), *ɣarımn (ɣarym-ıle*, Ras , N⁰. 3, 4) etc., cf Deny, § 87 note 2 and p 924, middle

§ 81. *syra*. Much more frequently than in tl written language (cf. Deny, § 902) *syra* is used i the dialects as a postposition Examples: *arχa syra* "close behind me" (Brus.-A , p. 127, 7, 14 ult), *aǯderhānyn ardy syra gıdelım* "let us g after the dragon" (Adak., p. 18, 26), *arḳasy syı* "close behind her" (*O. T*, i 116, 15, 147, 15), *ɣar syra alup gideı* "takes him with him and go away" (*O T* , i 127, 32), *ardy onu syra doɫaš* "he encircles him in front and behind" (*O. T.*, 243, 18 *sq.*) etc

§ 82. *ɣadar*. *ɣadar* appears in different forı in the dialects·

a *gada* (with voiced initial, § 29c, and loss of t final *-r*, § 34) is noted by Thury in Ḳasṭamunis (p 52, alongside of *gadar*, cf. also p. 18).

b. *gadan* (with nasalisation of the final, cf. § 1

given by Kúnos for Brusa: *ɣassyɣa gadan* (Brus., p. 268, 1), *ne gadan gačsa* "however much he flies away" (*ibid.*, p. 271 v. 8 from below).

c. *yadaḳ* (probably assimilation to the postposition *dek* "up to", cf. § 83) in Giese. *o zamana yadaḳ* (G, p. 37, 16)

d *ḳa*, added enclitically, is found on Rumelian territory. *dɪ'zeḳa* "knee-high", *bɪ'zeḳa* "up to us", *saba'ɣaḳa* (*sabaɣa-ḳadar*) "till morning" (all from Macedonia, *W Z K M*, xxviii 178 and 221), *her naḳa* (*her ne ḳadar*, Adak., p 18, 21) etc., cf. Deny, p 1133 on § 904.

§ 83. *-dek -dek* (cf Deny, § 904) also appears in dialects harmonised as *-daḳ auša'madaḳ* "till evening" (Gagaus., p. 3, 29) Alongside of *-dek* we also have *-den, -dan* (different from the ablative ending!) *šɪndɪ'ɣadan* "until now" (Gagaus., p 110, 15) According to Deny, p. 613, middle, this form is also used in the dialect of Selanik

§ 84 *gɪbɪ*. We find the following forms in dialects.

a. *gɪbɪn*: Ras, N°. 179, 2, 4.

b. *gɪmɪ*: *geždɪ ɣel gɪmɪ* "is whirled past like the wind" (G, p. 56, 20), *pevɪ anaḳar gɪmɪ* "like butterflies" (G, p 12, 5)

c *kɪmɪ* (Ādharbāidjānī form) is according to Deny, p 1131 also found in the dialect of Maraš

d. *kɪmɪn· guš kɪmɪn učtum* "I flew thither like a bird" (Brus.-A., p. 146, N°. 28, 3), *Lokman hekɪm kɪmɪn* "like the wise Lokman" (*ibid.*, N° 35, v 5)

The Adverbs.

§ 85 *gerɪ gerɪ* sometimes appears intensified by reduplication *gerɪsɪ gerɪne donup* "returned" (*O. T.*, 1 47, 33), *kɪzɪ gerɪsɪ gerɪje evɪne gonderɪrler* "they send the girl back home" (*O T*, 1. 137, 12), *getdɪ gersɪngerɪ* "he went back" (G, p. 18, 11), *kolerɪne gɪrsɪngerɪ yačaḷar* "they flee back to their villages" (G, p. 22, 18)

§ 86. *kaḷan*. In Anatolian dialects the participle *kaḷan* is found as an adverb in the meaning of *artyḳ, gaɣry*. *Mysɪra sultan ɪtseler ɪstemen yalan* "if ever they wished to make (me) sultan of Egypt, I would not have it" (G, p 59, 26, cf. 72, 15), *ḳač gaḷan kač* "fly, fly" (*Nyelvtud Kozl*, xxii, 1891, p 289)

§ 87. Adverbs in *-ǯene, -čene* In the dialects we find the adverbial ending *-ǯene, -čene*; I know it from Ḳastamuni and the northern part of Rumelia *čokčene* "in a mass", *ɣapčene* "softly", *pekčene* "strongly", *usulǯene* "moderately" — all in Thúry, *Kast*, p. 18; *boɣleǯene* "so" (Adak, p 1, 6, 34, 13, 141, 9 etc.), *oɣleǯene* "so" (Adak, p. 2, 4 etc)

§ 88. *amač* etc. Instead of *ḳaršy* "opposite" in many parts of Anatolia we have *amač, ɣamač* etc. M Hartmann for example (*K Sz*, p. 156) gives for 'Anteb (Aintab): *ɣāmačymyzda* "opposite us", *ɣamač* is noted by Balkanoglu (Neǯib Asim) from Kilis meaning "vis-à-vis" (*K. Sz*, iii 269). *Annaǯ* found in the Taurus is probably a corruption of *amač* (< Pers. *āmāǯ*) *annaǯymyz kara ḳaḳa* "opposite us is a black rock" (*Turk Yurdu*, May 4, 1928, p. 22b), as is *arnaś* which I know from the wilāyet of Bolu *arnašta guzu gordum* "opposite I saw a lamb" (in a song from Čaršembe in the south of Bolu), *arnašta gordum seni* "opposite I saw thee" (from the same district) etc.

Bibliography: given in the article. A number of notes and examples for which no reference is given are from the author's unpublished materials They were collected by him in his dialectological studies among Turkish soldiers in 1917—1918 and during his dialectological journeys in Asia Minor (1923 and 1927) and in N. E. Bulgaria (in 1929).

(T. Kowalski)

III. Ottoman Turkish Literature.

The literature to which the name of Ottoman is now generally given is really the literature of the Oghuz Turks, who settled in Asia Minor in the Saldjūḳ period and later in the time of the Ottomans in Rūm-ili, where they founded a powerful empire. This literature, which has had an uninterrupted development from the time of the Saldjūḳs down to the present day, is based on the literatures of still older dialects and has remained in touch with these in all periods of its evolution. Especially since the xvith century, it has become the most important and richest branch of all the Turkish literatures and has exercised an influence on the literature of the other dialects Here we shall only sketch the general evolution of this literature, noting its main genres and principal personalities We shall deal not only with the classical literature which was confined to the upper classes, but also — in their general features — with the literature of the masses, that of the poet musicians (*sāz šāʿirleri*) and the literature of the various mystic groups We have felt the necessity of dwelling more fully on points which have hitherto not been satisfactorily studied or which are not yet well known in the learned world, while, as regards better known aspects, we have not gone into details, confining ourselves to a synthetic exposition For example the xiiith and xivth centuries — the least known period of this literature — have been treated more fully in proportion to other centuries This is necessary in order to be able to elucidate more fully unknown points and must not be considered disproportionate in in this succinct résumé

We divide Ottoman literature into three great periods, corresponding to the general development of the history of Turkey

a. Muslim literature from the xiiith century to the middle of the xixth, i. e. to the period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q v]

b. The "European" literature from the period of the *Tanzīmāt* to the development of the nationalist movement

c. National literature, arising out of the development of the nationalist movement.

We shall examine these three periods in chronological order, in order to avoid arbitrary distinctions.

a. Muslim Turkish Literature.

xiiith Century.

After the Saldjūḳ occupation in the xith century, Anatolia had been gradually turkicised and converted to Islām. In the xiiith century however, Greeks and Armenians still formed a considerable proportion in the towns and villages of Asia Minor (Pauthier, *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, Paris 1865, p 33—39) Among the Turks who settled in Asia Minor some belonged to one and others to other branches of the Turkish people But as the Oghuz formed the majority, it was the Oghuz dialect

that formed the foundation of the literary dialect that took shape in Asia Minor. The Oghuz dialect, which had separated from the other Turkish dialects well before the tenth century, had already a rich popular literature; we know of the existence of Oghuz poems in the Ghaznawid period (Koprülu Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Ghaznawī Devrinde Turk Shi'ri, Edebiyāt Fakultasi Medjmū'asi*, vol VII, No. 2, p. 81—83)

The Oghuz who settled in Asia Minor had brought with them all these literary traditions. But in addition the literary products of other dialects also found their way in for different reasons (cf on this Koprülu Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Turk Edebiyatında ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Constantinople 1919).

As a result of all these influences there gradually grew up in Asia Minor alongside of the popular literature, a written literature in Turkish, we do not know positively if this written literature had already begun before the XIIIth century or not We do know that from the time of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor in the XIIth century, Islāmic culture had established itself in the large towns. Then, after the Saldjūks had exterminated the Dānishmandids and disposed of the Crusaders, learning and literature attained a considerable development in Asia Minor The products of this movement were written partly in Arabic, but mainly in Persian. We cannot therefore doubt that Anatolian Turkish had a long struggle with Arabic and Persian in order to become a literary language We see clearly the predominance of Arabic, the language of religion and that used for teaching in the medreses, it was the official language for the correspondence of the sultāns with the 'Abbāsid caliphs, the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks and that used in the inscriptions and *wakf* deeds of this century and also of the following centuries The influence of Persian was still greater We know that in the entourage of the sultāns and of various scholars and princes, Persian was used and Persian poetry was constantly read. In the same way we find in some *wakf* deeds of the Mongol period — although very rarely — phrases in Mongol, but written in the Uighur character Nevertheless the predominant language in official transactions and state documents was Arabic

The use of Turkish was probably confined to dealings with the people In 676 (1277) when the Karaman Oghlu Mehmed Bey had occupied Konya, he ordered that only Turkish should be used in the business of the chancellery, according to one tradition, he had a number of the old scribes put to death (cf. Saiyid Lukmān, *Idjmāl-i Aḥwāl-i Āl-i Salčūk*; J J. W Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro turcico qui Oghuznamе inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854, p 13) According to Ibn Bībī, the use of any language other than Turkish was forbidden not only in the business of the chancellery but also in private life (*Salčūk-nāme*, Aya Sofia MS No. 2895). The importance given to Turkish during this brief reign does not of course prove that Turkish had already gained a predominance over the other languages If we bear in mind that Turkish has come into general use in the religious tribunals of Asia Minor only since the XVIth century, and that at Baghdād Persian was still employed in the registers of the chancellery in the XVIIth century, we can better understand this. It is however certain that Turkish began to gain in importance in state business from the end of the XIIIth century (cf. *T. O E. M.*, No. 17—94, 1926) In this century the *siyāḳat* hand was used in the Saldjūḳ chancellery and there was also a system of writing peculiar to the chancelleries. In documents written in Turkish on the other hand, vowels were never indicated by letters in the Arabic fashion, but only the vowel signs were used. This shows perhaps that among the Turks of Anatolia, the tradition of the old Uighur script had been quite forgotten.

It is as a result of all these conditions that we find Turkish literary works appearing in the course of the XIIIth century A very small portion only of them has come down to us Works which we no longer possess but of which we know of the existence from historical references are. the story of *Shaikh San'ān* in verse by an unknown author; the *Salsāl-nāme* in verse and prose by a poet called Shaiyād 'Isā, in which are described the combats of 'Alī with a demon called Salsāl; the *Dānishmend-nāme* composed in 643 (1245) by Ibn 'Alā, secretary of the Saldjūḳ Sultān, by order of the prince Malik 'Izz al-Dīn Kaika'ūs b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn It is probable that the stories of Saiyid Battāl, the existence of which is known in Egypt as early as the XIIth century, were translated into Turkish in the XIIIth century The *Battāl-nāme* and the *Dānishmend-nāme*, a work which grew up around the personality of Malik Dānishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, a hero who came to Asia Minor in the period of the first Saldjūḳ occupation and founded the Dānishmandid dynasty, is a product of the struggle between Muslims and Byzantines in Asia Minor

The political and economic situation of Anatolia in the XIIIth century and particularly the material and moral crisis caused by the first Mongol invasions encouraged the expansion of mysticism in these regions The Yesewī and Haidarī dervishes, coming from the east, brought to Asia Minor the mystic poems in Turkish of Ahmad Yesewī and his disciples The Turkish mystics also, under the influence of Arabic and Persian mysticism, were forced to have recourse to Turkish as the language of the people in order to gather round them as many followers as possible. It was for this reason that Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī wrote a few Turkish verses, although very few, and that Sultān Weled produced a certain number of Turkish poems These were until recently the only products of Saldjūḳ literature known We may also mention Aḥmad Fakīh of Konya who lived at the beginning of this century and wrote a fairly long mystic *mathnawī*, which we still possess (cf Koprulu Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit*, *Koroši Csoma Archiv.*, II), and a little later Shaiyād Hamza [q. v], whom we may regard as a disciple of Ahmad Fakīh. These poets composed their works in the *'arūd* metre and in imitation of the Persian mystics. But the mystic movement in Asia Minor was not confined to producing works of no originality It also created a new kind of poetry, which was purely Turkish and original, in the language of the people, in syllabic metre and in forms suitable for a popular literature Yesewī and his pupils had a great influence on the genesis of this last poetry.

Yūnus Emre was the greatest representative of this genre; he was still alive at the beginning of the XIVth century. His art is essentially one of the people, i. e. it is Turkish. A Neo-Platonic

Muslim element can be distinguished in it, which does not differ at all from the mystic philosophy of, for example, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and a popular element which determines its language, style, form and rhythmic metre It was through the mystical verses of Yūnus that there developed a tradition of writing poems in the language of the people and in the popular syllabic metre, which did not lose its power even in the periods when Persian influence was at its height. The mystics of the different orthodox and heterodox sects which arose in Asia Minor in the following centuries wrote popular poetry in the style of Yūnus in order to exert an influence on the masses Among the latter special mention may be made of the Bektāshī, Ḥurūfī and Kïzïlbash poets who imitated Yūnus with great success

In the xiii^th^ century we find a profane poetry beginning in Anatolia under the influence of Persian literature. It was encouraged by the luxurious life and freedom in the fullest sense of the word that prevailed among the upper classes. This movement became still stronger under the Mongols. It produced in the palaces of the Saldjūḳs a kind of profane poetry quite free from ascetic and didactic tendencies and inspired by Persian literature. The first representative of this school, the aims of which were purely artistic, is the poet Khwādja Dahhānī. It is very probable that this branch of literature, which was practised among the eastern Turks as early as the xiii^th^ century, had had representatives before him in Anatolia, for his poems were written in quite a perfected style and attained a high degree of perfection from the technical point of view. It is therefore a mistake for Turkish and European writers on the history of Ottoman literature to trace the development of Turkish profane poetry to the time of Bāyazīd Yïldïrïm at the earliest. Dahhānī, also wrote, by command of his sovereign, in the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn III a *Shāhnāma* of the Saldjūḳs, in Persian; he was a Turkoman of Khurāsān. From the dialectal point of view, his language shows all the peculiarities of the Oghuz dialect of Anatolia. A comparison between the works of Dahhānī and, for example, the Turkish works of his contemporary Sultān Weled, enables us to see with what success he could use the *ʿarūd* metre But nowhere in his works do we find any trace of mystic influence (cf. on Dahhānī my articles in *Hayāt*, N^o^. 1 and 103).

It was natural that there should exist in this period in Anatolia among the masses and the nomadic tribes — just as was the case in the preceding centuries — a popular literature and that there should be bards of the people, whom the old Oghuz called *ozan* The latter, *čogur* in hand, went round the assemblies of the people, the nomads and the villages. They were also to be found in the armies of the Saldjūḳs. They recited and sang parts of the old Oghuz epics, like the stories of Dede Ḳorḳud. These products of the popular literature were as a rule recited in the popular rhythm and in traditional forms going back to an ancient past Sometimes the names of these forms show an ethnic origin like *turku* [q. v.], *turkmani*, *warsaghi*; others, like *ḳoshma*, *deyish*, *ḳaya bashï*, reveal their popular character by their name or show that they were always accompanied by a melody. These popular poets usually employed the old Turkish musical instrument called *ḳobuz*.

xiv^th^ Century.

We find the literary development begun in the xiii^th^ century following the same lines in the xiv^th^ century In spite of the political division of Asia Minor, the spread of Muslim and Turkish culture continued at the expense of the Armenians and Greeks. The principality of the Ottomans founded at the western end of Anatolia reached the shores of the Sea of Marmara; towards the end of the century, it entirely subjugated a great part of Anatolia and reestablished the unity of the Turks once again; by its victories over Byzantium, the Serbs, the Bulgars and finally over the united forces of Europe at Nicopolis, it gave rise to a great and powerful empire.

A certain number of beys in Asia Minor had neither Persian or Arab culture, and this was the reason why the language of the people became important, why books were written in Turkish and also why a number of works were translated from Arabic and Persian into Turkish. Ibn Battūṭa gives some interesting notes on the importance of Turkish at the courts of the Turkoman beys and on poets writing in Turkish.

We know that books were written in Turkish in the xiv^th^ century at several centres like Konya, Niġde, Ladïk, Ḳastamuni, Sinub, Siwas, Ḳïr Shehri, Bursa and Iznïḳ. Many of the works of this period have been lost. On the other hand, the compilers of biographies of poets (*tezkere-i shuʿarāʾ*), which begin to appear in the xvi^th^ century, give for this old period very little information and that for the most part inaccurate. The information we have been able to collect from the sources gives us the following works

1 The Inānḏj Oghlu in the region of Deñizli and Ladïk (1277?—1368)

A *Tafsīr* on the *Fātiha* by an unknown author (manuscript in the library of the University of Stambul) and a *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (MS at Angora) very probably by the same author, written by command of Murād Arslān Bey Ibn Inandj (d. before 763 A H). This dynasty had associations with the Mewlewīs and the author speaks very respectfully of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. We know also of a poet called Muʿarrif Ladïkī who lived in this century at Ladïk (*Ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, p 263) while Nakïb Oghlu, author of a story of *Hasan and Ḥusain* in verse (Millet Kütubkhānesi, N^o^. 1518), probably came from the same town. I think that Nakïb Oghlu Tādj al-Dīn mentioned in Eflākī (*Les Saints des Derviches tourneurs*, transl. Huart, ii. 329) as a contemporary of Čelebi ʿĀrif (d. in 719), is the same person.

2 The Aïdïn Oghlu (1307—1403).

In the library of the Ulu Djāmiʿ in Bursa (N^o^. 21) there is a *Ḳïṣaṣ-i Ewliyāʾ* of which the beginning is lost. From a complete manuscript recently acquired by the Maʿāïif Wekāleti we now know that the book was translated from the Arabic for Aïdïn Oghlu Meḥmed Bey (707—734 A. H.). The author's name is not known. Another work is a *Kalīla wa-Dimna* transl. by an author named Masʿūd for the famous Umur Bey, son of Mehmed Bey. This is dated before 734 A. H. (there is a MS. in the Bodleian among the Turkish manuscripts, Marsh 180; another copy in the Laleli library, N^o^. 1897).

3 The Menteshe Oghlu (1300—1425).

Thanks to Hammer's publication (*Falknerklee*),

we know a *Bāznāme* translated from Persian by Maḥmūd b. Meḥmed of Bardjın for Meḥmed Bey (middle of the XIVth century). Hādjdjī Khalīfa mentions that Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd Shirwānī composed for Ilyās b. Meḥmed Bey a work in Arabic entitled *Ilyāsiye* which he later translated into Turkish, by command of Ilyās Bey, and adds that the language is coarse

4. The Germiyān Oghlu (1300—1428).

It is recorded that the *Ḳābūs-nāme* and the *Marzubān-nāme* were translated into Turkish for Sulaimān Shāh b. Meḥmed Bey, belonging to this dynasty (770—790 A H), but no MS. of it is known (cf Ahmad Tawhīd, *Germiyān Beyleri*, *T O E M.*, N°. 8). Shaikh Oghlu in his great Mathnawī *Khurshīd-nāme* only mentions it in his introduction.

5 The Ḥamīd Oghlu (1300—1391).

In the Library of Angora there is a manuscript N° 5/42 of which the author is unknown and which contains a *Tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-Mulk* (lxvii.) written by command of an Anatolian emīr named Khidr b. Gol Beyi. We believe this Khidr Bey to have been the son of Dundār Bey, one of the Hamīd Oghlu who reigned in the region of Lake Eghridir (Eghridir Golu) and that Dundār Bey perhaps was surnamed Gol Beyi

6 The ʿOthmān Oghlu (Ottoman state)

An author named Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed of Angora wrote a *tafsīr* on the *Sūrat al-Mulk* for Sulaimān Pasha, eldest son of Orkhān, a work of which there is a manuscript in the Bāyazīd public library. Bursalī Ṭāhir Bey (*ʿOthmanlı Muʾellifleri*, II 13) says that there is in the same library a work by the same writer in Turkish called *Ḥilw al-Nāṣiḥīn* We may add a *Dānishmand-nāme* re-written in 762 (1361) by ʿĀrif ʿAlī, commander of the citadel of Toḳat, by order of Murād I, and a translation in verse of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* by an unknown author and also dedicated to Murād I (Pertsch, *Die turkischen Handschriften . . zu Gotha*, p 168)

In addition to these works, we possess also several others written in this century in different parts of Asia-Minor·

a translation of Tabarī written in 710 (Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. of the British Mus*, p. 22),

a *Dastān-ı Maḳtal-ı Ḥusain* written by a poet named Shādī or Shaiyād in 763 A H. at Ḳasṭamuni;

a poem *Tāwūs*, by ʿIzz al-Dīn Oghlu bound up with the preceding,

Ḥaḍret-i ʿUmar Destānī by ʿAlī;

a Mathnawī *Mihr-u Wefā* written in 760 by an unknown author;

a *Munādjāt* by Khwādja Oghlu;

a collection of maxims in verse by Sinān Oghlu (MSS. in my private library),

a *mathnawī* by Maʿādh Oghlu Hasan of Bey Pazar, on the *Ghazewāt-i ʿAlī* and another *mathnawī* written by ʿAlī and entitled *Fatḥ-i Ḳalʿa-ı Salāsil* (Millet Kütübkhānesi, MS N° 1518),

a translation of the *Tadhkira-ı Awliyā*ʾ of ʿAṭṭār written in 741 by an unknown author and mentioned by Joseph Thury (*Turk dili Yādkārları*, *Milli Tetebbuʿlar Medjm.*, iv. 107);

another manuscript containing the translation of the *Tadhkira-i Awliyā*ʾ in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Anc. Fonds Turc, N°. 87);

Manāḳib al-Aḥrār fī Maḳālāt al-Akhyār by Ahmed b. Derwish, khalīfa of Mewlānā Sinān al-Dīn Akshehrī (MS. in the Koprülu Library, N° 253 11);

the Mathnawī *Warḳa wa-Gulshāh*, written in 770 (1369) at Siwas by the Mewlewī Yūsuf Meddāh (in the Institute of Turcology);

the *Mathnawī* of Ṭursun Faḳīh [q. v.];

the *mathnawī* entitled *Ḥikāyet-i Kanʿān we-Shimʿūn*, by ʿAlī (in my private library);

Teshīl, by Hādjdjī Pasha (Pertsch, *Die turk. Handschr . . . zu Gotha*, p. 97, there are many copies)

Muntakhab al-Shifāʾ, written in 790 by Isḥāḳ b Murād (Pertsch, p 99);

some *ghazals* by Aflākī, author of the *Manāḳib* (Weled Čelebi, at the end of the Turkish verses of Sultān Weled),

translation in verse of Shātibī entitled *Kashf al-Maʿānī*, written in 800 A H by Meḥmed b. ʿĀshīḳ Selmān al-Lādikī and another work in verse on the Ḳurʾān by the same author (in my private library),

a *Futūwet-nāme* by Yahyā b Khalīl (*O L.Z*, 1928, p. 12),

another *Futūwet-nāme* written in the time of Yıldırım (in my private library),

translation of the *Manṭik al-Ṭair* by Gülshehrī in 717 as well as a number of poems (*Ilk Mutesawwifler*, p 268 *sq*);

the Mathnawī *Suhail u-Nawbahār* written in 751 by Khwādja Masʿūd and his nephew ʿIzz al-Dīn Ahmad (ed J. H. Mordtmann, Hanover 1924),

translation of the *Farhang-nāme* of Saʿdī, made in 755 A H. by the same Khwādja Maḥmūd (Weled Čelebi, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, Stambul 1342, there is a manuscript in the Copenhagen Library, cf on these two authors Kopr Zāde M Fuʾād, *Turkiyāt Medjmuʿāsı*, II 481—489).

A certain number of works in eastern and western dialects were also written in the Mamlūk empire, such as a *Faraḥ-nāme*, a *mathnawī* written in 789 at Tripoli in Syria by a poet named Kemāl Oghlu Ismāʿīl, a work which is in my private library. We mention this work because it was also popular in Anatolia, ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi attributes it to Shaikh Oghlu and ʿAlī to Ahmad Dāʿī (cf. Gibb, *Hist. Ott Poetry*, I 256)

In a collection of poems entitled *Maḍjmaʿ al-Naẓāʾir* composed in 840 A H. by a poet named ʿUmar b Mazīd (unique MS in the University Library of Stambul), in the *Dīwān al-Naẓāʾir* written in 918 by Hādjdjī Kemāl of Egirdir and in some other collections we find the names of a great number of poets and books belonging to this century (cf on these books and their bibliographical contents. Kopr. Zāde M Fuʾād, *Milli Edebiyātın ilk Mubashshirleri*, 1928, p. 60–62).

The replacement of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, who were much influenced by Persian culture, by simple Turkoman beys, knowing only their mother tongue, much encouraged the use of Turkish as a language of learning and of art Many men of learning, *shaikhs*, and poets to obtain the favour of the Turkoman beys and of the notables of their principalities — who were also equally uncultured — endeavoured to write books in Turkish and to translate into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. The princes themselves ordered the translation of religious and literary works which interested them. They began to translate into Turkish *tafsīrs*,

theological works, mystical works, legends of saints, books on medicine, books on hunting, books on the history of Islām and generally speaking the principal text-books used and esteemed in the medreses As a result of the mystical movement and particularly of Mewlewī mysticism, which was very influential in the palaces of the princes, we see in all these works the influence of Mewlānā and in part also of Sultān Weled We can even say that in poetical works this influence was predominant and that many of the poets of this period were themselves Mewlewīs.

Prose literature in this period was mainly confined to didactic works At the same time poetical literature assumed an extraordinary development; all kinds of works were composed from popular stories having a religious-epic character to works with a purely artistic ideal. The religious-epic stories show a considerable development in this period and include popular works describing the conquests and miracles of the Prophet and more especially the deeds of ᶜAlī. These works are written in the form of *maṯnawīs* and in a very simple style in the metre /– ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – /. The hero's historical character is usually lost in legend; supernatural events, demons, djinn, magical and miraculous elements give the work quite a fantastic character Some of these epics, in which Muslim ideas predominate, are grouped round the personality of Ḥamza Ibn Taimīya mentions as early as the end of the XIIIth century the existence of a *Ḥamzā-nāme* among the Turkomans of Syria (*Minhādj al-Sunna*, IV 12, cf on the *Ḥamza-nāme* in Muslim literature: Kopr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Turkiyāt Medjm*, I. 9) A third cycle of legends is that of Abū Muslim (cf. Kopr Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Turkiye Tārīkhī*, I 73) Among the heroic legends in which the influence of Islām is strong we may also mention the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* and the *Dānishmand-nāme*

Among the numerous works of this century based on Islāmic ideas we may also mention the books of *Siyar*, the works devoted to Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Husain and the events at Kerbelā, as well as the *mawlids* Books dealing with the Prophet and the holy family were very popular in this Islāmic milieu There were in the palaces of the Mamlūks and emīrs of Egypt men whose duty it was to recite to them books of *Siyar*. One of these was Darīr of Erzerūm, translator of the *Futūḥ al-Shaᵓm* of al-Wāḳidī and author of a book of *Siyar* in Turkish, in verse and prose, written in the second half of the XIVth century (cf Koprulu Zāde M Fu'ād, *Fuzūlī*, Constantinople 1924, p. 9, *ᶜOthmanlī Muᵓellifleri*, III. 37, Rieu, *Turkish MSS.*, p. 38). Its language belongs to the early period of the Ādharī dialect — a period in which this eastern Oghuz dialect was not yet separated entirely from the western Oghuz dialect of Anatolia — but on account of the fame of the author in Anatolia we may mention him here. The language of this class of works was simple, easily understood and liked by the people. Authors often thought it unnecessary to mention their own names

From the XIVth century we find the number of poets increasing who wrote with purely artistic aims and took as their model classical Persian literature. Shaikh Aḥmad Gülshehrī of Ḳīr Shehri should be mentioned first of these, as much for his artistic merit as for his priority in time. He put into Turkish the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭair* of ᶜAṭṭār, expanding it with stories from various sources, notably the *Maṯnawī* of Rūmī, and with a number of other reflections relating to his own time. We also possess a number of isolated poems of his Although a mystic, his literary aims were purely artistic. His maṯnawī *Karāmāt-i Akhī Ewrān*, recently published by F. Taeschner (*Ein Mesnevi Gulschehris auf Achi Evran*, 1930), which contains information about his life, is of no literary value. The fame of this great poet lasted down to the beginning of the XVIth century but his reputation as a "great poet" disappeared after the XIVth. In our *tezkeres* his name is not found (two MSS. of his work are in the library of the Museum of Archaeology in Stambul) The town of Ḳīr Shehri produced other authors besides Khwādja Gulshehrī and seems to have been an important centre of culture, it also produced the well-known mystic poet ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha (d 737) His *Gharīb-nāme*, written in 730, from the first attained great importance in Asia Minor and is found in many manuscripts. In our *tezkeres* and chronicles ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha is represented as a great mystic but as a poet he is a mere imitator of Mewlānā and Sultān Weled His work is of a didactic character; as a poet he is far below Gülshehrī There also exists a number of detached *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre from the pen of ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha, but they are far from showing the lyrical merit of Yūnus Emre (for the family of ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha cf. the introduction to the edition of the *Tārīkh* of ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha Zāde by ᶜĀlī Bey, on the influence which he has retained until recent years as a holy man cf. the article by V Goidlewski, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de U R S S*, 1927, I 25—28; on the language of ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha see the researches of Brockelmann, *Z. D. M G.*, 1919, LXXIII, p. 1—29).

The literary influence of Yūnus Emre is not confined to the mystic poems of ᶜĀshiḳ Pasha. Many dervishes composed *ilāhīs* in the popular language and in syllabic metre the most celebrated of them are Saᶜīd Emre and Kaighusuz Abdal Saᶜīd Emre was a pupil of the celebrated Khādjim Sultān, one of the khalīfas of Hādjdjī Bektash Welī, and lived in the early years of the XIVth century; he was therefore a contemporary of Yūnus. Another poem of Saᶜīd Emre in the *ᶜarūḍ* metre is a *naẓīra* on the *Ḍarkh-nāme* of Ahmad Faḳīh (on Saᶜīd Emre cf. Koprulü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Hayāt*, 1927, N⁰. 42). Ḳaighusuz Abdal, khalīfa of the Bektāshī dervish Abdal Mūsā, displays in his work a true lyric feeling, a deep sincerity and purity and a still freer and more vigorous command of language than that of Yūnus The influence of Kaighusuz was very great in the development of the vast Bektāshī poetry in the following centuries (*Ilk Muteṣawwifler*, p. 376).

In the second half of this century we find classical mystic poetry attaining high perfection in Nesīmī, equally famous in eastern and western Anatolia. His dialect connects him with the Ādharī group but on account of his great reputation in Asia Minor he belongs to the literature of this region. Nesīmī was one of the chief khalīfas of Faḍl Ḥurūfī, founder of the Hurūfī sect (on the history of this sect, cf Koprulu Zāde M Fu'ād, *Anadoluda Islāmiyet, Edeb. Fak Medjm.*, II. 6, p. 464: on the sect itself cf ḤURŪFīS). Nesīmī plays a great part in the development of the Ḥurūfīya in Anatolia, and in 807 he was flayed alive in Aleppo (on the date of his death, incorrectly given in all the sources, cf. Koprülü Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Ḥayāt*, 1927,

N°. 20) He was a great poet whose mystic lyrics are most impressive. His style is simple but full of power and harmony. Few poets have equalled him in the science and passionate expression of mystic love. Yet he observes all the rules of poetical style and uses classical forms with success. In his *Dīwān* we find *tuyugh*, a form peculiar to Turkish poetry and foreign to Persian literature (cf. on this form of poetry Koprülu Zāde M Fu'ād, *Turkiyāt Medjmū'asi*, II. 219–243).

In the fourteenth century also the subjects of romances and fables were taken from Persian literature, like the prose translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* [q. v.] by Mas'ūd, with verses intermingled, and the verse translation of the same work made for Murād I The story of *Suhail u-Newbehār*, however, written in verse by Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad and his nephew 'Izz al-Dīn has more considerable literary value. This *methnewī* translated from an otherwise unknown Persian work is not, we believe, simply a translation but rather an expanded adaptation. Instead of the metre /– ⏑ – – /– ⏑ – – /– ⏑ – / almost regularly employed in the *methnewīs* of this period, we have the metre /⏑ – – /⏑ – – /⏑ – – /⏑ – and here and there throughout it *ghazels* written in different metres The eclectic translation of the *Bustān* by Khwādja Mas'ūd b Aḥmad is of much less literary value.

After Khwādja Mas'ūd, Shaikh Oghlu Muṣṭafā (born in 741) acquired the greatest reputation as a romantic poet. He was a pupil of Khwādja Mas'ūd and finished his *Khurshid-nāme* in 789 (1387) Belonging to an influential family of Germiyān, this poet was at first in the service of the Bey of Germiyān, Sulaimānshāh, as *nishāndjī* and *defterdār*; later he was in the suite of Bāyazīd Yildirim to whom he presented a second version of his *Khurshīd-nāme* [cf on him and his *Khurshīd-nāme* the article SHAIKH-ZĀDE] We do not have a complete *Dīwān* of Shaikh Oghlu but many of his poems are to be found in early *medjmū'as* He has also left a work in prose entitled *Kanz al-Kubarā*. He finished it in 803 and dedicated it to Pasha Agha b Khwādja Pasha, an influential personage of this period (unique MS in Kopr. Zāde M. Fu'ād's library) This work is occasionally embellished with passages in verse and also contains fragments of Yūsuf Meddāḥ, Khāṣṣ, Dahhānī, Gülshehrī, Khwādja Mas'ūd and Elwān Čelebi (cf above; Khāss is the only one of whom we know nothing). It is a kind of *Siyāset-nāme* and in this connection it is interesting for our knowledge of the social life of the period.

Aḥmedī [q. v.] must be regarded as the greatest poet of this period, with the exception of Nesīmī. He is the author of the *Iskandar-nāme*. This work, finished in 792 (1390), has always been famous and exists in numerous MSS It has been studied in detail by Joseph Thury (*Török Nyelvemlékek a XIV század végéig*, Budapest 1903) and was later studied from the philological point of view by Brockelmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiii., 1./2, 1919). The manuscripts of the *Iskander-nāme* show great differences. Aḥmedī took the subject of his work — a very common one in eastern and western literature — from Persian sources, but he added a long section dealing with the history of Asia Minor and especially with the 'Othmanlī princes. For this reason we may look upon him as the author of the first Turkish chronicle in verse. The *Dīwān* of Aḥmedī is undoubtedly more interesting from the artistic point of view. Among these poems, there are some which have a local interest from the description of the town of Bursa and the attacks on its inhabitants. In the works of the xvth and xvith centuries we find evidence of his great reputation and many poets of this period wrote *nazīres* on him We know that the *Iskandar-nāme* was read and admired in these days in Ādhaibāidjān, in Khurāsān and in Transoxiana, and that the poet Shaibanī Khān, founder of the Shaibānid dynasty, much appreciated it.

To complete this general picture of the xivth century we must mention Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, although his works show the peculiarities of the Ādhaiī dialect Kādī Burhān al-Dīn belonged to the tribe of the Salur and was sulṭān of Siwas; his stirring political life is well known (745–801 A H , cf the article on him). Besides important works in Arabic on jurisprudence and some Arabic and Persian poems, according to the historian 'Aīnī, he left a *Dīwān* in Turkish, containing *ghazels*, *rubā'īs* and *tuyughs* Although his language lacks refinement and correctness, the poems of Burhān al-Dīn have a note of sincerity and passion of their own

It is evident from what we have said that Turkish literature developed greatly in the xivth century and that Turkish was successfully making its way against Arabic, the language of religion, and Persian, the literary language In following the Persian model, a classical Turkish literature laid solid foundations. Its progress had not yet reached its limits, for official documents in various districts were still written in Persian In inscriptions, legal documents, *waḳf* deeds, Arabic was employed. Works on law and theology were still written in Arabic and books on mysticism in Arabic and Persian Nevertheless we can see Turkish gaining in importance in official business as is the case in some edicts of Murād I (Kraelitz, *T. O. E. M.*, xxviii 242 *sqq*) Many authors and poets, while saying that Turkish is not yet sufficiently polished, felt, under the influence of the general trend, the need of writing in Turkish or rather translating into Turkish They imitate and translate Persian poets like Firdawsī, Nizāmī, 'Attār, Sa'dī, Mewlānā, Salmān Sāwadjī and Kamāl Khudjandī. The language gradually becomes filled with Persian and Arabic elements The grammars of these languages gave Turkish a certain number of rules, which tended to affect the independance and natural beauty of the language Prosody and metres were also borrowed from Persian; but Turkish words were still very largely used and the domination of Arabic and Persian which is found in the following centuries is not yet felt.

xvth Century.

The invasion of Tīmūr in the early years of this century retarded for a brief period the evolution of the Ottoman state in Asia Minor; on the other hand, it strengthened Turkish culture in Rūm-ili, to which many educated Muslims migrated at this period.

The advance of Islām and Turkish culture continued throughout this century with increasing force, notably through the application of the *dewshirme*. The progress was most marked in Rūm-ili; on the turkicisation of southern Anatolia we have the evidence of Bertrandon de la Broquière (*Le voyage d'Outremer*, publ. by Ch. Schefer, Paris

1892, p. 100, 101). The earliest work written in Rūm-ili is a poem on the death of Fāṭima written in 803 (1400) by Khalīl, imām of the mosque of Kara Bulut in Adrianople, which is in no way distinguishable from popular works of this kind of the XIVth century (the only known MS. is in my private library).

At the same time Turkish increased in importance as a literary and official language The *waḳf* inscription of the Germiyān Oghlu Yaʿḳūb II of 814 (1411) is the first Turkish inscription of this kind (Khalīl Edhem, *T. O. E M.*, I. 116). There is a Turkish epitaph in verse of 843 (1439) at Angora and another rhymed inscription at Brusa composed by the poet Djemālī in 870 (1463). All the official documents of the first period of the reign of Sulṭān Meḥmed II are in Turkish (Aḥmad Refīḳ, *T.O.E.M.*, index) and also a certain number of edicts (*firmān*) of this century, the earliest of which is dated 860 (1455) (F. von Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922) We also know from a work written in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yūsuf of Balikeser, that Turkish was used in the *medreses*, which we can also assume with considerable probability for the XIVth century In official correspondence with other Muslim or Christian states and in lands inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, other languages continued to be used. The historian Critoboulos mentions a Greek secretary of Meḥmed II.

In the first half of the XVth century there were three great princely families who were patrons of scholars and poets. the Karaman Oghlu at Ḳonya, the Djandar Oghlu at Ḳastamuni and the Ottoman princes at Adrianople and Brusa In this century Fakhkhār, Khodja Faḳīh Karamanī, Halīmī and Nizāmī belonged to the Ḳaraman Oghlu circle. Nizāmī may be regarded as the rival of Aḥmad Pasha of Brusa At the court of the Djandar Oghlu were Muʾmin b. Muḳbil b. Sinān Sinūbī, author of the medical work entitled *Miftāḥ al-Nūr wa-Khazā'in al-Surūr* (Bibl Nat, Anc Fonds Turc, N⁰. 172), and the unknown author of a commentary on the Ḳurʾān entitled *Djawāhir al-Aṣdāf* (Cl Huart, *Un commentaire du Coran en dialecte turc de Qastamouni*, *J. A.*, 1921, p 161—216) which exists in several copies It is wrong to regard its language as the dialect of Ḳastamuni. Ismāʿīl Beg, a member of this dynasty who reigned from 1443 to 1457, wrote a religious work in Turkish entitled *Ḥulwiyāt-i Sulṭānī* (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turk MSS.*, p. 11). This same Ismāʿīl (on him cf. the translation of the *Shaḳāʾik*, p. 121, 125, 139) had a book on *tadjwīd* written for him in Turkish by a certain ʿUmar b Aḥmad (MS. in the Millet Kütübkhānesi at Constantinople). He also had a translation made of the *Kīmiyā-yi Saʿādet* (in my private library). The poets of the entourage of the Djandar Oghlu are Meḥmed Sinūbī, the dervish Turābī of Ḳastamuni, Ḥamdī, Khākī, Thanāʾī and Dāʿī were at the court of Ismāʿīl Bey (the two latter were later at the court of the Ottomans). There is also a *Khulāṣat al-Ṭibb* in Turkish, dedicated to Ḳāsim Bey b. Isfendiyār of the same dynasty. Rustem Beg, son of the latter, composed a *Dīwān*. In the XVIth century the poets Shemsī Pasha and Emīrī belonged to this dynasty.

But the greatest literary development is found under the Ottomans. Poets like Aḥmedī and Aḥmed Dāʿī wrote ḳaṣīdas for Emīr Sulaimān, to whom also was dedicated a *Ḳaws-nāme* by a certain Meḥmed Shaikh Muṣṭafā (Bibl. Nat., Anc Fonds Turc., N⁰. 164) and a *methnewī* called *Tuḥfe-nāme* or *ʿIshḳ-nāme* begun in 800 (1396) by a poet named Mehmed; this poem is an adaptation of of a *Humā we-Farrukh* in eastern Turkish and shows several remarkable features (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl. Turc.*, N⁰. 604). We also have a *Djawāhir al-Maʿānī*, a theological work written in 809 (1406) by Khiḍr b. Yaʿḳūb (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl. Turc*, N⁰. 499) The following also belong to this period: a *methnewī* called *Shemsīye*, finished in 811 (1408) by Yazīdjī Salāḥ al-Dīn (cf. Fleischer, *Cod. Lips.*, cclxii); a poetical translation of the *Maḳālāt-i Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Welī*, in 812 (1409), by Khaṭīb Oghlu (*Turk Medjm.*, II. 494); and the *Muḳaddime* of Kutb al-Dīn Iznīḳī (d. in 821 [1418]; cf. *ʿOthmanlī Muʾellifleri*, I. 144).

It was Murād II who did most for the development of the Turkish language and literature. His court was the centre of scholars, poets and also musicians; for example he had a treatise on music composed by a certain Khiḍr b. ʿAbd Allāh (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Anc, Fonds Turc, N⁰. 150, another at Berlin), another author of this period who wrote two works on music is Aḥmed Oghlu Shukrullāh (cf. Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p 2978) The poets of this period together with Sheikhī are· Rūmī, Ḥusāmī, Shemsī, Hassān, Ṣafī, Azharī, Nudjūmī, Nedīmī, ʿUlwī and Ḍaʿīfī The names are found in the earliest *tedhkeres*. We have besides the names of many poets, writers and translators, whose works have not survived, like the *Ḳirḳ Wezīr Ḥikāyesi* of Shaikh-zāde Aḥmed Miṣrī [cf. the article SHAIKH-ZĀDE], the translation of *al-Faraḍ baʿd al-Shidda* of Mehmed b. ʿUmar al-Ḥalabī (Rieu, *Cat.*, p 224, H Vámbéry, *Altosmanische Sprachstud.*, Leyden 1901), the translation of the *Manāḳib-i Imām-i aʿzam* of the same author (in the library of Kopr. Zāde M. Fuʾād), the translation of the *Ḳābūs-nāme* by Meïdjmek Ahmed, in 835 (1431) (Bibl. Nat, Suppl. Turc, N⁰ 530, Rieu, p. 116, Pertsch, *Kat. der türk. Hss zu Berlin*, p. 276), the translation of the *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* by Ḳāsim b Mahmūd Ḳara-Hisārī, the translation of the *Hayāt al-Hayawān* by Mehmed b Sulaimān (Nūr-i ʿOthmaniye, N⁰. 2998–99), the translations of the *Hidāya* and of the *Wiḳāya*, made in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yūsuf (several manuscripts), the translation of the *Gulshen-i rāz* by Sheikh Elwān Shīrāzī in 829 (1426), an anonymous translation of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, made in 840 (1437) entitled *Methnewī-i murādī* (MS at Cambridge); an anonymous translation of the *Mufradāt* of Ibn Baitār (MS. in Upsala), a Turkish commentary on the Kurʾān in the library of the Museum at Konya with interlinear translation; a *Faraḥ-nāme* presented in 829 (1426) by Khaṭīb Oghlu (cf. *Turk. Medjm*, II. 489–496); a *Djāmāsp-nāme* translated from the Persian in 833 (1430) by Mūsā ʿAbdī, the treatise *Bāh-nāme*, translated from the Persian by Mūsā b. Masʿūd (libr. of Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha, N⁰. 283), a *Suleimān-nāme* of 3,500 *bait* by Saʿdī of Siroz; a translation of the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Kathīr (libr. of Damad Ibrāhīm Pasha), a *Seldjūḳ-nāme* of Yazīdjī Zāde ʿAlī (vol iii. of the *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, forms a part of it), a *Manāhidj al-Inshā'* by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Kātib, a work containing a number of important historical documents (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl Turc.*, N⁰ 660); a trans-

lation of a *Tafsīr*, entitled *Anfas al-Djawāhir*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Mūsā b. Ḥādidjī Ḥusain b. ʿIsā al-Izniḳī, in 838 (*O.L.Z.*, 1927, p. 9). Ḥādidjī Khalīfa, also mentions a translation of a *Tafsīr* of Abu 'l-Laith and of the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī, made by Ibn ʿArabshāh. The prose work entitled *Aʿdjab al-ʿIdjāb*, dedicated in 841 (1437) to Murād II by Maniyas Oghlu Maḥmūd of Üsküb (a MS. in the Bibl. Nat., Anc. Fonds Turc, N°. 13) shows that Turkish culture was beginning to gain ground in Rūm-ili also. The most important work for the history of the poetry of this period is however the *Maḍjmūʿat al-Naṣāʾir*, written in 840 (1436—1437) by ʿUmar b. Mazīd and containing the poems of 83 poets of the xiiith, xivth and xvth centuries.

A great enthusiasm for the advancement of Turkish literature was shown also by Umur Beg, son of Tīmūr Tāsh Pasha, one of the great dignitaries of Murād II. A large number of works were dedicated to him, such as a *Djewher-nāme* composed in 831 (1428) by Meḥmed b. Maḥmūd Shirwānī (MS. at Dresden) and a translation of the *Iksīr al-Saʿādāt* (MS. at Dresden). The translator of this work says expressly that he has tried to use as many Turkish words as possible, in keeping with Umur Beg's wishes. A manuscript of the *Anfas al-Djawāhir* in the Ulu Djāmiʿ of Brusa has at the beginning a list of books which Umur Beg had given as *waḳf*, among them being a large number of works in Turkish. All this shows that in the first half of the xvth century, Turkish was already a language of culture and learning and had produced a literature which included all branches cultivated at this period.

As in the preceding centuries, this activity was not confined to the translation of Muslim works of a classical character; as belonging to popular literature we may mention, as the finest book of *sīra*, the poem which Sulaimān Celebi [q v] wrote in 812 (1409) at Brusa his *Mawlid* has been read for centuries by the people and in every century a large number of *naẓīres* have been written on this poem, which has all the qualities of a masterpiece of Turkish literature. Mystic literature gained in importance with the birth of new mystic orders. Alongside of translations of the classical works of mysticism (*Gulshan-i rāz*, *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād*, *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*, *Tadhkira-i Awliyāʾ*), we find a number of works in prose and verse on mystical discipline and the rules of the orders. To this class of literature belongs for example the methnewīs *Munādjāt-nāme*, *Futūwet-nāme*, *ʿIbret-nāme*, *Maʿdheret-nāme*, *Elest-nāme* and the *Hairet-nāme* of Shaikh Eshref b Ahmed, rather primitive works, the composition of which I would assign to the beginning of this century (the only known manuscripts are in my private library) as well as the translation in verse by Khaṭīb Oghlu of the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh. Several Ṣūfīs of this period wrote in verse in the style of Yūnus Emre. Among the latter was the famous Emīr Sulṭān, who wrote *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre under the *makhlaṣ* Emīr Saiyid The latter, along with Ḥādjdjī Bairam Welī of Angora, founder of the order of the Malāmīye-i Bairamīye, founded a line of poets of this genre One of these was Meḥmed, son of Yazīdjī Ṣalāh al-Dīn, mentioned above. He became celebrated under the *makhlaṣ* of Yazīdjī Oghlu, especially through his *Muḥammadīya*, finished in 853, and in the following centuries he acquired a great reputation for sanctity in the Crimea and also among the Turks of Ḳazan and the Bashḳīrds (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, vii. 812). This great poem is written in several metres in somewhat heavy language; the subject is taken from the books of *siyar*; it also betrays mystic influences while retaining an entirely orthodox system of ideas. The literary influence of this poem has been enormous and there are several editions printed at Constantinople and Ḳazan (cf. also ʿA. ʿAzīz and ʿAlī Raḥīm, *Tatar Edebiyāti Taʾrīkhi*, vol. i., part 2, p. 166—177).

One of the most remarkable mystical poets of this period is Kemāl Ummī. He was a dervish of the Khalwetīs and his works reveal him as a true poet. his influence extended as far as the Turks of Ḳazan, the Bashḳīrds and Özbeks. ʿAbd Allāh b. Eshref b Meḥmed (d. 874 = 1470), founder of the Eshrefīye division of the mystical order of the Bairamīye and surnamed Eshref Oghlu, is equally famous. He is the author of a work entitled *Muzkī al-Nufūs* and of a *Dīwān*. The appearance of the great mystics and the foundation of new orders created a regular Turkish hagiography consisting of collections of legends of saints like Emīr Sulṭān, Eshref Oghlu and later Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Welī, Ḳaighusuz and ʿOthmān Baba This literature is of great value from the sociological point of view, it becomes especially abundant from the xviith century

Hurūfī literature, which began with Nesīmī, was continued by his pupil Refiʿī who wrote in 812 (1409) his *Beshāret-nāme*, by Ferishte Oghlu (d 864 = 1459), auther of an *ʿIshḳ-nāme*, and by Wīrānī Baba Ḥurūfī progaganda even reached the court of Mehmed II, and under Bāyazīd II these heterodox thinkers were violently persecuted. Nevertheless Ḥurūfī poets were numerous in the xvth and xviith centuries Temennāʾī of Ḳaisarīye, Hasan Rūmī of Kara Ferya, Huseinī, Uṣūlī of Yenidje-i Wardar, Nebātī, Tarzī of Baghdād, Waḥdetī of Bosnia, Penāhī of Tabrīz and Muḥīṭī In the region in which the Ādharī dialect was spoken we find among the members of this sect Shāh Ismāʿīl Safawī [cf. KHATĀʾĪ], Lashkarī, Ṭiflī and Ḥabībī, who later came to Constantinople

To turn to the non-religious literature, the earliest representative is Ahmed Dāʿī, a poet who lived at the court of the Germiyān-oghlu and of the ʿOthmanlī. In addition to some translations, we possess by him an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary, the *ʿUkūd al-Djawāhir*. As a poet he imitates with great success Persians like Salmān Sāwedjī and Kamāl Khudjandī He did not however exercise any notable influence on the poetry of his time.

The most important poet of this period next to Aḥmedī and Nesīmī was Sheikhī. He was the author of *ḳaṣīdas* and was patronised by the Sulṭāns Meḥmed I and Murād II. His real name was Sinān Germiyānī but the data of his life as transmitted are in part contradictary [cf SHAIKHĪ] The date of his death is unknown but must be after 832 (1429) He was buried at Dumlu-Pinar near Kutahiya (Ewliyā Čelebi, vol. ix). Sheikhī must be considered a great poet. His translation of the *Khusraw-u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī is more than an ordinary translation. The *Khar-nāma* which he dedicated to Murād II is a masterpiece of satire (cf. Kopr Zāde M. Fuʾād, in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, 1917, N°. 13). The influence of this poet remained great down to the xviith century. Poets like Nedjātī and

1892, p. 100, 101). The earliest work written in Rūm-ılı is a poem on the death of Fāṭıma written ın 803 (1400) by Khalīl, ımām of the mosque of Ḳara Bulut in Adrianople, which is in no way distinguishable from popular works of this kind of the XIVth century (the only known MS. is in my private library)

At the same time Turkish increased in importance as a literary and official language The *waḳf* inscription of the Germiyān Oghlu Yaʿḳūb II of 814 (1411) is the first Turkish inscription of this kind (Khalīl Edhem, *T O E M*, 1 116) There is a Turkish epitaph in verse of 843 (1439) at Angora and another rhymed inscription at Brusa composed by the poet Djemālī in 870 (1463) All the official documents of the first period of the reign of Sulṭān Mehmed II are in Turkish (Ahmad Refiḳ, *T O E M*, index) and also a certain number of edicts (*firmān*) of this century, the earliest of which is dated 860 (1455) (F von Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in turkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1922) We also know from a work written in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yūsuf of Balikeser, that Turkish was used in the *medreses*, which we can also assume with considerable probability for the XIVth century In official correspondence with other Muslim or Christian states and in lands inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, other languages continued to be used The historian Critoboulos mentions a Greek secretary of Mehmed II

In the first half of the XVth century there were three great princely families who were patrons of scholars and poets the Ḳaraman Oghlu at Konya, the Djandar Oghlu at Kastamuni and the Ottoman princes at Adrianople and Brusa In this century Fakhkhār, Khodja Faḳīh Karamanī, Halimi and Niẓāmī belonged to the Ḳaraman Oghlu circle. Nīrāmī may be regarded as the rival of Aḥmad Pasha of Brusa At the court of the Djandar Oghlu were Muʾmin b. Muḳbil b. Sinān Sinūbī, author of the medical work entitled *Miftāḥ al-Nūr wa-Khazā'in al-Surūr* (Bibl Nat, Anc Fonds. Turc, N°. 172), and the unknown author of a commentary on the Kurʾān entitled *Djawāhir al-Aṣdāf* (Cl Huart, *Un commentaire du Qoran en dialecte turc de Qastamouni*, *J A*, 1921, p 161—216) which exists in several copies It is wrong to regard its language as the dialect of Kastamuni Ismaʿil Beg, a member of this dynasty who reigned from 1443 to 1457, wrote a religious work in Turkish entitled *Ḫulwiyāt-ı Sulṭānī* (cf. Rieu, *Cat of Turk MSS*, p 11). This same Ismāʿil (on him cf. the translation of the *Shaḳāʾik*, p 121, 125, 139) had a book on *tadjwīd* written for him in Turkish by a certain ʿUmar b Ahmad (MS. in the Millet Kutubkhānesi at Constantinople). He also had a translation made of the *Kīmiyā-yi Saʿādet* (in my private library). The poets of the entourage of the Djandar Oghlu are Mehmed Sinūbī, the dervish Turābī of Ḳastamuni, Hamdī, Khākī, Thanāʾī and Dāʿī were at the court of Ismāʿīl Bey (the two latter were later at the court of the Ottomans). There is also a *Khulāṣat al-Ṭıbb* in Turkish, dedicated to Ḳāsim Bey b. Isfendiyār of the same dynasty Rustem Beg, son of the latter, composed a *Dīwān* In the XVIth century the poets Shemsī Pasha and Emīrī belonged to this dynasty

But the greatest literary development is found under the Ottomans. Poets like Aḥmedī and Ahmed Dāʿī wrote ḳaṣidas for Emīr Sulaimān, to whom also was dedicated a *Ḳaws-nāme* by a certain Mehmed Shaikh Mustafā (Bibl Nat., Anc Fonds Turc, N°. 164) and a *methnewī* called *Tuḥfe-nāme* or *ʿIshḳ-nāme* begun in 800 (1396) by a poet named Mehmed, this poem is an adaptation of of a *Humā we-Farıukh* in eastern Turkish and shows several remarkable features (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl Turc*, N°. 604). We also have a *Djawāhir al-Maʿānī*, a theological work written in 809 (1406) by Khidr b. Yaʿḳūb (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl. Turc*, N°. 499) The following also belong to this period. a *methnewī* called *Shemsīye*, finished in 811 (1408) by Yazīdjī Salāh al-Dīn (cf Fleischer, *Cod Lips.*, cclxii), a poetical translation of the *Makālāt-ı Hādjdjī Bektāsh Welī*, in 812 (1409), by Khatīb Oghlu (*Turk Medjm*, II 494), and the *Muḳaddıme* of Ḳutb al-Dīn Iznīkī (d in 821 [1418], cf *ʿOthmanlı Muʾellifleri*, 1 144)

It was Murād II who did most for the development of the Turkish language and literature. His court was the centre of scholars, poets and also musicians, for example he had a treatise on music composed by a certain Khidr b ʿAbd Allāh (a MS in the Bibl Nat, Anc, Fonds Turc. N°. 150, another at Berlin), another author of this period who wrote two works on music is Ahmed Oghlu Shukrullāh (cf. Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, p 2978) The poets of this period together with Sheikhī are Rūmī, Husāmī, Shemsī, Hassān, Safī, Azharī, Nudjūmī, Nedīmī, ʿUlwī and Ḍaʿifī The names are found in the earliest *tedhkeres*. We have besides the names of many poets, writers and translators, whose works have not survived, like the *Ḳırk Wezīr Hikāyesi* of Shaikh-zāde Ahmed Mışıī [cf the article SHAIKH-ZĀDE], the translation of *al-Faradj baʿd al-Shidda* of Mehmed b. ʿUmai al-Halabī (Rieu, *Cat*, p 224, H Vámbéry, *Altosmanische Sprachstud*, Leyden 1901), the translation of the *Manākib-ı Imām-ı aʿzam* of the same author (in the library of Kopr Zāde M. Fuʾād), the translation of the *Ḳābūs-nāme* by Meidjmek Ahmed, in 835 (1431) (Bibl Nat, Suppl Turc, N° 530, Rieu, p 116, Pertsch, *Kat der turk Hss zu Berlin* p 276), the translation of the *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* by Kāsim b Mahmūd Kara-Hisārī, the translation of the *Hayāt al-Ḥayawān* by Mehmed b Sulaimān (Nūr-ı ʿOthmaniye, N° 2998–99), the translations of the *Hidāya* and of the *Wikāya*, made in 828 (1425) by Dewlet Oghlu Yūsuf (several manuscripts), the translation of the *Gulshen-ı rāz* by Sheikh Elwān Shīrāzī in 829 (1426), an anonymous translation of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, made in 840 (1437) entitled *Methnewī-ı murādī* (MS at Cambridge); an anonymous translation of the *Mufradāt* of Ibn Baitār (MS in Upsala); a Turkish commentary on the Kurʾān in the library of the Museum at Konya with interlinear translation; a *Farah-nāme* presented in 829 (1426) by Khatīb Oghlu (cf. *Turk. Medjm.*, II. 489–496); a *Djāmāsp-nāme* translated from the Persian in 833 (1430) by Mūsā ʿAbdī, the treatise *Bāh-nāme*, translated from the Persian by Mūsā b. Masʿūd (libr. of Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha, N° 283), a *Suleimān-nāme* of 3,500 *bait* by Saʿdī of Siroz; a translation of the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Kathīr (libr. of Damad Ibrāhīm Pasha), a *Seldjūk-nāme* of Yazīdjī Zāde ʿAlī (vol III. of the *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, forms a part of it), a *Manāhidj al-Inshā'* by Yaḥyā b. Muhammad Kātib, a work containing a number of important historical documents (Bibl. Nat., *Suppl Turc.*, N° 660), a trans-

lation of a *Tafsīr*, entitled *Anfas al-Djawāhir*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Mūsā b. Ḥādjdjī Ḥusain b. ʿIsā al-Iznīḳī, in 838 (*O.L.Z.*, 1927, p. 9). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, also mentions a translation of a *Tafsīr* of Abu 'l-Laith and of the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī, made by Ibn ʿArabshāh The prose work entitled *Aʿdjab al-ʿIdjāb*, dedicated in 841 (1437) to Murād II by Maniyas Oghlu Maḥmūd of Üsküb (a MS in the Bibl. Nat, Anc. Fonds Turc, N⁰. 13) shows that Turkish culture was beginning to gain ground in Rūm-ili also The most important work for the history of the poetry of this period is however the *Maḏjmūʿat al-Naẓāʾir*, written in 840 (1436—1437) by ʿUmar b Mazīd and containing the poems of 83 poets of the xiiith, xivth and xvth centuries

A great enthusiasm for the advancement of Turkish literature was shown also by Umur Beg, son of Timūr Tāsh Pasha, one of the great dignitaries of Murād II. A large number of works were dedicated to him, such as a *Djewher-nāme* composed in 831 (1428) by Mehmed b. Mahmūd Shirwānī (MS at Dresden) and a translation of the *Iksīr al-Saʿādāt* (MS. at Dresden). The translator of this work says expressly that he has tried to use as many Turkish words as possible, in keeping with Umur Beg's wishes A manuscript of the *Anfas al-Djawāhir* in the Ulu Djāmiʿ of Brusa has at the beginning a list of books which Umur Beg had given as *wakf*, among them being a large number of works in Turkish All this shows that in the first half of the xvth century, Turkish was already a language of culture and learning and had produced a literature which included all branches cultivated at this period.

As in the preceding centuries, this activity was not confined to the translation of Muslim works of a classical character, as belonging to popular literature we may mention, as the finest book of *sīra*, the poem which Sulaimān Celebi [q v] wrote in 812 (1409) at Brusa his *Mawlid* has been read for centuries by the people and in every century a large number of *nazīres* have been written on this poem, which has all the qualities of a masterpiece of Turkish literature. Mystic literature gained in importance with the birth of new mystic orders Alongside of translations of the classical works of mysticism (*Gulshan-i rāz*, *Mirsād al-ʿIbād*, *Fasl al-Khiṭāb*, *Taḏkira-i Awliyāʾ*), we find a number of works in prose and verse on mystical discipline and the rules of the orders To this class of literature belongs for example the methnewīs *Munādjāt-nāme*, *Futūwet-nāme*, *ʿIbret-nāme*, *Maʿḏhere et-nāme*, *Elest-nāme* and the *Hairet-nāme* of Shaikh Eshref b Ahmed, rather primitive works, the composition of which I would assign to the beginning of this century (the only known manuscripts are in my private library) as well as the translation in verse by Khatīb Oghlu of the *Wilāyet-nāme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Several Sūfīs of this period wrote in verse in the style of Yūnus Emre Among the latter was the famous Emīr Sulṭān, who wrote *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre under the *makhlaṣ* Emīr Saiyid The latter, along with Ḥādjdjī Bairam Welī of Angora, founder of the order of the Malāmīye-i Bairamīye, founded a line of poets of this genre. One of these was Meḥmed, son of Yazīdjī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, mentioned above He became celebrated under the *makhlaṣ* of Yazīdjī Oghlu, especially through his *Muḥammadīya*, finished in 853, and in the following centuries he acquired a great reputation for sanctity in the Crimea and also among the Turks of Ḳazan and the Bashḳīrds (cf Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥat-nāme*, vii 812) This great poem is written in several metres in somewhat heavy language; the subject is taken from the books of *siyar*; it also betrays mystic influences while retaining an entirely orthodox system of ideas. The literary influence of this poem has been enormous and there are several editions printed at Constantinople and Ḳazan (cf also ʿA ʿAzīz and ʿAlī Rahīm, *Tatar Edebiyāṭī Taʾrīkhi*, vol i., part 2, p 166—177).

One of the most remarkable mystical poets of this period is Kemāl Ummī He was a dervish of the Khalwetīs and his works reveal him as a true poet his influence extended as far as the Turks of Ḳazan, the Bashḳīrds and Özbeks ʿAbd Allāh b Eshref b Meḥmed (d. 874 = 1470), founder of the Eshrefīye division of the mystical order of the Bairamīye and surnamed Eshref Oghlu, is equally famous. He is the author of a work entitled *Muzkī al-Nufūs* and of a *Dīwān*. The appearance of the great mystics and the foundation of new orders created a regular Turkish hagiography consisting of collections of legends of saints like Emīr Sulṭān, Eshref Oghlu and later Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Welī, Ḳaighusuz and ʿOthmān Baba This literature is of great value from the sociological point of view, it becomes especially abundant from the xvith century

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To turn to the non-religious literature, the earliest representative is Ahmed Dāʿī, a poet who lived at the court of the Germiyān-oghlu and of the ʿOthmānlī In addition to some translations, we possess by him an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary, the *ʿUkūd al-Djawāhir* As a poet he imitates with great success Persians like Salmān Sāwedjī and Kamāl Khudjandī He did not however exercise any notable influence on the poetry of his time

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Khayālī mention him with veneration so that he merits the title of Shaikh al-Shu'arā'. He was also respected in religious circles and even among the Turks of Egypt (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, VII. 323, 25)

Next to Sheikhī we may mention 'Aṭā'ī of Brusa of whom we possess a *Dīwān*. His real name was Akhī Čelebi and his epitaph at Brusa is dated 841 (1437—1438). This poet was clearly influenced by Shaikhī but there is a pessimistic note in his poems It was he who was the first to make use of proverbs in the *ghazel*. Another remarkable figure of this period is the painter Safī of Brusa His *Dīwān* contains *kaṣida*s dedicated to Murād II, to the vizier Khalīl Pasha and other great personages. The biographer Sehī gives a few details of his life

Other poets of the same period are 'Ulwī of Brusa, Humāmī of Iznīk, author of a *methnewī*: *Sī-nāme* (Bibl. Nat., Anc fonds turc., N° 304), dedicated to Khalīl Pasha, Aḥmed Rūmī of Gallipoli, Baba Nedīmī, the poet of the Bektāshīs, Ḍa'īfī of Gallipoli, who described in verse the wars of Murād II We may also mention Djemālī, who dedicated his books to Mehmed II and Bayāzīd II, all the sources confuse this Djemālī with the poet Sheikh Oghlu Mustafā of the XIVth century [cf. also the article SHAIKH-ZĀDE] Djemālī wrote in 850 (1446) a *methnewī* entitled *Gulshen-i 'Ushshāk* for Murād II and another *Humā-u Humāyūn* for Mehmed II as well as a third called *Miftāh al-Faraḏ* (Pertsch, *Kat d turk Hss zu Berlin*, p. 371) There is also a poem by him on the art of letters entitled *al-Risāla al-'aḏība fi 'l-Ṣanā'i' wa 'l-Badā'i'* (Browne, *Cat of MSS in Cambridge*, 1900, p 87) Latīfī praises this poet. He also wrote several inscriptions in verse for buildings in Brusa (*TOEM*, N° XV)

The period of Fātih Mehmed II and Bāyazīd II, themselves poets, is marked by a great development in the language and literature of the Ottomans After the disappearance of the Turkoman dynasties in Asia Minor, the court and entourage of the 'Othmanlī was the only refuge of poets and scholars. The great conquests had carried Ottoman influence to the Crimea and the islands of the Aegean, they were accompanied by an increased movement for the spread of Turkish and Muslim culture At the same time the economic prosperity of the empire reached a great height, while the legislation of Mehmed II adapted itself to the needs of the period. The *medrese* and the *teke* and especially the heterodox mystic orders like the Bektāshīs contributed much to the spread of Islām; the state on its side secured the political unity of the empire by continual transportations of bodies of its subjects

Mehmed II and his grand vizier Mahmūd Pasha granted considerable pensions to poets and men of learning. Poets and musicians like Nedjmī, Fenāyī, Nūrī, 'Ishkī, Khafī, Dā'ī, Du'āyī, Kudsī, Ḳātibī, Naḥīfī, Wahīdi and others received great rewards for their labours Mehdī, Melihī, Bursalī Aḥmed Pasha and others were continually with Mehmed II Hayātī, Sharīḏja Kemāl and Enwerī enjoyed the special patronage of Maḥmūd Pasha To the entourage of prince Djem belonged Shāhidī, Sakhāyī, La'lī, Haidar, Ḳandī, Sa'dī and Turābī, the tutor of the prince. Bāyazīd II and his sons kept up this tradition. In the period of Bāyazīd II over 30 poets were receiving allowances from the treasury. As the literary and learned activities of the second half of the XVth century are sufficiently well-known from various sources, we shall confine ourselves here to giving a general survey of the various forms cultivated and their most notable representatives

The greatest poet of the period of Mehmed II was Ahmed Pasha [q.v] of Brusa; although influenced by Niyāzī, Sheikhī, 'Aṭāyī and his master Melīḥī (cf *Yeñi Meḏmū'a*, 1918, N° 31) he surpassed his contemporaries in the *ghazel* and especially in the *ḳaṣida*. Next to Sheikhī he may be regarded as the greatest figure in Turkish poetry. His influence is obvious on the poets of his time: Resmī, Harīrī, Kandī, Wisālī, Nizāmī of Konya, Ṣafī (the vizier Djezerī Kāsim Pasha) and Sulṭān Djem, and is felt even in Nedjātī, Bāḳī and down to the XVIth century. Like the other poets of his age, he was also under the influence of Persian poetry, which was unjustly used as a reproach against him by some authors of *tedhkere*s like Dja'fer Čelebi and Latīfī. On the other hand, the very widespread opinion (which we find for the first time in the *Tedhkere* of Ḥasan Čelebi) that Aḥmed Pasha began his poetical career by making *naẓire* on some poems of Newāyī is quite erroneous (cf. *Turk Yurdu*, 1927, N° 27) Ahmed Pasha collected and arranged his *Dīwān* by order of Bāyazīd II. In it we have satires, *ḳiṭ'a* and notably very fine *murabba'*

Next to him the greatest poet of the XVth century is Nedjātī, particularly known for his *merthiye*s and his *ghazel*s He owes his reputation notably to his frequent use of proverbs in his poems Idrīs Bitlisī calls him the Khusraw of Rūm and all writers regard him as the greatest Ottoman poet after Ahmed Pasha (cf also Pertsch, *Kat d turk Hss zu Gotha*, N° 168) His fame spread beyond the bounds of the empire The influence of Nedjātī is traced in Ṣun'i, Tālī', Shawkī, Ridayī, Zhārī of Üskub, Sākī of Filibe, Sehī, Ḳurbī of Iznīk, Wasfī, Weidī and Shāwer, poets of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and also in poets of his own time like Mihrī Many poets composed *nazire*s on his works and some of them like Wālihī of Tokat have an almost religious reverence for him.

Along with Nedjātī should be mentioned his contemporary Mesihī [q v] famous for his *Dīwān* and his *Shehr-engīz* his work reflects more or less the life of his milieu He also had some influence on Bāḳī

The *methnewī*, which came into vogue in the XIVth century, became very popular in this period Among mystical works we may mention the *Gulzar-i ma'newī* of Ibrāhīm Tannūrī (d 887 = 1482), *khalīfa* of Aḳ Shems al-Dīn, the *Wahdet-nāme* of 'Abd al-Rahīm of Kara Hisār (written in 865 [1460], cf Pertsch, *Die turk Hss zu Berlin*, N° 375—376), the *Methnewī* of Rūshenī of Aidin, a famous Sheikh of the Khalwetiya, d at Tabrīz in 892 (1487), the *Firkat-nāme*, written in 876 (1471) at Iznīk by Khalīlī of Diyār Bekr [cf KHAILĪ] The romantic subjects of these poems were taken from Persian literature, the best known are the *Yūsuf-u Zalīkhā* of Aḳ Shems al-Dīn Zāde Hamdī [cf HAMDĪ], the *Khusraw-u Shīrīn* of Āhī (on him cf *Yeñi Meḏmū'a*, 1918, No 54), the *'Ishret-nāme* of Rewānī and particularly the *Hewes-nāme*, written in 899 (1493) by Dja'fer Čelebi [q. v]. This last work is entirely original

l the author shows himself a distinguished poet whom imagination gains over sentiment Towards end of this century, the subjects of the *khamsa* re also very popular Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* was reial times translated

A certain number of chronicles in verse also ong to this period. There is a *methnewī* in ,000 *bait* on the exploits of Kemāl Re'īs, nposed by Safāyī of Sinub, a poet skilled in val matters who lived in his *teke* at Galata; o a *methnewī* in 15,000 *bait* by Ṣabayī of inne on the conquests of Kodja Dāwūd Pasha Bosnia, a rhymed chronicle dedicated by Sarī māl to Bāyazīd II entitled *Selāṭīn-nāme*, a *stūr-nāme* written in 869 (1466) for Mahmūd sha by Enwerī, mainly important for the history the Aidin-oghlu (*Turk Tārīkhī Endjumeni ellıyatī*, N° 15), lastly a chronicle in 15,000 *bait* the conquests of Mikhal Oghlu ʿAlī Beg by zī of Prizrin. We may also mention the *Kutbme*, dedicated to Bāyazīd II, in which the poet un Fidawsī describes the taking of the and of Midilli, and which is a valuable historical irce The same poet acquired fame from other rks like the *Silāhshūr-nāme* and the *Sulaimānme*

Prose developed considerably in this period It s mainly artistic prose that was cultivated, most brilliant representative was Sinān sha [q v], author of the *Tadarruʿ-nāme*, as ll as of a *Risāle-i Akhlāk* and a *Tedhkere-i ulyā'* The former is interspersed with poetry, shows power as a writer of religious lyrics s style is the same as in the famous treatise ʿAbd Allāh Ansārī, i. e artistically elaborated natural and sincere The principal representives of artistic prose in this period are Sarī māl, who translated the *Ta'rīkh-i Muʿdjam*, ī who adapted to Turkish the *Husn-u Dil* of ttāhī Nishābūrī, Mesīhī, author of the *Gul-i l-berg*, and Djaʿfer Čelebi Other great lists (*munshī*) were the grand vizier Mahmūd sha who wrote under the *makhlas* of ʿAdnī, the hāndjī Mehmed Pasha (*makhlaṣ* Nishānī) l Tursun Beg, known as Yazīdjī

The writing of history in prose also began to velop, Turkish taking the place of Arabic and rsian In the time of Bāyazīd II we find many cimens of the anonymous *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthn*, the prose of which is intermingled with ems taken from the *Iskandar-nāme* of Ahmedī, y show us that there existed in the xvth century ong the people and especially the soldiers, onicles which were almost of the nature of ics The historical works of Derwīsh Ahmed shikī, known as ʿĀshīḳ Pasha-Zāde and of udj-Beg do not differ much in point of style m the anonymous chronicles The chronicles Kātib Shewḳī, Behishtī and Neshrī long to the same period Works like the *Ta'rīkh u 'l-Fath* of Tursun Beg [q v] and the *ām-i djem-i āyīn* of Beyātī, on the other hand, re written for the upper classes of society and very different from these other chronicles The rk of Yazīdjī ʿAlī, who wrote in the time of rād II a *Seldjūk-nāme*, which contains among ier things a synopsis of Rawendī and a transion of Ibn Bībī is in a way a model for this ond class of historiography Several of these torical works, like that of Ṭursun Beg and the *anbul Feth-nāmesi* of Djaʿfar Čelebi were written rather with the object of displaying a particular style and extensive literary ability, which has had a regrettable effect on some of the literary works in prose

A fine specimen in unaffected prose of this period is the treatise by Deli Luṭfī which is one of the oldest works of humour (*mezāḥ*) in Turkish (publ by O. Rescher, *Orientalistische Miszellen*, ii, 1926, p 40—43, on the life of the author cf *Hayāt*, 1928, N° 100)

In this period we have also a number of works in the Turkish of Anatolia which were composed in Egypt and Syria In Egypt the Circassian Mamlūks were Turkish by language and culture and under their régime works were composed in Eastern and Anatolian Turkish. To the latter category belongs the translation of Kudūrī by the historian ʿAinī [q v.] Other works are a *Hikmet-nāme* in verse written in 893 (1488) by Ibrāhīm b Bālī, who dedicated it to Ḳā'it Bey, the Turkish poems of Ḳānṣū Ghūrī, a translation of the *Shāhnāme* written in 903 (1497) by a poet named Sherīf for Ḳānsū Ghūrī (manuscripts in the British Museum, at Upsala, Leningrad, in the library of Ibrāhīm Pasha in New-Shehir and in the Millet Kutubkhanesī in Constantinople) There is also a translation into Anatolian Turkish from the Eastern Turkish of the *Kitāb-i Guzīda*, by the hand of Mehmed b. Bālī, who is perhaps the same as the Ibrāhīm b Bālī already mentioned We also have a letter in Turkish written by Kānsū to Selīm I (publ by Khalil Edhem, in *T. T E. M*, 1928, N° 19)

We thus see that Persian influence in Turkish prose and poetry had increased considerably in the xvth century, even to the extent of becoming a fashion Mehmed II even had the Anatolian poet Shehdī write for him in Persian a *Shāhnāme* of the ʿOthmanlī and Bāyazīd II also ordered the history of Idrīs Bitlisī to be written in Persian Scholars and poets who belonged to Mesopotamia, Ādharbāidjān, Persia and Khurāsān visited the Ottoman court and were treated with honour and given handsome presents, which even caused Turkish poets to complain A remarkable figure among the poets who came from the east is Hāmidī (born in 834 = 1430) whose *Dīwān* contains Turkish and Persian poems He himself was of Turkish origin After having lived at the court of Ismāʿīl Beg of Kastamūnī, he enjoyed the favour of Mehmed II from 864 (1459). His *Dīwān* is of considerable interest for the history of the period

The court of Mehmed II and Bāyazīd II was in very friendly relations with the court of Herāt and with other Oriental courts, and the cultural and literary bonds which connected the Ottoman empire with the Muslim lands of the east and especially with Turkish lands remained close Mehmed II and Bāyazīd II as well as Mahmūd Pasha had relations with poets like Khwādja-i Djihān, Djāmī and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (cf e g Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. 422—423). In the same way the eastern poet ʿAlī Shīr Newā'ī was famous throughout Turkey at the end of this century. The persistence of the old Turkish tradition in the xvth century is further proved by the fact that the Uighur characters had not been entirely forgotten, there is in the Millet Kutubkhānesi a little work prepared to teach these letters to Bāyazīd II as well as a copy of the *Hibat al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*, written in Uighur characters. Towards

the end of the century there was actually a reaction against the excessive use of Arab and Persian words in poetry. They tried to write poems in the *ʿarūḍ* metre, while avoiding foreign words and expressions; one representative of the movement, called *Turkī-i Basīṭ*, is the poet Wiṣālī.

The literature of the people, of which the vehicles were the *ozan*, continued in this century as in the preceding ones and was still appreciated at the courts although the *ozan* had become poor musicians alongside of the great "classical" poets. They retained their popularity however among the people. We know of the existence of *ḳiṣṣa-ḫᵛān* also called *Sh̲āhnāme-ḫᵛān* and *meddāh* [cf HIKĀYA, ḲAṢṢĀṢ and MEDDĀḤ] They used to recite the old Muslim epics and were beginning to borrow their subjects from the everyday life of their neighbourhood; the latter provided a coarseness which separated them still further from the classical poetry. We have no longer any work of the popular literature of the period We may presume that the theatre of Ḳara Goz also developed in this century [cf. ḲARA GÖZ and KHAYĀL-I ẒILL].

xvith century.

The xvith century is the period of the apogee of Ottoman might, in which the empire attained its greatest power in the reigns of Selīm I and Suleimān the Magnificent. This was reflected also in the sphere of language and literature, which were fostered by the great centres of culture which had grown up with the foundation of schools, *tekes* and *medreses* As Rūm-ili received the particular attention of the government, it is here that we find many poets appearing. It was also at this period that the Turkish language and the Greek and Slav languages had most influence on one another By the conquests in the east, where the Ādharī dialect was predominant, the poets of these regions were led to use the Ottoman dialect The Crimea also gradually returned to the fold of Turkish culture: it began to produce Ottoman poets among whom were several of the Ḫāns themselves (cf. *Ilk Muteṣawwifler*, p. 197) The same influence reached the Dere-beys in Kurdistān The intellectual classes of the non-Turkish populations were forced to learn Turkish and on the other hand, Stambul attracted learned men and poets from other Turkish and Muslim lands.

All the sulṭāns and princes of the dynasty of ʿOthmān were patrons of art and learning and their viziers followed their example. Selīm I [q v] wrote, in addition to a Persian *Dīwān*, poems in Ottoman Turkish and in Čaghatāi Suleimān [q.v] wrote poetry under the *maḫlaṣ* of Muḥibbī and from the very first recognised the extraordinary talent of the poet Bāḳī The grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, himself a poet, was the special patron of the poets Ḫayālī, Lāmiʿī and Raḥmī. Under Selīm II, Murād III and Meḥmed III, the same tendencies prevailed so that, in this century, Anatolian Turkish became a great vehicle of art and learning.

The influence of the Persian poet Djāmī and of the Eastern Turkish poet Newāʾī made itself felt very markedly in the xvith century: many of their poems were translated into Ottoman Turkish The poet Lāmiʿī is sometimes called the Djāmī of Rūm, on account of his translations. On the other hand, it became fashionable to write poems in Čaghatāi. Poets from the east like Djemālī (his Čaghatāi *Dīwān*, containing only *naẓīre*s on Newāʾī, is in the Museum of Top Ḳapu, N^{o}. 755) did much to spread the glory of Newāʾī. Many Ādharī poets sought refuge at the court of the Ottoman sulṭāns: the most famous among them were Shāhī, who left the court of Shāh Ismāʿīl, and Ḥabībī who had been a member of the court of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb and of the Ṣafawid Ismāʿīl. Ḥabībī was a precursor of Fuzūlī (cf on Ḥabībī: Kopr. Zāde Fuʾād, *Ādherī Edebiyātīna ʿāʾid Tedḳīḳler*, Baku 1926), and a few Ādharī poets, like Baṣīrī, were also beginning to write in the Ottoman dialect. There is also a good deal of evidence that the cultural relations between the Ottoman court and those of the Ṣafawids, Shaibānids and even of the Great Moghuls were quite close There are interesting details of these relations in the narrative of the famous traveller Salyidī Reʾīs, who wrote under the *maḫlaṣ* of Ḳātibī [cf. ʿALI B. ḤUSEIN].

Literature flourished not only at Stambul but also in Baghdād, Diyār Bakr, Ḳonya, Ḳasṭamuni, Brusa, Edirne, Yeñidje-i Wardar and Üsḳüb At Stambul the poets used to meet in various places, such as little shops where some poets plied their trade, gardens (the garden of Bakhshī at Beshiḳṭash), the famous cabarets (*meiḫāne*) of Galata, *tekes* (the *teke* of Djaʿfar-ābād at Südludje) and the mansions (*ḳonaḳ*) of rich men (among them poets like Nigārī and Zīrekī). After the introduction of coffee, the *ḳahwe-ḫāne* also became important meeting-places, and the visitors belonged to all classes of society. This progress in literature goes parallel to the development of architecture, decoration (*naḳsh*), calligraphy, music and several branches of science. By the genius of the great poets like Raḥmī, Dhātī and Ḫayālī, and especially Bāḳī and Fuzūlī, there was created a Turkish classicism which was of no less merit than the Persian classicism which had been its model. It is wrong to deny an original character to Turkish literature: an intensive study enables one to discover in it the reflection of the ideas of the period and state of society, the results of the great military successes of the empire and of local conditions In this connection we would especially call attention to the high importance of the different categories of prose and of the historical works

In the xvith century, the literary language still makes borrowings from the Arabic and Persian. The activity of scholars like Surūrī, Sūdī, Ibn Kemāl and Riyāḍī produced philological commentaries, lexicographical and grammatical works. Books without number were translated into Turkish from Arabic and Persian The borrowings from the two languages enabled Turkish poets to perfect the prosody and style of their poems according to the taste of the day. The product of the movement however was a beautiful but artificial language in which many of the natural qualities of Turkish were lost On the other hand, we find poets who fill their poems — probably under the influence of Nedjātī — with proverbs (like the *Pend-nāme* or *Ḳanz al-Badīʿ* of Guwāhī). Other poets like Derūnī of Trebizond, Āgehī of Yeñidje-i Wardar, ʿIshḳī and Yetīm fill their *ḳaṣīda*s and *ghazel*s with terms taken from navigation. The movement known as *Turkī-i Basīṭ* (cf. xvth century) has two representatives in this century in Maḥramī of Ṭaṭawla (d. 942 = 1535), author of a *Basīṭ-nāme*), and Naẓmī of Edirne (d. after 962 =

55); cf. Köpr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Millī Edebiyāt eriyāniniñ ilk Mubashshirleri we-Dīwān-i turkī-i ṣāf*, 1928).

The greatest figures in the *ḳaṣīde* and *ghazel* the xvith century are in chronological order: ātī, Khayālī, Fuzūlī and Bāḳī.

Dhātī wrote besides *ḳaṣīdes* and *ghazels* a large mber of works in poetry and prose which are very unequal value. In his early works the fluence of Aḥmed Pasha and particularly of edjātī is evident. His imagination and his new eas made him very popular and he had a number disciples. In the evolution of Turkish poetry place is between Nedjātī and Bāḳī.

Khayālī [q. v.] began his poetical career when ātī was at the height of his fame, but as a et he surpasses the latter and many others. The *dhkeredji ʿAhdī-i Baghdādī* calls him the "Ḥāfiẓ Rūm". His *Dīwān* contains all his work and said to have been arranged by a certain ʿAlī lebi, although the poet himself says in a *ḳaṣīde* dressed to Sulṭān Suleimān that he had arranged *dīwān*. In his youth Khayālī had been under e influence of the mystics, notably Uṣūlī, but ystical poems form only a small proportion of work. His most original poems are his *ghazels*. met Fuzūlī in Baghdād and seems to have itten *nazīres* on his poems.

Fuzūlī must be regarded as the greatest poet Turkish literature in general, although he was rn in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and used Ādhaī dialect in his poems. He was of Turkish gin of the Bayat tribe He composed a *Dīwān* d a *methnewī Leilā we-Medjnūn* which have ured him a place in literary history Love in works is never entirely profane in character, inks to the inspiration of his mysticism But as on as he turns to the *ḳaṣīde* we find him falling o artificiality of no value His *Leilā we-Medjnūn* ist be regarded as an original work rather than adaptation. No other poet except Nasīmī and wā'ī has acquired a reputation like his through- t the whole Turkish world, he even exercised influence on the musician-poets of the people . Kopr. Zāde M Fu'ād, *Introduction aux Kulliyāt Fuzūlī*, Constantinople 1342, p. 3—22, *Turkiyāt djm*, ii 434—436)

Bāḳī after the death of Khayālī was undoubtedly greatest poet in Stambul His reputation spread y rapidly throughout the empire and even as as India. All the later poets down to the th century have praised him as their master s *ḳaṣīdes*, *merthiyes* and *ghazels* really do attain high pitch of perfection. In spite of the fact it he was inspired by a number of predecessors, retains all his own personality. In the expression sentiment Bāḳī is below Fuzūlī, but the musical arm and faultless ease of his poems have given n the reputation of an inimitable master of ssicism

The xvith century also produced a number ier great masters of the *ghazel* and *ḳaṣīde*. We y mention Ḥairetī, a very original poet, who cribes the towns of Rūm-ili and his amours; friend Isḥāḳ Čelebi; Rahmī of Brusa, own from his translation of the *Shāh-u-Derwīsh* Hilālī and for his fine *ghazels*; Fighānī executed order of Ibrāhīm Pasha; his successor Maḳālī; irrī Zāde ʿUlwī of Stambul, author of remarble *ḳaṣīdes*. In the second half of the century, nrī, ʿUbeidī, Mu'edhdhin Hudāyī and New'ī are masters of the *ghazel*. New'ī was at the same time a great scholar and stylist. We must also mention Rūḥī of Baghdād whose *Terkībbend* only won him fame later. Then Fewrī, Djenānī of Brusa and Selīḳī, who became known by their *mukhammes* and *museddes*. Sūnnī and the celebrated Ḳara Fazlī wrote *rubā'ī* in the style of Khaiyām. Sā'atī, Shūhretī, Riyāzī and ʿAṭa excelled in the *hidjw*. Others like Sāghirī, Thānī and Ghazālī, surnamed Deli Birāder, wrote *hezel*, *mezāḥ* (bantering poems; cf. GHAZĀLĪ and Kopr. Zāde M. Fu'ād, *Yeñi Medjmū'a*, 1917, N° 15). Finally two forms very fashionable in the poetry of this period were the *mu'ammā* (enigma) and the *ta'rīkh* (chronogram). The poet Emrī excelled in both of these.

As regards the *methnewī* we find, alongside of numerous translations and imitations of Persian works, original poems on local subjects like the *Shehr-engīz*, mystical poems and rhymed chronicles. The subject of *Yūsuf-u Zuleikhā* was very popular, especially one by Ḥamdī. Many poets also wrote a *Leila-u Medjnūn*, of which by far the finest was Fuzūlī's. Other subjects were the *Mihr-u Mushterī*, translated by Mīrī from the Persian, *Ebkār-i Efkār* and *Bahrām-u Zuhre*, both of which were chosen by Fihrī as subjects, and many others. The best known authors of *methnewīs* were Kara Faẓlī [q. v.] of Stambul, author of *Gul-u Bulbul*, Yahyā Bey of Tashlidja and, not quite so celebrated, Lāmi'ī [q. v.] Yahyā Bey's most celebrated poem is his *merthiye* on the death of prince Mustafā (1553); his *methnewīs*. *Shāh-u Gedā*, *Gendjine-i Rāz*, *Kitāb-i Uṣūl*, *Gulshen-i Enwār*, *Yūsuf-u Zuleikhā* are distinguished by a remarkable originality [cf. YAḤYĀ BEY]. We must also mention Ādherī Ibrāhīm Čelebi (993 = 1585), author of a *Nakṣh-i Khayāl*, and Muṣṭafā Djinānī of Brusa (d 1004 = 1596), who wrote *Makhzan al-Asrār*, *Riyāḍ al-Djinān* and *Djalā' al-Ḳulūb* Among descriptions of towns we have several descriptions of Brusa beginning with that of Lāmi'ī, there are similar works on Edirne, Diyār Bakr, Stambul etc.; to the same class belongs the *Risāle-i Ta'rīfāt* of Faḳīrī (d. 941 = 1534) of considerable historical value for its description of the various classes of society (cf. Kopr. Zāde M Fu'ād, *Ḥayāt*, 1921, N°. 2) The *ghazels* of Nihālī of Brusa (d 949 = 1542) are of equal interest, in which the poet describes young beauties belonging to the trade-gilds (cf Kopr. Zāde M Fu'ād, *Yeñi Medjmū'a*, 1918, N° 62)

The *methnewī* form was also still used for mystical works, lives of saints, collections of rules for the mystic orders, lexicographical works etc, most of which have little literary value Several poets wrote *Ḥadīth-i arba'īn*, in imitation of Djāmī and Newā'ī To this class also belongs the famous *Ḥilye* of Khāḳānī [q. v.] and the translations of the *Ḥadīth-i arba'īn* by the same author Encouraged by the fame of the *Mawlid* of Suleimān Čelebi, many poets, beginning with Aḳ Shams al-Dīn Zāde Hamdī took up the same subject but without attaining the same popularity. Lastly we may mention a *Deh-murgh-nāme*, inspired by the *Mantiḳ al-Ṭair* of ʿAṭṭār and dedicated in 919 (1512) to Selīm I by Shemsī

As the mystic movement increased in strength in this century and new *tekes* were everywhere opened, it is not surprising that poets belonging to the different orders should write didactic works,

mystic poems and collections of legends of saints, alongside of translations of Arabic and Persian mystical works. We may say that each *ṭarīḳa* had its own literature, among these literatures the more important belong to the heterodox groups. Thus the literature of the Bektāshīs, begun in the xvth century by Nedīmī, had representatives in Yetīmī and ʿAskerī, dervishes of the *teke* of Saiyid Ghāzī, and others. Many of these figures are of great interest in the history of religion for the freedom with which they expressed their thoughts — which sometimes cost them their lives Their heretical doctrines were not only disseminated among heterodox bodies like the Bektāshīs and Hurūfīs but also in orthodox orders like the Khalwetīs and Melāmīs, as we know from the historical sources. Other mystics wrote very simple poems, like Yaḥyā Efendi of Beshiktash and others

Finally a number of historical works were written in the form of *methnewīs* With the exception of the Ottoman history of Hadīdī written in 937 (1531), they always deal with a single event (the taking of Buda, of Djerbe, the Yemen etc.) or with the victories of a sultān (particularly Suleimān) or of a commander (like Khair al-Dīn Pasha Barbarossa, Oz Demir Oghlu ʿOthmān Pasha etc).

Prose in this century assumes a heavier and more artificial form; exaggerating Persian models, the simplest ideas are expressed by the most complicated images to the detriment of the subject This lack of taste is found in the greatest stylists of the period Lāmiʿī, Kemāl Pasha Zāde, Djelāl Zāde, Feridūn Beg, ʿAzmī, the translator of the *Humāyūn-nāme*, ʿAlī Celebi, Kīnalī Zāde ʿAlī Čelebi, Khwādja Saʿd al-Dīn [q. v] and others. This artificial tendency had a much more disastrous influence on prose than on poetry Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes We find however that in very long works, it was only the preface that was written in this turgid and clumsy style. Many literary, historical, religious or moralising works of the period were in fact written in more simple language The same applies to official correspondence and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simply as possible The prose which we possess by Bāḳī and Fuzūlī shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.

We shall begin with the historical works, a field in which great progress was made in this century, mainly on account of the interest taken by the educated classes in the military successes of the empire Beside the rhymed chronicle, in continuation of the Seldjūḳ tradition, we find from the time of Bāyazīd II and Selīm I historical works in prose The official Ottoman history written in Persian by Idrīs Bitlisī was translated into Turkish by his son. Other general histories were those of Ibn Kemāl, Djelāl Zāde Mustafā Čelebi, entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mamālik*, of Muḥyī al-Dīn Djemālī, of Luṭfī Pasha, of Khwādja Saʿd al-Dīn and of ʿĀlī. There are also a number of special histories, dealing with particular periods or certain events (the *Fethnāmes*) and biographical works (like the *Djawāhir al-Manākib* relating to Soḳollī). At the same time the office of *Shehnāmedji* was maintained at the court. In the time of Suleimān, it was filled by Feth Allāh ʿĀrif Čelebi, whose successors included Aflāṭūn Shirwānī, Seiyid Luḳmān and Taʿlīḳī Zāde (d. 1013 = 1604). These were also Turkish poets, but tradition demanded that the official *Shehnāme* should be written in Persian in the *mutecḳārib* metre, until Mehmed III ordered it to be written in Turkish. From the time of Taʿlīḳī Zāde, prose began to appear scattered through the text. From the historical point of view these *Shehnāmes* are naturally of less importance than the non-official chronicles. While works like the *Tādj al-Tawārīkh* of Saʿd al-Dīn were regarded as models of style, the *Taʾrīkh* of Luṭfī Pasha [q. v], whose style more resembles that of the old chronicles, and especially his *Āṣaf-nāme* are very important for our knowledge of the social history of this period. The *Taʾrīkh* of Selānikli Mustafā Efendi shows how corrupt the administration was at the end of the century We must regard ʿĀlī [q v.] as the greatest historian of the time and his other works reveal him as a man of almost encyclopaedic learning. Not only his *Kunh al-Akhbār*, but also his *Naṣīhat al-Salāṭīn*, *Ḳawāʿid al-Maḏjālis* and *Menākib-i Hunerwerān* show that the author was a severe critic, well informed about the conditions of life of his time The style of his historical works is relatively simple (on his life and works cf the introduction by Ibn al-Amīn Mahmūd Kemāl to the edition of the *Menākib-i Hunerwerān*, Stambul 1926) To this century also belongs the *Shakāʾiḳ-i Nuʿmāniye* written in Arabic by Ṭashkoprü Zāde [q v.] and translated into Turkish with additions by Medjdī of Edirne and Khākī of Belgrad, also an extensive biographical literature among which the biographies of the Turkish mystic sheikhs are of considerable historical interest A similar interest is contained in a few light works of badinage (*mezāḥ*) like the *Nafs al-amr-nāme* of Lāmiʿī and of Nīksārī Zāde (cf. *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿasi*, N°. 3).

Among historical works, those which deal with literary history occupy an important place The first Ottoman *tedhkere* is the *Hesht Behisht* written in 945 (1538) by Sehi, in imitation of the *Maḏjālis al-Nafāʾis* of Newāʾī. He was followed by Latīfī [q v], ʿĀshīḳ Čelebi [q v.], ʿAhdī of Baghdād and Hasan Čelebi [q. v]. ʿĀlī also gives important notices of poets in his *Kunh al-Akhbār* The compilation of collections of *nazāʾir* on poems of other poets, like the *Djāmiʿ al-Nazāʾir* written in 918 (1512) by Hādjdjī Kemāl, containing poems by 266 poets, and others, is a custom which is also found in the xvith century and has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Turkish poets.

It is in this century that we find geographical works and travels beginning to appear. In the xvth century we have only translations and excerpts from Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī as well as a translation from the Greek of Ptolemy. In the xvith century, these two works are again translated, as well as those of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ (by Sipāhī Zāde) and Istakhrī (by Sherīf Efendi) and ʿAlī Ḳushdjī's work on mathematical geography, and geographical descriptions of Egypt. A *Čin Siyāḥat-nāmesi* written in Persian by the merchant ʿAlī Ekber Khiṭāyī was translated into Turkish for Murād III. The celebrated *Baḥrīye* of Pīrī Reʾīs [q. v.] written in 935 (1529) was a result of the maritime policy of the Turkish empire. It is based in part on older cartographers like Ṣafāʾī and

on Italian maps. As a result of Suleimān's campaigns by land we have Mitrāḳdjī Naṣūḥ's work, full of admirable little sketches Seiyidī ʿAlī Reʾīs wrote his *Muḥīṭ* as a result of his unfortunate exploit in the Indian Ocean, although the book is based entirely on earlier Arab works. The *Mirʾāt al-Mamālik* by the same author is much more original. After it we have the *Siyāḥatnāme* in verse of the merchant Ahmed b. Ibrāhīm, describing his voyage to India. The *Manāẓir al-ʿAwālim* of Meḥmed ʿĀshiḳ of Trebizond is very important; based on the old Arab geographies, it gives valuable new information about Ottoman lands. Finally we may mention a *Taʾrīkh-i Hind-i Gharbī* on the discovery of the New World, translated in 990 (1582) from a European language by Meḥmed Yūsuf al-Herewī (on this literature cf. Taeschner in the *Z. D. M. G*, lxxvii., 1923)

Alongside of classical Turkish literature, we find the literature of the people increasing, the knowledge of which was spread by the *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*ān*, the *meddāh* and the *karagozdjī* in the popular cafés and in the barracks of the Janissaries Many classical poets also wrote *turi ku* [q. v.] intended for the masses. These *turku* are in the *ʿarūḍ* metre and in the form of *murebbaʿ*, later they were called *sharkī* [q. v] This form of poem goes back to the earliest forms of verse among the Turks. But the works of unlettered poets, like Enwerī, Thiyābī, Rāyī, Rahīḳī and others, written in imitation of the classical poets, were more to the taste of the people. In popular gatherings such themes as *Abū Muslim*, the *Ḥamza-nāme*, *Battāl Ghāzī* etc were enthusiastically received This encouraged Hāshimī of Stambul to write the *methnewī*. *Barḳī we-pūlāa* taken from the *Ḥamza-nāme* and inspired several authors and poets to write similar works Sultān Suleimān had the story of *Fīrūz-shāh* translated into Turkish in 8 vols. by Sālih Efendi, translator of the *Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt*. There were *ḳiṣṣa-kh*ʷ*ān* even in the palaces of the sultāns Alongside of old Muslim and Iranian subjects we find also collections of stories of everyday life like the *Bursalī Kh*ʷ*ādja ʿAbd al-Reʾūf Efendi Ḥikāyesi* by the poet Wahdī, also called *Ana Badjī Ḥikāyesi*. The stories of everyday life by Mustafā Djinānī of Brusa in an unaffected style give us a valuable insight into different aspects of the life of the people in these days. Another poet of this kind is Medhī, whose real name was Derwīsh Ḥasan, who was the *meddāh* of Murād III (cf. Rieu, *Cat of Turk. MSS.*, p. 42)

In the xvith century we are a little better informed regarding the activities of the *ozan*, although they are now generally known as *ʿāshiḳ* or *ṭogurdju* These wandering musicians were to be found wherever the people congregated and used to recite their poems in syllabic metres, love-songs, heroic tales, *merthiyes* and *turku* At the beginning of this century we have a portion of Bakhshī's epic on the Egyptian campaign of Selīm I and at the end of the century we have the names of Ḳul Meḥmed (d. 1014 = 1605), Öksuz Dede, Khayālī and Kor Oghlu, and, in the garrisons of the Maghrib, Čīrpanlī, Armudlu, Ḳul Čulkha, Gadāmushlu (cf also Kopr. Zāde M. Fuʾād, *Turk Sāz Shāʿirleri*, 1930). The influence of the various classes of society on one another had even the result that syllabic metre was sometimes used among the cultured classes (but especially in the *hezel*) and the *ʿarūḍ* metre in popular poems, just as had been the case formerly for poems of a religious character. The mystic poets however, following the tradition of Yūnus Emre, wrote their *ilāhīs* in syllabic metre. We may note the names of Ummī Sinān (d 958 = 1551), Aḥmed Sārbān (d. 952 = 1545), Idrīs Mukhtefī (d. 1024 = 1615) and Seiyid Seif Allāh Khalwetī (d. 1010 = 1601). But the greatest successors of Yūnus and Kaighusuz were found among the Bektāshīs and Kïzïlbash's, such as Ḳul Himmet and his pupil Pīr Sulṭān Abdal, a native of Sīwās who was executed in 1600 by order of Khiḍr Pasha (cf Saʿd al-Dīn Nuzhet, *Pīr Sulṭān Abdal*, 1929). Other products of the popular literature of the period were *Ḥasan Oghlu Turkuleri*, *Ḳara Oghlan Turkusu*, *Geyik Destānī*.

xviith Century

In spite of the political decline of the empire we still find intellectual and literary life pursuing its normal course The knowledge of the Ottoman literary language spread among the Muslim lower classes generally and also through districts with a non-Turkish population or speaking a non-Ottoman Turkish dialect like eastern Anatolia (Ādharī dialect) and the Crimea The Crimea began to produce a number of Ottoman poets, among them actually some of the Khāns. The influence of Turkish literature and culture is found as early as the xvith century in the use of Arabic characters by the Muhammadan Hungarians and Croats (cf. *Ungarische Bibliothek*, 1927, No 14). There is also a Turkish-Serbian dictionary in verse, called *Potur Shāhidīye*, composed by Hawāyī (*Bull. de la Soc scient. de Skoplye*, iii. 189—202), a similar Turkish-Bosniak vocabulary by Uskūfī and several rhymed Turco-Greek glossaries.

Stambul was always the centre to which men of letters and learning flocked from all parts of the empire and from beyond its frontiers. With the exception of Murād IV, no sultān took an interest in literature, and among statesmen there were relatively few patrons of literature like Ilyās Pasha, Musāhib Mustafā Pasha, Rāmī Pasha and the Sheikhs al-Islām Yahyā and Behāyī In spite of this and of the decline in the medreses this century saw scholars of ability like Ṣarī ʿAbd Allāh [q. v], Ismāʿīl Ankarewī, Isḥāḳ Khwādjasī, Ahmed Efendi, and others. The various branches of religious learning and Arabic philology have however no great representatives in this century, and the conflict between the *medreses* and the *tekes* known as the "question of the Ḳāḍī Zāde's" shows what a narrow point of view still prevailed in the *medreses*. The persecutions of the mystical orders, which sometimes had a political object also, did not however prevent these orders from continuing to prosper throughout the empire.

The "classical" Turkish poetry of the xviith century was in no respect below the level of the Persian models. But in place of devoting themselves to imitations and translations the Turkish poets were now working on original subjects It is true on the other hand that the influence of contemporary Persian and Indo-Persian poets is still felt. Nefʿī shows the inspiration of ʿUrfī, Nābī of Ṣāʾib and Nāʾilī-i Ḳadīm that of Shawḳat.

Nefʿī [q v.] may be regarded as the greatest Turkish master of the *ḳaṣīde*, on account of the power of his imagination, the richness of his language and the harmony of his style. His *ghazels* and his *hidjw* on the other hand are less successful. The influence of Nefʿī was always great on his successors, although his period saw several eminent *ḳaṣīdedjī*, like Newʿī Zāde ʿAṭāyī, Kāf Zāde Fāʾidī, Riyāḍī, Ṣabrī and Ridāyī The greatest representative of the ghazel is the Shaikh al-Islām Yaḥyā [q v] who may be regarded as the successor of Bāḳī, especially on account of his great power to express feelings and emotions His fame likewise survived into the following centuries Other representatives of the school of Bāḳī and Yaḥyā are the Sheikh al-Islām Behāyī and Wedjdī In contrast to the latter, the poets Fehīm [q. v], Nāʾilī-i Kadīm [q. v.], Shehrī and even the poet Nābī [q v] were under the influence of contemporary Persian poetry Nābī on whom can be noticed the influence of Ṣāʾib became renowned for his *methnewī khairīyes* and his *ghazels*. His poems are characterized by the preponderance of intellectual conceptions but this has not affected his popularity In many of his poems he describes and criticises the social life of his time. His young contemporary Thābit [q. v.] endeavours to show his originality by mingling proverbial expressions with his poetry. Among the masters of the ghazel in the xviiith century we may also mention Nishāṭī Mewlewī, Djewrī and Rāmī Mehmed Pasha

ʿAẓmī Zāde Hāletī [q v] excelled in all poetical genres and is best known for his *rubāʿī* The *laghz* and the *muʿammā* became very popular as did the *taʾrīkh* (chronogram) The *hidjw* and *mezāḥ*, composed in different forms, caused poets of the first rank to write very coarse things Some products of this genre however can be appreciated, like the *tedhkere* in the form of a *methnewī* by Gūftī in which the author depicts contemporary poets; the *hidjw* of Fehīm and of Djewī, written in the form of *mulammaʿ*, are curious because the text is scattered with passages in non-Turkish languages.

Some *methnewīs* of the first half of the century show a remarkable perfection The subjects of the old *khamsas* are gradually replaced by more topical subjects. The greatest representative of the style is Newʿī Zāde ʿAṭāyī [q v] who acquired his great reputation with his *Khamsa*, the subjects of which are taken from the life of his time. This poet reveals the influence of his Turkish predecessors like Yaḥyā of Tashlīdja and Djinānī (cf xvith century). After him we may note the following authors of *methnewīs* Ḳāf Zāde Fāʾidī, Ghanī Zāde Nādirī and Riyādī It was mainly in this century that it became fashionable to write *Sāḳī-names* in imitation of the Persian poet Ẓuhūrī, although this genre is already found earlier, as is shown by the *ʿIshret-name* of Rewānī (xvith century) Among the *Sāḳī-names* we may specially note those of ʿAṭāyī, Riyāḍī and Ḥāletī, all are tinged with mysticism. The *methnewī* thus served for all sorts of subjects taken from daily life, stories, descriptions, speculative works, tales of actual events etc.

The number of religious and mystical works, lives of saints and didactic works connected with the different *ṭarīḳas* is very great in this century. Poetical forms were often used for them. Very well known is the *Mirādjīye* of Nādirī. Then there were panegyrics of the Prophet (*naʿt*), translations in verse of the *Ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn*, of *mawlids* etc. Among the mystic poets there were some who used the syllabic metre; we may note Niyāzī-i Miṣrī, founder of the Miṣrīye division of the Khalwetīye order, whose poems were long popular; the Bektāshīs also numbered several poets in their ranks. There are also a large number of historical works in verse, *Shāh-names*, *Ghazānames*, etc., like the *Shāhname* of Nādirī of the time of Othmān II and others. The *Shehinshāhname* written by Mülhemī by order of Murād IV has only the preface in Turkish; the rest is Persian in keeping with the old tradition. It is in this century also that the custom begins of writing brief Ottoman histories in verse; we have that of Ṭālibī, written in 1017 (1608), of Nithālī (d. in 1075 = 1664) written for Meḥmed IV and the *Fihrist-i Shāhān*, dedicated to Meḥmed IV by Ṣolaḳ Zāde Hemdemī, and continued by a series of poets down to Ziyā Pasha in the xixth century. This kind of work has neither much historical nor literary value.

Literary prose follows the same lines as in the preceding century. The great stylists (*munshī*) like Weisī, Nergisī, Oḳdju Zāde and others carried affection of language to a still more advanced degree A fine specimen is given by the official documents addressed to the Persian court and written by *munshīs* like Hukmī; this same style, devoid of any taste, was sometimes used even in private correspondence. The works which were considered to have no literary value in their day are those which are now most appreciated, like those of Kočī Beg, Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi and Naʿīmā. Histories, in this century also, take first place among prose works. There are several which have the character of semi-official chronicles like the *Shehnāme* written in prose by Ṭashkopruzāde for ʿOthmān II Murād IV appointed Kābilī as *wakʿa-nuwīs* for the Erīwan campaign In 1074 (1664) the nishāndjī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha was appointed by Mehmed IV to chronicle events, as was Mehmed Khalīfa of Findiklī by Muṣṭafā II It is only later that Naʿīmā was appointed *wakʿa-nuwīs*. The historical works of this century are translations of the general histories of Islām, original works on the same subject, general and special works and monographs on Ottoman history. From the historical point of view, the most important are the *Djāmiʿ al-Duwal*, written in Arabic by Munedjdjim Bashī, the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi, the *Taʾrīkh* of Peçewī and the best that of Naʿīmā The great encyclopaedist Kātib Čelebi [cf ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA] also reveals himself in his *Mīzān al-Ḥaḳḳ* and *Dastūr al-ʿAmal* as a historian of penetrating insight. Peçewī [q. v.], who made use of Christian sources, is also very valuable for his sound judgment and impartiality Naʿīmā [q v] who posessed descriptive powers of the first order, gives vivid psychological analyses of historical characters. Kočī Beg [q.v.] examines in his celebrated *Risāle* the causes of the decline of the empire. Kara Čelebi Zāde is a *munshī* rather than a historian. We must also mention chroniclers like Wedjīhī, Hasan Bey Zāde and Ṣolaḳ Zāde, as well as the *dheil* to the *Shakāʾiḳ-i nuʿmānīye* by Newʿī Zāde ʿAṭāyī and the continuation by ʿUshshāḳī Zāde.

The *tedhkere* is much below the level of the xvith century; the most notable is that of Riyāḍī written in 1018 (1609). The *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ* of

Ḳāf Zāde Fā'iḍī composed in 1030 (1621) also contains specimens of the work of the poets dealt with in it. There is also the *dheil* to this work by Meḥmed ʿĀṣim (d. 1086 = 1675), the concise *tedhdere* of Riḍā and that of Güftī already mentioned. The *Maṭāliʿ al-Naẓā'ir* by Khiṣālī (d. 1062 = 1652) is a collection of *maṭlaʿ*s.

In the field of geography the most important works are those of Kātib Čelebi and Abū Bakr Dimashḳī They use European as well as Muslim sources. The *Siyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [q. v.] is important for the history of all aspects of social life. In spite of its defects it is a work without an equal in Turkish literature. In this century also the first *sefāret-nāme*s appear

The great popularity of the *shehnāmedjī*, *meddāḥ*, *karagozdjī* etc. continued in this century in all classes of society. At Brusa we have Derwīsh Kāmilī, Ḳurbānī ʿAlisī and others, at Erzerūm Ḳassāb Ḳurd, Kandillī Oghlu etc At Stambul there were eighty *meddāḥ*, who were organised in a gild (*eṣnāf*); the best known is Ṭiflī [q. v.] who was *nedīm* to Murād IV. Towards the end of this century the *meddāḥ* Ḳīrīmī (d 1120 = 1708) flourished.

The musician-poets (*sāz shāʿirleri*) became very numerous in the xviiith century We find them among the Janissaries, the sipāhīs, the lewends, the djelālīs, and in the religious bodies like the Ḳïzïlbash and the Bektāshīs. They were always to be found in military retinues. The writer has succeeded in collecting and identifying the works and names of about thirty musician-poets of this century The most notable are Gewheri and ʿĀshïḳ ʿÖmer; the latter has almost become the patron saint of the *sāz shāʿirleri* (cf Koprulu Zāde M Fu'ād, *Turk sazşairlerine ait metinler we-tetkikler*, I—V, Istambul 1929–1930) The influence of this popular literature is felt even among the upper classes, as in the poems of the Khān of the Crimea, Mehmed Girāy, who wrote under the *maḵhlaṣ* of Kāmil, and a *merthiye* of ʿAfīfe Sulṭān, one of the favourites of Mehmed IV Several "classical" poets also wrote *shaʿkī* for the masses. The poem on the hero *Gendj ʿOthmān* by Ḳayïḳdjï Muṣṭafā has actually given rise to a folk tale which still survives in Anatolia (Koprulu Zāde M Fu'ād, *Kayıkcı kul Mustafa we-genc osman hikayesi*, Istambul 1930) It is probable that several other folk-tales originated in this century, like those called *ʿĀshïḳ Kerem*, *ʿĀshïḳ Ghārib*, and *Shāh Ismāʿïl* Lastly we see from the statements of Ewliyā Čelebi that it was in this century that the *Orta Oyunu* [q v] began to be popular with the people.

xviiith century.

Literature and culture continued in this century to follow the same lines as in the preceding centuries There was a vast output in prose and poetry, while the intellectual links with Persia and Transoxania continued to exist. Persian poets, especially Shawḳat and Ṣāʾib, exercised a great influence on Turkish poetry But in spite of all this, the tendency to a more individual development gained in strength and was shown in the endeavours to simplify the language It is mainly due to the great poets of the beginning of this century that classical Turkish poetry entered on a path entirely independent of contemporary Persian poetry

The period of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha [q. v.] is a very important one. Many works were written and translated by his orders or those of Sulṭān Ahmed III. Committees were appointed to translate important works rapidly. Among the poets of this period we may mention ʿOthmān Zāde Tā'ib, who was called the king of poets, Seiyid Wehbī, Sāmī, Rāshid, Neilī, Selīm, Kāmī, of Edirne, Durrī, Thāḳib, ʿĀrif, Sālim, Celebi Zāde ʿĀṣim, and ʿIzzet ʿAlī Pasha. Nedīm [q. v.] in particular acquired a great reputation in the second half of the century and later. His *ghazel*s and his *sharḳī* recall the period of Saʿd-ābād and by his original subjects, rich imagination and harmonious language, he surpasses his predecessors and his contemporaries. In the *sharḳī* he reached a level which neither Nāẓim before him nor Fāḍil Enderūnī after him attained. It was also through the patronage of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha that Ibrāhīm Muteferriḳa [q. v.] was able to inaugurate Turkish typography; but for several reasons printing remained confined to a very restricted sphere throughout this century and did not exercise any particular influence on intellectual or artistic life.

Among the great poets of this century we must also make special mention of Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha [p. v], the greatest representative of the school of Nābī, and Sheikh Ghālib [q. v.], the last great poet of the classical period In the *kasīde* it was the influence of Nefʿī that dominated, while in the *ghazel* there was a rivalry between the disciples of Nedīm and Sāmī on the one hand and admirers of Nābī on the other. But towards the end of the century a decline in both schools became apparent; poets like Fāḍil Enderūnī [q v] and Sunbulzāde Wehbī [q.v.] are only mere imitators The poets of this century practised all forms of poetry and special attention was devoted to genres characteristic of an epoch of decadence, like the *hidjw*, the *hezel*, the *muʿammā* (enigma) and the *taʾrīkh* (chronogram), while immorality and a general decline in good taste increased On the other hand, true religious inspiration still continued, as may be seen from the *munādjāt* and the *naʿt* of Naẓīm, the *Miʿrādjiye* of poets like Nāyī ʿOthmān Dede, Naḥīfī and ʿĀrif Suleimān Bey and the verse translation of the *Methnewī* of Mewlānā by Naḥīfī The *methnewī*s of this period are numerous but of little literary value, the old subjects of the *khamsa* are entirely dropped, with the exception of the *Husn-u ʿIshḳ* of Sheikh Ghālib, the last masterpiece of this class. Finally, the rhymed historical works of this period and the mystic poems by imitates of the various orders are of little importance.

Literary prose tends to become gradually simpler, although we still find imitations of the style of Nergisī and Oḳčï Zāde A well-known stylist like ʿOthmān Zāde Tā'ib openly declared against exaggerated artificiality in prose. Historical works occupy the first place. Among authors serving as *waḳʿanuwis* [q. v] we may mention Rāshid, Čelebi-Zāde ʿĀsim and Wāṣif, but none of them can be compared to their predecessors like Naʿïmā, although hundreds of people were writing biographical and historical works. The political and military decline of the empire caused a large number of *lāyiḥa* ("memoirs") to be written investigating the causes. The most remarkable of these memoirs is that of Ḳodja Segbān Bashï. From the point of view of geography we may note a number of important *sefāret-nāmes*, of which

the *Fransa Sefāret-nāmesi* of Yirmi Sekiz Čelebi Meḥmed Efendi is a typical example, these works were occasionally, although rarely, written in verse. The *sūr-nāmes* written to celebrate the splendid festivals held by the sulṭāns are important sources for sociological research Those best known are the *Sūr-nāmes* of Seiyid Wehbī and of Ḥashmet The collections of biographies of poets are even more numerous than in the preceding century. We may mention the *teḏkeres* of Ṣafāyī and Sālim and that of Belīgh, the *teḏkere* of Esrār Dede is specially devoted to Mewlewī poets; to this century belong also the *Wakā'i' al-Fudalā'* of Sheikhī, which is the final continuation (*dheyl*) of the *Shaḳā'iḳ* Lastly the *Tuhfe-i Ḫaṭṭāṭīn* of Mustaḳīm Zāde — whom we may regard as the greatest encyclopaedist of this century — is the most important source for the Muslim and Turkish calligraphers (*ḫaṭṭāṭ*) In the field of geography we have only translations and excerpts from European works.

The *meddāḥ*, *karagoẓdi* and *orta oyunḏu* continued to enjoy the same popularity among all classes of society The works of the musician-poets were also known everywhere, we may mention Ḳimetī, Nūrī, Lewnī, Ḳaba Saḳal Meḥmed and Fasīhī, but the popularity of Gewherī and ʿĀshīḳ ʿÖmer continued; some of these poets were of Armenian origin, like Meḏjnūn and Warṭan who lived at the beginning of the century. This influence of Turkish musician-poets on the poems of the Armenian *ashūgh* perhaps begins as early as the xvith century (cf Kopr Zāde M. Fu'ād in *Edebiyāt Fakultasī Meḏmūʿasī*, 1922, No. 1, p 1—32). The best example of the way in which the literary taste of the people had penetrated among the upper classes is the fact that the great poet Nedīm also wrote a *turku* in the popular metre This tendency became more marked as the century advanced.

xixth century

At the beginning of this century, Ottoman literature had sunk to a very low level which continued till the period of the "Tanzīmāt" Wāṣif Enderūnī [q v.] and ʿIzzet Molla [q v] alone show some originality Wāṣif appeals to the popular taste and shows the influence of Nedīm as well as that of Fādil Enderūnī ʿIzzet Molla, while strongly influenced by Nedīm and Shaikh Ghālib is, however, a much greater poet than Wāṣif, especially as regards the purity of his language and his poetical technique, in addition to *ḳaṣides* and *ghazels* he wrote quite good *methnewīs*, he is the last "master" of classical poetry before the "Tanzīmāt". It is true that even after the "Tanzīmāt", many poets wrote *ḳaṣides* and *ghazels* in the ancient style and among them the great advocates of literary innovations like Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ziyā Pasha; to this period also belong Ghālib Bey of Leskofča, ʿAwnī Bey and ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Bey, all imitators of Nā'ilī and Fehīm-i Ḳadīm. They had, however, no influence on the course of literary development. It was only natural that the old literary tradition could not disappear at one stroke; Shināsī and his school had to maintain a long and hard struggle against the old school.

The prose of the period before the "Tanzīmāt" is not of much value, although the production was not less than in preceding centuries. In history, the *Ta'rīḫ* of Muterdjim ʿĀsim is remarkable for its style and critical ability; the author uses even simpler language in his translation of the *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ* and of the *Ḳāmūs*. The *waḳʿanuwis* Esʿad Efendi, translator of the *Mustaṭraf* and author of the well-known *Üss-i Ẓafer* on the extermination of the Janissaries, is far below ʿĀsim, with his insipid language and confused style The same writer edited the *Taḳwīm-i Weḳā'iʿ* and Sulṭān Mahmūd II reproached him with the obscurity of his language in an account of a journey of the sultān which he had drawn up in this capacity. On the other hand, in his translation of the *Mustaṭraf*, he recommends the use of Turkish instead of Arabic and Persian words and the simplification of literary style, which shows to what an extent the movement to simplify the language had made progress Lastly we must not forget the celebrated poet and stylist ʿĀkif Pasha [q.v] who, in spite of several poems written in the popular metre and some works in simple prose, ought not to be regarded as the first to spread literary innovations ʿĀkif Pasha, indeed, remained entirely unaffected by European culture and is one of the last representatives of the old literature.

Among the representatives of the popular literature we have information about the *maddāḥs* Pič Emīn, Kīz Ahmed, Hādjdjī Mu'eḏḏhdhin, Kor Ḥāfiz and others, as well as of some writers of shadow-plays (*ḫayāldi*) like Sherbetdji Emīn, Hāfiẓ of Ḳāsim Pasha, Musāhib Saʿīd Efendi, it is only towards the end of the century that Kātib Sālih in breaking with the ancient tradition began to imitate the modern theatre.

The best known musician-poets of this century are Derdlī, Dhihnī of Baiburt and Emrāḥ of Erzeium, who acquired a great and well merited popularity in Asia Minor as well as in Constantinople among all classes (cf Kopr. Z M Fu'ād, *Erzurumlu Emrah*, Istambul 1929) Down to the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz these *ʿāshiḳs* used to assemble in a café in Ta'uk Pazarī They had an organisation of their own with a chief (*reʾīs*) at their head, recognised by the government. This organisation was broken up later on, but in the xxth century we still find musician-poets in Asia Minor

This classical Turkish literature and especially the poetry had lost almost all its vigour and originality by the time the Tanzīmāt began. Classical poetry had lost the ability to create anything new within its narrow limitations, and the poets could only produce imitations (*naẓīre*) of the great masters of the past, or in their efforts to show a little originality fall into artificiality and platitude. As a result of continually repeating the same conceptions by the same limited means of expression, all the vitality of Turkish poetry was destroyed. Even great artists like Nedīm and Sheikh Ghālib had not been able to escape the rigid rules of the old models On the other hand, the attempts to draw upon the language and literature of the people and to appeal more to popular taste and language, efforts such as we observe in Fādil Enderūnī and Wāṣif, only resulted in vulgarity and banality. In spite of the political and economic connection with Europe which had existed for centuries, the social structure of the Ottoman people had never emerged from the frame of

Islāmic civilization, which kept it imprisoned in a mediaeval system of ideas. It is true that the continual military defeats and the gradual economic decline had impressed upon thinking people the material and technical superiority of Europe and that, as early as the xviiith century, they had begun to take advantage of European skill to reorganise the army and the fleet But it was much more difficult to admit the superiority of Europe in the field of culture. The *medreses*, which were in a very backward state compared with earlier centuries, still clung tenaciously to the mentality and tastes of the middle ages Modern science was beginning to be introduced only in institutions founded for the army, like the Engineering School (*muhendis-khāne*) and the Medical School (*ṭibb-khāne*). These innovations owed a great deal to a few individuals, who had studied western languages and modern sciences, like Khodja Ishāk Efendi, Gelenberī and Shānī Zāde. It was the need felt by Selīm III and especially by Mahmūd II to reorganise the army and navy and to establish a central administration to prevent the empire being parcelled out between feudal chiefs, that led them to consent, in spite of the opposition of the *medreses*, to the reform of the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences

From the end of the xviiith century, there were in Turkey men who knew French and recognised the cultural superiority of Europe. In bringing teachers from France and sending students to Europe, the movement of Europeanisation was encouraged in Turkey It was natural then that as a result of all these needs, European influence began to show itself little by little, as in every branch of life, also in the field of thought and art.

b "European" Turkish Literature.

Period of the "Tanzīmāt" and the New Literature.

The great industrial and capitalist development in Europe as well as the political expansion and rivalry of the imperialist Great Powers could not long ignore so vast and rich a field of exploitation as Turkey. At the same time the mediaeval institutions of the empire had lost their power of resistance and the revolutionary movements in France had propagated the principle of nationality among the non-Muslim elements. All these circumstances made the urgent need felt of introducing reforms in the social and administrative institutions of the empire These reforms were to meet with considerable resistance, not only among the lower classes but also among those members of the educated classes who had been educated in the *medreses* It was due to Reshīd Pasha and his little group of followers that the reforms were gradually introduced into the country. In Turkish history these reforms are known as "Tanzīmāt"[q v].

The Tanzīmāt were not confined to the fields of administration, justice and finance; with the object of securing the progress of education among the Muslim Turks, primary and secondary schools were opened and plans made to found a university. An *Endjumen-i dānish* was formed to prepare schoolbooks (1269 = 1853) and students were sent to Europe. The *Endjumen-i dānish* was soon replaced by the *Djemʿiyet-i ʿilmiye-i ʿothmānīye* (1277 = 1860), which began to publish its own organ: *Medjmūʿa-i Fünūn*. In the following year, the Girls' School was opened and in 1279 (1862) University courses were begun. In 1282 (1865) was formed a *Terdjeme Djemʿiyeti*, in 1284 (1867) the Civil School of Medicine (*Ṭibbiye-i mulkīye Mektebi*) began its lectures, and in the following year, the Lycée of Galata Serāy was opened, the curriculum of which was adapted from western secondary schools and French was used for teaching alongside of Turkish The University (*Dār al-Funūn*) was opened in 1286 (1869) but the intrigues of the conservative elements forced it to be closed two years later In 1287 (1870) the School of Law (*Ḥukūk Mektebi*) was opened and in 1294 (1877) a School of Political Sciences (*Mekteb-i mulkiye*) At the same time museums and libraries were founded as well as technical schools like the engineering, agricultural and commercial schools. Thus there was gradually created an educated class outside of the *medreses*. All this activity was accompanied by a gradual development of the daily press. In 1247 (1831) the official publication *Takwīm-i Wekāʾiʿ* began to appear which was followed by the *Djerīde-i Hawādīth* in 1256 (1840), the *Terdjumān-i Aḥwāl* in 1276 (1859) and the *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* in 1278 (1861) [cf. DJARĪDA] These two last mark an important stage in the history of modern developments for it was through them that Shināsī, founder of the new literary school, and his disciple Nāmiḳ Kemāl addressed the public. Down to the period when the absolutism of ʿAbd al-Hamīd prevented any kind of publication, the Turkish press developed very rapidly Many scientific and literary works were translated from European languages, especially from French, and the Turkish language began to be simplified, at the same time enriching itself with a large number of scientific expressions.

The three great figures of the new literature are Shināsī [q v] who had been educated in France, his great disciple Nāmiḳ Kemāl [cf. KEMĀL] and Ziyā Pasha [q v], both of whom had lived in France as exiles Through these circumstances the new school was imbued with the French literature of the xviiith and xixth century, and the principles proclaimed during the political revolutions in France The innovators wished to exterminate the old feudal literature and proclaim the ideas of "fatherland" (*waṭan*), "liberty" (*hurrīyet*), "democracy" (*khalḳdjīlīk*) and "constitutionalism" (*meshrūṭiyet*), they aimed at creating a "bourgeois" literature. It was in this way that journalism, political and literary criticism, the theatre, the translation of western literary works, the novel and the philosophical and sociological essay began. Shināsī was neither a brilliant stylist nor a great poet, but his programme was well defined; he wished to free himself from the trammels of the old unintelligible language, although he was not able to realise all this programme, his theories exercised a great influence on those around him. Ziyā Pasha, by his translations of Rousseau and Molière and by his literary and political criticism, gave great support to this movement. He was well versed in the classical literature, yet he went so far as to allege that this literature had no relation to the Turkish character; he upheld the thesis that one ought to follow nature, i. e. borrow from the popular language and literature. In reality Ziyā Pasha had neither the strength nor the courage to put these theories into force.

It was undoubtedly Nāmiḳ Kemāl who assured

the definite success of the new school. He was a great artist, a keen fighter, a prolific author and a great patriot. For him art was a means of provoking a revival in the land and he contributed vigorously to the cultural and political revolution in Turkey by his political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence The presentation of *Waṭan* was a great political event in the country. He attacked the old literature even more bitterly than Ziyā Pasha and thought that it was impossible to write Turkish poetry in the *ʿarūd* metre. However, not even Kemāl could cast off the old traditions entirely, nor could his friends. It is for this reason that Saʿd Allāh Pasha was able to write in 1297 (1880) in an anonymous article in the journal *Waḳt*, that pupils should only be given literal translations of western works because the "new" writers had not been able to produce in reality any really new.

ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [q.v.], a pupil of Nāmïḳ Kemāl, brought about a great revolution in the field of poetry, which hitherto had not been able to free itself from ancient forms This extremely prolific poet introduced into Turkish the lyric and the drama in which his models were Dante, Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare. Even Nāmïḳ Kemāl acknowledged that the new Turkish poetry begins with Hāmid Other important figures were Riḍjāʾī Zāde Ekrem [cf. EKREM] and Sāmī Pasha Zāde Sezāʾī [q.v], but in proportion as the pressure of despotism increased, the second generation of the period of the Tanẓīmāt began more and more to pursue purely artistic ends

Many other thinkers or writers have contributed to the cultural evolution of the country We may mention the famous historian Ahmed Djewdet Pasha [q.v.], Aḥmed Wefïḳ Pasha [q v], Suleimān Pasha, and the great writer and encyclopaedist Aḥmed Midhat Efendi [q.v], as well as the lexicographer Shāms al-Dïn Sāmī Bey [q v.] Djewdet Pasha, well versed in oriental learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fuʾād Pasha, has written beautiful prose in Turkish Ahmed Wefïḳ, animated by western ideas, wished to revive national culture, and proclaimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictonary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the *Shaḏjara-i Turk* of Abu 'l Ghāzī By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre Suleimān Pasha, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not "ʿOthmanlï", in his *Taʾrïḵh-i ʿĀlam* he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from Deguignes and other sources

Lastly Ahmed Midhat wrote and translated hundreds of volumes of a popular nature, beginning with books of the alphabet; he thus trained the people to read and contributed to raising the level of education, which was his only aim, for his books have no scientific or literary value. Sāmī Bey showed himself a worthy successor of Wefïḳ Pasha in his *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām* and *Ḳāmūs-i Turkī*.

At the end of the xixth century appeared Muʿallim Nādjī [q v.], who obtained great fame under the protection of Aḥmed Midḥat. Nādjī was well versed in eastern culture and wrote *ghazels* in the classical style alongside of good poems in the new style. The followers of the old school expected from him almost a resurrection of classicism, although Nādjī was not at all a champion of such a reaction, as is shown by his beautiful simple prose (as in *ʿOmerïñ ḫodjuḳlughu*). His quarrels with Ekrem Bey originated rather in personal reasons. At the same time Nābī Zāde Nāẓim, who died very young, came to the front; his novel *Zehrā* makes him a figure of first importance in literary history.

The most important event at the end of the xixth century is the literary movement begun by a group of youthful men of letters who had associated themselves, at the instigation of Riḍjāʾī Zāde Ekrem, with the periodical *Therwet-i Funūn*; this movement marks the second and last stage of the Europeanisation of Turkish literature. It is dominated by the figures of Tewfïḳ Fikret [q v] and Khālid Ziyā and is very much under the influence of the literary movements in France at the end of the xixth century Started in a period of absolute despotism and having only a short life of five or six years, this movement produced works of a neurotic and pessimistic sentimentality Its motto was "art for art's sake". If we except Djenāb Shihāb al-Dïn, who acquired after the revolution the reputation of a great prose writer, Sulaimān Naẓïf, who may be considered a pupil of Nāmïḳ Kemāl with an originality of his own, Fāʾïḳ ʿĀlī, an imitator of ʿAbd al-Haḳḳ Ḥāmid, and Ismāʿïl Ṣafā, an independent figure, who finds his subjects in everyday life, all the poets who wrote in the *Therwet-i Funūn* were imitators of Tewfïḳ Fikret. Khālid Ziyā, who has a very choice style, is the true founder of the literary novel in Turkish. He takes his subjects generally from the upper middle classes, but some of his short stories describe the life of the people. The latter genre has been more successfully treated by the novelists Ahmed Hikmet and Husein Djāhid, in more simple language. Meḥmed Reʾūf is a novelist who makes excellent psychological analyses, but his language is incorrect. In the field of science, philosophy and criticism, the collaborators on the *Therwet-i Funūn* did no more than translate But the severe censorship and the short life of the group did not enable them to show greater vitality.

While the school of Tewfïḳ Fikret and Khālid Ziyā reflected only the life of the upper classes, Hüsein Rahmī [q v] depicted in his novels various aspects of the life of the people, and at the same time the notable publicist Ahmed Rāsim [q v] was dealing in several of his works with the same subject. Among the poets of this period, we may further mention Rizā Tewfïḳ [q v.] who has written the finest lyrics in the style of the *ʿāshïḳ* poets and Bektāshī, but in syllabic metre, the poetess Nigār Khānïm and lastly Mehmed Emïn Bey [q v] who suddenly became celebrated during the Turco-Greek war by his *Turkče Shiʿʿler*. Meḥmed Emïn employed a very simple language in the syllabic metre and wished to reach the people directly (*ḫalḳa doghru*), although the existing popular literature with its mentality, tastes and traditional forms were entirely unknown to him. As a man of letters he was entirely of the school

of Fikret; he was not however an individualist like his contemporaries but imbued with the democratic spirit (*khalḳdjîlîḳ*) This was the first occasion on which a Turkish poet had descended to the level of the people. Perhaps it is right to charge him with a lack of lyrical feeling, but this does not prevent us from regarding him as an interesting figure in literary history At the same time the movement to simplify the language continued and even gave rise to an exaggerated purism. By the translation of the works of European scholars the early history and culture of the Turks became known, while the journalistic activities of the young Turks abroad began to envisage Turkish nationalism from the political point of view These were the main elements in the cultural and literary life of Turkey before the Revolution of 1908.

xxth century.

The revolution of 1908, having brought about the abolition of the censorship, caused an extended literary activity The patriotic pieces of Kemāl and Hāmid re-appeared on the stage and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical and historical nature were translated into Turkish At the same time, great improvements were made in education and the relations with Europe raised the general cultural level to a height never before reached.

The most important literary organisation after the Revolution was "Fedjr-i ātī", although it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; its members began by following the school of Fikret and Khālid Ziyā, but the majority of them ended up as members of the national literary movement Ahmed Hāshim alone continued to develop in the way he had first chosen. He never abandoned the *ʿarūḍ* metre, nor the conception of "art for art's sake" in its strictest form Besides, he had ideas of his own on the relation between music and poetry (cf. H Duda, *Ahmed Hāschim* in W. I., II., 1928, N^{o}. 3—4, p. 200—244) The poet Yahyā Kemāl who had a great influence after 1912 had literary views entirely different from those of Aḥmed Hāshim for he sought music rather in the exterior elements of his poems, while he retained the motto "art for art's sake". Another poet, who remained outside of the national literature is Meḥmed ʿĀkif, the advocate of Panislāmism and unrivalled master of the *ʿarūḍ* metre, in simple language he describes the life of the people in its most realistic aspects. ʿĀkif, whose lyrics sometimes rise to great heights, has remained quite uninfluenced by western poetry, he is a democratic poet, born of the people. In the work of these three poets, very different from one another, we see Turkish poetry striving to free itself from the too limited sphere of Tewfîḳ Fikret and his school; but under the stimulus of the great development of the nationalist movement which manifested itself in the whole domain of art, poetry also has ended by entering on new paths

a. The National Literature.

After the Revolution of 1908, it was the ideal of Ottomanism (*ʿothmānlîlîḳ*) that animated the governing classes. But the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; this was the national ideal, which had already revealed itself in the period of the Tanẓîmāt and which had existed through the Ḥamîdian period in a cultural form. After the revolution also, this movement began by assuming a cultural aspect. On December 28, 1908, the society *Turk Derneyi* was founded, the object of which was to study the past and present of the Turkish peoples, to simplify the Turkish language and to make it a language of science. This society had not much power, but in November 1911 the periodical *Turk Yurdu* began to appear and on March 12, 1912, the *Turk Odjaghî* was founded. This movement was not confined to a few Turkish patriots associated with it were a number of Turkish intellectuals fromother countries who had fled from the oppression of Tsarism, like Agha Oghlu Aḥmed, Ḥusain Zāde ʿAlī and Aḳ Čora Oghlu Yūsuf The movement was violently opposed by the followers of a badly understood occidentalism (*gharbdjîlîḳ*) on the one side and by the partisans of Panislāmism (*ittiḥād-i Islām*) on the other At the same time, the periodical *Genḍj Ḳalemler*, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziyā Gok Alp, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*itt̤iḥād-u tereḳḳî*), began his activities With the transfer of the central office to Constantinople, Ziyā Gok Alp joined the *Turk Yurdu*. Later, after the disastrous conclusion of the Balkan War, the younger generation also rallied to the national movement. The time was very opportune for the success of the national ideal, it only required a man capable of directing the national idea and laying down a programme and giving it a philosophical basis. It was Ziyā Gok Alp who did this He exercised a great influence on the youth by his university courses, by his lectures and by his articles and poems, all his life, from the time of the Balkan War to the Armistice, when he was exiled to Malta, and later during his sojourn in Diyār Bakr and Anḳara, he displayed an uninterrupted activity: the résumé of his teaching is contained in his book *Turkdjuluyun Esâslarî* (Angora 1339 = 1923). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land

As in all branches of life, the national movement made its influence felt in literature. the syllabic metre attained the dominant position in poetry; the language was simplified, the motto "art for art's sake" was replaced by "art for life", writers began to borrow from popular literature and its traditional forms; literature began to reflect the life and characteristics of all branches of society. Philological and historical studies were made on the works of the musician-poets, on the popular literature, the music of the people. In brief, the science of Turkology was founded [It is to Koprülü Zāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, the author of this article, that almost all the credit of these important studies is due Edd.] All this contributed greatly to give a definite direction to the new literary movement.

Among the poets of this movement we may give first place to Fārūḳ Nāfidh, who in his last poems depicts the scenery of Anatolia, then Orkhān Seifī, Enis Behîdj, Yūsuf Ziyā, Khālid Fakhrī, Nedjîb Fāḍil. All these show the influence of Ziyā Gok Alp and Yaḥyā Kemāl rather than of Meḥmed Emîn. In prose, the

progress is still more marked and the writers in it have still greater force. The greatest figure of the period is Khālide Edīb Khanïm. After the stories of love and passion which are characteristic of her first period she wrote books in the style of *Ateshden Gomlek* in which she describes the struggle of Anatolia for independence. ʿÖmer Seifeddīn, who died young, has left a number of very good little stories, some of which, like *Bombā*, are masterpieces of national literature. Refīḳ Khālid, who is perhaps the best writer of simple Turkish, describes in his *Memleket Ḥikāyeleri* realistic scenes of Anatolian life, hitherto unkown to literature, his realism however is expressed in a merciless sarcasm, quite devoid of sympathy and feeling. Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī, even in his novels, is rather a stylist and a mystic poet than a story-teller. Other well-known figures in the new prose are Fālih Rïfḳï, who describes in *Atesh we-Gunesh* episodes of the war in Palestine and Rūshen Eshref. Among the novelists Reshād Nūrī achieved fame by his novel *Čalï Ḳushu*. The evolution of the Turkish theatre is being hampered by the interminable adaptations of worthless French vaudeville. But the fact that the Turkish woman has appeared on the stage, that there are many good actors and that important western pieces are now being played gives good hope for the future.

By the foundation of the Turkish nationalist republic, nationalist principles have entered into the things of everyday life. The government is devoting much attention to the simplification of the language and to the creation of a scientific terminology in Turkish. The adoption of the Latin alphabet will contribute a great deal to the simplification of the language. But there is no resting. While the nationalist literature is still in its beginnings, we already see announced an internationalist literature. The young and vigorous Marxist poet Nāzïm Hïkmet, who has returned to Turkey after a long stay in Russia, is endeavouring to create a proletariat literature with poems without metre and without rhyme, at the same time launching his thunderbolts at the capitalists and the literary men who defend them. Several young poets and novelists have gathered round Nāzïm Ḥikmet, while others are trying to spread futurist ideas. It may be doubted if this new seed, brought by wild winds from beyond the Black Sea, will find a fertile soil in this country, where industry and capitalism are only beginning to develop. It is impossible to say if the young national literature will be capable of resisting these foreign influences. In any case, future developments will take a course parallel to that of the country's destiny.

Bibliography. *a.* Methodology. Koprülü Zāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Turk Edebiyātï Ta'rïkhinde Uṣūl* (in the periodical *Bilgi*, 1, 1329, p. 1–52); do., in *Millī Tetebbuʿlar Medjmūʿasï*, i., 1331, p. 35—46.

b. Texts. The majority of the texts of the old literature are still in manuscript. Some have been printed at Cairo and Constantinople but not in critical editions. For the manuscripts, the catalogues of libraries in east and west may be consulted. Very few texts have been translated into European languages. For details, see this article and other articles relating to the subject.

c. Chrestomathies. The most important manuscript selections are mentioned in the article. In Europe there have been published: E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol v., vi; W. D. Smirnoff, *Muntakhābāt-i Āthār-i ʿothmāniye*, St. Petersburg 1903, M. Wickerhauser, *Wegweiser zum Verständniss der turkischen Sprache*, Vienna 1853; A. Fischer and Muhieddin, *Anthologie aus der neuzeitlichen turkischen Literatur*, 1, Leipzig-Berlin 1919. *La Muse ottomane* by Servan de Sugny, publ. in 1855, gives translations in verse. For the classical poetry we have *Khaïrabāt* by Ziyā Pasha (3 vol., 1291), and *Muntakhabāt-i Mïzaḳïf* (Būlāḳ 1261). For prose Ebuzziyā Tewfïk, *Numūne-i Edebiyāt-i ʿothmāniye* (6th ed., Constantinople 1330). Lastly there are a number of chrestomathies for Turkish schools; the most recent is *Turk Edebiyātï Numūneleri* by Hïfzï Tewfïḳ, Hammāmī Zāde Ihsān and Hasan ʿAlī (vol i., Constantinople 1927).

d. Biographies of poets. The most important *tedhkere-i shuʿarā'* have been mentioned in the text. A large number are not yet printed. For bibliographical information see the introduction to Ibn al-Amīn Mahmūd Kemāl, *Ṣoñ ʿAṣï turk Shāʿirleri* (publ. by the *T. T. E.*, vol 1, Constantinople 1930). There one will find information about old and new bibliographical works on literary history. In addition, there are important notices of the poets in all the historical sources, the *siyāḥatnāme*, and books of legends (*menāḳïb-nāme*) etc.

e. General Works. There is not yet a literary history on really scientific lines, either in Turkey or Europe. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (4 vols., 1836) is a collection of biographies taken from the *tedhkere-i shuʿarā'* which were known to the author. The works of Smirnow, Krymski and others are defective as regards the information and the judgment of their authors. For the bibliography of these works see Th. Menzel, *Die turkische Litteratur* (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*), who however has omitted to mention Krymski, *Istoriya Turciyi i yeya literaturï*, 2 vols., Moscow 1916. The most important work on the early poetry of Turkey is E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols., London 1900—1909; this work is still of great value, although the account of the xiiith—xvth century is very inadequate. It is rather a collection of biographies of poets, which is complete only down to the Tanzïmāt, also P. Horn, *Geschichte der turkischen Moderne*, Leipzig, M. Hartmann, *Aus der neueren osmanischen Dichtung*, *M. S. O. S*, xix.—xxi., O. Hachtmann, *Die turkische Litteratur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig. As to the value of the literary histories publ. in Turkey (cf. also Menzel, article here quoted), we may mention: Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *Ta'rīkh-i Edebiyāt-i ʿothmānïye*, Constantinople; Fā'iḳ Reshād, *Ta'rïkh-i Edebiyāt-i ʿothmānïye*, Constantinople 1913; Ibrāhïm Nedjmī, *Ta'rïkh-i Edebiyāt Dersleri*, 2 vol., Constantinople 1338–1341, Ismāʿïl Habīb, *Turk Tedjeddud Edebiyātï Ta'rïkhi*, Constantinople 1340; Ismāʿïl Ḥikmet, *Turk Edebiyātï Ta'rïkhi*, 4 vols., Baku 1925—1926. But these works are superficial in method and in information supplied. Koprulü Zāde M. Fu'ād's *Turk Edebiyātï Ta'rïkhi* endeavours to gather together in a systematic fashion the literatures of the various Turkish peoples. So far only

the first volume has appeared (Constantinople, Dewlet Maṭba'asî, 1926—1928). The most important monographs on the different figures and subjects in the literary history of Turkey are mentioned in this article and in the special articles. (KOPRÜLÜ ZĀDE MEḤMED FU'ĀD)

IV. HISTORY.

1. General Features

The Ottoman Empire is the largest and most lasting state that has been formed in Islāmic times by a people of Turkish tongue At the same time it is the largest state formed in the later centuries of Islāmic history. Its original centre was Asia Minor, situated in the north-westernmost angle of the Islāmic world, a country that had seen four centuries less of Islāmic domination than most of the lands of the ancient 'Abbāsid Caliphate. It was founded about A D. 1300, at a time when everywhere in the Islāmic world the earlier political traditions were broken and none of the existing governments seemed to give much guarantee of durability, while Muslim civilisation itself was passing through a critical period of weakness

These circumstances are not sufficient in themselves to account for the rising of a new strong Muḥammadan empire It is right, therefore, to seek the explanation of the birth and the part played by the Ottoman Empire in the general course of political events in the world history of the later Middle Ages. It has been observed that the rise of a new strong power in the Mediterranean world had only become possible after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and its political traditions, in 1258, and after the excessive weakening of the Byzantine Empire by the Latin occupation of 1204 (cf. R. Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tubingen 1930). This enabled a new state, to come into existence that continued at the same time a somewhat changed Islāmic tradition and a good deal of the already much easternized Byzantine civilisation.

The process of interpenetration of these two cultural spheres had already been in action a long time before the nucleus of the Ottoman state was formed, during the epoch of the Seldjūḳ empire of Rūm Consequently the rapid conquests of the Ottomans in the XIVth and XVth centuries were not the elementary invasions of a wild horde or barbarians, but the realisation of a scheme that may have been in some degree present to the mind of great conquerors like Bāyezīd I, Muhammad II, Suleimān I and some of their statesmen. The conquest spread at the time a type of civilisation that took its definite shape in the XVIth century. As history advanced, this Ottoman civilisation came into an ever more pronounced contrast with its eastern Muḥammadan neighbours, thus giving a new political meaning to the Sunna-Shī'a controversy while the ancient relations with Turkish Transoxania gradually slackened. At the same time the gap between the Ottoman and the western European civilisation — which in the XVth century did not yet seem unbridgeable — became constantly wider, as Turkey did not join in the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. All the more firmly was Ottoman civilisation rooted in the many countries that had been subjected to the rule of the Turkish sultans, and this Ottoman tradition became most perceptible at the very time of the weakening of the Ottoman political power; a very good example is Egypt [cf. KHEDIW]. It is a curious fact that, when after the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks tried for a brief period to make this Ottomanism once more a political reality, these endeavours proved to be a complete failure, owing to the political decomposition caused by the penetration from the west of nationalist feelings

Born in a religious sphere that was far away from orthodox Islām, the Ottoman Empire soon took a definite turn towards official orthodoxy after the Ḥanafite *madhhab*, but with remnants of older tradition. The claim to the Islāmic Caliphate, however, and to the hegemony of the Muḥammadan world, as well as the panislāmic policy of 'Abd al-Hamīd II do not belong to the primary features of the Ottoman Empire; they were more a part of its outward politics, especially towards Christian powers [cf. KHALĪFA]

The influence of western civilisation began in the XVIIIth century, at a time when the Ottoman Empire, having acquired its own cultural type, began to feel its political inferiority towards Europe. Ancient relations made France the first European country to provide Turkey with some technical (military) innovations; this tradition remained stable until the first part of the XXth century. The introduction of western reforms and institutions has never had a revolutionary character, it consisted chiefly in government measures and its programme was successfully carried out during the period of the *Tanzīmāt* [q v] A more indirect result of western ideas was Turkish nationalism, which new ideal the war of 1914—1918 has enabled Turkey to realize in a most unexpected manner Modern Turkey has become a state of much smaller territory than the Ottoman Empire, but continuing a great deal of the traditions of the Ottoman Empire

2 Historical survey.

First period The founding of the state and its first expansion until the temporary dissolution by the invasion of Timur.

'Othmān I	1299—1326
Orkhān (son of 'Othmān I)	1326—1359
Murād I (son of Orkhān)	1359—1389
Bāyezīd I Yîldîrîm (son of Murād I)	1389—1402

The dates of 'Othmān and Orkhān cannot be established beyond doubt. Bāyezīd's reign was closed by his capture in the battle of Angora (July 20, 1402), it was followed by a period of 11 years, during which Bāyezīd's sons 'Īsā, Muḥammad, Suleimān and Mūsā disputed with each other the crown This period ended by Meḥmed's victory over Mūsā in July 1413 at Čamurlî near Sofia.

Second period. The restoration of the state and its rapid growth until its greatest expansion.

Muhammad I (son of Bāyezīd I)	1403—1421
Murād II (son of Muḥammad I)	1421—1451
Muḥammad II Fātiḥ (son of Murād II)	1451—1481
Bāyezīd II (son of Muḥammad II)	1481—1512
Selîm I (son of Bāyezīd II)	1512—1520
Suleimān I Ḳānūnî (son of Selîm I)	1520—1566

Third period, during which the state maintained its territory, until the loss of Hungary.

Selîm II (son of Suleimān I)	1566—1574
Murād III (son of Selîm II)	1574—1595

Muḥammad III (son of Murād III)	1595—1603
Aḥmad I (son of Muḥammad III)	1603—1617
Muṣṭafā I (son of Muḥammad III)	1617—1618
ʿOṯhmān II (son of Aḥmad I)	1618—1622
Muṣṭafā I, 2nd time	1622—1623
Murād IV (son of Aḥmad I)	1623—1640
Ibrāhīm (son of Aḥmad I)	1640—1648
Muhammad IV (son of Ibrāhīm)	1648—1687
Suleimān II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1687—1691
Aḥmad II (son of Ibrāhīm)	1691—1695
Muṣṭafā II (son of Muḥammad IV)	1695—1703

Fourth period, during which the state gradually loses its strength and is broken up at the hands of powerful vassals.

Aḥmad III (son of Muḥammad IV)	1703—1730
Maḥmūd I (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1730—1754
ʿOṯhmān III (son of Muṣṭafā II)	1754—1757
Muṣṭafā III (son of Aḥmad III)	1757—1774
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (son of Aḥmad III)	1774—1789
Selīm III (son of Mustafā III)	1789—1807
Muṣṭafā IV (son of ʿAbd al-Hamīd I)	1807—1808
Maḥmūd II (son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I)	1808—1839

Fifth period. Cultural and administrative renaissance of the state under the influence of western ideas.

ʿAbd al-Medjīd (son of Maḥmūd II)	1839—1861
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (son of Mahmūd II)	1861—1876
Murād V (son of ʿAbd al-Medjīd)	1876
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (son of ʿAbd al-Medjīd)	1876—1909
Muḥammad V (son of ʿAbd al-Medjīd)	1909—1918
Muḥammad VI (son of ʿAbd al-Medjīd)	1918—1922

The national Turkish state, since October 29, 1923 a republic under the presidency of Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha

A good general view of the history of the Ottoman Empire is given in Khalīl Edhem, *Duwel-i Islāmiye*, Istambul 1927, p. 320 *sqq*.

3. Conditions in Asia Minor at the end of the XIIIth century.

The more recent researches on the subject of the founding of the Ottoman state have made clear many things that formerly had been seen mainly through the medium of Ottoman historical tradition as reflected in the sources belonging to the XVIth century and later. Epigraphic and numismatic discoveries, combined with a critical study of older historical sources (the different versions of the chronicles of the Āl-i ʿOṯhmān) and half legendary sources (*menāḳib-nāmes* and *wilāyet-nāmes* of mystic orders) have cleared up many historical relationships, hitherto unsuspected.

The nucleus of the state of the dynasty of ʿOṯhmān was a far advanced outpost (*ūdj*) on the north-western frontier of the territory once ruled by the Seldjūḳ dynasty of Ḳonya, which had gradually relapsed into anarchy after the victory of the Mongols over Kaikhusraw II in 1243. Asia Minor, at that time, had already been turcicized to a large degree; the greater part of the Anatolian Turks belonged to the Oghuz tribes who had been introduced during and after the Seldjūḳian invasion; there were also groups of Christian Turks, who had come by way of the European part of the Byzantine Empire, besides Turkish elements from Russia. Moreover the Mongol conquests in the east had brought crowds of fugitives into the country, especially from the former Khwārizmian sultanate; many of these immigrants were Iranians. We do not know the relative strength of the graecized original population of Asia Minor; they probably were found chiefly in the towns. In Ḳonya the original inhabitants no doubt were already considerably islāmized But the Christian element was still largely represented in the areas under Byzantine rule in the west and in the north-west in the Empire of Trebizond, where many of the population were Lazes, in the mountains of central Armenia and in the Cilician Armenian Kingdom (1080–1375). It does not appear that, within the former frontiers of the Seldjūḳ empire, there existed a sharp social controversy between Muḥammadans and Christians. Much sharper, at any rate, had become the antithesis between the townspeople and the still nomadic Turkish tribes or Turkomans (*tarākime-i Rūm*), who were roving all through Asia Minor, as they did also in the adjacent territories of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Turkish tribes had still preserved many pre-islāmic religious traditions within the particular form of Islām they had adhered to. This form of Islām was the result of the preaching of wandering derwishes, known under the name of Kalenderīye and Haidarīye, who spread from the XIth century all over northern Iran and Transoxania; their preaching was imbued with mystical doctrines containing a large amount of Shīʿite elements. After their immigration into Asia Minor the Turkomans had remained under the same influences and those who exercised religious authority amongst them, called *babas*, had still much resemblance to the pre-islāmic *baksis*. Under these religious leaders in 1239 the fearful revolt of the Bābāʾīs under Bābā Isḥāḳ had taken place. The government, at that time, had been able at last to suppress the revolt, but the heterodox opposition among the lower classes in Asia Minor has still deeply influenced the history of the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire These Turkomans were indeed far more numerous than the governing classes and the townspeople, as is shown by the present geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor; the names of numerous villages, rivers and mountains are now pure Turkish and we meet among them ancient tribal names as such Ḳay, Salur, Bayat and Čepni (cf. Kopriulü-Zāde Fuʾād, *Oghuz Etnolojhisine 7 āʿiʾkhī Noṭlar*, *Turkiyāt Medjmūʿasî*, 1 185 *sqq*) As far as the Turkoman tribes were still militant, the best use that could be made of them was as frontier guards and as conquerors of new territory. After settling down, they may have mixed with a good deal of the original rural population and by this mixture is to be explained the curious religious, half-Christian, views and customs that are reported in later times as existing among the lower classes in Anatolia, and that were especially current among the mystic order of the Bektāshī's in the time of the Ottoman Empire. The Bektāshīs derive their name from Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh Welī, who is reported to have been a disciple of the above mentioned Bābā Isḥāḳ (Kopr. Z. Fuʾād, *Les origines du Bektachisme*, in *Actes du Congrès International de l'Histoire des Religions, tenu à Paris 1923*).

The government and the higher classes of society had followed in Seldjūḳ times the orthodox Islāmic tradition, just like the other Seldjūḳ dynasties, and this tradition is to be traced back to the times of the Sāmānid empire in Khurāsān and Transoxania. These were also the regions with

which the Turkish element in Asia Minor has been, since its immigration, in constant relations; in the Seldjūḳ period, the higher culture of Asia Minor was mainly Iranian in character. These relations explain also how the Ḥanafī *maḏhab* became officially predominant in Anatolia and afterwards in the Ottoman Empire. But the upper classes of society were not free themselves from a strong mystic influence of a higher order. It had likewise its source in Khurāsān, whence had come Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q. v.] himself, who lived at the Seldjūḳ court in Ḳonya, and who influenced for centuries Ottoman-Turkish culture through the Mewlewī-order. So the townspeople were likewise familiar with formations of fraternities on mystic lines, entering within the category of the *futūwa* [q. v.], on the fraternity of the Akhī's we are now fairly well informed (F. Taeschner, in *Islamica*, iv, 1929, fasc. 1); a similar fraternity was formed by the Ghāziyān.

On this basis of religious and social controversy is to be understood the development of events since the end of the xiiith century. In the many small principalities that appeared (*ṭawā'if-i mulūk*) we see sometimes the influence of the orthodox element and sometimes of the heterodox Turkoman element predominant. This last was especially the case with the powerful principality of the Karamān Oghlu [q. v.], at least in the beginning.

As the date of the foundation of the state of ʿOthmān in Bithynia the year 1299 is generally accepted. About the same time sprang up the principalities of the Ḳarasi Oghlu [q. v.] in Mysia, of the Sarukhān Oghlu [q. v.] in Lydia, of the Aidin Oghlu [q. v.] in Ionia, of the Menteshe Oghlu [q. v.] in Caria and of the Teke Oghlu [q. v.] in Lycia. All these dynasties had this in common with the ʿOthmān Oghlu, that they held large parts of the western coast of the Peninsula, their territories were on the outskirts of the former Seldjūḳian empire and the dynasties were the descendants of the chiefs of the Turkoman frontier guards (*uḏj begleri*); these regions were the most remote from the Islāmic cultural centre of Anatolia, on the other hand they entertained relations with the Greeks of the coasts and with the Italian colonists on the islands, some of these principalities (Ṣarukhān, Aidin, Menteshe) even had coins with images and Latin letters. But the most important feature of these principalities of the coast was the possession of fleets, by which they were able to undertake raids on the Greek isles and on the European continent from Morea as far as the Dobruča. Especially the Aidin Oghlu Umur Beg (died in 1348) is famous for his maritime expeditions as ally of the Byzantine emperor Cantacuzenos. It was this opportunity of westward expansion, which has been most favourable for the ʿOthmān Oghlu and secured them in the end the superiority over the other principalities.

To the east of the maritime principalities had risen at the same time the Germiyān Oghlu [q. v.] in Phrygia and the Ḥamīd Oghlu [q. v.] in Pisidia, together with the less important Eshref Oghlu in Bey Shehir (later incorporated in the dominions of the Ḥamīd Oghlu) and the Deñizli Oghlu in Ladik (later incorporated in the territory of the Germiyān Oghlu). The important dynasty of the Djandar Oghlu — later called Isfandiyār Oghlu [q. v.] — in Paphlagonia held the Black Sea with Sīnūb, but had less opportunity of maritime expansion, although these regions too were in relation with the European continent, especially the Dobruča. A similar position on the south coast was held by the Karamān Oghlu [q. v.], whose origin can be traced back to about 1256, and who, by their geographical position on the main road to Syria, were able to develop more power and stability than the other principalities (cf. Khalīl Edhem, *Duwel-i Islāmīye*, p. 270 *sqq.*).

The regions enumerated can be said never to have been a part of the territory administered by the Mongols in the xivth century. The Mongol governors, appointed by Uldjaitu (1304—1316) and Abū Saʿīd (1316—1325), resided principally in Ḳaiṣarīye and governed the central plateau of Asia Minor as far as Ankara. The last of these governors was Timur Tash, who, in 1327, had to fly to Egypt, leaving as his lieutenant Ertenā. This Ertenā made himself independent in 1325 and founded the dynasty of the Ertenā Oghlu [q. v.]. About the same time, in 1391, originated in Marʿash and Elbistān the dynasty of the Dhū 'l-Ḳadrīye [q. v.]. In these south-eastern parts of Asia Minor the Mamlūk power of Egypt was at that time an important political factor and both the Karamān Oghlu and the Dhū 'l-Kadrīye had many dealings, friendly and unfriendly, with state state.

The social and religious conditions in all the principalities enumerated were much the same. The military power of the Beg or Emīr depended on still more or less nomadic tribesmen, and to this class are to be reckoned the half religious and half military chiefs that in several regions bear the title of Pasha [q. v.], as for instance with the ʿOthmān Oghlu, Teke, Aidin, Deñizli and Djandar Oghlu. In several regions we meet also with the *ghāzī*'s; these apparently were akin to the more orthodox *futūwa*-organisations of Seldjūḳ times. The court of the beg became also a gathering place of more orthodox scholars and of literary men who now began to write their works in Turkish [cf. LITERATURE, *supra*, B, iii.] The bigger towns had often retained older social forms, this is especially known for Anḳara, situated at the extremity of the Mongolian territory, the government was here really in the hands of the corporation of the Akhī's.

On the religious history of this pre-Ottoman period are to be consulted the works of Kopr Zāde Fu'ād, *Ilk Muteṣawwifler*, Istambul 1918, and *Anadoluda Islāmiyet, Edebiyāt Fakultesi Medjm*, 1922—1923.

4. The first period (1299—1402).

The historical tradition of the Ottomans has preserved reminiscences of the Turkoman nomadic origin of the founders of the state. The father of ʿOthmān, Ertoghrul [q. v.], is said to have established himself with his little tribe in the neighbourhood of Sogūd [q. v.] as an *uḏj begi*, the pedigree given for Ertoghrul and his father Suleimān Shāh shows them as belonging to the Ḳāyi [q. v.] division of the Oghuz Turks. The various reports, however, about Ertoghrul and his clan have a good deal of a legendary character and this is also the case with what is told about the youth and the first exploits of ʿOthmān himself. The different sources allow a historical reconstruction according to which ʿOthmān — or ʿOthmāndjiḳ, as the oldest known form of the name is given — was not even a real son of Ertoghrul, but rather belonged to the non-

nomadic element of the population, with whom the orthodox Islāmic tradition was stronger than with the Turkomans (J. H Kramers, *Wer war Osman ?*, in *A O.*, vi. 242) He was, at any rate, one of the *ghāziyān-i Rūm* and, together with ot her *ghāzīs* (Turkish *alp*), he possessed, after Ertoghrul's death (about 1265 ?), the leadership of the clan He likewise was surrounded by people belonging to the fraternity of the Akhī's, and it is probable that even ʿOthmān's father-in-law, the Shaikh Edebali, whatever his extraction may have been, belonged to the same fraternity. As a result of the collaboration of these various elements the clan was transformed into a territorial state with the fortress Karadja Hisār as centre; in this state gradually the more orthodox Islāmic tradition became predominant, though the popular religious leaders (*baba, dede, abdal*) remained in high esteem.

During his reign and that of Orkhān the history of the small principality was not different from that of the contemporary Anatolian principalities With the aid of his tribesmen, but also by stratagem and personal relations, he succeeded in extending his territory, so that at his death, the Sakarya was practically the eastern boundary of the state, to the south ʿOthmān's power had probably reached Eski Shehir The Greek towns near or on the coast, however, Iznīk, Iznikmīd (Izmid) and finally Brusa were only taken in the beginning of Orkhān's reign, forthwith Brusa became the capital All these new territories had been conquered from the Byzantines, mostly local commanders of garrisons, the Turks were seldom (in 1301 and 1329) opposed by a regular Byzantine army Under Orkhān there was also added other Turkoman territory to his dominions, namely the principality of the Karasi Oghlu [q. v.]; by this territorial acquisition the ʿOthmān Oghlu became at once the most prominent maritime power among the Anatolian principalities.

It is a noteworthy fact in the history of ʿOthmān and ʿOrkhān, that there apparently existed close relations with Christian chiefs and commanders in the neighbourhood Kose Mikhal, lord of the fortress of Khirmendjik, is said to have been a constant friend to ʿOthmān; and after the acquisition of the Karasi principality, Orkhān was joined by Ghazī Ewrenos [q v], also of Christian descent The descendants of both become afterwards notable feudal families in the Ottoman state. This early collaboration with Christian Greek elements makes it probable that in this way Byzantine traditions and customs early entered the Ottoman state, in the same way as was the case in some other contemporary maritime principalities. Both the Christian and the Turkoman-nomadic element were gradually assimilated by the growing influence of the orthodox mollas, often indicated in the older sources as *dānishmend*, some of these belonged to the Akhī-circles, as is said of the Kādī Djandarlī Kara Khalil, later vizier to Murād I under the name of Khair al-Dīn Pasha; many of them had also come from the more eastern parts of Asia Minor. To them may have belonged also ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha, Orkhān's vizier and, according to tradition, his elder brother.

So, during Orkhān's on the whole peaceful reign, these very different elements contributed to the foundation of a typical form of administration and civilisation, from which the later development of the Ottoman state must be explained. The details are little known. The administration was a military one and probably followed Saldjūk tradition; the division of territory among feudal chiefs may have reposed on earlier Byzantine institutions [cf. TIMAR] Fiefs were given under Orkhān to the newly created cavalry called *musellem*. During Orkhān's reign was also formed the new regular infantry called *yaya*, as the irregular force of the *akindjī*, originally composed of the Turcoman tribesmen, was no longer adequate In this time also the title *pasha* [q v.], originally peculiar to militant derwīshes, began to be given to statesmen (e g Sinān Pasha under Orkhān) and military commanders.

The natural extension of the young state was towards the west, in keeping with the naval raids of the Sarukhan Oghlu and Aidin Oghlu on the isles and on the Greek coast. Already under Orkhān there had been several military expeditions on the other side of the Hellespont, mostly in connection with his alliance with the emperor Cantacuzenos and the latter's civil wars In 1353, however, begins the military occupation of towns on the European side by the famous expedition of Orkhān's son Suleimān Pasha, followed in 1357 by the capture of Gallipoli This was the prelude to the military operations of Murād I and Bāyazīd I, which took place nearly entirely in Rūm-ili At first all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople was taken, Adrianople (Edirne), conquered in 1361, became in 1365 the European capital of Murād. Then followed the wars against the Bulgarians and the Serbians, which assured the Ottomans the greater part of the present kingdom of Bulgaria The Serbian power was crushed in the battle of Kossowo in 1389, where Murād I was killed, and Wallachia became tributary Bāyazīd's military expeditions extended over a still wider range, including Hungary, Bosnia and southern Greece, but in these regions the Ottoman conquests were not yet permanent, notwithstanding the victory won at Nicopolis in 1396 over the allied Hungarian, French and German armies Constantinople became a mere vassal town where the Ottoman sultan could exercise his influence as he pleased, it did not come yet to a real occupation, although Bāyazīd's attitude towards the town was little less than a continuous siege [cf F Giese, *Turkische und abendlandische Berichte zur Geschichte Sultan Bajezids I, Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 34. April 1928] The Ottoman policy in Asia Minor had another character. Ankara, in 1359, fell to them in a peaceful way; Murād acquired a large part of the Germiyān Oghlu territory as a wedding present to his son and the country of the Hamid Oghlu by sale; even the expeditions against the Karamān Oghlu in 1386 and 1391 were conducted with much leniency, and it seems that the definite conquest of Konya, Siwas and Kastamuni in 1392 was a mere consequence of political necessity, felt perhaps through the conquests of Timur, who finally crushed the impetuosity of Bāyazīd in the battle of Ankara (1402) Many of Bāyazīd's conquests, indeed, were as ephemeral as those of Timur himself.

While the sultans conducted the military operations, the organisation was in the hands of their statesmen, among whom Djandarlī Kara Khalil, later known as Khair al-Dīn Pasha, is the most notable (cf. F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezierfamilie der Ġandarlyzāde und ihre Denkmäler*, *Der Islam*, 1929, p. 61 *sqq*). To him is attributed the institution of the Janissaries in con-

nection with the reservation of a fifth part of the war booty for the sultan. The Janissaries [q v] were taken from the captured Christians, and there is no indication that in the XIVth century the *dewshirme* [q. v.] was already applied Their organisation on the lines of a fraternity after the model of the *akhī*'s or the *ghāzī*'s, and their connection in this respect with the derwish-order of the Bektashī's, shows again the influence of the peculiar religious tradition of the state.

The first begs of the ʿOthmān Oghlu, in the older sources generally bearing the title of *khunkiār*, had originally taken over some of the Saldjūḳ customs and traditons, such as the bearing of *lakab*'s composed with *dīn* and *dunyā*, but from the time of Murād I this custom was abandoned Murād is also the first to take the title sultan in inscriptions. These first rulers followed also the traditions of other Anatolian rulers by marrying high born Christian ladies Orkhān was the first to take a Byzantine princess for his wife. On the other hand, the proper names of some of the first Sultans (Murād, Bāyazīd) have preserved older, mystic-Shīʿī, traditions, to the same early time is to be traced back the investiture of the sultan by the girding on of a sword, which perhaps symbolized originally his admission to the order of the ghāzī's [cf ḲIZILDJ ALAYĪ] An important fact of the first century of Ottoman history was the enforced migration of populations, which ancient oriental custom was particularly applied by Bāyazīd I, mostly from the east to the west. This general drift towards the west may have occasioned also the increasing estrangement between ʿOthmān Oghlu and Ḳaramān Oghlu and, together with other influences, the religious opposition in Anatolia.

On this first period of the Ottoman Empire are particularly to be consulted. H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, and F. Giese, *Das Problem der Entstehung des Osmanischen Reiches, Z S*, vol I (1922), p 246 *sqq*, Kopr. Zāde Fu'ād, *ʿOthmānlī Imperatorlughunuñ Kurulushu Mes'elesi*, in the weekly review *Ḥayāt*, No. 11 and 12 (February 10 and 17, 1927).

5. Second period.

When Timur left Asia Minor again, he left the peninsula as divided as it had been hundred years before, the principalities on the west coast, as well as Ḳastamuni and Ḳaramān, had been given back to their former dynasts, one of whom was replaced in 1403 by the enterprising Izmīr Oghlu Djuneid [q. v], two sons of Bāyazīd, ʿĪsā and Muhammad, were residing at Brusa and at Amasia respectively Although the European possessions, where Suleimān resided, had been left untouched by the Tatars, the restoration of the Ottoman state had again its centre in Anatolia, where Muḥammad had been able in a short time to establish himself as master of a considerable territory, including the old capital Brusa. After that his first move was the reconquest of the European possessions that were held first by Suleimān and afterwards by Mūsā. Only after 1413 was Muḥammad I in a position to begin the gradual incorporation of the other Anatolian principalities into the newly restored state; this policy was followed by Murād II and by Muḥammad II. This time again the rounding off of the Anatolian territory was effected without much bloodshed, with the exception of the Ḳaramān Oghlu state, the old rivals of the ʿOthmān Oghlu. But even here the Ottomans began by following a remarkably conciliatory policy. The descendants of these dynasties were generally granted high military posts in Europe. Muḥammad II finished the conquest of Anatolia proper by the conquest of the empire of Trebizond in 1461 and when, at last, the Ḳaramān dynasty was extinguished in 1468, the Ottoman Empire stood face to face with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty in the north and the Egyptian state in the south-east. The dangerous raid of the Aḳ Koyunlu Uzun Ḥasan, in 1472, had not, however, the disastrous consequences of Timur's campaign, the Ottoman Empire being now more firmly established, under Bāyazīd II this neighbour was succeeded by the young Ṣafawid dynasty of Persia, still, until the end of the reign of this Sultan, the Ottoman territory was not enlarged on the Asiatic front, though there were several inglorious frontier wars with the Mamlūk forces in Syria.

All through the reigns from Muḥammad I to Bāyazīd II the chief military activity of the Ottomans was given to the establishing of the Ottoman power in Europe. The sultans themselves resided most of the time in Europe, where they led many campaigns in person. Already under Muḥammad I there broke out a conflict with Venice with the advance of the Turks in Albania and Morea, and under Murād II Hungary became the other chief Christian opponent, as a consequence of the Turkish raids and conquests in Serbia and Wallachia. These raids and conquests, as well as those in Albania and Morea, frequently were not ordered by the sultans themselves, but they were undertaken by the frontier chiefs The first results were more often the occupation of a few towns, where a *ṣu bashī* was appointed as chief of the garrison, most of the territory was left under the administration of the local rulers, who were responsible for the payment of the *kharādj* in the form of a tribute Also Constantinople and the rest of the other Byzantine possessions kept for a long time their semi-independence in this way and succeeded even several times in defying a siege. Gradually these strongholds of Christian political and cultural independence were taken; the capture of Constantinople in 1453, which made such a profound impression among the Turks as well as in the Occident, was only the realisation of a part of the political scheme of Muḥammad II, of bringing the whole Balkan peninsula under the direct government of the Ottoman state, at his death this scheme had nearly become a reality. There were still Venetian enclaves in Morea and Albania, and in the north Belgrad was still held by the Hungarians, but even Bosnia was ruled by Turkish beys. The isles of the archipelago, except Rhodes, were incorporated in the same manner Only the Danube principalities Wallachia and Moldavia and, since 1475, the Crimean Khanate had remained vassals.

During all this time the Christian powers had been scheming and planning crusades to expel the Turks from Europe, while trying also alliances with the Asiatic opponents of the Ottomans. But no really great enterprise was ever undertaken; only temporary damage was done by the Hungarian Hunyádi, the Wallachian Wlad Dracul, the Albanian Skander Beg [q. v.] and by some Venetian naval expeditions.

All these military successes in Europe would not have been possible without the strong base in Turkish Anatolia. Still more astonishing is per-

haps the permanence of the Turkish occupation. The reason may be sought mainly in the lack of any sufficiently great political Christian power in the much divided Balkan peninsula

After the relatively peaceful reign of Bāyazīd II, there is no more question about Asia Minor or the Balkan Peninsula The struggle continued in Albania and Morea, but had on the whole a local character. The empire was now strong enough to face its new Asiatic neighbours The war waged against Persia by Selīm I was in a way a continuation on an international scale of the former internal struggle against the Shīʿī opposition in Asia Minor itself. This war secured Turkey the temporary possession of Ādharbāidjān and the lasting domination over Kurdistan and Northern Mesopotamia Very soon afterwards the Egyptian state of the Mamlūks, with whom the Ottoman Empire had clashed under Bāyazīd II in a rather unglorious way, was incorporated by Selīm in one single campaign The consequence was the extension of Turkish overlordship to the holy cities of Islām and soon to Yaman Finally, under Suleimān I the Magnificent, the empire obtained its greatest extension by the conquest of the greater part of Hungary, one of the two great mediaeval opponents in Europe, in the same campaign the Turks went even so far as to besiege Vienna Only the other old rival, Venice, was not broken by the victorious empire. After Muḥammad II's death, official wars with Venice had become rather an exception. The Ottoman empire never had acquired an absolute maritime superiority, and this weakness appeared almost immediately after the great period of conquest was over, in the battle of Lepanto. Rhodes was conquered, but Malta has never been Turkish and the maritime exploits of Kemāl Re'īs [q. v.] under Bāyazīd and those of Barbarossa Khair al-Dīn and others, which assured Turkey's political authority in the Suleimānian era on the North coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean, never wholly lost the character of piracy On the Asiatic front the continuation of the conflict with Persia led for the time to the conquest of Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ, so that the sultan was now in reality *sultān al-baḥrain wa 'l-baḥrain*.

In the course of this second victorious period the inner religious and social evolution of the state had not been less astonishing than the enormous expansion of its territory. The originally somewhat dubious Islāmic orthodoxy had gradually converged towards an unimpeachable orthodox attitude of life among the higher classes, many Muhammadan jurists had found their way from eastern countries to the new cultural centres of the Ottomans and the jurists of Christian extraction (as e g. Molla Khusraw) joined without reserve the leaders of the official form of Islām. Under this orthodox cover the sympathies for mystic organisations and doctrines continued to exist, the mystic orders and the derwishes were generally favoured and the ancient mystic traditions continued to be reflected in many points, such as in the proper names of persons. Very probably we must see a reminiscence of the older influence of mystic religious leaders in the state in the remarkable institution of the Shaikh al-Islām [q. v] which first appears distinctly under Murād II and was gradually sanctioned by the *ḳānūns*. On the other hand, the controversy with the more extremist Shīʿī under-current of mystic feelings, which existed of old in Asia Minor, has several times taken the form of open revolts against the government, such as the rebellion connected with the name of Simawna Ḳaḍī Oghlu Badr al-Dīn (cf IBN ḲĀḌĪ SIMAWNA and F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi.) in 1415, and the revolt of Shāh Ḳulı or Shaiṭān Ḳulı and his Ḳïzïl Bash under Bāyazīd II. This last revolt was intimately connected with the contemporaneous political-religious movement that led to the establishment of the Safawid dynasty in Persia. For this reason the Ḳïzïl Bash rebellion was also a grave danger to the existence of the Ottoman state itself, and this explains the ferocity with which under Selīm I the adherents of the Shīʿa were persecuted The attitude of the Muḥammadan rulers towards the Christian and Jewish population followed the tolerant tradition, no one was compelled to embrace the Muhammadan faith, with the exception of the Christian children levied by the *dewshirme*. It is true that many churches were converted into mosques — like Aya Sofia —, but the constitution of the Greek-Orthodox and of the Jewish *millet* as autonomous communities, immediately after the capture of Constantinople, is the most famous example of a policy that was constantly applied. Muḥammadan fanaticism began only in the end of the xvith century.

The overwhelming importance of the person of the sultan for the existence of the state is still more accentuated during this period This is shown by the menace of military revolts after the death of nearly every sultan and the artifices by which his death was kept secret until the arrival of his successor, also by the grave disturbances caused by pretenders [cf. DJEM] and the tradition of fratricide, inaugurated by Bāyazīd I, which was the necessary consequence of it. The supporting of Ottoman pretenders was justly considered as one of the most effective means at the hands of the Christian enemies of the empire For the Christian subjects the conquest made little difference, after Muhammad had taken the Byzantine capital, he had taken for them all the attributes of their legitimate "basileus".

The wars of Timur had again caused great racial movements in Asia Minor, and in the times that followed it remained the policy of the sultans to transplant contingents of the population from one part of the empire to the other. In this way Constantinople — to which town now all the main military roads in Asia Minor were directed — was deliberately peopled with the population of different parts of Anatolia (Istambul = Islambol), and in the same way Adrianople had become earlier an Islāmic town Still the Turkish settled population in Rūm-ili has always lived side to side with the Christians, the relative proportions varying considerably in the different territories. The islāmization of large parts of the population in Bosnia and Albania had other causes.

Now it is especially this state of affairs in European Turkey that has been important for the development of the Ottoman political system that has found its highest achievement in the reign of Suleimān I The beginnings of this new inner evolution of the Ottoman civilisation are to be sought in the reign of Murād II, parallel with the consolidation of the Ottoman type of religious orthodoxy. The new leading men in the state and in the army were now for the greater part Christian renegades of Albanian, Slav, Greek or even more western origin; the older families that had

come from Asia Minor, such as the Mikhal Oghlu and the Ewrenos Oghlu, receded to the second place as owners of large fiefs on the Danube and in Thessalia, the high position of the Djandar Oghlu as viziers ended with the execution of Khalīl Pasha shortly after the fall of Constantinople. The newly converted Christians served the state to their best, but the all-dominating authority of the sultan and perhaps also the democratic tradition of Islām prevented the formation of a hereditary nobility, statesmen and military commanders (as beglerbegs and sandjaks) were the slaves (*ḳul*) of the sovereign and much less independent than they had been in a former century Less dependent was the class of the scholars and jurists who provided the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the Shaikh al-Islām at the head; among them there are signs of an ecclesiastical nobility. So there was formed an Ottoman ruling class composed for the greater part of non-Turkish elements, they were continually recruited from the ranks of the Christian renegades that were taken in war or by the *dewshirme*-levy Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the administrative institutions should show the influence of Byzantine ideas, as was also the case with the court organisation By *Ḳānūn-nāmes*, of which those of Muhammad II and Suleimān I are the best known, the hierarchy of officials was minutely regulated.

Besides the older troops of irregular *akïndjïs* and *ʿazabs*, the army consisted chiefly of the *sipāhi*'s — whose organisation was intimately connected with the military administration of the territory [cf TIMĀR] — and of the Janissaries who, in the time of Murād II, were for the first time (probably 1438) levied by the method of the *dewshirme* [q. v.], guns were for the first time used during the siege of Constantinople by Muḥammad II. The fleet [cf ḲAPUDAN PASHA] was mainly manned with *ʿazabs*, besides Christian prisoners as galley-slaves, but had not by far the importance of the army

The revenues of the state or rather of the sultan consisted for the most part of the constantly increasing *kharādj* levied on non-Muḥammadan subjects and of the tributes paid by the semi-independent states. The different kinds of customs-duties were equally considerable Trade remained mainly in the hands of Greeks and, so far as foreign commerce was concerned, it was in the hands of the colonies of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine merchants These colonies were treated in the same way as the indigenous non-Turkish communities; they were allowed considerable autonomy under their consuls, including consular jurisdiction. These privileges were granted by the sultans in the well-known form of "capitulations", in which were prescribed also the commercial duties to be paid by the foreigners, who, in accordance with the principles of Muhammadan Law, were considered as *musteʾmin*. On account of the various wars, those with Venice had to be renewed after each peace concluded (1454, 1479, 1502, 1540) Only afterwards the capitulations took the character of bilateral international treaties It was after the same model that the famous capitulation of 1535 was granted to France, but the political side of this instrument was much more important than in the capitulations with the Italian republics; it is the beginning of the normalisation of Turkey's international position in the following period.

The civilisation of the Ottoman Empire of the later Middle Ages was not yet separated from central and western Europe by the wide gap that became characteristic for later centuries. It has even been pointed out that the friendly relations between Muḥammad II and Italian princes and artists and his liking for pictorial art entitles him in a way to a place among the renaissance rulers of the time (Tschudi, *op. cit*, p. 19) Soon afterwards, however, the Muḥammadan attitude to life began to be again more predominant.

6 Third Period (1566—1699).

At the end of the reign of Suleimān I the Ottoman Empire found itself between two powerful continental neighbours: the Austrian monarchy in Europe and the Ṣafawid empire in Asia In Europe the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hungary were the bulwarks against Austria, while farther to the east the half independent principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tatar Crimea were allowed to exist; from the Turkish point of view also Poland with its Cossacks, and even Muscovy held similar intermediate positions between the two empires, during this period Turkey raised more than once claims to the suzerainty of the last-mentioned countries. In Asia the geographical situation did not allow for the existence of this intermediary kind of state, with the exception of Georgia, which was invaded and brought under Turkish authority in 1578. In Asia, however, the Turkish feudal system left places for a number of petty local rulers who were given the title of Pasha They were found on the Persian frontier in Kurdistān (the princes of Bitlis), but also in Syria (the Druse emīrs) The sharīf of Mecca occupied likewise a vassal position, while Yaman, after its reconquest in 1568—1570, was again partly a more direct Ottoman possession. After 1550 the Turks had even obtained a footing in Massawā on the African coast and had begun to interfere with Abyssinian affairs; the opportunities here came to an end after the unlucky war of 1578 Egypt was at this time still somewhat under the control of the Turkish Pasha [cf. MAMLŪKS], the Barbary states were nearly independent; the sharīf of Morocco recognized in 1580 the authority of the Turkish sultan

This general political system of the empire was maintained throughout the third period, a kind of equilibrium being established between the Ottoman Empire and the great continental powers

Under Selīm II, or rather under the administration of Mehmed Soḳollī Pasha, Cyprus was conquered (1570—1571), but this conquest occasioned immediately the naval defeat in the battle of Lepanto [q v] in 1571, considered to be the first great military blow inflicted on the Turks. The impossibility of further military expansion brought about an inner weakening of the Empire that was marked on the whole by unsuccessful campaigns against Austria (defeat of Keresztes in 1596) and against Persia (loss of Tabrīz and Eriwān in 1603 and 1604) and found its expression in the unfavourable peace treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1606 and the peace of 1612 with Persia, then under the strong rule of Shāh ʿAbbās the Great. In the last decade of the xviith century, Transylvania and the Rumanian principalities even made themselves for some time independent; from 1572

Poland also played often an active role in the complicated political and military course of events on these northern frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The raids of the Cossacks in the Crimea had not yet the dangerous aspect of a century later, when the Muscovite power began to appear on the horizon A favourable circumstance for Turkey was the weakening of Central Europe by the Thirty Years War; among the west-European countries the already existing friendly relations with France, followed in 1580 by England and in 1603 by Holland were on the whole profitable for the Empire, while Spain had ceased since the end of the century to be a serious maritime danger In view of the never very strong maritime position of Turkey, the relations with Venice remained subject to surprises on both sides, such as the annexation of Cyprus; during the xviiith century this was followed by the not less astonishing conquest of Crete (1645–1666) and about 1655 by the important Venetian conquests in Morea and in the archipelago, so that for a moment even Constantinople was threatened Still the relations with Venice were on the whole friendly, Turkey being the stronger power on account of its continental position On the Asiatic frontier Turkey's weakness led temporarily to the loss of Baghdād in 1623 and a renewed Persian danger But here the old position of the Empire was restored by the revival of its military strength under Murād IV; under his reign and after Shāh ʿAbbās' death Persia was invaded by Ottoman troops, Eriwān and Tabrīz, and finally Baghdād reconquered (1638); in 1639 there began a long period of peace with Persia After 1640 the stronger position of the Empire was used, as well as for the conquest of Crete, for strengthening the authority of the Porte in Transylvania and the Danube principalities, and for a fortification of the frontier to the north of the Black Sea, where Azov was taken from the Cossacks, now under Muscovite authority, and fortified in 1660 In this same year the hostilities with the now recovered Austria began again and took at first a crusading character, even France was this time an ally of Austria (Turkish defeat of St Gothard 1664). But this was only a prelude to the final struggle with Austria that began in 1683 with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna and finished in 1688 with the loss of the Ottoman province of Hungary, and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Austrian armies, followed at last by the peace of Carlowitz (1699) in which Turkey, considerably weakened again, had to give up nearly the whole of Hungary and its claim on Transylvania, while it had to recognize the authority of Venice in Morea.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of this period was mainly due to domestic reasons During the xvith century it had already been observed that the Empire in this form could only subsist by continuous warfare; it had to be adapted now to peaceful conditions and this went beyond the possibilities of the personal rule of the sultan, which was based essentially on military conquest The successors of Suleimān the Great were not equal to the task of meeting these new conditions; it is true that Muḥammad III, ʿOthmān II and Muḥammad IV occasionally accompanied their armies, but Murād IV was the last sultan to revive the military traditions of his dynasty, the last real ghāzī So the sultans, whatever their personal qualities were, became less directly concerned in the administration of the state, though their personality remained surrounded with the traditional veneration. This did not prevent, however, the deposition and murder of ʿOthmān II in 1628, nor the deposition of Ibrāhīm in 1648 and of Muhammad IV in 1688. Instead of the sultans, the statesmen and generals became now more prominent, first in time and in importance Meḥmed Soḳollī Pasha [q v.] under Selīm II, Sinān Pasha [q v.], the great enemy of the Austrians, under Muhammad III, Murād Pasha [q v] and Khalīl Pasha [q v.] under Ahmad I and ʿOthmān II; and in the second half of the century the great members of the Koprulu family: Mehmed Pasha, his son Ahmad Pasha and their cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha; to the same period belonged also Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [q. v.], the besieger of Vienna in 1683. These military statesmen belonged to the numerically feeble renegade class and were supporters of the typical Ottoman government system as it had been perfected under Suleimān I, but they did not represent any considerable group of the strongly diverging population of the empire There was not yet an Ottoman-Turkish nation. Several other groups were competing with them in the direction of the state affairs; the most formidable being the military corps of the Janissaries and the Sipāhī's, who several times, especially after serious military defeats as at the time of the enthronement of Murād IV in 1632 and of Muḥammad IV's deposition in 1688, were masters of the political situation The Janissaries were now even less recruited in the ancient way from the Christian populations, while many abuses had ruined the former discipline of their corps. Several grand viziers fell victims to their fury Another powerful group, that made occasional use of these military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful Wālide Sultān or by a Kīzlar Aghasī Finally the *ʿulamā'* with the Shaikh al-Islām succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e g the muftī Saʿd al-Dīn under Muhammad III); the deposition of Sultan Ibrāhīm was sanctioned by *fetwā* of the Shaikh al-Islām These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Kočī Bey's [q v.] famous *Risāla* Only Murād IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups, he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the Segbāns) alongside of the Janissaries In the capital there were several times outbursts of religious fanaticism directed against the Christians, as happened under Ibrāhīm I, but it cannot be said that political events were influenced by them, the great statesmen showed on the contrary a remarkable tolerance.

The non-Muslim element, though excluded from all direct influence on the government, had adapted itself to the circumstances A new Greek aristocracy had arisen in Constantinople, which by wealth and intrigue had powerful relations in Turkish circles, as well as in the leading circles of the Christian principalities on the Danube; they likewise were able to control the nomination of the Greek patriarchs. To this time belongs also the definite turn of the Ottoman Greeks towards Greek orthodoxy under the influence of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris (executed in 1638); the consequence was a decisive rupture with the Roman Christian world and indirectly a strengthening of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Turks had still many religious traditions in common with the Greeks, and Christian

saints were also venerated in Turkish circles Next to the Greeks the Jewish element, considerably strengthened since the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews under Bāyazīd I, played a great social role, chiefly as bankers, the best known representative of this group was Joseph Nassy, the favourite of Selīm II

The lower classes in Asia Minor participated as little in the direction of the state as those of European Turkey. Some dangerous revolts proved, however, that the old religious traditions of the xiiith and xivth century had not wholly disappeared In 1599 began the movement of Ḳara Yazïdjï [q v] in Urfa, much more dangerous for the unity of the Empire was the revolt of Kalender Oghlu in Sarukhān (1606), who ruled for some years independently over a great part of western Anatolia, until he was crushed by Murād Pasha Soon afterwards, 1623—1628, took place the insurrection of Abāza [q v.], the relentless persecutor of the Janissaries Farther to the east the movement for independence under the Kurd Djanbulat [q v] in Northern Syria like that of the Druse Fakhr al-Dīn [q v] in the Lebanon had to be tolerated to some extent The inclination to mysticism and veneration for mystic shaikhs (such as Mahmūd of Skutari, where several grand viziers found asylum under ʿOthmān II) continued its hold on all classes of the population, several new mystic orders were founded during this period The foreign trade remained as before in the hands of foreigners, Venetians and other Italians, of Italian origin were also many of the leading personalities of the Turkish navy that was rebuilt after the battle of Lepanto, such as Čighale Zāde Sinān Pasha [q. v.].

7 Fourth period (1699—1839)

During the xviiith century the inevitable action of the elements of decay began to be felt more and more in the empire and brought about a situation that has been, too superficially, described as decadence. The causes of the decline were to be sought mainly within the body politic, they were still the consequences of the transition from a conquering state to a peaceful administration, but they were now ever more exploited by foreign powers. Among these Austria was in the beginning still a formidable opponent; after the war of 1716–1718 the peace of Passarowitz meant the loss of what had been left to Turkey of Hungary and Transylvania, and even of Belgrad, but the peace of Belgrad in 1739, in which this town itself was restored, proved that from the Austrian side the real danger had ceased. Moreover, in 1715, Morea had been reconquered from the Venetians by the grand vizier Djinn ʿAlī Pasha, which success had shown that Venice also was no more to be feared A new and formidable enemy had risen, however, in the form of the now much enlarged Russia, which, to the Orthodox Christians of Rumania and Servia, seemed a more welcome liberator than even Austria had ever been. The war of 1711 with Peter I, intimately connected with the coming of Charles XII of Sweden to Turkey, ended with a Turkish victory at Poltawa and brought back Azov to the Empire in 1712, and the war of 1732, equally successfully closed by the already mentioned treaty of Belgrad in 1739, was not yet disastrous for Turkey; Russian navigation in the Black Sea was even formally prohibited. After 1739 there followed a period of peace for the empire in Europe. The military and peaceful relations with Persia during this time were mainly influenced by the political events in that empire, by which the Turks sought to profit. The successes of Nādir Shāh in 1730 were for a moment threatening; they even occasioned the deposition of Ahmad III, but at last the peace of 1736 restored the frontiers of the time of Murād IV. The real military weakness of the Ottoman Empire was finally revealed in the conflict with Russia that had begun in 1768 with a Turkish declaration of war; this war brought the Russian armies deep into Bulgaria and was ended by the memorable treaty of Kučuk Kainardji in 1774, by which the Crimea became wholly independent (to be annexed in 1783 by Russia), while Turkey had to recognize the Russian protectorate in the Danube principalities The right of religious protection accorded to the sultan with regard to the Muḥammadans in the Crimea, was the beginning of the religious claims of Turkey, that were to acquire such importance in its international relations in the xixth century. After an equally unhappy war with Kerīm Khān in Persia (1776), in which Basra was temporarily lost, the Ottoman Empire again suffered serious losses to the Russians by the war of 1784—1792, closed by the peace of Jassy; this time the Dniepr became the frontier between the two Empires Austria also had tried to profit by this war and occupied Bukarest, but in the separate peace of Zistowa (1791) Austria did not gain the expected profits.

During all this time the friendly relations with the western countries, France, England and Holland, to which Sweden was added in 1737, Denmark in 1756 and Prussia in 1763, had often been of great value to Turkey by the services rendered by them as intermediaries in the peace negotiations; especially France, which obtained in 1740 its well-known final capitulation, had considerable influence by its right to protect the Roman Catholics. At the end of the century, however, the Ottoman Empire began to be a factor in the new imperialistic schemes of the western powers, in connection with their colonial acquisitions and political influences in Southern Asia These colonial interests did not show at that time any wish to possess Ottoman territory, but the rising colonial powers needed between themselves and their possessions a state over which they could exert control, since they saw the necessity of communicating with the Persian Gulf and India by a more direct way than the southern sea-route The more immediate cause of the occupation of Egypt by the French in 1798 was the rivality between France and England; this made for the moment England and even Russia allies of Turkey. But in 1802 peace with France was restored, to be followed some years later by a new war with Russia and hostilities with England (the English fleet before the capital in 1807) By the peace of Bukarest (1812) the Ottoman Empire again lost territory (Bessarabia) to Russia, while England, after the elimination of France's colonial power in India and the weakening of the Ottoman authority in Egypt, was for the moment satisfied. The Empire was again severely affected by the ups and downs of the Greek insurrection, that began in 1820 and ended in 1830 with the recognition of the independence of Greece, not, however, before a disastrous war with Russia — that had played from the beginning an important part in the Greek

troubles — had obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829). Still, the action of the other European powers had prevented Russia from realizing its territorial aims; it had to be contented with a strong political ascendancy over Turkey, as was proved in 1833 by the treaty of Hunkiār Iskelesi, which, in a secret article, forced Turkey to become Russia's ally in the matter of the navigation in the Black Sea This unnatural alliance with Russia was occasioned by the action of Mehmed ʿAlī of Egypt (begun in 1831), who threatened for a moment to deprive the Empire of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but led at the end only to the recognition of Egypt as a privileged part of the Empire under a hereditary dynasty (1840) This time again the intervention of the European powers had been decisive for the territorial status of the empire The existence of the Ottoman Empire was justly considered as a political necessity; already in 1789 there had been a treaty between Prussia and Austria to guarantee the northern frontiers of the Empire About the year 1830, moreover, Turkey concluded several new treaties, on the lines of the capitulations, with the United States of America, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. The conquest of Algiers by France (1827—1857) could hardly be called a loss to the empire.

The administrative system of the empire remained much the same during this period, in every direction the central authority was however losing its influence In the beginning of the xviiith century this was not yet very perceptible. Constantinople was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Ahmad III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as *lāle dewri* To this period also belongs the expansion of higher literary, specifically Ottoman, culture beyond the class of the *ʿulamāʾ*, a new class of literates came into existence, who were the precursors of the intellectual Turkish middle class that originated in the beginning of the xixth century The beginning of Turkish printing in 1727 is likewise intimately connected with the new cultural orientation of the higher classes. Most of them served the government in higher or lower functions, and from this class have come forth grand viziers, such as Dāmād Ibrāhīm and Rāghib Pasha This changed considerably the ancient military character of the government system; the home and foreign affairs of the empire were now treated in a more states manlike way by the Sublime Porte (Bāb-ı ʿĀlī), and the modest office of the Reʾīs al-Kuttāb [q. v] now became more and more important since the holders began to act as competent ministers of foreign affairs, one of them, Aḥmad Rasmī, is well known as one of the first Ottoman ambassadors Still this new class of functionaries was, according to tradition, the sultan's slaves; only under Mahmūd II was their position regulated in a more liberal way The new cultivated upper classes had manifold relations with the cultivated Greek Phanariots of their time, many of whom occupied high offices in the government service, especially as dragomans (as e. g. Nikusios and Mavrocordato); there were no ties with the lower Muḥammadan classes Under these governing functionaries the Janissaries and Sipāhī's, now that their discipline was loosened, more than once interfered in a dangerous way. The Janissary rebellion under Patrona Khalīl in 1730, which cost Aḥmad III his throne, seems to have been directed mainly against this new aristocracy. After Aḥmad III court life became much more sober. The ruling classes and most of the sultans with them had begun to realise the weakness of the empire and sought now a remedy in the introduction of military reforms, in which they were aided by several foreigners, of whom the Frenchman Bonneval (died in 1747) is the best known Another French officer, de Tott, worked in the same direction under Muṣṭafā III, but the Russian war that broke out under this sultan showed how little effective the measures had been. Selīm III undertook the army reforms with much more energy, but even in his time very few leading people had real understanding for these things, the institution of the new troops (*niẓām-ı ǧedīd*) provoked another formidable rebellion of the Janissaries, seconded by a large percentage of the ʿulamāʾ Mahmūd II, finally, took up the question of reforms with more deliberateness; this sultan finally concluded there was no other way of imposing the reforms than by the famous massacre of the Janissaries in Constantinople on June 16, 1826, at the same time the Bektāshī derwish order was persecuted The events showed, however, that so far more destructive than constructive work had been done; still this sultan succeeded at least in subjecting a number of powerful semi independent local dynasts The weakening of the central authority had indeed been characteristic of the Ottoman Empire of the xviiith century. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were ruled by hereditary Beys, only Tripoli was brought by Maḥmūd again under the direct authority of the Porte Egypt had seen in 1767 the usurpation of ʿAlī Bey. In Rūm-ili some powerful vassals had come forth from the ranks of the great timariots they were called *aʿyān* Under Selīm III and Maḥmūd II the most noteworthy were ʿAlī Pasha of Yanina and Pazwān Oghlu at Widdin In Anatolia there had been in 1739 the dangerous insurrection of Ṣarī Beg Oghlu, after which the so-called dere-beys were as good as independent, as was also the case in Kurdistān In Mesopotamia and ʿIrāk the same conditions were prevalent, in 1706 was formed in ʿIrāḳ the powerful Bedouin confederation of the Muntafiḳ, and under Selīm III Baghdād was ruled autocratically by Suleimān Pasha (died in 1810). In Syria the Druses of the Lebanon had their own emīrs, and on the coast ruled, in Selīm III's time, Djazzār Pasha [q v.] of ʿAkka In Arabia the Wahhābīs had taken Mecca in 1803, and Yaman and ʿAsīr could hardly be called parts of the Turkish empire. On the islands of the archipelago hardly any Turks were to be found, here as in Syria there was strong European influence. Still, although the Ottoman real power had sunk everywhere, the Ottoman type of administration had put its seal on the cultural life of all these different regions; the great Ottoman tradition held them together and enabled Maḥmūd II and the statesmen who, after him, continued the centralisation of the Empire, to keep together their political unity for a century more to come.

8. Fifth period (1839—1922).

In this period the transition of the Ottoman Empire to a national Turkish state was completed, but in a way not intended by the Christian powers, nor expected by the Turkish ruling classes themselves. The new course followed in the admini-

stration by the gradual application of the Tanẓīmāt [q. v] had meant to establish, mainly after the French model, a modern state where all citizens, whatever their religion, had equal political and civil rights, under the direct authority of the Ottoman Government, only Egypt, the Danube principalities and Serbia (since 1815) and in Asia the Ḥiḏjāz were allowed a privileged position The ideal of the new Ottoman State was, however, far from the democratic ideals that worked in Europe and which by now began to show their effect, especially among the Christian populations. The democratic revolutionary movement of 1849 in Moldavia and Wallachia was equally opposed by Turkey and by Russia, but had as result the convention of Balta Liman, by which the Turkish authority in these principalities was reduced to a negligible point When Russia, as a result of a conflict over the holy places in Jerusalem, invaded again the principalities, in 1853, the Ottoman Empire found England and France at its side; this was the beginning of the Crimean war. By the peace treaty of Paris (1856) the integrity of the Empire seemed secured In reality the intervention of England and France and soon again of Russia was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Djidda in 1858, and in the international regulation of the position of Crete in 1866 For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of inner administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the Tanẓīmāt tried to realize From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the xixth century, had taken the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside.

In 1862 the Ottoman government was able to restore its authority in Montenegro and the Herzegovina, while, on the other hand, Serbia, and the two Danube principalities, since 1861 united in one state, recovered a nearly complete independence in 1865 Twelve years later the Bulgarian troubles again brought about an armed conflict with Russia, which country, in 1870, had already broken the conventions of 1856 about the Black Sea. The preliminaries of San Stefano (1878), mitigated by the Treaty of Berlin (1879), brought the definite loss of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-dependent principality; on the Caucasian frontier Turkey lost Ḳars and Batum, and Great Britain obtained the administration of the isle of Cyprus This abandonment of England's policy hitherto followed of respecting the integrity of Ottoman territory was followed in 1882 by the occupation of Egypt [cf KHEDIW]. The remaining dates in the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe are the Greco-Turkish war (1897), by which the Greek territory was enlarged towards the north, the autonomy of Crete (1898) and, after the deposition of ʿAbd al Ḥamīd, in 1909 the declaration of independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina by Austria. Then, after Tripoli had been lost in the war with Italy (1912, peace of Lausanne), the Balkan war of 1912—1913 reduced the territory of Turkey in Europe to Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, which town had even been occupied for some time by the Bulgarians.

During the xixth century the relations with Persia had been on the whole peaceful; conflicts were only occasioned by frontier questions, such as the dispute about the authority over the Kurdish territory of Suleimānīye, which was settled in 1847 in favour of Turkey The territory round the Persian Gulf had come more and more under the control of the British, but the territorial status in Asia remained for a long time unchanged. In the meantime Turkey had been drawn gradually into the economic expansion schemes of the German Empire as manifested by the project of the Baghdād railway, this diminished England's interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State So, when in the first year of the world war, Turkey was not able to maintain its neutrality and joined the central powers, Russia and England co-operated for the first time to take away Turkish territory. The attempts of the Allies to enter the Dardanelles by sea and by land failed however during the war; but the combined action of the French and English troops in Palestine and Syria, and the different English campaigns in ʿIrāḳ and Mesopotamia succeeded at last in conquering these provinces from the Ottoman armies In Syria they were aided by forces of the Sharīf of Mecca, who had made himself independent in 1917 as King of the Ḥiḏjāz The Russians, in the meantime, had made considerable progress in north-eastern Anatolia, but from this side the danger came abruptly to an end with the Russian Revolution, and the peace of Brest-Litowsk (August 3, 1918) gave back to Turkey the lost territory, besides Kars, Ardahān and Batum Soon afterwards the war with the other powers came to an end by the armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918) Subsequently Constantinople was occupied by Allied troops, France occupied the whole of northern Syria and Cilicia, England occupied the not yet conquered parts of northern Mesopotamia, including Mōsul, and Italian troops landed in Adalia Greece was allowed to occupy eastern Thrace and Smyrna in May 1915. All this the Constantinople government had to witness passively The Turkish parliament, convocated in January 1920, took for a moment a firmer attitude by adopting the so-called National Pact (*mīṯāḳ-i millī*), but when in March the occupation of Constantinople was rendered more severe, the parliament was dissolved Finally, in August, the Ottoman Government was compelled to sign the Treaty of Sèvres, by which large parts of the remaining Ottoman territory, including Constantinople and Smyrna, were brought under the control of one or more foreign powers. In the meantime another, interior, enemy had risen against the Ottoman Government as a result of the organized national opposition against the foreign occupations, especially the Greeks' landing in Smyrna. In the course of 1920 the Constantinople government lost gradually all control over Anatolia and the measures undertaken with Allied help to restore its authority failed. Under the growing successes of the nationalists the authority of the Sultan's government dwindled down ever more, and the Great National Assembly of Angora was able at last to pronounce on November 1, 1922 the abolition of the Constan-

tinople Government and the deposition of Sultan Muḥammad VI Waḥīd al-Dīn This meant nothing less than the extinction of the Ottoman Empire and its dynasty. Constantinople and eastern Thrace were occupied by nationalist troops and the last Sultan left his capital, that now ceased to be the capital of Turkey. The only remnant of the dynastic tradition was that ʿAbd al-Medjīd, son of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, continued to reside in Constantinople as Khalīfa. This dignity was abolished by decree of the Great National Assembly of March 2, 1924; ʿAbd al-Medjīd, as well as all other members of the dynasty of ʿOthmān were at the same time banished from Turkey

Such was the outcome of a long series of events, in which the inner development of the empire played no less a part than the outward political circumstances. The "tanzīmāt" period, in fact, was a no less powerful factor in the dissolution than the political interest of foreign powers The "tanzīmāt" was a more deliberate continuation of the reforming measures under Selīm III and Maḥmūd II and it was by no means the execution of a programme supported by a large group of the population Rashīd Pasha, ʿĀlī Pasha and their helpers wanted to turn Turkey into a modern state ruled by a council of ministers, whose president kept the title of *ṣadr-i aʿẓām*, but their methods were those of an absolute government in the name of the sultans, who did not in the beginning interfere When, however, the first real constitution was elaborated by Midhat Pasha, it happened that the new Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamīd preferred to govern himself, and with the same absolutist methods as his predecessors; only his aim became ever less the copying of a western European state, but rather the strengthening and the securing of the position of the sovereign, to which end there was finally developed the notorious system of censorship and espionage which has made known this period in Turkish history as *dewr-i istibdād* This period cannot be called reactionary in that it abolished the institutions of the "tanzīmāt", it opposed only some consequences of the reforms The reforms had brought into existence a middle class of intellectuals of Turkish speech and Islāmic religious tradition, mostly divided between the army and the state functionaries and, in a less degree, the ʿulamāʾ. These intellectuals, of very different extraction, had developed a new ideal of patriotism, as reflected most eloquently in Nāmīḳ Kemāl's *Waṭan*, and they had begun to form a public opinion that claimed a certain influence in the government of the state About this time was also born the Turkish daily press [cf DJARĪDA]. Gradually, as this social group took more definite forms, it became ever more separated from the different groups of the Christian and Jewish population, and also from the non-Turkish speaking Muḥammadans in the Asiatic provinces. At the same time, however, the general religious controversy between Christianity and Islām had been deepened since the beginning of the XIXth century as a result of the subjection of many Muḥammadan countries to the rule of Christian powers. By this process was generated the panislāmic feeling and Constantinople, as the capital of the relatively most powerful independent Islāmic state, became the political capital of Islām. With a great many of the Turkish intellectuals, and among them chiefly the *ʿulamāʾ*, the panislāmic feeling surpassed the still somewhat vague patriotism. Moreover the Islāmic sentiment found sympathy with the lower classes of the Turkish population, still strongly imbued with mystical traditions and with the non-Turkish Muḥammadans of the Empire ʿAbd al-Hamīd, while emphasizing his dignity as Khalīfa, relied mainly on Islāmic sentiment, though, in course of time, the persons who surrounded the ever more suspicious monarch came to be of the worst kind Utterances of patriotism were opposed in the most drastic way and many intellectuals had to take refuge abroad The growing opposition against the *istibdād* found at last a means of organizing itself in the province of Macedonia, since 1906 governed by a Turkish governor under European control Saloniki became the centre of the new patriotic, more conscious, Young Turkish movement, led by the Committee of Unity and Progress (*ittiḥād u-teraḳḳī*) and supported to a great extent by the army Its influence obliged the sultan to promulgate again the constitution of Midhat Pasha on June 24, 1908 and to abolish at once the onerous system of censorship and espionage In November the first Ottoman parliament came together, but in the troubled years that followed this parliament never had the opportunity to exert a real influence on the government On April 13, 1909, followed an attempt to reestablish the Sultan's former authority; this time the Young Turkish cause could only be saved by the occupation of the capital by the Macedonian army and the deposition of the Sultan (April 27) Then, for a time, Ottomanism became the political ideal, meaning the equality of all Islāmic and non-Islāmic elements in the state. But it soon appeared that these elements were already too much estranged from each other, so that the foundation of a strong state on these principles became impossible The Young Turks, under the influence of the ideas of Panturkism, began now a policy with the final object of making the Ottoman Empire a state where the Turkish element should be predominant, they turned to the lower Turkish speaking classes, especially in Anatolia, to form a real Turkish nation Panislāmism, too, was propagated again by several persons as a way of attending this aim, but this course was gradually abandoned, although used occasionally for outward political manifestations The very unfavourable international development after the revolution, however, brought the Young Turkish rulers to measures that certainly were not originally on the programme, such as the Armenian massacres during the war and the severe government in Syria. And as a consequence of the final loss of nearly all non-Turkish territory in the war, Turkish nationalism was born at last, the simplest and at the same time the most effective form of Turkish patriotism, not hampered by any ideas of religion or original racial connections.

The statesmen who had carried out the "Tanzīmāt" programme had been careful not to offend the religious scruples of the leaders of orthodox Islām. In spite of the remonstrances of foreign representatives no measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the *sharīʿa*, though the application in practice might have been changed. The *sharīʿa* was also the basis of the new Civil Code or *Medjelle* [q. v.] In Midhat's constitution, Islām was declared the state religion and the Shaikh al-Islām was given a rank as high as the grand-vizier. This wise religious policy could not prevent, however, occasional religious outbursts of which

Christians were the victims, as in 1858 at Djidda and in 1860 at Damascus, both places situated ontside the purely Turkish provinces. Under ʿAbd al-Hamīd religious activity was mainly under the influence of panislāmism, shown in the various attempts to enter into relations with Muḥammadans in all parts of the world. Even the Young Turkish government did not refrain from proclaiming the Holy War on its entering into the world war In their inner administration the Young Turks clearly opposed the influence of the religious authorities, as was proved by their attempt in 1917 to bring the medreses under the administration of the ministry of Public Instruction Another break with the Islāmic tradition was the reform of the calendar. In 1789 the Greek Julian calender had already been introduced officially for the financial administration but by a curious compromise the era of the Hidjra (*sene-i mālīye*) was preserved, and in 1917 the Gregorian calendar was adopted The Christian era came gradually into use after the war.

It was also by the "Tanzīmāt" that domestic administration was separated from the military by the laws concerning the *wilāyets* The chief occupation of the home department was still for a long time the tax-gathering. The europeanisation and centralisation of the financial system proved to be one of the chief difficulties, as a reliable corps of functionaries had to be created at the same time After the Crimean war, Turkey was able to conclude a number of foreign loans, but the money was not well administered nor well used In 1876 a state bankruptcy had to be declared with foreign intervention as a consequence and the establishment of the service of the Public Debt, which was very much resented in all Turkish circles. A serious hindrance for the recovery of the finances was also the antiquated custom rules of the capitulations, although the original dues of 3 % were several times raised After the Revolution, however, the greatest difficulties seemed to have been overcome

The new Turkish army created gradually by conscription, after the extinction of the Janissaries, had during this period many occasions to show its valour. It contributed considerably to the strengthening of the patriotic Turkish spirit and played an important role in the Revolution. After 1856 it was theoretically admitted that Christians and Jews also could be enrolled, but in practice they always liberated themselves by paying an exemption tax It was only after the revolution that these non-Turkish elements also became Turkish soldiers.

9. The national Turkish state (since 1922).

The nucleus of the new Turkish state was the opposition to the foreign occupations after the armistice of Mudros The organisation of the opposition began in 1919 under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, who had gone at first to Asia Minor as army inspector. The first stage was the Congress of Erzeṟūm (July 23, 1919), followed by the Congress of Sīwās (September 11). Here a Representative Committee (*Hey'et-i temṯhīlīye*) was formed under the presidency of Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and this Committee was charged with the execution of the new national programme; the armed opposition of the *ḳuwāyî millīye* against the occupation of Smyrna was supported and the landing of English troops in Samsūn, as well as the attack on Iznik from Constantinople were frustrated. In 1920, after the Constantinople parliament had been dissolved, many deputies escaped to Asia Minor, where in Ankara, on April 23, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was convoked by the Representative Committee. The Assembly gave itself legislative and executive powers and appointed a governing committee (*hey'et-i wekīle*) under Kemāl Pasha's presidency In 1921 began the struggle with the Greek troops (battles of In Önü on January 11 and March 31), followed in July by a Greek advance as far as Eski Shehir. This advance was ended by a Greek defeat on September 13. In the meantime, the new national government had entered into relations with the Allies; by the treaty of November 20, 1921, France restored Cilicia. As other negotiations did not lead to definite results, the Ankara government decided in August 1922 on an attack on the Greek forces and gained a decisive victory at Dumlu Buñar; on September 9 Smyrna was recovered and for a short time it seemed that Constantinople was threatened By the armistice of Mudania (October 10) the national government obtained the right to occupy Thrace and Constantinople, which was effected in the following weeks. Therewith the war was finished, and after difficult negotiations the peace treaty of Lausanne (July 23, 1923) established peaceful relations between the Allies and the new Turkey, this country being recognized as a completely independent state The peace treaty had left undecided the question of the wilāyet of Mōsul, the restitution of which was claimed by the Turks; after great efforts of the League of Nations, Turkey and England came at last to an arrangement by which Mōsul was left to ʿIrāḳ (June 5, 1926). The new Turkey had already concluded a consular treaty with Russia in November 1922; after the peace of Lausanne relations of friendship and commerce were successively renewed with other countries. The relations with England and Russia are now the most important in Turkish foreign policy.

Since the Turkish constitution of April 20, 1924, Turkey is a Republic. Ghāzī Mustafā Kemāl Pasha has been state president (*re'īs-i ḏjumhūrīyet*) from the beginning Constantinople has fallen from the rank of capital and has been replaced by Ankara, the Medīna of the new Turkey The Grand National Assembly has displayed since 1922 a considerable legislative activity in order to adapt the country to its new conditions and to modernise its institutions In religious matters the new rulers have taken deliberately the way of laicization, after the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924. There is no longer a Shaikh al-Islām and no Minister of Ewḳāf.

In September 1925 the Tekkes of the mystic orders were closed and these orders themselves interdicted These measures, directed against the traditional popular forms of religious expression, were a consequence of the great rebellion of the Kurds under Shaikh Saʿīd, which began at the end of 1924 Similarly in September 1925 the fez was abolished as headdress, only the 'ulamā' were henceforth allowed to wear the turban. A noteworthy reform was the official introduction of the Latin alphabet and the abolition of the use of Arabic letters in 1928, which measure had also an anti-clerical aspect The principal aim of these and other measures is, to raise the Turkish people to a higher cultural level;

heir application has repeatedly provoked resistance n several parts of the country among circles attached o traditional institutions Still the national evolution iimed at by the republican government has in any ase more chances of success than ever before, as he large majority of the population is now really Turkish or turkicised Many *muhādjir*'s had returned already after the Balkan war to Asia Minor nd the population exchanges with Greece have ikewise increased the Turkish majority

A comprehensive collection of the historical facts ince 1918 is to be found in G Jäschke and E. 'ritsch, *Die Turkei seit dem Weltkriege, Geschichtsalender 1918—1928*, in *Die Welt des Islams*, x, 927—1929, containing also extensive bibliographical notes on the new Turkey An independent urvey of this period is contained in the article *Turkiye Djumhūriyeti*, in Khalīl Edhem, *Duwel-i slāmiye*, Istanbul 1927, p. 331

Bibliography: Among the sources of Ottoman political history the historiographical literature of the Ottoman Turks themselves takes the first place. For this literature it is sufficient to refer to F Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927. The study of documentary sources is still in its beginnings; historical documents have been published in various places, as in the *T O.E M.* (*T. T. E M*) and in the works of the Turkish historian Ahmed Refīk Some of the *Kānūnnāmes* have been published in *T O E M* and other Turkish publications For the treaties of the Ottoman Empire a most valuable collection is to be found in Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv vols, Paris 1897–1903 On the epigraphical sources there are important monographs, such as those of Khalīl Edhem and the more recent publications of Mubārek Ghālib The chief work on Ottoman Numismatics is still Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Takwīm-i Meskūkāt-i 'Othmāniye*, Constantinople 1307, besides other publications (such as Ahmed Refīk, *'Othmānlī Imperatorlughunda Meskūkāt*, in *T.T.E.M*, N° 6, 7, 8, 10, *British Museum Catal Oriental Coins*, vol viii)

Of non-Turkish literary sources the Oriental ones have been partly treated by Babinger in his bibliographical work Among the Western sources the Byzantine historians are of extraordinary importance for the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, Critobulos) Since the xvth century a very important place is also taken by the *Relazioni* of the Venetian bailos, to be consulted in the great publications of Albéri (Florence 1839—1863) and Barozzi and Berchet (Venice 1856—1877) To them were added in course of time the reports of the representatives of other governments that entered into relations with the Ottoman Porte. To the same category may be reckoned the numerous descriptions of travels in the Ottoman Empire by European travellers, beginning in the xvith century. Not sharply separated from the travel literature are the many descriptions of the Turks and of the Ottoman Empire, of which the best known is d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. i.—iii, Paris 1787—1820. This kind of literature continued all through the xixth century (the important works of Ubicini) and the beginning of the xxth century.

The first great general work on Ottoman Turkish history was Josef von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. i.—x., Pest 1827—1835; zweite verbesserte Ausgabe, vol i—iv, Pest 1834—1836 (French translation by J. J Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol i.–ix., Paris 1835—1843). This work is for the greater part based on Turkish literary sources and ends with the peace of Küčuk Kaynardji in 1774; vol. x. contains an extensive list of works concerning Ottoman History, that had appeared in Europe until 1774. A work of the same scope is J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol i–vii. (until 1812), Hamburg 1840 and Gotha 1854—1863; Zinkeisen uses Western sources much more than von Hammer, but does not draw directly from original Turkish sources The same is the case with N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol i.—v. (until 1912), Gotha 1908–1913. The *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* of de la Jonquière, vol i–ii, Paris 1914, is important for its historical treatment of the end of the xixth and the beginning of the xxth century. Among the several works that treat only a certain period of Ottoman history may be mentioned G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Turkei* (1826—1856), Leipzig 1866

As a result of the greater interest in Turkish history after the war, there began to be published in 1922 the *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, by F. von Kraelitz and P Wittek; it is much to be regretted that this publication has had to cease after only two years

Ottoman history has begun to be studied more and more in Turkey itself since the revolution of 1908. Since 1910 was published the *Ta'rīkh-i 'Othmānī Endjumeni Medjmū'asī*, the name of which was changed, after the war, to *Turk Ta'rīkh Endjumeni Medjmū'asī*; the last number in Arabic script was N° 19 (96) This valuable publication contains a great number of historical contributions, but other publications too (such as the *medjmū'a* of the Literary Faculty and the two vols of *Turkiyāt Medjmū'asī*, Istanbul 1925 and 1928) contain important articles on historical subjects The *Ta'rīkh Endjumeni* has made possible, moreover, the publication of considerable historical monographs in its series *Kullīyāt* A comprehensive survey of recent historical studies in Turkey is to be found in the series of articles by P. Wittek in *O.L.Z.* under the title *Neuere wissenschaftliche Literatur in osmanisch-turkischer Sprache* (since 1928). A complete new History of the Ottoman Empire has not yet been written in Turkey; there has already appeared, however, the first volume of an *'Othmānlī Ta'rīkh-i* by Nedjīb 'Āsim and Mehmed 'Ārif, Istanbul 1335 (1917).

(J H Kramers)

TÜRKÜ is the usual name for the folk-song in Ottoman Turkish It is to be distinguished from *mani* [q.v] on the one hand and from *sharkī*, on the other The distinction between *turku* and *mani* lies in the fact that the former are polystrophic and the latter monostrophic. This distinction is not however always observed. In many districts of Ottoman Turkish the people know only the name *turku* and use it without distinction in speaking of mono- or polystrophic songs. As to the distinction between *türku* and *sharkī*, the

former are genuine folk-songs, the latter more artificial in character. The former go back to proto-Turkish models and have marked analogies among other Turkish peoples, while the latter belong to the sphere of Muslim culture and follows Arabic and Persian models. The language of the *turku* is therefore as a rule much purer Turkish than that of the *sharkī*.

As to the form of the *turku* it is written in a syllabic rhythm or accented syllable rhythm in rhymed strophes. The single lines contain 7 to 15 syllables; the seven (4–3, 3–4, rarely 2–3–2) and the eleven syllables (usually 4–4–3 and 6–5) are the most frequent. It is worth noting that the nine syllabled form, so popular among the Kasan Tatars, is not found among the Ottomans The rhyme is in the great majority of cases purely grammatical and owes its origin, as in Turkish generally, to the combination of two factors the construction of the strophe in two parts and the linguistic conditions of the Turkish language. The effect of the former was to cause the Turkish strophe to fall into two rigidly parallel sentences; of the latter that these sentences, especially towards the end, represent two series of grammatical forms corresponding to one another. With the agglutinative character of the Turkish language however such forms must rhyme with one another Turkish rhyme is therefore as a rule polysyllabic Rhymes extending over three or more final syllables are not at all rare.

The strophes of the *turku* number two, three or four lines, three lined strophes are the most common and are the most characteristic of Ottoman poetry in general The three lined strophe with the same rhyme *a a a* throughout seems to have arisen out of the quatrain common to all the Turkish languages rhyming *a a b a* by dropping the third unrhymed line This as a rule destroys the bipartite character of the strophe. The single separate songs are as a rule made up of similar strophes. the only exceptions are the refrain strophes so common in love-songs and the final strophes sometimes found in longer songs In songs collected from the lips of the people we may often find marked corruptions of the poetical form, a circumstance which points to the gradual disintegration of long poems that have been handed down for a considerable time

As regards the subject, the *turku* are predominantly lyrical poems. They include love-songs, soldier-songs, religious hymns, Ramaḍān songs of the *bekči* night-watchmen, which usually have a dash of humour in them, etc Special mention may be made of one variety of love-songs, the poems in the popular romances, in so far as they are not artificial products (cf. D. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929, p. 41 *sqq*.) The soldier-songs frequently contain allusions to historical events. We can observe how old songs are continually being adapted by slight alterations to new events as they crop up. In favourable circumstances one can trace these adaptations through many stages. The love-songs in the form of dialogue deserve special mention, such as for example, the ballad *Turkmen Kïzï* ("The Turkoman maid") first made known by Kúnos. It is not necessary to assume that this form arises out of the Persian dialogue-ghazal (Jacob, *Die türkische Volkslitteratur*, p. 19). Such poems in the form of a dialogue between a young man and a maid, recited or sung, are common to all branches of the Turks. It is evidence of their independent Turkish origin that they are found in lands where the influence of Muslim culture is very weak or does not exist at all (cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i. 493 on singing matches in Kirghiz between a youth and a maid) and among the Altai Turks (cf e g. the Teleut dialogue poem *Myrat Pï* in Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur*, i. 200–204). The *turku* are true songs, i. e. they are intended to be sung to music. It often happens however that the texts do not at all fit the melodies with which they now appear associated. In these cases the number of syllables in the text has to be adapted to the number of notes in the melody by artificial means. As the lines are usually too short, the equation is usually done by inserting superfluous exclamations like *vay vay, aman aman, validem, annem*, etc. or by quite nonsensical expletives like *gug gug, lulla tarulla*, etc The texts of the *turku* are often completely broken up by such parasitic intrusions

Turku songs are also used to accompany popular productions of trances.

Bibliography G. Jacob, *Die türkische Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 19 *sqq*.; T. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezyi ludów tureckich*, i, Krakau 1922, p. 61—102; Aḥmad Talʿat, *Khalk shiʿrlerinin shekil ve nevʿi*, Istanbul 1928, p. 32 *sqq*. (cf thereon *Archiv Orientální*, ii. 505 *sqq*.), Maḥmūd Rāghib, *Anadolu turkuleri ve musiḳī istiḳbālimiz*, Istanbul 1928. The fullest collections of Ottoman Turkish folk songs have been made by I Kúnos The following of his publications may be mentioned: *Oszmán-torok népköltési gyüteméný*, ii., Budapest 1889, *Nyelvtudományi kozlemények*, xxii (1890), p 113—156 and 275—284; Radloff's vol. 8 of *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stamme*, St. Petersburg 1899, *Chrestomathia turcica*, Budapest 1899; *Ianua linguae ottomanicae*, Budapest 1905, *Ada-Kalei torok népdalok*, Budapest 1906 Shorter specimens by the same author *Turkische Volkslieder*, *W. Z. K. M.*, ii. (1888), p. 319—324; iii. (1889), p. 69—76; iv. (1890), p. 35—42; *Kisázsiai torok nyelvjárások*, Budapest 1896; *Kisázsiai torok dialektusairól*, Budapest 1896, *Chansons populaires turques*, *Z D. M. G*, liii. (1899), p. 233—255. Shorter or longer specimens of Ottoman Turkish folk-poetry are also contained in: W. A. Maksimow, *Opyt izsliedowanya tiurkskich dialektow w Chudawendgiarie i Karamanii*, St. Petersburg 1867; A Alric, *Fragments de poésie turque populaire*, *J.A*, ser. viii, vol. 14 (1889), p. 143–192, M. Bittner, *Türkische Volkslieder nach Aufzeichnungen von Schahen Efendi Alan*, *W. Z. K. M.*, x. (1896), p. 41—54 and xi. (1897), p. 357—373; E. Littmann, *Turkische Volkslieder aus Kleinasien*, *Z. D. M. G.*, liii. (1899), p. 351—363; W. Pisariew, *Nieskolko słow o trebizondskom dialektie*, *Zap Wost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arch. Ob.*, xiii. (1901), p. 173—201; B. W. Miller, *Turetkiya narodnyya piesni*, *Etnografičeskoye Obozrenye*, iii. (1903), p. 113–155; also with introduction by Krymskij in *Trudy po wostokowiedienyu*, Moscow 1903; F. v. Luschan, *Einige turkische Volkslieder aus Nordsyrien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi. (1904), p. 177—202; F. Giese, *Erzählungen und Lieder*

aus dem Vilajet Qonjah, Halle a. S.–New York 1907 [cf. thereon Wl. Gordlewskij, *Iz nabljudieny nad tureckoj piesniyu*, *Etnogr. Obozr.*, lxxix., Moscow 1909], Hadank, *Jungturkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*, *M. S. O. S. As.*, 1919, Wl. Gordlewskij, *Obrazcy Osmanskago tworčestwa*, i., Moscow 1916, *Trudy po wostokowiedieniyu izd. Łazarewskim Institutom*, part 34. A large collection of *turku* songs with notes was published by the Stambul Conservatoire of Music under the title *Halk turkuleri* (Istanbul 1926—1930, 13 parts). Texts of folk-songs have also been published in Turkish ethnological periodicals like *Halk bilgisi haberleri* (Istanbul 1929 *sqq*.) and *Halk bilgisi mecmuase* (Ankara 1928 *sqq*.).

On the musical aspect of the *Turku* cf. O. Abraham and E. Hornborstel, *Phonographierte turkische Melodien*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, xxxvi. (1904), p. 203—221; B. W. Miller, *Tureckiya narodnyya piesni*, I. Kowalski, *Ze studjów nad formą poezyi*, i. 97—102, Maḥmūd Rāghib, *Anadolu turkuleri*. (T. Kowalski)

TURSHĪZ (Yāḳūt Turshīsh, Mukaddasī Turthīth, Turaithīth), a town in Persia, capital of the district of Bushṭ in the province of Nīshābūr, four or five stages from the latter town. It was destroyed in 530 (1136), its hereditary governor at that time was al-ʿAmīd Manṣūr (or Masʿūd) b. Manṣūr al-Ẓūr Ābādī, an enemy to the Bāṭinīya or Ismaʿīlīya, he summoned the Turks to aid him to defend his lands, but the latter behaved with their usual greed so that, not being able to continue the struggle, he submitted to the Ismāʿīlīya. His son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd recognised the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs in 545 (1150); receiving no support from them, he fled to Nishābūr and the Ismāʿīlīya established their authority in this region. The town was besieged and taken by Timūr (784 = 1382), it was regarded as impregnable on account of its deep moat and high walls, but the water of the moat was pumped out and a mine made a breach in the wall. The garrison was spared and served in Turkestan under the conqueror. Here Timūr received an embassy from Shāh Shudjāʿ, the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, from whom he asked a daughter in marriage for his grandson Pīr Muḥammad. During the campaign of ʿAbbās Mīrzā against Herāt, Turshīz was taken by Khusraw-Mīrzā in 1248 (1832).

Celebrated natives were Kātibī of Nīshābūr, born in a village in the vicinity, Ahlī (d. 934 = 1527—1528) and Ẓuhūrī (d. 1024 = 1615). In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar where, according to tradition, Zoroaster planted a cypress tree which became famous and was ordered to be destroyed by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (Firdawsī, *Shāh-Nāme*, ed. Turner Macan, p. 1068, 6; ed. and transl. J. Mohl, iv. 364; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, i. 54, n. 2, 703, Muḥammad Madjdī, *Zīnat al-Madjālis*, in Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 390, n.).

Bibliography Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 836; iii. 528; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 291; Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 318, 352; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 177; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Géogr.*, i. 443; P. M. Sykes, *J. R. G. S.*, 1911; do. *Hist. of Persia*[1], ii. 83, 201, 424; Edw. G. Browne, *Liter. Hist. of Persia under Tartar Dominion*, p. 186, 487, 488, do., *Liter. Hist. of Persia in Modern Times*, 233, 234, 253.

(Cl. Huart)

ṬURSUN BEG, an Ottoman historian. Ṭursun Beg whose *makhlaṣ* was Lebībī, is of unknown origin; his father was an uncle (*ʿamūdja*) of the Brusa city bailiff Djubbe ʿAlī and also possessed a fief which soon passed to the son. Ṭursun Beg took part in the capture of Constantinople and the Rumelian campaigns of Meḥemmed II and we find him in the campaign against Trebizond as a clerk in the *dīwān* (*dīwān kātibi*); he later became *defterdār* of Anatolia and finally of Rumelia. He still held this office in the reign of Bāyazīd II. The date of his death is not known. Under the title *Ṭa'rīkh-i Ebu 'l-Feth*, Ṭursun Beg wrote a history of the reign of Sulṭān Mehemmed II and of the first six years of Bāyazīd II. The work, composed between 903—905 (1497—1500), comes down to the year 893 (beg. Dec. 17, 1487). An edition of this *Chronicle* was published by Meḥemmed ʿĀrif Beg as a supplement to *T. O. E. M.*, parts 26–38. On the MSS. cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 26 *sq*.

Bibliography. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 26 *sq*., where further references are given.

(Franz Babinger)

ṬURSUN FAḲĪH, an Ottoman jurist. Tursun Faḳīh was, like Sulṭān ʿOthmān the husband of Malkhatun, a son-in-law of Sheikh Ede Balī who died in 726 (1326) aged, it is said, 120, and was buried in Biledjik. He succeeded him as *muderris* and *imām*. In this capacity he accompanied Sultān ʿOthmān on his campaigns and preached the first Friday sermon in Kara Ḥiṣār in ʿOthmān's name and the first Bairām sermon in Eski Shehir. The *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī* without any apparent reason gives 726 (1326) as the year of his death. He must therefore have died practically at the same time as Ede Balī and Sultān ʿOthmān.

Bibliography J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 56, 77, Ṭāshkopruzāde-Medjdī, *al-Shakāʾik al-nuʿmānīya*, p. 21; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii. 254; J. Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, p. 150, 45 *sqq*. (Franz Babinger)

AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sulaimān b. Aiyūb al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī, an Arab author, see Ibn Abī Randaḳa.

TŪS (original Iranian form Tōs, in Arabic transcription Ṭūs), a district in Khurāsān.

In the historical period Tūs was the name of a district containing several towns. The town of Nawḳān flourished down to the end of the third (ninth) century. The form Nawḳan < Nōḳan is confirmed by the present name of the Meshhed quarter Noughān (where the diphthong *ou* corresponds to the old *wāw-i madjhūl*, i.e. *ō*). At a later date, the other town Ṭābarān became more important and was considerably extended so that the original Ṭābarān seems to have become one of the faubourgs of the new town (cf. Idrīsī) which then became generally known as Tūs. The name Meshhed, at first a simple sanctuary in the village of Sanābād, is already mentioned in Muḳaddasī. Meshhed first of all encroached upon the adjoining town of Nawḳān, the name of which disappears about 1330. In 1389 Tūs was destroyed and never rebuilt. The waters which supplied it were diverted to Meshhed. Under the Ṣafawids this, the sacred city of the Shīʿīs, became the capital of the old district of Tūs (the valley of the Kashaf-rūd) and of all Khurāsān.

Situation. Two ranges of mountains stretch

along the north of Khurāsān. The one (Kopetdagh etc.) rises in the north of Khurāsān and runs through Transcaspiana. The other (which is a continuation of the Alburz) is parallel to it in the south. To the south of Ḳūčān, the two approach one another and this narrowing forms the watershed. By the corridor which opens towards the northwest the Atrak descends to the Caspian. Through the plain in the southeast runs the river Kashaf-rūd "Tortoise river", a left bank tributary of the Harī-rūd (river of Herāt) The district of Tūs lies on the upper part of it The outer spurs of the southern range (Binālūd, with peaks of c. 2,800 feet) separate it from Nishāpūr, the waters of which lose themselves to the south in the central desert.

Origins The nomenclature of the region seems to suggest the presence in Ṭūs of old non-Aryan elements. Regarding the Kashaf-rūd, the *Bundahišn* says "The river of Kāsak comes out of a ravine of the province of Tūs and is there called the river of Kasp ..." (transl. West, p. 81). Marquart (*Untersuchungen z. Geschichte v Eran*, ii 28) traces the names Kasp and Ṭabarān (town of Ṭūs) to the lost peoples of the Κάσπιοι and Τάπυροι, of whom traces are found in many places The Pehlevi list of the towns of Iran (transl. Blochet, in *Recueil des travaux relatifs a la philol. et archéol. égypt et assyriennes*, xvii., 1895, p 165–176, §§ 14—15) relates in connection with Ṭūs that the hero Tōs, son of Nōtar, was *sipahpat* there for 900 years. In the *Šāh-nāme* (ed Mohl, iv 255) Kai Khusraw when distributing fiefs gives Khurāsān to Tōs Other more explicit stories (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*) attribute to Tūs (Tōs) only the rebuilding of the town of which the actual founder was Djamshīd, which reflects the pre-Sāsānid date of Ṭūs. According to Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, i. 199, 277 and Sir P. M Sykes, the ruins of the oldest inhabited place in the district of Tūs are at Shahr-i Band (or Ḳahḳaha) on the right bank of the Kashaf-rūd 4 miles S E. (read S. W ?) of Tūs and 10 miles N. E of Meshhed. The ancient Ṭūs has been connected (Spiegel, *Eran. Altert*, ii. 539, Tomaschek, *Zur hist Topogr v Persien*, i 219, Marquart, *Untersuch*, ii 65; Sykes, *op. cit.*) with Susia, a town in the province of Areia to which Alexander the Great went from Parthia (Arrian, *Anabasis*, xxv., ed C. Müller, p. 84. Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας) As the province of Areia (Old Pers. *Haraiva*) was traversed by the Harī-rūd (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.*, 1878, p. 59) we may be permitted to add to this Tūs, situated on the tributary of the Harī-rūd. On the other hand, the change in the original *Sōs [Shōs ?] to Tōs would have parallels in Shūstar > Tustar and perhaps in Shāsh > Tāshkand. [The identification of Susia with Zōzan by Khanikow, *Artacoana*, in *J.A*, Aug. 1875, p 235–242 is untenable].

[In his recent publication, *Archäol Mitteil. aus Iran*, 1930, 1/2, 110 and 1/3, 182, Herzfeld interprets the Avestan *Taosa nastarānām* as "T of the cadet branch" and explains it from the fact that Vishtāspa, father of Darius and ancestor of the younger line of the Achaemenids, lived there. According to the Iranian *Bundahišn*, the mythical Vishtasp removed the fire Āturburzīnmihr from Khwārizm to Mount Rōshan in the land of the *kanārang*].

Sāsānid period. In the Sāsānid period we have very little information about Ṭūs. Legend attributes the death of Yazdagird I (420) to a mortal kick given him by a horse which came from the spring of Saw, near Lake Shahd (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v 519–523) Noldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, 1879, p. 77—78, thinks that the topographical details have been added by Firdawsī. We have therefore to ascertain what the latter actually meant. Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla locates this spring at Čashma-yi Gilās (Gulasp), one of the eastern sources of the Kashaf-rūd, but the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 241, more in keeping with Firdawsī, places it near Lake Čashma-yi Sabz, to the west in the mountains between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr (cf. *Maṭlaʿ al-Shams*, i 241).

In 497 we find the first reference to a Nestorian bishop of Ṭūs and Abarshahr (= Nīshāpūr); cf. *Chronicon orientale*, ed. Chabot, p. 311, 316 and Guidi, *Ostsyrische Bischofe*, *Z D M.G.*, xlii. (1888), 410 (under year 499). On Christianity in the Mongol period, cf. below.

According to the Armenian historian Sebēos, the general Smbat Bagratuni sent (c. 616—617) by Khusraw against the Kūshāns encamped in the district of Tos of the province of Apr-shahr (= Nishāpūr; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 66).

The Arabic sources are less explicit regarding the administration of Ṭūs before the conquest.

The Arab conquest. According to a story given by Balādhurī, p. 334, c 29 (649) the marzbān of Ṭūs wrote simultaneously to the wālīs of Kūfa and Baṣra, inviting them to Khurāsān, on condition that the conqueror should put him in possession of this province. Khurāsān was conquered under ʿOthmān (in 29—31 = 649—661) by the wālī of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir b Kuraiz The marzbān of Nīshāpūr after some resistance agreed to pay a tribute (*waẓīfa*) of 1,000,000 dirhems (another version 7,000,000 dirhems) while the Marzbān of Tūs (Knāztk, read Kanārang) appeared before ʿAbd Allāh and made peace by paying 600,000 dirhems (Balādhurī, p 405). One would think that the two marzbāns were different individuals, and Yaʿḳūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p 295, also speaks of a letter from the *malik* of Ṭūs and of ʿAbd Allāh's reply which the descendants (*walad* ?) of the *malik* still preserved in his time. According to Ṭabarī, i. 2886, however, when ʿAbd Allāh had established himself in Nīshāpūr, the other half of the province, i. e. Nasā and Ṭūs, remained in the hands of Kanārē with whom ʿAbd Allāh had to make peace in order to be able to go on to Marw. As Marquart has shown, the title Kanārang (or Kanārē, in Greek Χαναράγγης, cf. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, i., ch. 5, 7, 21 and 23) was that of the hereditary governors of all the province of Abarshahr (Nīshāpūr, Tūs, Nasā, Abīward) probably descended from a pre-Sāsānid dynasty (cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 75, Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 27). The intrigues to which Balādhurī and Yaʿḳūbī allude and which were to facilitate the conquest may have originated with some member of the family of the Kanārang, a rival of the lord of Nīshāpūr.

In the period of Arab rule Ṭūs played no independent part but its name is however often mentioned in the records of civil wars. Under the Omaiyad ʿAbd al-Malik (65—86) the citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by a body of Banū Tamīm (Balādhurī, p. 415) who still held control in 125 (Ṭabarī, ii. 1771). In 130, Ḳaḥṭaba, a lieutenant of Abū Muslim, inflicted a decisive defeat on the

Omaiyad *wālī* Naṣr b. Sayyār near Ṭūs (Ṭabarī, ii. 2000; Ibn al-Athīr, v. 282, 292, 295). In 184 a certain Abu 'l-Khaṣīb of Nasā rebelled in Khurāsān and for a time seized Ṭūs, Nīshāpūr etc. On the 3rd Djumādā II, 193 (March 24, 809) Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was operating in Khurāsān against the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Laith b. Naṣr b Sayyār, died at Ṭūs (Ṭabarī, iii 733). On 1st Ṣafar 203, the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died in the village of Sanābād of Ṭūs. According to Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 203, al-Maʾmūn prayed to God for the deceased and interred him near the tomb of his father ["in the garden of Ḥumaid b. Ḳaḥṭaba", following Musʿir b Muhalhil quoted by Yāḳūt] Sanābād is the modern Meshhed [q v]. The tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd, now completely disappeared, was beside that of the Imām ʿAlī for, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii 77, the ʿAlid pilgrims who visited the latter used to kick the tomb of Hārūn (which however was still kept in good order in the xivth century)

According to Idrīsī, Muḳān (read Nawḳān) was the capital of the Ṭāhirids, but "after the siege" the capital was moved to Nīshāpūr (between 213 and 230; cf ṬĀHIRIDS) The historical sources state that in 265 (878) Ṭūs was destroyed (*ukhribat*), evidently as a result of the rebellion of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjastānī, an old servant of Muḥammad b Ṭāhir who had seized Nīshāpūr in 262 (*ibid*, iii 1931; Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 227; cf Defrémery, *Mémoire ... sur Ahmad, fils d'Abd Allāh*, in *JA*. [1845], 345–362) Yaʿḳūbī (278 = 891) still mentions Nawḳān as the principal town of Ṭūs In 283 the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b Laith reported to the Caliph that his men had defeated near Ṭūs the Amīr Rāfiʿ b. Harthama who had been asserting his independence in Khurāsān from 271 (884) (Ṭabarī, iii. 2160, Ibn al-Athīr, vii 334).

The Sāmānids In 309 Lailī b Nuʿmān, one of the generals of the ʿAlid *dāʿī* Ḥasan b Kāsim, came to Nīshāpūr and had the *khuṭba* read there in the name of his chief By orders of the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, Hammūya b. ʿAlī left Bukhārā against Lailī He was at first defeated near Ṭūs but Lailī later lost his life (Ibn al-Athīr, viii 91) In 336 (947) the governor of Ṭūs and its dependencies Abū Manṣūr Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ rebelled against Nūḥ b Naṣr The latter sent Manṣūr b. Ḳara-tegin to Khurāsān Muhammad went from Nīshāpūr to Ustuwā (= Kūčān) His brother Rāfiʿ was besieged in the fort of Sumailān and later in the fort of Darak (3 farsakhs from Sumailān). Sumailān was dismantled but Rāfiʿ succeeded in retaining what was left at Darak Lastly in 339, Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, being pardoned by Nūḥ returned to Ṭūs (Ibn al-Athīr, viii 353, 361). The personality of Abū Mansūr is particularly interesting on account of his friendship with Firdawsī (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed Mohl, i. 20, ed Vullers, i. 10—11). Abū Manṣūr beautified the cathedral mosque of the town of Tābarān which henceforth was the first in Ṭūs (Muḳaddasī, p. 319). In 349 Abū Manṣūr was appointed *sipahsālār* but immediately dismissed in favour of Alp-tegin The latter settled in Nīshāpūr and Abū Manṣūr retired to his fief of Ṭūs In 350 (961) after the accession of the Sāmānid Manṣūr, Alp-tegin fell into disgrace Abū Mansūr who had sent troops from Ṭābarān and Nawḳān towards Čāha (on the road from Nīshāpūr to Marw; cf. *Čahār Maḳāla, G M.S*, p. 51) did not succeed in stopping Alp-tegin. Fearing the wrath of his master Abū Manṣūr rebelled and was ultimately poisoned (Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār*, Berlin 1928, p 41–44).

The Arab geographers to the end of the fourth (tenth) century. Ibn Khurdādhbih (232 = 846), p. 24 and Ḳudāma, p. 201, place the district of Ṭūs on the Nīshāpūr–Sarakhs road· Nīshāpūr–Baghīs 4 farsakhs (Ibn Rusta, p. 171; Faghīsn 5 farsakhs), al-Hamrā 6 farsakhs (according to Ibn Rusta, the distance is 5 f.; this "red village", so called from the colour of its walls, is situated in the mountains), al-Muthaḳḳab (Ibn Rusta: Bardaʿ) belonging to Ṭūs 5 f ; al-Nawḳān 5 f ; Mozdūrān al-ʿAkaba 6 f ; Abgīna (Awgīna) 3 f.; Sarakhs 6 f. This makes the distance between Nīshāpūr and Nawḳān (= Meshhed) 20 f. (Yaʿḳūbī, 2 *marḥal*s, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 3 *marḥal*s) which shows that the road ran round the south side of the mountains which separate Nīshāpūr from Ṭūs, for Ibn Hawḳal, p. 331, says that one can "ascend" in a single *marḥal* from Nīshāpūr to Tūs 5 farsakhs before Nawḳān the land of Ṭūs began which evidently means the whole district.

Yaʿḳūbī (278 = 891), p. 277, says Nawkān is the largest town in Ṭūs. Ibn Khurdādhbih valued the *kharādj* of Tūs at 740,860 dirhams Yaʿḳūbī says that the *kharādj* of this district (*balad*) is included in that of Nīshāpūr. The people of Ṭūs were mainly Persians but there were also some Arabs (Tayy; cf. also p. 306).

Iṣṭakhrī (340 = 951), p 257 mentions four towns of Ṭūs Rādkān, al-Ṭābarān, Buzdighawr (?) and al-Nawḳān The tomb of ʿAlī b Mūsā al-Riḍā (like that of Hārūn al-Rashīd) was in the territory of Nawḳān in the village, of Sanābādh 1/4 farsakh from the town (Nawḳān). Ibn Ḥawḳal adds that Sanābād was surrounded by a solid wall within which lived hermits (*muʿtakifūn*).

Balādhurī (the passage quoted by Muḳaddasī, p 331, is not found in the *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje) already mentions Ṭūs among the dependencies of Nīshāpūr (Irānshahr, read Abarshahr) Muḳaddasī author of the most complete description of Khurāsān, emphasises the subordinate character of Tūs. "If some said that Nīshāpūr has eclipsed Ṭūs, one would reply that Ṭūs has never been a large town to be eclipsed". Muḳaddasī repeats several times that Tūs, like Nasā and Abīward, is only a *khizāna* ("granary, depot") of the *kūra* of Nīshāpūr (p 50, 295, 300, 301b) Among the towns of the district of Ṭūs, Muḳaddasī mentions al-Ṭābarān, al-Nawḳān, al-Rādkān, Djnabd, Ustūrḳān, Trūghbdh (the last three are uncertain) The largest of these at this time was Tābarān (375 = 985) It had a citadel and from the distance resembled Medina Muḳaddasī mentions its busy market in which there was the cathedral mosque which Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had embellished (*zakhrafa*). The water ran in shallow subterranean canals, fruits and firewood were abundant and the prices of merchandise moderate In spite of all this, Ṭābarān was a wretched little town (*bulaida*) the outskirts of which were in ruins, the water bad and the climate cold. The inhabitants professed the Shāfiʿī rite and were capable of being very troublesome in times of turmoil. Tūs produced stone cooking vessels (*birām*), mats and wheat as well as striped materials and *tukak* (cords for supporting trowsers) of good quality. Nawḳān was below Tābarān (*dūna*, perhaps "lower down the river"). In Meshhed there was a citadel with houses and a market; the mosque built on the

tomb by ʿAmīd al-Dawla Fāʾiḳ was the best in Khurāsān (*ibid.*, p. 319, 323, 324—325, 333).

The Ghaznawids. In 385 (995) when Maḥmūd b. Subuk-tegīn was installed in Nīshāpūr by the Sāmānid Nūḥ II, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī and Fāʾiḳ (a former Sāmānid general, builder of the mosque of Meshhed; cf. Muḳaddasī, p. 333), refugees in Djurdjān, attempted to reconquer Khurāsān but Subuk-tegīn defeated them near the village of Andarakh (?) of Ṭūs (Gardīzī, p. 56, Ibn al-Athīr, ix 75; Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G M.S.*, p. 262). In 389, Maḥmūd sought to reassert his rights over Khurāsān. His rival Bek-Tuzun was driven from Ṭūs and in his stead Maḥmūd appointed his chief amīr Arslān Djādhib, who is still mentioned as lord of Ṭūs in 401 and 420 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 103, 155, 267). In 397 however, the Ḳara-Khānids of Transoxiana sent an expedition which took Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr but the tables were soon turned when Maḥmūd returned from India (Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G M S*, p 272) Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 283, without giving a date, records that Maḥmūd as a result of a dream rebuilt the sepulchral building of Ṭūs (i. e Meshhed) which his father Subuk-tegīn had destroyed, and prevented the people of Ṭūs (i e. Shāfiʿīs ?) from harassing the pilgrims (ʿAlids).

The Seldjūḳs. In 421 the Seldjūḳs making short shrift of the attempts at conciliation made by the Ghaznawid Masʿūd penetrated into Balkh, Nīshāpūr, Tūs and Djurdjan In 425 their strength increased, which had repercussions on the situation generally. Turbulent elements gathered round the people of Ṭūs who declared war on Nīshāpūr. The wālī of this town fled but the amīr of Kirmān, who was on his way to Masʿūd, arrived with 300 horsemen. The people of Nīshāpūr defeated those of Ṭūs and Abīward. The amīr of Kirmān massacred 20,000 people of Ṭūs. He crucified them on trees and along the roads The landlords of the villages (*ṣuʿamāʾ ḳurā Ṭūs*) had to give hostages.

In 428 Masʿūd's commander-in-chief (*su-bashī*), defeated by the Seldjūḳs near Sarakhs, was driven back to Ṭūs. In 430 Khurāsān became the arena of the struggle between Masʿūd and the Seldjūḳ Tughril. The latter from Ustuwā (Ḳūčān) took refuge in "the inaccessible mountains and difficult passes" of Ṭūs. As from there Tughril went to Abīward the reference is probably to the district of Kalāt [q. v.]. Some people of Ṭūs who had been intriguing with Tughril entrenched themselves on an inaccessible summit but in spite of the winter these positions were taken by Masʿūd who personally directed the attack.

In 465 (1072) Malik-Shāh conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk a number of fiefs including Ṭūs, the native city of the great vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 54). Niẓām al-Mulk is said to have built there two cathedral mosques, one at Ṭūs and the other at Nawḳān (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, i. 190).

In 510 a disputation at Ṭūs on the 'Āshūrā' day (10th Muharram) between an ʿAlawī and the Sunnī doctors ended in great riots. The Sunnī inhabitants laid siege to Meshhed and did great damage there. To protect Meshhed against such attacks again, a wall was built around the town in 515 (*ibid*, x. 366). In 548 the Ghuzz having captured Sulṭān Sindjar invaded Ṭūs, this "mine of learned and pious men", slew the men, carried off the women and destroyed the mosques. Of all the wilāyet of Ṭūs, only the place (*balad*) where the Imām ʿAlī was buried was uninjured. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of individuals of note slain on this occasion.

The family of al-Muʾayyid. In 548 (1153) a slave of Sulṭān Sindjar Ay-Aba al-Muʾayyid carved out for himself a small kingdom including Nīshāpūr, Tūs, Nasā, Damghān etc. Sindjar's successor, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (the Ḳara-Khānid; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, text, p. 27), had to be content with the payment of tribute by Muʾayyid. In 552 Muʾayyid's rival Aithāḳ (Ay-taḳ ?) devastated Ṭūs and its townships, after which the district was left waste (*ibid*, xi. 150). In 553 the Ghuzz, having defeated Muʾayyid near Marw followed him up and sacked Ṭūs. In the same period a quarrel broke out in Khurāsān between the leader of the Shāfiʿīs Muʾayyid b. Ḥusain and the ʿAlawids. The people of Ṭūs, Isfarāyin and Djuwain supported this other Muʾayyid but the Shāfiʿīs were vanquished. These internecine struggles brought about fresh devastation (*ibid.*, xi. 155) In 555 Muʾayyid Ay-Abā after a quarrel had a reconciliation with Maḥmūd and as soon as he was reestablished in his post began to harass the ʿAlawīs. In 556 his suzerain Maḥmūd who was dependent on the Ghuzz quarrelled with them. The Ghuzz sacked Ṭūs (*nahban fāḥishan*) including Meshhed but did not touch the sanctuary. In 557 (1161) Muʾayyid blinded Sulṭān Maḥmūd and had the *khuṭba* said in his own name (*ibid.*, xi 180; Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 335). He laid siege to the fortress of Waskarah-Khūy (?) which belonged to Ṭūs, where a certain Abū Bakr Djāndār had installed himself. Muʾayyid took the fortress and Karastān (?) also. In 558, Muʾayyid recognised the suzerainty of Sulṭān Arslān (of the ʿIrāḳ). Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of his lands which included Ḳūmis, Nīshāpūr and Tūs and extended from Nasā to Tabas-Knklī (?). In 568 Muʾayyid, who had taken the side of the Khwārizmshāh Sulṭān Shāh Maḥmūd, was taken and executed by the latter's brother Sulṭān Takash Under Tughan-Shāh, son and successor of Muʾayyid, his slave Ḳara-Ḳush in 568 took Tūs and Zām (= Djām; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 248, according to the *Masārib al-Tadjārib* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Baihaḳī). According to another source used by Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 253, the Khwārizmshāh Takash (in 568 ?) before his final struggle with Muʾayyid advanced as far as Ṭūs. In 576 (1181) Sulṭān-Shāh having received the support of the general of the Ḳara-Khitai Fūmā defeated Tughan-Shāh and seized Sarakhs and Ṭūs. Tughan-Shāh died in 581 (cf. Djuwainī, ii. 19—22; Barthold, *op. cit*, p. 339).

The geographers of the xiith century. Samʿānī (d. 562 = 1166), *G.M.S.*, p. 373, mentions in Ṭūs two towns (Ṭābarān and Nawḳān) and over 1,000 villages. Idrīsī (548 = 1154), transl. Jaubert, ii 184 (= MS. f. 164 *b*) puts the distance between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr at 4 days' journey (*marḥal* ?). Ṭūs was a considerable town, well built and thickly populated. In the vicinity were a number of towns with minbars: Rātkān (*sic* !), Brdghūr, Dūdān, Mihrdjān (according to Yāḳūt a town of Isfarāyin) and Mūḳān (*sic* !), "a most noteworthy town" with a good citadel and earthwork. On "the mountain of Mūḳān" there were quarries for stone out of which were made mortars and cauldrons (*birām*), and also mines of silver, copper, iron, turquoises, *dahandj* and rock crystal. A number of inaccuracies were inevitable in Idrīsī who was writing in Sicily.

The Khwārizmshāhs and the Ghūrids. In 594 Takash, who had risen against the Ghūrids with the help of the Ḳara-Khitai, went by Ṭūs to Harāt. In 597 the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn seized the lands of the Khwārizmshāh in Khurāsān. Ṭūs surrendered after a siege of three days and was sacked (Djuwainī, ii. 48). In the next year, the Khwārizmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad reconquered Khurāsān and laid siege to Harāt, but the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn drove him back. Takash before returning put to death the lord of Nīshāpūr, the amīr Sandjar b. Tughan-shāh b. al-Muʾaiyid, suspected of plotting against him. Shihāb al-Dīn came to Ṭūs and spent the winter there (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 89, 108, 116—118).

The Mongols. At the beginning of Rabīʿ al-ākhir 617 (1220), the generals of Čingiz-Khān Yeme (Djebe) and Subutai pursuing the Khwārizmshāh came to Nīshāpūr. Subutai left for Djām and Ṭūs. The eastern township of "Ṭūs–Nawḳān" submitted but the inhabitants of the town (i.e Ṭūs–Ṭābarān) did not give a satisfactory reply. Subutai ordered a great massacre (*ḳatl-i ba-ifrāṭ*) in the town and vicinity. Rādkān, the situation of which Subutai liked, was spared (Djuwainī, *Dj. hān-gushā, G.M.S.*, i 114—115). After the two generals had gone, the people were able to breath again (*ibid*, p. 117). The chief of the militia of Ṭūs (*ḥaṣḥariyān*) was bold enough to kill the Mongol *shaḥna*, but the Mongol general Ḳishtimur, hastening from Ustuwā (= Ḳūčān) arrested the culprit and began to dismantle the fortifications. In the meanwhile, the advance guards of the army of Tuluy (Tūlī), son of Čingiz-Khān, had arrived in Khurāsān. The last forts of Ṭūs were occupied. Nawḳān (and Ḳār ?) resisted vigorously; but Nawḳān was taken on the 28th Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 617. In the spring of 618 (1221), Tuluy himself arrived from Marw. At one stroke the army occupied all places in the wilāyet of Ṭūs and the last remnants of the population (*baḳāyā-yi shamshīr*) were put to death (*ibid*, p. 136—138). The first *wālī* of Khurāsān appointed by the Mongols (under Ögedei, 624—639) was the Ḳara-Khitai Khamīdbūr (Djantimur?, reading uncertain; cf Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet, p. 37). The citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by an adventurer, Tādj al-Dīn Farīzana?ī, who submitted to Kulbulat (?) who was sent by Khamīdbūr (Djuwainī, ii. 220). In 637 (1239) the Uighur Buddhist Kürkūz ("the Long") was appointed to Khurāsān and made Ṭūs his headquarters In all the town (the old Ṭābarān) there were only 50 houses still inhabited. Kürkuz began to build government offices (*ʿimārat*). "Contrary to the Mongol custom" he built a solid treasury (*ḵẖizāna*) in the centre of the citadel (*ḥiṣār*). The town began to recover rapidly and the prices of municipal plots went up a hundredfold in a week (Djuwainī, ii. 238, 240).

Kurkūz was succeeded by the famous amīr Oyrat Arghūn. On returning from his journey to the *ordu* in 643, he saw that the Manṣūrīya palace and the forts (*ḳuṣūr*) were completely in ruins and gave orders to rebuild them (*ibid*, ii. 245, 247). Confirmed in office by Möngke-ḳāʾān (649) Arghūn entrusted the government of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs to Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAlī (*ibid*, p. 255). Arghūn then entered the service of Hūlāgū and in the reign of Abaḳa died in 673 (1275) at Rādkān of Ṭūs (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 559). The place of death of Arghun suggests that his own estates were in the district. The activities of his son Nawrūz (who converted Ghāzān to Islām but was executed by his orders at Harāt in 696 [1297], cf. d'Ohsson, iv. 190) were closely associated with Khurāsān and thus paved the way for the later successes of his family.

Christians in Ṭūs. Traces of Christianity must have survived in Ṭūs from the Sāsānid period (cf. above). In the biography of Shaikh Abū Saʿīd (967—1049), *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Żukowsky, p. 70, we have a curious story of his meeting with the child who was later to become Niẓām al-Mulk (born in 1017—1018) at Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān) "at the beginning of the street of the Christians" (*bar sar-i kūy-i tarsāyān*). In the Mongol period the Christians enjoyed greater freedom. When in 1278 the future patriarch Yahballāhā III was on his way from Mongolia to Jerusalem, he went to the monastery of Mār Ṣehyōn "near the town of Ṭūs" and there received the blessing of the bishop and of the monks. In the year 1590 of the Greeks (= 1279) the bishop of Ṭūs, Simeon, was ordained metropolitan of China (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl*, ii. 449).

The geographers of the xiiith–xivth century Yāḳūt, in 560, gives few details about Ṭūs and only reproduces the fables of Misʿār b. Muhalhil about a powerful stronghold on the road between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr built by a Ḥimyar king (*tabābiʿa*). Under Ṭābaran (iii. 486) and Nūḳān (iv 824) Yāḳūt says "Ṭūs consists of two towns of which the larger is Ṭābarān". At Nawḳān Yāḳūt mentions the manufacture of pots and cauldrons of stone (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xiv. 311 on the stone pots which the pilgrims bring from Meshhed). A village of Ṭābarān also existed at Bukhārā and there was a village of Nawḳān at Nīshāpūr. Zakariyā Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, p. 275, seems to have been the source of many confusions (cf their excellent analysis in Sanīʿ al-Dawla, i. 196—199) by saying that Ṭūs was "a town of which the two parts (*muḥallatain* ?) were Ṭābarān and Nawḳān". In reality these are two towns separated by a distance of 4 farsakhs, as Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*G.M S*, p. 151) rightly points out.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 77, Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān), which he reached from Djām, was one of the largest towns in Khurāsān. From Ṭūs he went to Meshhed which at this time must have encroached upon Nawḳān for of the latter the traveller says nothing and from this time the name disappears completely.

The Djūn-Ghorbān. These rulers were the direct descendants of Nawrūz b. Arghun. Their name which was probably that of one of the sections of the Mongol tribe of Oyrat (**dzun-ghurban* = "the three [detachments] of the left [wing]"), was later given a Persian dress as Djān-ḳurbān ("those who sacrifice their souls"; cf. Dawlat-Shāh). After the extinction of the Mongol dynasty of Persia, the son of Nawrūz, called Arghun-Shāh, won for himself a kingdom in Khurāsān which, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (quoted in Barthold, *Istor. geogr. obzor Irana*, p. 70), included Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt, Abīward, Nasā and Marw. Dawlat-shāh (Bombay edition 1887, p. 121) calls Arghun-Shāh "*pādshāh* of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs", but in 738 Nīshāpūr was taken from him by the Sarbadār Masʿūd. Arghun-Shāh played a considerable part in the election of Tugha-Tīmūr [q. v.]. After the latter's death (754), his possessions were divided among the Sarbadārs, the Karts and Arghun-Shāh, but the Sarbadār Karābī at some time took Ṭūs from

Arghūn-Shāh [cf. SARBADĀR; one of the gates of Kalāt now called Darwāza-yi Arghawan-Shāh (*sic*!) owes its origin to this prince rather than to the Īlkhān Arghun who was never called Shāh].

The successors of Arghun-Shāh were his sons Muhammad-beg and ʿAlī-beg When at the beginning of 783 (1381), Tīmūr came to Ṭūs, ʿAlī-beg went to pay homage to him but in the winter of 1381 he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalāt. After many vicissitudes, ʿAlī-beg surrendered to Shaikh ʿAlī Bahādur in 784 As a reward Tīmūr gave the latter Rādkān. ʿAlī-beg was deported to Andidjān and executed there towards the end of the year. Others of the Djūn-Ghorbānī were exiled to Tāshkent (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 324, 335, 351, 385). But in 791 (1389) a rising took place in Khurāsān which was joined by the Sarbadārs, Ḥādjdjī-beg (younger brother of ʿAlī-beg) and the troops of Kalāt and Tūs. The *Ẓafar-nāma* briefly records the suppression of the rising by Mīrān-shāh (i. 468—469). A much more detailed account is quoted by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla (*op. cit.*, p. 208—209). Tīmūr is said himself to have appointed Ḥādjdjī-beg to Ṭūs (in 789?) where he amassed great wealth The rumours of Tokhtamīsh's successes turned Ḥādjdjī-beg's head and he stopped the *khuṭba* for Tīmūr and proclaimed his desire for independence. He fought for several months with the amīr Aḳ-buḳa who remained faithful to Timūr. On the arrival of Mīrān-shāh, Ḥādjdjī-beg fled but was captured and put to death The town was taken in Radjab 791 (1389) 10,000 men were killed and towers of skulls (*manāra*) erected at the gate of the city "No trace was left of Tūs". In 807 again, Tīmūr had executed near ʿIshkābād (Askhābād) the Djūn-Ghorbānī Aḳ-buḳa and Ḳara-buḳa, who had been plotting in his absence (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii 592) At the present day, the country north of Meshhed (from Čolay-khāna to Kalʿa-yi-Yūsuf-khān which is 4 farsakhs north of Ḳūčān) is called the encampment (*yurt*) of the Djūnī-Ghurbānī tribe (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, p. 158)

End of Ṭūs. Ṭūs (i e Tābarān) never was able to recover from the events of 791. It is true that Shāhrukh after his accession to the throne of Khurāsān in 807 sent to Ṭūs the amīr Saiyid Khwādja with orders to rebuild the town In 809, Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt etc. were given to prince Ulugh-beg In the period of the decline of Tīmūr's line, some members of it exercised more or less independent power at Ṭūs in 862 Mīrzā Shāh Mahmūd, in 905 Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain (son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Baikara).

In 918 ʿUbaid Allāh-khān Özbek, having raised the siege of Harāt, came to Ṭūs and Isfarāyin but after some months evacuated Khurāsān on the approach of Shāh Ismāʿīl In 927 the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* mentions a governor "of Ṭūs and Meshhed". Khanïkow found at Ṭūs a funerary inscription of a shāh-zāde Ibrāhīm dated 983. The argument of the same traveller from the fact that the name Ṭūs does not disappear from Persian astrolabes till the XIIth century A. H. is by no means conclusive, for we know how tenacious geographical memories are in the East Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in the *Haft-Iḳlīm* (Bibl Nat. Paris, MS suppl. Pers. 356 *sq.*, f. 264–274) no longer mentions Ṭūs; in speaking of Meshhed he says. "this wilāyet was at one time called Ṭūs". At the beginning of the XIXth century, Zain al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥat*, Ṭeherān 1315, p. 354, says· " This was a well-known town in Khurāsān. Destiny has so destroyed it that all that remains is a village of 30 houses".

Two causes have contributed to the disappearance of Ṭābarān–Ṭūs the weakness of its geographical situation in the plain, open to every invader, and the popularity of Meshhed which is protected by the renown and sanctity of its sanctuary, and attracts crowds of pilgrims. The Indian traveller ʿAbd al-Karīm who visited Meshhed with Nādir-Shāh in 1153 (1741) rightly observes that the splendour of this town caused the ruin of Ṭūs (transl. Langlès, 1797, p. 74)

Antiquities. Fraser, Khanïkow, O'Donovan, Żukowsky, Jackson, Diez und notably Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla and Sykes have described the ruins of Tūs, i. e. of the town of Tābarān They are situated on the left bank of the Kashaf-rūd about 15 miles (4 farakhs) north of Meshhed (Nawḳān). The walls of the town are of brick and form an irregular circle a farsakh in circumference. Their thickness at the base is 5 *dhaʿ* (about 15 feet) The remains of 106 towers and 9 gates can still be traced. The area occupied by the old town according to Sykes is about 2,300 yards each way

On the north side of this area are the ruins of a square fortress each side of which measures 200 *dhaʿ* (= yards). It has 12 towers. The ditch surrounding it is 15 *dhaʿ* broad. In the middle of this *ark* on an artificial mound was a fort, oblong in shape 80 × 50 paces (*ḳadam*). It had 9 towers. Two little villages, each of 25 houses, lie at the foot of the wall inside to the west Ṭūs-i Karīm-khānī and to the east Tūs-i Bahādur-khānī. To the N E. outside the wall are the fields of a third village (*mazraʿ*) Islāmīya

In spite of all the lack of attention on the part of the authorities, popular memory, even after the lapse of nine centuries, has not forgotten the site of Firdawsī's tomb It is shown inside the town near the N E wall Nizāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, who visited the tomb in 510 (1116) locates it in the garden which had belonged to Firdawsī "inside" the Rizān gate (*Čahār-maḳāla*, *G.M S.*, p. 51; *darūn-i darwāza* By a slip, Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, ii 138, translates "outside the gate"). As Sykes has shown, the village of Rizān (modern pronunciation: Rězān) still exists 9 miles N. E. of Tūs and the "Rizān gate" corresponding to it ought therefore to be at the village of Ṭūs-i Bahādur-khānī The Rūdbār gate (cf the story of Firdawsī) must have been at the opposite end of the town. The *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 151, moreover positively asserts that it was S. E (*ḏjānib-i ḳiblī*), i e opposite the great bridge over the Kashaf-rūd which still exists to-day. According to Sykes, Rūdbār was the name of a mountainous district between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr but Rūdbār may simply mean the part of the town near the river, i e. the Kashaf-rūd The village of Bāż, which Firdawsī owned, corresponds to the present village of Pāz (or Fāz) 4 miles S. S. E of Rizān (see the photograph in Sykes, *A seventh journey*, *G.J*, xiv [1915], 365. The village of Bāz-i Ṭūs 2 farsakhs from the town of Ṭābarān is mentioned in the biography of Shaikh Abū Saʿīd [967—1049], *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, p 68, which also mentions a place called Dubirādarān, one farsakh from the town and the khānagāh of Ustād Abū Aḥmad in the town). The village of Shādāb, the birthplace of Firdawsī, has also been identified in the neighbourhood of Ṭūs (as I am informed by Taḳī-zāde).

As to the tomb of the poet itself, Dawlatshāh (892 = 1487), Bombay ed 1887, p. 29, says that it is beside the Mazār-i ʿAbbāsīya and is a place of pilgrimage, and Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh (end of the xth [xvith] century) in the *Madjālis al-Muʾminīn* (*Madjlis* N⁰. 12 on the Persian poets) claims to have himself visited it. He adds: "in spite of the ruin of Ṭūs generally and the destruction of the tomb by order of ʿUbaid Allāh Khān [its site] is well marked and obvious" (*mushakhkhaṣ wamuʿaiyan*). [The contrary interpretation by Žukowsky, according to which ʿUbaid Allāh Khān ordered the tomb of Firdawsī to be "put in order", seems due to some misunderstanding of the MS. which he quotes, Univ. of St Petersburg, N⁰. 147, fol 63] If we may believe Fraser, *loc. cit*, p 519, a little building surmounted by a dome decorated with faience still existed in 1822. In 1858 Khanïkow could find no trace of it In 1883 the Wālī of Khurāsān, Āṣaf al-Dawla, having cleared away the mound (*tapa*) which had accumulated with the crumbling away of the old building (cf. Fraser) covered the tomb with bricks and surrounded it by an earthen wall His death stopped further work. The peasants told Žukowsky that the tombstone of Firdawsī had been taken away for the building of a bath but Žukowsky expresses doubts on this point. Under the Pahlawī régime and on the initiative of Arbāb Kai-Khusraw, a Parsī deputy to the Persian madjlis, a building has been begun to mark in a worthy manner the resting-place of the author of the *Shāh-nāma*. [The doubts expressed regarding the site of the tomb by Sykes, *J.R.A.S*, 1910, p. 1120, seem exaggerated in view of the existence of an uninterrupted tradition and the statements of Žukowsky]

In the midst of the ruins of Tūs stands a fine brick building (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, i. 180. *buḳʿa mānand* "like a mausoleum") now dilapidated. According to Diez, its plan is a parallelogram 18 6 × 25 metres and its walls are extremely thick (3.20 to 5.40 metres) The height of the walls to the foot of the dome is 18 *dhaʿ* (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla). The building consists of three parts: 1. the entrance *īwān* (8 70 × 3 20 m); 2. the chamber under the dome (Kuppelhalle), 12 × 12 m. and 3 rooms of different sizes with vaulted roofs. Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla (i. 181) relying on the absence of covering for the walls had already suggested that the building had never been finished A single inscription noticed by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla is *al-dunyā sāʿat* ("this world is but an hour") There are no dates. Diez (p. 59) alluding to the similarity of style with the mausoleum of Sulṭān Sandjar at Marw (1157) proposes tentatively to identify it with the tomb of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505 = 1111). But the translations of the texts on which Diez relies are inaccurate. Yāḳūt says only that Ghazālī was buried in his native town. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 77, also confines himself to saying "and there (at Tūs) is his tomb (*ḳabr*)". It would be strange if the Maghribī traveller had not given some note on the mausoleum. Inside the mausoleum on the ground are the tombstones of a certain prince and descendant of the Prophet (*ʿālī-djāh*, contrary to the translation quoted by Diez, is not a name but a title) and of his daughter (?) the princess (*ulyāḥaḍrat*) Māhwash Khānim. These stones do not belong to the mausoleum but have been brought from outside. The tombstone (*nadgrobiye*) of the prince Ibrāhīm (983) which Khanïkow, *Otčet*, saw at Ṭūs likewise cannot be connected with this building

As to the ruins of Nawḳān, they lie immediately to the east of Meshhed as far as the villages of Ḥusainābād and Mihrābād. Sykes there found sepulchral inscriptions dating from 760 (1359) to 1099 (1688). The quarter of Meshhed adjoining the ruins is also called Noughān (Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1116).

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(V. MINORSKY)

ṬŪSĀN, according to Yāḳūt, a village 2 farsakhs from Marw al-Shahidjān [q.v] In 130 the Umaiyad wālī Naṣr b. Saiyār, retiring under pressure from Abū Muslim, encamped on the river Nahr ʿIyād and appointed Abu 'l-Dhaiyāl to Ṭūsān, the inhabitants of which were partisans of Abū Muslim. Abu 'l-Dhaiyāl was defeated at Ṭūsān (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v. 282) (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ṬŪSĪ NAṢĪR AL-DĪN, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤASAN, astronomer, polychronicler and Shīʿa politician of the period of the Mongol invasion, born at Tūs on the 11th Djumādā I 597 (Feb. 18, 1201), died at Baghdād on the 18th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 672 (June 26, 1274).

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī began his career as astrologer to the Ismāʿīlī governor Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Manṣūr at Sertakht. After his attempt to transfer to the caliph's court had been betrayed, he was kept under supervision in Sertakht and later in Alamūt [q. v.] but allowed to retain his office and continue his researches unhindered. In 654 (1256) he played the Assassin leader Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh into the hands of Hūlāgū [q. v.], then accompanied the latter as his trusted adviser to the conquest of Baghdād, founded by his orders the observatory of Marāgha, became vizier and supervisor of *waḳf* estates and retained his influential position under Abāḳā [q.v.] also without interruption until his death

Tūsī's political attitude was determined by his strong sympathy with the "Twelvers", which made him with his talents and versatility a leader of the Īrānian-Shīʿa oligarchy on the Mongol side against the caliphate It was through his influence that a certain degree of mercy was shown the Shīʿīs during the Mongol holocaust and their sanctuaries in Southern Mesopotamia were spared Among his writings (see 56 titles in *G. A. L*, i 508 *sqq.*; cf. also Nallino, in *Oriente Moderno*, viii 43 *sq*) are two hand-books of dogmatics much esteemed by his co-religionists and several times commented upon: the *Tadjrīd al-ʿAkāʾid* (Teherān n. d) and *Kawāʿid al-ʿAkāʾid* (Teherān 1305 with the commentary of his pupil Ibn al-Mutahhar) The teaching of the Twelvers concerning the Imāms is clearly worked out and also in the metaphysics *al-Fuṣūl* written in Persian (cf the annotated Arabic edition in Berlin MS, Nº 1770, fol 138b *sqq*) Tusī's logic and philosophy is also occasionally expressed in his dogmatic writings as the formal preliminary to the dogmas, which are substantially derived from Shīʿa tradition. It belongs to the school of Ibn Sīnā [q v] On the latter's *al-Ishārāt wa 'l-Tanbīhāt* he composed the commentary *Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* (Lucknow 1293). Here he defended Ibn Sīnā against Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q. v.] and further wrote against the latter's *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutakaddimīn wa 'l-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* the critical commentary *Talkhīṣ Muhassal*... (see at the foot of the *Muhassal*, Cairo 1323). The true Shīʿī with a real devotion to the Imāms is further revealed in his mystical work in Persian entitled *Awṣāf al-Ashrāf* (Teherān 1320), however much the fact of his Sūfīism and reverence even for al-Ḥallādj distinguishes him from most of his co-religionists In Fiḳh he wrote on the law of inheritance, of his occult works a *Kitāb al-Raml* has survived (Munich, Arab MS, Nº 880) While still in Sertakht he dedicated to his patron there the Adab-book *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī* still frequently reprinted (Lahore 1265, Bombay 1267 etc) which shows the influence of Ibn Miskawaih His devotion to his own sect did not in any way cut him off from others He discussed scientific matters with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī by letter and with Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kātibī (*G.A L*, i. 466) orally; at court he worked with the brothers Djuwainī [q. v] To one, the historian ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, he dedicated his *Talkhīṣ Muhaṣṣal* and to the other, the Sāhib Dīwān Shams al-Dīn, the *Awṣāf al-Ashrāf*, and he owes his fame beyond Shīʿa circles to his books and researches in the exact sciences medicine, physics, mathematics and particularly astrology and astronomy

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(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-TŪSĪ's medical works are of no particular scientific importance In Physics, as an astronomer, he was primarily interested in questions of optics, both geometrical and physiological To this field belongs his *Taḥrīr Kitāb al-Manāẓir*, a version of the *Optics* of Euclid, and the *Risāla fī 'nʿikās al-Shuʿāʿāt wa-'nʿiṭāfihā* The industry is remarkable which al-Tūsī displayed in editing and improving the translations made by Thābit b. Kurra, Kustā b Lūḳā and Isḥāḳ b. Hunain of Greek mathematicians and astronomers; we may mention among mathematicians, Euclid (Elementa, Data, Phainomena), Apollonius (Conica), Archimedes (Dimension of the Circle, Sphere and Cylinder, Lemmata), among astronomers, Theodosius, Menelaus, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Hypsicles and Ptolemy. His most famous original work is the *Kitāb Shakl al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ*, a work on the principle of the transversal, from which he deduces relations of fundamental importance in spherical trigonometry. He also wrote a book on arithmetic, *Mukhtaṣar bi-Djāmiʿ al-Ḥisāb bi 'l-Takht wa 'l-Turāb*.

Ṭūsī acquired the greatest fame by his achievements in the field of astronomy. He owed the means to conduct his researches to the astrological interests of the Mongol Khāns, particularly his patron Hūlāgū. The latter entrusted him with the building of a great observatory at Marāgha which was equipped with the best instruments, some of them constructed for the first time, and a large staff of observers Ṭūsī was already 60 when the building was begun, but he was spared another 12 years to finish completely his task of calculating new planetary tables based on comprehensive observations His calculations he recorded in the *Zīdj-i Ilkhānī*. The first *Maḳāla* deals with eras, the second with the movements of the planets; the third and fourth are devoted to astrological observations. Of further works we may mention the *Kitāb al-Tadhkira al-Naṣīriyya*, a survey of the whole field of astronomy, on which numerous later scholars wrote commentaries, and the astrological *Kitāb-i sī Faṣl*.

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AL-ṬŪSĪ, MUḤAMMAD b. AL-ḤASAN b. ʿALĪ ABŪ DJAʿFAR, was born at Ṭūs in Ramaḍān 385 (995) After receiving early education at his native place he came to Baghdād in 408 (1017) and studied under al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (Muhammad b Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān al-Baghdādī, d. 413 = 1022). On the latter's death, al-Ṭūsī associated himself with al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b al-Ḥusain, d. 436 = 1044) and was his companion and pupil for about twenty-three years When the latter died he stayed on at Baghdād for twelve years and tried his utmost to spread the doctrines of the Shīʿa sect His enemies once complained to the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422—467 = 1031—1075) of his hatred of the first three orthodox Caliphs and supported their allegations by quoting passages from his book *Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ*. Summoned to the presence of the Caliph, he explained the passages in such a way that the Caliph became satisfied that no disrespect was meant to the Sunnī doctrines and no action was taken against him. But the public agitation against him grew vehement and at last in 448 (1056), his residence was burnt to ashes He left Baghdād that year and came to Nadjaf where he passed the rest of his life. He is the greatest doctor of the Shīʿa sect, and is popularly known as *Shaikh al-Ṭāʾifa* or simply as al-Shaikh He died according to most of the biographers in Nadjaf in 460 (1067) or according to some, 458 (1065). Two of his works, *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* and *al-Istibṣār*, are among the four canonical books (*al-Kutub al-arbaʿa*) which are held in the highest veneration by the Shīʿa sect. He is the author of numerous books, a list of which he has given in his work called *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 285

The more important of his works are.

1 *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, a work on *Ḥadīth* according to the Shīʿa school. Lithographed in two volumes, Ṭehrān.

2. *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī-ma 'khtulifa fīhi min al-Akhbār*, another book on *Ḥadīth*. The first work is a comprehensive one and contains all kinds of *Ḥadīth*, while the second deals only with those traditions which appear to be discrepant. Lithographed, Lucknow 1307 and Ṭehrān 1322.

3. *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, a digest of Muḥammadan law according to the Shīʿa school Lithographed, Tehrān 1271.

4 *al-Nihāya fī 'l-Fiḳh*, a compendium of Muḥammadan law according to the Shīʿa school. Lithographed with a collection of treatises on the same subject under the title of *al-Djawāmiʿ al-fiḳhiya*. Lithographed in Ṭehrān 1276.

5. *Fihrist Kutub al-Shīʿa*, a list of Shīʿa books Printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1848

6. *Duʿāʾ al-Djawshan al-kabīr*, a book on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām ʿAlī Zain al-ʿĀbidīn (d. A. H. 94) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlineary translation in Persian, Lucknow 1288.

7. *Duʿāʾ al-Djawshan al-ṣaghīr*, another book on prayers, ascribed to al-Imām Mūsā Kāẓim (d. A. H. 183) from whom it descended to the author. Lithographed with interlineary translation in Hindustānī, Lucknow 1288

8 *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī 'l-Uṣūl*, a treatise on the fundamental dogmas of the Shīʿa creed.

9 *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahadjdjid al-kabīr*, a book of pious rites and prayers to be observed throughout the year The author abridged this book and named it *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahadjdjid al-ṣaghīr*.

10. *Kitāb al-Ḥall wa 'l-ʿIḳd*, a book of religious duties, especially prayer.

11. *Kitāb al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, a comprehensive commentary on the Ḳurʾān in twenty volumes.

12. *ʿUddat al-Uṣūl*, a work on Principles of Jurisprudence Lithographed in Ṭehrān.

13 *al-Amālī fī 'l-Aḥādīth*, a work on traditions Lithographed in Ṭehrān.

Bibliography. *Riḍjāl al-Nadjdjāshī*, p 287; *Muntaha 'l-Maḳāl*, p. 269; *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, p. 580—590, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, p. 312; *Shudhūr al-ʿIḳyān*, 11, fol 116—121; M Hidāyat Husain, *Catalogue of Arabic MSS Būhār Library*, 11. 54, Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, i. 405.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

TUSTAR. [See SHUSTER.]

ṬŪṬĪ NĀME [See NAKHSHABĪ]

TUTUSH B ALP ARSLĀN, TĀDJ AL-DAWLA, a Seldjūḳ ruler in Syria, 471—488 (1079—1095) In 471, or according to Ibn ʿAsākir 472, Tutush took possession of Damascus, after he had been allotted Syria by his brother Sulṭān Malikshāh. He had, it is true, to conquer this province first, for the Turkoman chief Atsïz [q v.], a few years before, had taken Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine with the exception of a few fortresses from the Fātimids, but the latter had not given up their claim to the country and waged continual war with him so that he had great difficulty in holding his own In this same year, he was besieged by them in Damascus and therefore appealed for help to Tutush, the latter, then only a boy of 14 — he was born in 458 — answered his appeal but at once had the unfortunate Atsïz put to death in order to secure the city for himself. He then turned his attention to Halab, which he besieged in vain, then retired from it and made conquests in the surrounding country (Buzāʿa, al-Bīra etc). In his absence the Halabīs appealed to Muslim b Ḳuraish, who succeeded in driving the ruling family of the Mirdāsids out of the town and getting his rule recognised by Malikshāh [q v.] This was naturally not what Tutush desired; he at once became involved in war with the ʿUḳailid and was even besieged by him in Damascus (476 = 1083). He got rid of this enemy however when in the following year he fell in battle with the Seldjūḳ of Rūm, Sulaimān As now both Sulaimān and Tutush were rivals for Halab, they went to war, which ended in the death of the former in battle (479 = 1086) But Tutush did not yet succeed however in taking the city, for Malikshāh brought up a very large force in order to organize these districts in person; he gave Halab to his friend Aḳsonḳor [q. v.]. Tutush had retired on his approach and had to be content to combine with Aḳsonḳor and Buzān, to whom Malikshāh had given Edessa. In 485 (1092) they made notable conquests in Syria, Himṣ, Apamea etc.; but when they reached Tripolis, the commander there, Ibn ʿAmmār, was

able to win over Aḳsonḳor, so that the latter refused to do anything against him and went home with his troops, when he was vigorously reproached by Tutush for this step. Buzān also did the same so that Tutush was forced also to retire, when the sudden death of Malikshāh altered the whole situation in a moment. In view of the uncertainty regarding the succession, the two Turkish emīrs were forced to pay homage to the claimant Tutush and support him on his campaign to the east. Nisibis, Āmid, Maiyāfārikīn and al-Mawṣil had to submit and in the first named town a fearful massacre was wrought by Tutush. When it became known that Barkiyāruḳ was coming forward as his father's rightful heir, the emīrs left Tutush in the lurch and joined Barkiyāruḳ, so that Tutush had to retire to Syria, firmly resolved to revenge himself on the emīrs. He thereupon collected new forces to take the field against them while the emīrs, who were supported by Kurbuka on behalf of Barkiyāruḳ, did the same At Tell al-Sulṭān, six farsakhs south of Ḥalab, the two sides met (487 = 1094). Tutush was victorious; Aḳsonḳor was taken prisoner and at once executed. Kurbuḳa and Buzān escaped to Halab but had finally also to surrender. Tutush had the latter also executed and sent his head to Edessa to frighten the inhabitants into obedience. Every one now submitted to the victor, who at once entered the ʿIrāḳ with his troops and came to Hamadhān, while Barkiyāruḳ, who had only a small army at his disposal, had to flee before him to Isfahān where he took smallpox. Nevertheless the Turkish emīrs in the town hesitated to submit to Tutush and when Barkiyāruḳ recovered from his illness, they pointed out to him that the claims of the two pretenders could only be settled by the sword. Barkiyāruḳ was then joined by troops from all sides so that he was able to attack Tutush at a place called Dashīlū near al-Rayy (17th Ṣafar 488 = Feb. 26, 1095). Tutush, abandoned by his soldiers, made a valiant stand but is said to have fallen at the hands of one of Aḳsonḳor's men who wished to avenge his master Syria then passed to his sons Riḍwān [q v] and Duḳaḳ.

Bibliography: Of the works mentioned in the article SELDJŪḲS special mention may be made here of the historians of Damascus. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, cf. index, and of Halab. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-Ṭalab* and *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, especially the excerpts in *Historiens Orientaux des Croisades*, iii. (p 703—706 biography of Aḳsonḳor); Ibn Ḵhallikān, ed Būlāḳ 1299, i 168 *sq* (M. Th. Houtsma)

ṬUWAIS, Abū ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿIsā b ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhāʾib, was the first great singer in the days of Islām. It is said that his real name was Ṭāʾūs (peacock), but that when he became a *mukhannath* it was changed into Tuwais (little peacock), and that ʿAbd al-Munʿim was changed into ʿAbd al-Naʿīm. He was born on the day of the death of the Prophet Muhammad (June 8, 632), was weaned the day that Abū Bakr died, was circumcised the day that ʿUmar was assassinated, was married the day when ʿUthmān was murdered, and his first son was born on the day when ʿAlī passed away. These extraordinary coincidences gave rise to the proverb: "More unfortunate than Ṭuwais". He belonged to Madīna and was a *mawlā* of the Banū Makhzūm, being in the service of Arwā, the mother of the Caliph ʿUthmān. He first attracted attention by singing certain melodies that he had learned from Persian slaves, and rose to fame as a musician in the reign of ʿUthmān (644—666). About this time a new style of music was introduced into Madīna which was known as the *ghinā al-rakīḳ* or *ghinā al-mutḳan*, its especial feature being the application of rhythm (*īḳāʿ*) to the melody (*laḥn*) [see MŪSIḲĪ]. He is said to have been the first to sing this "new music" in Madīna (*Aghānī*, iv. 38; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii. 187) What is attributed to him elsewhere in the *Aghānī* (ii 170) can only be properly apprehended in conjunction with the above, so that this must be read: Ṭuwais was "the first who sang [the *ghinā al-mutḳan*] in Arabic in Madīna". Like many other musicians in Madīna at this period, Ṭuwais was a *mukhannath* (see my *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 45) and the proverb arose· "More effeminate than Tuwais". Indeed it was said that music (*ghinā*) had its origin in Madīna among the *mukhannathūn* (*Aghānī*, iv. 161) which is probably a canard started by the *ʿulamāʾ*. That Tuwais was the first *mukhannath* in Madīna, as the author of the *Aghānī* says, can scarcely be correct (cf al-Bukhārī, iv. 32, al-Tirmidhī, i 271; *Usd al-ghāba*, iv. 268). Whilst Abān b ʿUthmān b ʿAffān was governor of Madīna, Tuwais was favoured by the *amīr*, but when Muʿāwiya I (661—680) became Caliph, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was appointed governor, the *mukhannathūn* were suppressed, and Ṭuwais fled to al-Suwaida, a two days' journey on the road to Syria. Here he remained until his death about 710—711. Some say that he died at Madīna, whilst others say elsewhere.

In spite of the fact that Ṭuwais only used a square tambourine (*duff*), which he kept in a bag or in his cloak, to accompany himself when singing, yet he had so high a reputation in music, says Ibn Ḵhallikān, that his talent became proverbial and a poet of Madīna said, "Ṭuwais, and after him Ibn Suraidj, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Maʿbad" Among his pupils were Ibn Suraidj [q. v], al-Dallāl Nāfidh, Nawma al-Duhā and Fand Ibn Suraidj said that Ṭuwais was the finest singer of his day, and he was considered the best exponent of the *hazadj* rhythm.

Bibliography Aghānī, ed. Būlāḳ, ii 170—176; iv 38—39 and Guidi's *Index* (Guidi registers two musicians bearing this name, but there is no doubt that they were one and the same), *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo 1887—1888, iii 186; Ibn Ḵhallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed Wüstenfeld, ii. 438; Maidānī, *Amthāl*, ed. Freytag, vii. 124; xiii 158, Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Commentaire hist sur le pème d'Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun*, ed Dozy (1846), p 64, Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p 164; Kosegarten, *Lib cant.*, p. 11; *J. A.*, 1873, p. 399—401; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, p 50—53.

(H. G. Farmer)

TŪZER, a town in Southern Tunisia, 230 miles S S.W of Tunis and 120 W of Gabes in 33° 54′ 48″ N. Lat and 8° 8′ E Long (Greenwich).

Tūzer is the most important place in al-Djarīd [cf. BILĀD AL-DJARĪD]. Situated on the isthmus which separates the Shoṭṭ Gharsa in the N. from the Shoṭṭ al-Djarīd in the S. and in the immediate neighbourhood of the latter; it consists of a town and a few scattered villages in the oasis which runs southwards over an area of about four sq. miles The principal town is quite regularly

built; the majority of the houses are built of bricks arranged in geometrical patterns; the dwellings in the oasis are usually only "gourbis" of trunks and branches of palm-trees. The people make carpets and woollen and silk blankets which are much esteemed, but they are mainly dependent on their gardens and palmgroves. The oasis, the richest in al-Djarīd, owes its fertility to the numerous springs (194) which rise to the west of the sand-dunes and unite to form a stream which runs towards the shoṭṭ. The water is distributed for irrigation purposes by a system described by al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, transl. de Slane, revised by Fagnan, p 102) and still in active use. The palm-trees, numbering 228,000, supply dates of various kinds, notably the *deklat-nūr*. Export has assumed considerable proportions since the railway was connected Tūzer to Sfax and the rest of the Regency The population are arabicised Berbers; Tūzer itself has 11,056 inhabitants of whom 10,723 are Muslims, 181 Jews, 152 Europeans (Census of 1926).

Tūzer (*Thusurus* of the *Tab. Peut.*; *Thusuros* of Ptolemy) is of very ancient origin The Romans founded near the site of the village of Blidat al-Hader, a township, remains of which can still be seen in the base of the minaret of the mosque, a well, shafts of columns, fragments of capitals etc. Taken by the Vandals, it was reoccupied by the Byzantines, pillaged no doubt by the first Arab invaders, it finally fell to the Arabs at the end of the viiith century A D The population had to adopt Islām or go into exile. Those who migrated were probably very few, since al-Tidjānī (*Riḥla*, transl. p. 143) regards the people of Tūzer as descendants of the Rūm who were in Ifrīḳiya at the Muslim conquest

During the centuries that followed, Tūzer seems to have enjoyed great prosperity. Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Descr. de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, in *J.A*, 1842) — who calls this district Ḳastilīya —, al-Bakrī (*loc cit.*) and Idrīsī agree in recording the importance of the trade here and the wealth of its palmgroves. According to al-Bakrī, 1,000 loads of dates were exported every day.

The history of Tūzer has been by no means without incident. Nominally subject to the various dynasties who ruled in Ifrīḳiya the people of Tūzer endeavoured to retain their independence in practice. They showed their hostility to the Fāṭimids by supporting the rebel Abū Yazīd Under the Zīrids, they had local chiefs of the families of the Banū Furkhān, then of that of the Banū Waṭṭās [cf. DJARĪD]. In the Almohad period, their town was pillaged by ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, then reoccupied by the Caliph Abū Yūsuf. At the end of the xiiith century, they threw off Ḥafṣid suzerainty and in the xivth recognised that of Ibn Yamlul whom Sulṭān Abū 'l-ʿAbbās had great difficulty in disposing of in 1379 A. D. Under the successors of this prince they continued to be distinguished for their insubordination and on several occasions forced the rulers of Tunis to resort to force to reduce them to obedience. The town was also disturbed by the fighting between the citizens and the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood (Leo Africanus, Bk. i., ed. Schefer, iii. 257). The position hardly changed in the Turkish period. The people of Tūzer took part in several risings in the xviiith and xviiith centuries; the beys had always difficulty in collecting the taxes. The quarrels of the Ṣoff also contributed to disorders. In the xixth century two of these *Ṣoff*, the Ulād Hadel and the Zebda, each occupied a quarter of the town and maintained a fierce warfare until the French occupation definitely established peace and tranquillity (1882)

Bibliography: cf. *Bibliography* of the article BILĀD AL-DJARĪD, also: Berbrugger (A.), *Itinéraires archéologiques en Tunisie*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1858, Dollin du Fresnel, *Le Djérid Tunisien*, in *Bulletin de la Société de géographie commerciale de Paris*, 1900; Grendre (Capne), *De Tunis à Nefta*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1908; du Paty de Clam, *Fastes chronologiques de Tozeur*, Paris 1900. (G. YVER)

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ʿUBAID ZĀKĀNĪ (NIẒĀM AL-DĪN ʿUBAID ALLĀH), a Persian poet of the xivth century, born c 700 (1300) at Ḳazwīn in the family of the Zākānī, which took its name from a village in the neighbourhood, whence it had originated, lived in Shīrāz, which left him happy memories, in the reign of Shaikh Abū Ishāḳ Indjū (d 747 = 1346—1347), was a judge in Ḳazwīn, went to Baghdād where Sulṭān Uwais of the Īlkhānian or Djalā'irid dynasty was reigning, to visit the poet Selmān Sāwedjī and died in poverty in 772 (1371) He was a satirical and erotic poet. A selection of his facetiae was printed at Constantinople in 1303 (1885—1886) by M. H. Ferté and at Berlin 1343 (1924); it contains· *Akhlāḳ al-Ashrāf* ("Morals of the Aristocracy"), a satire written in 740 (1340); *Rīsh-nāme* ("Book of the Beard"), a dialogue between the poet and the beard regarded as a destroyer of youthful beauty; *Ṣad Pend* ("100 Counsels") in prose written in 750 (1350); *Taʿrīfāt* ("Definitions"), ironical, in prose, *Risāla-i dil-gushā* ("Little book which dilates the heart"), Arabic and Persian anecdotes and facetiae; several obscene poems ¦This edition does not include the *ʿUshshāḳ-nāme* ("Book of Lovers"), *Fāl-nāme* ("Book of Prophecies"), etc. *Mūsh u-Gurba* ("The Mouse and the Cat") has been lithographed in Bombay, n d and Berlin.

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ʿUBAID ALLĀH. [See AL-MAHDĪ ʿUBAID ALLĀH.]

ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. ZIYĀD, an Omaiyad governor. ʿUbaid Allāh was the most distinguished of the sons of the favourite of Muʿāwiya I, Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v.], celebrated for his rigour and severity, and was appointed governor of Khurāsān at the age of five and twenty. According to the usual statement, this took place in 54 (673—674) Soon afterwards he crossed the Oxus with an Arab army and advanced as far as Bukhārā [q. v]. But he did not remain long in Khurāsān, in 55 (674—675) or according to others 56 (675–676) or the beginning of 57 (676—677) the governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b ʿAmr b. Ghailān, was dismissed and the administration of the city entrusted to ʿUbaid Allāh who temporarily appointed Aslam b. Zurʿa al-Kilābī as his deputy in Khurāsān and only later was relieved of his former office. After his arrival in Baṣra, ʿUbaid Allāh at first endeavoured to win over the Khāridjīs there by kindness, but when his efforts failed, he had to use more vigorous means and exerted all his energy to bring the Baṣran Khāridjīs under his authority. In time he succeeded in restoring peace to Baṣra. In the year 60 (679—680) he was appointed by the caliph Yazīd governor of Kūfa, while retaining his post in Basra. When Husain b ʿAlī [q. v] was persuaded to set out from Mecca to go to Kūfa, ʿUbaid Allāh sent troops against him and on the 10th Muḥarram 61 (Oct 10, 680) the battle of Kerbelā was fought in which Husain lost his life With the death of Yazīd on 14th Rabīʿ I 64 (Nov 10, 683) a troubled period began ʿUbaid Allāh had homage paid to himself in Basra but only provisionally. The Kūfans however were dissatisfied and he had to escape to Syria, and by 1st Djumādā II of the same year (Jan. 25, 684) ʿAbd Allāh b al-Hārith b Nawfal called Babba was recognised as governor of Basra After the death of Muʿāwiya II ʿUbaid Allāh supported the Umaiyad party and urged Marwān b al-Hakam to come forward as a claimant to the throne. At the battle of Marḏj Rāhit (end of 64 = 684) where al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais [q v.] fell, ʿUbaid Allāh commanded Marwān's left wing. In the following year he was sent with Ḥusain b Numair al-Sakūnī [q. v] by the caliph to Karkīsiyā' in order to invade the ʿIrāḳ from there and to bring this unruly province to obedience once and for all. He is said to have been appointed in advance governor of all the country to be conquered by him. Soon after his arrival in Mesopotamia the news of Marwān's death reached him; his son and successor ʿAbd al-Malik confirmed ʿUbaid Allāh in all the offices and privileges which Marwān had given him. ʿUbaid Allāh spent the whole year in Mesopotamia continuously fighting with the enemies of the caliph He then advanced on al-Mawsil An army, which al-Mukhtār b Abī ʿUbaid [q. v.] sent against him in Dhu 'l-Ḥiḏjdja 66 (July 686) put to flight the advance-guard of the Syrian army but did not dare attack the main body. Soon afterwards the Shīʿī leader Ibrāhīm b al-Ashtar attacked the Syrians and on the 'Āshūrā' day 67 (Aug. 6, 686) a battle was fought on the river Khāzir in the vicinity of al-Mawṣil One of ʿUbaid Allāh's subordinates, ʿUmair b al-Hubāb, is said to have gone over to the enemy The Syrians suffered a disastrous defeat and both ʿUbaid Allāh and Ḥusain b. Numair were killed

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ʿŪD, the lute, is the most important musical instrument of Islāmic peoples from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf [cf also ṬUNBŪR, KITĀRA, ḲĪTHĀRA]

Arabic authors do not discriminate between the *barbaṭ* and the *ʿūd*, but there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between them The *barbaṭ* had its sound-chest and neck constructed in one graduated piece, whereas in the *ʿūd* proper the sound-chest and neck were separate Al-Masʿūdī says (*Murūḏ*, viii 88) that the lute was "invented" by Lamak (Lamech of *Genesis*, iv), but elsewhere (viii. 99) he tells us that it was generally acknowledged that the Greeks were the inventors Pythagoras, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy are also given the credit of its invention, although in the *Tanbīh* (*B G A* , viii 129) al-Masʿūdī says that since Ptolemy does not mention the lute the Greeks evidently did not know of it The instrument was certainly of ancient origin. Whether the terra cotta figure found at Goshen in Egypt, and attributed to the xixth–xxth dynasty, shows a lute or not (Petrie and Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p 38, pl xxxvii B), we see undoubted examples of it in India from the iind century B C (sculpture from Bharhut in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) For later Indian examples see *J Am O S*, i 244, 253; Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, fig. 7. It also occurs in a frieze from Afghānistān (1st cent A D) presented to the British Museum by Maj Gen Cunningham

We are told that the lute (*ʿūd*) was known in Persia at the time of Shāpūr I (241—272 A D) during whose reign it is said to have been invented (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia anteislamica*, p 82) It is more likely however that this instrument was the *barbaṭ*, and that the reference is rather to an improvement, possibly the substitution of a belly of wood instead of skin The Persians called the instrument the *barbaṭ* because it resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*baṭ*) (*Mafātīh al-ʿUlūm*, p 238; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*) J P N. Land was of opinion that the Persian lute referred to by Arabic authors was actually a two-stringed *ṭunbūr* (*Trans. IXth Congress of Orientalists*, 1891, p. 154), but several specimens of Sāsānian art (ivth—viith century) have preserved designs of the Persian lute showing four strings (Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus*, ed. 2, p 211), and the number of strings is confirmed from other sources (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p 59) That a two-stringed lute (*ʿūd*) existed at the end of the viith century in al-ʿIrāḳ we know

from the *Iḳd al-farīd* (iii. 181), and the design of a two-stringed lute (*barbaṭ*) of the viiith—ixth century has been preserved (Pézard, *La céramique archaique de l'Islam*, pl. 67) The *barbaṭ* was the chief instrument of the Arab Ghassānids in pre-Islāmic times (*Aghānī*, xvi 15) and also of the Syrians in early Islāmic times (*Aghānī*, iii. 84). The Greek βαρβιτος would appear to have been borrowed from the Orient (Athenaeus, *Deip*, iv. 14), and Strabo remarks on its barbaric name (*Geog*, x, iii 17).

The Arabs of pre-Islāmic times had certain types of the lute known as the *mizhar*, *kirān* and *muwattar* These would appear to have been identical with the *barbaṭ* but with skin bellies The *mizhar* is unanimously identified with the lute (*ʿūd*) by the Arabic lexicographers (see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 93, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii 186). In the xiith century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* however, the *mazhar* (p 562) or *mizhar* (p 508) equates with *tympanum*, and the modern *mazhar* is a tambourine Indeed, the identification by the older Arabic lexicographers is suspect The praises of the *mizhar* are sung by the vith century poets Imruʾu ʾl-Kais (al-Shalāḥī, fol 13) and ʿAlḳama (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, text, p 812) It was a great favourite with the Kuraish until al-Nadr b al-Hārith (d 624) introduced the *ʿūd* from al-ʿIrāḳ The *kirān*, according to al-Ḥarbī (d 898), was also a lute (*ʿūd*), and this author says that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] against the breast This instrument is also mentioned by Imruʾu ʾl-Kais (al-Shalāḥī, fol. 15) The *muwattar* is referred to by Labīd (d. 612) [q v] and is generally considered to be a lute (*ʿūd*) (Lane, *Lex*, i 126) About the close of the vith century al-Nadr b al-Hārith, as mentioned above, introduced the *ʿūd* from al-ʿIrāḳ into Mecca (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii 93—94), the probable special feature of the instrument being its wooden belly (*ʿūd* = "wood"). Al-Kalbī (d 763) records (*Aghānī*, vii 188) that the first to play the lute (*ʿūd*) in Madīna was Sāʾib Khāthir (d 683) About the year 684, Ibn Suraidj [q. v.] was playing on a lute (*ʿūd*) constructed after the Persian manner (*Aghānī*, i 98) (see the lute delineated in Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, 1927) This Persian type of lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until Zalzal (d. 791) [q v.] invented his "perfect lute" or *ʿūd shabbūṭ* (*Aghānī*, v 24). The Persian lute, i. e the *barbaṭ*, continued however to be favoured side by side with the *ʿūd* proper, and the xth century Mesopotamian lute shown in Bowen's *Life and Times of ʿAlī b ʿĪsā* (frontispiece) may very well be a *barbaṭ*. The same remark may be applied to the lute depicted on the Hispano-Moorish box of the xth—xith century in the Victoria and Albert Museum London (*The Legacy of Islām*, fig 89), whilst the lute shown in the xiiith century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, *Notes on early Spanish Music*, fig 45) undoubtedly represents the *barbaṭ* (cf. the *ʿūd*, or lute proper, in fig 44, b) Two other instruments of this type that we know of are the *pipā* and *kabūs* The *pipā* is the so-called "balloon guitar" of the Chinese (Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, Shanghai 1884, p. 64), who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into Mesopotamia by the Mughals in the xiiith century, and Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes it. It may be found in the paintings of the Mughal-Persian school (Marteau-Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, 1913, fig 212). Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1216) refers to an instrument which he calls the *miʿzaf* [see art. MIʿZAF] and describes it as "a sort of *ṭunbūr*" made by the people of al-Yaman. According to the author of the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, this was the instrument now known as the *ḳabūs* The *ḳabūs* (al-Ḥidjāz), *ḳabbūṣ* (ʿUmān), *ḳanbūṣ* (Hadramōt), *ḳupūz* or *ḳūpūz* (Turkey) is a very old instrument. Perhaps that illusive name of the musical instrument of the Yarāmiḳa فندورة or غمرواره in the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī is a copyist's error for قوبوز (Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Instruments*, p. 59; *History of Arabian Music*, p 6) Ewliyā Čelebī (xviith cent.) says that the *ḳūpūz* was invented by a vizier of Muḥammad II (d 1481) named Ahmad Pasha Harsak Ughlī He describes it as being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *shashtār*, and mounted with three strings (*Travels*, i/ii. 235) On the other hand, Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) says that the *kūpūz rūmī* had five double strings. The instrument is no longer used by the Turks, although it has survived under the name of *kobza*, *koboz*, in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, but here it is the lute proper and not a *barbaṭ* type For the *ḳabūs* of the modern Ḥidjāz, a long, shallow chested *barbaṭ*, hollow throughout, with a part belly of skin and six strings see Farmer, *Studies* . , p 72. (For the Hadramī instrument see Landberg, *Arabica*, iii 15, 29, 113. For a Malay *gambus* see *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R A S.*, 1904 [No. 40], p. 13, fig. 5). In Turkestān a rather primitive bowed instrument is known as the *kūbūz* (Fitrat, *Uzbīk Ḳilāssik Mūsiḳāsī*, Tashkent, p. 43).

The *ʿūd* or lute proper, as introduced by Zalzal in the viiith century, had, apparently, a separate neck like the modern instrument, whereas the *barbaṭ* or Persian lute, which the Arabs had used until then, had no separate neck, the whole instrument from the head downwards being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the *kabūs*. Zalzal's *ʿūd al-shabbūṭ* was so named because it resembled the fish called the *shabbūṭ* The description of the *shabbūṭ* given by the Arabic lexicographers leads to the inference that the sound-chest of Zalzal's lute was ovoid rather than pear-shaped (cf the Spanish *machête* in Engel's *Mus Instr. in the South Kensington Museum*, pl. facing p. 248, which is in the form of a fish). We see the form of the *ʿūd al-shabbūṭ* persisting in Islāmic art for centuries, but the pear-shaped sound-chest, upon which the *barbaṭ* was founded, eventually became the more popular type (Lachmann, *Musik des Orients*, pl 11) Ziryāb (viiith—ixth century), the famous Andalusian musician, is claimed to have improved the *ʿūd* at Baghdād, and in al-Andalus he introduced a plectrum of quill instead of the one of wood that had hitherto been used (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii. 86—87). He is also said to have introduced a fifth string, a device dealt with by both al-Kindī (d. 874) and al-Fārābī (d. 950) For a full statement of the influence (*taʾthīr*, cf. ψθος) of the strings of the *ʿūd* on man see Farmer, *The Influence of Music: from Arabic Sources*, London 1926.

At this period the names of the various parts of the *ʿūd* were: *raʾs* (head, scroll), *maläwī* (tuning pegs), *anf* (nut), *ibrīḳ* or *ʿunḳ* (neck), *awtār* (strings), *dasātīn* (frets), *mushṭ* (bridge-tailpiece), *wadjh* (belly), *ʿain* (sound-hole), *miḍrāb* (plectrum).

For the particular names of the strings and frets see art. MŪSĪḲĪ. Dimensions and other details are given by al-Kindī (Berlin MS., N⁰. 5530, fol. 25), al-Fārābī (D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i. 163), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Bombay ed., i. 98) and al-Kh^{w}ārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p. 238) By the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1293) [q. v.], the *ʿūd* had five strings (Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, p 52), and this continued up to the xvith century in the East lThis instrument, called the *ʿūd kāmil*, was slightly farger than the older classical lute (*ʿūd ḳadīm*) of bour strings. Some very large types of lute have Peen preserved in Persian art (*Isl*, iii, fig. 6). A (xersian treatise on music, the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* saivth century) and a Turkish imitation of the gime by Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrullāh (xvth century) a ve full details of the construction of the *ʿūd*. In th xvith century copy of a Maghribī treatise on *Ae ʿūd* we have a four-stringed instrument (Farmer, m*n old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 4) Unlike the iediae val lute (see Farmer, *Arabic musical MSS n the Bodleian Library*, front) the modern lute is not fretted. For the modern Moroccan *ʿūd* with four double strings see Host, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787), p. 261, pl xxxi, and for a seven double stringed instrument see I avignac, *Encyl. de la musique*, v. 2927. Neither Russell (*Nat. hist. of Aleppo*, 2nd ed., 1794) nor Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung von Arabien und anderen umliegenden Landern*, 1774—1778) mention the *ʿūd*, but the seven double stringed instrument is figured and fully described by Villoteau in the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809—1826), fol ed., i. 847, and in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1836) The Egyptian *ʿūd* of to-day has five double strings (Darwīsh Muhammad, *Ṣafāʾ al-Awkāt*, Cairo 1910, p 11, Muhammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī, *al-Mūsīkī al-sharkī*, Cairo 1904) although occasionally six double strings may be found (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v. 2785) In Syria and Palestine a seven double stringed instrument was in use (Mushārḳa, *Risālat al-Shihābiya*) in the early xixth century, but this has now fallen into desuetude in favour of the five double stringed instrument (Dalman, *Palastinischer Diwan*; *M F. O. B*, vi, pl. iii; *Z. D P V*, i, pl 4) Turkey favours a six stringed *ʿūd* with five double and one single string (Lavignac, *op. cit.*, v 3017; Fakhrī Bey, *Naẓarī we-ʿilmī ʿŪd Derslarī*, Stambul) Specimens of the *ʿūd* may be found in most museums (South Kensington, London, N⁰. 689/'69; Brussels, N⁰. 164, New York, N⁰ 378) Europe owes both the instrument and its name (*al-ʿūd* = Port *alaud*, Span. *laud*, French *luth*, German *Laute*, Engl. *lute*) to the Arabs.

Among other types of the lute are the *tuhfat al-ʿūd*, *kuwītra*, *lawṭa*, *rūd*, *shahrūd*, *ṭarab al-futuḥ*, *ṭarab zūr*, *awzān*, *ṭubāb*, *mughnī*, *shidirghū* and *rūḥ afzā* The *tuhfat al-ʿūd* is described by Ibn Ghaibī as a half-sized *ʿūd* The *kuwītra* or *kuwīthra* is a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle as in the *ʿūd*. It is common to the whole of the Maghrib and has four double strings (Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, 1879, p 81; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse histoire de la musique arabe*, p. 30, fig. 4) The name is a diminutive (vulg.) of *kītāra* or *kithāra*, an instrument used in Moorish Spain as early as the xth century (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*). The كنبر of al-Shaḳundī (d. 1231) quoted by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii. 144) is doubtless كيتر (cf. Dozy, *Suppl. Dict. Arabes*, and Fagnan, *Add. aux Dict. Arabes*). In the xith century (Seybold, *Gloss. Lat.-Arabicum*) and the xiiith century (Schiaparelli, *Voc. in Arabico*) the words *kaithār* and *kaithāra* equate with the Latin *cithara*. For specimens of the *kuwītra* see Brussels, Nrs. 292–295; New York, N⁰. 401, Paris, N⁰. 852. The *lawṭa* is somewhat similar to the *kuwītra*. It has four double strings, and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy, and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebī (xviith century) The *rūd* is of Persian origin and the word, like *tār*, means a string. It was also an instrument of the lute family (cf. Advielle, *op cit*, p. 14) Ibn Ghaibī mentions a *rūd khāṭī* (Bodleian Library MS Marsh, N⁰. 828) or *rūa khānī* (Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley, N⁰. 264; cf. *rūd jāma* in Vullers' *Lexicon*) The *rūdak* and *rūda* are also mentioned. Ewliyā Čelebī describes a *rūḍa* which had "recently" been invented by a certain Shukrullāh Beg He likens it to the *čārtār* Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii. 143—144) quoting al-Shakundī (d. 1231) mentions the *rūṭa* in al-Andalus. This may have been identical with the Latin *ruta*, *ruda*, *rote*. The *shahrūd* or *shāhrūd* was invented in the year 912 by Isḥaḳ b. Ahwas al-Sughdī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, p 237, cf. Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p 43 and Carra de Vaux, *op cit.*, p. 16) In al-Fārābī's day it had a compass of three octaves (d'Erlanger, *op cit.*, p. 42) Ibn Ghaibī says that it had ten double strings and that it was twice the length of the ordinary *ūd* The *ṭarab al-futuḥ* and *ṭarab zūr* are described by Ibn Ghaibī. The first-named had six double strings (cf the *ṭarab rūb* in *Z D M. G*, xx. 492) The name *ṭarab* is still to be found in an instrument of India (Shahinda, *op cit*, p 79) The *ṭarab* was probably the original of the European *tiorba* (Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian musical Influence*, p 144) The *awzān* is also described by Ibn Ghaibī. It was a Turkish instrument popular with the Mamlūk sulṭāns of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sult Mamlouks*, i/i 136) It was certainly not a drum as Quatremère thought, since Ibn Ghaibī places it among the lutes of three strings, and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels The *rubāb* (a lute) is to be distinguished from the *rabāb* (a viol) The former is a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist For a xiith century Persian *rubāb* (misprinted *rabāb*) see *The Legacy of Islām*, ed Arnold and Guillaume, fig 90. It is described at length in the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it. Ibn Ghaibī says that sometimes four or five double strings were adopted. In Persia it has fallen into disuse. In Turkestān however, it still continues to be favoured, but here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings (Fitrat, *op cit.*, p. 42). It has found its way into India (Day, *op. cit.*, p 128) and China (Lavignac, *op. cit*, i 179). The *mughnī* or *mūghnī* was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d 1294) It was a sort of arch-lute and is described in the *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (xivth century) and by Ibn Ghaibī and Ewliyā Čelebī For a design and other particulars see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental*

musical Instruments, p. 14—15, and frontispiece. The *shidirghū*, as it is written by Ibn Ghaibī (cf. Sachs, *Lexikon*, s v *shidūrghūr*), was a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings but was mostly used, he says, in China The *rūḥ afzā* had a hemispherical sound-chest with six double strings of silk and metal. Many instruments with a hemispherical sound-chest are to be found in Persian art (*Pantheon*, 1929, p 173; *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1911, i. 151).

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(H. G FARMER)

ʿUDHRA, an Arab tribe of the southern group, belonging to the great subdivision of the Kudāʿa Genealogy ʿUdhra b Saʿd Hudhaim b Zaid b Laith b Aslam b. al-Hāf b Kudāʿa (Wustenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i. 18). We know nothing of their history in the remote past, for their identification with the Ἀθρῖται (var Ἀθρυῖται) of Ptolemy, proposed by Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p 205, § 333 is anything but certain; in the historical period we find them established in the north of the Hidjāz, in the vicinity of other Kudāʿa tribes (Nahd, Djuhaina, Balī, Kalb) and their territory adjoined that of the northern tribe of the Ghatafān The Wādi 'l-Ḳurā and Tabūk are mentioned as their principal centres and they were found as far away as Aila on the Red Sea. Their settlement in districts in the north of Arabia is said to be due to the great migration of Kudāʿa tribes, which took place after the war with the Himyarites (see especially al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p 18, 22, 27, 29, *sq.* = Wustenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u Wanderungen d arab Stamme*, p 25, 31, 37, 41, cf *Aghānī*, xvi 161) and the ʿUdhra are said to have concluded an agreement with the Jews living in the Wādi 'l-Kurā by which they were allowed to lead a nomadic life there and they respected the palm-groves and gardens of the latter

The ʿUdhra seem always to have been closely allied with other tribes of the Saʿd Hudhaim (especially the Banū Dinna, who had the same name as a clan of the ʿUdhra and the Banū Salāmān) and were known together with them by the name of Suhār (of which the doubtful etymology is given by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii 368); they were also associated with the Djuhaina, to whom some sources also extend the name Suhār; this alliance is said to have been a result of the "war of al-Ḳārīẓ" which broke up the Ḳudāʿa and caused them to leave al-Tihāma, where they had settled after their departure from the Yemen.

We know that modern historical criticism attaches hardly any value to these statements of genealogical tradition, and indeed the ʿUdhra seem to be allied with tribes which the same tradition assigns to the northern group, like the Bakr b. Wā'il and the Djazāra. It is true that al-Hamdānī (*Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. Müller, i. 116, l. 17) puts a section

of the ʿUdhra in southern Arabia, but it is impossible to decide if he is referring to this tribe or to another of the same name, especially as the genealogical lists mention almost everywhere other tribes bearing the name ʿUdhra (cf Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif al-Ḳabāʾil*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 37, gives four of them; Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Djamharat al-Ansāb* gives us another five)

According to tradition, the ʿUdhra were closely related to the Meccan Ḳuraish, the latter's ancestor Ḳusaiy [q v] whose mother had married an ʿUdhrī is said to have been brought up with this tribe, and his half-brother Rizāḥ (in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, i 24, erroneously. Darrādj) b. Rabīʿa b Ḥaraām is said to have fought on the side of the Ḳuraish defending Mecca against the Khuzāʿa On the other hand, the mother of the eponyms of the two tribes of Yathrib, al-Aws and al-Khazradj, is also said to have been an ʿUdhrī called Ḳaila bint Kāhil (or bint Hālik) b. ʿUdhra, so that the Ansār as well as the Ḳuraish were connected with the ʿUdhra on the female side.

The ʿUdhra are said to have worshipped a deity Shams, the sun (al-Yaʿḳūbī, i 296, l 3), but we know no details.

The principal subdivisions of the tribe (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p. 320) are the Banū Ḍinna, Banū Djulhuma, Banū Zaḳzaḳa, Banu 'l-Djalḥāʾ Banū Hardash, Banū Hunn, Ibn al-Kalbī (*Djamharat al-Ansāb*) also adds the Banū Mudlidj, who are said to have been numerous and powerful (they are not mentioned in Wustenfeld, *Geneal Tabellen*)

The pre-Islāmic history of the ʿUdhra is poor in warlike episodes This is probably due to the fact that the ʿUdhrī poets of this period are not numerous and we know that the records of the wars of the tribes depend almost entirely upon the verses which mention them, there is just a mention of a battle which took place at some time not precisely stated between the ʿUdhra and the Banū Marra b Naṣr, a clan of the Banū Ashdjaʿ (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i 171) An allusion to a defeat which they sustained at the hands of the ʿAbs is found in a verse of a poet of the latter tribe (*Mufaddalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, p. 826, l. 2) But the ʿUdhra must certainly have attained a considerable degree of influence through the control which they exercised over the road between the Ḥidjāz and Syria this explains the title "Master (*rabb*) of the Ḥidjāz" borne by a certain Hawdha b. ʿAmr (Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p 320) or better b Abī ʿAmr, whose praises were sung by al-Nābigha (cf Derenbourg, *Nābiga Dhobyânî inédit*, p 48, n xlvii. [*J. A*, 1899] where one should read *Ḍinna* for *Dabba*). This Hawdha is a descendant of the semi-mythical *muʿammar* poet ʿUss or ʿIthyar (numerous other variants) b. Labīd (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab. Philol*, i 42 and notes, p. 30[3]; Noldeke, *Z D.M.G.*, lvi 168). It is again al-Nābigha who sings praises of another clan of the ʿUdhra, the Banū Ḥunn, against whom the king of al-Ḥira al-Nuʿmān III proposed to take the field (n xiii., Ahlwardt; cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 583)

But it is only after Islām that the part played in history by the ʿUdhra becomes better known; it was undoubtedly their dominant position in the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā, which caused Muḥammad to enter into friendly relations with them; in the year 2 of the Hidjra he sent them a letter (Ibn Saʿd, i/ii. 33) but without any apparent result, and in the year 7 he is said to have assigned a fief (*ḳaṭīʿa*) to a descendant of the above mentioned Hawdha, because he was the first of his tribe to bear the *ṣadaḳa* to the Prophet (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 35); in the following year they fought at Muʾta against the Byzantines (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p 793, Ṭabarī, i. 1612). These facts suggest that the ʿUdhra were early converted to Islām, but on the other hand it is not till the year 9 that we find the first mention of an official embassy from them to Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i/ii. 66–67); this is what makes one think that the earlier references are not authentic and even that the ʿUdhra did not become Muslims until after the death of Muhammad (cf Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 50, 229, 444, 1126).

The ʿUdhra took part in the Syrian expedition of the year 12 under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and we find them settled in this country in the Omaiyad period (cf. Ṭabarī, ii. 1792, 1818) and also at Kūfa (*Aghānī*, xvi 7, 37), but it does not seem that they distinguished themselves in any way, although their presence in Upper Egypt is noted (al-Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, p 130, l 4—6), they played no part in politics and gave neither here nor elsewhere any personage of note to the history of Islām.

What has given the ʿUdhra a fame without equal even beyond the bounds of the Arab world down to French and German (Heine) romanticism, is their love of poetry and the touching stories of some of their poets [cf. ʿUDHRĪ], whom an unfortunate passion for a woman of their tribe reduced to death by consumption (notably ʿUrwa b. Hizām, the "victim of love" [*ḳatīl al-ḥubb*] who is the representative of this type; cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba, *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 394–399; *Aghānī*, xx 152—158 etc.) But that love-poetry did not exclude the cultivation of other varieties, is evident from the example of Djamīl [q.v.] whose celebrated love affair with Buthnā (Buthaina) did not prevent him writing panegyrical and satirical poetry Besides, the romantic conception of love is found also among other tribes, in this connection is recorded the answer of an ʿUdhrī who was asked if his tribe was really the most tender-hearted in all Arabia (*Aghānī*, i. 179): "We were", he said, "but the Banū ʿĀmir (b Saʿsaʿa) have vanquished us with their Madjnūn" (the poet Ḳais b Muʿādh or b al-Mulawwaḥ [iii. 102]) The ʿUdhra were also celebrated for their eloquence (cf. *Aghānī*, vii. 54).

The charge of cannibalism, so frequent in the satires exchanged between tribes (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed Van Vloten, p. 260—261; *Kitāb al-Ḥaiyawān*, i. 129—130), has also been levelled against the ʿUdhra, who are said to have eaten a female slave (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit. Mus. MS., Add., 23, 297, fol. 184v); we know that such statements have no value except the very general one of showing that a particular tribe was reputed to be in a miserable state of poverty, and in reality the ʿUdhra appear from the rather meagre information we possess about them to have been an essentially nomadic tribe, living mainly in the pre-Muḥammadan period on the tribute paid them by the Jews of the oases. The occupation of the latter by Islām must have undoubtedly reduced the resources of the Beduins.

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bellen, p. 349; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, MS. Escorial 1698, fol. 260r—262r; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Cairo 1342), ii. 297. (G. Levi Della Vida)

ʿUDHRĪ, a patronymic from the name of the Arab tribe of the Banū ʿUdhra [q.v.], a small tribe of the Ḥidjāz, probably of Ḳaḥṭanid descent (cf. *Aghānī*², vii. 72—73), which amalgamated with the Djuhaina; the remnants of them are still to be found to-day near Yanbūʿ (Ḥidjāz) and in the Egyptian Sūdān.

Ḥubb ʿudhrī, "ʿUdhrī love", is in the history of Islamic thought a literary and philosophical theme, related to the "platonic love" of the Greeks from which it is derived, and to the *amour courtois* of the western Christian middle ages which it inspired

This theme, which probably was invented by the Yemenī colonists of the *djund* of Kūfa, celebrates an ideal Bedouin tribe, in which, carrying to its extreme a refinement of tenderness from delicacy of feeling and vows of chastity, lovers "die of love" rather than "place a hand" on the beloved object The ʿUdhrī ideal is Djamīl, who dies in this way for love of Buthaina.

In a well-known ḥadīth inspired by this point of view, Muḥammad is represented as saying that "he who loves but remains chaste, never reveals his secret and dies, dies the death of a martyr" (*man ʿashiḳa* ..).

This subject is hardly found in Asmaʿī (Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Taʾwīl*, p 410—412) It attains its fullest development in an exquisite work, the *Kitāb al-Zuhra* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d 297 = 910), a Ẓāhirī legist Following him, other Zāhirī jurists sang of Platonic love, notably Ibn Hazm and later Ibn ʿArabi in his *Tardjumān al-Ashwāḳ* on which his *Dhakhāʾir* form a commentary, this is compared by Asin Palacios to the *Vita Nova* and *Convito* of Dante

Finding a place in the classical collections like the *Maṣārīʿ al-ʿUshshāḳ* of Sarrādj, the *Dīwān al-Ṣabāba* of Ibn Abī Ḥadjala, the *Tazyin al-Aswāḳ* of Anṭākī, the theme was taken over into mysticism by Abū Hamza al-Baghdādī (d. 269 = 882) who made of it an exercise in paradoxical asceticism, and by Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and ʿAin al-Kudāt al-Hamadhānī who sang the damnation by pure love of Iblīs It was also celebrated by poets, adepts of a uranism, at bottom very profane, to conceal the weakness of the flesh, in Arabic (al-Ṣafadī), in Persian (Ḥāfiz, *Ghazal*; Hilālī, *Shah u-Gadā*), in Turkish (Mesīḥī, (*Shehīrengīz*), in Urdu and in Javanese.

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī has made the Prophet Muḥammad the ideal type of the ʿUdhrī lover (in his *Ghāyat al-Maṭlūb*) on account of his attachment for Zaid b. Ḥāritha.

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ʿŪDJ, also ʿĀDJ b. ʿANAḲ or ʿANĀḲ, is the Arabic name of the Biblical ʿŌg, the giant king of Bashan. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 500—501 tells of his great stature and death: Moses was ten ells in height, his staff ten ells long, he jumped 10 ells high and smote ʿŪdj in the heel; the body of the fallen giant served as a bridge across the Nile

Thaʿlabī gives more details ʿŪdj was 23,333 ells high, drank from the clouds, could reach to the bottom of the sea and pull out a whale which he roasted on the sun. Noah drove him in front of the ark but the Flood only reached his knees He lived for 3,000 years When Moses sent out the twelve spies, ʿŪdj put them into the bundle of wood on his head and wanted to trample on them but on the advice of his wife he sent them back so that they might put fear by their report into the heart of those that sent them When ʿŪdj saw the camp of Israel, he broke from the mountain a rock large enough to crush the camp at one blow but God sent the *hudhūd* (hoopoe) and birds who made a hole in the rock so that it fell like a collar on ʿŪdj. Moses overthrew him in one leap.

Al-Kisāʾī expands the story and increases the marvellous element in it ʿŪdj was the son of Kābil (Cain) banished by Adam and of his sister ʿAnāḳ (ʿAnāḳ thus becomes a woman's name). Although chastised by his mother, ʿŪdj caught the stone with which Iblīs tried to kill her. She therefore blessed him with strength and longevity. When he waded through the sea, it reached to his knees; when he walked, the earth trembled; when he wept, rivers flowed from his eyes, he used to eat two elephants at a meal He slept twice a year. In Nimrod's time, he boasted that he controlled the heavens He worked on the Ark with Noah He was sitting on Pharaoh's council when Yūskaʿ, sent by Moses, demanded that he should worship God. In order to win Pharaoh's daughter, he was going to destroy the camp of Israel with the gigantic rock, but was slain by Moses.

The sources of these legends are to be found in the Bible and in the Haggadah. The Bible mentions ʿŌg's great size (*Deut.*, iii. 11) and his fall (*Num.*, xxi 33—35) E Jōhanan describes ʿŌg as a fugitive who had escaped the Flood (*B. Nidda*, 61a). Sometimes he is said to be the fugitive who brought Abraham the news of Lot's capture (*Gen.*, xiv. 13). As a reward for this, he was given long life (*Gen Rubba*, xlii 8). Like al-Kisāʾī, *Deut. Rabba*, i 25 puts him at the court of Pharaoh. *B Berachōt*, 54b, Palest. *Targum* on *Num.*, xxi. 35 records how Moses slew him in one leap. It is in keeping with Muslim legend that in place of the ants, or worm, which eat away ʿŌg's rock we have the *hudhūd*, celebrated in the legend of Solomon.

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501 (on the reading ʿĀdj s. Barth's note on p. 501), Tha'labī, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, p 151—153; al-Kisāʾī, *Vitae Prophetarum*, ed. Eisenberg, p 233—235; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leyden 1893, p. 180—182.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

UDJDA. [See OUDJDA.]

AL-UFRĀNĪ. [See AL-WAFRĀNĪ.]

UGANDA, a British Protectorate in astern Equatorial Africa lying to the orth of Lake Victoria It takes its name from e Bantu Kingdom of Buganda, which is one of e four provinces comprising the Protectorate. The vahili name Uganda ("Country of the Baganda", e Swahili prefix *u* "Country of" replacing the ganda *bu* with the same meaning) was first plied to the kingdom of Mutesa, discovered by H. Speke in 1862, and in time came to include e whole Protectorate which grew out of the tension of British influence in Buganda

a. Geographical Outline. The Uganda otectorate lies approximately between latitude S. and 4° N, and longitude E. 30° and 35°, d has an area of approximately 94,204 sq. miles cluding 13,616 sq. miles of water. The general vel of the country is 4,000 ft., with the slopes of t Elgon (14,000) in the East, and the highlands of oro in the West at an altitude of 5,000 ft rising the Ruwenzori range with its snow-clad peaks, which the highest is Mt. Stanley, 16,816 ft ighlands are found in the South-West, culminating the volcanic regions of Mfumbiro where great nes rise to 11,000 or even 15,000 ft. But with e exception of some highlands on the Belgian ongo boundary West of the Nile 2° 15′ N., the neral level in the northern districts of the pro-ctorate has been influenced by the Nile drainage stem and is consequently lower and may not be ore than 3,000 ft

Lake Victoria, or Victoria Nyanza (3,726 ft.) feeds e Nile at the Ripon Falls (discovered by Speke in 62), and is looked upon as the source of that ver. Lake Albert (2,028), which forms part of e western boundary of the Protectorate, is fed the Semliki River draining from Lakes George d Edward, and in its turn discharges into the le proper, soon after receiving the waters of the ctoria Nile at its northern end Accordingly Uganda situated at the headwaters of the White Nile, and e Nile is the main drainage system of the whole untry. The climate of the Protectorate is more mporate than that of other tropical countries; e mean maximum in most districts averages ° F., and the mean minimum 60° F. In the wlying areas in the North the mean maximum ay be as high as 90° F. The annual rainfall ries considerably; on the North littoral of Lake ictoria the average approximates 60 inches, and ere is a good rainfall on the slopes of Mt. gon and in the Toro Highlands. To the North e rainfall diminishes until conditions similar to at in the Southern Sūdān are reached. In areas here the rainfall is adequate, bananas are cul-vated, and constitute the staple diet of the ople; elsewhere grains of various kinds are own. The vegetation of Uganda ranges from a arse desert type of flora to equatorial forests the Congo type, and on the Highlands of gon and Ruwenzori is found an Alpine Zone considerable interest. A great portion of the Protectorate consists of rich grasslands in a rolling savannah country.

b. Inhabitants. The population in 1929 is given as 3,410,857, of which 1,995 are Europeans and 12,539 are Asiatics. In the 1921 Census, the native population was returned as 2,848,735, made up of 267,522 Protestants, 255,014 Catholics, 98,000 Muḥammadans, and 2,228,199 pagans. The population of the Buganda Province of 774,753 includes 72,263 Muḥammadans, so that nearly 75 % of the adherents to Islām are found amongst the Baganda. Ethnologically the inhabitants may be divided into three divisions, following the classification of Prof. C. G Seligman· Eastern Bantu, Half Hamites and Nilotes. Of the Eastern Bantu the Baganda are the best known. It seems that several centuries ago there were successive migrations of a Hamitic cattle-owning people into this part of Africa, who established the large kingdom of Kitara, dominating the agricultural Bantu. This kingdom in time broke up into the three present divisions: the kingdom of Ankole, where the Hamite is dominant, the kingdom of Bunyoro, where there has been considerable fusion between the original Hamitic stock and the Bantu, and the kingdom of Buganda in which, though the dominant Hamitic stock still carries on the line of Kings, there has been a still greater fusion with the Bantu element The Half Hamite is represented by such tribes as the Karamojong and the Iteso; whilst the Nilote is represented by the Acholi, Lango and other tribes in the North West of the protectorate.

c. History The Victoria Nyanza was discovered by Burton and Speke in 1859 and the source of the Nile, the Ripon Falls, by Speke and Grant in 1862. Stanley reached Uganda in 1875 and wrote the famous letters, depicting the native kingdom of Buganda dominated by the influence of the slave trading Arabs, flirting with Islām and ripe for Christian missionary endeavour, which had such influence in determining the future destinies of that country. A band of Protestant missionaries reached Uganda in 1877 by way of the route used by the Arabs from Zanzibar, followed in 1879 by a party of French priests Meanwhile Sir Samuel Baker, having discovered Lake Albert in 1864, was sent by the Khedive in 1869 as Governor General to the Sūdān with instructions to suppress the slave raiding which was carried on by Turks and Arabs, whose base was Gondokoro and whose furthest station was some 15 days farther south. By 1872 he had reached Bunyoro and annexed it to the Sūdān Gordon followed him as Governor-General and sent emissaries to the kingdom of Buganda, one of whom met Stanley at the court of the Buganda King, Mutesa, and took back with him for despatch to England Stanley's celebrated letters. On the outbreak of the Mahdī rising in the Sūdān, Emin Pasha, who was Governor of the Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sūdān, which included the northern part of Uganda, was cut off from al-Khartūm, and was rescued by Stanley. A portion of Emin's force mutinied and remained in Toro, in what is now the Belgian Congo, under the leadership of Salīm Bey, an Egyptian officer.

The route to the interior from Mombasa [q. v.] through what is now Kenya Colony having now been opened up by the Arabs, the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1889 sent an expedition to Uganda with a view to annexation, and on the

Anglo-German negotiations for the partition of the east coast and hinterland, Uganda was assigned to Britain.

In 1890 Captain (now Lord) Lugard, who was engaged in building a series of forts from the coast, was ordered to Uganda to consolidate the Company's position there. Mwanga, the son and successor of Mutesa, had been deposed by both Christians and Muḥammadans, and had fled to the South end of Lake Victoria to take refuge with some Catholic Missionaries, and Kiwewa was put on the throne. The Muḥammadans soon tired of Kiwewa, who refused to adopt their customs, and eventually Kalema was proclaimed Kabaka (king) in his stead. He, profiting by the experience of his brother, professed himself a devout Muḥammadan, and tried to enforce Muḥammadan rites, including circumcision, on the peasantry, which caused a considerable exodus of Christians into Ankole. Mwanga was then invited by the Protestant party to return, and with a large following, he defeated the Muḥammadan army and entered the capital The Muḥammadans retreated to Bunyoro whence they made frequent raids into Buganda, and on the death of Kalema chose Mbogo, Mutesa's brother, to be their Kabaka. Lugard on his arrival forced Mwanga to sign a temporary treaty, and in order to obtain a reliable force, came to an agreement with Salīm Bey, the leader of the remnant of Emin Pasha's troops He enlisted some of these Sūdānese for service in Buganda, and the others he posted in forts in Bunyoro and in Toro. The Sūdānese in the forts were not under proper supervision and were left to the care of their native officers They were allowed to forage for themselves, and accordingly the cause of Islām was not helped by them amongst the neighbouring peasantry.

In 1892 the Imperial British East Africa Company proposed to abandon the country on the grounds of expense unless subsidized by the British Government, who at first refused to assist them, but subsequently, partly owing to the pressure of public opinion, mainly organised by the Church Missionary Society, and partly because they were given proofs that the country showed every sign of returning prosperity, reversed its decision, and assumed control in 1894, when a provisional treaty was completed with Mwanga

In 1897 a series of revolts broke out. Mwanga had never become reconciled to the new state of affairs and was secretly plotting Finally he fled to Buddu and raised the standard of rebellion, but being defeated by the Sūdānese troops, fled to German territory. Macdonald, who had been engaged on the railway survey, was under orders to survey new and unexplored country near Lake Rudolf, and required a large escort, and Sūdānese troops who had been almost continually fighting in various areas were detailed for this purpose. The troops were underpaid and in a discontented state of mind, and consequently several companies seized this opportunity to break into open revolt. Messengers were sent to the Muḥammadan Baganda and an endeavour was made to induce Mbogo, their leader, to throw in his lot with the mutineers who would place him on the throne. Mbogo, however, refused and remained loyal to the British despite his religion, for not only had he no wish to join the rebels, but he also knew that according to the customs of the Baganda, he, as eldest son of the late Kabaka, could not properly be placed on the throne Affairs were also complicated by Mwanga joining up with Kabarega, the Mukama (King) of Bunyoro, in an endeavour, whilst the troops were in a state of mutiny, to drive the British out of their countries Eventually the mutiny was quelled and the capture of the two kings and their deportation to the Seychelles brought the troubles to an end, and since 1899 the country has enjoyed almost unbroken peace. The story of Buganda and its troubles is the real story of the Protectorate. From Buganda the other tribes have been brought under British rule, sometimes by a show of military force and minor expeditions, more often by peaceful penetration.

Islām was brought to Uganda both from the East Coast and from the North Arabs from the East Coast had penetrated to the kingdom of Uganda and were in a dominant position when Speke arrived at Mutesa's court With the guns obtained from the Arabs in exchange for slaves and ivory, the Baganda, a most intelligent and enterprising race of people, who had already evolved an elaborate system of government, were enabled to gain the ascendancy over neighbouring tribes, but they were anxious to learn from the Arabs the secret of writing also, as they realised the power which this would give them. In the early days the Arabs refused to give them this, but made converts No sooner had the Christian missionaries arrived than the Baganda quickly learned that they were willing and anxious to teach them to write, and to give them other instruction which would enable them to assimilate a culture, which they recognised to be superior to their own. The Arabs, realising that they were losing ground, sent for teachers from the coast and established schools, where children were taught to write Swahili in Arabic characters. The fluctuating fortunes of Islām and Christianity represent the conflict of two different cultures, and the final ascendancy of Christianity must, in the main, be attributed to the superior educational facilities offered by the Christian missions.

Islāmic influence from the North has not been so important. In the early days the Turks and Arabs were interested only in raiding slaves from unorganised tribes The troops and followers of the Provincial Governors and other officials from the Sūdān made few converts, and the imported Sūdānese, remnants of Emin Pasha's force, all of whom are adherents to Islām, have not had a great influence on the native population, though they live in communities scattered through the Protectorate and at one time formed the backbone of the Protectorate military forces and the civil police In the West Nile district, inhabited by Nilotes, there has of recent years been a spread of Islām, mostly due to the strong personalities of a few chiefs, who have embraced Islām, encouraged education, and set up schools, but this is offset by large numbers of pagans who have become Christians and receive the benefits of a better education under European supervision.

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(E B HADDON)

ʿUḴĀB, the eagle, the king of birds al-Kazwīnī and al-Damīrī tell remarkable things about his habits, some of which go back to Greek tradition According to al-Damīrī, there are black, brown, greenish and white eagles Some nest in the mountains, others in deserts, in thick woods or in the vicinity of towns. (Here there is of course a confusion with the vulture and also in the statement that they follow armies and devour the fallen) The eagle hunts small wild animals and birds and eats only the liver, because this is a protection for him against disease. He does not stalk his prey but gives a cry when he sees a bird from his lofty perch and this gives it an opportunity to escape. Sometimes it happens that his beak grows so long that he can no longer hunt and must die of hunger. When the eagle is weak with age and becomes blind, according to al-Kazwīnī, he rises into the air until his feathers are consumed by the sun He then falls down, plunges into a well of bitter water and comes out again completely rejuvenated. According to al-Damīrī, the young eagles carry the old ones, when they are blind, from place to place until they reach a spring in India They are plunged into this and then dried in the rays of the sun while the old feathers fall off and new ones grow and at the same time their eyesight is restored According to the author of "Agriculture", vultures come out of eagles' eggs and eagles out of those of vultures According to others, all eagles are female and mate with other birds. They lay three eggs but throw the third young one out of the nest because they can only rear two. The third is brought up by the bird called *kāsir al-ʿiẓām* ("bone-breaker") Eagles fly so quickly that in the morning they can be in the ʿIrāk and in the evening in the Yemen. Their eyries are built on steep hillsides, the young ones know they must not move or they would fall out and perish but as soon as they have feathers, they fly excellently.

The eagle-stone is brought by the eagle from India and put in the nest to enable the female to lay more easily. It is a stone with another stone loose inside it, the rattle of which can be heard. It is used to relieve women in child-birth. This wonderful stone is taken from Greek tradition also.

In astronomy *al-ʿUḴāb* is the name of the constellation Aquila, N. of Capricorn (*ἀετός*, Aquila) It has three outstanding stars, which are called *al-nasr al-ṭāʾir*, "the flying eagle", Persian: *shāhīn tārāzed*, "the thieving falcon". The brightest star *α* is called *Attair* or *Atair* on our star-maps. Opposite it in the Lyre is the star *al-nasr al-wāḳiʿ*, "the falling eagle", the *Vega* of the star-maps

In alchemy *al-ʿUḴāb* (Lat. allocaph, etc) is the most usual name for sal-ammoniac.

Bibliography: al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAḏāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1849, p. 418; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, transl. A. S. G. Jayakar, Bombay 1908, ii 321—343 — On the constellation L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, p. 105—107; al-Ḳazwīnī, i 33 — On the eagle-stone. E. Abel, *Orphei Lithica*, Berlin 1881, p. 163; J Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, p. 165 (31); J Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des al-Ḳazwīnī*, Heidelberg 1896, p 18.

(J RUSKA)

AL-UḴAIṢIR, the name of a divinity of pre-Muḥammadan Arabia, or better an epithet, the meaning of which (diminutive of *akṣar*, "he who has a stiff neck" or perhaps simply "the short") seems to indicate an idol in human shape. All that we know of this god (whose real name is unknown) goes back to the references to him by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, Cairo 1914, p. 38—39, 48—50, followed by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i. 340—341 (transl. and annotated by Wellhausen, *Reste arab Heidentums*, 2nd ed, p. 62–64), Djāḥiz, *Ḥayawān*, v. 114, *Bukhalāʾ*, p 237, *Khiṣānat al-Adab*, iii 246 (abridged), Mahmūd al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1343, ii 209 below (abridged) Al-Uḳaisir was worshipped by the tribes of Kudāʿa, Lakhm, Djudhām, ʿĀmila and Ghaṭafān living on the plateau of the Syrian desert Verses in old poets quoted by Ibn al-Kalbī mention the stones (*anṣāb*) put up around the sacred place (which another anonymous verse, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 416, already quoted by Wellhausen, describes as dripping with the blood of the victims), the "garments" (*athwāb* is the reference to those of the idol or to a covering for the sanctuary in the style of the *kiswa* of the Kaʿba), the ditch (*djafr*) into which were thrown the offerings, the cries and chants of the pilgrims The sacrifices offered to the god were not always slaughtered, they are said to have also included hair kneaded with flour (according to the widespread custom of pre-Muhammadan Arabia; cf. Wellhausen, p. 123—124, 198—199) in this connection a story is told, according to which the tribe of the Hawāzin, reduced to great misery and entirely without food, went to beg around the sanctuary of al-Uḳaisir for the filthy remains of these offerings The truth of this story is very doubtful; it is a common motif in the *hiḏjāʾ* between tribes, but in itself it has nothing improbable.

As Wellhausen notes, the expressions used in the verses which Ibn al-Kalbī quotes in connection with al-Uḳaiṣir might refer to a sanctuary as well as to an idol. We might then suppose that the epithet reflects the squat form of the building. It is worth while recalling that the name Uḳaiṣir is also applied to a tribe (*Aghānī*, xiv. 98), to individuals (*Aghānī*, xiv. 74; Ṭabarī, ii. 647, 970, 997, 1000) and even to a sword (Ibn al-Aʿrābī, *Les livres des chevaux*, p 87, 4).

Bibliography. given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

UKHAIḌIR, the name of an imposing castle now in ruins in the Mesopotamian desert, twenty-five miles from Kerbelā' and ten south-east of Shifātīya, it perhaps preserves the name of Ismā'īl b Yūsuf b al-Ukhaiḍir who came from Yamāma and was appointed governor of Kūfa by the Ḳarmaṭians in 315 (927). The Beduin tribe of the Ruwāla, which leads a nomadic life in the vicinity, pronounce this name "al-Akheizer" but prefer to call the castle Ḍaifat or Ḳaṣr al-Khafādjī.

Discovered by Pietro della Valle in 1625, rediscovered in 1908 by L. Massignon, visited by Miss Gertrude L. Bell in 1909 and A. Musil (1912) it was systematically examined by O. Reuther in 1910.

The castle, built of stone and cement, with a few bricks, consists of a rectangular fortified enceinte with forty-eight bastions, with sides 554 feet long, 69 feet high, and 9 feet thick; blind arcades support a machicolated chemin de ronde; there are four staircases in the four corner towers and four gates in the centre of the four sides. The north gate, which is the main one, gives access to the palace, one of the halls of which was, according to Miss Bell, perhaps used as a mosque, although wrongly oriented, and rooms for the women, built on to the north wall, with three stories on this side and a single storey on its three other sides around the inner court Outside the enceinte are two annexes of less importance From the architectural point of view we may note in the palace the numerous niches, the fluted vaulting and the seven domes on drums.

The date of the building of Ukhaiḍir is disputed: the regularity of its plan, the large scale, and the finish of the work place it in a period when the Mesopotamian *limes* of the desert still contained royal residences Dieulafoy and Massignon see in it a pre-Islāmic winter palace, like Hatra, built by an Iranian architect for a prince of Hīra; it might be the *Ḳaṣr al-Ṣadīr* of the poets Miss G. L. Bell prefers to regard it as the site of Dūmat al-Ḥīra and would bring its date down to the Umaiyad period. Herzfeld dates Ukhaiḍir about 215 (830) from architectonic analogies with Sāmarrā Finally Musil brings it down to 277 (890) in order to identify it with the *dār al-hidjra* built in this year by the Ḳaimatian rebels It is indeed very likely that they restored it to install themselves in it, but they had not the means nor was it their custom to build such an imposing palace as a "place of refuge".

Bibliography. Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Venice 1664, iv 599, Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen 1778, ii. 225 (Fr. transl Amsterdam 1780, ii 184, 193—194); L Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, i (1912), p. 2—20, and ii. (1912), p 138; Herzfeld, in *Isl*, 1910, p 109, 124—126, do, *Erster vorlaufiger Bericht*, Berlin 1912, p. 37; G L. Bell, *From Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p 115—158; do, *Palace and Castle of Ukhaidir*, Oxford 1914; O Reuther, *Ocheidir* (*V. D O G*, xx.), Leipzig 1912; *Baghdad Times*, April 15, 1925; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New-York 1927, p. 366—367 (N°. 95); do., *Rwâla*, New-York 1929, p. 154, 155, 243, 244, 414 (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

'UḲŪBĀT. [See 'ADHĀB; ḤADD]

'ULAMĀ' is strictly the plural of *'alim*, one who possesses the quality *'ilm* [q. v.], knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree (*mubālagha*). In usage, however, the accepted singular of *'ulamā'* is *'ālim* Both singulars are Ḳur'ānic and can be used of Allāh and of man; but the plural *'ulamā'* occurs only twice in the Ḳur'ān and there of men (xxvi. 197; xxxv. 25) The plural *'ālimūn* occurs four times: twice of Allāh (xxi. 52, 81) and twice of men (xii. 44; xxix 42) On all this see *Mufradāt* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Cairo 1324, p. 348 *sqq*. and *Lisān*, xv 310 *sqq*

Inasmuch as *'ilm* in the first instance was knowledge of traditions and of the resultant canon law and theology, the *'ulamā'*, as peculiarly custodians of that tradition, were canonists and theologians. They, thus, as a general body, represented and voiced the Agreement [cf. article IDJMĀ'] of the Muslim people, and that Agreement was the foundation of Islām In consequence the *'ulamā'*, in whatever stated form they functioned, came to have, in a wide and vague fashion, the ultimate decision on all questions of constitution, law and theology. Whatever the *de facto* government might be, they were a curb upon it, as a surviving expression of the Agreement and of the right of the People of Muḥammad to govern itself The different governments might try to control them by giving them official status and salaries, and to some extent might succeed in that. If the success were too glaring the people would re-act by contempt for such government agents and would give their respect and devotion to private scholars who refused thus to be muzzled. This was a constantly recurring situation under all Muslim governments. The *'ulamā'*, therefore, might be government functionaries, either controlled by the government or keeping the government in a certain awe, or they might be private and independent students of canon law and theology

The term *'ālim* is applied at the present day in its literal meaning to any one who is evidently a scholar in our sense. For this situation in Egypt in the early xix^th^ century see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chaps iv. and ix and by index For a similar situation under the Mamlūks see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, passim and especially p lxxvi. *sqq*. It is plain that the organization of the *'ulamā'* was the solid framework of permanent government behind those changing dynasties For the Ottoman Empire see E J W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii, p 394 *sqq*. For the same situation in the Muslim world generally see Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, by index under 'Ulamā' For the distinction between the *'ālim*, canon lawyer and systematic theologian, and the *'ārif*, the mystic who knows Allāh by religious experience and vision, see article 'ILM above, so, too, for the distinction between the *'ālim* who was at first a knower of definite facts (Ḳur'ānic texts and traditions and their meanings) and the *faḳīh* [q v.] who was at first the independent thinker about these by his intelligence (*fiḳh*). It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to notice the error of western writers who frequently use *'ulamā'*, in many spellings, as a singular

Bibliography. Add to references above given: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11^th^ ed., ix. 29^c^; xxvi 103^d^, xxvii. 427^c^, 565^b^

(D. B. MACDONALD)

ULDJAITU KHODĀBENDE. [See OLČAITU.]

ULUGH BEG, MUḤAMMAD TŪRGHĀY, son of Shāh Rukh and of Gawhar Shād, was born in Sulṭānīya in 796 (1393). He became governor of a part of Khurāsān and of Māzandarān in 810

(1407). In the following year Shāh Rukh, breaking his promise, took Turkestān and Transoxiana from Khalīl Sulṭān, ruler of Samarḳand, to give them to Ulugh Beg, who, a man of letters, artist and scholar, "really made Samarḳand what Tīmūr had dreamt of, the centre of Muslim civilisation" (R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Asie*, III. 127). A theologian, he had specialised in the study of the Ḳur'ān which he could repeat by heart according to all seven readings. Fond of poetry he had an official poet, Khwādja 'Iṣmet Bukhārī, and was the patron of others like Barandak, Rustam Khuryānī and Ṭāhir Ābiwardī. A historian, he not only encouraged research but himself wrote a "History of the Four Sons of the House of Čingīz", *Ulūs-i arbaʿ-i Čingīzī*, a work which seems to have been lost and which would have been valuable for the history of the Ulūs of Tulūy in Persia and for that of Čaghatāi: for the whole period before 703 (1303) it would be less complete than the work of Rashīd al-Dīn (Blochet, *Introd. à l'Hist. des Mongols*, p. 86–92) An artist, he enriched Samarḳand with superb buildings: a monastery, *ḵhānḳāh*, with the highest dome in the world, the "carved" mosque, *muḳaṭṭaʿ* (or mosque of Ulugh Beg), so-called from its interior decoration in the Chinese manner, of carved and coloured wood, finished in 823 (1420); that of Shāh Zinde, finished in 838 (1434), a madrasa built in 828 (1424) the bath of which is decorated with wonderful mosaics; the palace of the 40 columns flanked by four high towers and decorated with a colonnade in blocks of marble; the throne room, *koruniu-ḵhāne* its pedestal, eight cubits in breadth and fifteen in length and one in height is not the "blue stone" mentioned by Vámbéry, the *Činiḵhāne*, a pavilion, the walls of which were adorned with frescoes by one of those Chinese artists of whose work the lord of Samarḳand was fond, lastly, the famous observatory to be discussed below; its architect was 'Alī Ḳūshdjī and Gawhar Shād journeyed to Samarḳand to pay it a visit. Ulugh Beg was a great bibliophile. A learned mathematician, he could solve the most difficult problems in geometry, but he was above all an astronomer. In 832 (1428) he began the building at Samarḳand, on the other side of the Kuhik, of an observatory now destroyed, which in its day was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Salāh al-Dīn, an astronomer of Jewish origin, was the moving spirit in it along with three other astronomers from Ḳāshān Ḥasan Čelebi, called Ḳādī-zāde Rūmī, whose son Maryam Čelebi wrote a commentary on the work of Ulugh Beg; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamshīd and Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḳāshānī. Working with them, Ulugh Beg invented new and very powerful instruments for their joint researches. Finding Ptolemy's computations did not agree with his own observations, he sought to correct them and thus there came to be compiled the *Zīdj-i Djadīd Sulṭānī*, a collection comprising 1 diverse computations and eras; 2 the knowledge of time; 3. the course of the stars; 4 the position of the fixed stars. The whole is prefaced by very complicated and obscure prolegomena on the reasons which determined Ulugh Beg to compile this collection and on his collaborators. These tables became celebrated in Europe and attention was called to them by John Greaves (in Latin Graevius), Professor at Oxford (1642—1648); in 1665, Hyde gave a Latin translation afterwards revised by Sharpe (1767), the prolegomena have been edited and translated by A. Sédillot (Paris 1847—1853: 2 vols.), who had previously undertaken to publish the Tables (fasc. i., Paris 1839). E. B. Knobel has published the *Catalogue of stars...*, after collating all the manuscripts in Great Britain and adding a Persian and Arabic glossary (Washington 1917). It has been disputed whether the original version was in Arabic, Persian or Turkish, it is probably the Persian version that we possess. The work seems to have been finished in 841 (1437). Ulugh Beg, it seems, did not observe all the stars which he mentions and takes his latitudes and longitudes from Ptolemy; he gives a disproportionate space to astrology. But Sédillot (*op. cit.*, 1, p. CXXXII) can say that with him the "period of astronomical works in the East finishes".

Ulugh Beg was less happy in war and politics. He drove the invading Özbegs back to the Āḳ Sū but Borāḳ Oghlān's cavalry and that of Muhammad Djūkī soon had their revenge, advanced as far as Khodjand and laid the country waste (828 = 1421) The sole survivor of the children of Shāh Rukh, he inherited the power on the death of his father (25th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 850 = 12th March 1447); but plunged into despair, he remained inactive for several months, enabling the Tīmūrid princes to act against him. Gawhar Shād wanted to secure the throne for Ulugh Beg's son ʿAbd al-Latīf, but the latter, misled by false reports, thought it had gone to 'Alā' al-Dawla, another claimant, who, a few days after the death of Shāh Rukh, led her prisoner with all her suite to Semnān. From there he set out for Herāt, seized it and had himself proclaimed ruler there. Sultān ʿAbd Allāh, son of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, took possession of the district of Shīrāz. Kābul and Ghazna formed a new state with the sons of Soyurghutmish Two other princes, Muḥammad Mīrzā and Bābā Mīrzā, also aspired to the power and the second had himself proclaimed ruler of Djurdjān and Māzandarān ʿAbd al-Latīf, who returned from Nīshāpūr with his prisoners was surprised by the emīrs Mīrzā Ṣālih and Uwais. The prisoners were released and ʿAbd al-Latīf, who took to flight, was captured He was brought before 'Alā' al-Dawla who treated him generously.

Ulugh Beg finally cast off his lethargy, listened to the advice of his ministers and set out for Khurāsān. Wishing to conciliate a rival, Abū Bakr, he gave him his daughter in marriage but had to imprison him on being convinced of his treachery. He crossed the Oxus, heard in Balkh of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's doings, pardoned him and ready to make any concession to be free of his troubles, sent his first minister Niẓām al-Dīn Mīrek to Herāt with this object. But Bābar Mīrzā invaded Khurāsān and at Djām routed 'Alā' al-Dawla's advance-guard and the latter, caught between him and Ulugh Beg, surrendered. Prisoners were exchanged and ʿAbd al-Latīf became governor of Balkh. Through fear of Ulugh Beg the generals of 'Alā' al-Dawla forced their master to make peace with Bābar Mīrzā; Khabūshān was to be the frontier.

The treachery of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, who refused to deliver up his hostages and had them massacred after the defeat of an attack on a detachment sent to fetch them, brought about new hostilities. 'Alā' al-Dawla made plundering raids but abandoned an expedition, which he had planned, on the threats of Ulugh Beg, who had now decided to assert his rights as sole heir of Shāh Rukh and to avenge the massacres of Balkh (852 = 1448—1449) by the murder of several of his son's officers. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf brought large contingents to his father

on his crossing of the Oxus. Defeated through treachery at Taibāb after a desperate battle, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla sought refuge in Meshhed where his brother Bābar Mīrzā promised to assist him to regain his lands. He pretended to submit but Ulugh Beg was not deceived, occupied Herāt and its forts and marched on Isfarāʾin where he divided his army into two: the one with Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Shīrāzī was to lay siege to Bistām and the other with ʿAbd al-Laṭīf marched against Āstarābād At this moment the Özbegs invaded Transoxiana. Samarḳand was sacked. Ulugh Beg, taking the sarcophagus of Shāh Rukh and the treasure of Herāt, returned in haste His rearguard was attacked by Bābar Mīrzā and the Özbegs captured his baggage at the crossing of the Oxus. He finally reached Bukhārā, where his father's obsequies were held Khurāsān, which was disputed between the Tīmūrids and the Turkmens was in complete disorder. Yār ʿAlī, prince of the Black Sheep, escaped from the castle of Neiretū and laid siege to Herāt. Ulugh Beg relieved the city but Bābar Mīrzā rebelled and attacked it in his turn. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf escaped to his father and Yār ʿAlī, entering the town by surprise, had himself crowned there and became popular An emissary of Bābar Mīrzā gave him a narcotic and he was executed

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 852 (Feb 1449) the whole of Khurāsān belonged to Bābar Mīrzā who gave a ludicrous compensation, the governorship of the little town of Ṭūn, to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, who was replaced by his son. The two, accused of plotting, were sent to Herāt and suffered a harsh captivity The discontent was general Bābar Mīrzā was reproached with debauchery, drunkenness, incapacity and the exactions of his agents. Refusing to lead an expedition against Badghīs, the powerful emīr Hindūke sought to raise the country with the help of Ulugh Beg, to whom he sent an emissary Eidekū The latter was captured by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf and sent to Bābar Mīrzā to whom he confessed everything. In spite of prodigies of valour Hindūke was defeated and slain.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla escaped, he went to Sīstān, then to the ʿIrāḳ where his brother Muhammad Mīrzā, who was also lord of Fārs, was ruling. The two invaded Khurāsān and at Djām inflicted a terrible defeat on Bābar Mīrzā, who with eight horsemen escaped and sought refuge in the castle of ʿImād At Herāt, Muhammad Mīrzā showed himself generous, he liberated his nephew Ibrāhīm and sent Bābar's son Shāh Mahmūd to his mother.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf had a hatred for his father which has been explained in various ways Ulugh Beg in his communiqué at the battle of Tarbāb is said to have substituted the name of his other son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for his. He is said to have refused to restore to him the money and arms which he had stored in Herāt as, relying on astrological predictions, he distrusted a son in whom he saw a parricide. Rebelling, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf seized Balkh, defeated his father and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Shāhrukhīya and handed over Ulugh Beg to a Persian servant ʿAbbās who, after a pretence at trial, had him executed on 10th Ramadān 853 (Oct. 27, 1449) after a reign of two years eight months After this murder, the dismemberment of the Tīmūrid empire made rapid progress; claimants arose in all directions, many of whom achieved their aims. At the end of six months, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf himself met a violent end.

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UMAIYA B. ʿABD SHAMS, ancestor of the Umaiyads, the principal clan of the Kuraish of Mecca His genealogy (Umaiya b. ʿAbd Shams b ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣaiy) and his descendants are given in Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, U, V Like all other eponyms of Arab tribes and clans, his actual existence and the details of his life have to be accepted with caution, but too great scepticism with regard to tradition would be as ill-advised as absolute faith in its statements As those Umaiyads who were living at the beginning of the Muslim epoch were only in the third generation from their eponym (e g. Abū Sufyān b Ḥarb b. Umaiya), there is nothing improbable in the latter's being a historical personage, besides there is nothing in tradition to suggest he was a mythical individual or a later invention. The name Umaiya is common in Arab nomenclature and is found in both northern and southern tribes; the meaning which anti-Umaiyad polemic gives to it (a diminutive of *ama* "servant") would make it a sobriquet; we also have the positive form Banū Ama as the name of a tribe (cf. Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, p 34).

Umaiya was the cousin on the father's side of Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib, and tradition relates that, being jealous of the latter's influence, he challenged him to a *munāfara*, the judge of which was to be a *kāhin* of the Khuzāʿa. Being defeated, Umaiya had to exile himself from Mecca for ten years (cf. Ṭabarī, i 1090; Ibn Saʿd, I/i 43—44) This story is evidently only an anticipation of the rivalry between the Umaiyads and Hāshimids (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) which forms the centre of the political struggle in the Arab empire during the first two centuries of the Hidjra (cf al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Tanāzuʿ wa 'l-Takhāṣum fī-ma baina Banī Umaiya wa-Banī Hāshim*, ed Vos, Leyden 1888) it looks like a legend of learned origin. Similarly the story of the embassy of Umaiya and his nephew ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and other chiefs of the Ḳuraish to the Ḥimyarite king Saif b. Dhī Yazan after the latter had defeated the Abyssinians (al-Azraḳī, in *Chron. d Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 99; *Aghānī*, xvi. 75—77; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293, i. 131—133 etc.) is only intended to enhance the

prestige of the Ḳuraish and to prophesy the coming of Islām. Lastly the truth seems very problematic to us of the stories of alleged eye-witnesses who had seen Umaiya, a decrepit old man going through the streets of Mecca leaning on his son Abū ʿAmr (according to the historian Haitham b. ʿAdī, this was really his slave whom he afterwards adopted; cf. Ṭabarī, i. 967; *Aghānī*, i 7—8).

We come down to historical ground with the statement (Azraḳī, p. 71, etc) that Umaiya, like his father ʿAbd Shams, commanded the Meccan army in time of war (*al-ḳiyāda*), a post which was later transmitted to his son Ḥarb and his grandson Abū Sufyān Although we perhaps should not interpret this literally as implying a permanent military post (it seems to have been rather an occasional appointment) and although we find alongside of descendants of Umaiya as military leaders, numerous members of other clans and even *ḥulafāʾ* (clients) (cf on this question Lammens, *Les "Aḥābīš" et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beyrouth 1928, p 273—293), there is nothing improbable in the story, especially if we regard the *ḳiyāda* as the direction of the military affairs of the republic rather than the actual command of troops in the field. As a matter of fact, the descendants of Umaiya never lacked talent either for military organisation or for politics

At the beginning of Islām, the clan of the Banū Umaiya appears as the most powerful in Mecca, it was represented by two main branches the Aʿyās and the ʿAnābisa (plural *a potiori* from the name ʿAnbasa common in the family) The former claimed to be descended from a son of the eponym whose names come from the same or a similar root (a common occurrence in Arabic nomenclature) Abu 'l-ʿĪṣ, al-ʿUwais, al-ʿĀṣī, Abu 'l-ʿĀsī, the others were represented by families of Harb, Abū Harb, Sufyān, Abū Sufyān (from his name ʿAnbasa, uncle of the celebrated Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb), ʿAmr, Abū ʿAmr (the latter whose name is said to have been Dhakwān was probably, as already mentioned, an adopted son of Umaiya). From a son of Abu 'l-ʿĀsī, al-Ḥakam, are descended, through Marwān b al-Ḥakam, the Umaiyad caliphs who succeeded Marwān, as well as the emīrs (later caliphs) of Andalusia. Some branches of the family of the caliphs settled in Egypt and Persia, although the greater part of the family was exterminated in 132 A H. by the ʿAbbāsids, some of its members survived among these were Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a descendant of a brother of Marwān I; his Shīʿī views contrasted strangely with his descent Another son of Abu 'l-Ās, ʿAffān, was the father of the Caliph ʿUthmān, his descendants are numerous (among them the poet al-ʿArjī; cf *Aghānī*, p. 153—166), and several of them held important offices under the Umaiyads. Of the line of al-ʿĀṣ b Umaiya, the most celebrated member is Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān, whose misdeeds were one of the main causes of the rebellion against the latter. The family of Abu 'l-ʿĪṣ also produced a number of notable individuals under the Umaiyads who were all descended from Asīd b. Abi 'l-ʿĪṣ.

As to the ʿAnābisa branch, its most illustrious family is undoubtedly that of Ḥarb, whose son Abū Sufyān plays so remarkable a part in the story of the origin of Islām. Through his son Muʿāwiya, he is the founder of the dynasty of Sufyānid caliphs, which early became extinct with Muʿāwiya II, son of Yazīd I. Another son of Yazīd, Khālid, is said to have been the founder of Arabic alchemy, and a grandson, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b Yazīd al-Sufyānī, was slain by the ʿAbbāsids at Madīna in 132 (Ṭabarī, iii. 54). Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, who was Muʿāwiya's predecessor in command of the army of Syria in ʿUmar's reign, left no descendants Of the other sons of Abū Sufyān, ʿUtba, ʿAnbasa, Yazīd, Muḥammad, ʿAmr, only the two first had issue. A collateral branch of the Banū Umaiya, descended from Abū ʿAmr b. Umaiya, whose paternity, as we have seen, was not absolutely certain, included among its members al-Walīd b ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿaiṭ b. Abī ʿAmr, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān and later a favourite of Muʿāwiya during his caliphate and also known as a poet (*Aghānī*, iv. 175—190), his father ʿUḳba had been made prisoner at the battle of Badr and put to death by Muhammad, who could not forgive the insults which he had heaped upon him at the beginning of his preaching in Mecca; the shameful memory of the father weighed heavily on the son and is often revived in ʿAlid polemics against the Banū Umaiya A son of al-Walīd, Abū Ḳatīfa ʿAmr, is also known as a poet (*Aghānī*, i. 7–18). All the members of the line of Abū ʿAmr settled in al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra

Bibliography Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 45—50, 103—104, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*, Brit Mus. MS. Add 23,297, fol 11v—18r. Much information also in H Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Moʿāwia Ier*, do., *Le califat de Yazīd Ier* (*M. F O. B*, i —vi). (G Levi Della Vida)

UMAIYA B Abi 'l-Salt, an Arab poet of the tribe of Thakīf, lived in Ṭāʾif, the son of Abu 'l-Salt ʿAbd Allāh and Ruḳaiya bint ʿAbd Shams b ʿAbd Manāf, grandson of Abū Sufyān, cousin of the ʿUtba and Shaiba who were killed at Badr and closely related to the Kuraish patrician families of Mecca A lament on the Ḳuraish who fell at Badr, preserved by Ibn Hishām, p 531 *sqq.*, shows that he was still alive in 624 A D According to tradition, he died in 8 or 9 A. H Traditions differ regarding his attitude to the Prophet and to Islām. But the statement that he was not in personal touch with the Prophet and refused to recognise his claim to be a prophet may be regarded as the better founded. It is also in keeping with his sympathy for the Ḳuraish expressed in the poem above mentioned The poems and fragments transmitted under Umaiya's name, which have been collected by F. Schulthess and added to by E. Power, may be divided according to their subject into two main groups. The one, a smaller group, consists of poems and verses which are panegyrics of individuals — notably the rich Meccan ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān — and do not differ essentially from similar pieces by other old Arab poets. The other, a larger group, which begins in Schulthess' edition with N⁰. xxiii., reveals almost entirely the point of view which we may call Ḥanīfī. On a basis of the recognition of one personal God as "lord of the slaves" we have apocalyptic pictures of the abode of God and the angels of his kingdom, stories of the creation, eschatological conceptions of the last judgment, hell and paradise; appeals are made for the practice of a moral life and reference

made to "warning examples" which are taken, some from Arab (ʿĀd, Thamūd) and some from Biblical legends (the Flood, Abraham, Lot, Pharaoh etc.). As the same time he is fond of using the beast-fable. We may also note the references to magical practices (charms to produce rain, poem xxxiv towards the end) As regards religious ideas and the treatment of these themes, Umaiya's poems thus show a far-reaching agreement with the Ḳurʾān, which in many passages is almost word for word (cf. Frank-Kamenetzky's investigations). The question of the dependence of the one on the other has therefore naturally been raised. Huart (see *Bibl*) holds the view that Umaiya's poems on Biblical legends quoted in Pseudo-Balkhī's "Book of Creation" are all genuine and direct sources of the Ḳurʾān As to their genuineness, this is, as in the case of old Arabic poems in general, in each case questionable. But apart from some Muslim insertions, which at once strike one by their bias (e. g p. xxiii., a panegyric on Muhammad) and such pieces, as have already been recognised by tradition as not genuine, there are no cogent reasons to doubt the genuineness of the poems handed down in Umaiya's name as a whole. But that Muḥammad actually drew upon Umaiya's poems seems to be improbable for the simple reason that Umaiya had a greater knowledge of the legendary material in question and one that differs in many details from the Ḳurʾān. The same fact is against the view that Umaiya might have borrowed from the Kurʾān, although this is not chronologically impossible and one tradition (*Aghānī*, iii. 187, 10) says that Umaiya was the first to read Allāh's book. The agreement between Umaiya's poems and the Ḳurʾān may more easily be explained from the undoubted fact that about the time of Muhammad's mission, and probably for some time before, currents of thought of a Ḥanīfī nature had attracted wide circles of the Ḥaḍarīs, especially in Mecca and Ṭāʾif, stimulated and nourished by Jewish haggadas and Christian legends, which were in circulation there and over South Arabia in many recensions — and this explains the occasional divergences between the Ḳurʾān and Umaiya. Muḥammad and Umaiya like other *homines religiosi* (Zaid b. ʿAmr, Waraḳa, Maslama, etc.) drew upon common sources, whether written as Schulthess thinks or oral as Noldeke holds (see *Bibl.*) Recently Tor Andrae (see *Bibl.*) has put forward with weighty arguments the view that none of the religious poems of Umaiya are genuine and should be regarded as the work older Ḳurʾānic exegists, *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, like al-Suddī, Ibn ʿAbbās etc.

Bibliography. Fragments of the lost Dīwān with commentary by M b Habīb, in *Khizāna*, i. 119 *sqq* ; Pseudo-Balkhī (Maḳdisī), *Kitāb al-Badʾ*, ed. Cl. Huart; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 1 199 *sqq*. (transl. in Sprenger's *Leben Muḥammeds*, vol. 1); much scattered material in Diāḥiz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, the dictionaries etc. (complete list of sources in Schulthess' edition of the Dīwān); Fr. Schulthess, *Or Studien, Noldeke-Festschr.*, 1906, p 71–89; do., *Umaiya ibn Abiṣ Ṣalt, die .. Gedichtfragmente*, Leipzig 1911, reviewed by Noldeke, in *Z A.*, xxviii. 159 *sqq*.; E. Power, *The Poems of Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, additions, suggestions and rectifications*, in *M. F. O. B.*, i. (1906), p. 145 *sqq*., J. Frank-Kamenetzky, *Unters. uber das Verhaltnis der dem U. b. abi 'l-Ṣalt zugeschriebenen Ged. zum Qorān*, Kirchhain 1911 (Dissert); Cl. Huart, *Mém de l'Acad des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1904; do., in *J. A.*, 1904, p. 125—167; Tor Andrae, *Die Entstehung des Islāms und das Christentum*, in *Kyrkohistorik Årsskrift*, Upsala 1926, p 48 *sqq*

(H. H Brau)

UMAIYADS (Banū Umaiya), the dynasty of the caliphs from 41–132 A. H = 661–750 A. D It takes its name from the fact that its founder Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān was the representative of the principal branch of the Banū Umaiya, even after the exclusion of this branch from the caliphate on the death of Muʿāwiya II, the dynasty retained its name, for the caliphate passed to the head of another branch, Marwān b al-Hakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ For the reader's convenience we give below a list of the Umaiyad caliphs with their dates of accession

Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān	Rabīʿ I or II or Djumādā I 41 (July–Sept. 661)
Yazīd b Muʿāwiya	Radjab 60 (April 680)
Muʿāwiya (II) b Yazīd	Rabīʿ I 64 (November 683)
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam	Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 64 (June 684)
ʿAbd al-Malik b Marwān	Ramadān 65 (April 685)
al-Walīd b ʿAbd al-Malik	Shawwāl 86 (October 705)
Sulaimān b ʿAbd al-Malik	Djumādā II 96 (February 715)
ʿOmar (II) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān	Safar 99 (October 717)
Yazīd (II) b ʿAbd al-Malik	Radjab 101 (February 720)
Hishām b ʿAbd al-Malik	Shaʿbān 105 (January 724)
al-Walīd (II) b. Yazīd (II)	Rabīʿ II 125 (February 743)
Yazīd (III) b al-Walīd b ʿAbd al-Malik	Radjab 126 (April 744)
Ibrāhīm b al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 126 (October 744)
Marwān (II) b Muḥammad b Marwān	Ṣafar 127 (December 744)

"The Arab empire" is the title given by Wellhausen to his classic work on the Umaiyad period by this he wished to indicate that the Umaiyad caliphate represents the attempt made by the Arabs to assert their power in the world as a nation, while religion only played a secondary part in this attempt. After thirty years Wellhausen's historical structure still stands; if on the one hand the numerous researches of Lammens, full of erudition, have filled up with details the framework supplied by Wellhausen, a little remote and rather schematic; if Caetani on the other hand by happily developing — perhaps rather too systematically — a hint from Winckler, has connected the expansion of the Arabs after their conversion to Islām with a long series of armed migrations made by the desert tribes seeking more fertile settlements in the north of their peninsula, the main lines laid down by Wellhausen are still followed in modern research in the field of Umaiyad history. If there is one thing to be modified in Wellhausen's panoramic view, it is perhaps the too strictly political idea which he had of the

development of Arab history, as if one ought to recognise in the actions of the Umaiyad caliphs a conscious desire to give expression to purely national values (cf. Becker's remarks in *Isl.*, ix. 95—99). Although the existence of a national consciousness among the Arabs, especially in the Umaiyad period, is beyond doubt (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i. 101—146), we are now convinced that the irrational element plays as important a part in individual initiative as reasoned reflection; in this particular case it should be recognised that Wellhausen and still more those who have followed in his footsteps have somewhat neglected the importance of the religious factor. In reality, if pietist or mystic tendencies were quite foreign to the descendants of this Meccan aristocracy which had fought Islām in its early stages, and if one ought rather to recognise in it the survival of the spirit of the *sayyid*s of the Djāhilīya and of the business men of the merchant republic, we should run the risk of evading the historical truth if we took no account of the fact that the unprecedented triumph of the Arab movement took place under the banner of the religion of the Ḳur'ān, and no mentality, even the most modern and "agnostic", could escape the impression made by this circumstance The Umaiyad caliphs, as men of their period and milieu, must have believed in good faith that the propagation of the Muslim faith and the expansion of their temporal power were one and the same thing, and they must have been convinced that the enemies of their policy, whether Shī'īs or Khāridjīs, were also enemies of the true tradition of the Prophet The tradition of the historians has preserved us a certain amount of evidence which leaves no doubt of the presence of this conviction among the Umaiyad caliphs, and if tradition, as established after their fall under the influence of the ideas dominant in pietist circles, has cursed the memory of the Umaiyads, we ought not to forget that it was precisely under their regime and partly under their stimulus that Islām established itself as a universalist religion.

This pietist tradition, which under the 'Abbāsids became the official history of Islām, further reproaches the Umaiyads, even more than with having failed in the duties of religion, with having betrayed the spirit of the constitution of the theocratic state as Muhammad had established it and with having replaced the caliphate by *mulk* In this charge we find (analogous to what may be noted in the attitude of the prophets of Israel to the monarchy) combined the protest of the theocratic spirit which gives to God alone power on earth and the intolerance of the Beduins towards any kind of regular authority. In reality, as the researches of Caetani and Lammens have shown, even the governments of Abū Bakr and 'Omar were far from corresponding to the ideal of the theocratic regime which the schools of fuḳahā' later constructed; but the personal prestige of the two great companions of the Prophet, if it did not succeed in silencing the opposition that centred round 'Alī, prevented a constitutional theory which was in contradiction to the actual situation from being developed in the early days of the caliphate. It is only under 'Othmān, whose rule marked the open triumph of the Umaiyad party at the expense of the first converts, that people began to regard the historical paradox, which made the former enemies of the new regime now reap the profits of it, as treason against the "rights of God" by which the Prophet's work was disowned and destroyed. We can easily see how the same aim of opposition united on one side the resentment felt by the pious souls of the heroes and martyrs of the infant religion, and on the other the ambitions of a more positive nature of those who sought to maintain for the family and entourage of the Prophet the privileged position which the founder of the new theocratic state had secured for them. Religious legitimism and dynastic legitimism found a common champion in 'Alī. 'Alī was able to boast an initial success in his elevation to the caliphate at Medīna; then the occupation of Kūfa, the victory which he won at Baṣra against the coalition of Talḥa, al-Zubair and 'Ā'isha, the triumph of his party in Egypt seemed to have secured him authority over the whole Arab empire. In the conflict with Mu'āwiya, 'Alī actually represents, at first at least, considerations of state in conflict with the primitive and quite pagan idea of blood vengeance demanded by Mu'āwiya and by the Umaiyads for the murder of their relative. But the situation, ambiguous even from the point of view of the new Islāmic ethics, in which 'Alī found himself by his compromise with the murderers of 'Othmān, was skilfully exploited by the political talents of Mu'āwiya and was not long in developing and dividing the anti-Umaiyad party into its two original constituents. on the one side the religious intransigeance which culminated in the extremist attitude of the Khāridjīs, on the other, the dynastic legitimism of the Shī'a. This division made the fortune of the Umaiyads, who came to stand for the moderate element which would guarantee law and order in face of the guerilla war which was ravaging the 'Irāḳ and brought the country into a position to reap the benefit of the conquests.

At what moment was Mu'āwiya's formal candidature put forward? This is still an obscure point on which tradition gives divergent views, dating the candidature from the beginning of Mu'āwiya's struggle with 'Alī (37 A H) or putting it as late as the latter's death (40 A. H.) In any case it raised a new and exceedingly delicate constitutional problem that of the assumption of supreme power over the believers by one who was not among the earliest companions of the Prophet. The different chronological statements are themselves an indication of the confusion which must have prevailed when the solution given by the course of events suddenly caused a breach with the precedents. Indeed the indignation of the fuḳahā', which takes no account of the requirements of historical development, is quite legitimate from the point of view of doctrine the caliphate of Mu'āwiya opens an entirely new period in the constitutional history of Islām: the caliph ceases to be the executor or continuator of the *sunna* of Muḥammad, to which he has been a witness since its beginning. He is henceforth something more the outstanding personality of the Arab world, the first among the tribal chiefs in military stength, in family connections and influence and in individual prestige, he is in fact, if not in official title, a "king" or rather a "tyrant" in the Greek sense of the word. This was the ambiguous situation which lasted for a century, i. e. as long as the Umaiyad dynasty lasted, and which formed the platform for the Shī'a propaganda, which was to be ended by the victory of the legitimist idea and by the fall of the Arab "empire".

It is exceedingly difficult for us to judge the extent to which Muʿāwiya was aware of the difficulty of the situation. If we were to confine ourselves to certain aspects of his policy, usually so clever and farseeing, we should be tempted to conclude that he did not fully appreciate the importance that the religious factor would assume in the political struggle. It is true that he sought a reconciliation with the sons of his unfortunate rival — he succeeded completely with one, al-Ḥasan, but was less fortunate with al-Ḥusain — and in general he was full of consideration for the whole family of Muḥammad, ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids as well as for the Anṣār, proud of their title of "helpers" of the Prophet But he did not go so far as not to insist on the suspicious elements taking an oath of loyalty (the "curse of Abū Turāb"), a hateful measure which seems to be a prelude to the *miḥna* of the ʿAbbāsids and which brought more secret hatred upon the Umaiyads than real benefit, and he made the mistake of giving a free hand in the ʿIrāḳ to Ziyād b Abīhi's merciless policy of suppression, so different from the policy which he himself practised and which he might also have applied in person in the ʿIrāḳ with the insinuating mildness of which he had the secret It is worth noting that during the twenty years of his reign Muʿāwiya never himself went to the ʿIrāḳ to try to form personal attachments. The ʿIrāḳī population seems then to have been justified in thinking that the Umaiyad caliphate really represented the hegemony of Syria over the rest of Islāmic territory and the memory of ʿAlī, which legend soon seized upon, was in a way bound up with the nationalism of the ʿIrāḳ

Muʿāwiya was moreover detained in Syria by other problems, really formidable, which the organisation of the empire laid upon him. The first question was that of the relations of the sovereign with his own family and with the tribes. Muʿāwiya did not fail (*more arabico*, or rather in obedience to a general human feeling) to see that his relations profited largely from the good fortune that had befallen him, but he was careful not to fall into ʿOthmān's error and did not become the prisoner of his clan It is worth noting that it was the most important provinces which were assigned to non-Umaiyad governors, the relationship with Ziyād, all-powerful in the ʿIrāḳ, was purely a fictitious one, while in Egypt where, after the death of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, Muʿāwiya put his own brother ʿUtba, the latter was not succeeded by another Umaiyad when he died after barely a year of office But it was particularly in his relations with the turbulent chiefs of the tribes that Muʿāwiya showed the complete measure of his talent, the latter, little disposed to be impressed either by the authority of the Ḳuraishī or by the religious prestige of the *amīr al-muʾminīn*, made the caliph's position something like that of a European suzerain in the age of feudalism. The long and patient work by which Muʿāwiya tried to gain for his cause the influence of the tribes, which he could not have destroyed, aimed on the one hand at strengthening his power and on the other at achieving the great aim of his life, the *baiʿa* of the tribal chiefs for his son Yazīd, which he succeeded in extracting from them in his lifetime; by this he succeeded in making the caliphate hereditary. It is this that we must regard as the most tangible success of Muʿāwiya's policy and it was owing to this act that the caliphate of the Umaiyads lasted a century in spite of the convulsion that followed the death of Yazīd. But how precarious the situation remained even after the dynastic principle was solemnly affirmed! The principle had only been won by Muʿāwiya's personal prestige, as is shown by the fact that immediately after his death, al-Husain thought the moment had come to raise his standard as a legitimist claimant while ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair came forward as a champion of neglected Arabia and the memory of the first Companions. The tragic end of al-Husain's effort at Kerbelāʾ left a memory of martyrdom which was later exploited against the Umaiyads, but for the moment it crushed the ʿAlid opposition. Perhaps, if Yazīd had lived longer or if he had left a son old enough to succeed him worthily, in place of Muʿāwiya II who was still a child, the position of the Umaiyads would have been strengthened Yazīd, if he was not the monster of dissipation and impiety which pious tradition likes to represent, had certainly not the distinguished qualities of his father but he lacked neither energy nor brains to continue the latter's work.

The haphazard method in which the vast Arab empire had been formed in the days of the early conquests and the lack of any system in the administration of a dominion so vast and varied (if the story of the constitution of ʿOmar is not quite legendary, the measures taken by him certainly only represent the embryo of the later financial and civil organisation of the empire) raised a series of problems which Muʿāwiya could not help tackling in his usual realist spirit. Unfortunately it is just on his activity as an administrator that the biography of Muʿāwiya, so rich in anecdotic details, is exceedingly weak and his work as a statesman is known to us only from scanty and insufficient notices There was a slackening in the progress of the conquests, one of the causes of which was the serious resistance offered to the advance of the Arabs by the Byzantines, who were directly threatened in Asia Minor and in Europe, the series of expeditions into Asia Minor, which brought Muslim arms up to the gates of Constantinople and naval raids in the Aegean Sea and on the coast of Sicily recorded local successes which brought no definite result, while the attacks by the Byzantine fleets on the Syrian coast, supported by risings of the highlanders of the Lebanon (the Daiāḍjima-Mardaites), made it advisable for Muʿāwiya to sign a truce on conditions little satisfactory to Arab amour-propre (57 A.H.). Successes were more brilliant in the east where the penetration of the plains of eastern Īrān was actively continued, and in Africa where Egypt continued to from a base for expeditions to the west and south, but here also there was little definite acquisition of territory. These expeditions were as before left to the initiative of the provincial governors and carried out by the resources of the tribes who had settled there following the first conquests (the *muhāḍjirūn*); the caliph's own army, formed by the *ḍjunds* of Syria, was reserved for campaigns against the Byzantines and the protection of the caliph against possible rebellions at home. It was to the existence of these forces, so loyal to the Umaiyads, that the latter owed their victory in the civil war of 64 A H.

In the internal administration of the empire, Muʿāwiya, even more than his predecessors, made use of the experience of the Christians with whom he had been in close relations in Syria since the years

of his governorship under ʿOmar and ʿOthmān, when he had learned to appreciate their knowledge and practical ability. It was at this period that Christian culture of Aramaean–Byzantine type began to penetrate into the Arab milieu, a penetration which ultimately led to the formation of the characteristic civilization of Islām But if we can see the beginnings of this process under Muʿāwiya, the process itself escapes us

The premature death of Yazīd enabled Ibn al-Zubair's rising to involve the whole of the ʿIrāk by incorporating the Shīʿa hostility, with which however it later broke. As always happens in periods of crisis, all the problems which had only been lulled under Muʿāwiya's government presented themselves again in an aggravated fashion the uniuliness and particularist tendencies of the tribes; the relations of the subject peoples with their conquerors, the rivalry of interests and feelings between Syria, the ʿIrāk and Arabia; all these combinations of conflicting forces which the genius of Muʿawiya had been able to restrain, retained all their strength and were even intensified under the stimulus of the war of religion The support of the great Syrian tribe of the Kalb, which Muʿāwiya had won through his marriage with the daughter of Baḥdal b. Unaif, the mother of Yazid, continued to be assured to the collateral branch of the Umaiyads, that of al-Hakam b Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ b. Umaiya, which replaced the Sufyānids in the control of the clan (there was however a feeble attempt to keep the direct line of descent by making Yazīd's young son Khālid caliph). Marwān b. al-Hakam was already an old man when he came to power. in his long career he had had experience of feuds among the tribes as well as of the rivalries and intrigues among the Companions covetous of the heritage of Muhammad The victory at Marḏj Rāhit (64 A. H.) over the forces of the Kais, whom Ibn al-Zubair had won over to his cause, secured him Syria, and Egypt, where the anti-Umaiyad party had triumphed, soon came back to him, but his death very soon after this last success left his son ʿAbd al-Malik the enormous task of subduing Arabia and the ʿIrāk. Succeeding to the caliphate, almost unexpectedly, ʿAbd al-Malik represented a new attempt to establish a dynastic sequence in the succession it was Muʿāwiya's scheme, in complete contiast to Arab custom which regarded the power as an appanage of the family group as a whole. ʿAbd al-Malik himself and almost all his successors were to have as the principal aim of their dynastic policy the securing of the succession for their direct descendants and the exclusion of collaterals

In the confusion of the struggles between caliph and anti-caliph, between the latter and the Shīʿī and Khāridjī rebels, struggles which extended to the remote regions of Fārs and Khurāsān and in which the particularist tendencies of the tribes were revealed in all their vigour, taking as their badge the standard of one or other of the contending parties (the dīwāns of the poets of this period and the historical anecdotes that accompany them are the best documentation of this), ʿAbd al-Malik had the good fortune to hit upon two men of the first ability who secured success for him: first al-Muhallab [q. v.], an old partisan of Ibn al-Zubair who joined the victor (as Ziyād had lately been), then, far superior in talent and devotion, al-Ḥadjdjādj who was able to take up with unselfish and ruthless energy the task of restoring the authority of the state above any particularism of tribe or party. Al-Ḥadjdjādj whose mentality seems almost foreign to the Arab character, looks to us like the precursor (who was however far in advance of later incarnations) of the vizier of the ʿAbbāsid period, knowing no other master than his sovereign (or, we might say in modern language, the interests of the state) and resolved to serve him in every possible way. The hatred with which tradition has surrounded his name is well justified. al-Ḥadjdjādj's views and the methods he employed to make them successful must have appeared almost diabolical to the old tribal sentiment as well as to the new individualist and antistatal conception of religion which was in process of formation. In reality al-Ḥadjdjādj was a faithful Muslim; one might even say that in a way he represented the continuation of the tradition of the theocratic state founded by Muhammad. This tradition is linked up with that of monarchy by divine right which western Asia and Egypt had known for millenia, from the time of the Pharaohs and Sumerian priest-kings down to the Roman and Sāsānian empires whose actual heirs were now the successors of the Prophet The whole caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik under the driving power of al-Ḥadjdjādj is simply an attempt to establish an absolute monarchy. What the times were not ripe for in the time of Muʿāwiya (although Ziyād was in this respect a precursor of al-Ḥadjdjādj) seemed possible to ʿAbd al-Malik who directed a whole series of measures towards this same end. First of all the powers of the governors of the provinces and their connections with the tribes were cut down. this policy was exercised with most success in the eastern provinces, the farthest from the centre of the caliphate, where the wars against Turk and Iranian kept alive the bellicose spirit of the tribes. al-Ḥadjdjādj by suppressing the attempts to gain autonomy by the Muhallabids and Ibn al-Ashʿath asserted the political unity of the state and endeavoured to transform the governors into mere officials (he who, although lord of half the empire, regarded himself as his sovereign's servant). The foundation of Wāsit, the establishment of the Zandj in the marshes of Basra were all measures tending to reduce the importance of the tribal element. Egypt, a land which since the time of ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs had retained a position of semi-independence towards the central government, could not have been reduced to such a position of dependence on the other hand, its importance for the security of Syria was so fundamental that the caliph thought he could save the principle of the unity of the empire, while respecting Egyptian desire for autonomy, by allowing his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to rule there uncontrolled. The latter however regarded his vice-royalty as a stepping-stone to the caliphate. Other steps taken by ʿAbd al-Malik had also as their object the unification of the state. the fiscal census aimed primarily at the *ahl al-dhimma* which however ended by weighing on the Muslims themselves; the adoption of Arabic as the official language; the reform of the coinage; the buildings and sanitary work carried out, mainly in the ʿIrāk but also in Egypt and Arabia. In a reign of twenty years ʿAbd al-Malik was able to give the Arab empire an outward appearance which more and more resembled a monarchical state. This was following in the path laid down by the true tradition of Islām; and indeed ʿAbd al-Malik's attitude to religion is marked by a renewal of

piety (at least externally) as well as by a more severe treatment of the non-Muslim population, the result no doubt in large measure of the fiscal needs of his policy, but also, we believe, of the desire to prevent the survival of a "state within a state". We should also regard the attempt made by ʿAbd al-Malik to get his brother to renounce his claims to the succession in favour of the caliph's sons as evidence of monarchical tendencies. The death of Abd al-ʿAzīz got him out of his difficulty and assured al-Walīd the throne, but the question came up again on each change of caliph and was never settled, not even under the ʿAbbāsids

To sum up, one may say that the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik strengthened the "Arab empire" to the limit that circumstances permitted Khāridjism in which were combined the protests of the social and religious extremists against the established order and in which the malcontents and oppressed of all classes expressed their exasperation in the extremist forms of anarchy and brigandage, had been encouraged by the division of the parties aspiring to the caliphate in the time of Ibn al-Zubair and al-Ashʿath; the unity of the state once re-established, the movement was, if not destroyed completely, at least reduced to temporary impotence by the fierce repressive measures of al-Ḥadjdjādj. Shīʿism, completely defeated in the open field, took refuge in secret propaganda which was only to bear fruit much later, and in this period of subterranean existence it assimilated many heterogeneous elements which were destined to give a character quite its own to the later development of the policy and religion of Islām But this was the secret of the future; for the time being, the order secured in the interior permitted a great renewal of activity in the policy of expanding the empire, which, resumed in east and west by ʿAbd al-Malik, yielded its most brilliant results under his immediate successors. The great Berber counterthrust organised by Kusaila and later by the Kāhina was overcome and Arab rule securely established in North Africa, destroying the last remnants of Byzantine rule and paving the way for the conquest of Spain In the east, although the vast conquests of Ḳutaiba b Muslim began only in 86, at the beginning of the reign of al-Walīd, we find the advance towards Central Asia being already resumed under the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik, which was to have a most wonderful result, the conversion to Islām of the Turks, the masters of the future The struggle with the Byzantines remained unchanged in character; in spite of their successes in Armenia, where they subdued the native kingdoms, the Arabs did not succeed in establishing themselves in Asia Minor, and the raids of the Greek fleet on the Syrian coast continued to make the caliph feel that the hereditary enemy was still capable of threatening the very heart of Islām. But the expansion of Islām was always going on; it assimilated into the new civilization that was being formed peoples and races who were no longer peaceful Aramaean or Coptic peasants, destined to be arabicised without resistance or to exist as spiritless religious minorities, but who, like the Berbers and Turks, dauntless fighters and jealously attached to their national feeling, were disposed to accept Islām as a religion but not Arabism as a nationality. It was to these two races, placed at the two extremes of the Arab empire, that Islām owed the greater part of its future successes but also a profound change in its civilization.

The caliphate of al-Walīd saw the harvest of the seed planted by the long work of ʿAbd al-Malik: the imposing personality of al-Ḥadjdjādj continued to dominate it; Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the Umaiyad who was to besiege Constantinople, Mūsā b. Nuṣair, the conqueror of Spain, and Ḳutaiba b. Muslim secured great triumphs for Muslim arms. The mosque of Damascus and many other splendid buildings proclaimed the power of the Umaiyads. But the problem of the succession reopened the crisis; this time, it was the "Arab" principle that triumphed, in excluding from the caliphate al-Walīd's son in favour of his brother Sulaimān, and the duel between the caliph who wished to keep the power in his line and his brothers seeking to supplant him, continued until the end of the Umaiyads with the result that it affected the prestige of the dynasty. The results of the lavish expenditure of ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd began to weigh heavily on their successors the economic crisis and the problem of the converts made themselves felt. ʿOmar II, the Benjamin of orthodox tradition, which makes an exception for him in its comprehensive malediction of the impious Umaiyads, felt that a policy of "consolidation" was needed if a terrible catastrophe were not to overwhelm the destinies of Islām itself together with those of the Umaiyad house The deep mark which the work of ʿOmar, although it only lasted two years, has left on history, shows that this caliph really possessed high qualities and that he was gifted with a vivid feeling for realities, at the same time, we are surprised to find at this time a system already fully developed of principles and religious regulations, a system which it had taken barely two generations to elaborate. The pietist and legalist mentality of Islām was already formed at the end of the first century and had the stamp it was to bear through all successive ages It had been encouraged in the course of its development by the fact that it had been elaborated in the circles of the opposition, who were kept remote from the exercise of power and from a knowledge of practical politics, at the same time, by one of the most singular paradoxes in history, its authority has been recognised, owing to the prestige of those who championed it, in the very circles of government against which its reproaches were directed, one might almost think we have here the quite modern phenomenon of the influence which the opposition in a parliamentary government insensibly exercises on the direction of the policy of the party in power! This paradox is simply the consequence of that which was, as we have seen, at the very foundation of the Umaiyad regime, for this regime represented the carrying out and definite triumph of the preaching of Muḥammad, going back to historic precedents and working by methods and through individuals who were clearly opposed to the spirit of this preaching. ʿOmar II, in anticipating the ʿAbbāsids with perhaps more good faith than they, tried to reconcile the political and financial demands of the state with respect for religious tradition Although his attempt must be regarded as having failed as regards the destinies of the dynasty, his fiscal reforms paved the way for the equal treatment of Arabs and *mawālī* and contributed more than anything else to the fusion of the descendants of conquerors and conquered. It was undoubtedly to the beneficial activities of ʿOmar that was due the third period of splendour which the Umaiyad

caliphate experienced under Hishām. During the twenty years of his reign, the conquests were resumed on the old grand scale, in the west (in spite of the great Berber rising of 123) as well as the east: the Arabs advanced into the heart of Gaul; the Mediterranean began its transformation into an "Arab lake"; the Turks who had begun to slip off the Arab yoke on the dismissal and death of Ḳutaiba were subdued for a third time

The Umaiyad caliphate was at its zenith when Hishām died. one can hardly believe that a few months later this state which seemed to be solidly built on the authority of the caliph would be in complete disorder and fall a prey to anarchy. Tradition is undoubtedly to some extent right in attributing to the vicious conduct of al-Walīd II, a dissolute drunkard, an important part in the collapse of the established order. But the faults of one individual are not sufficient to explain the unexpected appearance of all the signs of dissolution. The causes must be sought, as usual, in the very elements which gave the caliphate of Hishām the appearance of prosperity. The latter had exploited to the limit the fiscal reforms of ʿOmar and exhausted his Muslim and *dhimmī* subjects alike (the risings caused by excessive taxation, the memory of which is preserved by the Christian historians in particular, are symptomatic in this respect) Misery, counsellor as ever of extreme measures, had brought about a revival of Khāridjism, which was even introduced into Syria, an unprecedented phenomenon , and in Syria again, the *djunds* on which was based the military strength of the Umaiyads threw off their discipline, tired of the more and more marked tendency of the government to an absolute monarchy The Shīʿa movement began again to show itself openly in the ʿIrāḳ as is evident from the attempt, which however failed miserably, of Zaid b ʿAlī b al-Husain (123) The increasing extent of the conquests had finally removed the remotest provinces from the control of the central power. the tribal feuds, combining with religious differences, had been resumed with violence, while in distant Khurāsān, in spite of the energetic measures taken by Nasr b. Saiyār the secret propaganda of the Shīʿīs met with rapid success. We can understand therefore how indignation at al-Walīd's scandalous conduct found a soil prepared for it to burst forth upon, especially when the ambitions of the various descendants of ʿAbd al-Malik were frustrated by the proclamation, as soon as al-Walīd mounted the throne, of his two children as his successors designate. A rising in the *djunds* of Palestine and al-Urdunn brought Yazīd III to power; al-Walīd was slain. But neither Yazīd nor his brother Ibrāhīm, who succeeded him after a few months, succeeded in checking the anarchy which was spreading throughout the empire. The Khāridjīs under al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳais al-Shaibānī seized Kūfa. It looked for some years as if salvation would come from a distant member of the ruling branch, Marwān b. Muhammad, grandson of the great Marwān, governor of Armenia, who had created an army devoted to himself during the long years he had been successfully fighting against the Byzantines. He arrived in Syria to support the claims of al-Walīd's children: finding they had already been assassinated by the usurpers, he proclaimed himself caliph and in a few months had put down rebellion in Syria and destroyed the members of the Umaiyad house who opposed him; he next took Egypt and the ʿIrāḳ The work he did in the first three years of his caliphate is hardly comparable to that of his grandfather whose name he bore and of his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik. But the circumstances were much more difficult for him than they had been for them: the family bonds of the Umaiyads had been broken and the energy of the stock was exhausted; at the same time, the confidence of their adversaries in their success had increased: instead of having to fight with the improvised armies of Ibn al-Zubair or with desperate bands of Shīʿīs who had escaped the disaster of Kerbelā', Marwān had to meet troops hardened by the wars with the Turks and Persian forces of Khurāsān organised by Abū Muslim, while in the background the ʿAbbāsids were preparing to enter the field The soi-disant Shīʿīs threw down the gauntlet in 130: Khurāsān and Fārs were rapidly conquered and in the following year the invaders occupied the ʿIrāḳ where the ʿAbbāsids suddenly put forward their claims and proclaimed Abu 'l-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh caliph at Kūfa. The latter having defeated Marwān on the Zāb, sent his lieutenants in pursuit of him through al-Djazīra and Syria and again defeated him in Egypt where the last Umaiyad caliph was slain on 27th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 132 (July 7, 750). The assassination of the members of the Umaiyad family, the fruitless rising in favour of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria and the flight of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya b Hishām from Medina to Africa and Spain form the epilogue of the tragedy which marked the end of the fall of the dynasty of Muʿāwiya and Marwān.

It is undoubtedly an exaggeration to say that the end of Arabism coincides with the fall of the Umaiyads and to attribute to the ʿAbbāsids a kind of iranisation of the Muslim world In reality not only did the dynasty of the caliphs remain Arab, but the governors of provinces and generals in the army were recruited from Arabs for nearly a century. It is true on the other hand that the internationalisation of Islām, in the sense that the Arabs ceased to be the sole active element in the organisation of the state and in the development of civilization, had already begun, at least as a theoretical possibility, when the reforms of ʿOmar II had made the *mawālī* equal with the Arabs Further, the adoption of Islām brought these heterogeneous elements to form part of a civilisation, which we are justified in continuing to regard as Arab even if the analytic research of the last half century has shown that its constituent factors were for the greater part foreign. Not only did the Arabic language give a homogeneous colour to this civilisation but all the varied elements which composed it were kneaded together under Arab influence. The merit of having given this composite civilization an Arab colouring is undoubtedly due to the Umaiyads. We can unfortunately no longer recognise in detail the preliminary work which sowed the seeds, the fruits of which were seen only in the ʿAbbāsid period: but the fact that in the second half of the second century, Islāmic civilization is in full bloom, as regards not only religion but also science and the arts, makes it clear that the Arabs did not await the coming of the ʿAbbāsids to begin their transformation from Beduins to civilized people. What strikes one in the Arab civilization of the Umaiyad period, is the coexistence of two worlds, the old and the new, existing side

by side, just we find happening elsewhere in periods of transition. Beduin customs and mentality, the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ, of Djarīr and Akhṭal were still real and alive when the religion of the Ḳur'ān was already being penetrated by Hellenistic and Christian theological speculation, when the interest of traditionists, historians and philologists was beginning to be attracted to the literary products of the spirit of the desert which they knew through the venerable memorials of an epoch now closed Even the administrative system of the ʿAbbāsids in its main lines is practical what the Umaiyads had built up on a basis of Byzantine and Sāsānian tradition, and the original contribution by Yaḥyā b Barmak was very much less than what tradition credits him with. In conclusion, what the Umaiyads lacked, namely the power to transform the colossal Arab empire into a homogeneous unity, was equally deficient in the ʿAbbāsids what the latter accomplished, the intellectual and moral unification of the Muslim world had already been begun under the Umaiyads.

On matters of detail, which it has not been possible to deal with in this general article, see the articles on the individuals and place-names connected with the history of the period.

Bibliography. Being unable to give the complete bibliography for so vast a subject, we shall confine ourselves to works of a general character The sources for the history of the Umaiyads have been collected by L. Caetani in his *Chronographia Islamica*, Paris (1912 *sqq.*) p 461—1716, an invaluable repertory but unfortunately without an index, in it are given along with the Arabic sources, also those from Syriac, Greek, Latin, Armenian and Chinese Very few really important texts are still unpublished; the chief of these is undoubtedly al-Balādhurī's great compilation *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, of which only a fragment has been published by W. Ahlwardt (*Anonyme arab Cronik* etc , Greifswald 1883), the publication of which is being undertaken by the university of Jerusalem, we may hope to find in it some remnants of the Umaiyad historical tradition which has almost entirely been swept away by writers with ʿAbbāsid bias This same tradition is in part preserved, so far as we can judge from the little we know of it, in the history of the Spanish Arab al-Baiyāsī (*al-Iʿrāb bi 'l-Ḥurūb fī Ṣadr al-Islām*, cf J. Horovitz, *M.S.O.S.*, 1907, p 22–27), which would be worth publishing One regrets not to find in Caetani's *Chronographia* the results of a methodical search of the *dīwāns* of the poets and their commentators (in first place the *Naḳā'iḍ* of Djarīr and Farazdaḳ) which might supply some new information (a good deal of this work has however been done by Lammens). The papyri also constitute a source, of great importance though limited range, especially the series which bears the name of Ḳurra b Sharīḳ [q. v.]. The general work which is of fundamental importance for the Umaiyad period, is, as we have seen, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, in which Ṭabarī's great work was utilised for the first time; his *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh G. W. Gött*, v., 1901) and *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaijaden* (*Nachrichten G. W. Gott.*, 1901) are also of no less importance for two essential aspects of the history of this period; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London 1923 (James G. Forlong Fund, ii.) carefully studies another point of great historical significance; it is a matter of regret that we have nothing similar for the conquests in Africa, the researches of H. Lammens (*Etudes sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, *M F O.B.*, i.—iii.; *Ziād Ibn Abihi vice-roi de l'Iraq*, *R S O.*, iv.; *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, *M F. O. B.*, iv.—vi., *Etudes sur le siècle des Omaiyades*, Bairūt 1930), without constituting a complete survey of the history of the Umaiyad caliphate, are nevertheless indispensable for the immense quantity of material that is examined in them, for the wealth of detail and the keen penetration with which historical problems are investigated; C. H. Becker's essays (collected in *Islamstudien*, i , Leipzig 1924, also *Beitrage zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, ii , Strassburg 1903) have contributed in remarkable fashion to illuminate the problem of the Umaiyad caliphate's place in history (G. Levi Della Vida)

II. The Umaiyads of Spain

The Banū Umaiya or Banū Marwān of the Arab historians, direct descendants of the Umaiyads of Syria, reigned from the viiith to the xith century over the Muslim empire which they founded in the Iberian peninsula with Cordova as their capital.

The restoration in the extreme west of the Muslim world of the sovereignty of the Umaiyads, which had been destroyed in the east by the ʿAbbāsids, is one of the most striking events in the history of the Arabs in the Middle Ages It was this dynasty which encouraged the separation of Muslim Spain from the rest of the Arab world and made it a real political unity, it was this dynasty which gave the social physiognomy of this country, already so characteristic, a decided stamp of Syrian tradition. Thanks to the vigour of its princes, it was able to resist the designs of the ʿAbbāsids and then of the Fāṭimids It succumbed in the end, exhausted by civil wars, only through allowing a hereditary dictatorship to be established alongside of it and because it failed to restrain in time the excesses of its foreign mercenaries

The history of the Umaiyads of Spain may be divided into three principal periods· 1. the independent emīrate of Cordova, 2. the caliphate, 3 the decline and fall of the dynasty. Here we shall only give a very brief résumé

Chronological list of the Umaiyads of Spain.

I. ʿAbd al-Rahmān I, *al-Dākhil*, 138—172 (756—788).
II. Hishām I, 172—180 (788—796)
III. al-Ḥakam I, 180—206 (796—822).
IV. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, 206—238 (822—852).
V. Muḥammad I, 238—273 (852—886).
VI. al-Mundhir, 273—275 (886—888).
VII. ʿAbd Allāh, 275—300 (888—912).
VIII. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, *al-Nāṣir li-Dīni 'llāh*, 300—350 (912—961).
IX. al-Ḥakam II, *al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh*, 350—366 (961—976)
X. Hishām II, *al-Muʾaiyad bi 'llāh*, 366—399 (976—1009), and 400—403 (1010—1013).

XI. Muḥammad II, *al-Mahdī*, 399—400 (1009—1010).
XII. Sulaimān, *al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh*, 399—407 (1009—1016).
XIII. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV, *al-Murtaḍā*, 408—409 (1017—1019).
XIV. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V, *al-Mustaẓhir bi 'llāh*, 414 (1023).
XV. Muḥammad III, *al-Mustakfī bi 'llāh*, 414—416 (1023—1025).
XVI Hishām III, *al-Muʿtadd bi 'llāh*, 418—422 (1027—1031).

1 The independent emīrate of Cordova.

The Arab historians usually give the date 138 (756) for the foundation of the independent emīrate of the Umaiyads of Cordova by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, the son of Muʿāwiya b. Hishām, whom they call *al-Dākhil*, "the immigrant" When his relatives were being persecuted by the ʿAbbāsids, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, still quite a young man, — he was born in 113 (731) — succeeded in escaping secretly to Palestine and from there, accompanied by his freedman Badr, went to Egypt and then to Ifrīḳiya. He was soon obliged to fly from al-Ḳairawān, where he was exposed to the persecutions of the governor ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ibn Ḥabīb and went to the Maghrib. He spent some time in Tāhert [q v.] at the court of a petty dynasty, the Rustamids, then enjoyed the hospitality of various Berber tribes, among them the Miknāsa and the Nafza From the day of his arrival on African soil, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, encouraged by Badr, had shown a desire for political activity. But his ambition did not find a suitable soil in the Maghrib, and his eyes naturally turned towards Spain.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān was able, very cleverly and with a keen political sense, to turn to his own interests the rivalries which for some years had made a profound cleavage between the Ḳaisīs and the Yamanīs settled in the Peninsula On the other hand, he had no difficulty in securing the support of clients of the Umaiyads, who had come some years earlier into Spain with Baldj b. Bishr [q.v.] and were scattered, some 500 in number, over the military districts (*djund*) of Elvira and Jaen in the S E of Spain The governor of the Peninsula at this time was Yūsuf b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, who derived most of his authority from the chief of the Kaisīs of Spain, al-Sumail al-Kilābī [q v.]. Judging the moment had come to land on Spanish soil in the guise of claimant to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left the Maghrib and arrived at Almuñecar [q v] in Rabīʿ II, 138 (Sept 755). The welcome he received surpassed his expectations, he took the field against Yūsuf al-Fihrī and as a result of meetings, military engagements and negotiations, for the details of which the reader may be referred to the Arab historians, he was ultimately recognised as emīr on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 138 (May 15, 756) in the town of Cordova, the traditional residence of the Arab governors.

The founder of the Umaiyad emīrate of Cordova was destined to rule for over 33 years. The first of these he spent in consolidating his position in the capital itself News of his success spread through the whole of the East and there was soon an influx into Spain of clients and partisans of the Umaiyads, who came to do their share in restoring in Spain the dynasty which had fallen in Syria. But the Cordovan emīr had soon to deal with a number of political complications. He had first of all to put down Yūsuf al-Fihrī, who was not taking kindly to his fall and, having gathered round him a number of followers, tried to retake Cordova; but he was defeated in 141 (758) and in the next year killed in the region of Toledo. But rebellion continued to smoulder in all parts of Spain, as in the period of the governors; trouble was continually stirred up not only by bodies of *muwalladūn* i e neo-Muslims, Spaniards recently converted to Islām, but also by the Berbers and Arabs always at daggers drawn with one another on account of their ancient clan-feuds ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I therefore had to put down in succession risings by the Yamanīs and the Fihrīs, led by al-ʿAlāʾ b. Mughīth al-Djudhāmī in 146 (763), by the Berber Shakyā who rose at Shantabarīya (Santaver) in 152 (769) and never dared allow any slight local disturbances to spread. In the latter half of the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I, a coalition was formed of a number of Arab chiefs of the east of the Peninsula, who sought the aid of Charlemagne. The latter himself crossed the Pyrenees at the head of an army and laid siege to Saragossa in 162 (778) But the emperor, suddenly recalled to the Rhine, had to raise the siege On his way back to France he suffered in the pass of Roncevaux, where the Basques had prepared an ambush for him, the famous defeat associated with the memory of Roland. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I took advantage of the departure of the Franks to besiege Saragossa in his turn, and occupied it in 164 (780) but for a short time only. An expedition against the Basques was crowned with success. On the death of the founder of the new Umaiyad dynasty, which took place in 172 (788), the Cordovan kingdom had already become solidly established from the political and territorial point of view and was possessed of powerful military resources The success of the exile from Syria and the remarkable way in which he was able to build up a kingdom for himself and to undertake the task of pacifying his new territory has aroused the admiration of all the Arab historians, who give him the flattering epithet of "Eagle of the Ḳuraish" (*ṣaḳr Kuraish*).

The pacification of the new kingdom was to be the main task of all the successors of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I. On his death the power passed to his son Hishām I, who reigned only a little over seven years for he died young in 180 (796) He had at first to fight against his brothers, who wanted to seize the power, and as a result he had to send out two summer expeditions (*ṣāʾifa*) in 177 (793) and 179 (795), one against Narbonne and the other against Galicia. The chroniclers describe Hishām I as a noble prince full of virtues and regret that he reigned so short a period.

His son al-Hakam I succeeded him for 26 years. It is not certain whether it was he or his father who introduced the Mālikī rite into Muslim Spain: the *maḏhab* hitherto followed had been that of al-Awzāʿī [q.v.]. In any case, it was only on his accession that the lawyers or *fuḳahāʾ* assumed an excessive importance in Cordova and tried to dictate the decisions of the sovereign. Al-Ḥakam I, unlike his father, had very little sympathy for them; he at once took up a stand against them and showed them that he could resist their demands.

But the fakīhs determined to resist, made common cause with another body of malcontents, the neo-Muslims or *muwalladūn*, and thus to some extent made themselves in the name of Islām the champions of Spanish nationalism. The result, with a ruler so vigorous and decided as al-Ḥakam I, was a series of measures cruelly and vigorously enforced during the greater part of the reign The first rising took place in Cordova itself in 189 (805): conspirators from the aristocracy urged on by the fakīhs tried to drive al-Ḥakam from the throne; but the plot was discovered and the sovereign dealt most vigorously with the rebels In the next year, he took Merida and stifled in blood another rising in Cordova. In 191 (807) there took place at Toledo the celebrated "day of the ditch" (*waḳ'at al-ḥufra*). The inhabitants of this town from the beginning of Umaiyad rule had been almost continually in rebellion, al-Hakam sent to govern them ʿAmrūs, a renegade who was absolutely devoted to him; he with his master's approval prepared an ambush for the Toledan notables from which none emerged alive. But it is the "affair of the suburb" which best reveals the implacable character of the grandson of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I Determined to destroy completely the seeds of rebellion in his capital, he surrounded himself with a guard of foreign mercenaries, the "silent ones" (*al-ḵhurs*) who began a reign of terror in Cordova The discontent continued to increase and in 202 (817) a rising on a large scale broke out in the southern suburb of the capital on the other bank of the Guadalquivir. the mob, stirred up by the fakīhs led by Yahyā b. Yahyā, tried to take by assault the emīr's palace but were soon surrounded and cut down by al-Hakam's troops The emīr then decided at once to banish from Spain all the Cordovans of the suburb who had survived the massacre. Over 20,000 families had to leave the country: about two-thirds went to Egypt and later to Crete. The remainder went to Fās and settled in the quarter still called the "bank of the Andalusians" (*ʿidwat al-Andalus*) The suburb itself was razed to the ground and it was forbidden for any one to build there again. This drastic suppression of the rising made such a sensation in the Muslim world that the historians often call al-Ḥakam I *al-Rabaḍī* (the "suburban").

The whole of al-Ḥakam's reign was passed in this way in dealing with domestic troubles stirred up by neo-Muslim malcontents with the fakīhs behind them. His energy enabled him to triumph over all but with his attention continually occupied in the interior of his country he could not always defend his frontier districts (*thughūr*) sufficiently. In the reign of al-Ḥakam I we find the kingdoms of Asturia and Galicia making a notable advance to the south. Barcelona was also taken from the Muslims in 185 (801) by the Duke of Aquitaine.

Al-Ḥakam's son and successor **ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II** was the very opposite of his father. He reigned from 206—238 (822—852) and was completely powerless to control events. It has been said with justice that he was guided throughout his reign by a fakīh, a musician, a woman and a eunuch: Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā who had managed to save his neck after the rising in the suburb; the singer Ziryāb, a pupil of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, who had just arrived in Spain and brought there the refinements of the ʿAbbāsid capital; the favourite Ṭarūb and the eunuch Naṣr, who dictated to the ruler most of his political acts. The reign of this weak ruler, after the reign of terror begun by al-Ḥakam I, corresponded with a recrudescence of the nationalist movement. It was in this period that the Spanish **Mozarabs** [q. v.] who had retained the Christian faith, felt themselves strong enough to rebel, led by Eulogio and Alvaro. As a result of the counter-measures of the Muslim government, we find a wave of voluntary martyrdom descending on Spain and particularly on Cordova between 236 and 238 (850—852), a council, summoned by the Umaiyad emīr, endeavoured to put a check on it Besides the opposition of the Christian communities, the caliph had to deal with new rebellions by the muwallads Merida and Toledo had again to be taken by force. It was in this reign also that the Normans, called by the Muslims *al-Madjūs* [q v], made their first appearance in Spain In 230 (844) Norman raiders took Seville and a truce was concluded between their leader and the emīr of Cordova who had sent them an ambassador, Yaḥyā b al-Hakam al-Ghazzāl

Muhammad I, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, succeeded his father on the throne of Cordova when the latter died in 238 (852). His reign, which was to last till 273 (886), was also marked by a series of domestic troubles which in spite of the cruelty of the prince continued to increase The Mozarab rebellion broke out again on his accession and vigorous persecutions of the Christian communities were at once begun The Christians of Toledo having appealed for help to Leo Ordoño I, he sent them an army under Count Bierzo, which the Muslim troops routed in 240 (854) at the battle of Wādī Salīt (Guadacelete). The Christian risings ceased only in 245 (859) after the martyrdoms of Eulogio and Leocritia But the political instability of the Cordovan emīrate had been emphasized and gradually separatist movements began to take shape in all the provinces which were in theory subject to Cordova, usually led by neo-Muslims who posed as independent chiefs and nationalist champions This attitude of the *muwallad* aristocrats and soon the pretensions of the great Arab families were to keep the Cordovan emīrs busy till the beginning of the tenth century.

It was in the reign of Muhammad I that the long rebellion of the independent chief **ʿUmar b. Hafṣūn** [q. v] began in the S.W. of the Peninsula, he soon exercised absolute power over all the mountainous country between Ronda and Malaga and established his headquarters in an impregnable citadel, Bobastro [q. v.]. Except for a few brief periods of truce, he kept up the struggle against the central Muslim power and soon became recognised by all the malcontents of the country as their undisputed leader

The successor of Muḥammad I, his son **al-Mundhir**, had only a short reign (273—275 = 886—888), entirely filled with the war with Ibn Hafṣūn, whose influence daily increased, and with the siege of Bobastro, which would have perhaps been successful but for the emīr's untimely death, poisoned, it appears, by his brother **ʿAbd Allāh**, who succeeded him

The reign of the emīr ʿAbd Allāh (275—300 = 888—912), eclipsed in some degree by that of his glorious grandson and successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, is rightly said to mark an important stage in the pacification of the kingdom

of Cordova. It is not quite right to see in him only a bloodthirsty tyrant. Like all the rulers of the period, he undoubtedly dealt most cruelly with those who tried to overthrow him, even his own brothers But he had to face numerous dangers, to fight the movements with which his predecessors had had to deal and which had been increasing in strength in the meanwhile. The rebellion of Ibn Ḥafṣūn alone was to occupy almost the whole of his reign. On the other hand, in spite of the relative proximity of Cordova, the country of Seville seemed to be about to cast off Umaiyad rule; the Spanish party and the Arab party there were continually undermining the authority of the governor sent from Cordova and occasionally let loose on the town bodies of Berbers who were settled in the neighbouring mountains The hostility of the great Arab families, the Banū Ḥadjdjādj and the Banū Khaldūn, became more and more disquieting; the representatives of these families were great landowners who had large numbers of devoted serfs whom they could equip and arm when necessary. Kuraib b. Khaldūn, the head of the second family, soon after the accession of ʿAbd Allāh raised the whole region of Aljarafe (Arab. *al-Sharaf*) and got the chief of the Banū Ḥadjdjādj to join him. Then he concluded a treaty with the emīr and by arrangement with him attacked the neo-Muslims of Seville which he reduced to ruins (278 = 891) But his submission was only temporary. In 286 (899) the chiefs of the two great Seville families quarrelled and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādj, after disposing of his rival Kuraib, concluded an alliance with the leader of the rising in the S E., Ibn Hafsūn ʿAbd Allāh finally received his submission but had to give him such privileges that in practice he ruled in Seville as an independent chief. In this period also the growing influence of the nobles, vassals, more or less in theory, of the Cordovan sovereign, contributed largely to break up his authority. The chief of these nobles (*ṣāḥib*) were the lords of Saragossa, Ucles, Huesca and, in the S.W., of Ocsonoba As to Ibn Ḥafṣūn, after having shown at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd Allāh some slight signs of submission, he was not long in resuming the struggle against Cordovan rule. Supported by the Christians of Cordova and their chief, Count Servando, he extended his influence northwards so that the capital itself was soon threatened Prompt measures became necessary · in 278 (891) the emīr ʿAbd Allāh marched against the fortress of Poley (now Aguilar, in the south of Cordova) where Ibn Ḥafṣūn had established himself and forced the rebel to take refuge in his citadel of Bobastro. This success strengthened the emīr's authority and procured him, for a brief period only it is true, the submission of the districts (*kūra*) of Ecija, Archidona, Elvira and Jaen Down to the last years of the reign of ʿAbd Allāh, the work of pacification continued with continually varying results, but the activity of the prince, never giving his turbulent adversaries rest, gradually achieved a consolidation of his authority and the break up of the anti-Umaiyad league. When he died in Ṣafar 300 (Oct. 912) the situation was more settled; he had prepared the way for and been one of the most vigorous workers for the pacification of Spain, which his grandson was to complete in the first part of his long reign.

2. The Umaiyad caliphate of Spain.

ʿAbd Allāh's successor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥammad, was only twenty-three on his accession; in spite of his youth he had been chosen to succeed to the throne by his grandfather on account of his good qualities, and the choice was fully justified. No reign in the annals of Muslim Spain was more brilliant or more glorious. Its great length (half a century: 300—350 = 912—961) assured the prince's policy the benefit of unusual continuity and enabled him to extinguish for several decades the various centres of rebellion which had been always active in Spain since the coming of the Muslims. The reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III marks, with that of his successor al-Ḥakam II and to a certain point the period when the two first ʿĀmirid dictators, al-Manṣūr and al-Muẓaffar, assumed power, the culminating point in the Muslim occupation of Spain. Spain was never afterwards able to attain in the eyes of the Christian and Muslim worlds the political influence and brilliant culture which she attained in the time of these great princes nor to play a part of the first importance in the west, in Europe as well as in Africa

We are not going to give here a detailed account of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, but only to study it in its main outlines It may be divided into two main periods. the first, the period of restoration of peace at home, the result of which was the realisation of the political unity of the Cordovan empire; the second is a longer period marked mainly by preoccupation with foreign affairs, relations with the Christian kingdoms of the north and with North Africa, then more or less under Fātimid suzerainty.

On his accession ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III set to work and traced out his programme: to put an end to the rebellions which had been drenching Spain with blood since the foundation of the dynasty, to neutralise the influence of the powerful Arab aristocracy and to maintain the Muslim frontiers on the north. He carried through his programme point by point. In the first year of his reign Ecija was taken and its fortifications dismantled, another campaign ended in the taking of the strong castle of Monteleon and in the pacification of the districts of Jaen and Elvira. The subjugation of the south of the Peninsula was continued down to 305 (917); Seville, then Cremona submitted; finally the aged leader of the rebellion, ʿUmar b Ḥafsūn, died. His sons Djaʿfar, Sulaimān and Ḥafṣ endeavoured to continue the struggle but without any great confidence in the success of their arms: the result was the taking of Bobastro by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in person, who laid siege to it and captured it in 315 (beginning of 928). Five years later the last centre of resistance fell: Toledo [q. v.], to which the predecessors of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III had been forced to grant a kind of political independence, was strictly blockaded and had finally to surrender in 320 (932).

At the same time the sovereign did not lose sight of the aspirations of the Christian kingdoms of the north, particularly the programme of territorial expansion by the kingdom of Leon, over which there then reigned an energetic and ambitious prince, Ordoño II. The latter had taken the stronghold of Alanje (*Ḳalaʿt al-Ḥanash*) to the south of

Merida, and a little later with the help of King Sancho of Navarre had sent an expedition into the districts of Tudela and Valtierra. But the Leonese advance was checked by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who in 308 (920) gained a series of successes, with the capture of the fortresses of Osma, San Esteban de Gormaz, Clunia, Carcar, Calahorra and Muez and the victory of Valdejunquera. Four years later, as a result of a new offensive by Leon, the Umaiyad ruler re-established the situation to his advantage in a victorious campaign, profiting by the troubles caused in the Christian country on the succession to Ordoño II.

Throughout all this first period of his reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III was closely watching what was going on in Africa and by building fortifications on the coast and organising a powerful fleet, was preparing for the eventuality of an invasion by the Fāṭimids, against whom he now committed acts of open hostility. To show it still more he assumed in 316 (929) the lofty titles of commander of the faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) while his predecessors and he himself had previously been content with the simple title of *amīr*. The little Cordovan kingdom became at the same time a great Muslim empire, and the restoration of the Umaiyad caliphate of Damascus in Spain was completed He assumed at the same time the honorific title (*laḳab*) of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn[i] 'llāh (cf. E Levi-Provençal, *Espagne musulmane du Xème siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 45 *sq.*).

A little later in 319 (931), the Caliph captured the stronghold of Ceuta [q. v] on the African coast and installed a governor and a garrison there; this was the beginning of the Umaiyad attack on the western Maghrib A few years before, the petty rulers of the kingdom of Nukūr had asked for and obtained Umaiyad suzerainty Al-Nāṣir did not stop there and was able to rally to his side the little local dynasties who were trying to hold their own against the Fāṭimid invaders. With the help of an alliance with the Maghrāwa [q. v.] he was soon able to subdue the whole of the central Maghrib except the region of Tāheit.

The second part of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III shows rather less personal activity by the caliph, and at the same time the formation, in the heart of the united and pacified Cordovan empire, of parties, no doubt of little weight at first, which were in the end to cause the greatest disorder in the internal affairs of the caliphate: the Slav party and the Berber party The Slavs [cf. SAḲĀLIBA], prisoners not only from the east of Europe but also from Italy and northern Spain, soon formed a large class in Cordovan society, and it is in the reign of al-Nāṣir that we find them for the first time occupying high offices in the state and even in the army. The sovereign seems to have used these Slavs, originally devoted to his cause, to reduce or even annihilate the influence of the old Arab aristocracy. In 327 (939) for example, we find him giving the Slav Nadjda the command of an important expedition; but he was to regret it; indeed on this occasion Muslim troops suffered the first reverse of his reign and were defeated by the Leonese under Ramiro II and their allies of Navarre at Simancas and Alhandega. Henceforth al-Nāṣir's policy with regard to the Christian kingdoms, while remaining watchful, was confined to taking advantage of any possible occasion. Civil war had broken out in the north of Spain as a result of a feud between Ramiro II and the Count of Castille, Fernán González. On the death of the King of Leon in 951, his sons Ordoño III and Sancho fought for the crown and the former, to have his hands free against his brother who was supported by Castille, offered ʿAbd al-Rahmān III an advantageous peace and promised to pay him tribute regularly. When Ordoño III died in 955, Sancho succeeded him; but, disliked by the nobles and defeated by the armies of the Cordovan caliph, he was forced to take refuge in Pampeluna with the aged queen Tota of Navarre and then appealed to al-Nāṣir for help to regain his kingdom which had passed into the hands of Ordoño IV Negotiations were begun and through the skill of al-Nāṣir's representative, the Jew Ḥasdāi b Shaprūt, Sancho and Tota came in person to Cordova to seek the caliph's help This was an event without precedent in the annals of Muslim Spain The king of Leon had to abandon ten fortresses in exchange for which the caliph gave him troops who assisted him to take Zamora in 959 and Oviedo in the following year

The Fāṭimid threat to the Peninsula had not yet completely disappeared In 343 (954) the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz sent his governor of Sicily to make a raid on the Spanish shore. He ravaged the district of Almeria and brought back prisoners and considerable booty to Sicily As a reprisal, al-Nāṣir gave Ghālib, one of his most devoted clients, command of a fleet of seventy ships, which went and burned Marsa 'l-Kharaz near Calle on the North African coast

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāsir died on the 2nd Ramadān 350 (Oct 15, 961), aged 73. His political work was to be continued by his son and successor al-Hakam II al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh who was nearly fifty when he came to the throne. He was a pious and scholarly prince and his name is especially associated with the Great Mosque of Cordova which he enlarged and embellished; on it he spent considerable sums and even brought from Mediterranean lands and Byzantium skilled craftsmen and valuable material. His father had been mainly interested in public and strategic buildings and had built for his own residence the town of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ [q v.], 3 miles N. W. of Cordova.

His love of study and his age, it is true, predisposed al-Hakam II to a quiet life; but he is too often represented as taking no interest in political affairs. He had to maintain the situation created by his father and for this he had only to watch the normal working of the wheels of government. But like his predecessor, whose programme he continued to carry out, he did not remain an inactive spectator of events in northern Spain and Africa. He received at Cordova with great pomp Sancho's brother, Ordoño the Wicked, and gradually became the suzerain of all the Christian princes of the north. His political right hand men were the *ḥādjib* al-Muṣḥafī and Slav dignitaries, and he may be reproached with having given them too much confidence. On the African coast, the Umaiyad government continued to display considerable activity. The Fāṭimid peril seemed to have disappeared with the departure of al-Muʿizz for Egypt, but his representatives, the Ṣanhādja, resumed the fight with the vassals of the Umaiyads in North Africa. On the other

hand, the petty Idrīsid dynasts of the region of Tangier and Arzila had remained faithful to the Fāṭimids. The resistance of Ḥasan b. Ghannūn was long but in the end he was taken in his stronghold at Hadjarat al-Naṣr and imprisoned in Cordova. The reign of al-Ḥakam II was also marked by a new attempt by the Normans to land in Spain in 355 (966) [cf. AL-MADJŪS].

al-Ḥakam II soon felt himself growing old and his principal care became the maintenance of the succession in direct line in the Umaiyad dynasty He had only one son, still a youth, Hishām, and he had him recognised as heir presumptive (*walī al-ʿahd*). He died soon afterwards on the 3rd Ṣafar 366 (Oct. 1, 976)

The reign of Hishām II al-Muʾaiyad bi 'llāh, the third Umaiyad caliph of Spain, is the period of the establishment of the hereditary dictatorship of the ʿĀmirids and their effective seizure of civil and military power, the sovereign himself being relegated to his palace and deprived of all political initiative. The circumstances under which this new state of affairs was brought about after the death of al-Ḥakam II are very complicated but quite well known. A detailed account, which need not be repeated here, is given under AL-MANṢŪR B. ABĪ ʿĀMIR. We would only recall that, while in theory preserving for the young caliph the exercise of sovereign power, the famous ḥādjib, whose ambition knew no bounds, does not ever seem to have really thought of dethroning him in order to take his place. All official measures were taken in the name of Hishām II, who never seems to have shown any inclination to resist the ʿĀmirid control of his lands It is really only with the disappearance of al-Manṣūr that the weakening of the Umaiyad caliphate begins.

Al-Manṣūr in the name and on the purely nominal behalf of Hishām II continued the policy of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, not without, however, giving it the stamp of his powerful personality, but the era of peace and glory which al-Nāṣir had begun continued undiminished throughout the dictatorship of al-Manṣūr The influence of the Arab aristocracy and of the Slav party was soon completely destroyed The army was reorganised with the help of mercenaries recruited outside the Muslim lands of Spain, in northern Africa and in the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula. In the western parts of Barbary, al-Manṣūr established a kind of Umaiyad protectorate so that African expenses became less heavy in the caliph's budget. The ḥādjib was a successful general, the worst enemy of the Christian kingdoms, against which he undertook an expedition almost every year to preserve his personal prestige. Among these expeditions we may mention that of 374 (985) against Catalonia. Count Borrel was defeated and Barcelona taken Three years later, he turned against Leon and its ruler Bermuda II who had broken a treaty made with Cordova Coimbra, Leon and Zamora were taken Al-Mansūr also covered himself with glory in the famous campaign against Galicia in the course of which on 2nd Shaʿbān 387 (Aug. 10, 997), he took Santiago da Compostella (Arab *Shant Yaʿḳūb*; q. v.). In 392 (1002) he led his troops against Castille, took Canales and San Millán de la Cogolla. On his return from this victorious campaign he died at Medinaceli (*Madīnat Sālim*; q. v.) in the same year.

3. The Decline and Fall of the Umaiyad Caliphate.

On the death of al-Manṣūr, his son ʿAbd al-Malik, who had already distinguished himself in Africa a few years before, succeeded him as *ḥādjib* and was installed by the caliph Hishām II. During the six years in which he held the power, down to 399 (1008), Muslim Spain continued to prosper as regards peace at home. He reinforced the caliph's army with new contingents, recruited mainly in Africa, and undertook several expeditions against the kingdoms of the north In 393 (1003) he conducted a series of raids against Catalonia, in 395 (1005) against Galicia, in 396 (1006) against Pampeluna, in 397 (1007) against the Castillans whom he defeated at Clunia On the conclusion of this last successful campaign, he had himself given the honorific title of al-Muẓaffar bi 'llāh. In spite of the sullen opposition that was felt in Cordova against ʿĀmirid control and several plots, which were, however, quickly thwarted, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaffar secured the Umaiyad caliphate a few more years of existence, abnormal no doubt but free from serious danger at home or abroad. But the second ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* died soon, poisoned, it is said, at the instigation of his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who succeeded him, again with the approval of the weak caliph Hishām II.

This ʿAbd al-Rahmān was the son of al-Manṣūr by his marriage with a Christian princess, daughter of King Sancho of Navarre. The new *ḥādjib* was therefore everywhere known as Sanchuelo, little Sancho Not long after he had assumed control, he made himself singularly detested by the Cordovan population by breaking the restraint which his father and brother had always prudently observed Strong in the support, which he thought he could always rely on, of the Berber soldiery, he was seized with unbounded ambition and meditated succeeding Hishām II with the title of caliph. The monarch was sufficiently cowed to receive the request favourably and by an edict of 399 (1008) the hādjib was proclaimed heir-presumptive to the Cordovan throne. This proclamation roused the country generally against the ʿĀmirids and the party of the disaffected, singularly increased by this unexpected news and led by the Umaiyad princes cut off from the throne, took advantage of the departure of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b ʿAbī ʿĀmir on an expedition against Galicia to let loose a rebellion in the capital, seize the palace of the caliph and force him to abdicate in favour of a great-grandson of al-Nāṣir, Muḥammad b Hishām b ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who was proclaimed with the honorific title of al-Mahdī in 399 (1008) The new sovereign cleared out and razed to the ground the ʿĀmirid palace al-Madīnat al-Zāhira [q. v.], a few days later, Sanchuelo, hurrying back to Cordova, was arrested some distance from the capital at the same time as his faithful ally, the Count of Carrion, and executed

From this time and down to the fall of the caliphate, which was not far distant, civil war reigned in Cordova and the caliphate. The Berber element augmented by the Ṣanhādja contingents from Ifrīḳiya, recruited by the ʿĀmirids, played a more and more disastrous part in the troubles that followed. Al-Mahdī, instead of conciliating the chiefs of these mercenaries, alienated them very soon by his brusqueness, the contempt which he

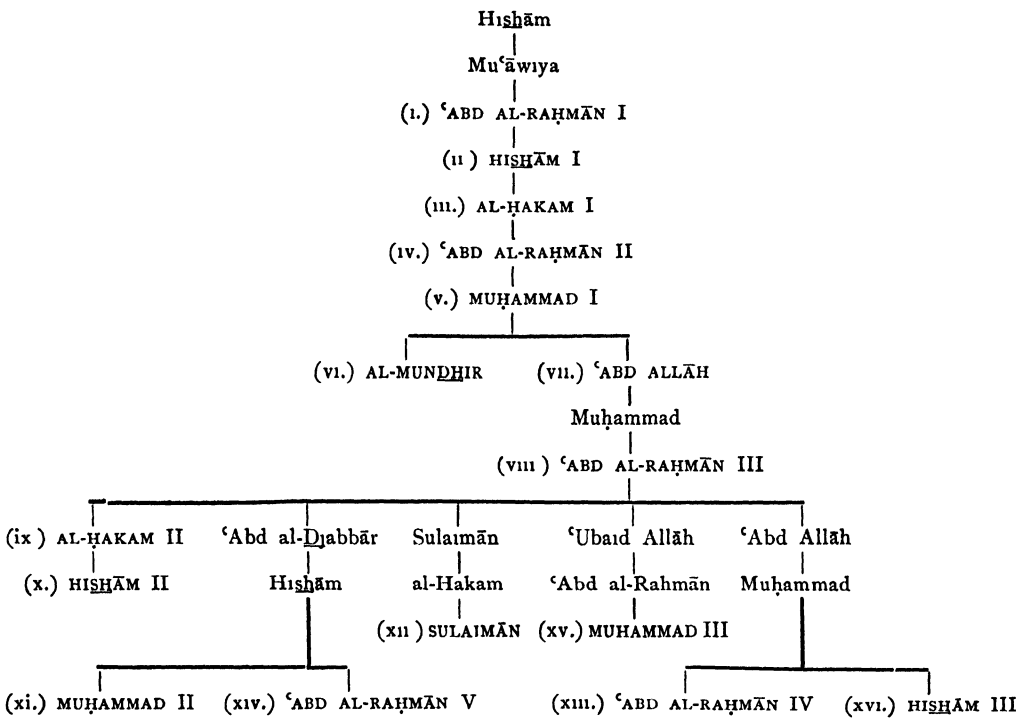
showed for them and particularly by dismissing a large number of Africans from the military *dīwān*. The latter, who were joined by the regular malcontents of the Cordovan mob, gained the country and soon proclaimed another Umaiyad prince, Sulaimān b al-Hakam b Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir who took the title of al-Mustaʿīn bi 'llāh. With the new caliph the Berbers took Calatrava and Guadalajara; at Medinaceli they tried in vain to get the general Wāḍiḥ to join their movement, then appealing successfully to the Castillans, they returned, revictualled and reinforced by the latter, towards Cordova. Al-Mahdī was unable to oppose their advance and the capital having fallen into their hands, Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn was installed in the caliph's palace by the Ṣanhāḍja chief Zāwī b. Zīrī.

Al-Mahdī did not consider himself beaten With the help of Wāḍiḥ and the Counts Raymond of Barcelona and Ermengaud of Urgel he attacked Sulaiman al-Mustaʿīn and his Berber followers near Cordova, at ʿAḳabat al-Baḳar (near *Castillo del Vacar*, to the north of Cordova), routed them and returned victorious to the capital, which was plundered by the Catalans. But the Berbers reassembled, seized the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Guadalquivir and harassed Cordova and the country round. In face of this, the Cordovans soon attributed to their sovereign al-Mahdī, whose incapacity became more and more evident, the blame and responsibility for the evils that had befallen them. A conspiracy was hatched, al-Mahdī slain and Hishām II replaced on the throne (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 400 = July 1010).

Hishām's first care after his second accession was to appoint Wāḍiḥ first minister and make peace with the Berbers. The latter refused to come to terms and resumed their blockade of Cordova. This situation continued down to 1013, and the Arab historians have left us detailed accounts: cabals in Cordova, periods of hope, timid sorties against the besiegers. In the end, the Cordovans had to capitulate and the Berbers forced them to renew their oath of fealty to Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn.

The latter appointed Berbers to the offices of ḥāḍjibs and viziers The people of Cordova were subjected to a régime of vexations without precedent. The last freed "Slavs" of the ʿĀmirids went to join their relations in the east of the Peninsula. The Cordovans then agreed to entrust their destinies to an ambitious ʿAlid, the governor of Ceuta

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE UMAIYADS OF SPAIN



ʿAlī b Ḥammūd, who, taking advantage of a moment when al-Mustaʿīn's Berbers were scattered, advanced on Cordova, seized it and had himself proclaimed there (406 = 1016) Al-Mustaʿīn was slain but ʿAlī b. Hammūd himself was assassinated not long afterwards.

The years that followed were no less troubled. Ḥammūdid pretenders· Ḳāsim b. Hammūd and his nephew Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, Umaiyad pretenders· ʿAbd al-Rahmān IV b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī and Hishām III al-Muʿtadd shared a more and more precarious power down to 420 (1030). All Spain was, however, tired of these perpetual changes of government and the Cordovans decided on the final suppression of the caliphate. Hishām II disappeared. Perhaps he was slain in the course of a raid on the palace, or, as is sometimes said, he may have fled and left Spain to end his days in obscurity in the east. It is difficult to ascertain

what exactly was the end of his inglorious career. In any case, the beginning of the XIth century saw the united political state of the Umaiyads gradually breaking up and the moment was not far distant when all the provinces of Muslim Spain were to proclaim their independence under a Spanish, Slav or Berber chief and form the numerous little kingdoms of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*. As to Cordova, it was soon to become the centre of a kind of little republic, very soon transformed with the Djahwarids [q. v.] into a principality. In any case, a few decades sufficed to destroy completely the solid edifice which the great Umaiyad princes had built up, among whom the great figure of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, one of the greatest sovereigns of the middle ages and of the Muslim world, is the dominating figure.

Bibliography. A. Arabic sources. The history of the Umaiyads of Spain has been the subject of numerous works in Spain itself, during the period of the dynasty and later also. Unfortunately not all these chronicles have survived; the most important were those of al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, who lived in the first half of the fourth (tenth) century, wrote a history of the rulers of Muslim Spain (*Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus*) which was to be the main source for later writers. Among contemporary histories, which still survive, we may mention the following in chronological order: the anonymous chronicle entitled *Akhbār maǧmūʿa* (ed and transl. into Spanish by E Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid 1867, under the title *Ajbár machmúa, Crónica anónima del siglo XI*), it is a vivid and colourful chronicle and full of information which seems to be free from legendary matter of the history of Muslim Spain to the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; the *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of the Cordovan Ibn al-Kūṭiya, d in 367 (977), which covers the history of the Muslims in Spain down to the reign of al-Nāṣir. It has on several occasions been edited and in parts translated, and more recently in full by J. Ribera, Madrid 1926 Of the monumental work of the great historian Ḥayyān b. Khalaf Ibn Ḥayyān, who died in 496 (1076), entitled *al-Muktabis fī Taʾrīkh al-Andalus* and *al-Matīn*, there only survives the manuscript of one volume in the Bodleian dealing with the reign of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh (ed. Melchor M. Antuña, *Textes Arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, III, Paris 1932) and the copy of a manuscript from Constantine (in the Library of the Academy of Madrid) covering a portion of the reign of al-Hakam II. Considerable extracts have fortunately been preserved by later writers, notably Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhīra* We may also mention as indirect sources, written in Spain itself, the history of the ḳāḍīs of Cordova by al-Khushanī (ed. and transl. J Ribera, *Historia de los Jueces de Córdoba*, Madrid 1914) and the works of the Spanish biographical writers which have been published by F. Codera and J Ribera in the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, 10 vol., Madrid and Saragossa 1883—1895.

But our fullest sources for the history of the Umaiyads of Cordova are undoubtedly two compositions of comparatively late date, one of the XIVth century by Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, the other of the XVIIIth by al-Maḳḳarī. The first is called *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*, of three volumes now known, two deal with Spain; the first covers the history of the Peninsula from the conquest to the death of the ḥādjib al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir; as Dozy, its editor, has shown this volume reproduces almost in entirety the Spanish part of the work of a Cordovan annalist of the tenth century, ʿArīb b. Saʿd, who continued down to his time the chronicle of Ṭabarī (ed. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayano 'l-mogrib*, Leyden 1848—1851; transl. into French by E. Fagnan, Algiers 1901—1904; partly translated into Spanish by Fernández González, Grenada 1862); the next volume which deals with the history of the fall of the Umaiyad caliphate from the time of the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-Malik and that of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* was discovered and published by E Lévi-Provençal (*Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman*, II., Paris 1930) The other work no less valuable for the history of the Umaiyads is the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* of the Maghribī al-Maḳḳarī The first half was published by Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright under the title *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden 1855—1861 (also at Būlāḳ 1279 A. H. and Cairo). An English adaptation was made by P de Gayangos, *The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, London 1840—1843 Ibn Khaldūn devotes a part of his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* to the history of the Umaiyads of Spain (Cairo ed., vol. IV., p. 116—155), as do the earlier historians Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil* (transl by F Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1901) and al-Nuwairī, author of the *Kitāb Nihāyat al-Arab* (*History of Spain*, ed with Spanish translation by M. Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1917—1919).

This brief sketch of the Arabic sources for Umaiyad history may be completed by consulting the valuable but now somewhat out of date work of F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid 1898, and the brilliant survey by L Barrau-Dihigo, *Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien*, Tours 1921, p 55—78

B European writers In spite of its date, the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* by R Dozy (Leyden 1861, new ed by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden 1931, Span transl by M. Fuentes, Madrid 1920; Engl transl by F. Griffin Stokes, London 1913 etc) is still the best and fullest modern work on the Umaiyads in Spain More recent but very short is that of A González Palencia in his *Historia de la España musulmana* (Barcelona—Buenos-Aires 1925 2nd ed, 1930) — On institutions and social life in the caliphate see also E Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xème siecle*, Paris 1932. Among European works we may also mention R Altamira, *Historia de España y de la civilisación española*, Barcelona 1911, vol I ; A Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, Barcelona 1928, vol. I.; L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Le royaume asturien* (cf. above); F. Codera's studies which for the most part appeared in the *Boletín* of the Academy of History of Madrid; R Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*, Leyden 1873; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*³, Leyden 1881; A. González Palencia, *El Califato*

occidental, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1922; do, *The Western Caliphate*, in *The Cambridge Mediæval History* Cambridge 1922, iii. 400–442; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931, G Marçais, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, in *L'Architecture* (with valuable historical notes), i., Paris 1926; E. Saavedra, *Abderrahmén I, monografía histórica*, in *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid 1910; F. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903.

(E. Lévi Provençal)

UMM AL-KITĀB, the original copy of the Book with Allāh in heaven, from which the revelations of the Ḳur'ān come and from which Allāh "abrogates and confirms what He pleases" (Sūra xiii 39). This original copy, called *Aṣl al-Kitāb* in *Ḥadīth* (e. g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxv 26), is according to Sūra lxxxv. 21 written in a "carefully preserved table" (*fī lawh maḥfūẓ*, cf Enoch 93, 2, Book of Jubilees 5, 13, 16, 9, 32, 21) In the Medīna period Umm al-Kitāb is used in another sense· according to Sūra iii 5, the book revealed by Allāh to Muhammad, i e. the Ḳur'ān, consists of verses "clearly expressed" (*āyāt muḥkamāt*) and of "others ambiguous" (*mutashābihāt*), only the first however constitute the Umm al-Kitāb In keeping with this expression post-Kur'ānic linguistic usage calls the *Fātiḥa*, as containing the essential content of the Book, *Umm al-Kitāb* or *Umm al-Ḳur'ān*.

Bibliography Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Umm*, Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1926, p 65 (J Horovitz)

UMM KULTHŪM, daughter of Muhammad Tradition knows even less of her than of her sister Ruḳaiya and this little consists mainly of a repetition of what is told of the latter. Umm Kulthūm is said to have married a son of Abū Lahab but to have been divorced by him by his father's orders before the marriage was consummated; what this means is discussed in the article ROKAIYA The view there expressed that Umm Kulthūm was really married to a son of Abū Lahab is supported by the usual and literal interpretation of her *kunya* (her real name is nowhere recorded) That at a later date efforts should have made to suppress all record of such a grandson of the Prophet is only natural. Otherwise we are only told of her that her brother-in-law ʿOthmān married her after Ruḳaiya's death during the Badr campaign. She died in Shaʿbān of the year 9 without having borne a son to him

Bibliography. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 121, Ibn Saʿd, viii, p. 25 *sq.*; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii 2302, H Lammens, *Fāṭima et les Filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 3 *sqq*

(Fr. Buhl)

UMM AL-WALAD (A), a slave-girl who has borne her master a child.

1. The master's right to take his slave-girls as concubines was recognised by Muhammad in continuation of a general practice of Arab paganism. In regard to the position of the children of such unions a change of view had been perceptible among the Arabs in the period just before the coming of Islām. In place of the previous unrestrictedness in marriage and concubinage a certain decree of regulation had grown up, and a higher value began to be attached to marriage with free women and to good birth on the mother's side also; corresponding to this however, the position of the children of slaves became worse; they were as a rule called only after their mother and not after their father, and only received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father (this condition probably always held) and even then were not fully privileged: the slave-girl, it was argued, must not give birth to her future master as the son would reveal the qualities of a slave like his mother. The position of such a slave was not at all a privileged one Even her designation *umm al-walad* ("mother of children") is in contrast to *umm al-banīn* ("mother of sons") as the name for a free woman Although the personal position of a woman taken in war was hardly different from that of a slave, yet we frequently find a marriage in this case instead of concubinage, and her sons were considered free men, although they were as a rule only called after their mother and not regarded as having full privileges, but an endeavour was often made to remove even this stain due to the irregularity of the union by a new regular marriage.

2. This state of affairs was continued under Islām without any essential change at first. The Ḳur'ān permits concubinage with a man's own slaves in several passages dealing with the limits of lawful sexual intercourse as against *zinā* (iv. 3, 28 *sq.*, xxiii. 6, lxx. 30, all Medīnese; cf. the references in Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d Qorāns*, 1), the passage specially addressed to the Prophet (xxxiii. 49–51) expressly describes them as prisoners of war In Islām therefore there was no distinction in theory between the slave-girl and the concubine taken in war, which is not surprising after the above remarks; in practice the old procedure towards a woman taken in war remained in operation (cf. e. g. Wellhausen, *Vakidi*, p 178, do., in *N.G.W. Gott*, 1893, p 436, although not always historical in the particular case, yet typical) In the Ḳur'ān the position of the *umm al-walad* is not defined and it is certain that the Prophet issued no decree altering her position or that of her children That he is said to have set free the slave-girl Māriya, when she had borne him his son Ibrāhīm (cf. Ibn Saʿd, viii 155, 18, cf also 156, 4) should not in any case be taken as a general rule; this episode is not at all prominent in the material of tradition relating to the *umm al-walad*. The story that the Prophet recognised Māriya's son only after serious consideration (*ibid*, p. 154, 25) might be possible as regards substance but is incredible in the form in which it is given

3 That an *umm al-walad* should become free *ipso iure* on the death of her master, and no longer liable to be sold (or given) was first ordained by the caliph ʿUmar (cf. below). The starting point for this ordinance must be found in a ḥadīth transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*ʿAtāḳ*, bāb 8) and Ibn Hanbal (vi. 360) the genuineness of which is thereby rendered certain (a later recasting: *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, iv. 5126). According to this, a woman, who had been sold in the heathen period by her uncle as a slave had borne her master a son and now on the death of her master was to be sold again to pay his debts, lamented her sad lot to the Prophet, the latter ordered the administrator of the estate to manumit the woman and gave him a slave in compensation Ibn Ḥanbal observes on this case with justice that the different possible interpretations of the Prophet's treatment of the case gave rise to later *ikhtilāf*, there is

no doubt that it was a decision for this one case only. A tradition given by al-Bukhārī (*ʿItḳ*, bāb 8; and several other passages) and al-Ṭaḥāwī (*Sharḥ Maʿānī 'l-Āthār*, ii. 66) deals with a dispute over the paternity of a child of a slave-woman, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ claimed it as the illegitimate child of his dead brother ʿUtba, in accordance with the latter's last wish and ʿAbd, the son of Zaʿma, claimed it as the legitimate child of his deceased father by his concubine. In spite of the child's resemblance to ʿUtba, the Prophet decided on the principle *al-walad li 'l-firāsh* ("the child belongs to the legitimate bed"). In view of the difficulties of interpretation raised by this ḥadīth (cf the commentaries, especially al-ʿAinī, on al-Bukhārī) it might be in the main genuine (the secondary recast form which al-Ṭaḥāwī [ii 67] also gives is certainly not genuine); in any case there is no mention of the manumission of the slave-woman here

4. The above-mentioned ordinance of ʿUmar's is certain from numerous accounts, although the details vary and are embellished with legends (cf especially *Kanz*, iv. 5118, 5122, 5124; al-Sanʿānī, *Subul al-Salām*, *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, on N⁰. 11). Setting aside the settlement of the question whether it was preceded by another divergent ruling (*Kanz*, iv 5118), the story that ʿUmar ordered the *umm al-walad* to be free from the birth of her child (al-Khwārizmī, *Ǧāmiʿ Masānīd al-Imām al-aʿẓam*, ii. 166, also *Kanz*, v. 5116 ᵇ) must be regarded as a product of the later dispute over this question For ʿUmar's decree in no way made a final settlement, it gave trouble under ʿUthmān (*Kanz*, iv. 5122), ʿAlī again diverged from it (*ibid*, p. 5129–5131) Ibn ʿAbbās is specially mentioned as another opponent of ʿUmar's view among the Companions of the Prophet In the dispute that now arose between the different opinions, the attempt was made on the one side to ascribe ʿUmar's decision to the Prophet (*ibid*, p. 5115, 5117) and to ascribe the same opinion even to ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās (ʿAlī *ibid*, p 5132; Ibn ʿAbbās *ibid*, p 5039–5041; Ibn Hanbal, i. 303; Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet. al-Dārimī, p 18, 38, Ibn Māǧa, *ʿItḳ*, bāb 2, Ibn Saʿd, viii., 155, ₂₀, Ibn Hanbal, i 317), on the other hand, it was insisted, sometimes quite polemically, that the Prophet approved the sale of the *umm al-walad* (Ibn Māǧa, *ibid.*, Ibn Hanbal, iii 321, al-Tayālisī, N⁰. 2200; *Kanz*, iv. 5125, 5127); against this, evidence was quoted to show that the Companions of the Prophet gave approval to ʿUmar's ordinance (Abū Dāwūd, *ʿAtḳ*, bāb 8, al-ʿAinī giving al-Bukhārī as authority, *ʿItḳ* bāb 8). But these were not the only two theses put forward another view ascribed to ʿUmar has already been mentioned (some traditions make the Prophet utter a corresponding opinion but one easily distorted to mean something else Ibn Māǧa, *ʿItḳ*, bāb 2, Ibn Saʿd, viii 155, ₁₇ both transmitted through Ibn ʿAbbās, also *Kanz*, iv. 5128 ᵇ), ʿAlī is credited with having said· "If the master wishes, he can set free his *umm al-walad* and consider her manumission as her bridal gift" (*Kanz*, iv. 5133) and Ibn Masʿūd held the view that the *umm al-walad* should be manumitted at the expense of the share of the estate falling to her child (presumed free) (al-ʿAinī, *ibid.*), both variants of the fundamental thesis. — From the point of view of the criticism of Muslim Tradition, none of these ḥadīths is unimpeachable with the exception of the one quoted above in paragraph 3, which itself is not free from ambiguity, so that it is usually preferred simply to quote ʿUmar and his *raʾy* as authority for the view that later prevailed.

5. Al-ʿAinī (on al-Bukhārī, *ʿItḳ*, bāb 8 at the end) is therefore able to give a list of seven different expressions of opinion on the *umm al-walad* in addition to ʿUmar's from the period of the earliest jurists before the origin of the *maḏhāhib*: 1. The master may release her for money (i. e as *mukātaba*); 2. she may be sold without restriction; 3. the master may sell her at any time during his life-time and when he dies she becomes free (she is thus regarded as *mudabbara*; al-Shāfiʿī is said to have held this view), 4. she may be sold to pay a debt due by the estate; 5. she may be sold, but if her child is alive at the death of his father and her master, she is manumitted at the expense of any share he may have in the estate and inherits with him, 6. she can only be sold on condition she is set free; 7 even if she is contumacious and runs away, she cannot be sold, but only if she is immoral or becomes an unbeliever (according to al-Muzanī al-Shāfiʿī could not come to a decision on this point) But even by this time the thesis that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold but became free on the death of her master, had won most supporters, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭāʾ, Mudjāhid, al-Zuhrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (cf on him al-Khwārizmī, *op cit*, ii. 167, *Kitāb al-Āthār*, p 71, 102) and others are specially mentioned Particular questions which now arise for the first time, are referred back to older authorities, such as the decision N⁰. 5 to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubair (*ibid.*), decision N⁰ 6 to ʿUmar (*ibid* , also *Kanz*, iv. 5123), other details also to ʿUmar (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, vulgata, *ʿItḳ*, bāb 8, *riwāya* of al-Shaibānī, *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, *Bāb Baiʿ Ummahāt al-Awlād*, al-Khwārizmī, *ibid.* etc).

6 In the time of the formation of the *maḏhāhib* the view that the *umm al-walad* cannot be sold is held by Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf, Zufar, al-Shaibānī and their colleagues, al-Awzāʿī, al-Thawrī, al-Ḥasan b Sālih, al-Laith b. Saʿd, Mālik (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *loc cit.*; *Mudawwana*, viii 23) and his colleagues, Abū Thawr and Ibn Hanbal This is also the final opinion of al-Shāfiʿī and therefore that of his colleagues and pupils, while he, according to a reliable tradition, had previously sanctioned the sale of the *umm al-walad* (al-ʿAinī on the authority of al-Bukhārī, *ʿItḳ*, bāb 8; al-Nawawī, *Maǧmūʿ*, ix 243, cf. also above, section 5), the liberation of the *umm al-walad* was deduced therefrom in three ways (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*) so that in all we have four different opinions attributed to al-Shāfiʿī (al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṭār*, *Kitāb al-ʿItḳ*, *Bāb Umm al-Walad*, on N⁰ 7). According to Dāwūd also, and the Ẓāhirīs, the Shīʿī Imāms and the Twelver-Imāmīs (here however sometimes with the qualification that she becomes free if she was still in the possession of her master at his death and her child is alive) and the Muʿtazilīs (al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*), she can be sold. Although the four *maḏhāhib* in the end all declared that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold, the existence of *iǧmāʿ* on this point is nevertheless sometimes doubted (al-Ṣanʿānī, *op. cit*, on N⁰ 12, al-Shawkānī, *op cit*), sometimes however also definitely asserted (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*). The verdict of a ḳāḍī who gave a decision opposed to this teaching is not absolutely without support (cf. e. g Nawawī, *op. cit.* etc.).

7. In order to prevent the birth of a child the practice of *ʿazl* was frequent in intercourse with slave-girls, and it is therefore often discussed in connection with the *umm al-walad*. The most important of the references in tradition on this subject have been collected by Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. "Intercourse": here it is sufficient to say that *ʿazl* was considered to be permitted with a slave-girl. — To prevent a slave-girl becoming *umm al-walad* the master had also the possibility of not acknowledging the paternity of her child; this goes back to a similar usage in the pagan period (cf. above, sect. 1). While this was never so rigidly regulated as the case of disputing the paternity of a wife's child (cf. thereon Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s v. *Child* and the article LIʿĀN), nevertheless an effort was made to restrict the right of disputing the paternity in the case of the *umm al-walad* also Ḥadiths are quoted from ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that no one who has had intercourse with a slave-girl has the right to dispute the paternity of her child, even if he says he used *ʿazl* or if there is another paternity possible. The Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs agree with this. The Hanafīs on the other hand hold the view that the paternity of the child and the character of the slave as *umm al-walad* in this case depends entirely on an acknowledgment by the master. For this they cite traditions to the effect that Ibn ʿAbbās and Zaid b. Thābit had disputed the paternity of children of their slave-women on the ground that they had used *ʿazl* This question is discussed by al-Ṭaḥāwī (*op cit*, p 66, 68) and the traditions cited. — That the child borne by a slave to her master (on the assumption that his paternity is established) is free, has always been recognised in Islām without any difference of opinion and in the discussion of the position of the *umm al-walad* it is regarded as a presumption and argument for her not being sold The deduction is natural that the father's recognition of children born in concubinage (cf above, section 1) must as a rule have been regarded as a matter of course in the days just before Islām the survival of considerable possibility of disputing paternity with regard to a concubine seems to have actually been caused primarily by the considerable improvement in the position of the *umm al-walad* under Islām at the expense of her master.

8. The details of the teaching of the *fikh* about the *umm al-walad* are as follows. Every, even non-Muslim, slave-girl who has borne her master (even after his death) a child is considered *umm al-walad*; on the death of her master she becomes *ipso iure* free (so that she can neither be sold to pay off debts on the estate [cf however below] nor can she be included in the third of the estate set aside for legacies); a legacy set aside by her master in her favour is therefore valid, as tradition even from ʿUmar's time shows (al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 27); all legitimate and illegitimate children whom she has after becoming pregnant by her master are likewise free — in so far as they are not already free as children of her master. Even in the case of a stillborn child, the mother becomes *umm al-walad*; opinions differ regarding a miscarriage. There is also a difference of opinion in the case where a man marries a foreign slave, makes her pregnant, and then sells her, as well as in the case where a man makes his son's slave pregnant. From the *umm al-walad*'s expectancy of reversion to freedom, it follows that she cannot be sold or pledged; if she commits a crime the master cannot evade his responsibility for her by disposing of her. In other respects she remains a slave. she has no right to property, the *diya* or *arsh* paid for injuries to her belong to her master etc. On the question whether the master may marry her without her consent, opinions differ. In any case, the master has the right to her body and to her labour, but the Mālikīs allow him only to demand light work from her and prohibit him hiring her out. On the legal position of the *umm al-walad* of a *mukātab* and that of a non-Muslim, who adopts Islām, opinions vary. — Apart from the fact that the *umm al-walad* can be sold to pay debts which her master had incurred before she became pregnant, she loses her reversion to liberty only, in the opinion of the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, if she deliberately kills her master According to the Hanafīs, in this case she is liable to *kiṣāṣ*, but in the case of accidental killing nothing is done to her; according to the Mālikīs, in the case of deliberate killing she becomes the slave of the heirs who can kill her or not, if they leave her alive she receives 100 lashes and is put in prison for a year According to the Shāfiʿīs, she has to pay *diya* in both cases and among the Hanbalīs, according to one *riwāya*, not more than her own value or the *diya*, according to another *riwāya*, her own value — On the opinion of the Shiʿī imāms, which differs not inconsiderably, see Querry, *Droit Musulman*, ii. 147 *sqq*.

9. In Muslim law a most rigid distinction is made between marriage and concubinage, so much so that the master cannot enter into marriage with his slave at all. Divergences from this rule are extraordinarily rare Shadhād b Hakīm (d. 210), a companion of Zufar's, is said, when he bought a slave, to have married her on the ground that "perhaps she may be a free woman" (ʿAbd al-Kādir, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*, 1, N°. 668; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, ed. Flügel, N°. 81), and the *Fihrist* (p. 207, 15) records with reservation of al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 322) that he wrote a work in which he justified marriage with slaves (but probably one's own) But the authenticity of such stories is not certain; the first is among a number of anecdotes and the second is based on hearsay only A trace of the old Arab custom of a concubinage merging into a marriage (cf. section 1) is not necessarily however to be seen in this; the first story would be explained by the overgreat scrupulousness often shown by religious people in secular affairs, and the second by the also not rare complaisance towards princes, which could be attributed to al-Ṭaḥāwī in polemics.

10 In spite of all the ameliorations which the development of Muslim law brought to the position of the *umm al-walad*, the old contemptuous feeling towards a union with a slave and the children born from it long remained. Among the ḥadīths which condemn the maintenance of concubines, one with a doubtless anti-ʿAbbāsid bias survived down to al-Bukhārī (*Īmān*, bāb 37; *ʿItḳ*, bāb 8) and Muslim (*Īmān*, trad. 1, 5, 7), but had its meaning distorted. This was the last echo of the old pre-Islāmic point of view. Under the completely changed social conditions, the absolute equality of the children born from a marriage with a free-woman and in concubinage has now been long completely established.

Bibliography: On section 1 and 10: Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islām*, p. 276—306; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*[2], p. 89—91; Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Gott*, 1893, p 435 *sq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 136. The most important traditions in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Manumission, Slaves On the regulations of the *fiḳh* cf. in addition to the Arabic works, to which now may be added for the Ḥanbalīs Ibn Ḳudāma's *al-Mughnī*, xii. 488 *sqq.*, especially Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], p. 236, 238 (*Handbuch*[2], p. 206, 236), Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 127, 168 *sqq.*, Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i. 123 *sq.*

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

UMMA, the Ḳur'ānic word for people, community, is not to be derived from the Arabic root *'mm*, but to be explained as a loanword from the Hebrew (*ummā*) or Aramaic (*ummeṯā*) It has therefore no direct connection with the homonyms also found in the Ḳur'ān, which mean "a period" (Sūra xi. 11, xii 45) and "descent" (Sūra xliii. 21 *sq*). Perhaps the loanword found its way into Arabic at a comparatively early period (see Horovitz's citation of the Safā inscription, lii 407). In any case the word was taken up by Muḥammad and henceforth becomes a specifically Islāmic term

The passages in the Ḳur'ān, in which the word *umma* (plur. *umam*) occurs are so varied that its meaning cannot be rigidly defined This much however seems to be certain, that it always refers to ethnical, linguistic or religious bodies of people who are the objects of the divine plan of salvation. Even in passages like Sūra vii. 164 and xxviii. 22, where *umma* is used in quite a colourless fashion, there is a hint of this significance The term is in isolated cases applied to the Djinn (Sūra, vii. 36; xli. 24; xlvi. 17), indeed to all living creatures (Sūra vi. 38) but always with the implication that these creatures are to be included in the divine scheme of salvation and are liable to judgment. *Umma* is exceptionally applied in one passage (Sūra xvi. 121) to an individual, Abraham. Here the term either has the meaning of *imām* (so the Arab lexicographers), or Abraham is so called in his capacity as head of the community founded by him (Horovitz), by a use of the part for the whole. Otherwise *umma* always refers to whole groups or at least to groups within large communities

God has sent to each umma a messenger (Sūra vi. 42; x. 48; xiii. 29; xvi. 38, 65; xxiii. 46; xxix. 17; xl 5) or admonisher (Sūra xxxv 22, 40) to guide them on the right path But like Muhammad, these messengers of God have often been attacked and called liars (Sūra xxiii. 46, xxix. 17; xl. 5). They will therefore appear on the day of judgment as witnesses against them (Sūra iv. 45; xvi 86, 91; xxviii. 75; cf. ii. 137). For each umma is brought to judgment (Sūra vi. 108; vii. 32; x. 50; xv. 5; xxiii. 45; xxvii. 85, xlv. 27). In contrast to those who could not be converted, a number within the individual ummas however heeded the appeal of God's messenger and thus came on to the right path (Sūra xvi 38). This is particularly true of the *ahl al-kitāb*.

The companies of the righteous among the *ahl al-kitāb* are also called ummas (Sūra iii. 109 *sq.*, v. 70; vii. 159; cf. ii. 128, 135; vii. 167, 180, xi. 50). They are relatively small groups within larger communities.

Muḥammad frequently discusses the question why mankind consists of a plurality of ummas and has not remained a unit. He sees the ultimate reason for this in God's inscrutable decree. "Men were a single umma Then they became disunited. If a word had not gone out from thy Lord, the matter would have been decided between them, about which they disagreed" (Sūra x. 20; cf. v. 53; xi. 120; xvi. 95; xlii. 6). Sometimes he traces this disruption to the malevolence of mankind (Sūra ii. 209, xxi. 92 *sq.*; xxiii. 54 *sq.*). In another passage it is traced to the division of the Israelites into 12 tribes (Sūra vii 160; cf. 167). These rhetorical rather than logical utterances of Muḥammad are most likely to be taken as replies to objections raised by his opponents (of the *ahl al-kitāb*). The Prophet would hardly have come to tackle this difficult problem of his own accord.

As regards Muhammad's umma in particular, we can trace a number of variations and changes in the meaning of the term. But the question is simpler here as we are dealing to some extent with a historical phenomenon

In the first period of his prophetic activity Muhammad regarded the Arabs in general or his Meccan countrymen as a closed umma. Just as the earlier messengers and admonishers of God had been sent to the ummas of the past (see above), so he had now been given the task of transmitting the divine message to the Arab umma which had hitherto been neglected, in order to show it the way to salvation Like the earlier messengers (see above), he also was fiercely attacked by his umma and accused of lying. After he had finally broken off relations with the pagan Meccans and migrated with his followers to Madīna, he created a new community there He went beyond the circle of Muslims proper and included those citizens of Madīna who had not yet heeded his religious appeal in one political combination. "The constitution of the community of Madīna", in which this unification was laid down in writing, expressly states that the citizens of the town, including the Jews, formed an umma (Ibn Hishām, p. 341, 8 *sq*, 342, 18 *sqq.*). The predominantly political character of this new umma was however only a makeshift. As soon as Muḥammad felt himself firmly established and had successfully attacked the pagan Meccans, he was able to exclude from his politico-religious community the Madīnese (especially the Jews) who had not yet adopted his religion. As time went on, his umma came more and more to consist only of his proper followers, the Muslims In contrast to the *ahl al-kitāb*, with whom he had previously been in alliance, he now described the Muslims as an umma and laid stress on their religious and ethical qualities (Sūra iii. 100, 106). His final breaking away from the *ahl al-kitāb* had as a result that he turned more and more to the Meccans and their centre of worship, the Ka'ba (cf. in this connection Sūra ii. 119 *sqq*, esp. 122, and Sūra xxii. 35, 66). He only apparently resumed his original idea of an umma embracing all the Arabs. In reality the final result was fundamentally different from the starting-point. The Arab umma, which Muḥammad had originally taken for granted, was only created by him after much hard work. If it at first represented a community of Arabs, this was more or less a secondary phenomenon. The essential

thing was the religious foundation on which it was based. The umma of the Arabs was transformed into an umma of the Muslims. It is no wonder then that it spread very soon after Muḥammad's death far beyond the bounds of Arabia and in course of time brought together very different stocks and nations to form a higher unit.

Bibliography. E. W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, I 90, J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 51–53; do., *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran* (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. II., Cincinnati 1925, p. 145—227), p. 190; K. Ahrens, in *Z. D. M. G.*, N. F., IX. 37; Buhl-Schaeder, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, p. 209—212 (see further literature, note 24), 277, 343—345; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Der Islam* (Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*[4]), p. 658–660, 672 *sq*., on umma in the literature of Tradition see the references under *Community* in A. J Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927. (R Paret)

UMMĪ, an epithet of Muhammad in the Ḳurʾān, connected in some way with the word *umma* [q v.]. It does not seem however to be a direct derivative, as it only appears after the Hidjra and has a different meaning from *umma*, which is already common in the period before the Hidjra In Sūra III. 19, Muhammad invites the *ahl al-kitāb* and the ummīs to adopt Islām (*kul li 'lladhīna ūtu 'l-kitāb wa 'l-ummīyīn*.). *Ummīyūn* here means "heathen", as it does in the same Sūra, verse 69, where the word is put with this meaning into the mouths of the *ahl al-kitāb*. The latter passage makes it probable that *ummī* or *ummīyūn* is a word coined by the *ahl al-kitāb* (probably the Jews especially) to describe the heathen. This explanation is all the more probable since Horovitz has shown that it has an equivalent in the Hebrew *ummōt hā-ʿōlām* (Greek = τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου)

In Sūra LXII 2 there is an allusion to God having sent an apostle to the *ummīyūn*. As Muhammad here is unmistakably called an apostle from the heathen and for the heathen, it is natural to assume that he also refers to himself as the heathen prophet in the words *al-nabī al-ummī* (Sura VII. 156, 158) and presents himself "to the Jews as a *nebī'ē ummōt hā-ʿōlām*" (Horovitz, cf. Sūra VII. 156: "whose name they find written in their *Tawrāt* and the *Indjīl*"). What further shades of meaning Muhammad himself gave to this epithet is however very difficult to ascertain If we compare the words of Sūra VII. 156 with the praise which Muḥammad gives in Sūra III 100, 106 to his *umma* we cannot help thinking that he might possibly also have been making a play on the etymology *ummī* < *umma*. In any case, he did not in the least consider the epithet *al-nabī al-ummī* as derogatory

Frants Buhl has recently again put forward the thesis that *ummī* means not "heathen" (ἐθνικός) but "untaught" (λαικός). In spite of the fact that this could very well fit the text of Sūra II 73, there is on the whole more against than for it. *Ummīyūn* in Sūra II 73 can, if necessary, no doubt be translated "heathen", if one does not want to try something else (see Horovitz). On the other hand, the same word in Sūra III. 69 cannot from the context possibly be translated "untaught", even if we really understand the heathen by it. *Ummī* would also on etymological grounds be difficult to explain as "layman" for neither the Arabic *umma* nor the Hebrew *ummā* nor the Aramaic *ummeṯhā* means people in the sense of the laity. Finally Buhl's objection to the Prophet calling himself a "heathen prophet" loses weight when we remember that Muḥammad was perhaps not quite clear about the full significance of the Jewish conception of "heathen" and that he, as above indicated, may have given it a new significance.

The application of the term *ummī* to Muḥammad was often quoted as evidence that he could not read or write. In reality the expression has no bearing on the question. For the text of Sūra II. 73 which gives rise to this assumption does not charge the *ummīyūn* with ignorance of reading and writing, but with a deficient knowledge of the holy scriptures.

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ʿUMRA, "the little pilgrimage" 1. The ceremonies of the (Muslim) ʿumra. The ʿumra, like the ḥadjdj [q v], can only be performed in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām* [q.v.]). On assuming the *iḥrām*, the pilgrim (*muʿtamir*) must make up his mind whether he is going to perform the ʿumra by itself or in combination with the ḥadjdj and express his intention in an appropriate *nīya* [q v] If he combines the ʿumra with the ḥadjdj (see below) he can assume the *iḥrām* for both pilgrimages at once; in the other case the *iḥrām* must be specially assumed for the ʿumra in the unconsecrated area (*ḥill*) outside of the haram of Mecca This holds also for native Meccans who, when they are going to perform the ḥadjdj, can assume the *iḥrām* within Mecca. Three places are preferred for the assumption of the *iḥrām* for the ʿumra. Djiʿrāna, Ḥudaibiya and especially Tanʿīm The latter place was therefore also known as al-ʿUmra. With the utterance of the *labbaika* [q v] formula, the actual ceremony of the pilgrimage begins. The muʿtamir goes to Mecca in order first of all to go around the Kaʿba [cf ṬAWĀF] He enters the mosque through the north door of the north-east side (Bāb al-Salām), goes under the portal of the Banū Shaiba to the Black Stone built into the wall of the Kaʿba and, turning right, begins the sevenfold circumambulation of the Kaʿba, saying prayers all the while The first three circumambulations are performed at a rapid pace (*ramal*), the four last at an ordinary rate. After this is finished, in order to acquire a special blessing he presses himself against the part of the Kaʿba wall which lies between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaʿba. In conclusion he prays two rakʿas behind the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, drinks a draught of the holy Zemzem water and touches once again in farewell the Black Stone (these last ceremonies are however not considered absolutely necessary). The muʿtamir now leaves the mosque through the great al-Ṣafā door in order to perform the second essential part of the ʿumra, the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa [cf. the article SaʿY]. He goes to the hill al-Ṣafā and utters a few prayers there. He then goes to the hill al-Marwa, over

four hundred yards farther north, past the north-east side of the mosque. A short low-lying stretch at the east corner of the mosque is covered at a more rapid pace (*harwal* or *khabab*). Reaching al-Marwa, the muʿtamir again utters a prayer. He then returns the same way in the reverse direction and so on until he has covered the distance seven times and ends at al-Marwa. He has thus completed the ceremony of the ʿumra, and has only to have his hair cut or be shaved by one of the barbers waiting there. If he is making the ʿumra in combination with the ḥadjdj, he only has his hair trimmed and has the proper cutting done on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hidjdja at the end of the ḥadjdj.

2. The History of the ʿUmra and its relation to the Ḥadjdj. The ceremonies which make up the Muslim ʿumra are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islāmic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muḥammad, except for the Muhammadan prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have become but obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen.

On the parts played by the separate ceremonies of the Muslim ʿumra in the pre-Islamic period see the articles IḤRĀM, SAʿY and ṬAWĀF. The Muslim ʿumra as a group of ceremonies forming a single whole also goes back to a pre-Muḥammadan institution. This is shown by the very fact that Muhammad refers to it by a name which in his time seems already to have been a special term and enables us to assume that the thing itself was well-known. This however does not mean that the separate parts of the pre-Islāmic ʿumra exactly corresponded to those of the Muslim ʿumra. The two institutions, so far as we can see, did not exactly coincide. It is however very difficult to make out in what the difference lay, as we do not even know the earliest form of the Muslim ʿumra, much less that of the Djāhilīya. We have therefore to make up for the lack of authentic sources by deductions from material which is not absolutely above reproach.

The pre-Muhammadan ʿumra probably consisted of ritual acts, which were performed in a state of *iḥrām* within Mecca and included the *tawāf* of the Kaʿba. On the other hand, the course between al-Safā and al-Marwa (*saʿy*) does not seem to have been included. This follows from the text of Sūra ii 153, which clearly distinguishes between ḥadjdj and ʿumra on the one hand and the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on the other and describes the performance of the latter in connection with the hadjdj or ʿumra as irreproachable, indeed even meritorious, but still as a work of supererogation. Muḥammad himself performed it in 632 following the *ṭawāf* and thus by his example gave a further stimulus to the incorporation of the *saʿy* into the Muslim ʿumra. If the Muslim ʿumra in this respect shows an accretion compared with that of the pre-Muḥammadan period, it seems also to have lost something. For the ʿumra in the Djāhilīya can hardly have consisted of the *ṭawāf* only. Probably an additional essential element in it was the sacrifice of animals bought for the special purpose, a custom which was later mainly confined to the ḥadjdj. Muḥammad himself brought sacrificial animals to the unfortunate ʿumra of al-Ḥudaibiya and a year later to the so-called *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ*.

As to the relation of the ʿumra to the ḥadjdj, the very similarity of these two institutions has contributed to confuse them and to blend their distinguishing features. Their reciprocal fusion had already begun in the last years of the Prophet. Muhammad began the only ḥadjdj in which he took part as head of the Muslim community shortly before his death, by performing the *ṭawāf* and *saʿy* after his arrival in Mecca, ceremonies which did not originally form the beginning of the ḥadjdj but were elements of the Muslim ʿumra. He thereupon put off the *iḥrām* and said that the ceremonies so far performed formed an ʿumra. When moreover ʿUmar and others of those with him did not approve of putting off the *iḥrām* and did not follow him, this clearly shows how closely the ceremonies of the ʿumra were associated with those of the hadjdj for them and that in their view these holy acts should be performed in one and the same *iḥrām*. If we reflect that the revelation announced on this occasion (Sūra ii 192) laid down a penance for using the hadjdj for the ʿumra in this way and that Muhammad to some extent acknowledged himself guilty, then it is natural to suppose that Muhammad had only put off the *iḥrām* in order to be able to associate with his wives who were there and not with the object of keeping ʿumra and ḥadjdj absolutely distinct (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 83—102). In any case, Muhammad in the year 632 made the ʿumra precede the performance of the hadjdj and thus put his approval on the combination of ḥadjdj and ʿumra. This combination had a deeper cause: Muhammad on the one hand proclaimed Mecca with the Kaʿba as the centre of the worship of Islām and on the other took over the ḥadjdj, which originally had very little, if anything at all, to do with Mecca, into Islām. He had indeed every reason to bring the Muslim ḥadjdj into connection with the sanctuary of Mecca. The more he succeeded, however, the more the ʿumra lost its *raison d'être* as a special pilgrimage to Mecca. It was therefore quite a natural development when the Muslim ʿumra became more associated with the Muslim hadjdj and original elements of the ʿumra were absorbed by the corresponding elements of the hadjdj, as was presumably the case with the sacrifices (see above). The ʿumra and the hadjdj did not however absolutely combine into one. This was prevented by, amongst other things, the fact that Muḥammad in the pilgrimage above mentioned drew a line of separation between the two by discarding the *iḥrām*.

In the consensus (*idjmāʿ*) of Muslim opinion, two ways of combining the ʿumra with the ḥadjdj came to be recognised in course of time. *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*. The former term was applied, following Sūra ii 192 (*man tamattaʿa bi 'l-umrati ila 'l-ḥadjdji*), to the way which Muḥammad had actually followed, namely combining ʿumra and hadjdj with a break in the *iḥrām*. ʿUmar threatened during his caliphate to punish its observance with the punishment of stoning and even under the early Omaiyads it does not seem to have been usual. *Ḳirān* is the name given to the combination

of ʿumra and ḥadjdj without breaking the *iḥrām*. In this the *iḥrām* is assumed for the ʿumra and the ḥadjdj at the same time. As in the Muslim hadjdj the ceremonies which constitute an ʿumra are also performed, according to the prevailing view an ʿumra is completely carried out when they have been performed, so that — if the *niya* of *ḳirān* has been taken — the ḥadjdj is completed. Some authorities however demand that the ceremonies of the ʿumra should be specially carried through. The *iḥrām* must not be broken in any circumstances

The ʿumra, in spite of its partial absorption in the ḥadjdj, has however retained its independence, although only to a limited degree. When the hadjdj is performed alone in the *ifrād*, i. e. by itself (in contrast to *tamattuʿ* and *kirān*), the ʿumra also must be performed separately. Pilgrims who come from outside to Mecca seem as a rule in this case to perform the ʿumra after the completion of the ḥadjdj ceremonies so that they naturally have to assume the *iḥrām* again In the course of time this independent ʿumra ceremony seems to have become gradually confined to such Muslims as were permanently or for a considerable time resident in Mecca or came there at a time other than that of the ḥadjdj But it was just this local limitation of the independent ʿumra that favoured the survival of traditions from the pre-Muhammadan period If we therefore learn that the ʿumra for centuries was celebrated as an independent ceremony, preferably in the month of Radjab, we can probably see in this a survival of pre-Islāmic tradition: the ʿumra in the time of Djāhilīya was presumably a ceremony observed annually in Radjab and therefore had nothing to do with the hadjdj, the pilgrimage in Dhu 'l-Hidjdja (cf also the tradition according to which ʿUkkāsha had his hair cut in Radjab of the year 2 to make himself look like a pilgrim). As Muhammad could only prepare the way for the combination of the ʿumra with the hadjdj but not complete it, the old tradition of performing it in Radjab survived for centuries later It is only in comparatively modern times that Radjab seems to have lost its significance for the performance of the ʿumra. The custom of the Meccans of journeying to the holy places of Medīna in Radjab perhaps broke it down. When ʿumras are now performed in dissociation from the ḥadjdj (i. e. in *ifrād*), the nights of the months of the fast (Ramadān) are specially favoured for this purpose and especially the last ten which are connected with the *lailat al-kadr*.

3. The significance of the pre-Islāmic and the Islāmic ʿumra. If the pre-Islāmic ʿumra was annually performed in Radjab and also if the calculation is correct which places Radjab originally in the spring, its similarity with the Jewish passover strikes one at once. The animals which are sacrificed at it were perhaps, as in the Jewish ceremony, originally first borns (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 98 *sq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3], p. 227 *sq.*, 464). In Muḥammad's time however, the original significance of the ʿumra seems to have been practically forgotten and it no longer fell in the spring.

The Islāmic ʿumra is an expression of piety, mainly of a personal nature, especially if it is undertaken separately and not with the ḥadjdj, the ceremony observed annually by the Muslim community together. Probably this individual character is the result of the fact that it lost its independence in time and so far as it was not associated with the ḥadjdj constituted a work of supererogation. Before Islām the ʿumra had probably a more collective character.

The question, answered differently by the different madhāhab, whether the Muslim is bound to the same degree to perform the ʿumra as he is the ḥadjdj is of little significance, in as much as every Muslim who performs the ḥadjdj as a rule performs the ʿumra at the same time. The case of a pilgrim who has begun a hadjdj and for any reason cannot complete it, is a special one. Under these circumstances he is bound to perform an ʿumra in order to be able to put off the *iḥrām* for a time. The omission is however not made good by this. The ḥadjdj on the contrary must be made good in the following year.

Bibliography. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leipzig–Leipzig 1910, p 138 *sqq* , [Wizārat al-Awḳāf, Ḳism al-Masādjid] *al-Fikh ʿala 'l-Madhāhib al-arbaʿa, Ḳism al-ʿIbādāt*, Cairo 1928, p. 664—669, 676—686, 692—698; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, i. 443—449; Muslim-Nawawī, iii 216—218, Nāsir-i Khosraw, *Sefer-nāme*, ed Schefer, p 66 *sq* ; Ibn Djubair. *Rihla*, ed Wright-de Goeje (*G. M. S.*, v), p. 80 *sq.*, 128—137, Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Bāshā, *Miʾrāt al-Haramain*, Cairo 1925, i. 99, 101, 337, Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, iii, Leipzig 1874, p. 122—128, E. Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London–New York 1928, i. 96—114; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii., Haag 1889, p 55, 70, 75 *sq* , 83 *sq.*; do , *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, i 1 *sqq*), Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p. 78 *sq.*, 84, 98; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, esp. p 192 *sqq.* and 304 *sqq.*, H. Lammens, *Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites* (*B I. F. A. O*, Cairo 1910, p. 39—101), esp. p. 64 and 78, do., *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale* (*M F. O B*, xi 2), Beirūt 1926, esp. p. 119, 129—133; C Clemen, *Der ursprungliche Sinn des ḥaǧǧ* (*Isl*, x. 161—177), p. 165—167

(R. PARET)

ʿUNAIZA, one of the most important towns in southern Nadjd, and of the district of Ḳasīm The vocalisation used here is confirmed by the Arab geographers (e. g. expressly by al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p. 670; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii. 737 and *pass.*) and lexicographers (e g. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vii. 251) and also by the modern pronunciation [C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888 (London 1924), ii. 551 gives for it as his authority the educated negro Shaikh b ʿĀʾidh at ʿUnaiza] The transcription varies with different writers [Aneyzeh, Aneizeh, ʿAneiza, Aneiseh, Anêze(h), Anezeh, Anäse; English also Anizeh, ʿAneyza(h), Aneiza, Anaiza; French Eneyzé, ʾAnêizeh] and sometimes agrees with that of the tribe ʿAnaza, transcribed in different ways. As regards the etymology, M v. Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 54) deduces too much from the assonance when he thinks that the name suggests the original home of the ʿAnaza. If any etymological relation between the two names may be assumed, the most we can

say is that the foundation of the town may be ascribed to the tribe. The note in the *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs*, iv. 62 (cf. *Lisān*, *op. cit.*) is also based on a connection with a tribe-names The explanation given to Doughty (*op. cit*, ii. 562, s v. *Blackstone* [of ʿAneyza]) is untenable: "The name of ʿAneyza is from a berg upon which it is built".

In ancient times the site of ʿUnaiza seems to have been occupied by Γόρδα (Ptol. vi. 7, 31), i. e. the Ḏjarad al-Kasīm of the Arab geographers (e. g. Yāḳūt, ii. 56), the old capital of Ḳasīm; none of the positions given by Ptolemy corresponds to the position of ʿUnaiza so closely as that of Gorda, 76° 10′, 24° 30′ (still better the vulgate 24° 10′) Ḏjarad(a) was located by A Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 168, in the vicinity of the modern Buraida or ʿUyūn (north of ʿUnaiza), by Doughty (*op. cit.*, ii. 606) with more reason, in the ruined site of the modern el-Ethelī on the Wādi 'l-Rumma, east of al-Rass (S. W. of ʿUnaiza) ʿUnaiza is mentioned in the older Arabic poetry, e g in the *Ḥamāsa*, p 211, 501 (ed Freytag), in Imruʾu 'l-Kais (ed Ahlwardt, *The Divans*), N⁰ 34, 3, in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* (ed Bevan), p. 334, 964, in a quotation from Aws b. Ḥāritha in al-Hamdānī, *Ḏjazīra* (ed. D H. Muller), p 172, there is also the ʿUnaizatain in the *Muʿallaḳa* of ʿAntara, verse 9, which however does not quite fit (the dual form also in the quotation from a poet in Yāḳūt, ii. 135 etc.), a place-name, which according to al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, and Yāḳūt, iii. 739 is identical with ʿUnaiza, it perhaps was applied to two adjacent settlements (cf al-Karyatain) of the same tribe, and similarly with ʿUnaizāt in Yākūt, iii 298 It should be remembered however that other places in southern Nadjd with dual endings can be cited, like Sirrain, Rāmatain, Ushaiyain, but one can hardly see in this simply a local fondness for dual names, as Sprenger, *Z.D M G*, xlii (1888), p. 329 would like to. However little they may weigh singly, these references enable us to conclude that the place was already of some importance in ancient times, as one might expect from its natural situation It was only in the later Muslim period that its importance began to increase. — Of the references in the Arab geographers the most comprehensive is that in Yākūt, iii 737—739; according to him, ʿUnaiza lies between Basra and Mecca (i.e. the halfway caravan station), in the Batn al-Rumma, the gathering-place of the waters of the wādīs, near a hill, which served as a dam (cf. al-Bakrī, p. 207). The place belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b Kuraiz. This emphasises the features which made ʿUnaiza important at a later date also, its central position on one of the great roads of northern Arabia and the fact that it was at the place where numerous small streams combined to form the main wādī. In this main passage Yāḳūt only adds scraps of information relating to the plentiful water-supply of the district, which include the statement that (according to Ibn al-Faḳīh) ʿUnaiza was one of the wādīs of al-Yamāma (inaccurate for Nadjd or Ḳasīm) near (mount) Suwāḍj, and quotations from poets (including early ones) which are of as little importance as the references to other mentions in poetry in other passages such as i. 626, 762; ii 259, 855; iii. 262, 298, 398; iv. 93 or the passages from poets in al-Bakrī, p. 207, 310, 670, 684, 801 842. Yāḳūt refers, iv. 77, s. v. Ḳaryatān (cf the article GIRATHA in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopädie der klass. Altertumswissensch.*) only briefly to the state of the water-supply in the vicinity of ʿUnaiza. No further information is afforded by the passages quoted from the poets by al-Hamdānī, p 172 (see above) and in the list of old watering-places (verses from Muhalhil also given with variations by Yāḳūt, iii. 739) In al-Hamdānī, p 178, ʿUnaiza (with Waḏjra and Ẓaby) is mentioned among the watering-places of the Kalb (and so described by B. Moritz, *Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 56). Hamdānī's editor (D. H. Müller, ii. 188) has already called attention to the fact that al-Hamdānī in this passage seems to have taken the female name ʿUnaiza in the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾu 'l-Ḳais, verse 11 as a place-name (and so have others, cf. *Lisān*, vii. 251); Waḏjra also is derived from this *Muʿallaḳa*, verse 30, and Zaby from verse 36. The preceding place-names in Hamdānī, p 177, 8 are also taken from the poem; this passage is therefore rightly omitted from the *Index geographicus* in Müller, ii. 83b. — In the excerpt from Yākūt in the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ* (ed Juynboll, ii. 286), Safī al-Dīn gives ʿUnaiza as a place between Basra and Mecca, then as a wādī near Mount Suwāḍj in al-Yamāma, and lastly as a well 2 miles from al-Ḳaryatain in the Wādi 'l-Rumma (the original is Yāḳūt, iii. 738; iv 77) — Sprenger's statement (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 171) that Ibn Khurdādhbih mentions along with other stations ʿUnaiza after Bīna, a station on the road leading from the S.E., does not agree with the text but the place-names in this passage cannot be read with certainty (see *B G A.*, vi 191). Sprenger's remark: "The shortest route from Yamāma to Mecca, no itinerary of which is known to me, joins the Baṣra-Mecca road at Ḏarʿīya and the road to Medīna joins it at ʿUnaiza or near it" as regards the second statement is by no means indisputable The maps show why we cannot agree with the first The pilgrim road from al-Yamāma joins the great caravan-road ʿUnaiza-Mecca at the watering-place of Sharma (North of the Ḏjabal Khāl) Sprenger's idea (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlii. 324, 326) that the ʿUnaiza of the Arabic sources is different from the present ʿUnaiza would not be without parallel but there is not sufficient foundation for it The statements in the Arab authors are perfectly applicable to the modern town. There are ruins of an old settlement of the Banū Khālid, Ḏjannah, not far from ʿUnaiza (Doughty, *op. cit.*, ii. 354 *sq.*), if the name ʿUnaiza really used to be attached to another town, it was scarcely farther away from the modern town than Ḏjannah. The latter place is said to have been founded about 1300 A.D by the Ḳaisī Sabaiʿ, who also established other settlements in Ḳasīm (Doughty, ii 241, 355; on this tribe we now have more accurate information in H Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii. 350, index).

Of modern geographers, the first to mention ʿUnaiza is C Niebuhr, from second-hand information however In 1763 he ascertained that "Anase" was 10 days' journey from Baṣra (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 344; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii 343, 873a, separates this name and its mention from his Aneyzeh, p. 873b). The first more accurate information about the interior of northern Arabia dates from the beginning of the xixth century, as a scientific result of the Turkish and Egyptian operations against the Wahhābīs. L. A. Corancé's *Histoire des Wahabis* (Paris

1810) already contains reliable geographical information, in the publication of which S. de Sacy co-operated. The latter in the *Tableau*, note 39, p. 214 on p. 218 of this *Histoire* (appendix) gave the first fairly accurate list of the divisions of the Wahhābī kingdom and gave the provinces of al-Nadjd including among them in the third place Ḳaṣīm, with the three towns "Kasym, Berydé (Buraida) and Eneyzé" and ten more (cf. the extract in Ritter, *op. cit*, p. 467 *sq*). When the Egyptian troops under Tusun, the second son of Muhammad ʿAlī, Pasha and afterwards viceroy of Egypt, in the campaign against the Wahhābīs in 1815 had advanced into the interior of Nadjd as far as the borders of Ḳasīm and then began to retire, ʿAbd Allāh, son and successor of the Wahhābī ruler Saʿūd who died in 1814, was in ʿUnaiza with a hostile force but did not allow himself to be involved in a battle for a decision. After the withdrawal of the viceroy, ʿAbd Allāh deposed in ʿUnaiza as a punishment the chiefs of Kasīm who had joined the enemy, and incited the Arab tribes against one another (cf on the events of the campaign. F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, Paris 1823, ii 33 *sqq*.). On Ibrāhīm Pasha, the eldest son of Muhammad ʿAlī, advancing on Nadjd in 1816, ʿAbd Allāh again collected his forces in ʿUnaiza Ibrāhīm forced his way into ʿUnaiza out of which ʿAbd Allāh had retired to Buraida a few hours before. The citadel of ʿUnaiza, about a quarter of an hour from the town, surrendered after several days' bombardment whereupon the town itself which had been abandoned by most of its inhabitants also surrendered (cf Mengin, *op. cit*, p 105 *sq*). After the fall of ʿUnaiza the rest of Kasīm soon submitted to Ibrāhīm, who had nearly 6,000 palm-trees cut down in ʿUnaiza to use them in the manufacture of war material — Just before the defeat of the Wahhābīs, J. L. Burckhardt (1815 and 1816) had collected at Mecca information about ʿUnaiza and Kasīm (cf. his *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, app vi, p. 457 *sqq*.) He gives Buraida as the capital of Kasīm because this was the residence of the Shaikh at this time; but ʿUnaiza was much greater in size, which he compares with Siyūt in Upper Egypt (3,000 houses!). He mentions bazaars and prominent merchants in the town (extract in Ritter, *op. cit*, p. 452 *sqq*.) — The next eye-witness was Captain G. F. Sadlier, who (1819) was the first European to cross Nadjd from east to west, from Ḳaṭīf to Medīna. He mentions (*Account of a journey from Katif ... to Yambo*, in *Transactions of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, London 1823, iii. 474) "Anizeh" as a place of importance, but it like other towns had been for the most part destroyed in the fighting: a few date-palm groves had survived. According to him, ʿUnaiza was the capital of southern Ḳasīm and as a result of its central position in a well watered valley was the centre of a busy trade, indeed the emporium for a considerable part of North Arabia, a junction of caravan routes from Baṣra, Ḳaṭīf and al-Aḥsā to Medīna and Yambuʿ. The town thus had a political as well as a commercial importance. Sadlier still found a number of merchants in the devastated town. His journey was frankly too hurried to enable him to gather scientific information of value. — Berghaus, *Arabia* (Gotha 1835), p. 88 *sq*. calculated the geographical position of ʿUnaiza as 26° 26′ N. Lat. and 41° 17′ East Long. Paris (more exactly 26° 23′ N. Lat., 41° 30′ East Long. Paris [44° 7′ East Long. of Greenwich]; on Moritz's map the position is put too far to the south and east). Ritter published (*op. cit*., xiii. 523) from W. Schimper's *Arabische Reise* (MS) a table of population statistics which the botanist had drawn up in Ṭā'if from the unchecked statements of a Wahhābī in 1836, i. e. about 15 years after the war; ʿUnaiza according to this had 25,000 inhabitants, which is probably too high a figure. The cruelty of Ibrāhīm's hordes had only stimulated Wahhābism and about 1849 the last remnant of Turkish-Egyptian influence in Nadjd disappeared. — Later explorers of North and Central Arabia went through Ḥā'il to the north, passing ʿUnaiza. W. G. Palgrave (*A narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, 1865) in 1862—1863 on his journey from Ḥā'il only came as far as Buraida His statement that ʿUnaiza has 32,000 inhabitants is untenable, like his other figures for Ḳaṣīm. His account has always been distrusted; cf. most recently Philby's doubts (*op. cit*, ii. 134 *sqq*) on the reliability of Palgrave's account of his stay south of Ḥā'il and his polemic against D G. Hogarth (*The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905, p. 248 *sqq*) and other champions of Palgrave, among the latter are F Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients* [*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, sect. iii., part i., book 1, 2nd half], Munich 1926, p 527. From about 1855 Faiṣal, who lived in Riyād and was presumably a grandson of ʿAbd Allāh, was trying to take ʿUnaiza, but the warlike inhabitants led by Zāmil repelled his attacks and peace was made. The treacherous Faisal however again began fighting in 1862; the town could not hold out against the superior numbers of the enemy and after its defenders had suffered a disastrous defeat, it was incorporated with the rest of Kaṣīm in the Wahhābī state of Nadjd (on the events after 1847 see Palgrave in A Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit hundert Jahren*, Halle 1875, p 379 *sqq*.) The fetters of dependence were soon cast off however for by Doughty's time ʿUnaiza was again the model of a free independent community in Arabia — In 1864 C. Guarmani (*Il Neged Settentrionale, itinerario da Gerusalemme a Aneizeh nel Cassim*, Jerusalem 1866, with a map [N° 7] of his road from Buraida to ʿUnaiza) tried to penetrate into Kasīm from Ḥā'il southwards but was taken for a Turkish spy and was brought a prisoner to ʿUnaiza, the base of operations of ʿAbd Allāh b Faisal, who was at war with the Beduins, the emīr Zāmil however released him and he went to the Djabal Shammar. The fact that he was a prisoner prevented him making any special observations in ʿUnaiza. According to him, it is the most important town in Central Arabia, the capital of Ḳasīm and has 15,000 inhabitants in seven quarters. He confirms isolated statements by Palgrave — Shaikh Hāmid of al-Rass, J. G Wetzstein's authority (*Nordarabien und die syrische Wuste nach den Angaben der Eingeborenen*, in *Zeitschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1865, xviii. 408 *sqq*), talks of an alliance between ʿUnaiza and Buraida for protection against the people of the Shammar territory, the capital of which is Ḥā'il and gives a few geographical statements, e. g. on the stations on the road from ʿUnaiza to Buraida. ʿUnaiza, "the mother of Nadjd", he calls the largest town of Nadjd; it is surrounded by gardens; the palms cut down by Ibrāhīm had been

replanted (cf. e. g. J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii., Leyden 1914, p. 14 on dates from ʿUnaiza).

The information so far available only enabled a rough picture of the appearance of the town to be drawn. It was known for example, that outside the strong city wall lay palm-groves around which there ran an outer wall. The first and so far the only traveller to give a full and reliable account of ʿUnaiza is Doughty (in *Arabia Deserta*; a not always well chosen abridgment is E. Garnett's *Wanderings in Arabia*, London 1912 [2]). On his journey through northern Arabia, which occupied nearly two years (1876—1878) he also visited Ḥāʾil and when he was driven from there and afterwards from Buraida also, was given a better reception, at first at least, in the rival of the latter town. Under Zāmil's patronage, he was enabled to stay some months in ʿUnaiza (April 29—July 16, 1878), unlike other European travellers before and after him, and had therefore sufficient leisure for thorough exploration and observation. He describes (*Arab. Des.*, ii 337 *sqq.*, *Wanderings*, ii 161 *sqq.*) the aspect and the walls of the town, the town itself, its streets, the houses outside and inside, the wells and water-supply, the date-groves around the town; he gives a vivid picture of the life of the citizens, their personal qualities and manners and customs, their food and clothing, the religious and secular life of rich and poor, the social conditions, and the distribution of labour. In a special chapter (*Life in Aneyza*, ii. 365 *sqq.*) are collected observations on the characteristic features of tribal life, the defences and other aspects of the life and work of the town. Commerce is especially well developed, among the numerous merchants are some from abroad; merchants of ʿUnaiza on the other hand have their depots in Djidda, Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Caravans (coming from Basra) go from there to Mecca and Medīna Various classes of artisans and tradesmen are to be found there (field-labourers, masons, gold- and silversmiths and other workers in fine crafts whose filigree work is much esteemed in Mecca; cf. also Moritz, *op. cit.*, p 57) From his account it is clear that the city occupied an outstanding position in Central Arabia for its prosperity and culture In the fifteen years before Doughty's visit, it had doubled in size and now had about 15,000 inhabitants; Guarmani gave about the same number. It is called the centre of Arabia from its position in the middle of the caravan route from Baṣra to Mecca; it could really be regarded as the metropolis of Nadjd Learning is held in high esteem by the rich merchants. Half of the townspeople are Wahhābīs (on the movements of Wahhābīsm for 25 years before Doughty's arrival see ii. 428 *sqq.*). Wahhābī fanaticism brought about Doughty's expulsion from ʿUnaiza; the "Nasrâny" set out towards Mecca with the "butter caravan" which had come from Baṣra. — Doughty's investigations established the main lines of the system of wādis of North Arabia and ascertained that the wādī, which runs south of Buraida, just above ʿUnaiza (on this region see Leachman, *Geogr. Journal*, London 1914, p. 512, the first to visit it since Nolde), is the Wādi 'l-Rumma (according to Yāḳūt, ii. 823, to be written with one *m*, not Rumma, as Ibn Duraid for example requires; pronounced ér-Rmeh in northern Arabia, see Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 22), about the course of which erroneous ideas were previously current (cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*). Southern Ḳaṣīm may be called a gift from this wādī.

What we are told about ʿUnaiza by writers since Doughty amounts only to a few notes on local history. Euting (*op. cit.*, i. 63) records in his diaries for 1883 (at Kāf) the struggle between the two Wahhābī families, that of Ibn Saʿūd and that of Ibn Rashīd, for supremacy in North Arabia, ii 226 (in 1884 at el-ʿÖlā) a message of victory from Ibn Rashīd. — Ch. Huber, who came in 1884 from Ḥāʾil via Buraida to ʿUnaiza, where he only stopped a few hours, mentions in his *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891, p. 685, that ʿUnaiza was completely independent and had over 5,000 rifles; Palgrave gives a similar estimate for the fighting men of ʿUnaiza and the villages belonging to it (cf Zehme, *op. cit.*, p. 380). Huber (p. 709) gives only a few cursory remarks on the immediate neighbourhood of the town; his map N° 13 gives a very useful sketch of the route for the stretch from Buraida to the Djabal al-Nīr — E v Nolde in 1893 on his journey to the camp of the emīr of Ḥāʾil, Muhammad b. Rashīd (between Shakrā and Riyāḍ), also made a brief visit to ʿUnaiza, in his *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenian 1892* [recte 1893!], Brunswick 1905, p 78 *sqq.*, he gives only details that were already known. His statement based on his enquiries, that ʿUnaiza has about 35,000 inhabitants, is wrong. His information about the wars of Ibn Rashīd (p. 68 *sq.*) who became lord of Nadjd after taking ʿUnaiza in 1891, is more valuable — As Nolde (p 69) had prophesied, the situation changed; soon after the death of Ibn Rashīd (1897), the political preponderance of the Shammar capital Ḥāʾil disappeared and ʿUnaiza again became independent. Buraida which is smaller, has recently come much to the front in the hegemony of Kasīm. — Philby is the first to have acquired a knowledge of the land S W. and S. of the political capital of Nadjd (Riyāḍ), especially of the district of al-Aflādj, in 1917—1918 he went from Riyāḍ around the whole Tuaiḳ range to the south to the Wādī Dawāsir He tells us nothing special about ʿUnaiza, although (*op. cit.*, ii. 120) he went not only to Miḍnab, but also via Buraida into Kaṣīm, where Raunkjaer had been some seven years before him and Leachman in 1912, as far as Kusaiba (cf also his references to ʿUnaiza, i. 47, 54, 365). He gives in some details an account of the most recent developments of Wahhābism (see ii. 334, index)

Bibliography. The authors of the standard works (such as Yāḳūt, al-Bakrī, al-Hamdānī, of modern writers Burckhardt, Sadlier, Ritter, Guarmani, Palgrave, Zehme, Sprenger, Doughty, Huber, Nolde, Philby, Moritz) are given in the article with the necessary bibliographical details

(J. TKATSCH)

ʿUNṢUR (plur. ʿANĀṢIR) means, like *aṣl*, *rukn*, *isṭuḳis* (*στοιχεῖον*) etc., principle, basis, element in the general sense. It is used in the special sense of *materia prima* The hellenising philosophers, as a rule, use *arkān* or *isṭuḳisāt* for the four elements of the sublunar world, which are composed of matter and form and, according to the prevailing view, are mutable The material of the heavenly spheres is called *rukn* by these philosophers, more frequently however a fifth nature (*ṭabʿ*).

Bibliography: Sprenger, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, p. 960 *sqq.* (TJ. DE BOER)

ʿUNṢURĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-ʿUNṢURĪ of Balkh, a Persian poet. The year of his birth is unknown and that of his death is variously given, the most probable date being 441 (1049—1050). Very little is known of his life. The matter, mainly anecdotes, recorded by the Persian literary historians is of very little value According to a very late source, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān's *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā'* (Teherān 1295, i. 355), he was captured by robbers while on a trading journey in his youth and deprived of all his goods. He was later brought by Amīr Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to the latter's court, where he was highly esteemed as a court poet According to the Persian sources, he held the office of poet laureate (*shāh-i shuʿarā'*) at the head of 400 other poets. How far this is accurate, it is impossible to say. That ʿUnṣurī was highly esteemed by his contemporaries as an artist is evident, at any rate from the reverence in which he is held by Minūčihrī. The latter sang his praises in the celebrated ḳaṣīda of the candles (N⁰ xxxiii in Kasimirski's edition). The stories however which tell how ʿUnṣurī was commissioned by King Maḥmūd to produce a poetic version of the Īrānian epic and how he did not feel fit for the task and recommended Firdawsī to the king for the work (e. g. Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā'*, ed. Browne, p. 51), are part of the legend that has grown up around the great author of the *Shāhnāma*.

Works. ʿUnṣurī wrote three *mathnawīs* all of which are lost. Their titles were *Khing But u-surkh But* (The White and the Red Idol), *Nahr-i ʿAin al-Ḥayāt* (this is the most probable reading but the forms in which this title is given vary) and *Wāmiḳ u-ʿAdhrā*. His *Dīwān* however has survived and exist in manuscripts and in a Teherān edition of 1298 (1881).

A. The Mathnawīs. While the two first mentioned romantic poems by ʿUnṣurī are mere titles to us, we know at least the contents of his *Wāmiḳ u-ʿAdhrā* The subject was taken later by several Persian poets, but not much seems to have survived of this poem. There is a fragment of a Persian *Wāmiḳ u-ʿAdhrā* poem by a certain Nāmī in a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 7721, cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii. 813) The version of this romantic theme by the Ottoman poet Lāmiʿī (d. c. 940 = 1533) is well known [cf. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, ii 45 *sq.*, where a full synopsis is given. We may note that von Hammer's much abbreviated verse translation *Wāmik und Asra* (Vienna 1833) does not give a proper idea of the contents of the original].

Lāmiʿī mentions ʿUnsurī as his precursor in the poetical treatment of this subject in the following lines:

sābikan bu ḳissa-i khosh manzarī
naẓm edib yazmish meger kim ʿUnṣurī;
Rūma dushmush ākhir ol ḥurī-libās
Turkī dilden ḫullasin ḳilmish palās
(from the Leyden MS. N⁰. 566).

The subject of the romance is the love story of Wāmiḳ, son of the Khāḳān of Čīn, and the princess ʿAdhrā. The young man falls in love with a picture of the princess and has to go through many adventures and suffer much before he is united with his beloved. He is for example taken prisoner in war, falls into the hands of the black fire-worshippers, who wish to sacrifice him but he escapes, because the flames will not attack him and has adventures with *perīs* (whose king is his friend) and *djinn*. ʿAdhrā has not much better fortune. She also falls into dangers of all kinds, until the lovers meet at the court of King Mīzbān of Ṭūs, where not only is their marriage celebrated in brilliant fashion but several other happy couples, secondary characters in the romance, are also united. The Turkish poem of course only enables us to learn the subject of the lost ʿUnṣurī poem, its external form with its numerous lyrics and rather precious style is a creation of Lāmiʿī. The nature of ʿUnsurī's poem would have been quite unknown to us if a few verses had not been preserved in Asadī's Persian dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* (ed P. Horn, p. 25 where these fragments are given) We thus learn that the romance was written in *mutaḳārib*; this metre survived in later times only for the heroic epic, while the romantic epic used other metres.

As to the subject of the poem we know — only on the very poor authority of Dawlatshāh however — that a romance of Wāmiḳ and ʿAdhrā had already been written in Pahlavī for Khusraw I and that a copy was brought to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir The latter, however, is said to have ordered it to be destroyed because, as he said, he abominated the books of the fireworshippers (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, p. 30, cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Saʿdī*, p 275 *sq.*). This story probably caused von Hammer (*G. O. D*, ii. 45) to say. "The cause of the disappearance of this poem in Islām seems to have been mainly the fact that it originally contained the teaching of the fire-worshippers.... in its present form therefore it cannot be regarded as the original story but only as a feeble echo of it" E. J. W Gibb's judgment (*Hist of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 26) is also based on this passage.

Von Hammer's assumption is however unnecessary even if we grant that there was a Pahlavī original. The subject of the poem is the final union of two lovers in spite of all obstacles. This very subject is the main theme of the Hellenistic romances of the early centuries A D. We may perhaps assume that there were free versions of such romances in Pahlavī literature (which perhaps came through Syriac) and that the original story of Wāmiḳ was based on a work of this kind. The matter must of course have been adapted to the East and Muslim authors must have later contributed their share. That the supposed Pahlavī original had a religious bias, as von Hammer thinks, can never be proved and is, besides, very improbable One circumstance which makes the assumption of a Pahlavī original less probable is the fact that the two chief characters in the poem have Arabic names, as P. Horn (*Gesch. d. Pers Litt.*, p. 178) has already recognised.

B. The Dīwān. ʿUnṣurī's *Dīwān* contains, as one might expect, mainly *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, his brother Naṣr and his son Masʿūd as well as of nobles like the vizier Maimandī. It of course also contains *ghazals*, *ḳiṭʿas* and *rubāʿīs*; the author himself says that he is a writer of love-poems as well as a panegyrist:

marā bahra du čiz āmad zi gīti
dil-i pāk u-zabān-i madḥ-gustar
yakī bar mihr-i djānān waḳf kardam
yakī bar madḥ-i Shāhanshāh-i kishwar
(*Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā'*, i. 357).

ʿUnṣurī's primary importance is as a writer of *ḳaṣīdas*. The oriental literary historians are most enthusiastic about these panegyrics but the value of their judgment is lessened by the wellknown fact that in most cases they are too lavish in their praise. To a European, the whole panegyric poetry of the Persians offers little attraction; one must however recognise that ʿUnṣurī shows himself by no means unfitted for his task. The subjects of the *ḳaṣīdas* are usually the great deeds of King Maḥmūd: in these cases the poems contain an epic element. There are other subjects which we find in other panegyrists, e. g Minūčihrī, such as the descriptions of festivals (*ǧashn-i sada* etc) or the king's war-horse ʿUnṣurī also writes on Maḥmūd's war-elephant and his sword. That the poet occasionally expresses the same ideas and images in different *ḳaṣīdas* can hardly be avoided in view of the uniformity of his subjects ʿUnṣurī's *taṣhbībs* are often erotic but we also find the descriptions of nature which we know so well from Minūčihrī and Azraḳī for example. In such *waṣfs* we often find quite beautiful lines, for example in a description of the beginning of spring.

Afsar-i sīmīn firū gīrad zi sar kūh-i buland (*Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*', i. 356). His *gurīzgāhs* (transitions from *taṣhbīb* to *madḥ*) not infrequently contain original ideas, as when he says that in spring the days increase in length like the power of the king and the nights become shorter like the lives of Maḥmūd's enemies.

In these poems we find all the rhetorical embellishments of the period just as in the panegyrists of the later Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs We frequently find very pretty comparisons. e. g. in the description of one of the king's victories:

bar āb dar hamah ǧharḳa shudand čūn [*Fir*ʿ*awn,*
ču bar gudhasht bar ān āb shāh Mūsāwār
(*Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*', i. 358).

Very neat is an allusion like·

ān kih dar har čīz dārad rasm hamčūn [*nām-i kh*^{w}*ad* (= *Maḥmūd*)
w'ān kih dar har kām dārad gām čūn [*ʾām-i pusar* (= *Masʿūd*)
(*Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*', i. 360).

Less fine, even to European taste rather frigid, pictures are not lacking; thus he compares a garden bright with flowers to a copy of the book of Euclid with its many mathematical figures.

In one pleasing and ingenious form of poem he attained considerable success, e. g. in the poem on Naṣr, which consists of questions and answers (transl by Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia from Firdawsī to Saʿdī*, p. 121 *sq.*), as in another *ḳaṣīda* on the same prince (*Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*', i. 362) which has three internal rhymes in each couplet

khiradrā tāǧ u-pirāya, adabrā ǧawhar [*u-māya,*
ba dil ba fakhr hamsāya, ba himmat ba [*ḳadā hambar.*

The reading aloud of such a piece must have been very effective, but practically all the beauty of these pieces disappears in translation (cf. P. Horn's observations in his *Gesch. d Pers. Litt.*, p. 80).

Some of ʿUnṣurī's smaller poems are said by the literary historians to be improvisations composed on certain occasions. The best known is the quatrain which he is said to have uttered when Maḥmūd had his favourite Ayāz's locks shorn and regretted it afterwards (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 38). Other short poems were improvised on the king's falling from his horse and on Maḥmūd being bled.

Even in the middle ages ʿUnṣurī was reckoned a classic Ibn Ḳais, the celebrated writer on poetics, quotes him ten times (cf. Ibn Ḳais, *Muʿǧam* [*G. M S*, x], index) We may note the passages on p. 323, where the line which is given as an example of the figure of speech called *taṣhbīh-i maʿkūs* may be a fragment of the *Wāmiḳ*; on p 445, where in the discourse of borrowing in poetry (*naḳl*), a passage from ʿUnṣurī's poetry is quoted, the idea of which is borrowed from Rūdakī but is better expressed by ʿUnṣurī, and lastly on p. 269 where Ibn Ḳais cites a passage in ʿUnṣurī for the archaic form *abar* instead of *bar*, of which idiom he however disapproves.

Bibliography ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb* (ed. Browne), ii. 29 *sqq* , Dawlatshāh, *Taḏhkirat al-Shuʿarā*' (ed. Browne), p. 44 *sqq.*, Luṭf ʿAlī Beg, *Ātashkada*, Bombay 1299, p. 319 *sqq.*; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Maǧmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*', Teheran 1295, i. 355 *sqq.*; *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii 224, 239 *sq*, 368, E G Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsī to Saʿdī* (index), Rieu, *Supplement* (index).

(V. F Buchner)

ʿUNWĀN, Muḥammad Riḍā b. Hādjdjī Sālih Tabrīzī, Persian poet who flourished in the middle of the xiᵗʰ (xviiᵗʰ) century. He lived in Meshhed; Ṭāhir Naṣr-Ābādī met him there and quotes him in his *Taḏhkira* completed in 1089 (1678) His dīwān is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p 198).

Bibliography ʿAlī-Ḳulī Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarā*' (*apud* Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat.*, coll. Curzon, Calcutta 1926, p. 41; wrongly transcribed *ʿinwān*); Sprenger, *Cat Oudh* (Calcutta 1854), i. 102.

(Cl. Huart)

ʿUNWĀN (a.), the title of a book, usually decorated in fine manuscripts by a frame work of arabesques which the printers have sought to imitate by a happy arrangement of fleurons, tail-pieces and other printers' ornaments. In Persian manuscripts the first two pages, very much ornamented with floral patterns, are called *sar-lawḥ* "head-plate". (Cl. Huart)

ʿURBĀN. [See Arabia, b.]

URDŪ, an Indian language. The Urdū language, which as the result of a series of causes has now come to occupy the position of a *lingua franca* for India, is of mixed origin. Neither Indo-Aryan nor Persian can claim a monopoly in its creation and formation; it has, lexically and grammatically, thrived upon the linguistic and cultural stocks borrowed from both. It is the ineffaceable monument of the mingling of two peoples and their cultures — the Hindū and the Muslim.

With the advent of the Muḥammadan conquerors from the North-West the first foundations of this language were laid in India. During the reigns of sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī [q.v.] and his son Masʿūd [q. v], many Hindūs, such as Tilak, Nāth and others, held highly responsible posts at the court

of Ghaznī. A Hindū army also was stationed there, of which, during Maḥmūd's reign, Swendra Rāo, a Hindū, was the commander. The last rulers of the Ghaznawī dynasty left Ghaznī and settled in the Pandjāb, where they continued to live until their rule came to an end. Thus, both in Ghaznī and at Lāhor, Hindūs and Muḥammadans began to enter into close contact with each other. Many lords, nobles, and other protégés of Mas'ūd's court, whom the raids of the Saldjūḳ Turks had made homeless wanderers, also sought his protection and made Lāhor their permanent home. This daily contact between the Hindūs and the Muḥammadans had a far-reaching influence on the languages spoken by the two communities. Thus we find in *Prithvī Rāj Rāso*, the famous work of Čand Bardāī, the court poet of Prithvī Rādj (died A. D. 1192), distinct traces of this influence, for, as he himself states, he "has made use of the Ḳur'ānic language" (canto 1 23), and his book contains in fact many Arabic and Persian words.

Urdū is a Turkish word meaning "camp" or "army" As the Turks, Persians, and Indians all lived together in the Royal camp, their language, which was an admixture of these three languages, was called the language of the *Ahl-i Urdū*, "people of the camp", or more simply, the language of the *Urdū*, the camp, and after some time the language itself became known as Urdū. Whilst the Muḥammadan rulers of India spoke Persian, which enjoyed the prestige of being their court language, the common language of the country continued to be Hindī, derived through Prākrit from Sanskrit. On this dialect of the common people was grafted the Persian language, which brought a new language, Urdū, into existence Sir George Grierson, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, assigns no distinct place to Urdū, but treats it as an offshoot of Western Hindī This view overlooks the preponderating influence of Persian, which has deeply affected Urdū in its formative process. It is not merely words that are borrowed, the whole poetry of Urdū — its prosody, themes, style, imagery, allusions, grammar, and peculiarities of construction — and even its prose are saturated with Persian. It cannot strictly be called either a branch of Hindī or an offshoot of Persian, but is a distinct language of a mixed character.

The first great Persian poet and writer of India who used Hindī words in his compositions was Amīr Khusrō (653–725 = 1255–1325) [see KHUSRŪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN AMĪR]. It is generally believed, and has been mentioned in some Tadhkiras, that Amīr Khusrō composed many works in Hindī; but these, unfortunately, are not extant, though one or two of his ghazals are still frequently quoted in which one *miṣrā'* (hemistich) is in Persian and the other in Hindī, and also many versified conundrums (*čīstā*) etc in the mixed language.

This practice of writing mixed poetry, with alternate hemistichs in Hindī and Persian, continued long after the time of Khusrō, and it was for this reason that such poetry was called *Rēkhta*. Now the word *rēkhtan* has various meanings, one of which is to produce and rhyme something new. After Amīr Khusrō had succeeded in producing a new combination of Persian and Indian rhymes, the word *rēkhta* came to be used as a term of music, denoting a composition of such mixed Hindī and Persian verses or hemistichs as were in harmony both in respect of the subject matter and of the tune. Gradually, however, the term lost this strictly musical sense, and came to be loosely applied to such bilingual metrical compositions. Still later, every branch of Urdū poetry was called by this name, and finally the language itself came to be known as Rēkhta. The word Rēkhta is thus another proof of the mixed character of the Urdū language.

For a long time this new language was called Hindī or Hindwī, subsequently it became known as Rēkhta, and after some time was called Urdū. This name was the one most popularly accepted, and it survives to this day. During the days of the East India Company, Urdū was called Hindustānī (i. e. the Indian language), which is a recognition of the fact that of the numerous languages of India this alone deserves to be regarded as an Indian *lingua franca*.

Though the Urdū language originated in the Dōāb (the land of the Two Rivers, the Ganges and the Djamna), or more strictly in Dihlī and its vicinity, it was in the tableland of the Dakhan [q. v] that it first assumed literary form The earliest users and promoters of Urdū were mostly the learned Ṣūfīs, who may be regarded as the real patrons of this language Just as the great Buddha had given up Sanskrit for Pālī in order to carry his divine message to the masses, so too these learned saints, realising that to reach the people the language of the people must be used, employed Urdū instead of Arabic and Persian, which were the two polished languages of the day; and when in the course of their wanderings they came to such parts of the Dakhan as Dawlatābād, Gulbarga, Ahmadābād, Bīdjāpur, Patan (Gudjarāt), etc., they preached to the natives of those parts in the language which they had brought with them from Dihlī. Some of them, e.g. Saiyid Muḥammad Banda Nawāz (who came to the Dakhan in 800 = 1398 and whose tomb is at Gulbarga), wrote brochures, verses and books in this language Their example was followed by their disciples, who also wrote books in this language und contributed in no small measure to its popularity The frequent use in it of Arabic and Persian words and phrases and the use of Persian script distinguished it from Hindī proper.

Besides Banda Nawāz, whose brochure *Mi'rādj al-'Āshiḳīn* has been edited by the present writer (Hyderabad, Dakhan, 1900), there are many other Ṣūfīs who used Urdū as the vehicle of their prose and poetic productions. Mirādjī, surnamed Shams al-'Ushshāḳ (died A. H 902), a saint of Bīdjāpur and follower of a disciple of Banda Nawāz, together with his son and successor Shāh Burhān Djānam (d. 990) and the latter's son Amīn al-Dīn A'lā (d. 1076), were prose and poetry writers of no mean order in Dakhanī Urdū. Similarly in Gudjarāt the credit of popularising the Urdū language goes to Ṣūfīs. Shāh 'Alī Muhammad Djīv (d. 973) was a great Ṣūfī poet, the collection of whose verses is known as *Djawāhir al-Asrār*. Another Ṣūfī poet, Shaikh Khūb Muhammad, was the author of the *mathnawī* called *Khūb Tarang* (written in 986 = 1578). Amīn, author of *Yusūf Zulekha* (1109 = 1697), also belongs to Gudjrāt.

There were three great centres of Urdū in the Dakhan, viz. Golkunda, the capital of the Ḳuṭub Shāhī kings; Bīdjāpur, the capital of the 'Ādil Shāhī kings; and Aḥmadābād (Gudjarāt); and it is interesting to note that the language spoken

in each of these three centres shows slight local variations.

While almost all the rulers of the Ḳuṭub Shāhī dynasty were great patrons of art and learning, sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭub Shāh (reigned 899—1020 = 1580—1611), whose *Kulliyāt* is a voluminous work, was a poet of versatile genius, and his two successors, sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳuṭub Shāh (1020—1035 = 1611—1626) and sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭub Shāh (1035—1083 = 1625—1672), and also Tānā Shāh (1083—1098 = 1672—1687), the last ruler of the dynasty, were themselves good poets and used to compose Urdū verses Other famous poets of the Ḳuṭub Shāhī period are: 1. Wadjhī, who related a love-story of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭub Shāh in his mathnawī *Ḳuṭub o Mushtarī*, written in 1018 A H.; 2. Shihāb al-Dīn Ḳuraishī, author of *Bhog Bal*; 3. Shaikh Aḥmad Sharīf, author of a mathnawī on medicine; 4. Ghawwāṣī, author of *Saif al-Mulūk wa-Badīʿ al-Djamāl* (1035) and *Ṭūṭī Nāma* (1049); 5 Ibn Nishatī, author of *Phūl Ban* (1076); 6. Rāzī or Kutubī, translator of *Tuḥfat al-Naṣāʾiḥ* or *Pandā kā Tuhfa*, 7 Ṭabʿī, author of *Bahrām o Gulandām*; 8 Wālah, author of *Ṭālib o Mohnī*; 9 Muẓaffar, author of *Ẓafar Nāma-i ʿIshḳ* (the four last-named belong to the period of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭub Shāh); 10 Fāʾiz, author of *Ridwān Shāh Rūḥ-Afzā*, 11. Shāhī and 12. Mīrzā, both elegists, 13. Nūrī of Hyderabad and others flourished under Abu 'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh.

The ʿĀdil Shāhī kings were also great patrons of art and learning Under Muhammad ʿĀdil Shāh (1035—1067 = 1626—1656) there flourished four great poets· 1 Hasan Shawḳī, author of *Fatḥnāma-i Niẓām Shāh* (describing the battle of Tālikoṭā), and of *Mīzbānī-i ʿĀdil Shāh*, 2 Muḳīmī (Mīrzā Muḳīm Khān), author of *Fatḥnāma-i Yakheri* (an account of the victory of ʿĀdil Shāh) and a love-poem of Mahyar o Čandar Bhān, 3 Rustamī (Kamāl Khān), author of the voluminous mathnawī *Khāwarnāma* (an account of the wars of the Khalīfa ʿAlī), written in 1059 A H , 4 Malik Khushnūd, author of *Djannat Singār* (the story of Bahrām), written in 1055 Whilst it was Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II (988—1035 = 1580—1626), called the Djagat-Guru on account of his mastery of music, and author of the famous book *Nauras* on Hindī music, who made Hindī (or, more correctly, Dakhanī Urdū) his court language in place of Persian, ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (1067—1083 = 1656—1673) was particularly interested in the Urdū language Amongst the Dakhanī Urdū writers who were active during his reign are: 1. Mullā Nuṣratī, the famous author of *Gulshan-i ʿIshḳ* and *ʿĀlīnāma*; 2. Ayāghī (Muḥammad Amīn), author of *Nadjātnāma* (1076) and *Shamāʾilnāma*; 3. Saiyid Bulāḳī, author of *Miʿrādjnāma* (1065). During the reign of Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh we find the following poets: 1. Shāh Amīn al-Dīn Aʿlā (see above), 2 ʿAbd al-Muʾmin of Bidjāpur, author of *ʿIshḳnāma* (an account of Saiyid Muḥammad of Djawnpur, *Mahdī-i mawʿūd*); 3. Hāshimī, the author of *Yūsuf Zulaikha*, the best-known and greatest poet of this period. He was born blind. It was perhaps he who laid the foundation of *rekhtī*, i e. poems written in the language and idioms of women, developed by Rangīn (see below).

Behrī (Ḳazi Maḥmūd) of Gogi author of Man Lagan (1112 = 1700), Wadjdi author of Panchhi Bacha, the translator of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭair* and some other poets flourished in the 12th century when Awrangzeb conquered the Deccan. In prose, the first books to be written in Urdū were in the Dakhanī idiom. Besides sayings of the saints (such as Shāh Rādjū Saiyid Ḳattāl, Saiyid Muḥammad Banda Nawāz, and Shāh Amīn al-Dīn Aʿlā), some short treatises on mysticism composed by them are still extant, but these do not possess any great literary significance. Other more voluminous and important works on literature and theology were also written, such as the *Sharḥ-i Sharh-i Tamhīd*. This was a translation into Dakhanī Urdū by Saiyid Mīrā of Hyderabad (died 1074 =1663) of the Persian work called *Tamhīdāt* written by ḳādī ʿAin al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī (died 533 = 1137).

The above-mentioned poet Wadjhī or Wadjhi was the author of a prose work which has great literary significance, called *Sab-Ras* or *Ḥusn o Dil* ("Beauty and the Heart") It is a kind of allegory, describing the conflict between beauty on the one hand and the love sentiments of the heart on the other. The whole book is written in rhymed prose, and was composed in 1045 (1635). Another voluminous prose work, bearing the name of *Tardjama-i Shamāʾil al-Atḳiyā*, is a translation, made by Mīrā Yaʿḳūb about 1080 (1670), of the Persian book of Rukn ʿImād al-Dīn, who was a spiritual disciple of Khwādja Burhān al-Dīn (died 732 = 1332 at Dawlatābād). Many other prose works were also written soon after this time.

In this early language, just as Arabic and Persian words have been allowed to intermingle freely with Hindī words, so also the authors have drawn freely upon both Hindū and Muḥammadan legends for the subject matter While some of the themes versified are translations from Persian writers and poets, for others the authors are indebted to popular legends in the Sanskrit and Hindī languages, and also to Hindū folklore, e g Nal Daman, or Nuṣratī's famous mathnawī *Gulshan-i ʿIshḳ*, which is a love story of Madmāltī and Manohar, or the story of Kām-rūp Kāmtā In the books written by the Sūfīs, words of all three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindī, have been freely used, and the poets too have drawn their similes and metaphors from all three

It was, however, only when these works began to be written in Persian characters, and the system of Persian (or Arabic) prosody was adopted, that the real foundations of the Urdū language can be said to have been laid The *Padmāvat* of Malik Muḥammad of Djāʾis (947 = 1540), although composed in the perfect Hindī of that period and containing but a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian words, was nevertheless written in Persian characters. The prose works as well as the verses composed in the early Dakhanī Urdū were similarly written, and the majority of the poems have Persian metres. Malik Muḥammad, by presenting the pure Hindī language of that period in Persian characters, represents the fusion of Indian and Islāmic cultures. The writers who came after him went a step further, and by writing prose and poetry in a combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words still more closely cemented this alliance. Their adoption too of Persian (i. e. Arabic) prosody helped to make the foundations of the new language permanently strong. This may be ascribed to the influence of Persian culture, which was then predominant. Closely in the wake of foreign prosody

came foreign music, and these two helped to give an entirely new colouring to the nature and moral tone of Urdū poetry.

The beginnings of what may be called modern Urdū poetry were made in the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1131—1161 = 1719—1748). Even Walī Dakhanī (1099–1159 = 1688–1744) of Awrangābād learned from the masters who were then at Dihlī, and drew his inspiration from them His verse shows a tendency to select and refine, and he sincerely endeavours to choose the most polished words and idioms The proportion of Hindī and Persian elements in his verse, both as regards diction and subject-matter, is about equal His contemporary Sirādj is also a good poet, and uses a purer language than Walī.

The classical period of Urdū poetry begins with Mīr Taḳī (1137—1225 = 1713—1799). Mīr's poetry truly reflects his own life. As he was the son of a pious darwīsh who had kept himself strictly aloof from everything worldly, the tender and impressionable years of his life were spent in the society of saintly darwīshes. He lost his father at the age of eleven, and leaving Āgra, his native place, came to Dihlī to earn his living At this time, the once famous and powerful Mughal empire was fast crumbling to pieces, and the frequent incursions of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, coupled with the plundering activities of the Djāṭs and the Marāṭhas, had deprived it of even that meagre share of prestige which had been left to it after the devastating onslaughts of Nādir Shāh All this had a deep effect upon Mīr (see his autobiography *Dhikr-i Mīr*), and accounts for the general pessimism and tender pathos of his poetry His verses are lyrical and are couched in the sweetest, simplest and most melodious language, a combination but rarely met with in other poets His ghazals and mathnawīs are by far the best to be found in Urdū literature, and their merit has been acknowledged by almost all the great poets in Urdū Mīr was a man of very strong character, self-respecting even to a fault, and led a severely disciplined life. During the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam (1759—1806), when there was no one left in Dihlī to encourage poetry, a number of poets migrated to Lakhnaū, which was then the seat of a flourishing court Mīr too, on the invitation of Nawwāb Āsaf al-Dawla of Awadh, went to Lakhnaū and remained there until his death in A. D. 1799.

Sawdā (1125—1195 = 1713—1781), a contemporary of Mīr, was also a good poet, but he falls far short of the latter. He was impatient of criticism, had no control over his temper, and wrote long satires, but is nevertheless to be ranked among the masters. The chaste and graceful poetry of Khwādja Mīr Dard [see the article DARD] (1133–1199 = 1721—1784) reflects the mystic religion of his age. The realist Mīr Ḥasan (d 1201 = 1786), a follower of Mīr Dard, depicts in his poetry the social manners and customs of the age to which he belonged. His famous mathnawī *Siḥr al-Bayān*, in which he describes both human passions and natural scenes with remarkable fidelity, is the best and most popular mathnawī in Urdū

We now come to the age of Rangīn and Inshā' (d. 1233 = 1817), both of whom, like Sawdā, Mīr, and Mīr Ḥasan, migrated to Lakhnaū At that period Lakhnaū was the home of fashion and follies and the centre of a polished and pleasure-loving society, which fact could not but be reflected in the poetry written there Rangīn is generally considered the real originator of *rekhti* (see above under Hāshimī), a form of verse in which everything was written only about women and in the language and idioms used only by them He is fond of using Hindī words but his standard is very low, and his verses are full of erotic suggestions and other obscenities. Inshā', on the other hand, is not sensual but mirthful. He was a true poet but born in a decadent age, when the place of honour was usurped by servility. He regards life as a sport, and in his poetry, though the colours are usually heightened, the sentiment is often falsified. But it should be remembered that he is a master of technique, and that, while his affectations harmed Urdū literature in a general way, they also contributed to it an element of refinement and freshness. Thus his influence on literature has been both good and bad His book *Daryā-i Laṭāfat* bears eloquent testimony to his mastery of the Urdū language

Nazīr (d. 1830) stands out as a solitary figure in the history of Urdū literature. Though one of the most neglected of Urdū poets, and by some biographers even refused the title of poet, he is an Indian poet in the real sense of the word Even when swayed now and then by sensual pleasures, he does not cease to be a perfect artist. His best poems are those in which he merrily sings the songs of his native land, or on common topics which appeal alike to young and old, poor and rich Like nature in India, his imagination too is rich and fertile Several of his poems on birds and beasts (e. g. "The poor Swan", "The Bear-Cub", and "The young Squirrel") indirectly criticise the social manners and customs of his period In some of his poems he has portrayed the happy scenes witnessed at Indian festivals, and his love of nature is shown in his vivid descriptions of the seasons His style, however, is sometimes careless, his verse is faulty, and he has no feeling for the choice of words. He is really a poet of the people and allows nothing to stand between himself and his swiftly-flowing narrative.

Dhawḳ (d. 1272 = 1855) is a follower of a long line of Persian poets who reduced literary flattery to a fine art His *ḳaṣīdas*, most of which were written in praise of the last rulers of the Mughal dynasty, are famous in Urdū literature. Not so, however, are his ghazals, to which his genius was totally unsuited.

At this stage in the history of Urdū literature poetry seemed to have come to a standstill The poetical productions of the period were mostly imitative, inartistic, and uninspiring, repeating with wearisome monotony the old ideas, themes and even the words which had been again and again employed by earlier poets. At this moment Ghālib suddenly appeared like a new planet in the literary firmament

Ghālib (1212—1286 = 1787—1869) was descended from a family of warriors, and the warm blood of the Aibek Turks in his veins shows itself in his poetry. While yet a schoolboy he had begun to compose verses, but his real merit as a poet shone out only after the great mutiny of 1857. This revolution, representing as it did the conflict of contradictory forces, was destructive of much that ought not to have perished. The complete destruction of many a useful institution of

the Mughal reign, and the extinction of the great Mughal dynasty itself, deeply moved Ghālib and imbued his poetry with that pathos which makes it so poignant. Like all truly great men, he was far ahead of his time, and for this very reason was not appreciated by his contemporaries He was a pioneer of the modern movement in Urdū poetry In the whole realm of Urdū literature there is none to surpass him in originality, strength of imagination, or flight of fancy. Ghālib was the first to introduce philosophical conceptions into Urdū poetry, with the result that his verses offer a captivating combination of philosophy, mysticism and pathos His style is decorative, expressive, and pleasing to the ear Its one defect is that its literary idiom is Persian, but in spite of this a considerable number of his verses were written in a clear and simple style

The most famous of the Persian elegies on the martyrdom of Husain, the *Haft Band* of Muhtasham Kāshī, served as model for the Indian elegiac poets. But Anīs (1802–1874) and Dabīr (1803–1875) have far excelled their Persian prototype, except that, as in it, the nature of their grief is far from manly Religious devotion and the literary excellence of their poems have accorded to them a very high position in Urdū literature Anīs is so graphic in his description of battle scenes, and so realistic in his portrayal of the Martyrs of Karbalā', that the whole narrative seems to be alive and is surprisingly true in details. The verse is fluent and majestic, and in places so simple as to be suitable for every-day conversation But a veil of gloom drapes all the poems. Instead of recounting the heroic deeds of the Imām in a vigorous epic strain, both Anīs and Dabīr mourn for him, for his sufferings and death, with true feminine grief The Imām as depicted in these verses does not possess that forcefulness of character which marks all those who have gained martyrdom in the cause of truth. In spite of these defects of characterisation, however, Anīs is a true master of language and of the art of poetry.

The period which marks the downfall of Lakhnaū is one of stagnation and reaction in the history of Urdū literature The poets are innocent of originality, in matter as in style, and overlaid their verse with redundant figures of speech. Ātish and Nāsikh are both great masters of technique, but they do not deserve to be ranked with the other great poets of the Urdū language, and the entire "poetical" talent of their followers and pupils consists in puns and plays upon words The mathnawī of Dayā Shankar Nasīm (1811–1843), written about this time, is a fine specimen of perfect versifying skill, and would have been good poetry had it not been figurative and ornamental to a fault. The various mathnawīs by Shawk are nothing more than more word-pictures of the corrupt and free manners which characterised the society of that period, and in writing them the poet has drawn his inspiration from the gay and gallant court of Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. But to do him justice, wanton mirth is not unmixed with grace of art. That is all that can be said in justification of his mathnawīs. The poet has sacrificed his art on the altar of frivolity.

After Dāgh (1831—1905) and Amīr (1828—1900), the foundations laid by Mīr's classical poetry may be truly said to have fallen asunder. The poetry of both of these shows marked degeneration; both are upholders of that effete tradition which devoted its entire efforts to purposeless but sometimes decorative word-play. Of the two, however, Dāgh is a master of expression, and he has certainly enriched the language by introducing into his poetry colloquial idioms and some exquisite expressions.

It was, however, at this stage in the decline of Urdū poetry, when literature had degenerated into a mere farce, that the influence of the West began to make itself felt in the intellectual life of the country The West formed a new world of thought laid open for the benefit of the Indian mind Old traditions were changed; modern sciences replaced subjective egoism by objective art; instead of the classical, ornamental, and rhymed language, a simpler and more natural style of expression was adopted, and the effeminate dilettantism of the age gave way to manliness and self-confidence. In short, there began the true renaissance of Urdū letters.

Muhammad Husain Āzād (d 1910) was a remarkable embodiment of the characteristics of this period He was the first poet to drink deep of the fountain of the Occident He was a philologist and a master of the *musadjdja*ʿ metrical prose, but he was not a great poet. His contemporary Hālī, however, was altogether different. Hālī was born at Pānipat in 1253 (1837) and died in 1332 (1914) His boyhood and youth were spent at Dihlī at a time when the Mughal empire was fast declining, and as is natural at all such times, social and political upheavals were the order of the day Hālī was an eye-witness of the setting sun of the Mughals, and all that he saw had a deep effect on his sensitive soul Though in his literary pursuits he was the successor and pupil of Ghālib and Shefta, yet intellectually he was a true descendant of the great Arab poets of pre-Islāmic days

His early poetical productions were of the type then common, but gradually the modern tendencies of the age began to influence him and led him ultimately to Naturalism and to a minute study of the society around him The genesis of his didactic poetry was the ʿAlīgarh movement. Through the efforts of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān the era of a new humanism dawned upon India, and a new spirit suffused the intellectual and cultural life of Indian Muslims Hālī was destined to be the bard of this new movement In his *Musaddas* he not only made the dead past of History a living present, but he also described with surprising detail the national life of the Indian Musalmāns. Although his poetry is founded on a deep pessimism, he was filled with a passionate longing for truth and burned with the desire to rebuild and reconstruct. Besides being a great poet, Ḥālī was also one of the interpreters of English literature to the Indian people But he was a true realist, and never allowed the surging tide of Occidental ideas to carry him off his feet. Before his time, literature was but a medium for expressing the ideas of a class. It was he who opened it up to the masses, and expressed himself in the common language, which was essential for the success of his mission. This, as was to be expected, raised a storm of hostile criticism and satire, but time has vindicated him against his critics. Moreover

his diction is immaculate, and he uses Hindī words in his verse with great beauty and skill.

In face of the flood of new ideas that swept away old-time conventions, Akbar Ḥusain (1846—1921) raised his voice in support of what to him was Oriental culture, and indulged his humour at the expense of the admirers of Europe and of their follies. Even the modernism of ʿAlīgaṛh could not escape his venomous satires. He regarded Islām and Islāmic culture as in grave danger of submersion under the swelling tide of Western materialism, and made it the aim of his poetry to avert this catastrophe Newfangled ideas came in for a good deal of criticism at his hands, and he has nothing but supreme contempt for those short-sighted Indians who blindly imitated Europeans. His style, at its best, is polished and humorous, even though his verse is marred by a too-studied effort to create effect by word-play and rhyme It is doubtful if he will be popular with posterity once his present utility as a satirist is exhausted. Though he is not one of the great ones among the poets he is certainly the least imitable of them all.

In modern Urdū poetry three figures stand out preeminent Ghālib, Hālī and Iḳbāl Ghālib's soaring imagination and philosophical ideas broke through the crust of old-time poetry, but his verse is filled with the deepest pessimism. Hālī is one who stands alone amid the fast crumbling ruins of ancient grandeur and weeps over it, but who yet burns with the desire to reconstruct and to revive that which is fast decaying Iḳbāl may not possess the soaring imagination of Ghālib nor the deep pathos of Hālī, but he has a vigour, an enthusiasm and a creative force all his own. Though not favourably disposed to occidentalism, he has, more than any other of the poets, availed himself of western ideas, which have widened his poetical outlook His early poetry was of the popular patriotic type, but of late he has developed a keen pan-Islāmic feeling. He calls upon Muslims to make religion a basic and unifying principle and to develop the characteristics of the believers of old, and sees the vision of a day, not far distant, when Islām will prove to be the salvation, not only of Asia, but of the whole world Of late he has devoted his talent to Persian rather than to Urdū verse, for he considers the Persian language to be more serviceable in propagating his ideas throughout Islāmic countries than his mother-tongue Urdū.

The beginnings of Urdū prose have already been referred to above. The first prose books in the language were also written in the Dakhan, but most of them dealt with religion and other allied subjects, and none except the *Sab-Ras* (1045 = 1635), which is in metrical and rhymed prose, can claim any literary significance. In northern India, even so late as the post-Mutiny period, people wrote books and carried on correspondence in Persian. Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn of Dihlī (1163—1233 = 1750—1818) and Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (1157—1230 = 1754—1815) both translated the Ḳurʾān into Urdū, but their translations were too literal. The foundations of modern Urdū prose were laid in the Fort William College at Calcutta, founded by Lord Wellesley in 1800. Of the languages taught there, most attention was paid to Persian and to Hindustānī or Urdū. Dr. John Gilchrist, who was in charge of the College and was himself a keen student and author of Hindustānī books, may well be regarded as a great patron of Urdū. Mīr Amman, the compiler of the *Bāgh o-Bahār* or *Ḳiṣṣā-i Čahār Darwīsh* (1801—1802), and Mīr Shēr ʿAlī Afsōs, the compiler of the *Ārāʾish-i Maḥfil* (1805), deserve special mention. Both of these books are admirable in point of diction and description, especially the *Bāgh o-Bahār* ("The Garden and the Spring") which will remain a perennial source of literary enjoyment. One notable influence of these compilations and translations produced under the auspices of the Fort William College was that Urdū writers began to develop a taste for simple language, and the old metrical rhymed style, laden with Arabic and Persian words and expressions, went out of fashion. But the majority of these books dealt with fiction in one form or another It was left to the great Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān (1817—1898) to teach his generation the art of writing on serious and scientific subjects in the simplest and most fluent language. His magazine *Tahdhīb al-Aḳhlāḳ* almost completely revolutionised Urdū literature. It was for this reason that the masters of modern Urdū prose were mostly those who had come either under the direct influence of Sir Saiyid, or else were in some way connected with the Dihlī College, where Urdū, was a medium of instruction, and where books were being translated and written in Urdū In the meanwhile I cannot overlook the letters of Ghalde (see above) published under the title of "Urdū-i Moalla" which are model of freshness, purity and wit.

Among the principal modern Urdū prose-writers are the following.

Muḥammad Husain Āzād of Dihlī writes chaste prose, and his books, though not free from artificiality, are couched in simple language, and have a genuine charm. His *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, a biography of Urdū poets, should always remain a living thing in literature

Khwādja Altāf Husain Hālī was a master both of prose and poetry. His style, besides being sober and vigorous, is fluent, and he possessed a fine literary taste He may be regarded as the founder of literary criticism and of biography in Urdū. His *Ḥayāt-i Saʿdī*, *Yādgār-i Ghālib* and *Muḳaddama-i Shiʿr o-Shāʿirī* are epoch-making books in Urdū literary criticism, and his *Ḥayāt-i Djawīd* (life of Sir Saiyid Aḥmad Khān) is the high-water mark of Urdū prose literature.

Naḏhīr Aḥmad (1831—1912) was a forceful writer and speaker, with a wonderful command of language In spite of his frequent use of Arabic words and phrases, his vigorous language penetrates to the hearts of his readers, and his works of fiction, such as *Mirʾāt al-ʿArūs*, *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ*, *Fasānā-i Mubtila*, will always be read with interest by lovers of Urdū. Some of his characters have become household words among Urdū-speaking people His translation of the Ḳurʾān into Urdū is undoubtedly the best that has appeared.

Shiblī [see SHIBLĪ NUʿMĀNĪ] (1857—1914), who was a professor at ʿAlīgaṛh, was mainly instrumental in developing a taste for history in the Urdū-reading public. In addition to a series of lives of Muslim heroes, he wrote many treatises on Islāmic questions and was a distinguished literary critic

Novel-writing in Urdū dates only from the time of Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1847—1902), the author of *Fasānā-i Āzād*, which, in itself some-

what confused, is yet well-known for its delineation of some of the chief features of the Lakhnaū society of its day. The novels of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar (1860—1926) are mostly historical, but are weak in characterisation. The fact is that with the exception of some of Nadhīr Aḥmad's stories, no novel worth the name has yet been written in Urdū. Sharar's novels no doubt helped to create a literary taste, but they did no more.

With the advent of the British into India, a taste for the drama also began to be cultivated, and the Pārsīs were the first to popularise it. This naturally produced some dramatists who wrote a number of ordinary plays, but unfortunately there has not yet appeared even one drama in Urdū which is deserving of serious mention.

Although at first the influence of English education tended to alienate the sympathies of the younger generation from their own language, a phenomenon for which the style of education introduced into India was largely responsible, yet when their taste became more mature they turned to their mother-tongues with greater zest and began to enrich them with translations of European books on the arts and sciences. The Andjuman-i Tarakḳī-i Urdū of Awrangābād, Dakhan, and the Osmania University of Ḥaidarābād, Dakhan, with its Translation Bureau, are the foremost institutions to-day for the advancement of the Urdū language. On the whole systematic progress is being made, and the people are beginning to love and feel proud of their language. During the last few years many magazines and journals have been started, some of which are rendering signal service to Urdū, and assisting in the development of a more refined taste

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(ABDUL HAQ)

AL-URDUNN, the Jordan, Hebrew (*ha*) *Yardēn*, but in LXX, Josephus, Pliny and others ὁ Ἰορδάνης. The etymology of the word is obscure and it is even thought by some to be a loanword (cf. the river name Ἰαρδανος in Crete). After the Crusades the name *al-Sharīʿa* (*al-kabīra*), the "(great) watering-place" came into use and is still the most usual name among the Beduins.

1. The Jordan is formed by the combination of three streams: al-Ḥasbānī, Nahr Leddān and Nahr Bānyās. Shortly after their junction, the Jordan reaches the Hūle district and here flows through the lake of Baḥret al-Ḥēt (Baḥret al-Ḥūle according to Dalman is only the papyrus swamp in the north). The valley of the Jordan sinks rapidly towards the south, so that the surface of the Lake of Galilee, Baḥr Tabarīya, through which the Jordan flows [cf ṬABARĪYA], is 682 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The valley is known as al-Ghōr [cf. GHAWR] from the south end of the lake to an elevation 3 hours' journey south of the Dead Sea. Here it assumes a character different from that of its northern half a plain of dazzling white marl, through which the river runs with numerous windings, looking to one who surveys it from a height like a twisted green ribbon, as the banks are covered with dense vegetation, which hides the river. Otherwise the plain is devoid of vegetation but at the foot of the hills on its western edge are several very fertile oases ("the gardens of Urdunn", cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 1232; see the article RIḤĀ) The Jordan terminates in the Dead Sea, Bahr Lūṭ (Lot's Sea), the surface of which is 1,292 feet below sea-level and the deepest point 2,600 feet It has no exit to the south or west and never has had one. The 1,300 million gallons of water brought down to it every day by the Jordan, evaporate in the burning heat so that the level of the water, apart from slight seasonal variations, remains the same. The result is that nothing can live in the water as the salts and other mineral constituents remain while the water evaporates. The depression south of the Dead Sea is called al-ʿAraba, the ground rises considerably here and then sinks again to the level of the Gulf of ʿAḳaba.

The following tributaries of the Jordan may be mentioned. Soon after its exit from the Lake of Galilee it receives on the left bank the important stream of the Sharīʿat al-Ṣaghīra (the little watering-place) or Sharīʿat al-Menādire, in the earlier period Yarmūk [q v.], and farther south the Nahr al-Zeikāʾ (the ancient Jabboḳ) which flows in at al-Dāmiya. On the right bank comes the Djālūt, rising in Goliath's spring (ʿAin Djālūt), which runs by Bēsān into the Jordan.

On account of its currents, its numerous windings and many shallows, the Jordan cannot be used for navigation. On the other hand, even in ancient times several of these shallows formed fords which connected the lands east with those west of the Jordan and thus linked up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt with Damascus. North of Lake Tiberias there are five and south of it 54; they are most frequent opposite Bēsān. In the Old Testament they are mentioned under the names *maʿbar* or *maʿbera*. Whether the Israelites had ferries is uncertain and in any case not proved by the obscure passage 2 Sam., xix. 19. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that in their fighting with the Aramaeans in the lands east of the Jordan, they would take their troops, horses and chariots (1 Kings, xxii. 35) across the Jordan by

fords, but how they did it we are not told (with floats?). If necessary it was possible to swim the Jordan (1 Macc., ix 48) but in view of the strong current it required skill and strength. There were certainly no bridges since these only began to be built in the Roman period. The ford a little south of the Hūle district is specially celebrated; from it a road led via Ḳunēṭra to Damascus. Whether there was a Roman road here is, according to P. Thomsen's map in *Z.D.P.V.*, xl (cf. p. 33), uncertain but in the middle ages this ford, called *Vadum Jacobi* (wrongly from Gen xxxii 22), is often mentioned and was of considerable strategic importance during the Crusades. Here Baldwin III was defeated in 1157 by Nūr al-Dīn and in 1178 Baldwin IV built a fort below the crossing, but in the following year it was stormed by Saladin and destroyed At a later date, a three-arched bridge was built of large blocks of basalt at the site of the ford (cf. pictures in *Z D. P. V.*, xiii 74). It is known to have been in existence in 1450 and was probably built not long before. The name "Bridge of Jacob's daughters", Djisr Banāt Yaʿḳūb, points to the old *Vadum Jacobi* but is remarkable as Jacob did not have a number of daughters (cf above 1, p 1050).

One of the most important roads from Damascus to the lands west of the Jordan has probably always been the route via Fiḳ (or Afīḳ, perhaps Afek [Aphek] 1 Kings, xx. 26, 30, cf xiii 22) to the south end of the Lake of Galilee, where the Jordan was crossed by a ford where it leaves the Lake A little south of the crossing are the ruins of two stone bridges. Umm al-Ḳanāṭir and Djisr al-Sidd Nothing is known of their history but one of them is probably the bridge at the south end of the lake which Muḳaddasī mentions in his description of Tabarīya and of which Yākūt says that it had over 20 arches As late as the xivth century we are told by W de Baldensel that he crossed the Jordan by a bridge here (Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², iii.) Close to the junction of the Yarmūk with the Jordan is a bridge Djisr al-Mudjāmiʿ whence roads led to Mkēs and Irbid below the hills of Karn Sartaba Further to the south we again find a bridge Djisr al-Dāmiya but it is now on dry land as the river has dug out a new bed here It was built in 1266 by the vigorous Mamlūk sultān Baibars, who also had bridges built at several other places (cf. Rohricht, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II/1 382; Clermont Ganneau, in *JA*, ser viii, vol. x [1887] p 518) Among the most used is the bridge north of Jericho which leads to W Nimrīn

In the brief descriptions of the Jordan in the Arab geographers there are a few details of some interest Muḳaddasī mentions that the river is unnavigable Yāḳūt, quoting an older authority, says that the Jordan above the Lake of Tiberias was called the "Great" and between the Lake and the Dead Sea the "Little Jordan", which statement however is probably based on a confusion with the Yarmūk (see above). He mentions the sugar plantations watered by the river in al-Ghawr [cf. RĪḤĀ]. Dimashḳī mentions the hot springs near the Lake of Tiberias and of Mudjāmiʿ where the Yarmūk joins the Jordan. He also gives an account of the remarkable phenomena at the river's end. The Jordan flows night and day into the Dead Sea without any outflow, yet the Sea does not increase in winter or decrease in summer. The main road from Damascus to Egypt goes, according to Ibn Khurdadhbih (*B. G. A.*, vi. 219) and the geographers who follow him, via Fīḳ to the south end of the Lake of Tiberias and thence by a circuitous route via Tiberias to Baisān. In the xivth century on the other hand, the route lay through a part of ʿAdjlūn, as one descended from Baisān into the Jordan valley to Mudjāmiʿ and thence over the bridge to follow the road to Irbid. In the xvth century, a more northerly route began to come into use by going eastwards from the new capital Ṣafat (see below) crossing the Jordan on the above mentioned "bridge of Jacob's daughters" and thence via Nuʿrān and Kunēṭra to Damascus This road remained the usual one and has recently been made more convenient by improving the road leading to and from the bridge.

2 The Jordan province of the Arabs, Djund al-Urdunn (military district of the Jordan), corresponded to the *Palaestina Secunda* of the older division and included the two Galilees, the valley of the Jordan and the western part of the lands east of the Jordan Most of the towns in it were taken by Abū ʿUbaida in 14 (635), the remainder by Khālid and ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī; others name Shurahbīl as the conqueror They were all taken by force of arms except Ṭabarīya which capitulated under shameful conditions and probably on that account was made the capital instead of Skythopolis. The size of the district may be judged from the list of towns given by the historians and geographers as belonging to it according to Balādhurī Tabarīya, Baisān, Kadas, ʿAkka, Ṣūr, Saffūrīya and in the land east of the Jordan Sūsīya, ʿAfik, Djarash, Bait Rās, al-Djawlān and (?) Sawād — according to Yaʿḳūbī. Tabarīya, Ṣūr, ʿAkka, Ḳadas, Baisān and in the land east of the Jordan Fahl, Djarash and (?) Sawād — according to Ibn al-Faḳīh Tabaīya, al-Sāmira (i. e Nābulus), Baisān, ʿAkka, Kadas, Sūr and in the land east of the Jordan Fahl and Djarash — according to Mukaddasī· Tabarīya, Ḳadas, Sūr, Faradhīya, ʿAkka, al-Ladjdjūn, Kabūl, Baisān and in the land east of the Jordan Adhraʿāt — according to Idrīsī. Tabarīya, al-Ladjdjūn, al-Sāmira (Nābulus), Baisān, Arihā (Jericho), ʿAkka, Nāsira, Ṣūr and in the land east of the Jordan. Zughār, ʿAmatā (Amathus), Habīs (Yābis?), Djadar, Ābil (Abila), Sūsiya — according to Yāḳūt. Ṭabarīya, Baisān, Saffūrīya, Ṣūr, ʿAkka and in the land east of the Jordan Bait Rās und Djadar etc. These lists show that the boundaries have not always remained the same.

Regarding the yearly tribute of the province of Urdunn the Arab authors give the following figures [cf FILASṬĪN] towards the end of the viiith century 96,000 dīnārs, under Maʾmūn 97,000, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih and Ibn al-Faḳīh 350,000, according to Ḳudāma 109,000, according to Yaʿḳūbī 100,000, according to Muḳaddasī 170,000 (cf. *Z. D. P. V*, vii. 225).

In the Crusading period, the previous divisions were abolished and the members of Saladin's family constituted various kingdoms (*mamlakāt*) instead. The province of Urdunn is represented mainly by the kingdom of Ṣafat which in addition to the town of that name included the following districts: Mardj ʿAiyūn, Ladjdjūn, Djinnīn, ʿAkka, Ṣūr and Ṣaida, i. e. all towns in the lands west of the Jordan. In Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, who wrote his *al-Muṭhīr* in 1351 and was often copied, we find another division, in which al-Ghōr and the lands east of

the Jordan are more prominent: al-Hawrān with the capital Ṭabarīya and the districts of al-Ghawr, Yarmūk and Baisān.

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(Fr. Buhl)

ʿURF (A.), defined by Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed Flugel, p. 154) as "[Action or belief] in which persons persist with the concurrence of the reasoning powers and which their natural dispositions agree to accept [as right]" It stands therefore to represent unwritten custom as opposed to established law, *sharʿ* (cf Māwardī, ed Enger, p 5, *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, f. 124[b], line 7; transl, p 194) though attempts have not been lacking to regard it as one of the *uṣūl* (cf. Goldziher, *Zāhirīten*, p 204 *sq*) It is sometimes held to be equivalent to case law or common law. This may be where civil laws (*ahkām*) are based on recognized local customs (*aʿrāf*), and it is a well-known fact that in many tribal and other communities these are native codes of unwritten laws and traditions by which life is regulated locally. In Southern Palestine these existed as late as the middle of the nineteenth century a *fellāh* code called *sharīʿat khalīl*, i. e. "the law of Abraham", as distinct from the Muhammadan code (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, *Quarterly Statement*, Jan 1879, p 38). Amongst the Bedouin of Arabia also these have always existed, as distinct from the ḳādīs of the *sharʿ*, speccial judges possessed of the customary lore of their tribe, to whom recourse is had in matters affecting tribal interests (cf J. v. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London 1831, i. 120—122; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, iii. 209, 337 *sq*, 346, 365). Frequently *ʿurf* is simply the decision made in various cases by the sovereign or his agent — not the ḳādī — according as the requirements of the state demand or as prejudices dictate. In Persia, since the Ṣafawī period or even before, decisions based upon *ʿurf* have been made by the Shāh or his governors or by the special court of *ʿurf* presided over by the *Dīwān-begī*. There was however never any rule to decide which cases were to go to the latter court and which to the courts of the *sharʿ*, though mainly it was offences against the state and against law and order — e. g. rebellion and disloyal conduct, debasing the coinage, rioting, theft, highway-robbery, and murder — which came before it. The *mullās* have never recognized its competence, denouncing as illegal any judgment based on *ʿurf*. In Turkey it stood for the conception of the Sulṭān's own arbitrary power as distinct from *ʿāda* (customary law, q v), *ḳānūn* (civil law) and the *sharʿ* Sometimes *ʿurf* might run counter to the *sharʿ*, e. g. when the Sulṭān enslaved Christians, though they were *dhimmīs* and thus "protected", in order to recruit the corps of the Janissaries.

Bibliography As under ʿĀDA, with the addition of the works mentioned in the body of the article and the following. Olearius, *Voyages*, transl. J. Davies, London 1669, p 273, 275; Polak, *Persien*, i. 328 *sq*, C. J Wills, *Persia as it is*, ch v., vi; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i., xxiii., Aḥmad al-Nāsirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā'*, Cairo 1312, iv. 267; *Droit Coutumier Berbère*, in *Revue d. Ét. islamiques*, ii. 481 *sq.*; Winstedt, *Malaya*, p. 107, R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, vol ii., ch iii.

(R. Levy)

ʿURFĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn, of Shīrāz, a Persian poet His personal name is variously given: al-Saiyidī (*ʿArafāt*), Khwādja Saiyidī Muḥammad (*Maʾāthir-i Rahīmī*), and Muhammad Husain (*Maykhāna*). He was known in his younger days as Saidī (*Maykhāna*, cf. *Oude Cat*, p 126). His father's name was Zain al-Dīn Balawī (?) and his grandfather's Djamāl al-Dīn Saiyidī, but the latter was more commonly known as *Khwādja-i Čādar Bāf*. ʿUrfī was born in Shīrāz, where his father held a post in a Government Office According to the author of the *Maʾāthir*, the post was that of the vizier of the *Dārogha* (Prefect) of the town. ʿUrfī received his early education of the usual kind in Shīrāz, and began to compose verses in early youth His *takhalluṣ* had reference to the occupation of his father, who had to deal with matters relating to canon law (*sharʿ*) and customary law (*ʿurf*). At the age of twenty he had a severe attack of small-pox, which disfigured him very much The various *tadhkiras* give us only a few glimpses of his poetical career in Persia. He entered into poetical contests with Mullā Ghairatī (for whom see *Haft Iḳlīm* s.v. Shīrāz, and Badā'ūnī, iii. 292) and other poets of Shīrāz. Awḥadī tells us that a few years before ʿUrfī left for India, he wrote *ghazals* in the same metre and rhyme as those of Fighānī (d. 922 or 925) and other famous poets. His extreme self-conceit and arrogance brought him into serious conflict with his contemporaries, especially with Wahshī of Yezd (d. 991 = 1583), and caused much unpleasantness The mortification caused to him by his own disfigurement, his conflict with his contemporaries, and the lure of Indian patronage are given among the causes which induced him to leave his own country and emigrate to India

Leaving the port of Djirūn, he came by the sea-route to Aḥmadnagar in 994 (1585—1586) (Taḳī Kāshī, *Oude Cat.*, p. 37), perhaps more correctly in 993 (1585), and thence went to Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī, where he arrived about the new year's day (19th Rabīʿ I, 993 = March 10/11, 1585). There he attached himself to Faiḍī, who took him along to Attock, where Akbar encamped early in Muḥarram 994 (Nov. 1585), to control the operations against the Yūsufzaʾī Afghāns, in which expedition Faiḍī himself took part (*Akbar Nāme*, iii. 476). Later, ʿUrfī attached himself to Masīḥ al-Dīn Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ, and, on his death in 997

(1589), to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, to whom the Hakīm had recommended him, and from whom he was already receiving considerable grants of money every year. The Khān Khānān treated him with great kindness and consideration Finally, the Emperor (Akbar) took ʿUrfī in to his own service but he died soon after in Lāhore, at the age of 35 or 36, on the 18th Amurdad (= Shawwāl) 999 (August 1591), of dysentry, or, as later writers say, of poison He was buried in Lāhore, but thirty (lunar) years after his burial his bones were sent by Mīr Ṣābir of Ispahān, vizier of Iʿtimād al-Dawla (father of Nūr Djahān), to Nadjaf, where they were reburied.

ʿUrfī's contemporaries describe him as a conceited and arrogant person and the fact is borne out by many disparaging remarks which his *dīwān* contains about great Persian poets. As a poet, however, he enjoyed great popularity in his time in India, and outside India, though his early death prevented his genius from developing fully. He was praised as the inventor of a new style of poetry, some of the outstanding features of which were a forceful diction, coining of new and original expressions, the continuity of topics, and freshness and novelty of metaphors and comparisons In *ghazal* his chief merit lies in his giving a poetical expression to philosophic ideas and lofty ideals but his fame rests mainly on his *ḳaṣīdas* In the following centuries ʿUrfī suffered somewhat in popularity, especially in his own country, where Ādhar condemned his excessive use of similes (see *Ātash-Kada*, Bombay 1277, p. 276), and more recently Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān indicated that his style was not to the taste of that writer's contemporaries (*Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*' ii. 24)

ʿUrfī published his first *dīwān* in 996 (1587—1588), which comprised 26 *kasīdas*, 270 *ghazals*, and *ḳiṭʿas* and *rubāʿīs* containing 700 *baits* ("320 of the former and 380 of the latter"; cf. *Oude Cat*, p. 529). In 1026 (1617) Sirādja-i Isfahānī edited a *Kulliyāt* of ʿUrfī (14,000 *baits*) from the MSS. which the poet had sent from his death-bed to the Khān Khānān For Nāẓim Tabrīzī's claim to have edited these after 1033 (1617) see Maykhāna, *Ḥawāshī*, p. 102. The *Kulliyāt* included, beside the poems of the kind comprised in the first *dīwān*, some *mathnawīs* (viz. *Madjmaʿ al-Akbār*, *Farhād wa-Shīrīn* and a *Saḳīnāme*) Apparently Sirādja's edition had a preface from the pen of Mullā ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nahāwandī ʿUrfī also has a short prose treatise called *Nafsīya* Several commentaries on his *ḳaṣīdas* exist in Persian and Turkish (see *Bānkīpūr Catalogue*, ii. 198 *sqq.*). His *dīwān* has been frequently lithographed in India. An English translation of his *ḳaṣīdas* was published in Calcutta 1887.

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(MOHAMMAD SHAFI)

URGENČ. [See KHWĀRIZM.]

URMIYA, a district and town in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān.

The name. The Syrians write Urmiyā, the Armenians Ormi, the Arabs Urmiya, the Persians Urūmī, the Turks Urūmīye or Rūmīye (through a fanciful derivation from Rūm "Byzantium, Turkey"). The name is of uncertain, non-Iranian origin. Assyrian sources mention a place called Urmeiate in the land of Mann in the vicinity of the Lake of Urmiya (cf. Streck, in *Z.A*, xiv 140, Belck, *Das Reich der Mannaer*, in *Verhandl. d. Berl Gesell. f Anthrop.*, 1894, and Minorsky, *Kelashin* etc, in *Zap*, xxiv [1917], 170). On the other hand, the name is unknown to the classical geographers and to the *Avesta* and Pahlavi sources (cf. Jackson, *op cit.*, p. 87) It is also unknown to Armenian geography of the viith century (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*), this in spite of the fact that late Zoroastrian tradition early recorded by the Arabs (cf Balādhurī, p. 331; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119) placed the birthplace of Zoroaster at Urmiya.

Geography. The district of Urmiya is bounded on the east by the Lake of Urmiya and in the west by the mountain range which runs north and south and separates Persia from Turkey In the north it is bounded by the transveisal range (Shāh-Bāzīd–Awghān-daghī) which separates it from Salmas [q. v.]. To the south Urmiya is bounded by the valley of the Gadir, the upper course of which belongs to Ushnū [q. v.] and the lower waters the Sulduz [q v.] valleys. Urmiya is about 80 miles from N to S. and 35 from E. to W

The district of Urmiya consists of plain and mountains. The rivers that water it and which flow from W to E. are:

1. the Barānduz which unites the waters of the district of Margavār and then runs through the gorge of Nergi into the plain which it runs round on the south side. On the right (south) bank the Barānduz receives the Ḳāsimlu which runs through the little Dāshtabel. The mountains of Māh separate the eastern Dāshtabel from the Dol. This last district lies in the shape of a horse-shoe on the S. W. shore of the lake (to the north of Sulduz).

2. the Barde-Sūr (= Kurd. "Red Stone") runs out of the gorge of Bēdkār (belonging to Turkey), through the mountainous region of Dāsht, which belongs to Urmiya and then through the pass of Band into the plain and through the town of Urmiya, whence its other name, Shahāi-čai, "the river of the town".

3. the Rouzā (Rawḍa)-čai drains the hilly district of Tärgävär and before reaching the lake has been used up by irrigation canals.

4. the Nāzlu-čai is made up of a number of streams of which the southern rises in the Turkish district of Deiri (where the monastery of Mar-Bisho is) and below the village of Arzin runs through the northern part of Tärgavär (where on the right bank it is joined by the Mawāna); the middle one comes out of the gorge of Bažirga Turk.) and near the village of Sērō enters the Persian district of Brādost; the northern stream is that of the district of the Somai [q. v.] which belongs to Salmas. The waters of these three join at the foot of Mount Mandjāl-sar (in Kurdish = "pot on the head") and from the fort of Ismāʿīl Khān Shakkāk [q. v.] the river formed by their union flows through the northern part of the plain. On the north of its left bank on the slope of the Awghan-daghī is the district of Anzal

The lake of Urmiya lies at a height of 4,245 feet above sea-level, the town of Urmiya 4,390 feet; the heights of the outer spurs are 4,780, 7,330, 8,395, and that of the frontier range is 11,220, 11,542, 11,830 feet.

The abundant water-supply renders the alluvial plain of Urmiya extremely fertile The villages are buried in verdure. In the mountain districts the agriculture is dependent on the rains. The natural conditions there are very favourable for the breeding of sheep.

Archaeology. Several tells in the vicinity of the town (Gok-tapä, Degala, Tarmani, Ahmad, Saralan, Dīza-tapa) have already produced objects of great antiquity (cf Virchow, *Fundstucke aus Grabhugeln bei Urmia*, in *Zeitschr f Ethnologie*, xxii, 1900, p 609—612, Jackson, *op cit*, p. 90—98; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i 276) In 1888 in a vaulted chamber discovered at Gok-täpa at a depth of 25 feet was found a cylindrical seal representing the Babylonian gods W H Waid, *Amer Journ. of Archaeol*, vi., 1890, p. 286—291 and Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z alter Gesch Armeniens*, 1907, p. 8—12, date it c. 2000 B. C If Urmiya is the ancient Urmeiate it must have been included in the land of the Mannaeans (Minni of Jeremiah, li. 27), exposed to the invasions of the Assyrians as well as to the influence of the kingdom of Wan (Urartu); cf. the rock chambers at Nergi and Ḳalʿa Ismāʿīl-khān which have a Vannic character; cf. Minorsky, in *Zap*, xxiv., 188—191 [There seems to be a third chamber on Mount Kotul at Brādost].

The assonance of the two names had suggested to d'Anville the identity of Urmiya with Θηβαρμαίς where stood the great fire-temple and which was burned by Heraclius in 623 But it is strange to find Thebarmais on the road which Khusraw Parwēz took to go to Dastagerd (cf. Ritter's remarks, *Erdkunde*, ix. 942). According to the text of Theophanes, restored by de Boor, i. 308, ii. 190, 619, Thebarmais was situated to the east ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ, evidently with reference to Gazaka. Since Rawlinson, the latter place has been located at Takht-i Sulaimān [cf. SHIZ]. De Boor connects Thebarmais with Bitharmais, Berthemais, and Bermais mentioned by several classical authors.

Muslim period. Urmiya was conquered by Ṣadaḳa b. ʿAlī, a client of the ʿAzd, who built several castles there (Balādhurī, p. 331—332); according to another story, the town was taken by ʿUtba b. Farḳad whom the caliph ʿOmar had sent in 20 (640) to conquer the district of Mawṣil.

The geographers of the ninth century (Iṣṭaḵhrī, p 181; Ibn Hawḳal, p. 239) give Urmiya the third place among the towns of Ādharbāidjān (next to Ardabīl and Marāgha) and emphasise its wealth in water, pasture and fruits. Muḳaddasī, p. 51, puts Urmiya in Armenia and says it is governed from Dwin. At this period Urmiya was on the great road Ardabīl–Marāgha–Urmiya–Barkrī (to the N. E. of the lake of Wan)–Āmid (Muḳaddasī, p. 302). As Tabrīz [q. v.] was not yet of any importance, the road made a detour to the south to serve the principal towns It is possible that the presence of unsubdued elements in the north of Ādharbāidjān (cf. the name of the lake Buḥairat al-Shurāt and the history of Bābak) also influenced this deviation of the road towards the south.

The district of Urmiya, being inhabited by Kurds and Christians has never played a great part in Muslim history. It was a remote fief in which the off shoots of the dynasties that reigned in Ādharbāidjān lived in isolation.

In the period of Dailamī domination in Ādharbāidjān we find in Urmiya a certain Djastān b. Sharmazan. This general had begun in 342 (953) as a devoted partisan of the Kurd Daisam [cf. KURDS] Later won over by the Dailamīs, he became governor of Armenia under Marzubān. When Djastān succeeded his father Marzubān in 346, Djastān b Sharmazan did not recognise his suzerainty. At first he left Urmiya to throw in his lot with Ibrāhim b. Marzubān for whom he conquered Marāgha. He later left him to return to Urmiya which he surrounded with walls; he also built a strong fortress there. He then entered the service of the claimant to the caliphate Mustadjīr bi 'llāh and had the support of the Ḳahṭānī Kurds. But the sons of Marzubān (Djastān and Ibrāhīm) defeated him with the help of the Hadhbānī Kurds. In 349 at the instigation of Wahsūdān, brother of Marzubān, he inflicted a defeat on Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, captured the remnants of his army and annexed Marāgha to Urmiya In 355 through the mediation of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, he again recognised the authority of Ibrāhīm (Ibn Miskawaihi, *Taḏjārib*, ed. Amedroz, ii. 150, 167, 177–178, 180, 219, 229 and Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 395).

When the Ghuzz invaded Ādharbāidjān in 420–432, the lord of Urmiya was a certain Abu 'l-Hidjā b. Rabīb al-Dawla, chief of the Hadhbānī Kurds, whose mother was the sister of the prince of Tabrīz, Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī [cf. TABRĪZ and MARĀGHA] This son of Rabīb al-Dawla boasted of having destroyed near a bridge 25,000 Ghuzz of the 30,000 who were trying to cross his territory (in 432 ?); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 271.

In Muḥarram of 455 (1063) Sultān Tughril passed through Urmiya (al-Bundārī, p. 25). When Sulṭān Masʿūd returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāidjān (in 526 ?), the amīr Ḥādjib Tatar had fortified himself in Urmiya but later he submitted to the Sulṭān (*ibid.*, p 165) In 544 (1149) Urmiya belonged to Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, nephew and son-in-law of Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (*Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr, G.M.S.*, p. 244). When the last Saldjūḳ Tughril quarrelled with his uncle, the Ildegizid Ḳizil Arslān, Tughril had the support of the amīr Ḥasan b. Ḳifdjaḳ and with him laid siege to

Urmiya in 585. The town was taken by storm, sacked and destroyed (Bundārī, p. 302). From the same Saldjūḳ period must date the building of Se-Gunbadān, on which Khanykov read the name of Abū Manṣūr b. Mūsā and the date 580 (1184).

In 602, the Atābeg of Tabrīz Abū Bakr gave Ushnū (*sic*! for Ustuwā) and Urmiya to the Atābeg of Marāgha [q v.] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to recompense him for the loss of Marāgha (Ibn al-Athīr, vii. 157). Yāḳūt who visited Urmiya in 617 speaks of its lack of security on account of the weakness of its ruler, the Ildegizid Özbek b Pahlawān.

During the rule in Ādharbāidjān of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Urmiya, Salmās and Khoi formed the personal appanage of the Saldjūḳ princess whom Djalāl al-Dīn had carried off from her first husband the Ildegizid Özbek In 623 the Īwāʾī Turkomans seized Urmiya and levied *kharādj*. On the complaint of the princess his wife, Djalāl al-Dīn sent troops who defeated the Turkomans (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 301). Later Urmiya was given to Boghdī, a former slave of the Ildegizid Özbek, cf. Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 118, 153, 165.

On the other hand, according to Djuwainī, ii. 160, 184, the Georgian generals Shalwa and Iwane, taken prisoners in the battle of Karbi (622 = 1225) and at first treated with honour by Djalāl al-Dīn, were given for a short time Marand, Salmas, Urmiya and Ushnū. In 628 (1230–1231) the Khwārizmshāh when hard pressed by the Mongols spent the winter in the region of Urmiya-Ushnū (cf. Abu 'l-Faradj, ed Pococke, p 470, Rashīd al-Dīn, ed Blochet, p. 32) His stay there may explain the story of the building by the Khwārizmshāh of the Se-Gunbadān (cf. above) and even of his burial at Urmiya; cf Bittner, p. 75; Hornle, p. 488.

According to Khanykov, the cathedral mosque of Urmiya bears the date 676 (1277) [reign of the Ilkhān Abagha]

Tīmūr. According to the local chronicle (Nikitine), Tīmūr had given Urmiya as a fief to Guigīn-beg of the Afshar tribe, who established himself in the fortress of Torpakh (= Topraḳ)-Ḳalʿa, a quarter of a farsakh from the town of Urmiya. The *Ẓafar-nāme*, however (i. 424), mentions as governor a certain Tīzak(?) whose rights were confirmed by Tīmūr in 789 (1307)

The Brādōst. According to the *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p 559, in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp the great amīrs were governors at Urmiya while the Kurd Ḳara Tādj of the Brādōst tribe who had been made *shāhsevan* was given the districts of Tārgāvār and Margavār In 1012 (1603) Shāh ʿAbbās to reward the loyalty of Amīr-Khān Brādōst, who hat not submitted to the Ottomans, gave him Urmiya and Ushnū. But Amīr-Khān under the pretext that the fortress of Urmiya was dilapidated made his stronghold at Dimdim (to the south of Urmiya at the mouth of the river Ḳāsimlu in the Barāndus) and became suspected. Dimdim was taken in 1019 (1610) and the district (*olgā*) of Urmiya given to Ḳaban-Khān Bagdalı. The Brādōst, by a stratagem, recaptured Dimdim after which Budaḳ-Khān Pornak (of Tabrīz) was appointed in place of Ḳaban-Khān and later Aḳa-Khān Muḳaddam (of Marāgha). In the list of the great dignitaries of the kingdom, however, the same source (p. 762) mentions as governor of Urmiya Kalb-ʿAlī Sulṭān, son of Ḳāsim-Khān of the Imanlu clan of the Afshar tribe.

Conversions to the Shīʿa (cf. above) under the Ṣafawids seemed to have been of an isolated character among the natives of the region of Urmiya where to this day the Kurds and a few villages (Balow) are still Sunnī. The influence of the Sunnī Naḳshibandī shaikhs may be judged from the fact that in 1639 Sulṭān Murād executed in Diyārbakr the shaikh Mahmūd of Urmiya who had 30—40,000 partisans. His ancestors were also shaikhs of Urmiya; cf. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*², iii. 187, cf *Djihān-numā*, p. 385.

Ewliyā Čelebi For the year 1065 (1655) we have the very detailed account of Ewliyā Čelebi (iv. 271—318) who had gone from Wan to Urmiya to recover the flocks of sheep which the Khān of Urmiya (whose name is not mentioned) and 20 other khāns had carried off from the Kurd tribe of Pinyānish. Unfortunately Ewliyā's itinerary and story are very confused.

According to him, the founder of the fortress was Ghazan in 694 (1295); it was enlarged by Shāh Tahmāsp in 930 (1524) At the Turkish conquest in the reign of Sultān Sulaimān Urmiya was fortified by the Pāshās Sulaimān and Djaʿfar. The usual name of the fortress is Toprak-Kalʿa but the Persian (?) historians call it Surtlay-Ghazan. The fortress the walls of which were covered with plaster looked "like a white swan" Its circumference was 10,000 paces, the walls were 70 *dhirāʿ* high and 30 *dhirāʿ* wide, the ditch was 80 *dhirāʿ* wide and 15,000 paces round. During the night the walls were lit by torches. The garrison consisted of 4,000 men and 310(?) guns. The Khān had at his disposal 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 *nuker*.

The town was a gunshot from the fortress. It had 60 quarters, 6,000 houses and 8 cathedral mosques, among which was that of Uzun Ḥasan, which was finished under his son Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb. In the plain of Urmiya (*olgā*) there were 150 villages with 300,000 peasants

Ewliyā Čelebi says the town was exceedingly prosperous and gives a list of its sanctuaries (Hazret Kočgha Sultān), its medreses, schools, cafés, fixed prices (*nirkh-i Shaikh Ṣafī*).

The Afshars In the xviiith century the fate of Urmiya was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Afshars settled in the plain (cf. above). Their chief bore the title *beglarbegi*. The best known among them are (Nikitine)

Khudādād Beg Kāsimlu 1119–1134 (1707–1722)
Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Areshlu 1157–1172 (1744–1758)
Riḍā Ḳuli Khān 1182–1185 (1768–1771)
Imām Ḳuli Khān 1186–1197 (1772–1783)
Muḥammad Ḳuli Khān 1198–1211 (1784–1796)
Husain Ḳuli Khān Ḳāsimlu 1211-1236 (1796-1821)
Nadjaf Ḳuli Khān 1236–1282 (1820–1865) [cf. Fraser, i 56].

These chiefs were continually fighting with their neighbours (in the north, the Dumbulī of Khoi, in the south, the Zarzā and Mukrī Kurds) and in troubled times, so frequent in the xviiith century, they even led expeditions to the east of the Lake of Urmiya.

During the campaign of 1724, the Ottomans employed the Hekkārī Kurds to ward off the Afshars who were threatening the provisionment of the army. When in 1725, the Turks organised the administration of the country, the Khānate of Urmiya was recognised as hereditary in the family of Ḳāsimlu (Afshar?). In 1729 Nādir recaptured from the Turks Marāgha, Saʾudj-bulaḳ

and Dimdim (cf. *Histoire de Nadir*, transl. Jones, p. 104), but in 1731 the Ḥekīm-oghlu Pāshās ʿAlī and Rustam seized Urmiya after a desperate resistance which lasted a month. Urmiya was entrusted to the Hekkārī chief Binānishin (cf v. Hammer, iv. 225, 228, 279). It was only by the treaty of 1736 that the Turks were put out of Ādharbāidjān.

Āzād-Khān. After the disappearance of the Nādirid Ibrāhīm-Shāh (in 1161 = 1748), one of his generals, Āzād-Khān, a descendant of an Afghan chief, retired first of all to Shahrazūr and then taking advantage of the troubles among the Afshar, seized Urmiya where he was favourably received by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Urmiya became the capital of the ephemeral principality of Āzād The mountain name Awghan-daghī to the north of Urmiya seems to preserve the memory of Afghan rule

The Ḳādjārs. In 1169, Muhammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār having defeated Āzād in Gīlān, seized Urmiya. Fath ʿAlī Khān Afshar joined Muḥammad Hasan. On the latter's death Fath ʿAlī Khān reappeared on the scene and from Urmiya captured Marāgha and Tabrīz. In the winter of 1173 (1759) he was besieged in the latter town by Karīm Khān Zand and in the following year, after the battle of Ḳara-Čiman (near Miyāna), Ādharbāidjān passed into the power of Karīm Khān. Urmiya was taken after a siege of seven months. Fath ʿAlī went into *bast* in the stables of Karīm Khān (cf. the *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-Gushā* of Ṣādik Nāmī for these years). After the end of the Zand dynasty, the Afshar of Urmiya with the Shaḳak [q v.] of Sarāb and the Dumbulī of Khoi formed a coalition against the Ḳādjārs but had no success Fath ʿAlī Shāh had Muḥammad Kulī Khān put to death but married the sister of Ḥusain Kulī Khān Afshar (Fraser, i. 55), whose sons were the first governors of Urmiya to be appointed by the central government in Teherān

In 1828 in the course of the Russo-Persian war, Urmiya was occupied for several months by Russian troops In the absence of the governor (the prince Malik Ḳāsim Mīrzā), the town was ruled by the *beglarbegi* Nadjaf-Kulī Khān Afshar (cf Gangeblov, *op. cit.*).

ʿUbaidullāh. In 1880 the Shaikh ʿUbaidullāh of Shamdīnān [q. v.] invaded Ādharbāidjān. Urmiya was besieged by the Kurds and was about to surrender when the arrival of the Khān of Mākū [q. v.] saved it.

Turkish occupation. In August 1906, after the reverses suffered by Russia in the Far East, Turkey under the pretext that the Turco-Persian frontier had never been settled, occupied the district of Urmiya except the enclave of the town (cf. Nicolas, *op. cit*). The Turkish troops were recalled at the beginning of the Balkan war After the incidents at Tabrīz [q v] in Dec 1911, Urmiya was occupied by Russian troops. During the world war Urmiya changed hands several times. As early as Oct. 9—12, 1914, it suffered the first attack from Turks and Kurds. The town was vacated by the Russians on Jan. 2, 1915, occupied by the Turks from Jan 4—May 20 and retaken by the Russians on May 24. As a result of the break up of the Russian army in 1917, the actual authority in the town passed into the hands of the council of "Assyrian" Christians (*mutwa*). After a series of tragic and bloody events (massacre of the Muslims of Urmiya by the Christians on Feb. 22, 1918, the assassination of the patriarch Mār Shimūn by followers of the Kurd chief Simko on Feb. 25, the arrival of 20,000 Armenian refugees from Wan, fights between Assyrians and Turks), all the Assyrian population collected in the plain of Urmiya and to the number of 50—70,000 set out for the south to put themselves under British protection (end of July—beginning of August). This exodus with women, children and cattle took place via Saʾin-Ḳalʿa and Hamadān in the midst of fighting with Turkish troops and the Kurds. The refugees were settled at Baʿḳūba to the north of Baghdād (cf. Rockwell, Caujole, Wigram, Shklowski, *op cit.*) After the departure of the "Assyrians", the Catholic Bishop Mgr Sontag and the Baptist missionary H. Pflaumer were killed at Urmiya on Aug 1, 1918.

The peace found Urmiya in ruins and depopulated. Only gradually was the central government able to reassert its authority in the west of the Lake of Urmiya.

Population. We have given above the figure, probably exaggerated, given by Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1655) At the beginning of the xixth century there were at Urmiya 6—7,000 households of which 100 were Christian, 300 Jewish and the remainder Shīʿī Muslims (Persian memoir published by Bittner). According to Fraser (1821), there were 20,000 inhabitants at Urmiya According to Hornle (1835), the population consisted of 7—8,000 families of whom the majority were Sunnīs (?), 300 Jews and 100 Nestorians In 1872 Arsanis reckoned 8,000 houses with 40,000 inhabitants. In 1900 (Maximovič) the total population of the province was put at 300,000 among whom the Christians numbered 45 %, of whom 40,000 were Nestorians, 30,000 Orthodox, 3,000 Catholics and 3,000 Protestants, and 50,000 (?) Armenians. The town had 3,500 houses. During the world war Dr Caujole reckoned 30,000 inhabitants at Urmiya, of whom a quarter were Assyrians, and 1,000 Jews occupied a special quarter Nikitine (*Ethnographie*, 1926, p. 25) enumerates 37 villages in the plain of Urmiya, inhabited by the Christians only and 59 with a mixed population

We do not know at what period the Aramaean Christians ("Syrians") who since the war have called themselves "Assyrians" appeared in Urmiya. The town is not given in the oldest lists of the eastern dioceses (Guidi, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1889 and Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*). Assemani, ii. 449 and 453, notes the presence of Nestorian bishops at Urmiya in 1111 and 1289 According to the same author, the Nestorian patriarch settled at Urmiya in 1582 (*ibid*, iii/i 621) In a document of 1653 the Chaldaean (Uniate) patriarch Simon (writing to Rome from Khosrowa in Salmas) gives a list of his congregations in Salmas, Arna (?), Saphtan (?), Tärgäwär, Urmiya, Anzal (district N. E. of Urmiya), Sulduz, Ashnokh (Ushnū); cf. *ibid.*, iii/i. 622 and Perkins, *Residence*, p. 9, Noldeke, *Grammatik d. neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*, Leipzig 1868, p. xxiii. and Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p. 204.

The first American missionaries of the "Mission of the Nestorians" (Perkins, A. Grant) settled at Urmiya in 1835. The Lazarists followed them in 1840 and a Catholic bishop was appointed to Urmiya. In 1859 the Americans organised an evangelical community in Urmiya. Towards the end of the century, Anglican missionaries were sent to Urmiya by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1900, an important Russian Orthodox mission began its

activity among the Christians; it was dissolved however by the Perso-Soviet treaty of Feb. 28, 1921.

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The Lake of Urmiya. The lake is about 90 miles long (N.—S) and 35 broad (E.—W.). Its area is 2,230 sq. miles and the area drained by its tributaries is 20,265 sq. miles.

The most important rivers flowing into the Lake are: in the east, the Adjī-čai "bitter river", which waters Sarāb and Tabrīz; the Sofi-čai and Mūrdi-čai which flow from the S. W. face of Mount Sahand [cf. MARĀGHA]; in the south, Djaghatū, Tatawū and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [q. v.]; to the south-west, the Gādir [cf SULDUS and USHNŪ]; in the west, the

rivers of Urmiya (cf. above) and Salmas [q. v.]. In the north, the mountain of Meshow overshadows the narrow strip of the northern shore [cf. TASŪDJ and TABRĪZ].

In the southern half of the Lake are several inhabited islands. Much more important is the mountainous peninsula of Shāhī (Shāhā, Shāhū) which is now separated from the eastern shore by a channel crossed at a ford.

In the Assyrian records, the "upper eastern lake" seems to correspond to the Lake of Urmiya. Streck, in *Z A.*, xv. 263, thinks he can identify the latter as the "sea" mentioned by the Assyrians near the Mazamūa country; but this "sea" may be Lake Zaribār. In the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon (714 B. C.; ed Thureau-Dangin, Paris 1912), the name of the lake is not mentioned.

Strabo, xi, ch. xiii., calls the Lake Σπαῦτα (emended by St. Martin to Καπαῦτα = Kapōt "blue") and xi., ch. xiv., Μαντιανή Ptolemy, vi., ch. ii., calls it Μαργιανή (*Μαντιανή ?, cf. MARĀGHA). As a rule, the name Mantiane is connected with that of the Matienoi people in whose country Herodotos (i. 189, 202; v 52) makes the Araxes (?) rise and the Gyndes (Diyālā) Marquart (*Südarmenien*, 1930, p 431) thinks he can identify these Matienoi (or Mantianoi) with the Mannaeans (Mana, Mannai; cf above). Perhaps Mantiana should be connected with the name Manda which from the earliest times was applied to Indo-Europeans, cf. Reinach, *Les Matiènes*, in *Revue des études grecques*, vii, 1894, p 313—318, Forrer, *Die Inschriften d. Hatti Reiches*, in *Z D M G*, 1922, p. 174—269, and Meyer, *Gesch d Altertums*, II/1, 2nd edition, p. 35, note 3.

The *Avesta* knows the lake by the name of Čaēčasta "deep lake with salt waters". Bartholomae, *Altir. Wort.*, col. 575, interprets the name as "shining white" (*weissschimmernd*) On its banks Kawi Haosrawah slew the Turanian Franrasyān (Yasht, ix 18 etc.) According to the *Bundahiš*, xvii 7, transl. West, the same Kai Khusraw destroyed the temple of idols near the Lake Čēčast (cf the *Shāh-nāma*, ed Vullers, ii. 441, where Khandjast خنجست should be emended to Čēčast چیچست). From the name Čaēčasta must come the Arabic name of the sanctuary Shīz (= Gaznā, Ganza) to the south of the lake, identified by Rawlinson with Takht-i Sulaimān. [As Hoffmann has already pointed out (*Auszuge*, p. 252) Lailān is perhaps a better identification of the site of Shīz].

Another old name which was applied to the Lake is Kapōtān "blue" (cf above) The Armenian geography of the viith century gives Kaputan; cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 137 and Ibn Hawḳal, p. 237· Kabūdhān.

Iṣṭakhrī, p. 181, calls the Lake Buḥairat al-Shurāt, "the Lake of the Khāridjīs", but more often it bears the name of adjoining towns: Urmiya, Shāhī, Tasūdj [q. v.].

The name Shāhī (Shāhā) although only found late, is connected with the old fortress which stood on the peninsula to the N. E. of the lake. The fortress of Shāhī is known to Ṭabarī, iii. 1171 and 1379 (under 200 = 815). It is mentioned in the time of the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (Nasawī, p 157) It was at Shāhī that the first Mongol Ilkhāns Hūlāgū and Abaḳa were buried (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 416; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū quoted in Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 161; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 340). Abu 'l-Fidā' calls the Lake Buḥairat Talā. It is not clear if Talā = Shāhī. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī (cf. de Goeje in Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 247, note *m*) seems to distinguish between the two names, and the fortress of Talā mentioned by Nasawī, p. 153—154 (cf. Yāḳūt, iii. 541 who takes Talā to be a Persian word) would seem rather to be connected with the west bank. In this case, it should be sought at Gūwerčin-Ḳal'a on a cliff which rises above the lake on the Salmās shore; cf. Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii. 593; Khanykov, in *Poyezdka, Vestnik Geogr. Obshč.*, 1852, vi. (Khanykov found at Gūwerčin-Ḳal'a the inscription of a certain Abū Nāṣir [al-Naṣr ?] Ḥusain Bahādur Khān [should this Ḥasan be Uzun Ḥasan, whose title was exactly Abu 'l-Naṣr]), and Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 306—314.

On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether Guwerčin-Ḳal'a is not identical with the stronghold of Yakdur (or Bakdur) which Ṭabarī mentions along with Shāhī and which in turn may correspond to the mountain of Bakyir (which may be read Bakdīr; cf. *Bundahiš*, xii. 2 and 20) where Afrāsiyāb (Franrasiyan) took refuge. In the *Avesta*. Yasht v. 49; ix. 18, Khusraw slays him "behind Lake Čaēčasta", which seems to indicate the region west of the Lake. [The later tradition puts the place of Afrāsiyāb's death in Arrān; cf. *Shāh-nāma* and especially Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, p. 225; transl p. 375].

. The Arab geographers know that the salt waters of the Lake will not support organic life. According to Ṭabarī, iii. 1380, the Lake does not contain fish or anything of value. Istakhrī (p. 189) and Gharnaṭī (in Kazwīnī, p 194) alone affirm the contrary. The first talks of the "fish-animal" called "water-dog", Gharnatī delights in wonderful stories, which are later repeated by Ewliyā Čelebi.

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(V. Minorsky)

URMU, a district in Ādharbāidjān

According to Balādhurī, p. 328, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, sent to conquer Ādharbāidjān, attacked the people of Mūḳān and Gīlān. A number of inhabitants of Ādharbāidjān and Armenians who had gathered in the nāḥiya of Urm and at بلوانكرج *Balwānkaradj were defeated by one of Saʿīd's captains. The leader of the rebels was hanged on the walls of the fortress of Bādjarwān (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, *G M.S*, p. 181: Bādjarwān was 20 farsakhs north of Ardabīl).

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 119, mentions the citadel of Urm between al-Badhdh (a town of Bābak's on a river which flows into the Araxes above the river of Ardabīl) and Balwānkaradj Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 216, speaks of several districts (*rasātīḳ*) of Urm. Yāḳūt, i 216, mentions the region (*ṣuḳ*ʿ) of Urm but gives only an abridgment of Balādhurī.

The names mentioned by Balādhurī and by Ibn Khurdādhbih suggest a district in the N. E. of Ādharbāidjān, perhaps in the Ḳaradja-dagh of the present day (the capital of which is Ahar and in the northern districts of which we find Armenians). [On the other hand, the element *Balwān could be connected with the name of the river *Balharū (Bolgaru) in Mūḳān, q. v.].

(V. Minorsky)

ʿURS, ʿUrus (A., Pl. *aʿrās* and *ʿurusāt*), originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply, whence a denominal verb IV *aʿrasa* "to celebrate a marriage". *ʿArūs* means both bridegroom and bride; in modern linguistic usage this term has however been supplanted by *ʿarīs* "bridegroom" and *ʿarūsa* "bride" (as early as the *1001 Nights*, cf Dozy, *Supplément*). Two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished· *ʿurs* is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, and *ʿumra* is the wedding performed in the house or tribe of the woman (this distinction is already made by Ibn al-Aʿrābī [d 231 = 845] in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, VI 283; cf. Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *ʿ-m-r* and *ʿ-r-s*) The two forms agree for the most part in practice, they only differ in the choice of place for the main ceremonies and in the fact that in the *ʿumra* the *zaffa* of the bride is omitted

a. "We learn little from the poems" says G Jacob "of the wedding customs" of the pre-Muḥammadan Arabs. They seem to have been very simple in the Arabian Peninsula itself, as is still the case among the Beduins (cf. below). The pomp and display of later centuries, especially in the bridal procession, was probably unknown. The wedding lasted a week, whence it is also called *usbūʿ* (cf. *Aghānī*, XII. 145). The bride is adorned, perfumed and painted with *kuḥl*. There is an old proverb which says: "The scent behind a bride cannot be concealed" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 48, 9; Maidānī, *Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, XXIII. 269). The bride is called "the conducted one" (cf ʿAntara, XXVII. 1); she was therefore conducted to the bridegroom, usually by a number of women without any pomp, but very quietly and simply. This at least is indicated by the story of ʿUkail b. ʿUllafa who betrothed his daughter to the caliph Yazīd I; he made it a condition that the caliph's people should not come for his daughter but that he should bring her himself on a camel (*Aghānī*, XI. 90). Sometimes she was brought in a litter (*miẓaffa*) (cf. Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v. *ẓ-f-f*), as is still the case in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II. 182) A special tent was always put up for the young couple. About the bridegroom there is an old proverb: "The bridegroom wants little to be an amīr (or king)" (Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s. v. *ʿ-r-s*; Maidānī, *Proverbia*, XII 143)

In the lands adjoining Arabia on the other hand, weddings were celebrated with great splendour. Thus we are told (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, XX. 23) of a Persian wedding in the ʿIrāḳ with a splendid bridal procession, similarly for Syria as early as I. Macc., IX. 37 .... ποιοῦσιν γάμον μέγαν καὶ ἄγουσιν τὴν νύμφην ... μετὰ παραπομπῆς μεγάλης. As late as the beginning of the third (ninth) century, we find a simple Beduin much surprised at a splendid wedding in North Syria (*Aghānī*, XII. 35 *sq*), which shows that Syrian usages were foreign to the Arabs (cf on the above section. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p 203—204, Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N. G.W. Gott*, 1893, p 441 *sq* , Jacob, *Altarab Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 57—58)

b The records in Tradition are on the whole in keeping with the simple usages of the Arab pagan period ʿĀʾisha wore at her wedding with the Prophet a robe of red striped material which came from Bahrain (*dirʿ ḳiṭrin*; cf Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v *ḳ-ṭ-r*) and "every woman in Medīna, when dressing (for her *zifāf*), used to borrow it from her" (Bukhārī, *Hiba*, bāb 34). For Fātima's wedding with ʿAlī, ʿĀʾisha and Umm Salama made the preparations at home, they scattered soft dust from the Bathāʾ over the ground and filled two cushions with fibre (*līf*) and teased it out. They laid out dates and figs to eat and sweet-tasting water to drink; they also put up at one side of the room a stand for the clothes and the water-skin (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24) Fāṭima's trousseau consisted of a silken robe with fringes (*khamīl*), a water-skin (*ḳirba*) and a cushion filled with rushes (*idhkhir*) (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 81). In another tradition the Prophet allows considerable expenditure on large carpets with fringes (*anmāṭ*) (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 83). From numerous traditions (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 58, 64, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XXXIII , bāb 8, Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21, 24; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 18, 77, Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, III 196), it is evident that the bride was conducted by her mother and other female relatives to the house of the bridegroom. When the Prophet married ʿĀʾisha who was then six years old, she was brought by her mother Umm Rūmān to the Prophet's house; there women were awaiting her and greeted her with "For good, and bliss, and good fortune". The women then washed her hair and adorned her while the Prophet stood smiling by. She was then handed over by the women to the Prophet (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 69; cf. Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 58). Tradition gives no further details of the toilet; but the men seem also to have been perfumed; a perfume was used which left yellow stains (*khalūḳ*, *ṣufra* or *zaʿfarān*), such as the Prophet noticed on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf still a few days after his wedding (according to Anas b Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7, 55, 57; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 79–81; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 67, 75, 84; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24; Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 22; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal,

iii. 165, 190, 204, 227, 271). According to a tradition transmitted by Abū Hurairа the Prophet uttered the following blessings at weddings: *Bāraka 'llāhu lakum* (var. *laka*) *wa-bāraka ʿalaikum* (var. *ʿalaika*) *wa-djamaʿa bainakumā fī* (var. *ʿalā*) *khairin* or instead of the third part: *wa-bāraka laka fīhā* (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 23; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7; Abū Dāʾūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 381; cf. i. 201; iii. 451; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 73; Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6), while he forbade the wish from the period of the Djāhilīya *bi 'l-rifāʿ wa 'l-banīn* "in harmony and with sons!" (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 73; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 23; Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 201; iii. 451) The bride was conducted to the bridegroom by young girls who sang *ghazals*; two opening lines of such a *ghazal* are preserved. *Atainākum atainākum fa-ḥaiyānā wa-ḥaiyākum* "we come to you, we come to you, may (God) give us long life and give you long life" (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21; cf. also Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 64) or *atainākum atainākum fa-ḥaiyūnā nuḥaiyikum* (so it should be read!) "We come to you, we come to you, then greet us, we greet you" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv 78) The participation of women and children in the wedding ceremonies is according to Anas b. Mālik expressly approved by the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*-bāb 76, *Manāsik al-Anṣār*, bāb 5) On these occasions young girls used to beat tambourines (*duff*) and sing of the death of the champions of Badr, which the Prophet is definitely said to have permitted (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 49; *Maghāzī*, bāb 12, Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20, 21, Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6, Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, 80, Ṭayālisi, N⁰ 1221, Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, iii 418) Other instruments are mentioned, such as another variety of tambourine (*ghirbāl*, Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20) and the drum (*ṭabl*, Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 21) The object of this music was to call public attention to the marriage (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 20, Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 6, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 5). According to one tradition, the Prophet is even said to have forbidden marriages to be performed in complete quiet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv 78).

A wedding feast (*walīma* or *ṭaʿām*) for the men was part of the wedding (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 69; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 359, Zaid, *Madjmūʿ*, N⁰. 949; etc.) A feast is obligatory for the first day (*ḥaḳḳ*) and commendable for the second (*maʿrūf*; Tirmidhī regards it also as *sunna*), and on the third day ostentation (*sumʿa wa-riyāʾ*, i. e done in order that people may hear and see it) (Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 5, Dārimī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 28; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 25; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, v. 28, 371). Saʿīd b. al Musaiyab (according to Dārimī. the Prophet) is said to have accepted the invitation for the first two days, but refused that for the third (Abū Dāʿūd, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 5; Dārimī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 28) Bukharī, in the superscription to *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, speaks of a week's feasting and says that the Prophet did not limit it to one or two days. The feast at the Prophet's wedding with Ṣafīya consisted of *ḥais*, a dish of dates, curds (*aḳiṭ*) and fat, to which according to some traditions was added meal of roasted barley (*sawīḳ*) (according to Anas b. Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 13, 61, 69; *Buyūʿ*, bāb 111; *Diihād*, bāb 73; *Aṭʿima*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 84, 87, 88; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 79; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 99, 102, 159, 195, 264); according to another tradition, the Prophet used on this occasion another $1^1/_2$ *mudd* of the best kind of dates (*ʿadjwa*) (according to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh in Aḥmad b Hanbal, iii. 333). At the Prophet's wedding with Zainab (according to Anas b. Mālik in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 87, 89, 91, 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 98, 105, 172, 196, 200, 263) and at the wedding of Rabīʿa al-Aslamī (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 58) bread and meat were given, which seems to have been usual along with *ḥais* as in some cases it is specially mentioned that there was no bread and meat (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 24; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 48, Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, iii 99, 195, 264; Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 13, 61; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 79). In other passages 2 *mudd* of barley is mentioned (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 71; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 113), a sheep and millet (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 359), but for the *walīma* at least a sheep should be slaughtered (according to Anas b Mālik in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 7, 55, 57, 69, 70; *Daʿawāt*, bāb 54; *Adab*, bāb 67, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 79—81, 90; etc.) Anas b. Mālik also records that his mother Umm Sulaim sent the Prophet a dish of dates (*ḥais*, see above) on the occasion of a marriage and that the Prophet offered it to his guests in groups of ten until they were satisfied (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr 94, 95; Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 84). Sahl b Saʿd records that at the wedding of Abū Asyad al-Sāʿidī his bride offered the guests after the feast a beverage made by steeping dates (*nakīʿ*), which she herself had prepared (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 72, 78, 79, *Ashriba*, bāb 7, 9); Bukhārī concludes from this that on the one hand non-intoxicating beverages are allowed at weddings and on the other that women may wait on the men at a wedding. — As a rule the traditions give no information about the time of the *walīma*. In the few passages which admit a definite time, the *walīma* took place after the bride had been taken to the bridegroom's house but before the wedding night (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xxxiii., bāb 8, Aḥmad b. Hanbal, iii. 196 and the other traditions about Zainab's wedding); but the *walīma* at Ṣafīya's wedding seems to have taken place next day, probably as a result of the special conditions, as the Prophet married her on the return of the expedition to Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, bāb 111; *Diihād*, bāb 73; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 88; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii 195 and the other traditions about this wedding, cf. however one tradition about Zainab's wedding in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 98, 105) — An invitation to a wedding feast ought always to be accepted (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 100, 101; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 1, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 22) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOmar used never to refuse an invitation even when he was fasting (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 78; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 103; Dārimī, *Aṭʿima*, bāb 40). People of all conditions, rich and poor, should be invited; in one tradition given by Abū Hurairа, we read: "The wedding feast at which the rich eat and from which the poor are kept away is an evil feast" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 494). For further references see Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, s. v. *Walīma* and the article WALĪMA.

The following two traditions presumably refer to the procedure in the bridal chamber: "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall take her by her forelock and pray (to God) for blessing (*baraka*) ... and pray to God for refuge from the accursed Satan" (Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 52) and "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall say:

O God, I pray Thee for her good and for her good inclinations which Thou hast created, and I seek refuge with Thee from her evil and from her evil inclinations which Thou hast created" (Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 44). Umm Salama for her wedding night with the Prophet prepared a meal of barley and fat (*ʿaṣīda*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 307). According to many traditions (Anas b Mālik, among others), it is a *sunna* for the young husband to spend seven days and nights with his young wife if she is a virgin (*bikr*) and only three days and nights if she is not (*thayyib*), only after this does the regular rotation with the other wives begin (Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 101, 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40; Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 45; Zaid, *Maǧmūʿ*, N⁰ 737, Ibn Māǧa, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 15, on the Prophet's marriage with Ṣafīya [who was *thayyib*] Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii 99, on the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salama [who was *thayyib*]. Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 41—44; Ibn Māǧa, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 26; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 33; Mālik, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 14, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 292, 295, 307, 313, 320, 321 [this was done by her request; the Prophet had given her the choice between seven and three days]). According to another tradition, the young husband should only stay three days even with a virgin and only two with a bride who is not (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii 178; Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 40).

As to the season of the year, the month of Shawwāl is expressly mentioned in Tradition as the month in which the Prophet celebrated his wedding with ʿĀʾisha (Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 18, 77, Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr 73; etc.).

c In the Fiḳh, the Mālikīs pay special attention to wedding customs, since most of them are primarily intended to call public attention to the conclusion of the marriage According to Mālik b Anas as well as Ibn Abī Lailā (cf Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, v. 30) in contrast to other schools, making the wedding public (*iʿlān*) is a necessary condition for the validity of a marriage. Witnesses are not essential for the conclusion of a contract of marriage, although with the Mālikīs it is usual to have them in practice, if the two witnesses were not present at the conclusion of the contract they must be present on the night of the wedding and for example push the bridegroom into the bridal chamber (Kairawānī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1338, p 66; Khalīl, ii. 1459, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii. 252; Ibn Rushd [Averroes], *Bidāyat al-Muǧtahid*, Cairo 1349, ii 16 where we already find witnesses mentioned among the essentials). On the same grounds of publicity, Khalīl (ii 1) also recommends congratulations to the bridal pair. The doors of the house should therefore not be closed at the *walīmat al-ʿurs* (Khalīl, ii. 117) This *walīma* is considered praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*) among the Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs while the Shāfiʿīs hold a stricter view. according to one view, it is *sunna muʾakkada*, according to the others, it is even *wāǧib* (cf. Shīrāzī, p. 205; Ghazālī, ii. 22; Nawawī, p. 90; Ardabīlī, ii 94). According to Khalīl, it should be held the day after the wedding, according to other Mālikīs, however, before, so that the wedding is only consummated after its public proclamation (Tīǧānī, *Tuḥfa*, p. 35). A wealthy man should kill at least a sheep, a poorer man provide as much as he can afford (Shīrāzī, Ardabīlī). To accept an invitation to a *walīma* is according to the Ḥanafīs praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*), among the Mālikīs, Ḥanbalīs and Shāfiʿīs on the other hand a duty (*wāǧib*; Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vi. 178 says: *ḥaḳḳ*). Among the Shāfiʿīs it is praiseworthy to accept the invitation for the second day also; on the other hand, it is best to refuse it for the third day (Nawawī describes acceptance for the third day as *makrūh*). If the person invited is fasting, he should nevertheless accept the invitation; he need not however eat anything, it is best however if he breaks his fast unless he is pledged to observe it. If an intoxicated man is at the *walīma* or wine or anything else forbidden, it is best to stay away; similarly if there are in the room representations of living creatures, even if one tramples on them (e. g. on carpets) According to Shīrāzī, one should also stay away from the *walīma* where songs are sung, even if one does not listen to them and only pays attention to *ḥadīth* and eating. Music is on the other hand permitted to some extent — for example that of the tambourine (*duff*) already mentioned in tradition; Khalīl gives a list of permitted instruments. another kind of tambourine (*ghirbāl*), an older kind of lute (*mizhar* [cf ʿUD]; cf H G Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, London 1929, p. 46–47), a kind of flute (*zummāra*) and horns (*būḳ*).

The question is much discussed whether one should scatter among the crowd at weddings nuts, almonds, sweets (Ardabīlī also mentions dates, dirhams and dīnārs) According to Dimishḳī (ii. 76), Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b Ḥanbal had no objections, while Mālik, Shāfiʿī and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal in a second opinion declare the practice *makrūh*. The views of the later Shāfiʿīs are however divided. Muzanī recommends the omission of the practice, as the things would be hurriedly picked up as plunder by the people; it is not however forbidden except when the people fall upon one another and try to take the things from each other. Ghazālī allows the scattering of sweets, since it was done in the time of the Prophet [!, no reference in the canonical works, cf. above], and Nawawī and Ardabīlī, while regarding it as permitted, consider it better omitted. Shīrāzī on the other hand declares it *makrūh*.

Bibliography cf the articles NIKĀḤ and WALĪMA, Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Būlāḳ 1324, vi. 178; Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of the preceding, iv. 39–41; Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p 205 *sq.*; Ghazālī, *Waǧīz*, Cairo 1318, ii. 22; Nawawī, *Minhāǧ*, Cairo 1329, p 90; Ardabīlī, *Kitāb al-Anwār li-Aʿmāl al-Abrār*, Cairo 1328, ii. 94—96; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 63 *sqq.*; Ibn Rushd, *Muḳaddimāt*, on the margin of the *Mudawwana al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, ii. 58; Shaʿrānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1925, ii 124; Dimishḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma*, on the margin of the preceding, ii. 76; Tornauw, *Das moslemische Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 70 *sq.*; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, p. 162 *sqq.*

d. Later usages down to the present day. For the older period we are dependent on occasional scattered notes; it is only with the literature of European travellers (from the xvth century), with the recording of texts in dialect and the systematic collection of folklore in recent decades (Westermarck for Morocco, Jaussen for Nablus etc.) that we have a wealth of material which it is almost impossible to deal with. These sources are however not all of equal value. On

the one hand, particularly with the earlier literature, we have first of all to investigate the trustworthiness of the traveller. To take a striking example: The Fleming van Ghistele who made a pilgrimage in 1481—1485, says (*Voyage*, Gent 1557, p. 15) that the bridal pair before the marriage contract is signed are put one in each of two adjoining rooms with an eyehole through which they can see one another naked. This is contradictory to Muslim ideas. (Cf. however the fact that some jurists like Dāʾūd al-Ẓāhirī permit the man before marriage to see the whole of the woman's body except the pudenda; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii 3; Dimishḳī, *Raḥma*, ii 62). On the other hand, there are gaps in the records of the travellers; they only record what is done in the street or more or less publicly. Full accounts of the customs observed, as in Leo Africanus and Lane, are by no means numerous and can be supplemented for the earlier period by scattered references in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* and the popular romances

Wedding customs are more or less distinct according to country. This is most clearly seen on the periphery of the Muslim world, for example in the Malay Archipelago, in Central Africa or among the Ḳirghiz and Turkomans. Here Islām has taken over old local customs and sometimes adapted them to its point of view. For the original lands of Islām however, the same observation can be made, except that the process was completed in the early centuries of Islām In modern Syria and Egypt the customs among Muslims and Christians are almost identical except as regards purely ecclesiastical and religious matters (cf. the sketches in Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*; Jaussen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes*, Blackman, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*, p 93) This fact shows that we have to deal in this case with old customs of the nearer East, at any rate not with specifically Muslim practices. In this connection we may call attention to the already mentioned pompous pre-Islāmic practices in Syria and Mesopotamia Pre-Islāmic origin can in some points be definitely proved. In many districts the Muslim bride wears a crown of flowers or of pasteboard cf. below); in this I see the adoption of a practice of the Christian east where the crowning of the bride was and still is a part of the wedding ceremony. (This crowning is mentioned as early as a liturgical poem by Ephraim the Syrian in Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg 1864, ii 443; in Barhebraeus, *ibid.*, ii. 385; among the Copts of the xiith century, *ibid.*, ii. 365; cf. also *ibid.*, ii. 391 *sqq.*, 408 *sqq.*, 433 *sqq.*). The carrying of lights in the bridal procession may also be of Christian origin (for the Copts of the xiith century, cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 364; cf. the carrying of lights in the Mawlid festival and its Christian origin, iii., p. 420). The ceremonies on the seventh day have also their parallels in the Christian liturgy of the East; on the seventh day the bridal crown is solemnly removed among the Copts (Denzinger, *op. cit.*, ii. 380).

From the point of view of method, it would be more correct to deal with wedding customs by regions. But this would take up too much space here. I shall therefore endeavour to give the most important customs in vogue in towns in the old lands of Islām and as far as possible to treat them historically. It should be noted in this connection that practices differ in different levels of society. Therefore, three groups have at least to be distinguished· customs in the towns, among the fellāḥīn and among the Beduins. The two last named are essentially simpler and agree more with the old Arab practices than do those of the town-dwellers.

Among the Ruwala Beduins (Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala-Bedouins*, New York 1928, p 228 *sqq*), a camel is killed on the morning of the wedding before the bridegroom's tent and its flesh distributed In the course of the day the bride puts up her tent — the woman always brings it with her — and at night she is taken by a few female relations in all secrecy to this tent; soon afterwards the bridegroom enters the tent. There are no ceremonies, no singing or dancing, not even the usual zaghārīt cries of the women. On the next morning the bridegroom goes to his relatives while the bride is visited by the women and congratulated, she then receives a gift from her father-in-law and remains for seven days in her tent while the bridegroom goes about his usual business He must however spend seven nights with his young wife (cf. the traditions above quoted) Among other Beduin tribes in Arabia Petraea (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 196 *sqq.*) the youths and maidens sing bridal songs and dance Here as on the Sinai Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen uber die Beduinen*, Weimar 1831, p. 216–217) the bride runs away into the desert after the first night, sometimes for six days, sometimes even for longer and the husband must go to look for her.

Between these very simple practices of the Beduins and the highly developed rites of the town-dwellers numerous intermediate stages are to be found among the fellāḥīn, among whom we can observe the gradual advance of usages from the towns

Let us now come to the towns. Weddings were celebrated with great pomp at the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād. In the sources, sums of 50 and 70 million dirhams are mentioned as having been expended by the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and Maʾmūn for their weddings. But the common people also on such occasions liked to appear wealthier than they really were. Even in early times, the coiffeuse used to lend ornaments to the bride (cf. the tradition above quoted about ʿĀʾisha). The carpets, utensils etc. were also sometimes borrowed (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, p. 404, 453).

As was mentioned early in the article, two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra*. The *ʿurs* seems to be the usual kind; at least it is almost exclusively the one that is described by travellers. We find the *ʿumra* for example in the case of the wedding of the caliph Maʾmūn with Būrān (210 = 825; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii 1081 *sqq.*); in Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d 690 = 1291) in Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii/ii. 859 for Mecca; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, transl. Littmann, i. 263 *sqq.*; in the Ḳaragoz play "The Wrong Bride" in Ritter, *Karagoz*, Hanover 1924, p. 109 *sqq.*

Here we may also note that these wedding customs are only observed when a woman marries for the first time. When she marries for the second time they are content with the legal *walīma*. The parties often agree to have no festivities (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 155; Lane, *Manners and Customs*[5], London 1871, i. 219—220).

The celebrations extend over several days; they

usually begin on Monday and the actual wedding takes place on Thursday. In Arab popular poetry we therefore have frequent reference to seven days of celebration while the *dukhla* takes place on the eighth (e g. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 461; iii. 437; *Sīrat Saif*, iii. 22, 33; v. 28; xii. 59). When however we find references to 30 days of feasting and the 31st night as the *lailat al-dukhla* (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, iii 642; *Sīrat Saif*, xii. 45; xiii. 12) or when 40 days and nights are mentioned in Turkish romances and fairy tales (Spies, *Turkische Volksbucher*, Leipzig 1929, p. 25), this is only a stereotyped literary form to express that the wedding celebrations lasted a long time.

The principal usages are as follows

1. Immediately after the formalities of the marriage contract, the *walīma* takes place in the bride's house; only men are present at it. This is already found in *ḥadīth*. On this occasion sweets, money and other things are often thrown to the crowd. For example the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at the wedding of his daughter Būrān with the caliph al-Maʾmūn (210 = 825) had tickets scattered among the nobles on which were inscribed the names of pieces of land, slave-girls and the distinguishing marks of horses. Any one who got one of the tickets received what was written on it. The vizier also had gold and silver coins, little bags of musk and pieces of amber thrown among the populace (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, iii 1083 *infra*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, Paris 1873, vii. 65 *sq*) — At the *walīma* on the occasion of the wedding of the Mamlūk Muḥammad b al-Sultān (920 = 1514) wine (*sakar*) was served in vessels of Chinese porcelain (Ibn Iyās, iv. 406). In general however, the *walīma* consisted simply in the offering of sweets and other dainties (cf *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii. 23–24); sometimes however, roast meat and vegetables etc were also served. Music and dancing are not usual on this day. In Nablus (Syria), according to Jaussen, there is only a meal for the women, while in Fās a feast is held in the house of both bride and bridegroom (Leo Africanus [1526], Tharaud [1930]) The real wedding ceremonies do not usually begin until a week later

2. The bride's bath A few days before the wedding the bride goes to the bath with her friends; rich people perform this ceremony in their own house; usually however, a public bath is hired for a whole or half day. In Cairo in Lane's time, they went with great pomp to the bath (*zaffat al-ḥammām*). In front walked two men carrying dishes on which lay the bath requisites covered; then came water-carriers and men with rose water and censers to sprinkle the passers-by and offer them beverages. Then came musicians with oboes and drums and the bride's friends two by two. The bride herself thickly veiled with a crown on her head walked between two female relatives under a canopy carried by four men; musicians brought up the rear of the procession. In the bath itself there were all kinds of diversions and feasting while women-singers sang songs. In the evening in the house there was a banquet for the women at which women-singers sang to pass the time. In modern Fās, the bride is taken to the bath and led home dressed like a doll with shouts of joy (Tharaud [1930]). In xvith century Morocco the bride's bath before the wedding was unknown (Leo Africanus) while in Algiers in the same period, according to Haedo, the bridal bath was usual. It is also unknown in Mecca. In Syria and Asia Minor they go very quietly to the baths while Cotovicus at the end of the xvith century in Syria saw a solemn procession with wax candles.

In the bath itself numerous ceremonies and diversions take place. In Nablus (Jaussen [1927]) the bride is put on a throne in the bath while her friends sing and dance around her with lights in their hands. They then all bathe, the bride last. After the bath the bride is sprinkled with perfume and refreshments are taken. She is then taken home very quietly and thickly veiled. For Constantinople, White (c. 1840) also reports that the bride sits on a throne while dramatic presentations are given and refreshments offered Then comes, just as in Persia (Polak [c. 1860]) and Tunis (Bertholon [c. 1900]), the ḥenna ceremony which in other lands does not take place till next day. The finger-nails (in Persia also the hair) are dyed with ḥenna The guests thereupon distribute money to the bath attendants. This is called the "henna gift".

3 The adornment of the bride This day is often called after the principal ceremony *lailat al-ḥanna* or *ḥenna gedjesi* (e. g. in Mecca, Egypt, Tunis and in Turkey). In the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids are blackened with *kuhl* and the hands and feet coloured with ḥenna. In doing this the hands and feet must be coloured exactly the same and no pictorial representations put on them (cf. Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī [d. 275 = 888], *Kitāb al-Wara*ʿ, Cairo 1340, p 104). In earlier times, yellow patches (*nukaṭ al-ʿarūs*) used to be put upon the cheeks (Dhu 'l-Rumma [d. 107 = 719] in *Aghānī*, xvi 115; Maidānī, *Proverbia*, ed. Freytag, ii. 762, N° 24; Sharīshī [d. 619 = 1222] in the commentary on Ḥarīrī, *Makāmāt*, p. 610). On the same day the bride's wedding ornaments are put on, including necklaces, bridal girdle (*hiyāṣa* cf. *Sīrat Saif*, xvii 53), crown (*tādj* or *iklīl*; oldest reference: *Sīrat Saif* [xvth century], iv 36, xvii. 53, cf also the title of the celebrated dictionary *Tādj al-ʿArūs* [xviiith century]). The bride on these occasions often puts on different dresses (e. g. in Sfax: Narbeshuber; cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, i 265 *sqq*.. 6 different dresses). The great display in silver pendants and foot-rings, pearls, ḥenna, aloe-wood (for perfuming the face), rose-water, sesame-oil and other aromata is already mentioned in the papyri (cf. *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, *Führer*, N°. 584, 1014). After being dressed the bride is put on a raised seat or throne, where she has to sit quite still with downcast eyes while the women guests sing, dance and make music. These ceremonies often last far into the night (for the older period cf. Leo Africanus for Morocco; d'Arvieux [1674], *Mémoires*, Paris 1735, v. 287, for Algiers and the other travellers). In Mecca and Sfax (Narbeshuber) the enthronement does not take place till the next day. In Cairo (Lane [1835]) on this day the bride takes a lump of henna in her hand and her friends stick coins into it. In Nablus (Jaussen [1927]) there is a similar collection for the bride. In Constantinople also we find the ḥenna ceremony; but before it, all the women guests with wax candles in their hands go into the garden with the bride and dance there in long rows (Garnett [c. 1890]). Pictures of the bride in her wedding

inery: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Bilder-Atlas pl. 25; Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, pl. 5.

4. The bridal procession (*zaffat al-ʿarūsa*), and the elevation to the throne. As Friday is frequently recommended by the theologians for the completion of marriage (cf. Ghazālī in H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, Halle 1917, ii. 90) it is the custom to take the bride to her new home on Thursday evening when she passes the night with her husband. The bride is usually fetched by her bridegroom and his relations and accompanied by her own relatives in an imposing and solemn procession. From the superscription alone in Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, bāb 62 (*al-binā' bi 'l-nahār bi-ghair markab wa-lā nīrān*) it is clear that the solemn procession was general as early as the beginning of the third (ninth) century, in those days the bride was taken at dusk in a litter borne on a beast of burden and accompanied by lighted torches (cf. Tīdjānī, *Tuhfa*, p. 40–41, who for this reason makes a distinction between a bridal procession by day and one by night, but the *bi-ghair markab* is against this) The other oldest references known to me for the bridal procession are the wedding of Umm al-ʿUlūw in Kairawān (425 = 1024); the bride was taken on Thursday by slaves and nobles of the kingdom to the tent put up for her (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed Dozy, . 284) In a story from al-Yamāma, the bride is accompanied by slave-girls who sing and play stringed instruments (*maʿāzif*) (Kazwīnī [d 682 = 1283], *Athār al-Bilād*, ed. Wustenfeld, ii 88). A miniature by the painter Yaḥyā b. Mahmūd of Wāsit of 634 (1237) in the Paris MS. of Harīrī, Arabe 5847 (Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1923, pl. 13) shows a bridal procession, in front go horn-blowers, drummers and men with pennons sitting on camels, the bride herself is completely hidden in a splendid camel-litter and the bridegroom rides beside her on a finely caparisoned horse Further references may be found e g. in *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii 12, *Sīrat Saif*, xiii 12. The oldest western reference is in the travels of the Dominican monk Ricoldus de Monte Crucis [d. 1309], ch. 9, 46 (Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi*, Leipzig 1864, p. 116). "*Tartari* (= Mongols in eastern Asia Minor) . *quando tradunt eam* [i. e. *uxorem*] *ad nupcias, parentes et consanguinei viri, qui eam accipit, ducunt eam cum tympanis et cantu, sed parentes et consanguinei mulieris sequuntur eam cum planctu quasi mortuam*". Later European travellers all describe the bridal procession more or less fully Almost everywhere the bride, who is always closely veiled, is fetched by the bridegroom in a procession carrying lights (candles, torches or lanterns) and accompanied to her new home by relations and friends of both sides. In modern Fās, as in the time of Leo Africanus [1526], she gets into a silk-hung octagonal box which is carried on the shoulders of eight men (Westermarck, p. 166) or she goes on foot, if she belongs to the lower classes (Westermarck, Tharaud) while in the rest of Morocco a "covered cage" on a mule is generally used (Mocquet [1605], Hoest [1760], Westermarck [1914]). In Algiers in the xvith century she was also carried (Haedo). In Egypt and Syria she walks or rides under a canopy (so as early as Cotovicus [1598]). In Turkey in olden times the bride used to ride on a horse (Dernschwam [1553]) usually veiled in a red silk cloth, the ends of which were held up by many people accompanying her (Schweigger [1578], della Valle [1615], Tournefort [1717]). In the Turkish album of miniatures of the xviith century published by Taeschner entitled *Altstambuler Hof- und Volksleben* (Hanover 1925, pl. 32) she is on foot, led by two women. According to della Valle (1615), in place of the procession of lights in front of the bride, a kind of high candlestick is carried which was made with flowers, painted paper, beaten gold, and other foliage, sometimes decorated with gold, silver and ivory; Schweigger [1578; cf. the pictures there] describes them as "wedding candles of green wax, made transparent but not burning". In the same connection may be mentioned the tray of candles which is carried before the bridal procession in the Karagoz-play "The Wrong Bride" (pict. in Ritter, *op cit*, fig 34) In the xixth century, the bride rode in a covered carriage as did the women accompanying her, while the men were on horseback (White, Garnett) In Persia she usually rides, robed in red (Olearius [1637], Chardin [1673], Polak [c. 1860], Wills [c. 1870]) At the present day, the motor car is of course also used in large cities like Cairo. — For pictures of the bridal procession see for Morocco: Dapper, *Beschreibung von Afrika*, Amsterdam 1760, p. 177; for Cairo: Niebuhr [1763], *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, pl. 28; Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque*, Paris 1806, pl 63, Lane [1835], *Sitten und Gebräuche*, pl 32—33, for Constantinople Schweigger [1578], *Reyssbeschreibung*, p. 207; Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

The trousseau is usually carried in the bridal procession, distributed over as many horses and mules as possible; often empty chests are carried to make the trousseau look as large as possible, while in many districts the delivery of the trousseau is a special solemn ceremony (cf. e g Ibn ʿIdhārī, i. 284 for Kairawān [415 = 1024]; Ibn Iyās, iv 107 for Cairo [912 = 1506]).

On leaving her parents' house and entering her new home, a series of symbolic ceremonies are performed which refer to married life, averting evil spirits, fertility etc. I omit these here as they vary much in different towns and districts In her new home she is welcomed by the bridegroom or her mother-in-law and taken to the bridal chamber. There she is placed by the woman on a high chair or throne and congratulated. Sometimes the bridegroom now gives her a present of money — if it is only a piastre — and she is unveiled so that the bridegroom sees her face for the first time. In a (not genuine) *ḥadīth* in Muḳaddasī (*B. G. A*, iii 126) it is said "God shall place Muʿāwiya by his side and cover him and then unveil him to the people like a bride". The throne (*minaṣṣa*) on which the bride is raised and unveiled is mentioned as early as Zawzanī (d. 486 = 1093) and Batalyūsī (d 494 = 1100; in their commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imru'u 'l-Ḳais, ed. Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823, verse 32 or Cairo ed 1282, p. 33). Cf. also *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, iii. 455, *Sīrat Saif*, v 29, where a throne (*sarīr*) of juniper wood decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels is mentioned. In Mecca at the present day, the throne is called *rika* (= *arika*); cf. the picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, pl. 18.

The bridal procession is followed by a feast

which lasts far into the night with music, singing and dancing (the men and women of course separate); in Turkey of the xviiith and xviiith century Karagöz performances were also given (Thevenot, *Voyages*, Paris 1689, i. 172, cf i. 109—110) while in Persia of the xviith century wrestlers (*pahlawān*) performed (Chardin). A Persian miniature of 1604 shows festivities on the occasion of a wedding in the reign of Alp Arslān (beginning of the vith = xiith century) (Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic Book*, Munich 1929, pl. 67).

5. The bridegroom's bath and his *zaffa* take place on the same day as the bridal procession, i. e on the Thursday; a visit is usually made to a mosque in connection with it (cf. *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ii 24). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, i. 263) — it is however a case of *ʿumra* — the bridegroom goes to the bath and is carried on horseback in a torchlight procession to the bride's house; singers with tambourines accompany him and stop from time to time to get money from the bridegroom. Another *zaffa* — but without a bath — is described in the *Sīrat Saif*, xiii 12. The bridegroom rides on a richly caparisoned steed through the town accompanied by dignitaries. Wax candles with camphor are carried, while slaves swing censers and sprinkle rose and jasmine water (cf *Sīrat Saif*, vii. 63; xv. 32). Ibn Iyās (iv 107, 196) records for Cairo in the early xvith century that the bridegroom goes through the streets accompanied by emīrs with lighted candles in their hands. This was also still usual in Lane's time in Cairo Shortly before sunset the bridegroom was taken by his friends to the bath, accompanied by musicians or singers and torches (*mashʿal*); from there they went to the mosque to attend the evening prayer. On their way back from the mosque, the friends carried candles and flowers in their hands For a later date (c. 1875) Klunzinger describes the bridegroom's bath and *zaffa* for Kusair on the Red Sea. In other lands, the bridegroom's bath appears to be less usual, at least it is only rarely mentioned in the sources (for Palestine: Rothstein [1907] with pictures of the *zaffa*, Jaussen [1927], for Tunis and Sfax Bertholon and Narbeshuber [ca 1900]; for Tlemcen · Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p 40 [c. 1900], for Tangiers. Westermarck, p. 118, for eastern Asia Minor: van Lennep, *Travels*, p 267 [c. 1860]; for Persia. Polak [c 1860]). The bath and *zaffa* seem to be quite unknown in Constantinople. Similarly the bath (but not the *zaffa*) for the bridegroom have been long unknown in Mecca (Ibn al-Mudjāwir [d. 690 = 1291] in Landberg, *op. cit.*, Snouck Hurgronje, Rutter), while Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i. 402, mentions both in 1763 for Yarīm in South Arabia. Leo Africanus also does not know of the bath in Fās (nor does Westermarck [c. 1914] nor Tharaud [1930]); on the other hand, he describes an imposing procession of the bridegroom, which met the bridal train in the principal square of the town and went home along with it. — Pictures of the splendid *zaffa* of the bride in India: Thevenot [1666], *Voyages*, Paris 1689, iii. 66; H. Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit*, Berlin 1930, pl. 15 (xviiith century miniature).

6. The wedding night (*lailat al-dukhla*). During the festivities mentioned at the end of 4 the bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber or feigning reluctance is thrust in by his friends. In addition to the *ḥadīth* (see p. 1039b) we have two descriptions from the early Islamic age of the proceedings in the bridal chamber. According to one (*Aghānī*, xv. 70), the caliph ʿUthmān stroked his bride Nāʾila on the head, asked the blessing of God (*baraka*) upon her and then unveiled her. According to the other (*Aghānī*, xvi. 37), Shuraiḥ took his bride Zainab by the forelock while she knelt down, then prayed two *rakʿas* with her, just as now is the usual practice in the two enthronement ceremonies in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, ii. 180 and 185). In the oldest parts of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Baghdād stratum, c xth century A. D), we find the following usages In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (i. 269—272) the bride is undressed by her maids and led by an old woman in a long robe into the bridal chamber where the bridegroom awaits her. While in this case the unveiling has already taken place, in other passages it is only done by the bridegroom himself in the bridal chamber (e. g. iii 524) In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd and al-Ward fi 'l-Akmām (iii 437—439) the two drink together and entertain one another with poems and entertaining stories In the story of Kamar al-Zamān (ii. 478—479) after the consummation the bride summons her maids who give shouts of joy. — In Cairo in Lane's time, the bridegroom was carried by a friend a part of the way up the steps to the ḥarem, during the festivities. He was only allowed to unveil his bride in the bridal chamber in return for a sum of money and see her for the first time He then undressed her, laid her with her head in the direction of Mecca and performed two *rakʿas* After the consummation he summoned the women waiting outside the door to give shouts of joy (*zaghārīt*) and then returned to the guests Jaussen gives a similar description for modern Nablus. Polak records [c. 1860] a very old and widespread practice for Persia (Leo Africanus knows it for Fās [1526], Haedo for Algiers [xviith century], Bertholon for Tunis [c. 1900]). after the unveiling the couple try to tramp on one another's feet; the idea is that whoever does it first will be master in the house. In Turkey, according to Schweigger [1578], the bride is pushed into the bridal chamber by her companions with jests and scoldings. In the xviiith and xixth centuries in Turkey after the unveiling and the usual prayers in the bridal chamber, coffee was served to the bridal pair and then a wedding feast held. Only then were they left alone (Olivier, White, Garnett).

In some districts of Morocco (e. g. Fās), it is considered seemly for the bridegroom only to entertain his bride in the first night and to consummate the marriage only in the second night (Tharaud [1930]; Westermarck, s.v. *Consummation*). In Egypt on the other hand, it is a frequent practice to deflower the bride by mechanical means (Schwally, in *Noldeke-Festschrift*, p 418 *sq*). Both these customs are due to superstition, the fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in the first case to a certain feeling of shame.

During the wedding night, if the guests are still there, or on the next morning, the nurse shows the token of virginity to the women friends and relatives. If the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom can send her back to her parents. The nurse or the mother therefore frequently make arrangements in case of need. In the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (ii. 478) a pigeon is killed. In some districts the

bloodstained cloth is carried through the streets to the house of the bride's parents with drumming and shouts of joy. This is reported by Mocquet [1605] and Hoest [1760] for Morocco, Tournefort [1717] for Turkey, while in Burckhardt's and Lane's time (beg. of xixth century) in Cairo, it was only the custom among the lower classes.

On the morning after the wedding night in obedience to the precepts of religion both go to a bath [see ṬAHĀRA].

7. The ceremonies after the wedding night, especially on the seventh day. Sometimes the prescribed *walīma* is not performed till the day after the wedding night (cf. p. 1039 *sq.*). This is also the case in the story of Kamar al-Zamān (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II. 461, 478). In Turkey on this day, the wedding ceremonies conclude with a feast, the "festival of the sheep's trotters" as it is called from a traditional dish, then the bride has one or two days to receive congratulations (Garnett [c 1890]). In Egypt and North Africa the bride remains for a week in the bridal chamber and is visited and entertained by her female relatives On the seventh day the bride and bridegroom usually hold a reception or give a banquet The first seven days of marriage called *sābiʿ al-ʿarūs* have always played a special part and go back to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet (cf Dozy, *Supplément*, I. 626—627, s above p. 1040a). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd women singers come on the seventh day and gifts are scattered among the populace (*Alf Laila wa-Laila*, II 439—440) Leo Africanus [1526] mentions "a very old custom" in Morocco. on the seventh day the husband buys fish, which his mother or other women throw over the bride's feet. A similar practice is still found in Sfax (Narbeshuber, p 16) Probably there is some old magical practice to secure fertility concealed in this.

In conclusion we may briefly mention the entirely different customs in Mecca and Medīna as recorded by Snouck Hurgronje (1884) and Rutter (c 1928) for Mecca and Burton (1853) for Medīna. Here there is a peculiar combination of the two kinds of wedding, the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra* On the evening of the fourth day, the *ghumra* day (= *ʿumra*), the bride in her wedding finery is put on a throne in her house, while the bridegroom goes to the Haram in a procession with lights, to go through the evening prayer there and then goes to the bride's house He is there taken into the throne room and there unveils his bride. After a supper, everyone, including the bridegroom goes home. Towards morning the bride is taken by a few women secretly in a litter borne by two mules to the house of the bridegroom, which is in keeping with the old Arab practice. After a meal with the bridegroom the throne scene is repeated in his house on the fifth evening in a simpler form, after which consummation takes place. From this duplication, a combination of two different ceremonies, it may be concluded that the modern Meccan wedding customs are not native to Mecca and Medīna, but some features have penetrated in course of time from lands adjoining Arabia, been misunderstood and combined This is confirmed by the simple practices in pre-Muslim and early Muslim Arabia (cf. p 1038 *sq.*), and also by Ibn al-Mudjāwir (in Landberg, *op cit.*, p. 859) who describes a pure *ʿumra* for the viith (xiiith) century. in Mecca· the bridegroom goes to the Ḥaram, performs the sevenfold circumambulation, two *raʿkas* at the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, kisses the Black Stone (i. e. makes the *ṭawāf*) and then goes with candles to the bride's house. — Weddings are usually celebrated in Muḥarram in Mecca, when the ḥadjdj is over and most of the pilgrims have gone (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *op. cit.*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, I. 361).

Although the history and origin of Muslim wedding customs are very difficult to ascertain in view of the lack of early sources, it can be said that in Islām in general many old oriental customs of Syria, Mesopatamia and Egypt, partly taken over from Christianity, have been preserved and have been disseminated by Islām in other Muslim lands and there have become mingled with local customs.

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(Heffening)

ʿURWA b al-Ward b. Ḥābis of the tribe of ʿAbs, an old Arab poet His father, whose fame was sung by ʿAntara, played a part in the Dāḥis war. His mother belonged to the less esteemed Banū Nahd, a branch of the Kuḍāʿa (cf. Wustenfeld, *Tab.*, i. 17; allusions to them in poems ix, xix., xx). He lived, as is expressly stated, in the Djāhilīya. But his allusions to individuals who survived into the time of Muḥammad, like ʿĀmir b. Tufail (schol. on i. 1) show that he must have flourished just before the coming of the Prophet His poems and the anecdotes related of him give us a picture of a true Beduin, devoted to a chivalrous life of adventure, who for his protection of the poor later became known as ʿUrwat al-Ṣaʿālīk Among his adventures may be mentioned his raid from Māwān in the region of Yathrib upon the Balḳain in N W. Arabia, and the story of his wife Umm ʿAmr (also Umm Wahb or Salmā) of the tribe of Kināna whom he is said to have been tricked into giving away, while intoxicated, by the Jewish Banu 'l-Naḍīr (or in their region)

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(H. H Brau)

ʿURWA b. al-**ZUBAIR** b. ʿAwwām, al-Asadī al-Madanī, one of the earliest and foremost authorities on tradition in Madīna, born between 23 and 29 A.H, died between 91 and 99 His mother was the celebrated Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr, his father al-Zubair b. al-ʿAwwām b Khuwailid was a nephew of Khadīdja. Some thirty years younger than his brother ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUrwa did not take part in politics or in the civil wars, but gave himself up entirely to study. When his brother, in 73, was vanquished by al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿUrwa abandoned him, like the rest of his family, and fled in haste to Damascus, to carry the news to ʿAbd al-Malik and thus win his favour. Thereafter he lived in studious retirement on his property at Madīna, until his death, and there wrote, on ʿAbd al-Malik's request, a series of communications on the earliest period of Islām, probably in the form of letters to the Caliph (see al-Ṭabarī, i. 1180–1182)

It is recorded of him that he used to read one fourth of the Ḳurʾān every night, and that he suffered his cancerous foot to be amputated without uttering one groan.

ʿUrwa had assiduously frequented his maternal aunt ʿĀʾisha up to three years before her death, and collected a great many important traditions from her, from both his parents, from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Huraira. Among those who received traditions from him are Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, his own sons. Muḥammad, ʿUthmān, ʿAbd Allāh, Yaḥyà and especially Hishām; Sulaimān b Yasār and Ibn Abī Mulaʾika.

As an authority on tradition ʿUrwa ranks very high, and is one of the seven great *fuḳahāʾ*; authors of treatises on *riḍjāl* and *ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* have no fault to find with him. He had collected an important library, bearing upon many subjects, both historical and juridical. He was the author of a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, but his traditions are only to be found incorporated in the works of later historians. Ibn Saʿd, al-Tabarī and Ibn Isḥāḳ A feature of his traditions is the lack of a regular *isnād*, which was formed after his time.

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(V. Vacca)

USĀMA b Murshid b ʿAlī b Muḳallad b. Naṣr b Munḳidh al-Shaizarī al-Kinānī, an Arab knight (*fāris*), courtier and man of letters, born in 488 (1095) in Shaizar (the Sizara of the Crusaders, north of Hamā in Syria) which was the seat of his princely family, the Munḳidhīs, and died in 584 (1188) in Damascus. Four years after his birth, Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders and a year before his death it was retaken by Saladin. Throughout his life he was in constant relations with the Franks, sometimes hostile, sometimes friendly At the age of 15, he took part in the defence of Shaizar against Tancred's army from Antioch. Following the example of his father, who was not only a warrior and a hunter but also a calligrapher, he devoted himself to war, sport and literature. He spent nine years (1129—1138) in the army of the Atābeg of Mōṣul, Zangī; after the death of his father, he had to leave Shaizar for ever as his uncle who now reigned was jealous for the sake of his own sons of Usāma's military reputation. He spent six years in Damascus (1138—1144) at the court of the Būrids. Peaceful relations and treaties with the kingdom of Jerusalem gave him the opportunity to become better acquainted with the Franks; he made quite a number of friends among the Templars. From Damascus he went to Egypt where the Fāṭimid dynasty was approaching its end Here (between 1144—1154) he became involved in political intrigues, conducted a number of enterprises against the Crusaders in Palestine and had to leave Cairo after ten years. On the way he lost his entire library, which contained over 4,000 manuscripts Settling for a second time in Damascus he undertook many campaigns against the Franks with the celebrated Nūr al-Dīn, son of his first patron Zangī (1154—1164). A terrible earthquake in 552 (1157) completely destroyed his home, three years later (555 = 1160), he made the ḥadjdj to the holy cities. He spent ten

years (1164—1174 in Ḥiṣn Kaifā with the Urtuḳid Ḳara Arslān, mainly engaged in his literary work. The fame of Saladin, who was so successfully conducting the war on the Crusaders, attracted him for the third time to Damascus He died here at a great age in Ramaḍān 584 (Nov. 1188). His tomb on Mount Ḳāsiyūn was visited a century later by the famous historian Ibn Ḫallikān.

Usāma, one of a family whose members are frequently mentioned in literature (see e. g Yāḳūt, *Muʿ<u>d</u>jam al-Udabāʾ*, ii. 173—197), attained renown as a poet and a man of letters. His *Dīwān* (in two *d<u>j</u>uzʾ*) still existed in the time of al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768 = 1367) who knew it (see *Mirʾāt al-<u>D</u>janān*, iii. 427); Derenbourg collected a number of his poems from the Gotha fragment and several anthologies (*Ousama b. Mounḳidh*, i., *La vie d'Ousama*, Paris 1889—1893, p 336—338, 543—562) Of his prose works we know the names of over a dozen (cf Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 330—339) but only five are so far known to have survived. The most remarkable and most interesting of his works, the importance of which stretches far beyond the scope of ordinary Arabic literature, is the *Kitāb al-Iʿtibār*, his memoirs, which gives a vivid and lively picture of his time in peace and war The only MS. so far known was found by H. Derenbourg in the Escurial (see *Comment j'ai découvert en 1880 à l'Escurial le manuscrit arabe contenant l'autobiographie d'Ousama b. Mounḳidh*, as introduction to the German translation by G. Schumann, see below) and edited by him. It has been four times completely translated: into French by Derenbourg (Paris 1895), into German by G Schumann (Innsbruck 1905), into Russian by Salier (with introduction, notes and bibliography by I. Kratschkovsky, Petrograd 1922) and into English by Hitti (New York 1929) Usāma's other works are still only accessible in manuscript. His treatise on poetics *al-Badīʿ fi 'l-Badīʿ* was described with extracts by Derenbourg from three manuscripts (Berlin, Leyden, Cairo) (*op. cit*, p 330—331, 691—722). We may now add the MS of the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad (see Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski* ², i 3—4) His anthology *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā* deals, with many quotations in prose and verse, with the "staffs" known in history and legend (Derenbourg, *op cit.*, i. 334—336, 499—542); we may now add the MS. in Milan from the Yemen (see Griffini, in *Z.D M.G*, lxix. [1915] 73) Recently a hitherto unknown work of Usāma, the *Kitāb al-Manāzil wa 'l-Diyār* (autograph of 568 = 1172, written in Ḥiṣn Kaifā), was found in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. This anthology which was suggested by an earthquake in August 1157, contains all kinds of poetical quotations about *manāzil*, *diyār*, *maghānī*, *aṭlāl*, *rabʿ*, *dimān*, *rasm*, etc. (description of the MS. with many specimens of the text by Kratschkovsky, in *Zapiski* ², i. 4—18). We do not yet have any details of the *Lubāb al-Adab*, which is in Cairo in a MS. of 598 A.H. in the possession of Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf (editor of the periodical *al-Muḳtaṭaf*).

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(IGN. KRATSCHKOVSKY)

USĀMA B ZAID B ḤĀRITHA AL-KALBĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ, ABŪ MUHAMMAD, son of the Abyssinian freedwoman Baraka Umm Aiman and reckoned among the Prophet's freedmen, was born in Mecca in the fourth year of the mission Tradition records many instances of the Prophet's fondness for him as a child, and gives him the surname of *Ḥibb b. Ḥibb Rasūl Allāh*.

He joined the fighters on the way to Uḥud, but was sent back before battle on account of his tender age. Questioned by Muḥammad in the case of slander against ʿĀʾisha, he spoke in her favour After Khaibar he received a pension, and in A. H 8 rode behind the Prophet into Mecca and entered the Kaʿba with him He fought gallantly at Hunain.

In A H 11 Muhammad put Usāma in command of an expedition to avenge his father Zaid, fallen at Muʾta Notwithstanding criticism, due to Usāma's youth, the Prophet, already in his last illness, insisted on a prompt departure, but the expedition turned back at the news of his death, and Usāma was among those who prepared him for burial.

The newly-elected Caliph ordered the expedition to be resumed, in accordance with the Prophet's wishes, though the tribes were already in revolt. Usāma reached the region of al-Balḳāʾ, in Syria, where Zaid had fallen, and raided the village of Ubna (the modern Khān al-Zait) His victory brought joy to Madīna, depressed by the *ridda*, thus acquiring an importance out of proportion to its real significance, which caused it to be regarded later as the beginning of a campaign for the conquest of Syria

In the same year Abū Bakr left Usāma in command at Madīna, while at the battle of Dhu 'l-Ḳaṣṣa

In 20 ʿUmar bestowed on him a pension of 4,000 dirhams, equal to that of the men of Badr, on account of the Prophet's fondness for him and his father.

The election of ʿUthmān to the caliphate took place in the home of Fāṭima bint Ḳais al-Fihrīya, Usāma's wife: he probably had a part in the event, and was in favour with the Caliph, receiving from him the grant of a piece of land, and being sent by him to Baṣra in 34 to report upon the political situation there.

After ʿUthmān's death Usāma refused homage to ʿAlī, whose supporters attacked and illtreated him in the Mosque at Madīna. Thereafter he lived in retirement, first in Wādi 'l-Ḳurā, then in Madīna; he died in al-<u>D</u>jurf, about 54, and was buried in Madīna.

Usāma has a place among transmitters of *ḥadīth*. His political career, though not brilliant, appears blameless; we hear nothing of his riches.

In appearance Usāma resembled his mother, being black and flat-nosed. The emphasis laid by tradition on Muḥammad's love for him is partly due to the intention of setting him off against ʿAlī's family; it may also have been meant to

show that the Prophet was a true democrat and free from colour prejudice.

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'USHĀḴ, a town in Asia Minor, capital of a ḳaḍā in the sandjaḳ of Kūtāhiya in the province of Khudāwendigār, on the edge of a cultivated plain at the foot of the mountains; it had 15,000 inhabitants of whom a third were Armenians and Greeks; the houses are built of brick, with gardens, and the streets are broad It was rebuilt after a fire in the xixth century. It is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets known as Smyrna carpets because they are exported through this port (150,000 yards per annum). There is a fortress on the site of the ancient acropolis (Eucarpia) Towards the end of the xviiith century, the *dere-beyi* (governor) Ḥādjdjī Murād-oghlu declared himself independent but he was besieged by Ḳara 'Othmān-oghlu of Aidīn, taken through treachery and executed. In the district there are asbestos mines and sulphur thermal springs

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Diihān-numā*, p. 633; 'Alī Djewād, *Djoghrafiya Lughāti*, p. 548; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 425

(CL. HUART)

AL-**USHĪ** 'ALI B. 'OTHMĀN SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ, of whose life nothing is recorded ('Abd al-Ḳādir b Abi 'l-Wafā' al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍi'a fi Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiya*, Ḥaidarābād 1332, i. 367 does not even give a date), wrote about the year 569 = 1173 (s. *Z. D. M. G.*, xvi. 685) a confession of faith in rhyme entitled *al-Ḳaṣida al-Lāmiya fi 'l-Tawḥīd*, also called *Bad' al-Amālī* or from the opening words *Ḳaṣida yaḳūlu 'l-'Abd* (*Carmen arabicum Amālī dictum*, ed P. v Bohlen, Regensburg 1825; also in *Madjmū' Muhimmāt al-Mutūn*, Cairo 1273, 1281, 1295, 1323; on the margin of Salīm b Sumair, *Safinat al-Nadjā'*. Singapore 1295, with Hindūstānī paraphrase by Mawlawī Muḥammad Naẓīr Aḥmad Khān, Dehli 1317) These printed editions show the popularity of the work down to the present time and commentaries have often been written on it. To the commentaries given in *G. A. L.*, i. 429 of which the oldest is by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī, author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk* (*G. A. L*, i. 383, d. according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 733, in 660 = 1261), some more may be added from the Stambul and other catalogues The most celebrated among them is that of al-Ḳārī' al-Harawī (d. 1014 = 1605), written in 1010 (1601) in Mecca entitled *Ḍaw' al-Amālī*, pr. Stambul 1293, Bombay 1295, Dehli 1884, with Turkish transl. by Ḥusnī Efendi, Stambul 1304; anonymous glosses *Tuḥfat al-A'ālī*, Cairo 1309 and n.d. There have also been printed two Persian commentaries *Naṣm al-La'ālī* by Muḥammad Bakhsh Rafīḳī (lith.), Lucknow 1869 and by Aḥmad Darwīza Nangarhārī, Lahore 1891, 1900; a Turkish commentary *Marāḳ al-Ma'ālī* by Aḥmad 'Āṣim 'Aintābī, Stambul 1304; and a Turkish paraphase with commentary by Muḥammad Shükrī, Stambul 1305 Of his collection of traditions *Ghurar al-Akhbār wa-Durar al-Ash'ār*, only a selection, containing 1,000 short traditions in 100 chapters, entitled *Niṣāb al-Akhbār wa-Tadhkirat al-Akhyār* has survived in Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Katalog*, N°. 1300/1), Munich (note N°. 162), Cairo (*Fihrist*, i 444) and a fragment in Mōṣul (s Dāwūd, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣilīya*, p. 24, N°. 28) His collection of *fetwās al-Fatāwī al-Sirādjīya*, which according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 8767, he finished on 2nd Muḥarram 569 (Aug 14, 1173) in Ush, was printed in Calcutta 1243 and Lucknow 1223—1225.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

USHNŪ (Ushnuh, Ushnūya), a district and town in Ādharbāidjān. Ushnū lies to the south of Urmiya [q v] from which it has usually been administered. The district is watered by the upper course of the river Gādir (Gader) which, after traversing the district of Sulduz [q. v], flows into Lake Urmiya on the S W. To the south of Ushnū is the district of Lāhidjān which is administered from Sawdj-Bulaḳ [q. v.]. The town of Ushnū (710 houses) is situated on the left bank of the Gādir (Čom-i-Čilash, "river with 40 mills") which rises in the Gilās valley through which the district communicates with Mārgavār [cf. URMIYA].

The population of the district are Kurds. The town and its villages are occupied by the Zarzā tribe, the other twenty-five villages by the tribe of Mamash which also occupies a part of Lāhidjān and of Sulduz

It is possible that in the Khaldic (Vannic) inscriptions the name Ushini corresponds to Ushnū. Rawlinson had identified the village of Singān (three miles S E. of Ushnū) with the Σίνκαρ mentioned by Ptolemy, vi. 2 in Media. The town of Ushnū is mentioned in Arabic sources from the time of Iṣtakhrī (p. 186). This author says that Ushnuh al-Ādharīya formed part of the lands of the Banū Rudainī, which also included Dākharḳān and Tabrīz (Nirīz ?), but Ibn Hawḳal, p. 240, already notes that this tribe had disappeared. On p. 239, he notes the richness of Ushnuh in grass and fruits. Its produce (honey, almonds, nuts and cattle) was exported to Mawṣil and to al-Djazīra. Its "steppe" (*bādiya* = Lāhidjān ?) belonged to the Hadhbānī Kurds who spent the summer there (*yaṣīfūna*). The principal fief of these Kurds was at Arbil (cf above, ii, p 1200)

We know nothing of the coming of the Zarzā Kurds to Ushnū (they may perhaps be a branch of the old Hadhbānī) but the Zarzarī are already mentioned in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī, written in Egypt in 1335 (cf *N. E*, xiii., 1838, p. 300—329). The author explains its name as *walad al-dhi'b* which Quatremère has emended to *walad al-dhahab* "children of gold" (in Kurdish *zar* + *zarū*).

In the *Sharaf-nāma* the section on the Zarzā, mentioned in the preface, is omitted in all the manuscripts. They must have occupied a very considerable area. In a mutilated passage, i. 280, Sharaf al-Dīn seems to say that Lāhidjān was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budaḳ, the first chief of the Bābān tribe (xvth century). He also mentions (i. 278) the defeat inflicted on them by Sulaimān Beg Sohrān (in the time of Murād III, 982–1003).

Ushnū lies on the road between Mawṣil and the

valley of Lake Urmiya (Mawṣil–Rawānduz-pass of Kela-Shīn [c. 10,000 feet]–Ushnu–Urmiya or Marāgha). This road, blocked by snow in winter, is much less convenient than the route from Rawānduz via Rāyāt by the pass of Garū-Shinka (south of the Kela-Shīn) which does not exceed 7,800 feet. The pass of Kela-Shīn (in Kurd "green stele") is celebrated for the stele with a bilingual inscription (Assyrian-Khaldic) erected in 800 B. C. in the time of the Khaldic King Ishpuini and his son Menua. The *Masālik al-Abṣār* (transl. Quatremère, p 315) has a detailed account of the mountain of Ḥadjarain, i. e. "the Two Stones" (i e. the Kela-Shīn and the similar stone of Topuzāwa, S. W. of Kela-Shīn). In the legendary account by Ṭabarī, i 440, of the campaigns of the King of Yaman (Rāʾish b. Kais) in the region of Mawsil, we are told that his general Shawr b. al-ʿAttāf had his exploits engraved on "the two stones (*ḥaḏjarain*) still known in Ādharbāidjān". These two texts have been published by G Hoffmann, in *Auszuge*, p 249—250.

The place-names of the district (in Aramaic Ashnokh, Ashna) reflect the former presence of a Christian element which has now disappeared (cf. the names of the villages of Sargis, Dinha and Bemzurta) In 958 already, a Christian of Ushnū founded the church of Sergius and Bacchus near Malatya. In 1271 the Nestorian Catholicos Denha transferred the see of the metropolis of Assyria to Ushnū to be better protected by the Mongol rulers (Assemani, ii. 350, 456) An old Christian church may be concealed by the ruins of Deir-i Shaikh Ibrāhīm (near Singān), which are venerated by both Muslims and Christians Rawlinson (p. 17) saw there the tomb of the bishop of Ushnū, Ibrāhīm, who in 1281 was present at the consecration of the Nestorian Catholicos Yahballāhā III.

Bibliography· cf URMIYA, Rawlinson, *Notes on a Journey from Tabriz*, in *J R G S*, x, 1840, p 15—24; Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan* (1834), London 1840, I, 89—98, Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnûje* etc, in *Sitzungsb Ak. Wien*, cxxxiii, Vienna 1895, Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i 240, 260, De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, in *Recherches archéologiques*, 1896, i 261—83 (Kela-Shīn), cf. also *Etudes géographiques*, 1895, ii., index.

On the Kela-Shīn see the bibliography in Lehmann-Haupt, *l c.*, and in detail in Minorsky, *Kela-Shin*, in *Zap*, 1917, xxiv., p. 146—93.

(V. MINORSKY)

ʿUSHR, the tenth or tithe levied for public assistance, is frequently used in the sense of *ṣadaka* and *zakāt* (Abū Yūsuf, p 31, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 79, 83, 121, 123) and indeed there is no very strict line drawn in the Sharīʿat books between zakāt and ʿushr dues (cf. Tornauw, p 318). The term ʿushr is not found in the Ḳurʾān but Sūra vi. 142 is taken to refer to the tithe or half tithe (Abū Yūsuf, p. 32; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 88 *sq.*). Etymologically ʿushr is the same as the Assyrian *ish-ru-u* (E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, iv. 192, 205) which means tribute paid in kind (corn, dates) or in gold, and with the Hebrew *maʿaśēr* (Gen. xiv 20; xxix 20—22), the tenth which the sanctuaries received but which was also levied by kings and which the Mosaic law wished to introduce as compulsory (Lev. xxvii. 30—33; Num. xviii. 21—26). While the prophet Samuel (I Sam. viii. 15–17) wanted the tenth to go primarily to the king, later the demand was raised for a general tithe on behalf of the sanctuary of Sion, and under Persian rule a tenth of everything actually did go to the temple of Jahve (Mal. iii. 8—10) On the other hand, according to Deut. xiv. 28; xxvi. 12, the Levites and the poor were to receive the tenth while, according to the code of the priests, the whole tenth was to belong exclusively to the Levites, who had in their turn to hand over a tenth to the priests (Num. xviii. 21 *sqq.*). In the cases of lapses by Jews to idolatry, they brought the tenth to the temples of the gods (Amos iv. 4; cf. H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelworterbuch*, Leipzig 1903, p. 743; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 40). It is also significant that the tenth in these cases was usually a tenth of natural products (grape-juice, corn, oil) but it was permitted to offer money instead.

An investigation of the significance of the tenth as a tax among neighbouring peoples is therefore important and necessary because light is thereby thrown on Arab conditions Of great significance is the fact recorded by Pliny, *Hist Nat.*, xii 63 especially for South Arabia (*Arabia felix*) that the tenth part of the frankincense harvest was collected by the priests for the god Sin (MS. SABIN) out of which to meet public expenses and the maintenance of guests In the inscriptions we find *ʿushr* and *ʿshwrt* along with *frʿ* as a tax and both are taken by N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsudarabischen*, ii, *S B. Ak. Wien*, clxxxv/3, 1917, p 58 to be taxes on land, which however came under the temple taxes. According to Sūra iv. 137, the pagan Arabs, even the Kuraish, both Bedū and Fellāhīn offered a gift from their fruits of the field and animals to Allāh or other gods, which in practice of course went to the guardians of the sanctuary. Muḥammad, probably deliberately, deprived the tenth of any connection with worship and, perhaps on the analogy of South Arabian customs, made the tithe a kind of tax. Thus, in his letter to the Khathʿam in Bīsha (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv., Berlin 1889, N⁰. 68, p 130), it is laid down that a tenth is to be paid on all lands irrigated by running streams and a half tenth on lands artificially irrigated. This also held for the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal (*ibid.*, N⁰ 119, p. 173) and the Himyar (Yahyā b. Ādam, p 83), in the letter to the latter the tithe is called *ṣadaḳa*. For the nomads around Ṣuḥār for example a tax of one in ten loads of dates is fixed for their palmgroves (J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, N⁰. 69, p. 130).

Mecca, Medina, the Ḥiḏjāz, the Yaman and the Arabian territory were thus regarded as ʿushr land (E. Fagnan, p. 89) from which alone the tenth was to be raised (*op. cit.*, p. 79) and this was contrasted with the *ḵharādj* land on which the land tax was levied. With the gradual expansion of the Islāmic empire, the ʿushr land increased considerably in area For example at the conquest of al-Raḳḳa (18 A. H.) the lands which the protected people (*ahl al-dhimma*) did not use were given to Muslims on payment of the tithe (*Annali dell' Islām*, iv. 40). The lands acquired by peace treaties, on which no land tax was levied became ʿushr land in so far as they belonged to new converts (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 15). Further all land on which no land tax was levied became ʿushr land on the conversion of its owner, if the cultivator dug a well or an irrigation channel (Fagnan, p. 99)

A considerable increase in ʿushr land also resulted from the transference of land by sale or gift. If for example a Muslim bought land from the Banū Taghlib he paid the tithe, according to others the double *ṣadaḳa*; the same held of every member of this tribe or Christians generally who became converts to Islām, since the land thereby became ʿushr land (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 12, 16, 46 *sq.*). Land in areas acquired by treaties of peace became ʿushr land in so far as it had been acquired by Muslims by purchase, even if the payment of land tax was expressly laid down in the treaty (*op. cit.*, p. 37). The tithe was also to be levied on naturally irrigated *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* lands in Sawād (Fagnan, p. 79) C. H. Becker, *Islāmstudien*, p. 230 *sqq.*, has shown how ʿushr land developed in Egypt. Gifts of land to meritorious Muslims and purchase by Muslims from Copt landowners here made the land ʿushr land, which in Egypt certainly developed to a considerable extent out of the old domains. On the other hand, the practice of allowing new converts to pay only the tenth frequently created ʿushr land. Of the rules which were in force regarding the transference of ʿushr land it may be mentioned that allies (*muʿāhid*) who acquired ʿushr land by purchase had to pay *kharādj*, which remained a burden on the land if it was sold again to a Muslim This at any rate is the Ḥanafī teaching (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 16). If on the other hand a Christian buys ʿushr land from a Muslim he has to pay the double tithe (*khums*), which is regarded as a double *ṣadaḳa*. The land is further treated as *ʿushrī* if the owner becomes converted to Islām (*op. cit.*). This had of course great disadvantages for the treasury, as had the sale of *kharādj* land to a Muslim and therefore ʿUmar II laid it down that in the latter case the land tax fell upon the new owner, who had also to pay the tithe or half tithe on the produce and agricultural land, as the *kharādj* was due upon the soil and the tithe or half tithe was due as *zakāt* from the Muslims (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 10). This regulation was however in contradiction to the principle that (by ʿIkrima) *kharādj* and ʿushr could not be levied at the same time, any more than *ʿushr* and *zakāt* or *djizya* (poll-tax), and ʿUmar I had already prohibited the collection of the tithe from a Muslim or ally when he paid *kharādj* (*ibid.*, p. 10, 32, 46) How far this limitation was actually observed it is impossible to say In Inv Ar. Pap. 194 of the Rainer Coll. in Vienna, which deals with taxation but unfortunately is very fragmentary, and contains lists of land-tax, poll-tax, palm-tax, *ṣadaḳāt*, *aʿshār*, the two last entries are missing so that conclusions cannot be drawn from it How greatly the practice varied is clear from Māwardī (p. 104) according to whom an ally who owns ʿushr land has to pay neither ʿushr nor *kharādj* according to the Shāfiʿīs, according to the Ḥanafīs, *kharādj*, according to others, *ṣadaḳa* while according to Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 15, the ally of the tribe of Taghlib who bought ʿushr land had to pay the double tithe but if he belonged to a tribe which had been adopted into the Islāmic state as an ally, he paid neither ʿushr nor *kharādj*. Further it was open to the Imām — in practice the financial administrator of the province and the machinery of collection — to turn *kharādj* land into ʿushr land (Fagnan, p. 89) so that in later times the rule as to what land paid *kharādj* and what paid ʿushr was treated quite arbitrarily and at most we can observe a certain tendency to observe principles generally regarded as valid and sanctified by custom. In the letting of lands and *muzāraʿa* agreements the rule was probably that the cultivator of ʿushr land should pay a tenth or twentieth of the yield, according to the kind of ground (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p 121). If a Muslim takes over the land of an ally to till it he pays a tenth of the yield, the *dhimmī* the land-tax, if he has lived untilled land out of the *kharādj* land, the landlord pays the *kharādj* but the cultivator no tithe (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 120).

If the untilled land is *ʿushrī* the cultivator has to pay $^1/_{10}$ or $^1/_{20}$ of the yield as *zakāt* (*op. cit.*, p. 116, 123). If a Muslim has leased *ʿushrī* untilled land, he pays the tenth while the landlord pays nothing (*ibid*, p 124) The Muslim also pays on rented *kharādj* land $^1/_{10}$ or $^1/_{20}$ of the yield as *zakāt*, the landlord the *kharādj* (this is the Shāfiʿī practice) while the Hanafīs make the landlord pay tithe (Māwardī, p 105). The same thing holds if owner and occupier are the same individual (Yaḥyā b Ādam, p. 118—120). According to Māwardī, p 104, however, the Muslim occupier, as having contracted an agreement to cultivate a piece of *kharādj* land has to pay tithe and *kharādj* (Shāfiʿī), only the *kharādj* according to the Hanafīs

According to Abū Yūsuf (Fagnan, p 79), the tithe was only to be paid on durable products of the land but not on vegetables, fodder or fuel, according to Yaḥyā b Ādam (p. 84, 105) on palms, wheat, barley, grapes, raisins, while (*op cit*, p 79, 101) it is laid down that the tithe is to be levied as *zakāt* on all that the earth produces, even if it be only a bundle of green stuff. The latter is according to Yaḥyā b. Ādam (p. 103) along with walnuts, almonds, and all fruit, only liable to tithe in the form of *zakāt* if it is over 200 dirhams in value. For dates the limit of exemption is 5 *wasḳ* (Fagnan, p 80). ʿUmar levied no tax on vines, peaches and pomegranates, while wine and oil are regarded as liable to tithe (*ibid.*, p. 50, 111). According to some, ʿushr is levied on honey, according to others, only when it is produced on ʿushr land (*op cit*, p. 17), this also holds of saffron As a kind of trade-tax, the ʿushr was levied on merchants coming into Islāmic territory and the ally paid a twentieth but a tenth on wine and pigs (*op. cit.*, p 32—49 *sq.*) Muslims under age are according to some jurists exempt from the tithes, according to others not (*op cit.*, p. 48).

The half, single, one and a half and double tenth are the rates for the ʿushr; we even have higher ones, for they are fixed quite at the discretion of the Imām (Fagnan, p. 90). It is however a principle and it is in keeping with the old practice that the tenth is levied on all land which is irrigated by running water, brooks and streams or by rain, the half tenth on land which is irrigated by carried water, by water-wheels or water drawn by camels (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, p. 78, 80—86).

The income from the tithes could be used for other than benevolent purposes. Thus for example, the administrator of the provincial revenues in Egypt, ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb, gave the Ḳais who were settled here funds to buy beasts of burden out of the tithes (Maḳrīzī, *Abhandlung* p 488). Echoes of the ancient pre-Islāmic practice have survived in South Arabia where the *raʿiyy* pay ʿushr to the sulṭān or emīr; here it is also called *ʿashīra* but it is worth noting that it is

mainly levied on the fruits of the field, corn, dates coffee, indigo etc. Among the Barkān and the people of ʿAryab, the corn is piled up, measured and $^1/_{10}$ of the wheat set aside, of which the poor of the sanctuary receive the half and the other half goes to the *mashāʾikh*, a custom which has analogies with the conditions in the Bible and also with those recorded by Pliny.

Bibliography: Yahyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, ed. T. W. Juynboll, Leyden 1896, p. 8, 10—12, 15—18, 32, 47, 44—50, 78—86, 88, 89, 101—103, 105, 109, 111, 116, 118, 121, 123—126; Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302; transl. by E. Fagnan, *Le livre de l'impot foncier (Kitâb el-Kharâdj)*, Paris 1921, p. 79—85, 87—90, 94 *sq.*, 99 *sq*, 104, 109 *sq.*, 113; Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. Habīb al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya*, Cairo 1909, p 104 *sq* ; F. Wüstenfeld, *el-Macrizi's Abhandlung uber die in Agypten eingewanderten arabischen Stamme*, in *Gottinger Studien*, 1847, p 488; J von Hammer, *Über die Landerverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, Berlin 1835, p. 113, 119 *sq* , 122 *sq.*, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, i., Vienna 1875, p. 55; v. Tornauw, *Das Eigentumsrecht nach moslemischem Rechte*, in *Z D M G.*, xxxvi, 1882, p 194, 318; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impot foncier sous les premiers califes, étude sur l'impot du kharâg*, Geneva 1886, p. 9, 14, 31, 40 *sq.*, 69; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i , Leipzig 1924, p. 230 *sq* , A. Grohmann, *Sudarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i., Vienna 1922, p 74, note 2, 80, 81, 85, 101; ii 6, 35, note 1 (GROHMANN)

ʿUSHSHĀḲĪZĀDE, a Turkish patronymic borrowed from the Persian, meaning strictly son or descendant of ʿUshshāḳī, the latter word being the ethnic from Ushaḳ (arabicised into *ʿushshāḳ*, plur of *ʿāshik*), a town in Asia Minor. ʿUshshāḳīzāde therefore means a descendant of a man from Ushaḳ.

Two families in Turkey have borne or bear this name:

1 The descendants of ʿUshshāḳīzāde ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, Ḳādī of Mecca and son-in-law of the *nakīb ul-eshrāf* Seirekzāde ʿAbd al-Rahmān Efendi. He was the third son of the saint Shaikh Hasan Ḥusām al-Dīn said to have come from Bukhārā, who was a pupil of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Samarḳandī in Erzindjān and who settled in Ushaḳ at first and later in Constantinople in the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent. He died at Ḳonya in 1003 (1594—1595) and was buried in Constantinople with the shaikhs who succeeded him in the mosque founded by him at the same time as a *tekkye* at Ḳāsim Pasha. Ḥusām al-Dīn founded the *ṭarīḳa* or order of the ʿUshshāḳīya dervishes, the rules of which are influenced by the Kubrawīya and Nūrbakhshīya *ṭarīḳas* and which forms a branch of the Aḥmadīya who in turn are connected with the Khalwatīya. According to v. Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, vii. 287), the brotherhood of the ʿUshshāḳīya was founded in the reign of Murād III (1574—1596). The priory of the order did not long remain in the direct line of the founder, owing to failure of male descendants. On the other hand, another branch of the same family, the ʿUshshāḳīzāde properly so-called, flourished greatly. ʿUshshāḳīzāde ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, already mentioned, had a son ʿUshshāḳīzāde Ḥasīb Ibrāhīm Efendi who founded a family and acquired a certain reputation for his historical works (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 258—259; v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii 477) ʿAbd Allāh Nesīb Efendi, another son of ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, was *Nakīb al-Ashrāf* at Constantinople from 1123 to 1130 (*Sidjill*, iii. 373 *sq* ; Rifʿat, *Dawlat al-Nuḳabāʾ*, p. 33 *sq.*

2. A family of merchants (carpet, etc.) and notables which was settled in Smyrna at the end of the xixth century and to which belong the well-known prose-writer and novelist ʿUshshāḳīzāde Khālid Ḍiyā (Halit Ziya) [cf. KHĀLID ZIYĀ] and his niece Hanîm, formerly the wife of Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha.

As Halit Ziya has himself pointed out in his memoirs (*Hatîralar arasînda*, publ. in the *Vakit* from Jan. 29, 1931, cf. N⁰. 2 of these *Memoirs*), the family as late as 1869 was called Ḥelwādjizāde (Helvacîzade). The branch which went to Smyrna was known as Ushshaḳîlîlar, "those of Ushaḳ", a name which was later replaced by that of ʿUshshāḳīzāde, which was thought more elegant.

Bibliography. (for the first of these two families only). Thureiya [Süreiya] Bey, *Sidjill-i ʿosmānī*, iv. 298; ii 112, 180; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv. 2156; Hammer, *Hist.*, ii 207 (Fr ed.), Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p 259 (sources)

On the sect of ʿUshshāḳīya cf Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Lughāt-i Tārikhiye we-Djoghrāfīye*, iv. 243 (s v. *ṭarīḳa*; cf. also this Encyclopædia s v. ṬARĪḲA, p. 705). Details of the different shaikhs will be found in Hāfiz Ḥüseïn b al-Hadjdj Ismāʿīl Aïwānserāyi, *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, Constantinople 1281, ii 23—25 (considerably abridged in the translation in Hammer, *Hist*, p. 69, N⁰ 634). (J. DENY)

ÜSKÜB (Serb. Skoplye), capital of the former Turkish wilāyet of Ḳoṣowa (Serb. Kosovo), now the capital of the Vardar banat in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, is situated at a height of 960 feet above sea-level in the centre of a fertile valley surrounded by snow-covered mountains and built on both sides of the Vardar; in 1931 it had 64,807 inhabitants (only 32,249 in 1921) of whom over a third are Muslims. On the left bank of the river are the older quarters of the town (the fortress, the Turkish quarter etc); on the right are the modern buildings and the railway station. Skoplye has 8,958 houses, 15 mosques, 6 Serbian Orthodox and 1 Roman Catholic churches. Of specifically Muslim buildings we may mention a *Medjlis-i ʿUlamāʾ* (i e a college of legal authorities, usually called "Ulema-medžlis"), a Waḳūf-Meʿārif Council ("Vakufsko-mearifsko veće") (cf. i , p. 760 *sqq.*), a chief Sharīʿat court and a state high school for Muslims ("Velika mediesa kralya Aleksandra I") in which, in addition to the usual subjects, religion, Arabic and a little Turkish are taught Owing to its splendid geographical situation, Skoplye has become the economic and cultural centre of Southern Serbia.

The town has already played a similar role in the past. Originally an Illyrian colony called Scupi, it was later the capital of the Roman province of Dardania and lay about two miles farther up the river at the present village of Zlokućani (N. W. of the modern Skoplye) but was completely destroyed by an earthquake in the year 518.

According to Sir Arthur Evans, Scupi was rebuilt in the neighbourhood of the ancient town on the

ıte of the present Skoplye by the Emperor Justinian 527—565) and called Justiniana Prima, but his new name did not survive. On the other hand, W. Tomaschek thinks it more probable that Justiniana Prima was built very much farther north of Skoplye. Professor N. Vulić had also adopted this new (*Où était Justiniana Prima?*, in *Le Musée Belge*, xxxii. [1928], 65—71) but now he agrees with Evans.

At the end of the seventh century, the town was taken by the Slavs. In the following centuries, Skopia (this is the usual Byzantine name, hence it also appears as Iskūbīa on Idrīsī's map of the world of 1154 [ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1928]) belonged mainly to Byzantium, with a few longer and shorter intervals when it was under Bulgar Jireček, i. 211 and 222) and Serbian (*op. cit.*, i. 201) rule.

Towards 1282 Skoplye finally passed from the Byzantines to the Serbs (*op cit.*, i 245) and became the favourite residence of the mediaeval Serbian kings and emperors. It was here that the powerful king Dušan had himself ceremoniously crowned as the first Serbian emperor (1346) This time Serbian rule in Skoplye lasted 110 years (1282—1392) and this epoch may be described as the golden period in the town's history (especially down to 1371).

After the battle on the field of the blackbird Serb. Kosovo polye) in 1389 Skoplye became of special importance to the Ottomans and they occupied it in the early years of the reign of Bāyazīd I In the older Ottoman chroniclers (Urudj b. ʿĀdil, p. 26, ʿĀshīḳpāshāzāde, ed Giese, p 58 Stambul edition, p. 64]; Neshrī-Noldeke, ii., in *Z.D.M.G.*, xv 333, anon ed Giese, p 73 [only in the critic. appar., hence not in the transl]), Pasha Yigit (Yiyit) Beg, "who is the tutor of Ishāḳ Beg (*Ishāḳ beg efindisi*) and is like his father", is named as the conqueror of Üsküb and its first governor. The exact date of the conquest is not given in any of these historians but preserved in a contemporary Serbian inscription Jan 6, 1392 Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi*, i. [Belgrade 1902], p 56, N°. 177). Ewliyā Celebi (v. 553) asserts however that Ewrenos Beg took the town Shams al-Dīn Sāmī (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, ii. [1889], 932—933) on the other hand gives Timūr Ṭash Pasha as the Turkish conqueror of Skoplye in 792 (began Dec. 20, 1389) but without giving his authority. ʿAlī Djewād (*Tārīkh we-Djoghrāfiyā Lughātī*, i. [1311 = 1895], 87) also gives Timūr Ṭash Pasha but his authority seems to be the *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*. Üsküb was at once settled with Turkish colonists (Hammer, *G.O.R.*², i. 183) and was for a time the second residence of the Ottomans sulṭāns next to Adrianople (cf. e g Ewliyā Čelebī, v. 553). Üsküb was the base of further Ottoman campaigns northward, and it was from here that their governors controlled their Christian tributaries (Jireček, i. 97). In the course of time a busy trade developed in which the Ragusans played a prominent part. Building activity was also considerable and was mainly devoted to mosques, madrasas, baths etc. The largest and finest mosques date from the xvth century (Sulṭān Murād mosque built in 840 = 1436—1437; Isḥāḳ Beg ["Aladža"] mosque built in 842 = 1438—1439; Isā Beg mosque built about 880 = 1475—1476; Ḳodja Muṣṭafā mosque built in 890 = 1485; Karlozāde mosque ["Burmali džamiya"] built in 900 = 1495 [destroyed 1925]) and from the beginning of the xvi^th century (Yaḥyā Pasha mosque built in 908 = 1502–1503). Some of the Üsküb medreses early acquired a great reputation.

That Üsküb in the xvi^th and xvii^th century also played a large part in the poetry and scholarship of Turkey is shown by the following celebrated names: 1. ʿAṭā, poet, d. 930 = 1523—1524 (Gibb, *H O P.*, ii. 191, note 3), 2. Isḥāḳ Čelebī (Üskübī), lyricist and scholar, d 949 = 1542—1543 (Gibb, iii. 40—45); 3. ʿĀshīḳ Čelebī (Pīr Muḥammad), biographer of poets and himself a poet, d 979 = 1571—1572 (Gibb, iii. 7—8 and 162, note 4, cf. also Ewliyā, v. 560); 4 Weisī (Uwais b. Muḥammad), one of the most brilliant prose writers of his time, died as Ḳādī of Üsküb in 1037 = 1627—1628 (Gibb, iii. 208–218 and Ewliyā, v 560), 5. (New ʿīzāde) ʿAṭā'ī, the famous poet and continuer of the *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmānīya* of Ṭashkoprüzāde, whose last judicial post was in Üskub, d. 1044 = 1634–1635 (Gibb, iii. 242—242; Brūsalī M Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, iii. 95—96; Babinger, *G. O W*, p 171—172)

Western travellers of the xvi^th and xvii^th centuries (e. g. T. Petančić [1502], the anonymous Italian [1559], M Bizzi [1604], Dr Brown [1669]) describe Skoplye as a large and fine town. The two Turkish accounts of the xvii^th century agree with this. The one is by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (c. 1648) who not only describes Üsküb, the capital of the sandjaḳ of the same name, as a fine town but says that the tower clock, which dated from the time of the unbelievers, was the largest in all Christendom, the other description by the somewhat later Ewliyā Čelebī in spite of all its exaggerations is the best of all the accounts of the town. At the time of his visit (1661), Üsküb had 70 maḥallas, about 10,060 solidly built houses including several famous serays, 2,150 well built shops, 120 large and small mosques (45 Friday mosques), several churches and synagogues, 20 dervish monasteries, 110 fountains etc Commerce, trade and industry were also all very flourishing. Conditions were so settled that a garrison of only 300 men sufficed.

But towards the end of the century, the Austrian general Piccolomini supported by rebel Serbs advanced across the Danube and the Save into the Vardar district, plundered Üsküb and burned it to the ground on October 26 and 27, 1689 (cf. M. Kostić, in *Južna Srbya*, i. [1922], 121—128). In the xviii^th century, the plague raged in this region and at the end of this century the population had sunk to 6,000.

It was only at the beginning of the xix^th century that Üsküb began to revive again rapidly as a result of the immigration of inhabitants from adjoining regions. The reforms of ʿOmar Pasha Latas restored peace and order in the whole region after 1840 and trade flourished once more. From 1875 onwards Muslim emigrants from Serbia and Bosnia considerably increased the population of the town. In 1873 the railway Salonika–Üsküb–Mitrovica was opened to traffic and in 1875 the capital of the wilāyet was removed from Pristina to Üsküb. The opening of the railway Belgrad–Nish–Skoplye(–Salonika) in 1888 connected the town directly with Serbia and Central Europe. At the end of the xix^th century, Üsküb had already 4,474 houses with 32,000 inhabitants (17,000 Muslims, 14,200 Christians and 800 Jews).

The Balkan war (1912) put an end to the 520 years of Turkish rule in Skoplye. Since 1918 when the town definitely passed to Yugo-Slavia the number of inhabitants has doubled and the development of Skoplye has been considerable in all fields (philosophical faculty of the University, Scientific society of Skoplye with its organ *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva* [*Bulletin de la société scientifique de Skoplje*], South Serbian Museum, National Theatre, Hygienic Institute etc.).

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(Fehim Bajraktarević)

ÜSKÜDĀR, the oldest and largest quarter of the Turkish Constantinople on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, lying at the foot of the hill of Bulghurlu, where the Asiatic coast advances farthest to the west, opposite the Tower of Leander (Ḳız Ḳulesi) In ancient times the small town of Chrysopolis (already mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, book vi., ch. vi. 38) existed on this site, it was then a suburb of the still older colony of Chalcedon (now Kādı Kıoy) Towards the end of the Byzantine Empire the name Scutari had come into use (cf. Phrantzes, ed. Bonn 1838, p. 111; ὅπου τὰ νῦν Σκούταρι ὀνομάζεται πρότερον δὲ Χρυσόπολις). It is uncertain if this new name is to be derived from the corps of shield-bearers that was located there in the time of the emperor Valens (cf. Cuinet and G. Young, *Constantinople*, London 1926, p. 203). The direct reason may have been that there was, from the time of the Comnenoi, a palace there called Scutarion (Cuinet) The Turkish Üsküdār contains at the same time a popular etymology, as the Persian word *uskudār* (also *askudār* is given) has the meaning of a post station (Arabic *barīd*); by its geographical position, Üsküdār became indeed the main base for all greater and smaller expeditions from the capital to the Asiatic parts of the empire (cf. F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz*, Leipzig 1924 and 1926). Large armies generally were encamped in the vast plain to the south of the suburb, where now stands the part of the town called Ḥaidar Pasha. Still another explanation of Üsküdār (viz. Eski Dār) is given by Ewliyā Čelebi.

The historical sources do not mention in what particular way Üsküdār was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, but it certainly was taken under Orkhān's rule, either after the capture of Iznīḳ (1331), together with the other localities of Ḳodja Ili [q. v.] (cf. Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn 1840, iii. 458), or in any case after the death of the emperor Andronicos (1341; cf. Phrantzes, p. 41). The old Ottoman chronicles mention it for the first time during the reign of Muhammad I. The local traditions, as recorded by Ewliyā Čelebi, connect Üskudār closely with the different expeditions undertaken against Constantinople by Saiyid Baṭṭāl Ghāzī.

In Turkish times Scutari became much more an integral part of the capital than it seems to have been in Byzantine times, though, according to Ewliyā Celebi, it became fully populated only in the time of Sulaimān I One of the reasons was certainly that it became the seat of several derwīsh congregations and their tekke's, and consequently an important centre of the mystical life of the capital. The best known are the Ḥalwetīye Tekke of Shaikh Mahmūd (lived beginning xviiith century) and the Rifā'īye Tekke. Scutari contains moreover a number of remarkable mosques, the largest of which were all founded by ladies of the imperial court. The most notable mosques are Mihr u-Māh Djāmi'ı or Iskele Djāmi'ı, erected in 954 (1547) opposite the chief landing-place; Eski Wālide Djāmi'ı, more to the south, finished in 991 (1583); Čınılı Djamı', on the south-eastern point, finished in 1050 (1640), and Yeñi Wālide Djāmi'i, finished in 1120 (1708) The Selīmīye mosque was founded by Selīm III and belongs to the buildings erected by that sulṭān for his new troops called *niẓām-ı ǧedīd* Finally this suburb is famous for the large cemetery that extends on its eastern side

In the judicial hierarchy the Üsküdār Mollasî ranked with the mollas of Ghalaṭa and of Eiyūb among the lowest class of the highest order of judges (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii 271) Administratively Scutari has long been a part of the town of Constantinople (Cuinet). In the new administrative division of the Turkish republic it is a *ḳaḍā* in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul (*Dewlet Sālnāmesi* for 1926, p 612, on p 635 of this publication the number of inhabitants is given as 155,092)

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(J. H. Kramers)

UṢŪL (A.), roots, principles, pl. of *aṣl*. Among the various terminological uses of this word, three are prominent as terms for branches of Muslim learning: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. *Uṣūl al-dīn* is synonymous with *kalām* [q. v.]; by *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* is meant the treatment of the terminology and methods of the science of Tradition [see ḤADĪTH]; the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [frequently called simply (science of the) *Uṣūl*] are the doctrine of the "principles" of Muslim jurisprudence, *fiḳh* [q. v.].

1. In the usual classification of Muslim sciences, the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are generally defined as the methodology of Muslim jurisprudence, as the science of the proofs which lead to the establishment of legal standards. Its existence is justified by the consideration that man was not created without a purpose (Sūra xxiii. 117) and is not aimlessly left to himself (Sūra lxxv. 36) but all his actions are regulated by legal standards; as there cannot be a special standard for every individual case, one has to depend for their derivation on proofs. These proofs, according to the view which finally prevailed, are of four kinds: *Ḳur'ān*, *sunna*, *iḏjmā'* and *ḳiyās* [q. v.]. In the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, therefore, we are not so much concerned with the material sources of Islāmic law as with the formal basis of the individual prescriptions Thus the four *uṣūl* include in addition to the two material sources, *Ḳur'ān* and *sunna*, which are regarded from the point of view, not of their substance but of their legal force, the general condition of *iḏjmā'* and method of *ḳiyās*, while other historically no less important sources of Muslim law are not recognised. The development of these and other *uṣūl* which did not attain full recognition is somewhat as follows.

2 The logically first and most highly esteemed source of law in Islām is of course the Ḳur'ān, there could be no doubt of its conclusive authority and infallibility — in spite of the possibility of attempts to falsify it by the devil (Sūra xxii. 51, cf Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 100), nor could there be any doubt that it has been handed down essentially intact (cf. *ibid.*, i. 261, ii 93) — in spite of the Prophet's forgetting several verses (Sūra ii. 100; lxxxvii. 6 *sq.*). The fact that the Kur'ān itself describes several of its sections as abrogated (*mansūḵh*; the passage abrogating the older one is called *nāsiḵh*) by later revelations is not in contradiction to this (Sūra ii. 100, xvi. 103 *sq.*; cf Noldeke-Schwally, *op cit.*, ii. 52 *sqq.*). It was the task of later interpretation to get rid of the numerous contradictions within the Ḳur'ān, which reflect the process of development of Muḥammad as a prophet, by harmonising them or in extreme cases to assume that the later revelation abrogated the earlier. It was in no way Muḥammad's intention to create a "system" even in its main outlines, which was to regulate the whole life of his followers, the old Arab customary law, which already included many elements of foreign (Roman provincial, Babylonian?, South Arabian?) origin, on the contrary remained in force in Islām as a matter of course with its variations adopted to local conditions [Beduin, Mecca (commercial town), Medīna (an agricultural centre)]; Muhammad's legislative activity was confined to correcting isolated points out of considerations of religion — for even the modifications affecting social life have a religious basis — from case to case usually under the stimulus of extraneous happenings. Including the verses dealing with questions of public worship and those of a military or political nature, the total number of verses forming what is known as the *āyāt al-sharʿīya* is only about 500—600; but essential parts of the legislation affecting worship, e. g. the ritual of the *ṣalāt*, were not regulated by the Ḳur'ān, but simply by the example and guidance of the Prophet, and a number of other prescriptions by Muḥammad are not in the Ḳur'ān, usually of minor importance and not of general application, although having prophetic authority (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *op. cit.*, i. 260). From the beginning, the prophetic authority of Muḥammad has never been doubted, even on matters not laid down in the Ḳur'ān; at the same time, however, his actions as a mere mortal were not considered infallible even in religious matters and on several occasions he was sharply criticised. The abolition of certain customs permitted or practised by Muḥammad very soon after his death points in the same direction The Prophet himself made no claim to infallibility: the Ḳur'ān expressly states (e. g. Sūra xviii. 110, xli. 5) that, although he was the transmitter of revelation, in other respects he was a man "like others" and sometimes even condemns his attitude (e g Sūra lxi. 1)

3. With the death of the Prophet, legislative activity through Ḳur'ānic revelation and prophetic authority of course came to an end. It was natural that the early caliphs should endeavour to guide the Islāmic community on the lines of its founder, in consultation with the leading Companions of the Prophet. The guiding principles were to be found in the Ḳur'ān and in authoritative decisions of the Prophet not in the Ḳur'ān. The endeavour to extend these comparatively narrow foundations led very early to their interpretation being broadened beyond the original meaning and probably to the rise of new traditions At the same time the caliphs, as heads of their state and representatives of the Prophet, were not to be prevented from legislative activity of their own and from sometimes even altering decisions of the Prophet (cf. above). It may be historical that according to tradition Abū Bakr is represented as modelling himself exactly on the Prophet in this connection and ʿUmar rather as showing more tendency to interfere and change. The relationship to customary law continued unchanged, even after the latter had been more than ever exposed to foreign influence as a result of the great conquests in the ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt.

4. With the coming of the Umaiyads and the transference of the seat of government to Damascus the circles of the devout in Medīna, hitherto the centre, lost all actual influence on the business of government They therefore began to devote themselves with all the more zeal to preparing an ideal picture of things as they ought to be, in contrast to the actual practice. While in reality the customary law continued to exist undisturbed in the various provinces of the caliphate, and developed in combination with the actual administration of justice — for the Umaiyad caliphs down to ʿUmar II had in general little inclination to interfere and establish standards based on religion — the principles of Muslim law arose first in Medīna and later also in the ʿIrāḳ and Syria. The object of these pious men who at first worked without any thought of theory or method, was to correct and adjust the material of the laws they found in existence according to Muslim religious principles and to systematise it. They took their religious points of view from the Ḳur'ān and the material of Tradition, which they recognised as binding; the (real and alleged) sayings and actions of the Companions of the Prophet, of whom as a body they were the successors, had also high authority with them. It was of special authority when a majority of the Companions acted in the same way and the same majority principle did a great deal to cause individual views gradually to approximate to one another. The results of these cogitations were for the most part formulated in traditions and put in

the mouth of the Prophet. This considerable increase in the material of Tradition, from other sources also, again introduced into Muslim law numerous new elements, particularly those of Jewish origin This resulted in establishing already certain characteristic peculiarities of Muslim law: its character as the interpretation and unfolding of the prescriptions, given in essence at least, by Allāh through his Prophet, the denial of the possibility of development and of legislative activity after the death of the Prophet in contrast to the historical development, the recognition of the usage of the Prophet, the *sunnat al-nabī*, as the second main standard standing next to the Ḳur'ān only in position, not in power and authority. It was just because the teaching was based for a very large part on Muḥammad's (real or fictitious) *sunna* that this was regarded as an infallible norm for the Muslim community, a view which was with difficulty read into the Ḳur'ān (e. g. iii. 29, iv. 62, xvi. 46; xxxiii. 21; liii. 3) but was distinctly laid down by tradition. The contradictions, which naturally appeared more frequently in Tradition than in the Kur'ān, were to be disposed of by the same means as in the latter (cf. above), and also by criticism of the *isnād*s [q. v] behind which criticism of the subject matter had, it is interesting to note, usually to conceal itself. The more or less strongly islāmicised customary law was still recognised as having an independent basis, especially on points where it aroused no misgivings from the religious point of view As its Muslim equivalent, the "*sunna* of pious men" is sometimes given particular authority.

5. The first reflections on theory were provoked towards the end of this period, in the beginning of the second (eighth) century, by the coming into existence of a special science of *ḥadīth* alongside of *fiḳh*. The representatives of the former reproached the "jurists" with bringing by their use of the intelligence a human element into the law which ought rather to be based exclusively on the Kur'ān and on Ḥadīth as representing the *sunna* of the Prophet Their opponents replied to this by saying that one's own intelligence (*ra'y*) was absolutely necessary for the deduction of legal precepts and both parties cited traditions to support their views From the first, the dispute was more concerned with form than matter and frequently was simply a quarrel over words; the result of it was the general recognition in principle of the justification of *ra'y* in the *fiḳh*; on the other hand, the various schools laid varying emphasis on Hadīth, at any rate the results are everywhere the same As early as the first half of the second (eighth) century three different shades of *fiḳh* had developed in the three centres of the Ḥidjāz, the ʿIrāḳ and Syria, in the origin and spread of which geographical conditions had played an essential part, on the one hand through developing life and doctrine uniformly within closed areas and on the other through the original differences of the basic legal material in the different regions; these variants were the precursors of the later *maḏāhib* of Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Awzāʿī; the Ḥidjāz school laid most emphasis on Tradition and the ʿIrāḳ school on *ra'y*. In these circumstances the views held by the majority of learned men in Medīna (or Mecca and Medīna) or in Kūfa or in Basra carried particular weight. To about the middle of the second (eighth) century belong the first writings of any length by important representatives of these three schools, especially of the Ḥidjāz and the ʿIrāḳ, which enable us to see their mental attitudes; the following sketch is based on the results of the study of Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, the only work that has been at all studied among them. Mālik devotes great care to establishing the *iḏjmāʿ* of the learned men of Medīna; this conception, which originally had simply meant the majority (just as in the science of ḳur'ānic readings which borrowed the term from the *fiḳh*, cf. Noldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii. 130 *sq.*, 135), has here already become the qualified majority, approaching unanimity. At the same time Mālik recognises as authoritative the *sunna*, i. e legal use and wont in Medīna, which is not ata ll identical with the *sunnat al-nabī* (cf above) Both *iḏjmāʿ* and *sunna* of Medīna are to him closely connected; his work represents the degree of islāmicisation of the customary law attained in his time in Medīna and — as is evident from a comparison with the later period — the process was now complete The great works of al-Shaibānī were undoubtedly something similar for the ʿIrāḳ.

6 In al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204 = 820) we have the founder of Muslim jurisprudence. It is his great achievement that in him legal thought becomes conscious of itself and thus becomes a science, that he argues not only occasionally and ad hoc but throughout and on principle and gives a discussion on the starting points and methods of argumentation in jurisprudence. The important steps in advance which he made in the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, based on the results of previous development, are as follows. He finally defines *sunna* as a source of law as the usage of the Prophet, as the ʿIrāḳ school had already done before him He further defines the *iḏjmāʿ* as the view held by the majority of Muslims and uses it as a secondary source of elucidation on questions which cannot be decided from the *Ḳur'ān* and the *sunna* of the Prophet, he justifies its authority by general considerations and traditions which order adhesion to the community of Muslims and he therefore does not yet know the *ḥadīth* later often quoted: "My community will never agree upon an error". While the islāmicisation of law had in general been already completed before Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī did a great deal to advance its systematisation. To attain this object, he to some extent abandoned the usual path of legal thought, not the first appearance of this tendency, and if he did not invent the process of *ḳiyās* (analogy), he considerably developed the principle and applied it extensively It is essentially the old method of *ra'y* which he adopts here under this less ominous name, but a certain limitation of the process is apparent (among the old representatives of the ʿIrāḳ school *ḳiyās* seems to have been used to dispose of isolated abnormal traditions). Al-Shāfiʿī further endeavoured to lay down definite rules for its use, he only succeeded to a very small extent however and even in later times, in spite of limitations in method, *ḳiyās* still had not overcome the vagueness which causes it to lack cogent power of conviction. In al-Shāfiʿī it still appears as synonymous with *iḏjtihād* [q.v.] in the old sense in which the latter as a synonym of *ra'y* means the jurist's use of his intelligence. Among the representatives of the ʿIrāḳ school and also among those of the Ḥidjāz, *istiḥsān* [q. v.] was used as a variety of *ra'y*. It consisted in

verging from the result properly to be expected analogy (*ḳiyās*) out of considerations of reasonleness or practical considerations etc. Al-Shāfiʿī gorously challenged this process as purely subctive and held that only *ḳiyās* was valid. Alāfiʿī in this way carried through a deliberate āmicisation of the *uṣūl*.

7. The development after al-Shāfiʿī in the preminant school resulted in the *Ḳurʾān*, *sunna*, *ijmāʿ* and *ḳiyās* being classed together as the ur *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, which is only intelligible from eir history, and in further developments in detail mong the latter are the settlement of the mutual lations of *Ḳurʾān* and *sunna*. while al-Shāfiʿī ught that the precepts of the Ḳurʾān were given eater precision by the *sunna* but the Ḳurʾān n only be abrogated by the Kurʾān and the *nna* by *sunna*, it was already recognised in part fore and certainly generally after him, that it is possible to abrogate the Ḳurʾān by *sunna*, ich was thus ranked not only equal to but ove the Ḳurʾān, the practical legal results were owever hardly affected by this theoretical difientiation. — As to the *iǧmāʿ*, in later times ey were not content with the majority of Musns, but demanded the general agreement of all holars living at the same time in a certain period, hich was to be binding on all futurity, but unimity in the literal sense was never demanded. he *iǧmāʿ* in this sense did not remain merely pplementary to the Ḳurʾān and *sunna*, but was garded as confirming them, on the ground of e general conviction of its infallibility, which d developed out of general considerations and und expression in the above quoted *ḥadīth* ur'ānic passages like iii. 98, iv 85, 115 are so quoted in support), finally it was even allowed e power of cancelling prescriptions of the Ḳurʾān id *sunna*, as was actually done for example in e case of the worship of saints and the doctrine the infallibility of the prophets (cf above § 2) portant sections of Muslim law are based on is *iǧmāʿ* alone, e g. the caliphate, the recognition the *sunna* of the Prophet as an obligatory andard, the authorization of *ḳiyās* etc , in the last sort, in this view the whole of Muslim law ves its authority to the infallible *iǧmāʿ*, which iarantees its correctness and agreement with the ie meaning of the divine sources This conption of *iǧmāʿ* is in its essentials already found Ṭabarī (d 310 = 923) This is the common thodox doctrine, only the Mālikīs define *iǧmāʿ* the agreement, firstly of the Companions of the ophet, then of the two generations following em (the so-called "successors" and "successors the successors"), and therefore as the *sunna* of edīna, the home of the true *sunna* (cf. above 5), but grant this *iǧmāʿ* the same authority as e others do. Only some Ḥanbalīs and the Wahbīs, as well as the Ẓāhirīs, to be mentioned low, limit *iǧmāʿ* to the agreement of the Comnions of the Prophet, which has resulted in nsiderable differences in doctrine. The Khāriǧīs bāḍīs) recognised only *iǧmāʿ* within their own mmunity and here they demand unanimity. At e same time, there were various divergent views *iǧmāʿ* in the early period. — Even after al-Shāfiʿī vigorous opposition to *ḳiyās* was raised by Dāwūd Ẓāhirī (d. 270 = 883) and his school, who reted all *ḳiyās* and *raʾy* and declared for the interetation of the Ḳurʾān and *sunna*, in the outward sense (*ẓāhir*) only; but even they could not get along without making deductions, which they endeavoured to represent as being already inherent in the words of the text (*mafhūm*) But this school, which survived down to the ixth (xvth) century was not destined to have a lasting influence. We also still find other isolated opponents of *ḳiyās* and *raʾy*, even among the Shāfiʿīs, e g al-Bukhārī (d. 256 = 870) and al-Ghazālī (505 = 1111), who — at least in his mystic period — applies it in practice, but in theory does not recognise it as having equal force with the traditional sources (cf Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 182 *sq*); in the end however, *ḳiyās* won undisputed recognition and the Ḥanbalis and Wahhābīs as well as the Khāriǧīs (Ibāḍīs) recognise it The Shāfiʿīs and with certain limitations also the Hanafīs use in *istiṣḥāb* [q v] a special variety, surer in method, of the usual *ḳiyās* which is regarded as an independent *aṣl*. The Ḥanafīs followed the other *madhāhib* in taking over the term *ḳiyās* for the old *raʾy* but in contrast to al-Shāfiʿī they retained *istiḥsān*. The Mālikīs continue to recognise it, but in general they prefer the process or rather the name *istiṣlāḥ* [q v.], a variety of *ḳiyās* which decides in favour of what is generally considered best This *istiṣlāḥ* is also found among the Shāfiʿīs, who following their master vigorously reject *istiḥsān*. As a matter of fact, the two processes are practically identical On account of the arbitrariness with which the results of *ḳiyās* were often simply thrust aside, when it was considered necessary or simply desirable to diverge from the strict demands of theory, both methods are disputed by many and have never been generally included among the *uṣūl* of the *fiḳh*.

The Twelver Shīʿīs (Imāmīs) agree with the Sunnīs in recognising the Kurʾān and *sunna* as *uṣūl* of the *fiḳh*; with them however not only the *sunna* of the Prophet is authoritative but also that of the divinely guided twelve *imāms*, whose infallible authority guarantees the correctness of the law in a similar fashion to the *iǧmāʿ* in the Sunnī system For the documentation of the *sunna* the Shīʿīs have several works of their own on tradition, which differ materially from those of the Sunnīs, in particular all traditions and decisions are rejected which go back to the authority of the first three caliphs before ʿAlī or in which ʿAlī appears as their representative and successor Under the guidance of an *imām* further *uṣūl* are unnecessary; during the concealment of the last *imām*, however, there are still two others which correspond to the two last Sunnī *uṣūl*. But even in this period the school of the *Aḵbārī* regards the *sunna* along with the Ḳurʾān as alone authoritative and seeks to trace back all decisions to traditions of the *imāms*, limiting as far as possible rational deductions, and even demands for the elucidation of each verse of the Ḳurʾān a tradition relating to it. The school of the *Uṣūlī*, on the other hand, which enjoys greater prestige as the more widely disseminated, recognises reason (*ʿaḳl*) as the third of the *uṣūl*, but disputes the right of *ḳiyās* (this variation from the Sunnīs is however limited to terminology). Lastly the fourth among the *uṣūl* is the agreement of the majority of jurists since the beginning of the concealment of the last *imām*. While the *sunna* can abrogate another *sunna* and even the Ḳurʾān, this *iǧmāʿ* can only dispose of traditions, the correctness of the transmission of which it disputes. At the same time, the Shīʿīs recognise as secondary *uṣūl*, *istiṣḥāb*, the similar methods of deduction

known as *barāʾa* and *istiṣḥāb* as well as, in the ultimate resort, the choice of the judge between several possible views

8. Although the *iǧmāʿ* is strongly rooted in customary law and has actually gained official recognition for important elements in practice even against the Kurʾān and Tradition (cf above), its fitness for the further development of Islāmic law, the rejection of old prescriptions and the assimilation of new elements must not be overestimated, as it is as likely from its development to prevent, as much as to encourage, innovations, the numerous foreign elements which Muslim law contains had for the most part entered it before *iǧmāʿ* had begun to prevail over *fikh* as a whole. On the other hand, *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* afford the possibility of paying consideration to customary law, though to a gradually diminishing extent in course of time In places the attempt was even made to place *ʿurf*, the general usage, as a fifth *aṣl* of the *fikh* alongside of the four generally recognised, even as late as the vth (xiith) century, in general it is regarded as meritorious not to let the laws derived from the *Kurʾān* and *sunna* come into conflict with actual practice and to legitimate the latter as far as possible "to escape the danger of sinning" (cf *Isl*, xv 213), but a general direct recognition of *ʿurf*, even in a subordinate position, by the *fikh* never came about The discussions which we find about *ʿurf ʿāmm* (general usage) and *ʿurf khāṣṣ* (local custom or custom observed for a time only), their relation to the *iǧmāʿ* and their legal authority, are purely theoretical, in the cases in which the *sharīʿa* itself refers to *ʿurf* or *ʿāda* (custom), the reference is hardly ever to legal usages, customary law is not recognised as binding even for the cases for which the *fikh* gives no rule The view prevailing in the Dutch East Indies for example, of the equality of *sharīʿa* and *ʿāda* [cf. the article SHARĪʿA at the end] takes us quite outside of the teaching of the *fikh*, which can leave almost all practice to customary law, but not give it a place at all in its theoretical system Even the later Mālikī jurists, especially in North Africa, who have made particular efforts to adapt themselves closely to actual practice, make no exception on this question of principle However important and natural the influence of customary law and of foreign legal elements in general was in the early period of Islāmic law, all the more difficult has been its further advance, especially since the theoretical recognition of the *uṣūl* in their final form

9 As the *fikh* had already developed in all essentials before the theory of the *uṣūl* was established, the elements which led to its origin cannot be given in their correct historical perspective But even from the point of view of Muslim systematisation, they have for long had a purely theoretical position as regards *fikh* Only the *muǧtahid* is qualified to apply them, that is to say to derive independently legal regulations from the *uṣūl*, but according to the orthodox *iǧmāʿ*, *iǧtihād* has long ceased and all jurists are obliged to use the lowest stage of *taḳlīd* [q v] Many jurists are therefore content, without going deeper into the study of the *uṣūl*, with the occasional brief notes on them, which most of the *fikh* books add to the discussion of different regulations. There are however numerous special works on the *uṣūl* and these form the subject of one of the traditional Muslim sciences. The Sunnī works on *uṣūl* deal *inter alia*, according to the author's point of view, with *Kurʾān*, *sunna* and *iǧmāʿ* as regards genuineness and arrangement for the purposes of *fikh*, the rules — usually given very fully — for their interpretation, according to form and legal substance, also the so-called legal categories [cf. the article SHARĪʿA], the reconciliation of contradictions among the sources by harmonizing or assuming abrogation, the use of *ḳiyās*, dispensation etc and lastly as a rule with *iǧtihād* and *taḳlīd* The first work of this kind, which however does not yet fall into the scheme given, is al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla* Among especially important and much annotated works of a later period are the following. Imām al-Haramain al-Djuwainī (d 478 = 1085), *al-Waraḳāt fī Uṣūl al-Fikh*; al-Pazdawī (d 482 = 1089), *Kanz al-Wuṣūl ilā Maʿrifat al-Uṣūl*, Sadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī (d 747 = 1346), *al-Tankīḥ* and *al-Tawdīḥ*, al-Subkī (d 771 = 1369), *Djamʿ al-Djawāmiʿ*, Mollā Khosraw (d 885 = 1480), *Mirḳāt al-Wusūl* and *Mirʾāt al-Uṣūl* — The authority of the *imām* is the foundation of the Shīʿī *uṣūl* and among the Shīʿīs it plays a part similar to *iǧmāʿ* among the Sunnīs, *iǧtihād* also continues to exist here

Bibliography The fundamental works for the history of the *uṣūl* are Goldziher, *Die Zâhiriten*, Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. 2, Bergstrasser, *Isl*, xiv 76 *sqq* — Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p 65 *sqq* gives an older historical view, concise accounts of the prevailing theory with historical notes are given by Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], p 32 *sqq*. (*Handbuch*[2], p 39 *sqq*.) and more fully by Santillana, *Istituzioni*, p 25 *sqq* ; further literature is also given there — Lists of the best known Arabic works on *uṣūl* are given in Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flugel, i, N⁰ 835 *sqq*. and in Tāshkopruzāde, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda*, Haidarābād, 1910, ii 53 *sqq* , do in Turkish, *Mewzūʿāt al-ʿUlūm*, transl. by Kamāl al-Dīn, Constantinople 1313, p 634 *sqq* (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ʿUṬĀRID (A), the planet Mercury, Pers *Tīr* It was known from very early times to the ancient civilisations of the east as its conditions of visibility are much more favourable there than in more northern latitudes Lists of planets of the Assyrian period mention Mercury (*Nabû*) under its Sumerian name Kakkab LU BAT GÙ UD Among the Egyptians it was called the "star of Apollo", among the Greeks *ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ* and also *Στίλβων* (cf Achilles Tatius, *Isagoge*, Ch. 17) Aristotle also calls it *ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*.

The name *al-Kātib* as a synonym for *ʿUṭārid* is, according to Nallino (al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, i 291), only used among the Arabs in Spain and Northwest Africa and is not to be found in Arabic texts or dictionaries compiled east of the Nile. The name *al-Kātib* is quoted in a later Arabic glossary compiled in Southern Spain in the xiith century (*Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, ed. C. F Seybold, Berlin 1900), the two passages in al-Battānī in which Mercury is mentioned as *al-Kātib* (iii. 186 and 222) are undoubtedly apocryphal

The Arab astronomers reckon the sphere (*falak*) of Mercury, in agreement with Pythagoras and Ptolemy, as the second innermost. Below it is bounded by the outer surface of the sphere of the moon and above by the inner surface of the sphere of Venus In perigee (*farīḍiyyūn*) the distance from the earth's centre is according to al-Farghānī

nplatio, Ch. 21), al-Battānī (Ch. 50) and Ibn
ta (*Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18—20)
/8 times the radius of the earth, according to
āhām bar Hiyyā (*Sphaera mundi*, Ch. 9) 64
es the radius of the earth, in apogee (*afīḏiyūn*)
ıding to al-Farghānī 167, according to the
e other authors 166 times the earth's radius,
attānī takes 115 times the earth's radius as the
n distance The radius of the earth is here
n as 3,250 (al-Farghānī, al-Battānī and Bar
yā) or 3,818 miles (Ibn Rusta) (one
b mile = 1,973 metres, cf. Nallino, *Il valore
ico del grado di meridiano*). Figures are also
en for dimensions of the body (*ḏiʾm*) of the
. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*Kosmographie*, ed Wustenfeld,
22) estimates the circumference (*dawra*) of
cury at 286 *farsaḵh*s and its diameter (*ḳuṭr*)
273 miles (1 *farsaḵh* = 3 miles), according
ıl-Battānī the diameter of Mercury is to that
the earth as $1.26\frac{1}{4}$ (Ch 50), it is therefore
ut 250 miles; al-Battānī gives the volume at
$\frac{1}{087}\left(\frac{1}{(26\frac{1}{4})^3}\right)$ The corresponding Indian figures
en by al-Bīrūnī (from the compilation by Yaʿḳūb
Tarīḵ of 161 A H) differ considerably from
Arab shortest distance 64,000 farsaḵh, cor-
ponding to $60^{20}/_{21}$ times the radius of the earth
adius = 1,050 farsaḵh), mean distance 164,000
aḵh = $156^{4}/_{21}$ earth's radii, greatest distance
,000 farsaḵh = $251^{3}/_{7}$ radii, diameter 5,000
aḵh = $4^{16}/_{21}$ radii.

A very full theory of the motion of Mercury is
en by al-Battānī (Ch 31 and 45—48, also
les II, p 24—28 [fol. 168b–170b], p. 102–106
205a–207a], p 132–137 [f 220a–223b], p. 139,
, 143 [f 224b, 225b, 226b]) The motion in
maly (*hāṣṣa*) corresponding to the mean synodic
tion is 3° 6′ 24″ in a day, so that Mercury
pletes its synodic revolution in 115 days
hours These figures agree most accurately with
modern estimates The values given in al-
tānī's tables for the difference between the mean
l true anomaly (*taʿdīl al-ḥāṣṣa wa 'l-markaz*)
Mercury expressed in terms of the radius of
deferent (*al-falak al-ḥāmil*) are eccentricity
the equant (*al-falak al-muʿaddil li 'l-masīr*) =
5 and radius of the epicycle (*falak al-tadwīr*)
mean distance = 0 375. In expressing the dia-
ter it should be noted (cf Almagest, XIII)
e maximum indication of the deferential towards
ecliptic (first inequality, *mail al-falak al-ḥāmil*)
5° 45′ south, the maximum inclination of the
idial line of the epicycle towards the plane of
deferent (second inequality, *mail falak al-
'wīr*) was estimated by observation at 6° 15′.

Utārid in astrology ʿUtārid is the ruler
bb) over the *buyūt* al-ʿAdhrāʾ (Virgo) and al-
wzāʾ (Gemini), also night ruler over the 3 *muṯalḥa* (*triquetrum*) consisting of al-Djawzāʾ, al-Mizān
brae) and al-Dalw (Aquarius) It has its *sharaf*
altation) in the 15th degree of al-ʿAdhrāʾ, its
būṭ (dejection) in the 15th degree of al-Hūt
sces) According to Ḳazwīnī (I. 22), it was called
nāfiḳ "hypocritical" by the astrologers, because
conjunction with a lucky planet it brought good
tune and with an unlucky one ill-luck It also
umes the quality of the ruler in the *buyūt* of
ier planets; in its own it produces thunder and
thquakes The Indians according to al-Bīrūnī
gard Mercury as a lucky star when it stands
ne, while in constellation with another planet
it intensifies its good or evil influences, just as
with the Greeks and Arabs. — A detailed account
of the part played by Mercury in Arabic astrology,
its significance in the zodiacal circle, its conjunctions with the moon and other planets is given
by Abū Maʿshar, to whose work the reader is
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AL-ʿUTBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR MUHAMMAD B MUHAMMAD AL DJABBĀR, the author of the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, was born at Raiy about the year 350 (961) He left his home in early youth and came to live in Khurāsān with his maternal uncle Abū Naṣr al-ʿUtbī who held an important post under the Sāmānids After the death of Abū Naṣr, al-ʿUtbī served as secretary first to Abū ʿAlī Simdjūrī, the commander of the army of Khurasān from 378 to 383 (988—993), then for a short time to Shams al-Maʿālī Ḳābūs who was living as an exile in Khurāsān, and finally to Subuktigīn, ruler of Ghazna. He continued to hold this post under Ismāʿīl b Subuktigīn whom he claims to have persuaded to surrender Ghazna to Maḥmūd

In 389 (999) Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna sent al-ʿUtbī as a special ambassador to Gharshistān to persuade the ruler to acknowledge him as his suzerain, and he accomplished this mission successfully. About the year 412 (1021), al-ʿUtbī finished his famous work the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, presented it to Shams al-Kufāt Aḥmad b Ḥasan al-Maimandī, the wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and as a reward was appointed to the important post of *Ṣāḥib-i Barīd* (Postmaster) of Kandj Rustāḳ But al-ʿUtbī quarrelled with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Baghawī, the governor, and made complaints against him to Aḥmad al-Maimandī, the wazir As a result of the enquiries which were instituted into the matter, he was dismissed in 413 (1022) After this he entered the service of Prince Masʿūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and was heard of no more. He died in 427 (1036), or, according to another account, in 431 (1040)

Al-ʿUtbī was the author of many works, only one of which, the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, has survived. It is a history of the reign of Amīr Subuktigīn, his son Sultān Maḥmūd and the contemporary rulers The style of this work is very ornate and verbose and has always been appreciated in the East. Djurdjī Zaidān, in his *Taʾrīḵ Ādāb al-Lughat al-ʿArabīya* (II. 322), regards its style as superior to that of al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīma* and compares it favourably with Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Taʾrīḵ al-Wuzarāʾ*.

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ʿUtbī and its commentary *Fatḥ al-Wahbī*, commonly known as *al-Manīnī* (Cairo 1286); and *Yatīmat al-Dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī.

(M NAZIM)

AL-UṬRŪSH ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿOMAR AL-AŠHRAF B. ʿALĪ ZAIN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN [s. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAIN], born about 230 (844) at Medīna of a Khurāsān slave girl, died in Shaʿbān 304 (beginning of 917) at Āmul as ruler in Tabaristān, is recognised under the official name of AL-NĀṢIR AL-KABĪR as Imām by the Zaidīs, and also by those of Yemen

Al-Uṭrūsh came to Tabaristān in the reign of the ʿAlid al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zaid [see AL-ḤASAN B ZAID B MUḤAMMAD], his brother and successor al-Ḳāʾim bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥammad b Zaid distrusting him, he endeavoured to found a kingdom of his own in the east, at first with the support of the governor of Naisābūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī who took Djurdjān from al-Kāʾim. But tale-bearers cast suspicion on Uṭrūsh and al-Khudjistānī threw him into prison in Naisābūr or Djurdjān and had him scourged, which injured his hearing and to this he owes his epithet "the deaf". On his release he returned to al-Kaʾim Muhammad and in 287 or 288 or (according to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Makātil al-Ṭālibiyīn*, Teheran 1307, p. 229, 14) not till 289 (900—901) he shared in the latter's defeat at Djurdjān by Muḥammad b Hārūn, then a partisan of the Sāmānid [q v.] Ismāʿīl b Ahmad Al-Kāʾim died as a result of a wound; Utrūsh fled and went to Dāmaghān and Raiy among other places. On the death of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 289 (902) he came forward again, especially as Muhammad b. Hārūn, who had quarrelled with the Sāmānids, supported him Utrūsh received a welcome from Djastān of Dailam (or his son Wahsūdān, cf Vasmer, in *Islamica*, iii. 165 *sqq.*) The friendship of the Djastānids, which dated from the time they and Uṭrūsh were with al-Ḳāʾim, was as fickle as their attitude to Islām which their ancestor Marzbān had adopted only a century earlier Several joint undertakings thus came to nothing; Utrūsh recognised the necessity of first of all securing a following of his own and through them the followers of the Djastānids He conducted Islāmic missions and ʿAlid propaganda from Hawsam among the not yet Muḥammadan tribes on the coast of the Caspian Sea and in Gilān and also built mosques.

The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl in 298 (910) sent Muḥammad b Ṣaʿlūḳ to Ṭabaristān with orders to anticipate the foundation of the new state; but a Khurāsān army superior in numbers and still more in equipment was completely defeated by the Dailamīs under Uṭrūsh at Shālūs in Djumādā I 301 (Dec. 913); many fugitives were driven into the sea, a detachment led by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ Khalīfa b. Nūh escaped to the fortress of Shalūs, surrendered to Uṭrūsh on a promise of pardon but was shortly afterwards massacred by his general and son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zaid b al-Hasan b. ʿAlī b Abi Ṭālib Uṭrūsh had in the meanwhile gone to Āmul with the rest of the army, sent for by the terrified inhabitants, and had taken up his abode in the former palace of al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad He was able to instal his officials from Shālūs to Sāriya, unhindered by the Sāmānids, because just then Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was murdered and his son Naṣr had first of all to make his position secure against his family and the notables The Ispahbed Sharwīn b. Rustam of the house of Bāwand, which had been very dangerous to the earlier ʿAlids, made peace with Uṭrūsh.

In accordance with the usual experience in the foundation of ʿAlid states, more difficulty was found in getting the numerous relatives to work together As Uṭrūsh was at least 70 when he entered Āmul, and his sons seemed rather incapable, the tension that had formerly existed between al-Kāʾim Muhammad and Uṭrūsh was now repeated between the latter and the already mentioned general al-Hasan b. al-Ḳāsim. The latter broke for a time with Utrūsh, even took him prisoner on one occasion but had to fly to Dailam in face of the general indignation But equally general was the pressure brought by the notables upon the dying Uṭrūsh to designate this same al-Ḥasan his successor and they at once paid homage to him after the death of Utrūsh.

Uṭrūsh owed his rise not only to the skilful way in which he took advantage of the political discord on the Caspian Sea but also to his unusual intellectual ability He was also a poet (cf. Brit. Mus MS, Suppl 1259, iv, and specimens in the *Ifāda*, see *Bibl*), but he particularly cultivated dogmatics, tradition and law (cf also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p 183, 11 *sqq*). His *Ibāna* has been preserved indirectly (see *Bibl*); he differs from the Yemen practice in the ritual of burial and minor points of the law of inheritance; he also recognised the revocation of a marriage pronounced thrice in succession as three actual divorces, by which he met the rivalry of the Twelver Shiʿīs which was considerable in the north, one of his sons, Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAlī, actually joined the latter; and he himself used their form of washing the feet, of course with the general Shiʿa refusal to recognise the rubbing of the covered foot as a substitute for washing; he also showed himself less strict against members of other faiths, which is intelligible in view of his political and missionary aims. A particular Zaidī sect, the Nāsirīya, was called after him, which was only merged in the Kāsimīya, which had become predominant in the Yemen, by the Imām al-Mahdī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad, son of the above mentioned al-Hasan b al-Kāsim.

The latter, known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣaghīr, succeeded Utrūsh and was able to conquer Naisābūr in 308 (920) through Lailā b Nuʿmān, an old general of his predecessor, and even to send an army against Ṭūs But he was killed in 316 (928) when going from Raiy to the relief of Āmul, which was occupied by Asfār b. Shīrwaih al-Dailamī and Abu 'l-Hadjdjādj Merdāwīdj b Ziyār His power had always been limited by the sons of Uṭrūsh. Abu 'l-Kāsim Djaʿfar b al-Uṭrūsh had taken Āmul in 306 (918) with the help of Muḥammad b. Saʿlūḳ, governor of Raiy, and again in 312 (925), on each occasion holding it for a short time. In 311 (924) his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad had entered it; his son Abū ʿAlī Husain and his brother and successor Abū Djaʿfar had also to fight an anti-Imām in Djaʿfar's son Ismāʿīl, who however was poisoned in 319 (931). In the meanwhile, another relative of Uṭrūsh, Abū Faḍl Djaʿfar, had set himself up with the title al-Thāʾir fi 'llāh and soon after 320 (932) was able to occupy Āmul for a time, aided by his policy of taking sides alternately in the

war between the Ziyārid Washmgīr with the Būyids who were now coming to the front, especially as the Fīrūzānid al-Ḥasan and a certain Ustundār of the Bādūs(e)pānids who had once been conquered by the Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zaid also intervened.

This little north ʿAlid state was continually able to hold its own, although its importance and size constantly changed, among the petty native princes, the Fīrūzānids, notably Mākān b. Kālī, and Djastānids, Ziyārids, Ispahbads of the house of Bāwand, Būyids and Sāmānids, even in spite of domestic troubles It lasted down to about 520 (1126), the year of the death of Abū Tālib al-Ṣaghīr Yaḥyā b al-Ḥusain al-Buṭhānī b al-Muʾayyad who could not prevail in Dailam against the Assassins, we can hardly reckon in this line the alleged ʿAlid dynasty of Kiya-Husainī in Gīlān from the end of the viiith (xivth) to the end of the ixth (xvth) century Abū Ṭālib was the great-grand-nephew of the Imām al-Nāṭiḳ Abū Tālib (see *Bāb*) who, born in 340 (951), has given us the most important account of Uṭrūsh, based on the stories of eye-witnesses, such as his father

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(R. Strothmann)

UWAIS I (Sultān Uwais), second king of the dynasty of Djalāʾir [q v.] or Ilakān (Ilkān < *Ilg'an?) who reigned 756—776 (1355—1374)

Uwais, born about 742 (1341), was the son of Hasan Buzurg [q v], son of Husain Gurgān (*Kurakan*, "son-in-law of the Khān"), son of Aḳ-bugha Noyon, son of Ilakān (*Īlkān) Noyon (Rashīd al-Dīn: *Ilkāy*, **Ilg'ay*).

Ḥasan Buzurg's mother was a Mongol princess, daughter of Arghun-Khān Hasan himself married the famous Dilshād-Khātūn, daughter of Dimishḳ-Khwādja, son of Čopan [cf SULDUZ], who had previously married Abū Saʿīd Khān and on his death in 762 had married a certain amīr Sulaimān (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*). Dilshād-Khātūn was famous for her wit and beauty. The viziers used to consult her in affairs of state (*ibid*).

Uwais, according to the majority of historians, succeeded his father who died in 756 (1355—1356) but according to Djannābī, the direct successor of Hasan (d 757) was Sulṭān Husain (d. 760) (a man of charming character and a poet). One should probably allow with Markov that Ḥusain and Uwais had received separate fiefs which were united by Uwais on the death of his brother

Baghdād was the centre of Uwais's activities. At this period Tabriz [q. v.] was held by the Khān of Kipčaḳ Djānī-beg who had come into Ādharbāidjān to put an end to the tyranny of Ashraf, grandson of Čoban [cf. SULDUZ] In the spring of 759 (1358) when the news of Djānī-beg's departure reached him, Uwais marched against Akhīdjūḳ, whom Djānī-beg (or his son Berdi-beg) had left as his lieutenant at Tabrīz Meeting Uwais near Mount Sīsay (?), Mīnay (?) [probably *Sahand], Akhīdjūḳ retreated, first to Tabrīz and then to Nakhičawān Uwais established his headquarters at Tabrīz in the ʿImārat-i Rashīdī. In Ramaḍān (Aug 1358) the execution of 47 of Ashraf's amīrs (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*. *umarā-yi sharḳī*, a palpable error!) alienated the sympathy of their friends who sought out Akhīdjūḳ and went into the Karabāgh with him Uwais sent against them ʿAlī Pilṭan who acted with weakness and suffered a reverse Uwais had to retire to Baghdād In the spring of 760, the Muẓaffarid Muhammad of Shīrāz marched against Akhīdjūḳ, drove him from Tabrīz and stayed several months there (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, in *G M S*, p 677—679, 715—717) But he retired without offering resistance when he learned that Uwais had left Baghdād for the north. Uwais reoccupied Tabrīz and stayed in the house of Khwādja Shaikh Kačadj (or Kačadjānī) while Akhīdjūḳ sought refuge with his father Sadr al-Dīn Khakānī. On the surrender of Akhīdjūḳ, Uwais executed him on the charge of treason

In 765 (1363), Khwādja Mardjān, governor of Baghdād, rebelled but his resistance was short. He opened the gates of the city and Uwais pardoned him but appointed Shāh-Khāzin (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*) in his place. The Egyptian sources however (Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, Bibl. Nat , MS ar 673, fol 49, 52) mention in 767 an attempt by Mardjān to secure the assistance of the Sultan of Egypt Ashraf Shaʿbān by promising to read the *khuṭba* in his name The envoy of Uwais, who afterwards came to Cairo to explain that Mardjān was simply a rebel was received coldly But in the meanwhile Uwais had disposed of him The date 767 given by Maḳrīzī seems in any case to indicate that the rebellion of Mardjān had lasted a considerable time (According to the name source Mardjān was blinded)

Uwais stayed eleven months in Baghdād and then marched west. He took Mawṣil from the brother of Bairam-Khwādja (Turkoman of the Kara-Koyunlu tribe), then at Mūsh he defeated Bairam-Khwādja and plundered his lands. In the meanwhile Mārdin was taken, the amīr of which had in vain sought Egypt help (cf. Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, fol 53)

Uwais returned via Ḳara-kilīsiyā (between Erzerum and Bāyazīd) to Tabrīz where he heard that the lord of Shīrwān Kāʾūs b Kaikubād had twice carried off to Shīrwān (north of the Kur) the people of Ḳarabāgh (Arrān) which Uwais had evidently incorporated in his dominion on the disappearance of Akhīdjūḳ Uwais's general Bairam Bek besieged Kāʾūs in the fortress of Shīrwān. Kāʾūs, brought in chains to Uwais, was exiled to Baghdād but after three months was re-established under the suzerainty

of Uwais (cf Djalāʾirid coins struck at Shīrwān).

In 772 (1370) Amīr Walī, successor of Tughā Tīmūr of Astarābād [cf. TUGHĀ TIMŪR], attacked Uwais but was defeated near Rayy. In 773 Uwais himself took the field against Amīr Walī but returned on reaching Ūdjān. Amīr Walī occupied Sāwa In 776 Uwais was preparing to punish him but died at ʿImārat-i Rashīdī on 2 Djumādā I 776 (Oct 10, 1374)

According to Dawlat-Shāh (p. 261—263), Uwais was so handsome that the people of Baghdād used to run out in crowds to see him pass The historians unanimously praise his kindness, justice and courage, he was also a great patron of literature. His chief panegyrist was Salmān Sāwadjī from whom we have a series of odes on the principal events of his reign Uwais himself was a fine calligrapher, draughtsman and poet of merit He built a great building, the Dawlat-Khāna at Tabrīz (*Tolbatgana* of Clavijo), probably identical with the Ark of our day [cf. TABRĪZ]

A scion of a completely iranicised family and connected through his mother with the family of Čoban whose romantic adventures are celebrated, Uwais seems to have been of an impressionable nature We learn of his passion for his favourite Bairam Shāh and of the public mourning which he ordered on his death The death of his brother Zāhid, who fell from a roof in a state of intoxication, sufficed to cancel the expedition of 773 against Amīr Walī Uwais died of phthisis (*dikk*) aged about 30 He is said to have had a presentiment of his death and to have ordered his own shroud and coffin

He had five sons Hasan, Djalāl al-Dīn Husain, Shaikh ʿAlī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ahmad, Bāyazīd and a daughter, Tandu Uwais wished to give Baghdād to his eldest son Ḥasan and leave the throne to Husain When the nobles expressed doubts as to whether Hasan would agree, Uwais is reported to have said "You know (what to do)" Hasan was therefore put to death on the day that Uwais died

According to the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, the wazir of Uwais was Amīr *Zakarīyā and his *amīr al-umarāʾ* ʿĀdil-agha [cf SUITĀNĪYA]

Coins. Markov has given a description of 66 coins struck in name of Uwais at Baghdād, Wāsit, Tabriz, Ardabīl, Khoi, Nakhičawan, Shābarān, Bākū, Gushtasfī, Bardaʿa, Sāwa, Wastān (?), Tūsān (Ūdjān?), Bārān (?), Bānd (?) etc. The coin of 758 (Baghdād) bears the title *al-sultān al-ʿālim al-ʿādil*, that of 762 (Baghdad) *al-sultān al-aʿzam shaikh Uwais Bahādur*, that of 766 (Baghdād) bears the name in Mongol Lane-Poole's Catalogue contains descriptions of coins of Uwais struck at Tabrīz, Sultānīya, Baghdād, Irbil, Shīrāz and Isfahān, that by M Mubārak contains the description of coins struck at Baghdād, Basra, Hilla, Tabrīz and Shīrāz (the latter dated 766 gives Uwais the title of *al-wāthiḳ bi 'l-malik al-daiyān*)

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2 Uwais II, son of Sulṭān Walad, son of ʿAlī, son of Uwais I, the seventh Djalāʾirid king, reigned 818—824 over Khūzistān (Shūshtar) as well as over Basra and Wāsit (cf. Munedjdjim-bashī, III 12) He was killed by the Turkoman Shāh Muḥammad (Weil, *Gesch d. Chalifen*, V 142) The mother of Uwais II, the able Tandu, was the daughter of Husain b. Uwais I The author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* mentions Uwais II as reigning in his time He was then 11 years old and his "wazīr" was his mother In spite of Huart, *La fin de la dynastie Ilékanienne*, in *J A*, 1876, VII 344—348, she cannot be identified with Tandu bint Uwais I, who married two Muzaffarids in succession, Mahmūd and Zain al-ʿAbidīn [cf UWAIS I] (V MINORSKY)

ʿUZAIR is mentioned once in the Kurʾān "The Jews said ʿUzair is the son of God, the Christians said Christ is the son of God" (Sūra IX. 30) ʿUzair is generally identified with Ezra. But as such a belief among the Jews that Ezra was the son of God can hardly be imagined, much less proved to exist, Casanova made the attractive suggestion that ʿUzair is Uzaïl-Azael, one of the fallen angels (on him see Heller, in *R.E J.*, 1910, IX 201—212, Jung, in *J.Q R*, 1925, 1926, *N S*, XVI 202—205, 287 *sqq*), after a short time before Muhammad Madjdī Bey had made the fantastic suggestion that ʿUzair was Osiris. Ezra, on the other hand, Casanova recognises in Idrīs (Sūra XIX 57, XXI 25). But Muslim Tradition unhesitatingly sees Ezra in ʿUzair and quotes legends in support of the belief that he was the son of God

ʿUzair is one of the *ahl al-kitāb*, the possessors of the Torah When they sin, God deprives them of the *tābūt* (sacred ark) and punishes them with a sickness which makes them forget the Torah. ʿUzair mourns. Then a flame from God enters ʿUzair's body so that he is filled with knowledge of the Torah. He teaches his people. God then sends down the sacred ark to Israel again; the Torah is compared with ʿUzair's teaching and they

are found to agree; the Jews therefore believe that ʿUzair must be the son of God

Alongside of this legend we find a fuller one as early as Ṭabarī's commentary on the Kurʾān (and frequently later) Israel is oppressed by ʿAmālek (the Philistines). The learned men bury the Torah ʿUzair laments and prays in the mountains One day he meets at a tomb a woman (in reality she is no earthly woman but Dunyā, the world) who seems to be lamenting him that fed and clothed her ʿUzair asks her who cared for her before her husband. She replies "Allāh!" But, says ʿUzair, Allāh still lives. The woman then asks who had taught mankind before Israel "Allāh", replies ʿUzair. But Allah still lives, says the supernatural woman. At her bidding ʿUzair then consecrates himself and swallows something an old man puts in his mouth namely a glass, like a large coal ʿUzair now announces that he has the Torah within him. He is branded as a liar He then ties a pen to each finger and writes the Torah The ʿUlamāʾ dig up the Torah and find complete agreement, from this they conclude that ʿUzair must be the son of God

In *R E J*, 1904, xlix 209, I have pointed out that an Arabic apocryphon has survived in these legends which corresponds to IV. Ezra where we are told that God had given Israel lands and instruction but when they sinned he took them away Ezra is given a goblet full of flaming water Then his breast swells with wisdom, teaching flows from his heart, and for 40 days on end he dictates to five men (in the Muslim legend they are his fingers) the sacred books (IV. Ezra, xiv 18—49)

Sūra ii 261 is sometimes explained as referring to Ezra (more often to Jeremiah) "He passed by a city which had been destroyed to its foundations How shall God quicken this dead city to life? God caused him to die for a hundred years and then raised him to life and asked how long hast thou stayed here? He answered probably a day or less. But God replied thou hast stayed here one hundred years Look on thy food and drink, it is not corrupted, and look on thy ass, we make thee a wonder unto men, look also on the bones, we raise them and clothe them with flesh"

The following legend is associated with this passage. Nebuchadnezzar slew 40,000 men of learning including ʿUzair's father and grandfather ʿUzair being a child was spared but already he was advanced in the Torah. When he asks whether the town will arise again, God plunges him into sleep for a hundred years. After a hundred years he awakens, his ass is still alive and his food uncorrupted. He appears as a man of twenty among his children and grandchildren who are now greybeards, proves his identity by making a blind girl see and particularly by restoring the Torah. The original Torah is dug up out of a vineyard and found to agree. ʿUzair must be the son of God

Bibliography: Tabarī, ed de Goeje, i 669–671, the commentaries on Sūra ii. 261 and ix. 30, esp Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, iii. 18—20; x. 68—69; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s. v. *Ḥimār al-ahlī*, al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, p. 217—219, Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902², p 191, 192; Heller, in *R E J*, 1904, xlix. 207–213; Joseph Horovitz, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii., 1925, p 169, 182; Paul Casanova, *Idrîs et ʿOuzaïr*, in *J A.*, 1924, ccv. 356—360. (BERNHARD HELLER)

UZBEK (Özbek) B. MUḤAMMAD PAHLAWĀN B. ILDEGIZ (Eldigüz?), fifth and last atābek of Ādharbāidjān (607—622 = 1210—1225). According to Yāḳūt, Uzbek's *laḳab* was Muẓaffar al-Dīn.

His mother and that of his elder brother Abū Bakr were slaves, while the two other sons of Pahlawān, Ḳutlugh-Inanč and Amīrmīrān, were born of the princess Inanč-Khātūn Uzbek married Malika-Khātūn, wife of the last Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Tughrīl II, by whom he had a son (Tughril).

Like all the reigns in periods of transition, Uzbek's was a very troubled one Before his accession to the throne of Ādharbāidjān, the centre of his activities was at Hamadhān where he was under fire from his ruling brother Abū Bakr (587–607), the Khwārizmshāh, the caliph and the various ambitious slaves. After his accession he was the object of attacks by the Georgians and the Mongols and finally he was dispossessed by the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. His neighbours in the west were the Atābek of Irbil (Arbil) and the Ayyūbids of Khilāt (Akhlat)

Before his accession. In 592 (1196) at the time when the Khwārizmshāh Takāsh [q v] had invaded Persia, the Atābek Uzbek who had fled from his brother Abū Bakr, Atābek of Ādharbāidjān, came to Takash who gave him Hamadhān as a fief (*Djahān-gushā*, ii. 38) According to the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p 388, it was Abū Bakr who sent Uzbek to Hamadhān and had sent ʿIzz al-Dīn Satmaz with him, but soon the Pādishāh Malik Djamāl al-Dīn Ay-aba (a considerable amīr, lord of the fortress of Farrazīn; cf SULṬĀNĀBĀD and the preface to the Persian translation of ʿUtbī's history Rieu, *Catalogue*, i 158) joined Uzbek and became his atābek, with his sons-in-law as his lieutenants On 9th Djumādā II, 593 (April 29, 1197) an expedition sent from Baghdād seized Hamadhān. Ay-aba fled and Uzbek was placed in direct dependence on the caliph (cf the details in Ibn al-Athīr, xii 82) Finally the slave Miyādjik, a devoted servant of the Khwārizmshāh (and assassin of Kutlugh Inanč), became master of the situation. But in Radjab 593 (May—June 1197) Uzbek returned to Hamadhān and Abū Bakr, resuming supreme control, sent him new advisers. The *Rāḥat al-Sudūr* gives Uzbek the title of *malik*. The situation was a troubled one and in 594 Uzbek set out for Kazwin in order to fight Miyādjik but had to retreat to Zandjān, while his adversary, encouraged by the caliph, occupied Hamadhān and on 20th Radjab 594 (May 28, 1198) received investiture from the Khwārizmshah also. Miyādjik was even trying to obtain the title of sulṭān when Abū Bakr's forces led by Ay-aba defeated him near Ḳihā (district of Rayy) For a short time the Atābek Abū Bakr occupied Rayy but evacuated it after a false alarm Miyadjik returned to Rayy but by his tyranny provoked the dissatisfaction of his Khwārizmī patrons who finally executed him in Khwārizm Uzbek with his lieutenant Kokča massacred the Khwārizmians in the ʿIrāḳ Abū Bakr was able to occupy Iṣfahān and divide the country. Malik Uzbek receiving Hamadhān and Kokča Rayy. The supreme control of affairs was in the hands of Ay-abā, who was much too tolerant of the misdeeds of his son-in-law Kokča Abū Bakr deprived of all authority (on his weakness cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 120) went to Uzbek but ultimately came back to Ādharbāidjān while Persian ʿIrāḳ was plunged into

anarchy (cf. the evidence of contemporaries: *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 398, and the Persian translation of ʿUtbī [cf. preface, Ṭeherān edition, 1274, p. 10], cf. Defrémery, *op. cit*)

In 600 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 128) Abū Bakr sent Ay-toghmish to dispose of Kokča who had in the meanwhile taken Raiy, Hamadhān and Djabal (Media) Kokča was killed and Uzbek became *malik*, with Ay-toghmish as adviser and guardian In 602 Ay-toghmish came to the help of Abū Bakr and enabled him to take Marāgha [q v] but in the end only allowed him to have Ādharbāidjān and Arrān (*ibid*, p 186, 194)

Uzbek-Atābek Uzbek had probably retired to the north where in 607 (1210) he succeeded Abū Bakr (Ibn al-Athīr says nothing of this).

In 608 another slave Mängli took the place of Ay-toghmish who was finally slain in 610 (*ibid*, p. 194, 196, 197). Mängli took up an independent attitude to his master Uzbek. The caliph took the side of Uzbek and brought about the intervention of the Atābek of Irbil in his favour. The lands of Mängli were divided and Uzbek gave his share to his slave Aghlamish (in 612, *ibid*, p 201) It should however be noted that Aghlamish said the *khuṭba* in name of the Khwārizmshāh and the latter regarded him as his lieutenant (cf Nasawī, p 13)

In 614, the Ismaʿilians assassinated Aghlamish and the Atābek of Fārs Saʿd occupied Raiy and Uzkek Isfahān Hearing this the Khwārizmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad came to Djabal (Media) and scattered the allies Uzbek withdrew to Ādharbāidjān while his dignitaries, the prince of Ahar Nuṣrat al-Dīn Bēshgēn (of Georgian origin) and the vizier Rabīb al-Dīn, were captured. By an arrangement with Uzbek the Khwārizmshāh left him Ādharbāidjān and Arrān, but forced him to read the *khuṭba* and strike coins in his name (cf Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 207, Nasawī, p. 17)

The Mongols When in 617 (1220) the Tatars appeared before the walls of Tabrīz, Uzbek, who was spending his days and nights in drinking bouts, took the cowardly but prudent plan of paying a ransom for the city to them (*ibid*, p 244) The Georgians, beaten a first time by the Tatars, proposed an alliance with Uzbek and the lord of Khilāṭ, but the Tatars reinforced by troops whom a Turkish slave of Uzbek named Akūsh (Aghush?) had collected for them, frustrated these plans by a new attack on Tiflīs [q v] and came in 618 for a second time to Tabrīz Once again Uzbek ransomed the city (*ibid*, p. 246). When they came to Tabrīz for a third time (*ibid*, p. 250), Uzbek left for Nakhičawān and sent his family to Khoi "He held all Ādharbāidjān and all Arrān and in spite of this was the most helpless creature to protect his country against the enemy" says Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid*., p 250).

In 619 the Kipčaḳ, who had penetrated into Transcaucasia via Derbend, stirred up trouble in Arrān and later the Georgians, perhaps enraged at the failure of their new offer of an alliance, sacked Bailaḳān (*ibid*, p. 266). Towards the end of the year (Oct 1222), we find Uzbek again inactive at Tabrīz but he must have had a certain amount of influence, for an amīr of Mawṣil had put himself under his protection (*ibid*., p. 268).

In 620 during a quiet period that followed the withdrawal of the Mongols, trouble broke out in Persia between the son of Khwārizmshāh Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his uncle Ighan-taisi; Uzbek, accompanied by his slave Aibek al-Shāmī, marched against Ghiyāth al-Dīn but was defeated (Ibn al-Athīr, xii 270) According to Nasawī, p 76, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, when he had established himself in the ʿIrāḳ, undertook operations against Ādharbāidjān (Marāgha, Ūdjān) and Uzbek endeavoured to pacify him by giving him in marriage his sister, the princess of Nakhičawān; on the other hand, Ighan-taisi twice came and pillaged Ādharbāidjān (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 281)

In 621 new Tatar forces invaded Persia and defeated the Khwārizmians at Raiy The survivors sought refuge with Uzbek but the Tatars appeared before Tabrīz and demanded that they should be handed over Uzbek killed a number and sent the others to the Tatars. According to Ibn al-Athīr, there were only 3,000 Tatars while the Khwārizmians defeated at Raiy numbered 6,000 and Uzbek's forces were more numerous than either (*ibid*, p 273)

In 622 (1225) the Georgians set out from Tiflīs against Ādharbāidjān. The expedition was destroyed in a defile The Georgians were preparing to avenge this reverse when suddenly came the news of the arrival of Djalal al-Dīn at Marāgha and again the Georgians sought an alliance with Uzbek.

Arrival of Djalāl al-Dīn. Before the approach of Djalāl al-Dīn, Uzbek withdrew to Gandja while a Khwārizmī commander was admitted into Tabrīz On the 16th Radjab 622 (June 24, 1225), Djalāl al-Dīn occupied the town

During the absence of Djalal al-Dīn in Georgia, a plot was hatched at Tabrīz to bring back Uzbek, in which so important a man as Shams al-Dīn Tughrāʾī took part, but Djalāl al-Dīn arrived in time to check it The Khwārizmshāh dealt Uzbek a blow, which he felt deeply, by marrying his wife, the daughter of Tughrïl II. Legal authorities were found to bring grounds for a divorce between Uzbek and the princess, but the scandal was considerable The princess was afterwards neglected by Djalāl al-Dīn and she finally appealed to the Ayyūbid Malik Ashraf and the latter in 624 sent an expedition to Ādharbāidjān which brought the princess to Khilāt (Ibn al-Athīr p 307, Nasawī, p. 154)

Gandja also was lost to Uzbek and he spent his last days (622 = 1225) in the fortress of Alindja (cf Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, 1930, July, p 93) overwhelmed by his misfortunes and humiliations (cf Nasawī, p 119, Djuwainī, ii. 157). With him ended the rule of the Atābeks descended from Ildegiz (Eldigüz).

Uzbek left one son whose name seems to have been Kïzïl Arslān (Nasawī, p. 168, contrary to the *Rāhat al-Sudūr*, p. 393, where he is called Tughrïl), but he was generally known as Khāmūsh ("the silent") for he was deaf and dumb (cf. Nasawī, p 129 - 130; *Djahān-gushā*, ii 248)

Uzbek is very severely judged by the historians. Ibn al-Athīr, departing from his usual judicial calm, returns several times to the charge (xii 244, 250, 267, 281) and accuses him of being devoted to wine, good living and games of chance (*al-ḳumār bi 'l-baid*, "the game of eggs"). The Atābek led an indolent life and for months never left his home (cf. also Yāḳūt, s. v. Urmiya, i 219). This gloomy picture must have been a contrast to the hopes which at this time Muslims were placing on Djalāl al-Dīn who, however, was by no means free from vice in his private life (Nasawī, p 186,

243—244). In his youth Uzbek had taken part in several expeditions, but his forces were insufficient to meet the attacks of serious (the Georgians were then at the height of their power; cf. TIFLIS) or redoubtable enemies (the Mongols and the great warrior Djalāl al-Dīn)

Ibn al-Athīr, xii 281, mentions at Tabrīz a kiosk built at great expense by Uzbek The court of the bon vivant Atābek attracted poets and artists Uzbek's vizier Rabīb al-Dīn was a great patron of letters (Nasawī, p. 162—163 and the conclusion of the *Marzubān-nāma*).

Bibliography· Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, *G M S.*, cf. the index; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, cf. the index, Nasawī, *Sīrat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, cf the index — The history of the Saldjūks *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Saldjūkīya* Rieu, *Suppl to the Catalogue of the Arabic Mss*, N⁰ 550 (which contains some details of the Atābeks) still awaits an editor; cf. Sussheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der "Chronik des Seldschuqischen Reiches"*, Leipzig 1911, Mirkhond, *Histoire des Sultans du Kharezm*, ed. with notes by Defrémery, Paris 1842, p 108 *sqq*, Khondamīr, *Habīb al-Siyar*, ii.—iv., Ṭihrān 1271, p 201 (of no importance), Munedjdjim-bashī, *Sahā'if al-Akhbār*, ii. 581 (minor note); Defrémery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamadan*, in *J A*, 1847, ix, p 148—186 (excellent article on the government of the Mamlūks Kokčä, Ay-toghmish, Mangli and Aghlamish) (V MINORSKY)

UZUN ḤASAN, a ruler of the Turkoman dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu (the founder of the dynasty was Bāyandur), prince of Diyār Bakr from 858, and then (872—882) sovereign of a powerful state comprising Armenia, Mesopotamia and Persia The stature of Hasan Beg b ʿAlī Beg b Kara ʿOthmān (= Kara Ilāk ?, reading uncertain), earned him the nickname of Uzun (= "the long")

The reign of Uzun Ḥasan is very important but not well known.

Rivalries of the Turkoman tribes The original fief of the chiefs of the house of Bāyandur and of their Turkoman tribe "of the White Sheep" Ak-Koyunlu) was in Diyār Bakr (from before the period of Tīmūr) From there they spread to the west, north and east At first the chief rivals of the Ak-Koyunlu were the Kara-Koyunlu Turkomans and this rivalry was accentuated by religious differences, for the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu were Sunnīs and the Kara-Koyunlu Shīʿīs (and extremely heterodox)

Ḳara ʿOthmān, an adventurous and energetic individual, died in 838 (1434—1435) His son ʿAlī Beg spent his reign fighting with his brother Hamza against whom he sought the support of the Ottoman Sulṭān Murād II and Sultān Čaḳmaḳ of Egypt After the death of the two brothers, Djihāngīr, son of ʿAlī, resumed the struggle against the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu but offended his brother Uzun Hasan, his uncle Kāsim Beg [whom v Hammer, i 506 calls Ḥasan] and the governor of Erzindjān, Kīlīdj Arslān b. Pīr ʿAlī In spite of his quarrel with Djihāngīr, Uzun Hasan defeated his two adversaries and then conquered the "greater number" of the begs of Kurdistān Having learned that Djihāngīr had set out for the summer encampments on the Ala-dagh (this name probably refers to the ancient Masius, a mountain between Diyār Bakr and Mārdīn), Ḥasan penetrated into the fortress of Diyār Bakr (Āmid) in disguise while Djihāngīr was forced to shut himself up in Mārdīn [q This took place in 858 (1454) and soon H occupied Ruhā and laid siege to Mārdīn (cf ʿĀ pāshā-zāde, p. 247—249; Munedjdjim-bashī, 157).

The intervention of Ḥasan's mother, a fe diplomat who played a great part in later dev ments, forced Uzun Hasan to return to Diyār I He sought to recompense himself by a rai Kara-Ḳoyunlu territory (Erzerum, Awnik, Bai but having failed to take Erzindjān returne Diyār Bakr.

On resuming the siege of Erzindjān, Uzun Ḥ fell from his horse and was seriously inj Djihāngīr seized the opportunity to sack the envi of Āmid but on Hasan's return sought refuge the Kara-Koyunlu Djihān-Shāh His mother more installed Hasan in Diyār Bakr and Djihā in Mārdīn The struggle was very soon resu on a larger scale Hasan marched on Erzindjān Turdjān, from which he drove ʿArab-Shāh, brother's representative, and then attacked Khu and Karadja-Dagh (S. W of Diyār Bakr). Kara-Ḳoyunlu Djihān-Shāh sent his amīrs to help of Djihāngīr but Uzun Hasan defeated in 861 (May 1457 ?, cf Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Po vii 485) Djihāngīr gave his son as a hos and another brother of Hasan (Uwais of R also submitted to him Uzun Hasan installed amīr Khurshīd Beg (perhaps his cousin, cf Mü djim-bashī, iii. 376) in Erzindjān. This for was the key to the Armenian plateau. About same time, Hasan gave shelter to the Kara-Koy Hasan ʿAlī who had rebelled against his f Djihān-Shāh, but had soon to expel him on acc of his heretical opinions. These events occu the years 858—861 after which began the rise of Hasan and the extension of his influ over the neighbouring lands

Operations in Kurdistān On the T he took Hisn Kaifā from the Kurd malīks desce from the Ayyūbids (cf *Sharaf-nāma*, ii 149- and gave this fortress to his son Khalīl and Haitham (in Bohtān) were later occupie also *Sharaf-nāma*, ii 9)

Uzun Hasan between Ḳaramān Trebizond In the west, the successes of Hasan brought him into conflict with the mans who under the leadership of Muhamm had just completed the subjection of the f principalities of Asia Minor The princes of K mān [q v], gravely threatened by the Otto endeavoured to enter into an alliance with eastern neighbour Uzun Hasan. On the other h Uzun Hasan became involved in the affai the empire of Trebizond, which was then al at its end In 1458, the last emperor of Trebi David, gave Uzan Ḥasan the daughter o brother and predecessor Kalo-Ioannes, n Catherine, in marriage (in Europe she is often called by her title Despina, cf. the Ven travellers) Trebizond was closely linked Georgia, while Venice and Rome were cl watching events in these two Christian states. Muslim sources entirely neglect this compl international political interests (cf W M *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire*, London 1 Uspensky, *Očerki po istorii Trapez. imperii*, L grad 1929)

The embassies sent by Uzun Ḥasan to Con tinople in 1457 and 1460 revealed to the S

his rival's ambitions (cf v Hammer, i 464–466) Very soon passing to deeds, Uzun Ḥasan took by surprise the fortress of Koyunlu Hiṣār (or Koylu-Hiṣār on the Kilkit-su above Niksār) and sacked the suburbs of Ṭoḳat and Amasia (cf Munedjdjim-bashī, iii. 376).

Having disposed of the Isfendiyār-oghlu [q v] of Sinope, Muḥammad II turned his attention to Trebizond and first of all to Ḳoyunlu-Hiṣār Uzun Ḥasan concentiated his forces near Kemāḳh but the detachment sent into the mountains of Munzur (Saʿd al-Dīn, i. 476: *Kūh-i Mndz*[?]) was defeated by Aḥmad Pasha Uzun Ḥasan then sent his mother to negotiate and on her appeal the sulṭān turned towards Bulghar-daghī (east of Gerdjanis, between the Kilkit-su and the Euphrates) In spite of the renewed appeals of Sāra Khātūn (the sultān called her "mother") who said that Trebizond belonged to her daughter-in-law, the town was taken in 865 (1461) and the Comneni dispossessed and exiled A portion of the treasures taken in Trebizond was given to Sāra Khātūn (ʿĀshīk-pāshā-zade p 159—160, Saʿd al-Dīn and Munedjdjim-bashī, iii 376)

The peace was of short duration, for according to Munedjdjim-bashī, iii 160—161, Uzun Ḥasan retook Koyunlu-Hiṣār and advanced as far as the environs of Sīwās but the Ottomans defeated those of his troops who had entered Asia Minor Uzun Ḥasan sent to Constantinople Khurshīd Beg to ransom the Turkoman prisoners and ask the Sultān to renounce his claims on Trebizond (!?) In view of the circumstances (*iḳtiḍā-yi wakt*), the request is said to have been granted (!?) and Uzun Ḥasan returned to Erzindjān and then to Diyār Bakr (In this part of his story, Munedjdjim-bashī seems to give in somewhat different form the events of 1461).

Death of Djihān-Shāh and of the Timūrid Abū Saʿīd Uzun Ḥasan very soon achieved brilliant successes In 871 (1466—1467) his rival Djihān-Shāh of the Kara-Koyunlu, who at this time held all Persia, marched on Diyār Bakr (on his plans cf his letter to Muhammad II, in Ferīdūn Bey, i. 273) Uzun Ḥasan collected troops and received reinforcements from Mārdin On 1st Rabīʿ II, 872, Djihān-Shāh had reached Mūsh and Čapākhčūr Here his advance-guards were defeated by Khalīl, son of Uzun Ḥasan Djihan-Shāh, who, on account of the excessive cold, had sent most of his troops home, went back to Kīghī, whence he wanted to reach Erzindjān and the valley of Bālā-rūd (Kilkit?) On 13th Rabīʿ II, 872 (Nov 11, 1467), Uzun Ḥasan attacked him unexpectedly and Djihān-Shāh lost his life while trying to escape The field in the east now being open, Uzun Ḥasan began the conquest of the lands which had been left without a master He went via Mōṣul to Baghdād, which he besieged for 40 days, but in Ādharbāidjān, the son of Djihān-Shāh, Ḥasan ʿAlī, had assembled a large army (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 234 180,000 men) and invoked the help of the Timūrid Abū Saʿīd, who set out from Khurāsān in the month of Shaʿbān 872 (March 1468) and appointed governors for the whole of Persian ʿIrāḳ. As a result of treachery on the part of certain amīrs of Ḥasan ʿAlī, his army quartered at Marand broke up and Uzun Ḥasan seized the opportunity to advance as far as Kara-bāgh [q v]. In the meanwhile in spite of the protestations of friendship by Uzun Ḥasan, who recalled the loyalty of the Aḳ-Koyunlu to the Timūrids, Abū Saʿīd had reached Miyāna but was caught there by the approach of winter. He thought of spending the winter in Kara-bāgh, out of which Uzun Hasan was to be dislodged, but his march to the Araxes was disastrous and at Mahmūd-ābād [cf MUḴĀN] he was blockaded by Uzun Ḥasan. The negotiations conducted by Abū Saʿīd's mother, however, came to nothing, he took to flight but was captured on 16th Radjab 873 (Feb 11, 1469) Two days later Uzun Hasan seated on the throne (to emphasise his accession?) received the prisoner kindly but on Radjab 22 Abū Saʿīd was handed over to his rival, the prince Yādigār Muhammad b Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Baisunḳur, who put him to death. Abū Saʿīd's amīrs were put under the command of Yādigār who, supported by Uzun Hasan, began the struggle against Husain Baiḳara The latter was temporarily driven from Herāt (6 Muharram 875) but the exactions of the sons of Uzun Hasan (Khalīl in Ölāng Rādkān and Zeināl in Ḳuhistān) provoked a rising against Yādigār, who was deposed and put to death by Sulṭān Husain Baiḳara

After the disappearance of Abū Saʿīd, the Timūrids of Khurāsān remained a purely local dynasty while Uzun Hasan's deputies occupied the remainder of Persia, including Kirmān, Fārs, Luristān, Khūzistān and Kurdistān (cf. the valuable details on the distribution of the fiefs in the letters of Uzun Hasan to Muhammad II Ferīdūn Bey, i 275 and 276, cf *Habīb al-Siyar*, iii 330). The Kara-Koyunlu Hasan ʿAlī had retired to Hamadhān but was surprised there and killed by Uzun Hasan's forces in 873 (1468) (cf the *History of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhs*, Bibl Nat MS Pers N° 174, fol 16b) About the same time Baghdād also was occupied by the great amīr Khalīl-beg, governor of Mōsul (cf Ferīdūn Bey, ii 276).

After these great successes, it became evident that Uzun Hasan alone in Asia was strong enough to bar the Ottoman advance and the enemies of the latter, the rulers of Karamān and the Christians, particularly the Venetians, sought to exploit this new power.

Venetian policy On Dec 2, 1463, the Venetian Senate had adopted the plan of an alliance with Uzun Hasan and L Quirini was sent to Persia with this object On March 13, 1464, the first ambassador from Uzun Hasan (a certain Mamena-tazab?) arrived in Venice and spent six months there In 1465 Kāsim Hasan (?) arrived with a letter from Uzun Hasan The negotiations were interrupted for some time but the conquest of Euboea (which the Venetians had held for 264 years) by the Ottomans in 1469—1470 threw them into consternation In Feb 1471, Quirini returned from Persia with Uzun Hasan's ambassador Mirath (Murād?) while another Persian representative arrived at the Vatican It was then that the Venetian senate sent to Persia the noble Caterino Zeno, who through his mother was a nephew of Despina Caterina, wife of Uzun Hasan. On April 20, 1471, Zeno was in Tabrīz. In the same year Hādjdjī Muḥammad (Azimamet) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. Giosafa Barbaro was then sent to Persia to take to Uzun Hasan six large mortars (*bombarde*), 600 arquebuses (*spingarde*), matchlocks (*schioppetti*), and munitions; 200 fusiliers with their officers accompanied the consignment. In Barbaro's secret instructions (of Feb. 11, 1473), it was laid down that Venice would never conclude

peace with the Ottomans until they had been forced to renounce in favour of Persia all claims on Asia Minor as far as the Straits Barbaro was delayed in Cyprus where he took part in the operations of the Venetian fleet (commanded by P Mocenigo) which on the appeal of the princes of Karamān had occupied Selefke and two other points on the coast.

In the meanwhile Zeno was active in Persia and according to the European sources (Jorga, II 164), the nephew of the last Comnenos, who had sought asylum with Uzun Hasan, had invaded the region of Trebizond

Invasion of Asia Minor. The Ḳaramānians were working alongside of the Venetians to force Uzun Hasan's hand On the appeal of Pīr Aḥmad, Ishāḳ's successor, Uzun Hasan equipped an army which was placed under the command of the vizier ʿOmar Beg b Bektash (the Amarbei Guisultan Nichenizza? of Zeno, p. 16) and Uzun Hasan's cousin, Yūsufča-mīrzā, and which (according to Angiolello, p 77) numbered 50,000 men (Zeno, p 16: 100,000?) These troops advanced from Diyār Bakr on Toḳat, which they sacked and then on Kaisarīya, where, as Saʿd al-Dīn says, "they revealed their Turkoman character" Caterino Zeno, p 18—19, was an eye-witness of a part of these operations. (The attempt to take Bīra from Egypt is perhaps connected with the same expedition) After some time ʿOmar Beg returned to Diyār Bakr while Yūsufča-mīrzā overran Karamān and Hamīd again

Resumption of the war with the Ottomans. Sulṭān Muhammad II was gravely concerned with these events and with this diplomatic activity of which he was certainly aware (cf. Ferīdūn Bey, p 285 and Ibn Iyās, II 145) Uzun Hasan's letters assumed a more and more aggressive tone (cf Ferīdūn Bey, I 278 and the humiliating title of *imāʾat maʾāb* was given to the sultān in them, and p 278 Muhammad II's reply in which he addresses familiarly the *sardār-i ʿadjam*). In autumn 877 (1472) the Sultān crossed from Constantinople over to the coast of Asia, but was held up there by the cold season But by 14th Rabīʿ I (Aug. 19, 1472) the prince Mustafā and the beglerbegi of Anatolia Dāwūd Pasha, who had a force of 60,000 men under him, destroyed the Turkomans in the district of Ḳīr-eli (west of Koniya)

The Sultān set out in the month of Shawwāl 877 (March 1473) His army numbered 100,000 men in all (cf Saʿd al-Dīn, I. 529 confirmed by Angiolello, p. 79—80, who writes as if he were in the Ottoman army) The famous *akīndjī* [q v.] ʿAlī-Mikhāl-oghlu [q. v.] sent with the advance-guard sacked Kemākh and took prisoners the Armenians of this region

Uzun Hasan, who had arrived in the region of Erzindjān at the end of July 1473, established himself on the hills on the left bank of the Euphrates and when Khāss Murād Pasha rashly crossed the river, he surrounded him and defeated him. Khāṣṣ Murād was drowned in the Euphrates and the total losses of the Ottomans rose to 12,000 men (Angiolello) Caterino Zeno who was in Uzun Hasan's suite, gives Aug 1, 1473 as the date of this first encounter. The battlefield was in the district of Terdjān (above Erzindjān), the low ground on the Euphrates which Khāss Murād (Angiolello) wished to utilise began at the level of Pekeridj. Saʿd al-Dīn, I. 535 is not explicit but according to Angiolello (and Zeno), the Ottomans were ready to abandon the campaign. The the valley of the Euphrates and leaving B on the right (towards the N. E.), took th northwards towards Trebizond, evidently wi intention of turning there to the west. But the Ottoman army was in the canton of Üč-i (probably to the north of the mountains separate Erzindjān from the valley of the Kill Uzun Hasan's troops appeared on the h of Otluḳ-beli (a mountain which separat Euphrates valley from the sources of the Č on the right flank of the Ottomans The accepted battle and on 16th Rabīʿ I, 878 (A 1473) (according to Zeno 10th Aug 1473) the Ak-Ḳoyunlu. The Sardār of Uzun Hasan Ishāk (a Christian?, according to Zeno, ther Georgians in the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu army), fell c battlefield as did Uzun Ḥasan's son Zeinal. Hasan himself took to flight, but it was precipitous as Saʿd al-Dīn would have it, for account of Aug 18 is dated from the ca Uzun Hasan, four days from Erzindjān. I case the Ottomans, thanks to their firearms (gained a brilliant victory The artisans and e captured were taken to Constantinople The Koyunlu mobilised by Uzun received their li the remainder of the Turkomans were put to (*katl-i ʿāmm*) by order of the Sultān Dārāl commander of [Shabīn-] Ḳara-Hisār on the Ki above Koyunlu-Hisāi, hearing of the defeat master, handed over the fortress to the Ott On the advice of the grand vizier Maḥmūd who explained the difficulties of keeping the tories still to be conquered, the Sultān ref from pursuing Uzun Ḥasan, but later reg this decision and the grand vizier lost his (Saʿd al-Dīn, I 521—544)

Uzun Hasan lost no appreciable territo this defeat, but the moral effect must have considerable After the battle, Uzun Hasan to Venice (Berchet, p. 137) that he was go return to the attack ("cavalcheremo adc l'Othoman") and at the same time sent C Zeno on a mission to plead his cause wi European governments The Polish and Hun ambassadors were sent back with Zeno.

The Venetian Senate, which always at great importance to the alliance, sent to the secretary P Ognibene Barbaro, leavi Rhodes the representatives of the pope King Ferdinand of Sicily, then set out and a in Tabrīz on April 12, 1474 Lastly a new A Contarini, left Venice on Feb. 13, 1474, a at Tabrīz on Aug 4, 1474 and at Isfahān on N 1474 We also know that at this time th Lodovico of Bologna was in Persia, who s represente l the Duke of Burgundy. But o occasion the ambassadors could obtain n definite out of Uzun Hasan.

In the meanwhile Uzun Hasan had go Shīrāz to put down the rebellion of hi Oghurlu Muḥammad On his return from he took leave of Contarini (April 26, 1475 saw a review of his troops (25,000?) bu that the expedition against the Ottomans was poned to a later date In 880 the plague wi great havoc in Persia and Uzun Ḥasan's had to take the field against his brother who was defeated and slain at Ruhā (Ibn II. 160). Very soon the Venetians recognis futility of their hopes and less than a year

the death of Uzun Ḥasan signed a peace with the Ottomans (Dec 1478)

Relations with Georgia. According to Münedjdjim-bashī, Uzun Ḥasan thrice invaded Georgia, in 871 (1466), in 877 (summer of 1472[b]) and after his defeat by the Ottomans According to the *Ḏj̲ihān-ārā* this last expedition took place in 881 (1476—1477). Barbaro (p 90) who was an eye-witness, took part in the negotiations with the Georgians. The Georgian sources of the xvth century are very confused (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/1, p. 12, 249) The King of Kharthlia, Constantine III (1469—1505) seems to have utilised the support of the Aḳ-Koyunlu against his rivals Bagrat of Imerethia and the Atābeg of Akhal-tsikhe (Kwarḳware < Korḳora)

Relations with Egypt. The frontier between the original fief of Uzun Ḥasan (Diyār Bakr) and the lands of the sulṭāns of Egypt lay roughly along the bend of the Euphrates. The Egyptian historians alone (used by Weil, *Gesch. d Chal*, v) tell us of the extensive relations between the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and the Burdjī Mamlūks The rivalry with the Ottomans forced Uzun Ḥasan to deal very tactfully with the ruler of Cairo (we have references to them from 861 = 1456) but on the other hand, he had to seek an exit to the Mediterranean to be in contact with the Venetians The lands on the right bank of the Euphrates, belonging to the rulers of Egypt and Syria thus formed an impediment to him and Uzun Ḥasan endeavoured to round off his lands at the expense of the Mamlūks

In 868 the Kurds who had seized the stronghold of Gargar (on the right bank of the Euphrates S. E of Malatya) sent its keys to Uzun Ḥasan who in 869 (1465) restored Gargar to the wālī of Aleppo but at the same time recompensed himself by taking Kharpert (then occupied by Arslān Dulghadir) and by ravaging Abulastain [cf. ALBISTĀN and DHU 'L-ḲADAR]

In 877 (1471) Kakhtā [q v] and Gargar were occupied by Uzun Ḥasan's troops but the amīr Yeshbek al-Dawādār sent by Ḳā'it-bāy [q v] drove the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu out of Bira (cf Ibn Iyās, ii 140—144 and Behnsch, *sub anno* 1783 [1471]) The Ottoman ambassador sent to Cairo stirred up feeling against Uzun Ḥasan, the ally of the Christians, but Ḳā'it-bāy acted with prudence The amīr Rustam and the ḳāḍī Ahmad b Wadjīn who were leaders of the 'Irāḳ *hadjdj* in 877 (1473) succeeded in getting the *ḵẖuṭba* read in Medina in the name of *al-malik al-'ādil Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl ḵẖādim al-ḥaramain*, but the Amīr of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Barakāt (cf iii, p. 514), arrested Rustam and his companion and sent them to Ḳā'it-bāy, who a few months later liberated them "to please Uzun Ḥasan" (Ibn Iyās, ii. 145—146). In 880 Oghurlu Muhammad fleeing from his father was supported by the Aleppan troops but the latter suffered a severe reverse (*ibid*, ii 152). In 882 Ḳā'it-bāy visited the line of the Euphrates and re-established the situation.

Death of Uzun Ḥasan. Returning from Tiflis, Uzun Ḥasan fell ill and at the age of 54 died at Tabrīz on the eve of the feast of Ramadān of 882 (night of Jan. 5—6, 1478, which agrees exactly with Barbaro's statement, p 93: the Eve of Epiphany)

The historians (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii. 330; *Ḏj̲ihān-ārā*; Münedjdjim-bashī, iii. 165) praise his justice and piety. He created many pious endowments (*ḵẖairāt wa-ḥasanāt*) On his mosque in Tabrīz cf. the article TABRĪZ. The *Aḵẖlāḳ-i Ḏj̲alālī* of Dawānī is dedicated to Uzun Ḥasan (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 443[a]) The astronomer 'Alī Kushčī lived at the court of Uzun Ḥasan and was sent as ambassador to the court of Constantinople (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p 456[b], Münedjdjim-bashī, p 164)

The family. The blood of the Aḳ-Koyunlu princes was considerably mixed The mother of Ḳara 'Othmān, to begin with, was the princess Maria of Trebizond (cf the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, ed by Fallmerayer).

Despina, whom Uzun Ḥasan married, when he was thirty-four, was certainly not his first wife and in 1471 when her nephew Caterino Zeno visited her, she was living at Kharpert far from the court. She had remained a Christian and was buried in a church of Diyār Bakr (Barbaro, p 84). According to Angiolello, p 73, Uzun Ḥasan had one son and three daughters by her, the son (Jacob ?) is said to have been strangled by his brothers after the father's death (?). Despina's daughter Martha (whom the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawīya*, Berlin 1843, p 68 calls Bagi-Aḳā, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* Halima Begi Aḳā and Münedjdjim-bashī. 'Ālam-shāh Begum) was given in marriage to Shaikh Ḥaidar of Ardebīl and became the mother of the Safawid Shāh Ismā'īl I (the mother of Shaikh Haidar, Khadīdja-Begum, was the sister of Uzun Ḥasan).

The oldest son of Uzun Ḥasan, Muhammad, was the son of a Kurd *umm walad* (cf Ibn Iyās, ii 160, Caterino Zeno, p. 36, Contarini, p 173). In 879 (1474) after a rising in Shīrāz, he took refuge for some time with Sulṭān Bāyazīd, but was finally killed in Persia by his father's orders (Ibn Iyās, ii. 59)

Uzun Ḥasan's principal wife (*maḥd 'ulyā*) was Saldjūḳ-Shāh-Begum who played a very active part in the government (cf *Ta'rīḵẖ-i Amīnī*, fol 198[b]). Her sons were Sulṭān Khalīl, Ya'ḳūb, Yūsuf (and perhaps Masīh) We do not know the name of Zeinal's mother.

Uzun Ḥasan's viziers were Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b Saiyid Ahmad, Burhān al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamīd Kirmānī and Madjd al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii 330)

Bibliography According to the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, a contemporary of Uzun Ḥasan, Mawlānā Abū Bakr Tihrānī, had written his history This rare work, inaccessible to Khondamīr, may have been used by Münedjdjim-bashī among whose sources (cf v Hammer, *G O R* [1], vii. 549) is a *Ta'rīḵẖ-i Bayāndurīya* The latter may be identical with a *Kitāb-i Diyārbakrīya* in which, according to the *Ta'rīḵẖ-i Amīnī* (fol. 1[b]), the ancestors of Uzun Ḥasan were given in detail.

'Abd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭla' al-Sa'dain*, is still in manuscript; Fadl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, *Ta'rīḵẖ-i Āmīnī*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS Pers. N°. 101 (history of Ya'ḳūb b Uzun Ḥasan, with some notes [fol. 6[b]—9[b]] on Uzun Ḥasan to whom the author gives the title of *ṣāḥib-ḳirān*); Khondamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Teheran 1271, iii. 330 (very short paragraph) and p. 233—237, 251, 252 and 389 (the celebrities of the period); Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīḵẖ Miṣr*, ii, Cairo 1311; Aḥmad al-Ghaffārī, *Ḏj̲ihān-ārā*, Brit Mus. MS., Or. 141 (I owe to Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī the use of a copy of this MS.), ff. 187[b]—190[b], history of the Aḳ-Koyunlus with valuable details; the author's grandfather was

the ḳāḍī muʿaskar (*sic*) in the suite of Uzun Ḥasan in the campaign of 881 in Georgia; ʿĀshīḳ-pāshā-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Stambul 1332, Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-Tawārīkh*, Constantinople 1279, i. 476—484 (capture of Trebizond), p 521–544 (wars with Uzun Ḥasan), a few meagre facts drowned in rhetoric, Djannābī, *Taʾrīkh*, still in MS (cf. Babinger, *G O W.*, p. 108), was used by v. Hammer, Münedjdjim-bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Akhbār* (Turkish abridgment of the Arabic original), iii 154–167 (numerous unedited details), cf also iii 377 and iii 387, Ferīdūn Bey, *Munshaʾāt-i Salāṭīn*, Stambul 1274, i 274—288 (very valuable documents and of undoubted authenticity), Chalcocondylas, Bonn 1843, p 166–168 (very confused data regarding the relations of the Ἀσπροβάταντες = Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu with their neighbours), 461—497 *passim* (the correspondence between Despina and the Comneni taken to Constantinople was the pretext for their execution), Ducas, p. 339, details on the embassy of 1457, Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838 (curious details)

Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, Munich 1827, p 258 *sqq.*, Hammer, *G O. R.*[2], i. 464—468, 499—512, E Cornet, *Lettere al Senato Veneto de Giosafatte Barbaro, ambasciadore ad Usunhasan di Persia*, Vienna 1852, E. Cornet, *Le guerre dei Veneti nell' Asia 1470—1474*, Vienna 1856, G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865 (excellent study, the supplement to which under the same title appeared in *Raccolta Veneta*, series i, vol. i., Venice 1866, p 5—62), Weil *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, v. (1862), 275, 296–297, 307—308, 311—312, 337—339, 340—341 (on the relations with Egypt), vol 49 (1873) of the *Works issued by the Hakluyt Society* contains an English version of the travels of Barbaro, Contarini (with an appendix on the possessions of Uzun Ḥasan) and Zeno, as well as the memoirs of Angiolello [in this article the Venetian travellers are quoted from this edition], Jorga, *Gesch d Osm. Reiches*, Gotha 1909, ii. 95—104, 160—168; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. 404—414, Avalov, *Iz istorii vostočnago voprosa v XV stol.*, in *Sbornik v čest Struwe*, Prague 1925, p 241—252 (V. Minorsky)

AL-ʿUZZĀ, an old Arabian goddess, whose name means "the Strong, the Powerful" She was especially associated with the Ghaṭafān (cf Yāḳūt, i. 296) but her principal sanctuary was in the valley of Nakhla on the road from Ṭāʾif to Mecca (cf Yāḳūt, iv 765 *sqq*) to which Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, xci 3, where *nakhla* is to be read) refers. It consisted of three samura (acacia) trees in one of which the goddess revealed herself. It also included the sacred stone (Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, p. 351) and the so-called Ghabghab, a cave into which the blood of animals sacrificed was poured (Ibn Hishām, p. 55, 6). There are also references (e g. Ibn Hishām, p. 839) to a "house" which Wellhausen takes to be a confusion with another sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā From these centres her cult spead among a number of Bedouin tribes, the Khuzāʿa, Ghanm, Kināna, Balī, Thaḳīf and especially the Ḳuraish, among whom she gradually acquired a predominant position. Here she formed with al-Lāt [q. v.] and Manāt [q. v.] a trinity in which she was the youngest but came in time to overshadow the others. The Meccans called the three "Allāh's daughters", which produced a vigorous polemic from Muḥammad after he had retracted a compromise [see MUḤAMMAD]. The way in which Ḳur'ān, liii. 19 *sq.*, mentions the three suggests that Manāt was subordinate to the other two, and in keeping with this is the fact that al-ʿUzzā and al-Lāt are several times mentioned alone (Ṭabarī, i. 185; Ibn Hishām, p. 145, 7, 206, 2, 871, 6, where Wadd is also mentioned). When in the year 3, Abū Sufyān set out to attack Muḥammad he took the symbols of al-ʿUzzā and al-Lāt with him (Tabarī, i. 1395). That of the two al-ʿUzzā was the more important as the patron deity of Mecca is shown from Abū Sufyān's war-cry. al-ʿUzzā is for us and not for you (Ṭabarī, i. 1418; cf on the other hand. arise Hubal! Ibn Hishām, p 582) and the same thing is seen in Ibn Hishām's poem, p. 145, where Zaid b ʿAmr talks of "ʿUzzā and her two daughters", if by them are meant al-Lāt and Manāt.

Outside of Arabia proper, ʿUzzā was worshipped especially by the Lakhmids of Ḥīra. Mundhir IV swears by her (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii 21, 5 from below) and according to *Ḥamāsa*, p 116, a Lakhmid prince Nuʿmān sent men to her so that she might settle a dispute Her worship here had a particularly cruel character Mundhir IV sacrificed to her 400 captured nuns and on another occasion a son of the Djafnid Hārith, whom he had taken prisoner

The name ʿUzzā is also, although rarely, found among the Syrians As a rule, they use instead the name *Kawkabtā* "the (female) star", which they, like the Jews, apply especially to the morning star It agrees very well with this that the Saracens who stormed the Sinai monastery according to Nilus wanted to sacrifice the young Theodulos to the morning star The nature of ʿUzzā could be defined in this way but the question arises whether we would yet have the true Arab conception of her and whether some syncretism had not taken place in the frontier lands The same question is raised by the identification of ʿUzzā with the "Queen of the Heavens" (Jer vii. 18; xliv. 17—19 in Isaac of Antioch, *Opera*, ed Bickell, i. 210, 220, 244). This name occurs among the Syrians and the sacrifice of the women upon the roofs mentioned by Jeremiah is known among the Arabs according to Isaac, and the baking of cakes in honour of the goddess can also be proved to have existed among the Arabs (see also Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 41). But this may all be due to foreign influence (just as the word *kawwānīm* used by Jeremiah goes back to the Assyrian *kamanu* connected with the worship of Istar) so that the true Arab significance of al-ʿUzzā still remains uncertain.

After the taking of Mecca, Muḥammad sent Khālid b al-Walīd to the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā to destroy it According to Wāḳidī, the last priest was Aflaḥ b. Nasr al-Shaibānī, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Dubaiya b. Ḥarma. Her cult disappeared after this as did the numerous proper names, combinations of al-ʿUzzā, while the masculine counterpart ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz remained because ʿAzīz was one of the names of Allāh. But Doughty's statement that the Arabs still seek the help of the three goddesses in cases of illness is therefore very interesting [see AL-LĀT].

Bibliography Ibn al-Kalbī, transl. Wellhausen, in *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 34–37; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, 145, 7, 206, 2,

839, 871, 6 (cf vol II 46), Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, S. 350 *sq.*; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, I. 5, 99; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I. 1648 *sq*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, I 296, III. 644, 5; IV 769 *sq*, Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, III. 24, 247, Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, II. 28, Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 34—45; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in Ḥīra*, p. 81 *sq*, 141 *sq* (FR. BUHL)

V.

VALENCIA, Arabic *Balansīya*, a town in Spain, the third in size as regards population, which is over 250,000, lying on the east of the Peninsula, 3 miles from the Mediterranean and from its port, el Grao It is connected with Madrid by 340 miles of railway, the distance as the crow flies is however only 188 miles Valencia is the capital of the province of the same name and the diocese of an archbishop Its situation is a striking one, in the centre of the fertile Huerta de Valencia which is watered by the Turia or Guadalaviar (Ar. *Wādī 'l-abyaḍ*, the "White River") Unlike Cordova or Toledo, the old capital of Valencia has seen its importance grow with the years and it remains the capital of eastern Spain, the *Sharḳ al-Andalus* of the Muslim period It is still known officially as Valencia del Cid in memory of the part played in its history by the celebrated Castilian hero

Valencia was founded by the Romans in 138 B C After the death of the rebel Viriathus, the consul D Junius Brutus established a colony there of veterans who had remained faithful to Rome The inhabitants later took the side of Sertorius and in 75 B C Pompey partially destroyed the town which began to return to prosperity under Augustus It was taken by the Visigoths in 413 and became Muslim in 714, when Tāriḳ [q v] established himself there and at Sagontum, Jativa and Denia

In the political history of Umaiyad Spain, Valencia seems only to have been a place of minor importance The country of which it was the capital soon became arabicised by the settlement of Ḳaisī colonies the capital of eastern Spain thus was one of the most active centres of Arab culture throughout the whole period of the Muslim occupation, on the other hand in the mountains along the Valencian littoral there were little islands of people of Berber origin. Valencia at this time was the capital of a province or *kūra*, as we know from the eastern writer al-Maḳdisī and the Spanish al-Rāzī (in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, s v) and the residence of a governor (*wālī*) appointed by the caliph of Cordova. It is only from the XIth century, with the break up of the caliphate, that, becoming the capital of an independent Muslim state and very soon one of the principal objectives of the Christian reconquista, Valencia began to occupy a more and more important place in the Spanish and Arabic chronicles of the mediaeval history of Spain that have came down to us.

The Muslim kingdom of Valencia was founded in 401 (1010—1011) by two enfranchised ʿĀmirids, Mubārak and Muẓaffar, previously in charge of the irrigation system of the district who declared themselves independent and shared the power After a very short reign Mubārak died and Muzaffar was driven from Valencia, the inhabitants of this town then chose another "Slav" [cf ṢAḲĀLIBA] to rule them, called Labīb, who placed himself under the suzerainty of the Christian count of Barcelona The principality of Valencia soon passed into the hands of a grandson of al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [q v] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who, like his grandfather, assumed the *laḳab* of al-Mansūr, he had previously been a refugee at the court of the Tudjībid Mundhir b Yaḥyā at Saragossa The reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which lasted till his death in 452 (1061) brought an era of peace and prosperity to Valencia He recognised the authority of the caliph of Cordova, al-Ḳāsim b Hammūd, who gave him the right to bear the titles al-Muʾtamin and Dhu 'l-Sābiḳatain, and kept on good terms with the Christian kingdoms of Spain His son ʿAbd al-Malik succeeded him and took the title al-Muẓaffar He was still a youth at his accession and the vizier Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz acted as regent. Very soon afterwards, Ferdinand I of Castille and Leon attacked Valencia but failed to take the town, after inflicting a severe defeat on the Valencians who made a sortie to attempt to drive off the besiegers ʿAbd al-Malik sought the assistance of the king of Toledo al-Maʾmūn b Dhu 'l-Nūn [q. v] but the latter came to Valencia and soon dethroned the young king (457 = 1065) The principality of Valencia was then incorporated in the kingdom of Toledo and al-Maʾmūn left the vizier Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz there to govern it When al-Maʿmūn died in 467 (1075) he was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā al-Ḳādir, whose great incapacity soon became apparent Valencia then gradually recovered its independence, al-Ḳādir sought the help of Alfonso VI, king of Castille, to bring the town under his authority again but he ended by having to surrender his own capital to him in 478 (1085) For the course of events and part played in them by the great Castillan hero Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, the Cid of history and legend, cf the article AL-SĪD.

On their arrival in Spain, the Almoravids tried to regain the kingdom of Valencia for Islām but their efforts against the Cid were fruitless. When he died in 492 (1099) his widow Chimena was still able to offer some resistance to the attacks of the Almoravids, led by Mazdalī But in the end she abandoned Valencia after first of all setting it on fire and the Muslims entered it on the 15th Radjab 495 (May 5, 1102)

Governors appointed by the Almoravids succeeded

ıe another at Valencia until the middle of the ıth century when the town gradually began to ɔume its independence in the troubled period ıich preceded the coming of the Almohads into ɔain, and it linked its fortunes with those of urcia whose series of ephemeral rulers it recog-ɔed In 542 (1147), Ibn Mardanīš was proclaimed ng of Valencia but four years later his subjects ɔelled against him. Under the nominal suzerainty the Almohads, Valencia continued in the hands local princes until it finally fell into Christian nds, two years after Cordova, when James I Aragon took it on Sept 28, 1238.

Bibliography All the Arab geographers who have dealt with Muslim Spain devote more or less attention to Valencia cf al-Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Andalus*, ed Dozy and de Goeje, text p 191, transl p 132, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, ed Wustenfeld, i 730—732, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed Reinaud and de Slane, text p 178, transl p. 258, Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī, *al-Rawd al-miʿṭār*, s. v — On the Muslim history of Valencia, cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii 111, Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères* and *ʿIbar*, iv, Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawd al-Ḳirṭās*, the biographers of the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* Cf also F Codera, *Decadencia y desaparicion de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa 1899, R Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, index, Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden–Paris 1931, and *L'Espagne Musulmane du Xème siècle*, Paris 1932, R Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929 (very important), A Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, E Tormo, *Levante* (Guias Calpe), Madrid 1923 (E Lévi-Provençal)

VAN. [See Wan.]

VARNA, a Bulgarian town on the Black ·a, the chief harbour of export of the country, pital of the district of the same name, lies at e mouth of the Devna surrounded by gardens d vineyards The town, which down to 1878 is strongly fortified, is the terminal station of lway from Sofia and Ruščuk and according to e census of Dec. 31, 1926 has 60,563 inhabi-its The development of the modern harbour s considerably increased trade, commerce and dustry Before the war of 1878, Turks formed ore than half the population, and Jireček (*Das ırstenthum Bulgarien*, p 531) could say as late 1891 "Turkish is predominant in the streets d is also spoken by the Armenians and the ıgauz" but linguistic and ethnographical con-ions are now completely changed

In ancient times the site of the modern Varna is occupied by Odessos (later Odyssos, Odys-polis), a Milesian colony founded in 585 B C. .cavations have shown that the town also flour-ied in the Roman period It has borne its esent name since the end of the seventh century 79) and was called after the river Devna which is previously called Varna or Varnas Varna is casionally mentioned in the middle ages Idrīsī 548 (1153—1154) mentions "Barnas" as a large wn (cf *Die Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahre 54 n. Chr.*, restored and edited by Konrad Mil-, Stuttgart 1928). According to Jireček (*op. cit.*, 531), Varna was Bulgarian again from 1201 d much visited by Italian seafarers. "In the second half of the fourteenth century a Bulgarian dynasty of Kuman origin was established on the coast here" (*ibid*) In 1366 Varna was besieged by the Crusaders under Amadeus VI of Savoy

The first Turkish attack on Varna which took place in the time of Murād II in 1388 under the leadership of Djandarlī ʿAlī Pasha (cf. on him Taeschner and Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie der Ġandarlyzāde*, in *Isl.*, xviii. 86 *sqq.*), but was unsuccessful It was only after the fall of Bdyn (Vidin) that the whole of Bulgaria from Varna to the Timok became a Turkish province (1393; cf. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 356). On Nov. 10, 1444, was fought the celebrated battle between Murād II and the Christians under Wladislaw III king of Poland and Hungary, in which the latter lost his life (hence his Polish epithet Warneńczyk) and his army suffered a fearful defeat. This victory of the Turks consolidated in great measure their position in Europe and formed a stepping stone to the conquest of Constantinople.

According to Hādjdjī Khalīfa, in the xviith century Varna was the capital of a district in the sandjak of Silistria About this time and later it was repeatedly the scene of battles between Russians and Turks (1610, 1773 and 1810) Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (i. 290) records a defeat of Cossacks at Varna in 1061 (1650—1651), he himself was wounded in another Cossack raid on Varna (v. 84—88) The same traveller mentions the town in several other passages (e g. iii 303, 304, 350, 373) and describes it fully in connection with his visit in 1656 (v 88—92). According to him, the Muslims lived in seven *maḥallas* while the Greeks (*Rūm*), Jews and Armenians occupied five Varna then contained 4,000 well built houses, 5 large mosques, the names of which Ewliyā gives, and 36 masdjids The trade of the harbour was very busy. In the neighbourhood there were 10,000 vineyards and many gardens. In this connection Ewliyā tells the amusing story of the Ḳādī of Varna of the time (called Pačawrā-Kādī by the people) who in addition to a wicked tongue had so large a nose that he could not perform the prostrations (*sudjūd*) with his forehead but only — contrary to the rules — with the right ear. Although the Pačawrā-Ḳādī was very strict (*muṣallī*), it was continually discussed in the town whether his salāt could be regarded as valid at all

In the Russo-Turkish war of 1828—1829 Varna had to surrender on Oct 10, 1828 after a three months' siege and was only restored to the Turks at the peace of Adrianople. In the Crimean war, the French and English joined the Turkish army at Varna by the end of June 1854, built a large camp here and at the beginning of September began the Crimean campaign from here In the last Russo-Turkish war, Varna was not near the field of action and was handed over without seeing any fighting to the Russians and Bulgarians on the conclusion of peace (1878). At the Congress of Berlin, Varna was definitely allotted to Bulgaria.

The cession of the Dobrudja to Rumania (1913) is said to have affected the commerce of Varna. In the Great War Varna was twice bombarded (27 Oct. 1915 and 16 Jan. 1916) by the Russian fleet.

Bibliography. The battle of Varna is very fully described by the early Ottoman historians, e. g Urudj b. ʿĀdil, f 55—58 (Oxford MS) and f. 117—120 (Cambridge MS); ʿĀshiḳ-pasha-zāde, Stambul 1332, p. 132—133; Neshrī,

in *M. O. G.*, i. 118—119; Anonymous, ed. Giese, p. 65—70 (transl. p. 92—94) but it is not neglected by modern Turkish historians (cf. Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Turkiye Tārīkhi*, 1/1. [Istanbul 1923], p. 240—242, with a plan of the battlefield). — The Ukrainian orientalist A Kiymski gives in his *History of Turkey* (Little Russian, Kiev 1924, cf the review in *M O.G.*, ii. 335—37), p. 47—56 not only an account of the battle but also discusses the reports of eyewitnesses, the sources in the earliest European, Turkish and Byzantine historians as well as European works of the xixth and xxth centuries including Slav and Rumanian, with occasional critical notes Krymski came to the conclusion that the works on the subject by Slavs and Rumanians of the xvth century are of less value than German works of the xixth century — Also Hādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Siyāḥatnāme*, i., iii and v, Constantinople 1314—1315; J v. Hammer, *G O R* ², i. 345—356 and iv. 647; Const. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, do, *Das Furstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p 530—532 (= main passage) and p 537, *Enciklopedičeski Slovar' Brokgaus-Efron*, vol. v (St Petersburg 1892), s v.; J. Nikolaos, Ἡ Ὀθησσός, Varna 1894 (inaccessible to me, quoted by Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford, 110² and 267), Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol i, Gotha 1908, p. 441—443 (with literature of the battle of 1444), St Lane-Poole, *Turkey*⁵ (= *The Story of the Nations*, vol xiv.), London 1908, p 91—95, H A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (*1300—1403*), Oxford 1916, p 129 and 172, A Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Turkenherrschaft*, Berlin and Leipzig 1925, p. 10, 13, 107—108, O Tafrali, *La cité pontique de Dionysopolis, exploration archéologique de la côte de la mer Noire entre les caps Kali-Acra et Ecréne faite en 1920*, Paris 1927, s. Index (only deals with Varna indirectly), *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* ¹⁴, 1929, s v., *Annuaire statistique du Royaume du Bulgarie 1929—1930* (Bulgarian and French), Sofia 1930, p 22, *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1930), i. 40 and 44.

(Ffhim Bajraktarević)

VIDJAYANAGAR, a city of Southern India, now in ruins, situated in 15° 20′ N and 76° 28′ E, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra It was founded about 1336 A D., either by Vira Ballāla III of Dvāravatīpūra, or by three Hindū chiefs variously described as being wardens of the northern marches of his kingdom and as officers of the Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal or of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [q. v.] of Dihlī. Two of these chiefs, Harihara and Bukka, established themselves in Vidjayanagar while the Muslims, of the Deccan were in rebellion against Muḥammad b Tughluḳ, and later, while 'Alā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh was occupied in founding and consolidating the kingdom of the Deccan, they gradually extended their rule over the Peninsula and founded the great Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagar, the history of which is largely a record of intermittent warfare with the Muslims on its northern frontier, first with the great kingdom of the Deccan, and later with the Muslim states which rose on its ruins The wealthy Hindū kingdom was able to maintain an army greatly outnumbering that of the Bahmanids, but the balance of success lay with the more virile Muslims, though for two centuries and a quarter they were unable entirely to subdue the great Hindū state The ostensible cause of difference was usually the possession of the Rāyčūr Dūāb, the debatable land lying between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, but the Bahmanids seldom needed a pretext for attacking their Hindū neighbours About the middle of the sixteenth century, after the dissolution of the Bahmanī kingdom, the Sulṭāns of the independent Muslim kingdoms of Bidjāpūr, Ahmadnagar, Gulkunda, and Bidar foolishly sought the aid of the Rādjā of Vidjayanagar in their internecine disputes, and the Rādjā, more powerful than any one of them, so disgusted all by his assumption of superiority and by the insults which he offered to their religion that they formed a confederacy against him In December, 1564, the allied Sultans of Bidjāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, Gulkunda and Bidar met at Sholāpūr, and, marching southward met the army of Vidjayanagar on January 5, 1565, on the south bank of the Krishna, about thirty miles from the small town of Tālikota. Rāma Rādjā, the regent of Vidjayanagar, was captured and put to death, and at the sight of his head, raised on a spear, the Hindū army broke and fled, and was pursued with great slaughter as far as Vidjayanagar, which the Muslims destroyed, after having occupied the city for six months, reduced some neighbouring strongholds, and laid waste the country The great kingdom of Vidjayanagar ceased to exist Some of its northern districts were annexed by the neighbouring Muslim states, and its southern districts passed under the rule of minor Hindū chiefs

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VIZIER [See Wazīr.]

W

WABĀR, a district and tribe of the earliest period, in the southern half of Arabia Al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, p 835 and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 896 give the vocalisation *Wabārī* and compare the form with Ḥadhāmī and Ḳatāmī

The Wabārī are mentioned by the historians along with the ʿĀd, Thamūd and other extinct tribes as one of the original peoples of Arabia, all of whom are included (as *al-ʿArab al-bāʾida*) by some genealogists among the "true, original Arabs" (*al-ʿArab al-ʿarbāʾ* or *al-ʿĀriba*) Al-Suyūṭī, for example, with whose estimate of the ʿArbāʾ Ibn Duraid in the *Djamhara* and others agree (see E Fresnel, *Lettre IV. sur l'histoire des Arabes* ., in *J A*, ser iii, vol. v., 1838, p 529 *sqq* , following him Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1846, xii. 57), gives as the true Arabs the ʿĀd, Thamūd, Tasm, Djadīs, etc putting the Wabār in the last (ninth) place and distinguishing from this group the *mutaʿarriba*, the naturalised, "arabicised" Arabs, who also include the descendants of Kahtān, who altogether make up the descendants of Iram, son of Shem, and along with them as a special (third) group of peoples, the *mustaʿriba*, which comprises the descendants of Ismāʿīl (the Maʿadd), while other genealogists with Yemenī bias oppose the *mutaʿarriba* or *mustaʿriba* as one group (the Ismāʿīlī) to those extinct tribes and along with them to the Ḳaḥtān as the *ʿĀ bāʾ* Al-Hamdānī (223 A H) describes Wabār as the land in which live *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba* and Tabarī also (ed. de Goeje, i. 750) so describes the Banū Wabār (in some MSS corrupt; in i. 221 we have the form *abār*, Ibn al-Athīr also gives the right form in his Chronicle) Similarly al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* (*B G A*, viii 184) and *Murūdj* (Paris 1861 *sqq.*, iii. 288 *sq*) numbers the Wabār and others among the extinct Arab tribes, at the same time giving the names of their ancestors, as does Tabarī, i. 221 (on the genealogy, cf. i 750)

The statements of the Arab geographers and historians about the history of the Wabār are strongly saturated with legend. The stories current among the Arabs are given by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*B G. A.*, v 37 *sq*) whose statements are combined from several sources, al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*), much more fully Yāḳūt (iv 896 *sqq* ; a brief synopsis in the *Lisān*, still more briefly in the *Ḳāmūs* and a little more fully in the *Tādj*, *s. v*). Yāḳūt quotes various authorities, including Hishām b al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Ibn al-Faḳīh, and other direct and indirect sources. His statements (iv 897) agree almost word for word with those of Ibn al-Faḳīh. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ii. 41, ed. Wüstenfeld, Gottingen 1848) and later writers, except of course the *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, are based on Yāḳūt. The same characteristic features are common to the authors and compilers mentioned. These include the purely legendary elements, that the name of the land goes back to an ancestor Wabār, who flourished at the time of the confusion of tongues (so al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 184, Ṭabarī, i. 221, 250), that after the fall of the ʿĀd (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/i. 20), the previous inhabitants of Wabār, the Djinn took possession of the land (so also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit*, p 154, 223, Tabarī, i. 221), and men lived there no longer but only half men (*nasnās*), beings who had only half a head, one eye, one hand, one leg (Yāḳūt, ii 263, tells the same story of Shiḥr), that no one dared enter this land and its mysterious inhabitants destroyed the crops of the adjoining lands between Shiḥr and Yaman. A feature which is developed in the legend, on older models, is the story that Wabār was a particularly fertile land, rich in water and fruit-trees and especially in palms (so also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 276, 288 *sq*); al-Nābigha's mention of palms in the land of Wabār (in Ahlwardt, *The Divans* etc , London 1870, p. 112 from Yāḳūt) was taken as evidence that the land was fertile and inhabited (cf. al-Bakrī, *loc cit.*, with Yāḳūt, iv. 898). — The mentions of Wabār in the poetry are of course not independent evidence, but repeat as a rule only the conventional notions of the great antiquity and fall of the people and the isolation of their land (cf. also Yāḳūt, iv 897)

What arouses interest in these fables and may be of use are the geographical ideas at the bottom of them According to some of these statements, the broad land of Wabār stretched from Shiḥr to Ṣanʿāʾ, in general to the eastern frontier of Yaman; according to others, it comprised the whole territory between Nadjrān and Ḥaḍramōt, lastly, according to others, it was the territory between the "sand of Yabrīn" (*Rimāl Yabrīn*) and Yaman (see also Djawharī) From these topographical hints, which in spite of their differences together give a rough general picture, it can be deduced that the portion of the South Arabian desert, of the Rubʿ al-Khālī or Dahnā, north of the Mahra [q. v] country, was called Wabār by the Arabs, but this geographical name was also understood in a wider sense and extended to the whole Dahnā. The part called Wabār adjoined in the east the desert area of al-Aḥḳāf (dunes) which lay north and west of Ḥaḍramōt. C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leyden 1901, i. 160) says on the authority of information received from natives that in the expression *ahl al-aḥḳāf* the place-name, according to South Arabian ideas, refers not only to the district of al-Aḥḳāf (North Hadiamōt, p. 149) but also to caves in which the Arabian troglodytes live (cf. Yāḳūt, i. 154, on the different topographical clues for this district)

It is impossible to accept Ritter's (*op. cit*, xiii. 315) identification of the Wabār with the Βανούβαροι, who are mentioned by Ptolemy in connection with the Thamūdīs and are to be located in the northern half of the west coast of Arabia (the first component of the name is obviously connected with *Banū*, attempts at identification will be found in Sprenger, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 30 *sq.* and in E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabians*, Berlin 1890, ii. 231 *sq.*). Ritter's comparison (xii. 271, 392) of Wabār in Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i. 156) is also

to be rejected. There never was any cogent reason to dismiss the Wabāı into the realm of fable, with Sprenger (*op cit.*, p. 296) and others, as a people that nevei existed and to deny any historical or geographical foundation to their mention along with other extinct tribes Wustenfeld (*Die Wohnsitze und Wanderungen der arabischen Stamme*, in *Abh G W. Gott*, 1868, xiv. 13) in agreement with the Arab writers described the tribes of ʿĀd, Thamūd etc. as the original inhabitants of Arabia, who had partly extinguished one anothei and partly become mingled with the peoples who succeeded them, so that they are to be regarded as having been extinct many centuries before Islām.

Although the records are clothed in the form of legend, it does not follow that the whole story is a pure invention, but only that we have here the memory of an ancient people, which has become a legend; similar things are to be found in the history of most nations. There is a series of fabulous stories associated with the whole of Southern Arabia between Yaman and ʿOmān, a region little known to Arab men of letters. Moritz (*Arabien*, Hanover 1923, p. 28 *sq*) also says that the names of those extinct peoples of the early days of Arabia including the "Wibār" (so also on p. 60, 122) are at least historical and that there may be a historical kernel in the stories of the fertility of cultivated areas which later became desert through natural causes, such as continued drought and sandstorms. He quotes similar phenomena in Egypt The formation of the desert, moreover, must have made some progress since the time of Ptolemy, as his map of Arabia shows towns or villages in regions which have since become desert or only contain ruins, on references in Greek and Roman writers for the historicity of the Thamūd cf the article EGRA in Pauly-Wissowa's, *Realencykl der klass Altertumswissenschaft* — It is also worthy of note that south of Saih, the chief town of the flourishing oasis of Aflādj, Philby (*The Heart of Arabia*, 1922, ii 99 *sqq*) in 1917 saw, along with other remains of an ancient culture, the ruins of a large building, the Kusairāt ʿĀd, so called, as his companions told him, after the king ʿĀd b Shaddād, who ruled in the remote past over these regions and whose capital was in "Wubār" (*ibid.*, ii. 353), a month's journey to the south in the desert near the frontier of Hadramōt. The story told by him of this king contains several details found in the well-known traditions of the Prophet Hūd. The ruined site of Kusairāt ʿĀd is marked in Philby's map under 22° 10′ N. Lat. and 46° 20′ East Long, a position which of course is only calculated approximately Of Wabār he was also told (p. 221) that the Dimnān, a clan of the Āl Murra, included it in their territory. If the geographical conception of Wabār still exists among the Arabs, there is no reason to suppose that the references in literature to this land and people are based on an invention of the genealogists. The old view put forward by Blau (in *Z D M.G*, xxii. 659) and recently championed by Moritz (*op cit*, p 29, 122) that the Wabār "offenbar die Ἰωβαρῖται des Ptolemaeus sind (vi. 7, 24)" is certainly not probable (cf. the article IOBARITAI in Pauly-Wissowa; *ibid* for Landberg's citation of the Djawbān, which has lately been used again as a basis for further deductions, and also for Glaser's errors). Isolated statements of Arabic authors regarding the countries round Wabār seem to make it possible to define its frontiers approximately. According to Ṭabarī, i 221, the land of Abār (see above) lay between Yamāma and Shiḥr, Yāḳūt, iii 591, gives the information that the "Sand of ʿĀlidj" (*raml ʿĀlidj*) adjoins Wabār, the former is a northern salient of the great South Arabian desert which stretches between Bahrain and Yamāma and is characterised by the fact that trees and plants grow there As a matter of fact the north-eastern termination of the great desert is an oasis, that of Yabrīn, in which the desert region, which some, especially later geographers, understood as the Dahnā proper, i e. a north-easterly continuation of the Rubʿ al-Khālī, has its southern limit. After this oasis, the most southern part of the district of Yamāma, the adjoining desert is also called "Sand of Yabrīn". The frontiers between ʿĀlidj and the Dahnā fluctuate in the Arab geographers, and sometimes the two regions are even said to be identical Al-Bakrī interprets the extent of the desert of Yabrīn in a wider sense, for according to him it extends from Yamāma to Hadramōt For our knowledge of Yabrīn, the Λάβρις of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 35, the statements in Abu 'l-Fidā' are important (see Rommel, *Abdulfedae Arabiae descriptio*, Gotttingen 1802, p 84), in Yāḳūt (see his several references from the index) and al-Hamdānī (p 105, 137, 149). Burckhardt had already heard from Beduins that the only habitable area in the eastern Dahnā was the Wādī Yabrīn with date-plams and wells (which the latest reports confirm) but with an unhealthy climate. It is an oasis, rich in water, with settlements and was at one time, as Pelly, who visited the region in 1865 tells us, a fertile well-tilled district with an imposing town, but suffered heavily in the Karmaṭian wars Philby obtained some information about the oasis, which belongs to a section of the Āl Murra (see *op. cit*, ii 216 *sqq*). Cheesman's account contained the first more accurate information (in *G. J*, lxv., 1925, p 112 *sqq*). Using the statements of the Arab authors, we may regard the oasis of Yabrīn as the most northerly part of the ancient extensive land of Wabār, this agrees with the stories of Wabāı's wealth of palm-trees and with the geographical background of the legends, in so far as they do not, like some geographers, locate Wabār definitely in the adjoining desert of ʿĀlidj (cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 288) The southern continuation of it is then either the sandy region of Khīrān about sixteen days' journey south of Yabrīn, a settlement of the Āl Murra with some wells and waterpools (Philby, *op cit.*, ii. 219), or the district about half a degree west of it in the same latitude. The farther continuation to the south goes via al-Aḥḳāf to the northern frontier of Hadramōt, N. W of Mahra. The sandy region of Yabrīn also runs southwards into the desert of al-Djuz' and then into that of al-Aḥḳāf. In Stieler, *Handatlas*, 9th ed., map 60, Gotha 1905, Wabār is located about 46°—47° East long. and c. 22° 40′ N. Lat. which is rather too high.

Bibliography: The works of the Arab authors and of the modern writers (Ritter, Sprenger, Moritz, Philby, etc.) have been given with references in the article. We need only add F. Wüstenfeld, *Bahrein und Jemāma*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, xix. (1874), 173 *sqq*.

(J. TKATSCH)

WADĀ'I. Wadā'ı or Waddā'ı, also called Bergu or Borgu and Dār-Ṣālih, lies to the west of Dār-Fūr from which it is separated by the provinces of Tama, Maia, Masalit and Sila, which have in the past been politically dependent sometimes on Dā-Fūr and sometimes on Wadā'ı according to the fortune of war. The boundaries of Wadā'ı in other directions are not very precise; the kingdom at its greatest extent at the height of its power did not stretch beyond Kuti on the south, Fitri on the west, Ennedi and the mountains of Kapka or Gabga in the north (Gaoga of Leo Africanus and of the Arab geographers, not to be confused with Gāogāo or Gāo on the Niger)

Although lying at the southern limits of the desert regions and receiving a very slight rainfall, the country is comparatively fertile. It is watered by a certain number of seasonal water-courses and two fairly large rivers. the Baṭḥā' which ends in the west in Lake Fitrī and the Bahi al-Salamāt which flows to the south into the Upper Shari

The population is a very mixed one, consisting for the most part of tribes of negro stock and to a smaller extent of peoples some of which owe their origin to a mixture of black and white stocks, while others are of almost pure white origin To the first category (tribes of negro stock) belong the Māba, politically and socially the most important, the Kodoi, the Mimi, the Kashmere, the Kadjakse, the Kondogo, the Mara or Mararit, the Dadjo, etc., all Muslims, then, in the south, the Bina and Rūna, among whom Islām has made less progress, all belonging to the same great ethnic group and speaking languages related to one another, these languages are to be classed in the same linguistic group as the Nūba, Kanuri, Tēda etc We also find in Wadā'ı, especially in the southern provinces, an appreciable number of representatives of tribes who have still remained pagan in part or completely, like the Kūka, Gula, Nduka etc., speaking dialects related to that of Baghirmi The peoples of mixed stock are first the Bideyāt or Anna, the Zaghāwa or Gabga, nomads of the north, all Muslims, speaking negro languages related to that of the Tēda of Tibesti and related also to the dialects of the Māba, Kodoi etc , then the Tundjūr, who are said to be of Semitic, pre-Islāmic origin, who speak an Arabic dialect that seems to be very archaic and are said only to have adopted Islām in the xviith century; their Islām is even now very superficial. Lastly, their Arab element, in the strict sense, is represented by a few Ūlād Slīmān, nomads who came in 1842 from Fezzān from which they had been driven by the Turks, and by much more numerous Shuwa, some nomads (breeders of camels, sheep and goats), some settled (cattle-raisers), the latter often showing an admixture of negro blood, these Shuwa have been coming in little groups from quite an early period, some from Upper Egypt, others from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. The principal tribes of the Shuwa are the Salamāt, Khuzām, Dja'adne, Maḥāmīd, Dakakīre etc. The Ūlūd Slīmān and the Shuwa are Muslims and speak Arabic.

The whole population of Wadā'ı proper is estimated at 749,000, which represents a mean density of 26 people to one square mile.

The capital was Kadama, to the S. W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the xviiith century. Then it was Wara to the N. N. W. of Abeshe, down to the middle of the xixth century. It was then transferred to Abeshe (or Abesher), which is a town of about 30,000 inhabitants with houses of clay and huts thatched with straw; the royal quarter, surrounded by a high wall of earth, is distinguished by a castle, three storeys high, of baked brick, built in 1860 in the reign of king ʿAlī by two Egyptian or Tripolitanian architects.

According to local tradition, Wadā'ı was at first under the authority of a dynasty of foreign princes, belonging to the tribe of the Tundjūr, who had their capital at Kadama and who were more or less vassals of Dār-Fūr. These princes were not Muslims but several of them whose memory has survived have Arabic names, like the last of them, Dāwūd, called Almerenn It was only in 1615 that Islām is said to have been introduced among the native peoples of Wadā'ı as a result of the preaching of a legendary individual sometimes called Djāmiʿ and sometimes Sālih, whom some say was of Māba stock, but whom others connect with the Arab tribe of Djaʿalīn, which has its cradle near Berber on the Nile In any case, the family which claims descent from Djāmiʿ is undoubtedly of negro stock and regarded as of Māba origin

About 1635 a son or nephew of Djāmiʿ called ʿAbd al-Karīm and also known as Muḥammad al-Ṣālih gathered around him the Māba and the Kodoi recently converted to Islām by his father or his uncle, as well as the Arabs of the district, preached the holy war against the infidel dynasty of the Tundjūr princes, defeated or killed the king Dāwūd, proclaimed himself *kolak* (i e sovereign) of Wadā'ı, made his capital at Wara and founded a new dynasty there which retained the throne till 1911.

The *kolak* exercised power with the help of several councillors, including his mother, who had the title of *momo*, and four dignitaries called *kemākil*, assisted by lieutenants (*andeker*), squires (*warnang*) and a supervisor (*sinmelik*) He had around him chamberlains, pages, eunuchs, messengers and tax-collectors as well as a military guard, one section free men and the other slaves. The territorial commands were in the hands of military governors each of whom, called an *agīd*, had at his disposal an army raised from the tribes of his district The most important of these commands were· that of an *agīd* who had the title of *djerma* under whom were the Kodoi, as well as the town of Wara and the western provinces; that of the *agīd* Almaḥāmīd which included the Arabs of the north and the Zaghāwa, that of the *agīd* al-Salamāt, who ruled the territories of the south. There were as many as 80 *agīd*. Each province or *dār* was administered, under the authority of the *agīd*, by a *tandjak*, and each village had at its head a political chief and an agricultural official.

This organisation however lacked solidarity; the different *agīd* were often fighting with one another or with the *kolak* and they had frequently to use force to secure the obedience of those under them. The history of Wadā'ı, so far as we know it, is simply the history of foreign or civil wars and of the cruelties perpetrated by the kings and dignitaries on members of their own families.

The first *kolak*, ʿAbd al-Karīm (1635—1655), paid tribute to Dār-Fūr, like the Tundjūr rulers who had preceded him He succeeded however in giving Wadā'i a certain amount of independence

and settled its eastern boundaries by agreement with Sulaimān Solong, the king of Dār-Fūr. He contributed to completing the conversion of a considerable section of his subjects to Islām. This work was continued after him by his son Kharūt al-Kabīr (1655—1678). Kharīf (1678—1681) and Ya'ḳūb 'Arūs (1681—1707) endeavoured to cast off the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr, the second succeeded in defeating the Dār-Fūr army which was commanded by 'Umar Lele and in taking him prisoner. Kharūt al-Ṣaghīr (1707—1745) engaged in an unsuccessful war with the Barghirmi. Djoda (1745—1795) resumed the struggle against Dār-Fūr, defeated its king 'Abd al-Kāsim and secured the independence of Wadā'i; he undertook a number of expeditions against the pagans of the south and even succeeded in taking a portion of Kānem from the rule of Bornu. Ṣālih Derret (1795—1803) was dethroned by his son 'Abd al-Karīm who assumed the name of Sābūn (1803—1813) and distinguished himself in a war against 'Abd al-Rahmān Gawrang, king of Baghirmi, whose capital Māsenya he took and plundered in 1806. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was killed in the course of the campaign and his son and successor Burgumanda had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Wadā'i. The *kolak* Sābūn developed the trade of his lands and established relations with Egypt. He was however of a cruel and bloodthirsty disposition and made enemies in his entourage, who finally assassinated him His son Yūsuf Khalifein (1814—1829), a debauchee and drunkard, was poisoned as a result of a conspiracy against him. Rākib (1829—1830) was placed on the throne at an early age under the regency of his mother but soon died of smallpox 'Abd al-'Azīz, great-grandson of Djoda, was chosen to succeed him after a bloody civil war but he also died of smallpox in 1834

Famine now desolated the kingdom, and drove the Wadā'ians to plunder the western provinces of Dār-Fūr. Muhammad Fādil, king of this country, sent a punitive expedition which reached Wara and put on the throne a Wadā'ian prince named Muhammad Sharif who recognised the suzerainty of Dār-Fūr and reigned from 1835 to 1858, possessing a prestige and authority and a sense of justice which had been previously unknown Having cause to complain of the conduct of the powerful Shaikh 'Omar, lord of Bornu, he attacked him and defeated him at Kusri and forced him to pay an indemnity of 8,000 dollars It was Muhammad Sharīf who moved the capital from Wara to Abeshe He became blind and had to defend himself against one of his own sons, ultimately he went out of his mind and died in 1858 It was in his reign that Wadā'i for the first time was visited by a European, the German Vogel, who spent 13 days in Abeshe in 1856 and was murdered on leaving it.

His successor 'Alī (1858—1874) devoted himself to the restoration of order in the state and encouraged trade between Wadā'i and Tripolitania and Cyrenaica In 1870 he went to war with Abū Sakkin, lord of Baghirmi, who had attempted to cast off the bonds of vassalage, he besieged him in his palace, which he mined and took by storm, and brought back from Māsenya in 1874 over 20,000 captives, chosen mainly from among the artisans, as a result of which he gave a considerable stimulus to industry in Wadā'i. It was he who built the royal palace of Abeshe and added to Wadā'i the provinces of Rūña and Kuti In 1873 he was visited by the German explorer Nachtigal, whom he treated with great consideration.

Yūsuf (1874—1898) allowed Baghirmi to regain its independence He entered into friendly relations with al-Mahdi, the head of the Sanūsīya brotherhood It was in his reign that the adventurer Rabah, who came from Bahr al-Ghazāl, invaded Kuti (1879), then Rūna, laid waste the southern provinces of Wadā'i and installed a slave-dealer named Sanūsi as sulṭān of Kuti and Rūña (1890) In 1891 the latter was visited by the French explorer Crampel, who had come from Ubangi, he tried to prevent him from going on to Wadā'i and being unable to make him abandon his plans, had him assassinated along with his companions In 1894, Rabah being engaged in conquering Bornu, the *kolak* Yūsuf sent an army against Sanūsi and forced him to recognise his suzerainty A little later, in 1897, the same Sanūsi signed a treaty of friendship with the explorer Gentil, the French commissioner in Ubangi and Shari

Ibrāhīm (1898—1901) had to put down several risings and died of wounds received in battle Abū Ghazālī (1901—1902) had to fight against one of his *agids* named 'Āsil who raised a considerable section of the people against the *kolak* with such success that the *kolak* had to abandon his capital In his place Dūdmurra, son of Yusūf, was proclaimed, he pursued Abū Ghazālī, captured him and put out his eyes, while 'Āsil, who had taken refuge in Fitri, put himself under the protection of the French troops who had established themselves in Yao. Dūdmurra reigned from 1902 to 1911 Soon after his accession, 'Āsil left Fitri and made war on the pagans of southern Wadā'i, arrested by order of Commandant Largeau in 1903, he was for a time interned at the French post of Fort-de-Possel. However, Dūdmurra's advisers professed to hold the French responsible for 'Āsil's doings and the *agīd* al-Salamāt set fire to the French custom-house of Gulfe to the west of Lake Iro and attacked Lieutenant Dujour at Tomba in April 1904 On June 7, the *djerma* 'Uthmān summoned the commandant of the French fort at Yao to evacuate the district of Fitri, the latter indignantly rejected the ultimatum and his post was attacked in January 1905 by a lieutenant of the *djerma* The attack was driven off and the Wadā'ian army routed by Captain Rivière. Dūdmurra blamed 'Uthmān and had him poisoned in 1906 Various Wadā'ian governors however continued to raid French territory, which gave rise to fighting in 1907 and decided the French to invade the western dependencies of Wadā'i along with 'Āsil, who, restored to favour with the French, posed as a claimant to the throne Dūdmurra sent against the French an army of 2,800 rifles, led by the *agīd* Almahāmīd, who was defeated on March 29, 1908 by the 280 men led by Captain Jérusalémy and for a second time on June 16 of the same year by Commandant Julien.

On June 2, 1909, Abeshe was taken by Captain Fiegenschuh and Lieutenant Bourreau and on Aug. 30, 'Āsil had himself proclaimed *kolak* in place of Dūdmurra, who had fled But in January 1910, Captain Fiegenschuh, going with a detachment of troops among the Masalit, was attacked and massacred by them at Bīr-Ṭawīl, and 'Alī Dīnār, king of Dār-Fūr, seized the opportunity to invade eastern Wadā'i, while Dūdmurra again resumed

the offensive from the north. The latter was driven back across the Gabga by Captain Chauvelot Then on Nov. 8, 1910, Lt. Col. Moll took Djidjel, the chief town of the Masalit, which Dūdmurra was defending, the latter was wounded and put to flight, but Moll was himself killed at Dorothé along with two lieutenants and five non-commissioned officers. A little later, on Jan 12, 1911, Captain Modat took at Ndele (Kuti) the fortified palace of Sanūsi who was killed in the fighting and in October of the same year, the *kolak* Dūdmurra came to make his submission to Colonel Largeau and abdicated ʿĀsil became king of Wadā'i under a French protectorate but he reigned only a few months as he had to be deposed on June 5, 1912, on account of his duplicity. Since then Wadā'i has been directly administered by the commandant of the district of Abeshe, which forms a part of the French colony of Tchad

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(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

WĀDĪ ḤALFA or simply *Halfa*, a modern town in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, 21° 55′ N 31° 19′ E, on the right bank of the Nile, c 770 miles south of Cairo and 5 miles north of the Second Cataract, is the chief town of the province or *mudirīya* of that name It includes the village of Tawfikīya, a new suburb with fine bazaars, and its inhabitants, inclusive of the Nubian villagers of Dabarōsa, number almost 3,000 Besides the Muslim places of worship there are the churches of the Copts, Greeks and English The Government offices and hospital, and the official residential district lie to the south The head of King John of Abyssinia is said to be beneath a tree near the hospital The name of the place is due to the *halfa* grass abounding in this region. In Pharaonic times the district was called Buhen Opposite the town, on the west bank, are the remains of the old Egyptian fortress of that name established under the Middle Empire. Pa-nebes, the Πνουψ of Ptolemy, was also in the neighbourhood (Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, II. 83)

It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the town developed from a miserable Sūdānese trading village into the important centre it now is on the frontier of Egypt and the Sūdān. During the years 1884—5 it was made a military base of the British troops Lord Wolseley's expeditionary force passed through it on its way to assist General Gordon at Khartūm The place grew in importance as a result of the subsequent decision which made it the political frontier, and when a garrison of Egyptian troops was established on the spot it figured again in the campaigns of 1896–98 against the Mahdī. By the Sūdān Convention of 1899 conditions were changed. The modern political boundary is now fixed at 22° N Lat., a distance of 27 miles north of Wādī Ḥalfa The government railway to Khaṭṭūm, which begins at the town, accounts largely for its present day importance Nile steamers connect it on the north with Shallāl, a village on the outskirts of Assuān, the terminus of the Egyptian State Railways.

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(J. WALKER)

WĀDI 'L-ḴURĀ, the valley between el-ʿFlā' and al-Medīna on the old trading route from South Arabia to Syria, usually called Wādī Deidibban It is the dry bed of two wādīs which join in the centre, the Wādi al-Djizel from the north and the Wādī el-Hamd from the south which comes down from near Medīna above the village of Henakīya and runs between the Djebel Ḥamzī or Uhud (Ehad) and the city of the Prophet Halfway between el-ʿElā' and al-Medīna it is joined on the right by the Wādī el-Tubdj or Wādī el-Silsila, which connects it with Khaibar.

The most important place in the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā' is el-ʿElā' with rich date-groves and cornfields which owe their existence to warm springs in the valley At one time Kurh was the most important trading centre of the Wādi 'l-Kurā' It presumably took the place of the ancient Dēdān (Daidān) the ruins of which, now called al-Khraiba, lie in the northeastern corner of the gardens of el-ʿElā' The oasis. of Dēdān, which was of importance as an important point on the old trading route from the south to Egypt and Syria, was at one time in the possession of Minaean rulers who had deputies here Numerous Minaean inscriptions, which were found in el-ʿElā', and the mention of the name Dedan (דדן) in ancient South Arabian inscriptions and in the Bible (Gen x 7; xxv 3) are further evidence of the close connections the old South Arabian states had with this place. Yāḳūt still knows the old name of this place and records that Daidān was once a large town on the road from al-Belḳā' to the Ḥiḏjāz but was already in ruins in his time Legend connects the decline of the people of ʿĀd and the story of the prophet Hūd with this region These stories were probably suggested by the rock tombs in the vicinity of Daidān (Khraibe) At the beginning of Islām the Wādi 'l-Kurā' supported a considerable Jewish population who, like their co-religionists in al-Medīna, were hostile to Islām. When in the year 2 (623—624) the Ḳainuḳāʿ were driven out of al-Medīna and went through the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā' to Syria, they sheltered them for a month and gave them food and horses for the journey. In the year 5 (626—627) the Jews of the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā' joined the defensive alliance formed by the Jews of Taimā', Fadak and Khaibar against Muhammad. It was however not till 7 (628) that they came to blows with the Prophet's forces, when after the capture of Khaibar, he marched through the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā' to al-Medīna. The Jews of the valley, which was defended by towers, offered a vain defence. They were forced to surrender after heavy losses but were allowed to remain in the country, they had to till the soil for their hated enemy, and in this way contributed considerable wealth to the treasury in al-Medīna Henceforth this important corridor, used

for the victorious campaign of the Muslims under Abū ʿUbaida against Syria, remained in the hands of the lords of al-Medīna, although for administrative purposes it continued for a time to belong to Syria and formed the frontier against the Ḥiḏjāz. The Jews were allowed to remain for some time in the Wādi 'l-Ḳurā'. Whether they were expelled as early as the reign of the caliph ʿUmar I is not certain. All we know is that in al-Balāḏhurī's time there were no longer any Jews in the Wādī and the land had long been divided among the Muslims and belonged to the district of al-Medīna

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WĀDĪ NŪN, older form WĀDI NŪL. This is not the name of a river but of a great plain in S.W Morocco between the western Anti-Atlas and its Saharan outliers twenty miles from the sea The plain is formed by the silt from a number of water-courses, of which the chief are the Wādī Saiyād and the Wādi Umm al-ʿAshar, which unite to form the Wādī Āsāka, the latter river joins the sea through a defile which has given it its name.

We find in the Wādī Nūn a certain number of oases with large villages (Awgelmīm or Gleimīm, Ḳsābī, Tīlīwīn, Fask, Dubiyān, Tighmart, Asrīr, Waʿrūn, Abbūda etc) which serve as trading centres for the Saharan nomads and contain 3,000—3,500 families. These are Arabo-Berbers belonging for the most part to the Maʿḳil and the Lamta [q v], a few belong to the Gazūla and to the Sanhādja They almost all belong to the Tekna, but some to the Ait Baʿamrān and the Akhsās There are also a number of shorfā, marabouts, *haṭātīn* and Jews.

There is hardly a historian or geographer who has dealt with the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā who has not mentioned this province It owes its importance to several things the Wādī Nūn is in Morocco one of the rare groups of oases which throughout the centuries has communicated in the south with the Mauritanian Adrār and the Senegal and in the southeast with the bend of the Niger; it is at the exit of the easiest route between the desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs on as far as Mogador; lastly its proximity to the Ocean has enabled its inhabitants to enter at various periods into commercial relations with Europe and to secure the exportation of the rich produce of the Sūdān

Historical sketch. The Wādī Nūn was, we are told, at one time a great pastoral region; native tradition says that it used to be called Wādī Nūḳ "the river of the she-camels". Its name is sometimes derived from the Hebrew and Nūn is said to be a fish-god. Jewish legends make the whale throw Jonah up on the coast of Sūs and the memory of Joshua son of Nūn is said to survive in the name of the tribe of Ait ʿĪsā

In the viith century of our era, Lamṭa Berbers were the owners of the oases and we may imagine that the expedition of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ and the ephemeral rule of ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs in Sūs brought them for the first time into contact with Islām They were probably great nomads; in the tenth century however, they had a town, Nūl Lamṭa, which seems to have occupied the site of the present village of Asrīr. We do not know the date of its foundation but it was undoubtedly much earlier; it was a great market, where shields were made of antelope hide (*lamṭ*) and from it caravans set out to cross the Sahara for the Sūdān and Mauritania. It was no doubt this commercial activity that at an early date attracted a Jewish colony here

In the xith century, Nūl Lamta was conquered by the Almoravids who made it one of their bases of operation and established a mint there. The Lamṭa served this dynasty faithfully, on the other hand, their risings against the Almohads in the following century resulted in bloody reprisals. A little later, in 1218, the invasion of the Maʿḳil Arabs reached the Wādī Nūn and one of their tribes, the Dhwī Hassān, soon incorporated the Lamṭa, who ceased henceforth to play an independent part.

Nūl henceforth lost its importance and was replaced as a port for the Sahara by Tagaost (the modern Ksābī); it was under this name that Europe for long knew the Wādī Nūn. In the xvth century began the expeditions from the Canaries to the coasts of Africa, the object of which was to procure slaves for the exploitation of the country, these were the celebrated *entradas*, several of which reached the gates of Tagaost and resulted in the foundation of a number of Spanish fortresses, one of them, San Miguel de Saca, which however only lasted for a very short time, was quite close to the Wādī Nūn, at the mouth of the Āsāka. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525, Tagaost venerated the relics of a Portuguese of the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine, who had lived in this region

The foundation of the Saʿdian dynasty resulted in the expulsion of the Christians and the people of Nūn supplied *gīsh* contingents to the sovereigns who had liberated Muslim soil But very soon, it seems, their oases began to lose their position as starting-points for caravans. The Shorfā came from Tāgmādārt in the upper Darʿa and it was by this route naturally that they brought to Marrākush the booty of their conquests on the Niger

This fact no doubt explains why the people of the Wādī Nūn very soon disowned this dynasty, as well as why they were always at more or less open enmity with the Fīlālīs, who for similar reasons favoured the route by Tāfīlālt. In the xviith and xviiith centuries the Wādī Nūn seems to have belonged to the marabout state of Tāzerwālt, founded by Abū Ḥassūn al-Samlālī, whose ambition at one time was to conquer the Sūdān He and his successors in every case maintained very regular commercial relations with the country south of the desert. In their reign European ships frequently came to the coast of Sūs to carry away merchandise brought down by the caravans. This

was a period of prosperity for the Wādī Nūn, which towards the beginning of the xix^th century, formed a practically independent state under Shaykh Bairūk the capital of which, Awgelmīm, soon supplanted Tagaost.

The sulṭāns however became disturbed at this direct trade between Europe and the southern provinces of the empire, they were losing all the profit from it In the second half of the xviii^th century, Sīdī Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh closed the southern ports to trading-ships and forced them henceforth to come to Mogador, which he had just founded Tāzerwālt and Wādī Nūn had to send their caravans there and pay heavy taxes on the articles exported All their efforts and especially those of Bairūk and his sons were in the direction of direct relations with the European governments, to make their country appear an independent state and to lead ships to disobey the sultān's orders by founding on the coast a port where the customs duties were lower than those at Mogador The way was paved for this policy by the old relations of the Jews of the Wādī Nūn with the European merchants and by the numerous shipwrecks which took place in this district at the end of the xviii^th century, which gave Bairūk an opportunity to discuss his plan with Christians He tried first of all in 1835—1836 to interest England and then France in 1837 to 1853; finally after his death in 1859, his sons began negotiations with Spain which enabled this nation to get, by the treaty of Tetwān, the concession of a fishing station on the coast. So far these attempts had yielded no appreciable result, the authority of the Ūlād Bairūk seemed rather precarious and besides the coast of the Wādī Nūn did not afford sufficient shelter for ships. It was only in 1876 that Mackenzie built a factory on Cape Juby, soon followed by Curtis, who settled near Awgelmim in the Wādī Areksīs. These marked the beginning of a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sulṭān Mawlāy al-Hasan so much that in 1886 he decided upon an expedition to the south This ended in the submission of Tāzerwālt and of the Wādī Nūn and in the departure of the English merchants The marabout shaikh Mā' al-ʿAinain [q v] whose anti-foreign influence was increasing in the Sahara undertook to put a stop to any Christian enterprise on these coasts It was not till four years after his death, in 1916, that Spain established herself on Cape Juby and a German submarine landed a mission to seek an alliance with his son Mawlāy Ahmad al-Haiba, who was directing the opposition of the tribes in the Anti-Atlas against the French advance, this last effort led to nothing

Wādī Nūn besides had no longer the same reasons for attracting Europeans the power of the Bairūk no longer existed, the progress of the French in Southern Algeria and in the sub-tropical zone had gradually lessened the trans-Saharan traffic and Awgelmīm had gradually lost all its commercial importance

Political organisation Each village of the Wādī Nūn has its own organisation a chief and an assembly of notables. It is also attached to the organisation of the tribe on which it depends, an organisation which has almost always a tendency to monarchy. The majority are in the system of alliances which among the Tekna divides the tribes of the coast (Ait Djmāl) from the tribes of the interior (Ait ʿAthmān or Ait Bella).

Economic life. In the Wādī Nūn a few cereals are grown, the vine and tobacco The latter has a certain reputation in all the western Sūdān. There are also palm-trees, figs, pomegranates, a few arganiers, oranges and Barbary figs. Numerous hives produce an excellent honey The main wealth of the country is in rearing camels, horses, cattle and particularly sheep and goats.

Industry is rudimentary; there are a few armourers and several Jewish goldsmiths Fishing is practised by certain tribes of the Tekna

The markets of Awgelmīm and Tighmart are of only local significance. The most notable are the fairs (*mūsem*, *amuggār*) of Asrīr, Ḳṣābī and Awgelmīm which annually give an opportunity for the settled population and the nomads to exchange commodities. Trans-Saharan trade has practically disappeared completely.

Bibliography On account of the relations of Wādī Nūn with Europe the bibliography of this province of Morocco is very important; and will be found in the bibliography of the western Sahara publ by M Funck Brentano in *Hespéris* (vol xi, 1930, fasc i.—ii) — In addition to the classical historians and geographers of North Africa (al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Abu 'l-Fidā', Ibn Khaldūn, Leo Africanus, Marmol), we only mention the more important here *Histoire du Naufrage et de la captivité de M de Brisson*, Geneva 1789; R Adams, *The Narrative of Robert Adams*, London 1816, J Riley, *Loss of the American brig Commerce*, London 1817, F. D. B, *Naufrage du brick la Nossa Senhora-da-Conceiçao*, in Lafond, *Voyages autour du monde et naufrages célèbres*, Paris 1844—1847, vol viii, Cochelet, *Naufrage du brick français la Sophie*, Paris 1821, Davidson, *Notes taken during Travels in Africa*, London 1839, Panet, *Relation d'un voyage du Sénégal à Soueira*, in *Rev marit et colon*, 1850; Bou el Moghdad, *Voyage par terre entre le Senégal et le Maroc*, in *Rev marit et colon*, May 1861; *El Uad Nun y Tekna segun Gatell*, in *Rev geograph commercial*, 1865; Jannasch, *Die deutsche Handelsexpedition 1886*, Berlin 1887, Douls, *Voyage d'exploration à travers le Sahara occidental et le Sud marocain*, in *Bull. Soc de Géogr*, Paris 1888, ix, A Le Chatelier, *Tribus du Sudouest marocain*, Paris 1891; P. Marty, *Les tribus de la Haute Mauritanie*, Paris 1915, R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930.

(F. DE LA CHAPELLE)

WADĪ'A (A), deposit, custody, is a contract (*ʿaḳd*) by which the depositor (*mūdiʿ*, *mustawdiʿ*) hands over to the depositary (*mūdaʿ*, *mustawdaʿ*) a thing to be kept and returned intact at a later date. Wadī'a means not only the thing to be kept but also the agreement regarding the transaction The custody is therefore based on a special agreement and is therefore dealt with in legal works as a branch of the law of contract, while in the case of *amāna* "entrusted goods" there is no agreement but only a general obligation to keep faith, without a binding agreement; under *amāna* therefore come such things as come into the keeping (*yad*) of any one by chance or without special intention, e. g a garment blown into the house by the wind or an article found (*luḳaṭa*) or a pledge (*rahn*).

1. Wadī'a is not found as a technical term in the Ḳur'ān but only *amāna* in the more general

meaning. Muḥammad with all emphasis admonishes his followers to keep their contracts and to restore goods and pledges entrusted to their care (Sūra iv. 61; ii. 283) and promises Paradise to those who obey these commands (xxiii 8 *sqq.*, lxx. 32). These verses show how little and how reluctantly the pagan Arabs fulfilled the obligations and agreements they had entered upon. The later *fuḳahāʾ* also quoted Sūra v. 3 "Help one another to do good and to the fear of God" in order to find support for the contract of custody in the Kurʾān and represent it as a commendable action (*mustaḥabb*)

2. Traditions also remind that goods entrusted should be restored "To whom a thing is entrusted, he should return it" or "give the thing entrusted back to him who entrusted it to you" More numerous are the ḥadīths which relate to compensation when the thing deposited has been lost or has perished, in these cases there is no liability (Ibn Mādja, *Ṣadakāt*, bāb 7, *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, viii., N⁰ 5443, 5444, 5448, 5449, 5450) because the depositary is regarded as a person worthy of confidence (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, N⁰ 5444, 5447) In other ḥadīths it is asserted that there is a forfeit, because the depositary has not observed the necessary care or has acted illegally, although this is not definitely asserted in the traditions (*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, N⁰ 5451, 5452).

3. In the Fikh books the doctrine and legal position of *wadīʿa* are minutely expounded According to the jurists we have the following rules

I Placing in custody is a contract (*ʿakd*) and an *ʿakd ḏjāʾiz*, i e a revocable contract which can be cancelled at any time simply at the wish of one of the parties. The following conditions (*arkān*) are necessary to secure the validity of the agreement

a The two contracting parties must be capable of doing business. Therefore a minor (*saghīr*), a lunatic (*maḏjnūn*) and a spendthrift (*safīh*, *mubaḏhdhir*) who has no guardian, can neither put nor take anything in trust, i e he can be neither a depositor nor a depositary If a minor makes a deposit with a person competent to do business, there is no contract but it is binding on the ground of *amāna*

b Only such things as are *māl* can be deposited. Therefore impure things (*naḏjis*) for example cannot be deposited

c. A form (*ṣīgha*) is requisite and this is offer and acceptance (*iḏjāb wa-ḳubūl*), i e the declaration by both that they are willing, one must have the will to give the thing into custody and the other to take it This may be expressed in words or in other form of declaration or may be done silently, e. g by the depositary at once taking over the thing silently after the depositor has offered it.

II. The depositary's obligation to preserve He has to keep the thing as such things are kept, "as is the custom in ordinary usage". He has to use the care with which he preserves his own things, in the words of Roman law *diligentia quam in suis* As to the place of preservation, he can keep the thing deposited where he pleases. But if the depositor has given instructions and directions about the method and place of custody the depositary must observe them strictly. If he does not do so, he is liable to pay compensation if the goods suffer injury or perish.

III The right to compensation (*ḍamān*). The depositary is not liable if the thing deposited is damaged or perishes through no fault of his. Nor is he liable for the acts of a higher power or accident On the other hand in cases of *tafrīṭ* and *taʿaddī*, the depositary is always liable.

a It is a case of *tafrīṭ*, when he does less than he ought to, i e omits the necessary care. This occurs

1 When he does not prevent damage to the thing deposited, e. g if he neglects to give food and water to a mule left with him or does not keep the moths from clothes deposited with him.

2 If he is neglectful in the usual way of preserving the thing deposited and does not observe the instructions of the depositor

b It is a case of *taʿaddī*, if he "exceeds the bounds", i. e. proceeds contrary to the law. This occurs

1. If he deposits the thing with a third person, for the deposit is based on the personal confidence which the depositor has placed in a definite individual known to him Ibn Abī Laylā alone allows the depositary to deposit again Opinions differ regarding further deposit with members of the family As members of the family are considered such persons as live with the depository and belong to his household · wife, children, parents, servants, slaves, *umm walad* The Shāfiʿī jurists follow *ḳiyās* and forbid further depositing, while the Hanafīs and Mālikīs who follow *istiḥsān* allow it. According to all schools, however, the depositary may deposit again in face of pressure of a higher power in order to save the thing deposited As cases of this kind the examples are given of shipwreck, fire, inundation, enemy raids

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

IV The termination of the contract The contract of preservation is extinguished by the return of the thing deposited Both parties have the right to dissolve the agreement when they please The restoration can therefore be made at any time and at the wish of one party, since this contract is an *akd ḏjāʾiz* If one of the two parties dies or becomes insane the agreement is dissolved The thing remains until its return *amāna* in the hand of the depositary Here again we have a clear distinction between depositing by agreement and *amāna* with no agreement.

If the depositary refuses the return of the article without reason, the degree of liability increases, if the thing deposited deteriorates. While the depositary is generally not responsible for any casual deterioration, he is now liable for casual deterioration also, since he is delaying restitution

4. In literature, a thing entrusted to some one's custody sometimes plays an important part in a story Entrusting with a depositary, especially a faithless or deceitful one, provides well-known motives (cf. *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Marchens*, ed. L. Mackensen, s.v. Uniedliche Aufbewahrer). The motif most frequently occurring in Oriental literature is that of the faithless depositary who is in turn outwitted. The ḳāḍī is frequently represented as a deceitful depositary. As it would lead us too far to analyse the legal

principles underlying this and the motives, we only mention the more important literature with its parallels. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-Aḏhkiyā'*, Cairo 1277, p. 55; al-Watwāt, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, Būlāḳ 1284, p. 98; R. Basset, in *Revue des traditions popul.*, VI. (1891), p. 66—67; Chauvin, IX 13; *Born Juda's*, II 237; *Ḥikāyāt-i Laṭīf*, Lucknow 1912, A. Heyne, N°. 10, 23, 30, Leszinski, *Pers. Schnurren*, N°. 40, Th. Menzel, *Der Zauberspiegel*, Hanover 1924, p 89, R Kohler, *Kl Schriften*, II. 491; Zachariae, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 167, 390, *S B. Pr Ak W*, 1883, p. 586, G Jacob, *Turk. Bibl.*, V. 25, *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XVIII. 69.

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(Otto Spies)

WAFĀ', Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Ḥusainī, a Persian poet of the XVIIIth century, belonged to a family of sayyids of Ḳumm, who had charge of the mausoleum of Fāṭima, daughter of the Imām Mūsā Kāẓim [cf KUMM] He went to India at the end of the reign of Nādir Shāh, stayed there nearly 30 years, returned home in 1180 (1766), made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died in Persia in 1194 (1780) The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a short *mathnawī* entitled *Luʾluʾ-i manẓūm* "Pearls arranged in Order" by him, his *Dīwān* is in the India Office Library

Other poets have had the same *takhalluṣ* 1. Wafā' of Ferāhān (Mīrzā Muhammad-i Husain), a sayyid and mystic, brother of Mīrzā ʿĪsā, called the great Kā'im-maḳām He was for a time a minister of the Zand dynasty and on their disappearance rendered great service to the Ḳādjārs He died at Kazwīn and has left a *Dīwān*, 2 Wafā' of Yazd (Ākā Muḥammad), a poet of the XIXth century; 3 Wafā' Ashrafī (Mīrzā Mahdī Ḳulī), also of the XIXth century, was a descendant of a Georgian family that had settled in Persia in the time of the Safawīs, he was secretary to Mīnūčihr Khān Muʿtamad al-Dawla, he wrote a beautiful hand, 4. Wafā'ī of Tafrish (Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Khān), a derwīsh, was for some time in the service of the princes of the imperial family, Ẓill al-Sultān and Shaikh ʿAlī Mīrzā, he once visited Shīrāz.

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(Cl. Huart)

WĀFIR, the name of the fourth metre in Arab prosody. It consists in theory of three *mufāʿalatun* to the hemistich, but in practice the third foot becomes *mufāʿal* (= *faʿūlun*) It has two *ʿarūḍ* and three *ḍarb* The first *ʿarūḍ* has one *ḍarb* and the second has two

1 { *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun*, *faʿūlun*; *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun*, *faʿūlun*

2 { *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun*; *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun* / *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun*, *mufāʿalatun*, *mafāʿīlun*

The alterations that may be undergone by the feet are as follows 1. the fairly frequent disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* in *mufāʿalatun* (*mufāʿaltun* = *mafāʿīlun*); 2 the rather rare disappearance of the *lām* and its vowel (*mufāʿatun* = *mafāʿilun*), 3 the excessively rare disappearance of the vowel of the *lām* and of the *nūn* (*mufāʿaltu* = *mafāʿīlu*) It sometimes also happens that the first foot of the first line of a poem loses its *mīm* and taken with the above changes, we have *faʿalatun*, *faʿatun* and *faʿaltu*.

(Moh. Ben Cheneb)

WAFḲ, plur *Awfāḳ*, magic square, i.e. a square divided up like a chessboard, each square of which is inscribed with numerals, letters or words, it is worn as a talisman against illness and for all sorts of other purposes, or can be used for all kinds of magic.

The simplest form of a magic square is the nine compartmented square with numbers as shown in fig 1. Under the name *lö-shū*, it is mentioned in Chinese literature The legendary Emperor Yu (2200 B C) is said to have seen it on the back of a turtle which arose out of the Hoang-Ho In Arabic literature, the square is first found similarly arranged in the *Kitāb al-Mawāzīn* of Djābir b. Ḥayyān, whose writings we must now date about 900 A. D. There it is ascribed to Balīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) and is said to facilitate child-bearing if written on two unused pieces of linen and tied below the mother's feet The same amulet with the same use is also described by al-Ghazālī (1058—1111) in the *Munḳidh* it is still in use to-day as "Ghazālī's seal" The essential point in the arrangement of the numbers is that all lines, vertical, horizontal and diagonal, should yield the total of 15 This is only possible if 5 is put in the middle of the four even numbers in the corners and the remaining (odd) numbers in the middle compartments Beside that shown in figure 1, seven other arrangements are possible, but they do not differ essentially from the first, as they are easily obtained by revolving or interchanging the lines. In manuscripts of the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Safā', the method of filling up the square is described in terms of moves in chess In the *Sēfer ha-Shem* of Abraham ben ʿEzra (1092—1167) the square is connected with the name of God on account of the sum 15 = יה The corner figures form in the Arabic alphabetic numerals the word بلوح *budūḥ* [q v.] which is considered a particularly powerful charm.

4	9	2	15
3	5	7	15
8	1	6	15
15	15	15	

Fig 1

If we may believe the statements of the Arab bibliographers, Thābit b Ḳurra (826—901 A. D.) wrote on magic squares. In this case, it is natural to suppose that this mathematician did not confine himself simply to the square with nine compartments, but also showed how to form squares with 16, 25 and 36 and more compartments. It is also not impossible that the connection of the squares with the planets goes back to Thābit, i e. to the Sabaeans

According to Suter, *Mathematiker und Astronomen.* p 93, Ibn al-Haitham (965—1039) also dealt with the subject of magic squares, but it is mainly the mathematicians or students of secret sciences in the XIIIth century whose works on magic squares are recorded Only the works of al-Būnī (d 1225), the *Kitāb Shams al-Maᶜārif* and the *Kitāb al-Durr al-manẓūm fī ᶜIlm al-Awfāḳ wa 'l-Nuḏūm*, are known in detail. In these we find the use of magic squares developed in all directions which presupposes a long history behind it A collection of the ways of using them would fill many pages and cannot be given here. In al-Būnī it is a striking fact that squares with the base four predominate, no doubt because these already show a large number of independent forms, which the author makes available for his purposes Still very frequent, apart from the base 3, is the base 5; squares with the base 6, which are difficult to prepare, do not seem to exist, and squares with still higher basic figures seem to follow simpler rules.

Among the innovations which appear in al-Būnī the first is the increase in the size of the numbers inscribed in the compartments. It is easy to see that the conditions for magic squares will also be fulfilled if each number is raised by the same amount or if the numbers form arithmetical series (fig 2 and 3) That in the MSS and editions of the *Kitāb Shams al-Maᶜārif* many defective squares are found is partly due to the copyists. How the squares can be put right with as little correction as possible has been shown by W Ahrens in his works.

36	41	34	111
35	37	39	111
40	33	38	111
111	111	111	

Fig 2

As the Arabs use two systems of numerals side by side, the two systems are easily mixed The usual form is for a word, usually a name for God, broken up into its consonants, to be put as a clue in the upper row with its numerical value, while the other lines are filled up with ordinary numerals Al-Būnī gives numerous examples, one of which I reproduce; only I replace the letters of the word رحمان by their numerical values (fig. 4) The sum of all the numbers in one line or vertical series must give 299 as this is the numerical value of the clue word. But we get this sum only in the vertical rows *c* and *e*, all the other sums differ

40	13	37	90
27	30	33	90
23	47	20	90
90	90	90	

Fig. 3.

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	
I	**50**	**1**	**40**	**8**	**200**	299
II	38	11	198	38	4	289
III	196	51	2	21	9	279
IV	5	31	7	99	49	191
V	6	29	52	3	37	129
	295	123	299	169	299	

Fig 4

more or less. If we put the figures written in the squares in order of magnitude we get the groups

1 2 3. 4. 5 6. 7. 8. 9 11 21.
29 31. 37. 38. 38. 40. 49 50. 51. 52.
99 196 198 200.

The figures 21, 29, 31, 99 cannot be correct, because they do not fit into the five-limbed rows, 38 also occurs twice If we replace the 38 below 8 by 48, the 21 by 41, we get two new correct lines II and III, and if we write 199 for 99, the vertical row *d* also becomes correct. Now we only

	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	
I	50	1	40	8	200	299
II	38	11	198	**48**	4	299
III	196	51	2	**41**	9	299
IV	5	**39**	7	199	49	299
V	**10**	**197**	52	3	37	299
	299	299	299	299	299	

Fig. 5.

need to replace 31 by 39 in order to get line IV correct also For the last wrong numbers 6 and 29 we have to put 10 and 197 in order to have 299 everywhere, including the diagonals (fig. 5). The rows of figures are therefore now

1. 2 3 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. **10.** 11. 37 38 **39.** 40. **41.**
48. 49. 50. 51. 52 196 **197.** 198. **199.** 200

nad fulfil the condition that one of the numbers must be in every horizontal and perpendicular row.

Al-Būnī's elaborate arrangements of squares which are filled with letters and whole words cannot be explained here; the squares which are now usually called "Latin" are of no particular interest. Only the large amulets of 7×7 squares which are allotted to the days of the week and therefore to the planets may be mentioned here, because it shows that the idea of allotting the simpler magic squares to the planets and metals was not

yet in general use. What al-Būnī tells us on this subject in the *Shams al-Maʿārif* is not complete, presumably the second work contains more about it. In any case, the two systems — the one ascending from Saturn to the moon, the other reversed — must have been well-known in the Muslim world by the XIIIth or at latest the XIVth century. In the west, the first system became widely disseminated through the *Occulta Philosophia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim (1533), the second is taught in the *Practica Arithmedicae* of Cardanus. The period when the making of seals of the planets was especially popular was the XVIIth or XVIIIth century In the coin cabinets we find complete collections of seals of different metals as follows.

The seal of Saturn with the magic square 3 × 3 of lead.

The seal of Jupiter with the magic square 4 × 4 of tin

The seal of Mars with the magic square 5 × 5 of iron.

The seal of the Sun with the magic square 6 × 6 of gold.

The seal of Venus with the magic square 7 × 7 of copper.

The seal of Mercury with the magic square 8 × 8 of silver plating

The seal of the Moon with the magic square 9 × 9 of silver.

In the east a number of empirical rules seem to have been used for the preparation of magic squares The "rule of the Indians" was first made known by La Loubère about 1691 Long before this, however, the Byzantine Moschopulos (c 1400 ?) dealt with the problem in a general form From the middle of the XVIth century onwards, i e after the seals of the planets became known in the west, the mathematical side of the problem has been continually studied down to the present day For the literature of the subject S. Gunther's work should be consulted specially

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AL-WAFRĀNĪ or AL-IFRĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿABD AL-LĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ MUḤAMMAD B ʿABD ALLĀH, called al-Ṣaghīr, a Moroccan biographer and historian, born in Mairākush in 1080 (1669—1670); he belonged to the Berber tribe of the Ifrān or Ūfrān (Wafrān) which was settled in the south of Morocco in the valley of the Wādī Darʿa. We know very few details of his life He studied in his native town, then at Fās and spent his life in one or other of the chief towns of Morocco or at the *zāwiya* of the Sharḳāwa [q v] of Abu 'l-Djaʿd (Bujad). Towards the end of his life he was *imām* and preacher (*ḵẖāṭib*) at the Masdjid Yūsufī (or Madrasat Ibn Yūsuf) in Marrākush, he died in 1140 (1727) or 1151.

Al-Wafrānī is best known as the author of the great chronicle of the Saʿdians of Morocco entitled *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-Akhbār Mulūk al-Ḳarn al-ḥādī*, ed and transl by O Houdas, *Nozhet elhadi, Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1151—1610)*, in *P. E. L O. V.*, 3rd ser., vol. ii., Paris 1888—1889 and lithographed at Fās in 1307 A H. It is by far the most important source for the history of the first of the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco, for it makes use not only of contemporary chronicles but also to some extent of state documents which the author studied at first hand. It covers the period 917 (1511—1512) to the end of the XIth (XVIIth) century and deals, very unequally however, with the reigns of various Saʿdian princes, the longest and most detailed section naturally being that dealing with the reign of Sultān Aḥmad al-Mansūr [q. v.]. For a critical study of the matter of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, see E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, p 120 *sqq*

Besides his history of the Saʿdians, al-Wafrānī wrote other historical, biographical and literary works These are, in chronological order· 1. *al-Maslak al-sahl fī Sharḥ Tawshīḥ Ibn Sahl*, a commentary on a poem by the famous poet of Spain Ibrāhīm b. Sahl, lithographed at Fās in 1324; 2 a monograph on the ʿAlawid sultān of Morocco Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, *al-Ẓill al-warīf fī Mafākhir Mawlānā Ismāʿīl Ibn al-Sharīf*, 3. an unfinished monograph on the "Seven Saints" of Marrākush, *Durar al-hidjāl fī Maʾāthir sabʿat Ridjāl*, 4 a historical summary, presumably in the form of an *urdjūza*, *al-Muʿrib fī Akhbār al-Maghrib*; and lastly 5. a biographical collection on Moroccan saints of the XIth cent. A H, *Safwat man intashar min Akhbār Ṣulahāʾ al-Ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* The last work, which has been lithographed in Fās, is an indispensable work of reference for the history of the Sharīfan and Marabout movement in Morocco from the end of the middle ages

Bibliography al-Kādirī, *Nashr al-Mathānī*, Fās 1310, i. 3, al-ʿAbbās b Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *Izhār al-Kamāl*, Fās 1334, i 181—183; Ibn al-Muwakḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadīya*, Fās 1336, i. 112—115, Brockelmann, *G. A L.*, ii. 457; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, p 112—131, 306—9

(E. Lévi-Provençal)

AL-WĀḤ (pl. AL-WĀḤĀT), the name of a group of oases to the west of Egypt. There are three of them: the first is opposite the Faiyūm and reaches to the level of Aswān; it is the largest of the oases and contains several villages; its palms give the best dates in Egypt. The second is smaller and less populous. The third is the smallest and contains a village named Santaria. This is the information given by Yāḳūt. Maḳrīzī makes four oases which he calls outer

and inner; in his time Santaria was a little town of about 600 inhabitants of Berber stock called Sīwa who spoke a dialect resembling that of the Zenāta. The soil of the oases produced alum and vitriol; the exportation of 1,000 quintals of alum per annum was imposed on the holders of the fief (*mukṭaʿ*) by the Ayyūbids of Cairo, later this contribution was neglected and finally ceased. There are springs of acid flavour, the water of which is used in place of vinegar, and others of astringent and salt taste; there are about twenty springs of fresh water Certain illnesses are endemic and fevers common There are groves of palm-trees, olive-trees, fig-trees and vines There was said to be an extraordinary citron tree there which yielded 4,000 citrons each year, which may be compared with the examples given by botanists of the fertility of the Aurantiaceae In 339 (950) the oases were ravaged by a Nubian army, which carried off numerous prisoners

Bibliography Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 873, Maḳrīzī, *Ḵhiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ 1270) i 234, ed Wiet, iv. 113 *sqq* (*M I F A.O*, xlix), Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii 50 (Cl Huart)

WAHB B MUNABBIH, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, a South Arabian story-teller (*kāṣṣ aḵhbārī* Dhahabī, in *Z D M G*, xliv 483) of Persian descent who was born in Dhimār, two days' journey from Sanʿā' in 34 A H (no credence need be given to statements that he adopted Islām in 10 A H) Wahb is celebrated as an authority on the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* and like his brothers Hammām, Ghailān and Maʿkil is classed among the *tābiʿūn*. The earliest sources know nothing of the story that before his conversion to Islām he belonged to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (*Fihrist*, p 22) or more precisely was a Jew (Ibn Khaldūn, ed Quatremère, ii 179); he was presumably born a Muslim. Thaʿlabī (p 191) records a story of his meeting Muʿāwiya, and al-Masʿūdī says that al-Walīd sent him an inscription discovered in Damascus to be deciphered. We also learn that he held the office of kādī in Sanʿā', and it is related how in the emirate of ʿUrwa b. Muhammad he once beat with the emīr's stick to the effusion of blood an official (*ʿāmil*) against whom the people complained When the saying is attributed to him that by accepting the office of judge, he lost the gift of foreseeing the future in dreams, this is only, as in numerous similar utterances, meant to be a warning against accepting this office (see Wensinck, in *Oriental Studies presented to E G. Browne*, p. 496 *sqq*.) Many stories are told of his ascetic mode of life for forty years no word of abuse of any living creature ever crossed his lips, for forty years he never slept on a carpet and for twenty years never performed a *wudūʾ* between the night and morning prayer (i e. lived a life of continence) In keeping with this ascetic mode of life is the utterance he made after being thrown into prison: *aḥdaṯha ʾllāhu lana ʾl-habsa fa-aḥdaṯnā lahu ziyādata ʿibādatin* (Dhahabī, *op. cit*, p. 492), an Islāmic counterpart to Job i 21 Warnings against quarrelsomeness are also attributed to him and the advice not to avoid the society of men but rather to meet them with caution: to be deaf when listening, blind when seeing or dumb when speaking. Wahb is said originally to have professed *ḳadar*, but later rejected this teaching as in contradiction to all revealed scriptures. In what period of his life the already mentioned imprisonment fell, is not recorded; probably not till his last years for he died as a result of a flogging to which he was sentenced by the governor of the Yaman, Yūsuf b ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī, in 110 or 114 A H

Wahb's intimacy with the traditions of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* is attributed to the fact that he had read 70, 72, 73 or even 92 of their holy scriptures, statements which, as the lists of his writings show, are pure inventions, his knowledge apparently came from intercourse with learned Jews and Christians in his native district His statements which are sometimes in complete agreement with Jewish and Christian sources and sometimes are variants adapted to Muslim tradition cover the field of *Aḥādīṯh al-Anbiyāʾ wa'l-ʿUbbād wa-Aḥādīṯh Banī Isrāʿīl* (Ibn Saʿd, vii/ii. 97), and were handed down to posterity by his pupils among whom several members of his own family were prominent ʿAbd al-Munʿim b Idrīs (d. 229 A.H), the son of his daughter, in particular, distinguished himself in preserving his grandfather's writings Wahb's *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ*, which Thaʿlabī used in the redaction of ʿAbd al-Munʿim, is ascribed in the *Fihrist*, p 94, to the latter and quoted by al-Masʿūdī as *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ wa 'l-Siyar*, *al-Mubtadaʾ* in this title is to be interpreted as *Mubtadaʾ al-Ḵhalḳ* (cf Ibn Kutaiba, *Maʿārif*, p. 4) and *al-Siyar* perhaps means not only the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* but also the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Aḵhyār* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, N⁰ 9436) where the *Aḵhyār* correspond to the *ʿUbbād* of Ibn Saʿd Hādjdjī Khalīfa (N⁰ 9826) also ascribed to Wahb a *Kitāb al-Isrāʾīliyāt*, which does not seem to have been known under this name at an earlier date. Yākūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii 232, says of Wahb that he was *kathīru 'l-naḳli min al-kutub al-ḳadīma al-maʿrūfa bi'l-Isrāʾīliyāt*, i e he uses *al-Isrāʾīliyāt* for the writings of "Israilitish" origin, which Wahb used as sources In later writers we frequently find quotations from Wahb's *Isrāʾīliyāt* but such passages are neither sufficiently reliable nor ample enough to reconstruct Wahb's supposed work, as Chauvin tried to do It is certain that Wahb took account of Jewish as well as Christian tradition, this is proved by the numerous quotations which survive in Ibn Kutaiba, Tabarī, Masʿūdī, etc Statements attributed to him even in these older sources are frequently contradictory and have apparently undergone all kinds of alterations in the various compilations to which they are to be traced. At a later period, stories of doubtful origin were readily given the authority of his name; in particular, what is credited to him in works like al-Kisāʾī's *Ḳiṣaṣ* clearly bears the stamp of later invention In a separate work, the *Kitāb al-Mulūk al-mutawwaḍa min Ḥimyar wa-Aḵhbārihim wa-Ḳiṣaṣihim wa-Ḳubūrihim wa-Aṯhʿārihim*, Wahb dealt with the early legendary history of his native land. This work has not survived but it was presumably from it that Ibn Hishām borrowed the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ibn Hishām does not mention the name of the book but takes Wahb's statements from the transmission of his grandson In the work used by Ibn Hishām, Wahb follows Biblical sources completely in his account of early history and gives in it — in contrast to the plan followed in the *Mubtadaʾ* — the names and figures of the Biblical text exactly; he even regularly gives alongside of the Hebrew forms of names, those of the Syriac translation. — Ibn Isḥāḳ took over

Wahb's account of the beginnings of Christianity in South Arabia (Ibn Hishām, p. 20), and Ṭabarī frequently quotes from Ibn Isḥāḳ the stories he had taken from Wahb. For the biography of Muhammad, on the other hand, Ibn Isḥāḳ never quotes Wahb as a source nor does Wāḳidī, Ibn Sa'd or Ṭabarī. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 12,464 however, says of Wahb that he collected *maghāzī* and among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, C H Becker discovered a fasciculus of a biography of the Prophet by Wahb which deals with events before the Hidjra, and even includes the expedition against the Khath'am Wahb therefore did deal with *maghāzī* proper The same grandson of Wahb, 'Abd al-Mun'im, as transmitted the *Mubtada'*, also appears in the *isnād* of the Heidelberg papyrus written in 228 A H The latter confirms what was already to be deduced from the quotations in Tabarī and others that Wahb himself did not know of the use of the *isnād*; it also shows that Wahb, like Ibn Isḥāḳ, used to intersperse his stories with inserted poetry Ibn Sa'd (VII/II 97) mentions that Wahb's grandson used to read his *Ḥikma* as well as his books, and a *Ḥikmat Wahb* in four parts is quoted by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Khair (d. 575 A H) in his *Fihrist* (see *Bibl Ar Hisp*, IX. 29) with a complete *isnād* going back to Wahb's nephew. This *Ḥikma* may be supposed to have been a collection of wise sayings taken, some from Jewish and Christian tradition and some wrongly ascribed to it, according to Ibn Kutaiba, Wahb read over 10,000 chapters in the *Ḥikmat Lukmān* The *Mawā'iza* must have been of similar content, which the same Abū Bakr in his *Fihrist* (*op cit*, p. 294) ascribes to Wahb and traces back to Abu 'l-Yās, the pupil of Wahb also mentioned in the Heidelberg papyrus Finally he also attributes to Wahb a translation of the Psalms (*op. cit*, p. 294) *Kitāb Zabūr Dāwūd Tardjumat Wahb Ibn Munabbih*, it is perhaps identical with the *Kitāb al-Mazāmīr Tardjumat al-Zabūr* which still exists, which however is not attributed to a particular author but is said to be by the *'Ulamā' al-Islām* in general [cf ZABŪR] For the sake of completeness we may also mention the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar*, which Wahb composed but he later regretted having done so (see Yāḳūt, *op cit*, p. 232) as well as the *Futūḥ*, which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (N°. 8932) quotes but which seem to be otherwise quite unknown.

Much has undoubtedly been attributed to Wahb for which he is not responsible That he pursued serious studies can hardly be denied in view of the exact reproduction of Biblical matter preserved by Ibn Hishām in his *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, when on the other hand even Ibn Kutaiba points out the contradictions between Wahb's statements and the text of Genesis, the only explanation must be that either the information collected by Wahb was very early remodelled by those who transmitted it, in the manner of the popular story-tellers (*ḳuṣṣāṣ*), or that Wahb himself adapted it to popular taste.

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WAHBĪ, a Turkish poet, usually called Sayyid Wahbī to distinguish him from Sunbulzāde Wahbī [q v]. He was a contemporary of Nedīm and like him a native of Stambul. His father Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed, the *kiaya* of Imāmzāde, Ḳāḍī of Yenishehir, claimed to be descended from the Prophet through a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn. After the latter, his son Husain, our poet, was at first given the *nisba* Husāmī but then, on the suggestion of Ahmed Nailī, the man of letters, given instead the *nisba* Wahbī, since it was a gift of God (*wehb*) that he combined in himself descent from the Prophet (*sayyidlik*) with the gift of poetry (*shā'irlik*).

Wahbī chose a judicial career and became mollā in Aleppo. When a son was born to his *nā'ib* there, the latter was also called Wahbī after him, this boy later became the poet Sunbulzāde Wahbī. Sayyid Wahbī was present at the reception of the Persian ambassador Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān in Stambul in 1134 (1721). At the inspection of the Arsenal on this occasion he is said to have jokingly asked the ambassador to crawl into a huge cannon in order to be able to report this in Iṣfahān as proof of its size, which, to the amusement of those present, the ambassador took seriously. The poet also took part in the reception to the ambassador 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān in 1138 (1726) After Sayyid Wahbī had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned again to Stambul he died in 1149 (1736) He is buried in the cemetery of the monastery of the rope-dancers (*Djānbāziye Tekkesi* or *Mesdjidi*) near the mosque of Djarrāḥ Pasha. His tombstone bears a *ta'rīkh* by Ayyūbī Nedjīb Efendi A son of Sayyid Wahbī was the mudarris Munīf Efendi, who had also the reputation of being a poet and died as ḳādī of Munīf in 1153

Sayyid Wahbī is reckoned with Nedīm, Beligh and Newres as one of the most important representatives of the romantic group in the reign of Ahmed III. He is, like them, mainly a court poet singing the praises of his Sulṭān. His works have not yet been printed There is a manuscript in Vienna of the *Kullīyāt* (Flügel, N° 725) A *ḳaṣīda* of his is famous in which he celebrates the completion of a well in front of the Bāb-i Humāyūn, and it is still to be read in letters of gold on the building. According to tradition, the Sulṭān himself had endeavoured to make a chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) for it but could not work in the necessary values. The poet succeeded and then added a whole rhyming *ḳaṣida* Of other works, Wahbī left a *dīwān*, also a few isolated poems. He also completed a romantic *methnewī* begun by Ḳāfzāde Fā'izī (d 1031 = 1621) entitled *Lailā we-Medjnūn*. Of importance for social history is his book of festivals (*Sūrnāme*, MS. in Vienna: Flügel, N°. 1092) in which he describes the ceremonial at the court of Aḥmed III in connection with the circumcision of four princes and the marriage of five princesses in 1132 (1720) in vivid and attractive fashion There is also a *takhmīs* by him on a ghazel of Nedīm, which endeavours to imitate

the latter; in other works however, in spite of the fact that he is of the school of Nedīm, he strikes an individual note.

Ottoman critics are not quite agreed in their estimate of Wahbī. Ẓiyā Pasha praises his fine language but finds his other work long-winded and faulty so that not twelve of his ghazels are worth picking out. Kemāl and Nādjī esteem him highly and would put him at least among the best poets of the second rank and above (Nādjī. below) Sunbulzāde Wehbī.

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WAHHĀBĪYA, Islāmic community founded by Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1115–1201 = 1703–1787) This name was given to the community by its opponents in the founder's lifetime, and is used by Europeans, it is not used by its members in Arabia, who call themselves *Muwahhidūn* "unitarians" and their system (*ṭarīḳa*) "Muhammadan", they regard themselves as Sunnīs, following the school of Ibn Hanbal, as interpreted by Ibn Taimīya, who attacked the cult of saints in many of his writings, especially in a *Risāla* condemning the visitation of tombs (in his *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1323).

§ 1. Life of the Founder. He was of the Banū Sinān, a branch of Tamīm and was born at ʿUyaina (written by travellers *Ayainah*, *el-Ayenah*, *al-Ajjena*, *Ayana*), a place now in ruins, but which (according to L P. Dame, in *M W*, xix 356) "at one time must have had a population of nearly 25,000". He studied at Medīna under Sulaimān al-Kurdī and Muhammad Hayāt al-Sindī, both of whom (according to Daḥlān) detected in him signs of heresy (*ilḥād*). Many years of his life seem to have been spent in travel, according to the *Lamʿ*, he lived four years in Basra, where he was tutor in the house of a ḳādī Husain; five years in Baghdād, where he married a wealthy woman, who died leaving him "2,000 dīnārs"; a year in Kurdistān, two years in Hamadhān, after which he went to Iṣfahān at the commencement of Nādir Shāh's reign (1148 = 1736), here he is said to have studied for four years peripatetic philosophy, the Iṣhrāḳīya and the Ṣūfī systems; for a year he attracted students as an exponent of Ṣūfism, then went to Ḳumm, after which he became an advocate of Ibn Ḥanbal's school. Returning to ʿUyaina, where he had property, he spent eight months in retirement, and then publicly preached his doctrines, as set forth in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*. He met with some success, but also with much opposition, and indeed from his own relations, such as his brother Sulaimān, who wrote a tract against him, and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b Ḥusain. It appears from his correspondence that his views attracted attention outside ʿUyaina before he left the place. Different reasons are assigned for his expulsion; according to the *Lamʿ*, his dispute with his cousin led to bloodshed between the Tamīm clans of Yamāma, in consequence of which Sulaimān b Shāmis, al-ʿAnazī, prince of Ḥasā, wrote to the governor of the place demanding that he be expelled He departed with his family and property, said to be considerable, and was received at Darʿīya (at the time a village of 70 houses) where the chieftain Muḥammad b Saʿūd accepted his doctrine and undertook its defence and propagation. Possibly later events originated the statement that the two came to an arrangement whereby, should they succeed in enforcing their system on their neighbours, the sovereignty should rest with Ibn Saʿūd, whereas the religious headship should belong to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, this in any case represents the relations between the two The founder's subsequent history belongs to that of the fortunes of the community

§ 2. Doctrines of Muhammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. His general aim was to do away with all innovations (*bidaʿ*) which were later than the third century of Islām, thus the community are able to acknowledge the authority of the four *sunnī* law-schools, and the six books of tradition His written polemic and that of his followers is almost entirely aimed at the cult of saints, as exhibited in the building of mausoleums, their employment as mosques, and their visitation The following list which is taken from the *Lamʿ* seems to agree with what is known of Wahhābī practice.

1 All objects of worship other than Allāh are false, and all who worship such are deserving of death

2 The bulk of mankind are not monotheists, since they endeavour to win God's favour by visiting the tombs of saints, their practice therefore resembles what is recorded in the Ḳurʾān of the Meccan *mushrikīn*

3. It is polytheism (*shirk*) to introduce the name of a prophet, saint, or angel, into a prayer.

4 It is *shirk* to seek intercession from any but Allāh.

5 It is *shirk* to make vows to any other being.

6. It involves unbelief (*kufr*) to profess knowledge not based on the Kurʾan, the Sunna, or the necessary inferences of the reason

7. It involves unbelief and heresy (*ilḥād*) to deny *kadar* in all acts.

8. It involves unbelief to interpret the Ḳurʾān by a *taʾwīl*

His system is said to have departed from that of Ibn Hanbal in the following matters:

1 Attendance at public *ṣalāt* is obligatory.

2. Smoking of tobacco is forbidden and punished with stripes not exceeding forty; the shaving of the beard and the use of abusive language are to be punished at the kādī's discretion

3. Alms (*zakāt*) are to be paid on secret profits, such as those of trading, whereas Ibn Ḥanbal exacted them only from manifest produce.

4. The mere utterance of the Islāmic creed is not sufficient to make a man a believer, so that animals slaughtered by him are fit for food. Further inquiry must be made into his character.

The list given by S Zwemer in *The Mohammedan World of to-day* (New York 1906, p. 106) does not differ materially from the above, but contains the following item which may be noticed:

They forbid the use of the rosary, and count the names of God and their prayers on the knuckles of the hand instead.

Wahhābī mosques are built with the greatest simplicity, and no minarets nor ornaments are allowed

The *Rawḍat al-Afkār* devotes a long section to a list of the practices savouring of paganism current in Arabia in Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's time, besides the visitation of tombs, reverence was paid to sacred trees and gifts of food were placed on graves It is clear that the two latter were not "innovations", but survivals of pre-Islāmic usage. Charges brought against him of burning theological works on a great scale are treated both by himself and his followers as calumnies; the latter admit the burning of the work *Rawḍ al-Rayāḥīn*, but not (apparently) that of the *Dalāʾil al-Khairāt*. The charge of rejecting the Sunna altogether (repeated by Nolde) is certainly erroneous. On the other hand, the destruction of tombs on a great scale was practised both by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his followers. The former destroyed that of Zaid b. al-Khaṭṭāb at-Djubaila, and it has recently been carried on on a great scale at al-Bakīʿ of Medīna, as a comparison of the photographs in Rifʿat Pasha's *Miʾāt al-Ḥaramain* (1925) with Eldon Rutter's *Holy Cities of Arabia* (1928) shows

Various minor points of ritual, in which they claim to have abolished innovations are enumerated in *al-Hadīya al-Sunnīya*, p. 47—49; such are raising the voice in places of *aḏhān* with matter other than the *aḏhān*, reciting the Tradition of Abū Huraira before the Friday sermon, special gatherings to hear the *Sīrat al-Nabī* recited, etc

It would appear that under the Banū Rashīd the founder's precepts were followed less rigorously than under the Banū Saʿūd; yet Philby in confining the name Wahhābī to the followers of the latter differs from the other travellers, who regarded Ḥāʾil as for a time the metropolis of the community As has been seen, the community does not itself recognize the appellation.

§ 3 Early history of the movement It is asserted that within a year of Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's arrival at Darʿīya he had won the assent of all the inhabitants except four, who left the place, he proceeded to build a mosque with a floor of uncarpeted gravel, there he gave instruction in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, punishing those who failed to attend. But he also gave instruction in the use of fire-arms. The new sect soon became involved in war with the shaikh of Riyād, Dahhām b Dawwās, which, commencing in 1160 (1747), lasted 28 years. During this period Ibn Saʿūd and his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who proved a capable general, were steadily winning ground, with occasional reverses; it became the practice of Ibn Saʿūd and his son, when they captured a place to build a fort at some distance from the original citadel, with a moat round it, if the soil were suitable These forts were garrisoned with men called *umanāʾ*, who were well paid. In the larger places a ḳāḍī and a muftī were installed, in the smaller only a ḳāḍī. The series of raids whereby the power of Ibn Saʿūd gradually grew is sketched by Philby, and need not be reproduced. In 1178 (1765) Ibn Saʿūd died, and was succeeded by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who retained Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as his religious guide. In the following year a deputation was sent to Mecca, which was honourably entertained by the Sharīf, and satisfied the theologians appointed to discuss matters with it, that the Wahhābī doctrine accorded with the system of Ibn Ḥanbal In 1187 (1773) the most stubborn opponent of the sect, Dahhām, fled from Riyāḍ, which was occupied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was now master of "the whole of Najd from Qaṣīm in the north to Kharj in the south" (Philby). The son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Saʿūd, also displayed some military capacity, and was employed by his father in various expeditions. Meanwhile relations had become strained with the new Sharīf of Mecca, Surūr, who forbade the Wahhābīs access to the city as pilgrims: but owing to the difficulties which resulted to pilgrims from ʿIrāḳ and Persia, this prohibition was withdrawn in 1199 (1785)

In 1792 Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb died, at the age of 89, in the years that followed (1792–1795) the Wahhābīs advanced eastwards, subduing the Banū Khālid in Hasā, but even before 1790 they had made casual raids into the grazing grounds of the Muntafiḳ and other tribes on the borders of ʿIrāḳ, and representations having been made to the Porte of the danger from the new power that was arising in Arabia, the Pasha of Baghdād received instructions to deal with it. In 1797, Thuwainī, chief of the Muntafiḳ, who had for a time been exiled, but was now officially in control of Basra, collected a force with the view of crushing the Wahhābīs, but was assassinated by a negro slave at Shibāk on July 1, 1797, in consequence of which the force dispersed Meanwhile the new Shaiīf of Mecca, Ghālib, after some attempts at compromise, had been attacking the Wahhābī communities from the west, with very little success. In 1798 a fresh expedition was organized from Baghdād on a great scale, but this also proved abortive, and in the following year a treaty between the opponents was ratified in Baghdād. It had little effect, as the Wahhābī tribes continued to raid, and in 1801 invaded and sacked Kerbelāʾ, and massacred the inhabitants. In 1803 Ghālib found it necessary to evacuate Mecca, which was entered by Saʿūd, who proceeded to purge the city of all that in Wahhābī opinion savoured of idolatry, and to execute persons suspected of favouring such practices His attempts on Djidda and Medīna failed, and in the same year he left the Ḥidjāz, where the garrison which he had established in Mecca was massacred by the inhabitants On Nov. 4 of this year (1803), the Wahhābī Imām, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz I, was assassinated at Daʿīya by a Shīʿī from Kerbelāʾ, who had come to the capital as a pretended convert to Wahhābism; Saʿūd, who had previously been declared heir-apparent, succeeded him without opposition, and employed his son ʿAbd Allāh as commander of the army. A fresh attack on the Wahhābīs was organized from Baghdād, but petered out, as the previous expeditions had done; Saʿūd was thus left free to renew his invasion of the Ḥidjāz, where Medīna capitulated in 1804, Mecca in February 1806, and Djidda somewhat later. In the following years his raiders advanced beyond the bounds of Arabia, attacking Nadjaf, and Damascus, which successfully resisted. "The Wahhabi empire extended in 1811 from Aleppo in the north to the Indian Ocean (?) and from the Persian Gulf and the Iraq frontier in the east to the Red Sea" (Philby). The alarm felt by the Ottoman government was now so serious that Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, ruler of Egypt, was authorized to deal with it. This he proceeded to do with his usual energy, and although his army, commanded by his son Tūsūn,

suffered an initial defeat, it was after reinforcement able to take Medīna in 1812, and recover Mecca in the following year Muhammad ʿAlī himself took the command in the latter half of 1813, and suffered a serious defeat, but the death of Saʿūd on May 1, 1814, was a blow to the Wahhābī cause, since ʿAbd Allāh, who succeeded him, was far less capable. Tūsūn, whom Muḥammad ʿAlī left in command, found it necessary to make a treaty with ʿAbd Allāh, who was to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultān, while the Egyptians were to evacuate Nadjd; but this treaty was denounced by Muhammad ʿAlī, who in 1816 organized a fresh expedition under the command of the able Ibrāhīm Pasha. (Since Philby has repeated the story told by Palgrave about the carpet of vast proportions with an apple set in the midst, which Ibrāhim succeeded in reaching without treading on the carpet, by rolling the latter up, it may be observed that this story comes from Ibn al-Athīr, who records it in connexion with an event of the year 442) Ibrāhīm fought with varied fortune, but on April 6, 1818 reached Darʿīya, and on Sep 9 took the capital ʿAbd Allāh himself surrendered and was sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded This terminated the first Wahhābī empire

§ 4 Restoration of the Wahhābī state after Ibrāhīm Pasha's departure While the Hidjāz after the conquest was securely garrisoned by Turkish troops, less importance was attached to the security of Nadjd, where a revolt was organized by Turkī, a cousin of Saʿūd, who chose Riyāḍ for the capital of the reviving community, and established himself there in 1821 "By 1833 the whole coast of the Persian Gulf acknowledged Wahhabi rule and paid tribute" (Sir A Wilson), and several of the inland provinces which had formerly been held by Saʿūd were recovered. During the absence of Turkī's son Faisal at the head of his army the former was assassinated in 1834 by a pretender of the royal family, who shortly afterwards met the same fate at the hands of Faisal, aided by a Shammar chieftain, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rashīd, who was rewarded for his service by the governorship of Ḥāʾil.

§ 5 The Rashīd dynasty of Ḥāʾil. ʿAbd Allāh b Rashīd, a capable ruler, contrived to maintain amicable relations with both the Egyptian overlord and the Wahhābī ruler of Riyād till his death in 1847, when he was succeeded by his son Ṭalāl, known to Europeans from Palgrave's travels, who calls him "a warrior even more energetic than his father, and infinitely his superior in the arts of statesmanship" His military skill was displayed in his conquest of the Djawf, of Khaibar, and of Taimāʾ, the province of Ḳasīm, which belonged to the sovereign of Riyāḍ, voluntarily transferred its allegiance to Ṭalāl, and steps were taken to pacify the Bedouin raiders on all sides "Henceforth no Bedouin in Jebel Shammar, or throughout the whole kingdom, could dare to molest traveller or peasant" (Palgrave) Ṭalāl further encouraged the presence of traders in Ḥāʾil by offering liberal terms and security to members of different religious communities. In 1868 this ruler took his own life, through fear of losing his reason; he was followed by his brother Mitʿab, shortly afterwards murdered by Ṭalāl's sons Badr and Bandar, of whom the latter assumed the sovereignty, he was shortly afterwards slain by another brother of Ṭalāl, Muḥammad, who inaugurated his rule with a massacre, described by Doughty (II. 16) Doughty's statistical computation of the populations under the rule of Ibn Rashīd at this time at 30,000 and of his revenue at £ 30,000 and expenditure at 13,000, is criticized by Philby as an understatement. About the same time Faiṣal died at Riyāḍ (Dec. 25, 1869) and was succeeded by his son ʿAbd Allāh, who had endeavoured to obtain poison from Palgrave for his brother Saʿūd The latter obtained allies who helped him to dethrone his brother in 1870, his reign was marked by the loss of Hasā to the Turks, and other losses on the west; and on his death in 1877 ʿAbd Allāh returned to Riyāḍ as ruler, it is said through the influence of Muḥammad b Rashīd Relations between the two soon became strained, and in 1883 a pitched battle took place between the forces of the two, wherein Ibn Rashīd won a complete victory, peace was made but a revolt of Saʿūd's sons in 1884 gave Ibn Rashīd the opportunity to invade Riyād, despatch ʿAbd Allāh to Ḥāʾil, and place a governor of his own in Riyād. "Ultimately in the spring of 1891 events occurred which seemed to settle the fate of Nadjd for a long time" (E. Nolde, *Reise in Innerarabien*, 1895, p. 69), a great alliance was formed against the too powerful Emīr of Ḥāʾil, consisting of 1 ʿUnaiza under its warlike chieftain Zamīl; 2. the whole royal family of Riyāḍ, 3 the towns Buraida, Raʾs and Shaḳra, 4 the united tribes ʿUtaiba and Mutair According to Nolde, who gives the most detailed account of this campaign, the forces on either side numbered about 30,000, in the struggle, which lasted a whole month, the initial results were in favour of the allies, but at the end of the month (March) Ibn Rashīd succeeded by a mass attack of 20,000 camels in spreading panic among the allies' infantry, and won a complete victory (battle of Mulaida). Riyād had been during this rising governed by ʿAbd al-Rahmān, another son of Faisal, after the defeat of the allies he sought refuge in various places and finally received protection in Kuwait Muhammad b Rashīd was ruler of desert Arabia till his death in 1897

§ 6 Restoration of the Saʿūd dynasty. Muhammad was succeeded by his nephew ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz son of Mitʿab, and ere long this ruler was involved in a struggle with the Shaikh of Kuwait, who was harbouring ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Saʿūd and his family In January of 1901 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, at the head of a small force succeeded in entering Riyād, and reestablishing the old dynasty there, after an interval of eleven years spent in exile The succeeding years were spent by him in recovering provinces which had belonged to the old Wahhābī empire, and by 1904 "he was master of all that his grandfather had ruled effectively in Najd" (Philby). The campaigns which he conducted in the following years against Ibn Rashīd, the Turks, disaffected tribes, pretenders of his own family, and finally the rulers of the Ḥidjāz, are recorded in detail by Philby, but only a few events of importance need be mentioned here. On Nov. 2, 1921 Ibn Saʿūd obtained possession of Ḥāʾil, and put an end to the Rashīd dynasty. In October 1924 his forces occupied Mecca; on Dec. 5, 1925 they obtained possession of Medīna, and on Dec. 23 of Djidda. Thus the whole of the Ḥidjāz was added to Ibn Saʿūd's realm.

§ 7. Institution of the Ikhwān. In 1912

Ibn Saʿūd commenced the foundation of agricultural colonies, whose residents were to be devotees, who took the title *ikhwān* "brethren", indicating that the religious tie had superseded that of the tribe The first of these colonies was Artawīya (so called by Philby, but by Rihani Irtawīya) in the Kasīm, and its inhabitants were mainly drawn from the Muṭair tribe The able-bodied were provided with arms to be used in the *djihād*, but they were also told to cultivate the land, which in each case was near a source of water, and the accumulation of wealth was encouraged. Mud huts were built to serve the Bedouin in lieu of their tents, and they were told to sell their camels "About seventy *hidjras* (the name for these colonies) with a population of from 2,000 to 10,000 each sprang up after the Wahhābī revival in about ten years" writes Ameen Rihani, who adds that the population of a *hidjra* consists of three classes Bedū who have become farmers, missionaries called *muṭawwiʿ*, and the merchant class, but for military purposes the division is into those who are at all times ready to respond to the call to the *djihād*, the reserves, who in time of peace are herdsmen and journeymen; while the third class are those who remain in the colonies to keep up trade and agriculture, though not exempt from military service if necessary. The first two classes can be called out by the sulṭan, but the *nafīr*, or calling out of the civil population requires an announcement by the *ʿulamāʾ* that this is necessary A list of the *hidjar* with their population and the tribes represented is given by him (*Ibn Saoud of Arabia*, 1928, p. 198) Dame (*l. c*) declared that the agriculture of these *hidjar* was exceedingly primitive, and that the movement was on the wane

§8. Wahhābism in India Wahhābī doctrine was introduced into India by one Saiyid Ahmad, a native of the British District of Rai Bareli, born 1786; having already adopted puritan views, during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1822—1823 he incurred the hostility of the authorities by the similarity of his doctrines to those of the Wahhābīs, and having been expelled from the holy city, became an adherent of the Wahhābī system. He had already acquired a large following in India, and established a permanent centre in Patna, where he appointed four *khalīfas*, and an *imām*, visits to Bombay and Calcutta swelled the numbers of his followers, and in 1824 he was at the head of an army at the Peshawar frontier, preaching a *djihād* against the Sikh cities of the Pandjāb Djumādā II, 1242 (Dec. 21, 1826) was fixed as the date for the commencement of the war, which all Muslims were called upon to join, in a proclamation called *targhīb al-djihād*, and though the Sikhs put up a fierce resistance, Saiyid Ahmad's army took Peshawar towards the end of 1830. He proceeded to take the title Khalīfa and to strike coins in his own name. His reign was ephemeral, as he was killed by a Sikh army in the following year. His adherents however found a refuge at Sittana in the mountains beyond the Indus, whither those Muslims who were unwilling to live under non-Muslim rule flocked, and two of his *khalīfas* from Patna circulated the doctrine that Saiyid Aḥmad was not dead, but was merely hiding with a view to reappearance at a suitable time. They extended the *djihād* to Hindus and British, and started an insurrection in Lower Bengal, under a disciple of Saiyid Aḥmad, Titu Miyan, who after some successes was defeated and killed by government forces (Nov. 17, 1831). In spite of these defeats the *khalīfas* continued energetic propaganda among the Muslim population of India, and while maintaining the puritan doctrines of the Wahhābīs of Arabia concentrated attention on the duty of the *djihād*. The Wahhābī movement thus became a constant source of trouble to the government of India, since a system was devised whereby funds were collected and men selected and trained to be sent first to the headquarters of the community at Patna, and thence to the frontier camp of Sittana, and thereafter employed in fighting against the non-Muslim rulers of India After a great deal of trouble, destruction of property, and bloodshed had been caused by their efforts, and a series of trials had revealed the ramifications of the conspiracy, the older Muslim communities of India, both Shīʿa and Sunna, in 1870 and 1871 issued official declarations dissociating themselves from the Wahhābī doctrine of *djihād*. Since that time, the sect, though it still exists in India, has attracted little attention and indeed one portion of it is said to have abandoned the doctrine of *djihād* As late, however, as 1890, according to E A. Oliver (*Across the Border*, p 29), it had not ceased to be formidable.

§ 9. Wahhābism in other countries. Schuyler in his *Turkestan* (London 1876, ii. 254) mentions the presence of Wahhābī preachers in Khokand; in 1871 an attack was made on the Russian station Karasu, on the high road between Tashkent and Hodjent, led by Ishan Ish Muḥammad Kul, disciple of a Khokandian Wahhābī preacher, Ṣūfī Badal. Here then, as in India, the aim of the community was to throw off non-Muslim authority, but the forces collected were too exiguous to accomplish anything of consequence. The presence of the community in Afghānistān was connected with their aim in India.

§ 10 Wahhābī Literature. Prior to Ibn Saʿud's recent conquest of the Hidjāz there appears to have been no printing office in Wahhābī territory, the works of Muḥammad b ʿAbd al-Wahhāb circulated in MS. Those contained in the British Museum (MS. Or 4529) are *Mukhtaṣar al-Sīra*, *Kitāb al-Tawḥid*, *Kitāb al-Kabāʾir*, the autographs are said to be preserved in the Landberg collection at Leyden The *Rawḍat al-Afkār* contains a number of his *Rasāʾil* and *Fatāwā* A collection of Wahhābī tracts of different dates was published in Cairo by order of the king of the Hidjāz and edited by Sulaimān b Suḥmān (2nd edition, 1344); they are by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz I, ʿAbd Allāh son of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Aḥmad b Nāṣir b. Muʿammar, ʿAbd al-Laṭif of the family of the founder, and his son Muḥammad. The title of the collection is *al-Hadīya al-Sunnīya wa'l-Tuḥfa al-Wahhābīya al-Nadjdiya*. The content of all these is doctrinal, as is that of an anonymous *Risāla* inserted by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Fākhūrī in his *Tuḥfat al-Anām* (Cairo 1327; reproduced in the *Manār*, xii. 390 and xxi. 236).

Numerous tracts have been written against the Wahhābīs. three preserved in the Berlin Library belong, according to Ahlwardt, to the commencement of the founder's activities (see his Catalogue, No. 2156, 2157, 2158). Daḥlān mentions one by the founder's brother Sulaimān, one by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAfālik (*Taḥakkum al-Mukallidīn bi-man idda*ʿ*ā Tadjdid al-Dīn*), and one by ʿAlī b. Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī (*al-Mishkāt*

al-Muḍīʿa). Some belonging to the middle of the XIXth century are preserved in Cambridge University Library (see Browne's Handlists). Two which have attracted especial attention are *al-Durar al-sanīya* by Aḥmad b. Zainī Daḥlān (about 1800; printed in Bairūt about 1900), and a tract by Djamīl al-Zahāwī of Baghdād (recent)

The biography of the founder which has been excerpted above (*Lamʿ al-Shihāb fī Sīrat Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, Brit. Museum MS.) is somewhat, but not excessively hostile. Philby mentions as Wahhābī historians Ḥusain b. Ghannām al-Nadjdī "who died more than a century ago", and ʿUthmān b ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Hanbalī of the fifth decade of the XIXth century A British Museum MS (Add. 19, 799) without name of author, called *Rawḍat al-Afkār wa 'l-Afhām li-Murtād Ḥāl al-Imām wa-Taʿdād Ghazawāt dhawī 'l-Islām* is in two volumes, of which the second is a chronicle of Wahhābī campaigns ending with the year 1212, whereas the first contains chapters dealing with various aspects of the founder's mission and activities.

Several members of the ruling families are credited with skill in versification, specimens of Wahhābī poetry are given in an appendix to *al-Hadīya al-Sunnīya*

The Wahhābīs of India appear to have employed the printing or lithographic press on a considerable scale Hunter, p. 66, enumerates 13 works in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu by Wahhābī authors of this country, and adds that "even the briefest epitome of the Wahhābī treatises in prose and verse on the duty to wage war against the English would fill a volume". A work by Muhammad Ismāʿīl, nephew of Saiyid Ahmad, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, is said to be "the Kurʾān of the Wahhābīs of India".

Bibliography British Museum MSS mentioned in § 10, H St John Philby, *Arabia* (London 1930 a complete history of the community to date of publication), A Musil, *Northern Neja* (New York 1928 p 256–304 furnish a continuous history); Ameen Rihani, *Ibn Saoud of Arabia and his Land* (London 1928), S B Mills, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf* (London 1919: treats especially of the dealings of the Wahhābīs with ʿOmān), S H Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford 1925 treats especially of their dealings with ʿIrāḳ) — For the Indian community: W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musulmans* (London 1871), *Calcutta Review*, vol I and li (Calcutta 1870), R W van Diffelen, *De leer der Wahhabieten*, thesis Leiden University, Leyden 1927.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

WĀḤIDĪ, the name of a dynasty in South Arabia, which rules over three sultānates, those of Bīr ʿAlī ʿAmaḳīn, Bāl Ḥāf ʿIzzān and Ḥabbān. H. v. Maltzan (p 222) after investigation divided the whole territory belonging to this ruling house into two groups. Lower Wāḥidī on the coast from 48° to 48° 30′ East Long. (Greenwich) in the 14° N Lat. reaching barely two hours journey into the interior, and Upper Wāḥidī from 47° to 47° 40′ East Long (Greenwich) and from 14° 20′ to 14° 58′ N. Lat. C. v Landberg (p. 180) gives Rās al-Ḳusaim in the west and al-Ḥuṣā al-Ḥamrā in the east as the boundaries of the coast territory. The lands of the Wāḥidī dynasty therefore lie between those of the ʿAwāliḳ and Ḳuʿaiṭī. The most important area in the lower Wāḥidī territory is the Wādī Maifaʿ, which reaches the sea one hour east of Rās al-Ḳusaim and is the lower course of the Wādī Ḥadjr; its most important place is Djōl el-Shēkh. The coast territory is so divided between the sulṭāns of Bīr ʿAlī ʿAmaḳīn and Bāl Ḥāf ʿIzzān that the former rules the land between Ḥuṣā al-Ḥamra and the promontory of Rās al-Raṭl while the latter rules from here to Rās al-Ḳusaim Wādī Maifaʿ belongs to the sulṭān of Bāl Hāf, who lives in the summer at ʿIzzān, but the sultān of Bīr ʿAlī also has land there. The two most important harbours are Bīr ʿAlī which is used in summer and Madjdaḥa which is used in winter.

To the Upper Wāḥidī territory belong the Wādī ʿAmaḳīn with al-Ḥawṭa, which is independent, Wādī Dhere, al-Shuʿaib, al-Hanaka, Salmūn, Ḥadā and Ḥabbān, with the most important place which bears the same name. The Beduin tribes of Nuʿmān, Saʿd and Namaira as well as the Himyar tribes of Bā ʿAwda, Āl Aḥmad, Āl Bā Seida, al-Ḳumūsh and al-Dhiyāb are distributed over the Wāḥidī territory The wadīs are particularly rich and fertile and produce cereals and dates, as well as tobacco, indigo and cotton. Textiles are manufactured, notably in al-Hanṭa, while carpentry flourishes in al-Habban Ḥusn al-Ghurāb and Naḳab al-Hadjar are important ruins of the Sabaean period.

In 1870 negotiations took place with Sulṭān Hādī regarding the cession of the two ports of Bīr ʿAlī and Madjdaḥa to the Turks who wished to build quarantine stations here This plan fell through however, owing to English opposition, as did a second attempt by Turkey, then very active in South Arabia, through ʿIzzet Pasha in 1882 to gain over the lords of Bīr ʿAlī and Bāl Hāf for Turkey, on which occasion the sultān of the latter port was given a Turkish flag The Turkish sultān was mentioned in the *khuṭba* it is true, but dependence was not expressed in any form indicating submissions To avert all eventualities, England on April 30, 1888 concluded treaties of protection with the sultāns of Bāl Hāf and Bīr ʿAlī in which the latter in return for an annual payment bound themselves to enter into no relations with foreign powers without English approval These treaties were renewed on March 15, 1895, and June 1, 1896 and at the present day the whole territory belongs to the British sphere of influence of the ʿAden hinterland

Bibliography. J. R. Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, ed E. Rodiger, Halle 1842, i. 283 *sqq*, 322 *sqq*., C. Rittei, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, VIII/1, Berlin 1846, p. 663, A. v. Wrede, *Reise in Hadhramaut*, ed H. v. Maltzan, Braunschweig 1873, p 160 *sqq* , H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Sudarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, p 221 *sqq*; C. Landberg, *Arabica*, IV, Leyden 1897, p 67; v., Leyden 1898, p. 179 *sqq*., F Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Turkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, I., Braunschweig 1916, p. 144, 37*—41*.

(A. GROHMANN)

WAḤSHĪ BĀFḲĪ, a Persian poet, born at Bāfḳ, in Kirmān, died in 991 (1583) or 992 (1584) and spent most of his life in Yazd. He wrote panegyrics in honour of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and his court, began a poem (*Ferhād u-Shīrīn*) which he did not complete; it was finished long afterwards by Wiṣāl in 1265 (1848—1849). He wrote two other poems, *Khuld-i Barīn* and *Nāẓir*

u-Manṣūr, ghazal's and *ḳiṭaᶜ*'s. *Ferhād u-Shīrīn* has been lithographed in Persia and several times in India.

Bibliography. Luṭf ᶜAlī Beg, *Āteṣh Kede*, Bombay 1277, p. 111—120, Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaᶜ al-Fuṣahā'*, ii 51—54, Rieu, *Pers Catal.*, p. 663; Edw G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 238; W. Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Calcutta 1924, p. 300. (Cl. Huart)

WAḤY (a), revelation [cf also ḲOR'ĀN, MUḤAMMAD]. As to the etymology of the word, cf Jewish-Aramaic אוחי "to hasten", Aethiopic ወሐየ, "to go round, to recognise", and the non-religious meaning *ilhām bi-surᶜa*, given by the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*; on the use of the verb by the poets, cf. *Lisān*, s. v. As a religious technical term it is distinguished from inspiration (*ilhām*, q v) of saints, artists and others, from *tanzīl*, which chiefly denotes the object of revelation and from *inzāl* which denotes the sending down of revelation from heaven and from its heavenly archetype [see UMM AL-KITĀB], in so far as it denotes revelation as transmitted to the prophets.

Use in the Ḳur'ān. *a* In the early passage sūra xcix 5 the earth is the object of divine revelation On that day shall she (the earth) tell out her tidings, because thy Lord hath inspired her. In sūra xxviii 6 the object of revelation is the mother of Moses, here al-Baiḍāwī explains the term by inspiration or vision, in order to distinguish it from waḥy proper. Likewise in sūra xix 12 the subject of *awḥā* is Zakarīyā and its object his people; here it is explained by *awmaᵓa* In a peculiar way the term is used in sūra vi 112. Even thus have We given an enemy to every prophet, Satans among men and among djinn tinsel discourses do they suggest (*yūḥī*) the one to the other, in order to deceive.

The technical term for daemoniac inspiration is *wiswās*. The means of communication between God and man is waḥy, either directly, or indirectly through the intermediary of the angels It is not for man that God should speak with him but by revelation, or from behind a veil, or He sendeth a messenger to reveal by Him, or he sendeth a messenger to reveal by His permission, what He will (sūra xlii 50 *sq*). — Allāh's communications to the angels are also called waḥy, sūra viii 12 When the Lord revealed unto the angels I will be with you etc

b In many passages waḥy and the verb *awḥā* refer to the prophets before Muḥammad Nūḥ (sūra xxiii 27), Mūsā (sūra xx. 13 etc, xxi 7, vii 160), Yūsuf (sūra xii. 15) etc. — All those who were sent before Muḥammad, were men to whom We granted revelations (sūra xxi 7).

c. The chief object of revelation in the Ḳur'ān is Muḥammad Sūra xiii. 29. Thus have We sent thee to a people whom other peoples have preceded, that thou mightest rehearse to them our revelations to thee. — Sūra xxxiv. 49. But I have guidance, it is of my Lord's revealing. Muḥammad's contemporaries are astonished at his receiving revelations: A matter of astonishment to the men (of Mecca) that to a man among themselves We revealed etc. (sūra x. 2) But he says: I say not to you, "In my possession are the treasures of God"; nor "I know things secret", neither do I say to you, "Verily, I am an angel": only what is revealed to me do I follow (sūra vi 50 The words of Allāh thus revealed to him not be changed: And publish what hath revealed to thee of the book of the Lord, may change his words (sūra xviii. 26).

The divine character of Muḥammad's revela is emphasized in sūra liii. 4. Verily, it is no than a revelation revealed; his honesty in sū 93 But is any more wicked than he who de a lie of God, or saith, "I have had a revelat when nothing was revealed to him. — Muḥan therefore is ordered to follow nothing but was revealed to him by his Lord (sūra xx xliii. 42) He does not forbid any food, be he does not find such a prohibition amon revelations (sūra vi 146)

d. The contents and the aim of revelatio described in various ways [see also MUḤAMM The story of the Āl ᶜImrān is interrupted b verse (sūra iii 39)· This is one of the an cement of things by thee unseen· To thee d reveal it — The story of Yūsuf is introduc him with the verse In revealing to thee Ḳur'ān, one of the most beautiful narratives We relate to thee, of which thou hast aforetime been regardless (sūra xii 3). — hammad's following "the religion of Ibrāhī ascribed to divine inspiration (sūra xvi. likewise his knowledge about the djinn list to the recitation of the Ḳur'ān (sūra lxxii. well as about the disputations of the angels a creation of man is due to waḥy (sūra xxxviii. 69

The aim of the revelation of the Ḳur' mentioned in sūra vi 19 And this Kur'ān been revealed to me, that I should warn yc it and all whom it shall reach.

Various terms are used in the Ḳur'ān in orc denote the contents of revelation. Sūra v. 52. to thee We have sent down the book with (cf sūra xxxix 2, 42, xxxii. 2, xxiii. 72; xvii. etc), confirmatory of previous scripture ar safe-guard (cf. vi 92) — Sūra xxxi 1 *sq.*: are the signs of the wise book, a guidance a mercy to the righteous — Sūra xxvii 2. are the signs of the Kur'ān and of the lucid guidance and glad tidings to the believers. — vii 50 And now We have brought then book with knowledge have we explained guidance and mercy to them that believe. — xlii. 52· And thus we have sent the spi thee with a revelation by our command. knewest not, ere this, what the book was, or the faith. But we have ordained it for a lig Further the contents of revelation are knowledge (*ᶜilm*: sūra iii. 54, ii. 114, 140), dom (sūra xvii. 41), guidance (sūra xlv 10 50 etc), healing (sūra xli. 44), light (sū 174, xlii. 52).

Regarding the forms of revela recorded in the biographies of Mu mad the following may be said. Th ginning of revelation consisted in dreams a pating real events (Ibn Hishām, p. 151; T *Tafsīr*, xxx. 138, Ibn Saᶜd, i/i. 129). Also wards such dream visions are said to have occ When ᶜĀ'isha was under suspicion, she hope Allāh would reveal her innocence to Muha in a dream vision (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 24, bāb 6).

The first revelation in which Djibrīl app to Muḥammad took place on mount Ḥirā',

the angel said to him: I am Djibrīl. Thereupon Muḥammad hastened to Khadīdja, crying: Wrap me up (sūra lxxiii. 1 or lxxiv. 1).

The first portion of the Ḳur'ān revealed was sūra xcvi., when the angel, in the month of Ramaḍān, during his retreat, showed him a piece of cloth, on which this sūra was written, saying: recite! When Muḥammad protested that he could not write, the angel pressed him so strongly that he was nearly suffocated. At the third repetition the angel pronounced the verses which Muḥammad retained.

After this there came a pause (*fatra*) in revelation. During this time Muḥammad was in such depression that the thought of suicide came upon him (Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, i 1150, Ibn Hishām, p. 156, 166, Ibn Sa'd, i/i 131). The pause ended with the revelation of sūra lxxiv or xciii

The angel who transmitted revelation was visible to Muḥammad and to others (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 1, Ibn Hishām, p 154, cf. 156, Abū Nu'aim, p. 69). To some extent the ascension [cf MI'RĀDJ] and the night journey may also be reckoned as revelations Visions are also mentioned in the Ḳur'ān Sūra liii. 3 *sqq* Verily, it is no other than a revelation revealed one terrible in power taught it him, endued with understanding With even balance stood he And he was in the highest point of the horizon. Then came he nearer and approached closely, and was at the distance of two bows and even closer And he revealed to his servant what he revealed, his heart falsified not what he saw. Will ye then dispute with him what he saw? And he saw him once again, near the *sidra*-tree, which marks the boundary . . . His gaze turned not aside, nor did it wander, for he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord.

Sūra lxxxi 19 *sqq* . Verily this is the word of an illustrious messenger, powerful with the Lord of the throne, of established rank . . faithful also to his trust And your compatriot is not one possessed by djinn, for he saw him in a clear horizon.

In other sūras, however, revelation is said to have taken place by audition. Sūra lxxv. 18 Move not thy tongue that thou mayest hurry over the revelation, we verily will see to the collecting and the recital of it, when therefore we recite, then follow thou the recital Afterwards, verily it shall be Ours to make it clear. — Moreover the whole form of the Ḳur'ān with its often repeated *ḳul* "say" on the part of Allāh, supposes revelation by the way of audition

Particulars regarding Muhammad's auditive revelations are to be found in the *sīra* and chiefly in *ḥadīth*.

a. How they were perceived by Muḥammad. 1. "Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell, this kind is the most painful. When it ceases I retain what was said Sometimes it is an angel who speaks to me as a man, and I retain what he says" (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Waḥy*, bāb 2; *Bad' al-Khalḳ*, b. 6; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 87; Tirmidhī, *Manāḳib*, b. 7; Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, b. 37; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, chap. *al-Wuḍū' li-man mass al-Ḳur'ān*, trad. 7; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 222; vi. 158, 163, 256 *sq*.).

2. In a different form of this tradition Muhammad says: Sometimes it approaches me in the form of a young man (*al-fatā*) who hands it down to me (Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, bāb 37).

3. The Apostle of Allāh heard a sound like the humming of bees near his face; thereupon sūra xxiii. 1 *sqq*. was revealed to him (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 23, trad. 1, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 34).

4. The Apostle of Allāh used to move his lips from pain, as soon as revelation began. After the revelation of sūra lxxv. 16, however, he listened till Djibrīl had withdrawn, thereupon he recited what he had heard (Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, b. 43; al-Nasā'ī, *Iftitāḥ*, b. 37, Ṭayālisī, N°. 2628).

5. ". . on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b 'Umar I asked the Prophet. Do you perceive the revelation? He answered: Yes, I hear sounds like metal being beaten (cf above, under 1) Then I listen, and often I think to die (from pain) (Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, ii 222)

b How they were perceived by others. 1 Even on cold days sweat appeared on his fore-head (Bukhārī, *Bad' al-Waḥy*, b 2; *Tafsīr*, sūra 24, b 6, Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, trad 86; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 58, 103, 197, 202, 256 *sq* , cf. iii. 21, cf further above under *a*. 1.).

2. Muḥammad covers his head, his colour grows red, he snores as one asleep, or rattles like a young camel, after some time he recovers (*surriya 'anhu*) (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, b 17; *'Umra*, b. 10, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, b. 2, Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, trad 6, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 222, 224)

3 Muḥammad's colour grows livid (*tarabbada lahu wadjhuhu* Muslim, *Ḥudūd*, trad 13, 14, *Faḍā'il*, trad. 88; Aḥmad b Hanbal, v 317, 318, 320 *sq* , 327, *mutarabbidan* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii. 4, *tarabbuan djildihi* Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i 238 *sq* , *tarabbada li-dhālika djasaduhu wa-wadjhuhu*: Ṭayālisī, No 2667).

4 He falls into a lethargy or a trance (*subaṭ*. Ahmad b Ḥanbal, vi. 103)

5 "Thereupon the Apostle of Allāh sat down, turning towards him ('Uthmān b Maẓ'ūn) When they talked, the Apostle of Allah let his gaze swerve towards heaven, after a while he looked down to his right side and turned away from his companion, following his gaze and began to shake his head as if he tried to understand what was said to him, while 'Uthmān sat looking on When Muhammad had reached his aim, his gaze turned anew towards heaven, etc" (Aḥmed b. Ḥanbal, i 318).

6. "When Muḥammad received a revelation . . . this caused him much pain, so that we perceived it That time he separated himself from his companions and remained behind Thereupon he began to cover his head with his shirt, suffering intensely, etc." (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, i. 464).

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

7. Zaid b. Thābit said: "I was at Muḥammad's side, when the *sakīna* [q v.] came upon him. His thigh fell upon mine so heavily, that I feared it would break. When he recovered, he said to me: Write down, and I wrote down sūra iv. 97" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 184, 190 *sq*.; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, b. 19).

8. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr said. "The sūra al-Mā'ida was revealed to the Apostle of Allāh, while he was riding on his camel. The beast could not bear him any longer, so that he had to descend from it" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 176). A similar tradition on the authority of Asmā' bint Yazīd:

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 455, 458; another tradition of the same type: Ibn Sa'd, I/i., 131.

c. The circumstances under which revelation came upon Muḥammad. 1 Muḥammad is directly or indirectly asked for his opinion or decision, when the answer is revealed to him, e. g. concerning the use of perfumes during the *'umra* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, b. 17; see above *b* 2); concerning excuses for staying at home during an expedition (Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, b 19, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v 184); concerning the question whether evil may proceed from good (Ahmad b Ḥanbal, iii 21; Tayālisī, No 2180), concerning the question whether his wives were allowed to relieve a want near town (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 56), concerning 'Ā'isha's being or not being guilty (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 24, b 6, Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi 103, 197), concerning divorce in case of adultery witnessed by one witness (Tayālisī, No. 2667); concerning *zihār* (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii 2)

2. Revelation comes upon Muhammad while he is riding (above, *b*. 8., Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi. 39), while his head is being washed (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii 2), while he is at table, holding a bone in his hand (Ahmad b Hanbal, vi 56), while he is on the pulpit (Ahmad b Hanbal, iii. 21)

d The contents of these revelations are not always communicated, and, if so, they are not always parts of the Kur'ān (cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i 256—261), e g Muhammad's answer to the question whether evil may proceed from good (Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 21, Tayālisī, No. 2180), the permission granted to his wives to leave the town (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi 56) the punishment of fornication (Ahmad b Hanbal, v 317, 318, 320 *sq*, 327, not the *āyat al-radjm*), the permission of *li'ān* (Tayālisī, No 2667)

As far as I can see, the idea of revelation has not called forth discussions of importance. Al-Idjī and his commentator al-Djurdjānī combat the views of philosophers according to whom it is a charisma peculiar to the prophets that "they see the angels in their corporeal forms and hear their speech by revelation, it is not to be rejected that they being awake see what common people see when asleep, i e that they see persons who speak to them poetical words, which point to ideas corresponding to what really happens, since their soul is free from bodily occupations and can easily come into contact with the divine world (*'ālam al-kuds*) Often this peculiarity becomes in them a settled faculty which is easily set working". This theory of revelation is, according to al-Idjī, misleading, not being in harmony with the views of the philosophers themselves, according to whom the angels cannot be seen, being merely psychic beings, who do not produce audible speech, which belongs especially to corporeal beings So the theory of philosophers explains revelation as the imagining of what has no basis in reality, as little as what comes from the lips of ailing and lunatic people. Yet if any of us should command and prohibit on his own authority what is salutary and sensible, he would not on account thereof be a prophet How much the less then would be a prophetic utterance what is based upon imaginations which have no foundation and often are contrary to reason (*Mawāḳif*, p 172 *sq*.).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 150 *sqq*. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaḳāt*, ed. Mittwoch, p. 126 *sqq*.; Ṭabarī, ed. de G i 1146 *sqq*.; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschicht Qorāns*, i 21 *sq*.; J. Horovitz, *Koranische U suchungen*, p 67 *sq*.; for the collections of dition, cf Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 162b, i Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥam* i. Berlin 1861, p. 207 *sqq*.; iii. 1865, p. xviii. W Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, Edinb 1912; F Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Le 1930, p 134 *sqq* ; T. Andrae, *Die Person Mu meds*, Upsala 1917, p. 311; G. Holscher, *Propheten*, Leipzig 1914; O. Pautz, *Muham Lehre von der Offenbarung*, Leipzig 1898 Andrae, *Mohammed*, Gottingen 1932, p. 77 Abu Nu'aim Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Isba *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, Ḥaidarābād 1320, p *sqq* ; al-Rāghib al-Isbahānī, *al-Mufradā Gharīb al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1324, p. 536 'Adud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, *Kitāb al-Mawāḳif*, Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 172 *sqq* ; Muhar 'Alā' b 'Alī al-Tahānawī, *Kitāb Kashshāf lahāt al-Funūn*, Calcutta 1862, p. 1523.

(A J WENSINC

WAISĪ, properly UWAIS B MEḤMED, kr under his *maḵhlaṣ* of Waisī, a famous O man scholar and poet. Born in 969 (1561– in Mashehir, the son of a ḳādī named Meh Efendi, he also adopted a legal career After pleting his training in Constantinople with *'ulemā'* Sālih Efendi and Ahmad Efendi, he a series of important posts in all parts of Ottoman empire (in Rosetta, Cairo, Aḳ Ḥ Tire, Alashehir, Seres, Rodosto, Üskub, Gu djina) and died in 1037 (1628) in Üskub, w he filled the office of kādī seven times, afte dismissal at the age of 68 Waisī who was o mother's side a nephew of the poet Maḳālī likewise a successful poet. He was also or the finest prose writers of his time and wro a particularly fine persianising style. After death of Bākī, he was regarded as the gre master of his time in prose and verse His lang is laden with a foreign vocabulary and not to understand, his diction nevertheless is cl intellectual and attractive. 'Atā'ī says of (*Shaḳā'ik-i nu'māniye*, i 715) that his poet better than his learning, his prose-style distinguished than his poetry, his gift of e taining finer than his prose and the beau his face and figure more striking than his g entertaining.

Waisī left a considerable number of wri in all fields Some of his works still have admirers, particularly his two chief works *al-Nabī* and *Khāb-nāme*. The former, the *Si Waisī* or to give it its full title: *Durrat al- fī Sīrat Sāḥib al-Mi'rādj*, is best known alth he did not quite finish it It only comes to the battle of Badr The holograph is in Serai library The book was continued by and after his death by Nazmī-zāde-i Bagh Waisī's text with Nābī's continuation was pr in 1245 in Būlāḳ and in 1286 in Stambul i collected works. No less celebrated is his *nāme*, a vision It is a conversation between Aḥr and Alexander the Great in a dream writte simple, clear Turkish.

According to 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid, the m school was founded by Shināsī under the infl of poems in the style of this vision This *nāme*, which is also called *Waḳ'a-nāme* (Me

Ṭāhir wrongly thinks there are two different works) and which contains a criticism of his times, has often been reprinted (Būlāk 1252, Istanbul 1263, 1293, and in the collected works in 1286).

His *Shahādat-nāme* or *Dustūr al-ʿAmal* (Istanbul 1283 and 1286) which is of a religious nature has often been printed as has his *Munsha'āt* (collection of letters, collected works 1286).

His other works, of which Mehmed Tāhir gives the fullest list, are still unprinted, e. g. his complete *Dīwān* of which only a few copies exist, a *Tawbanāme* which deals with a saying of Zain al-Dīn Khāfī, Pīr of the Zainīye order, the incomplete history of the conquest of Egypt *Futūh al-Miṣr*, a reply to the attacks of the *Ḳāmūs* on the *Ṣaḥāh* of Djawharī (holograph in the Rāghib Pasha library), lastly two essays *Ghurrat al-ʿAsr fī Tafsīr Sūrat al-Nasr* and *Hadīyat al-Mukhliṣīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muḥsinīn*.

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WAḲʿA NUWĪS, WAḲĀʾIʿ NUWĪS *Waḳāʾiʿ nuwīs* is the officially appointed Ottoman historian while *wakʿa nuwīs* means keeper of records, the distinction between the two terms was already pointed out by von Hammer, *G O R.*, VII 465 The first official historian of the Ottomans is usually said to have been ʿAbd al-Rahmān ʿAbdī Pasha (cf F Babinger, *G O W*, p 227 *sq.*). The list of official Ottoman historians is not yet complete and accurate. There are gaps and errors in the list given by J v Hammer, *G. O R.*, VIII 591 *sq* (cf. thereon P Wittek in *M. O G*, I 152 and 243 *sq* and also F. Babinger, *G. O W*, p 227, note 3 and p 285, note 1) It seems that a keeper of records (*wakʿa nuwīs*) is occasionally given as official historian (*wakāʾiʿ nuwīs*), for example the poet- Neïkesī (cf F Babinger, *G. O W*, p 173) while the case of Muṣṭafā Rahmī (cf F. Babinger, *G O. W*, p. 285) who is said to have been given the title of an official historian still wants elucidation The office of Ottoman official historian is in any case a continuation of that of *shāhnāmedji* who was appointed and paid by the court. The last *wakāʾiʿ nuwīs* of the Ottoman empire was Wāsif Efendi [q. v].

Bibliography: Cf F. Babinger, *G. O W.*, p 227, note 3 and p. 285, note 1 and the works there quoted. (Franz Babinger)

WAKĀLA (also Wikāla), mandate, authorisation, is a contract (*ʿaḳd*) by which one contracting party, the *muwakkil*, commissions the other, the mandatary (*wakīl*), to perform some service for him.

I. In the Ḳur'ān we find forms derived from *wakala* in the meaning of "to rely upon, to trust in Allāh" (fifth form) or associated with the idea that Allāh, is the *wakīl*, one of the 99 names of Allāh, which according to the commentators has the meaning of *ḥafīẓ* (Sūra XII. 66; IX. 52; LXXIII 9, XXVIII 28) The word is therefore not found as a technical term. Nevertheless at the basis of Sūra XXXII. 11 we have the idea which belongs rather to the field of law, that the angel of death is regarded as the authorised agent of Allāh But this passage is not quoted as evidence that the conception of wakāla is found in the Kur'ān The *fukahā'* quote as authority for wakāla Sūra XVIII. 18: "Send one of your number with this your money to the city" This was an authorisation and therefore according to them Ḳur'ānic authority for wakāla Sūra IV. 39 is also quoted. — "then send an arbitrator (= negotiator) from your family and an arbitrator from his family"

II. Ḥadīths are numerous about mandates and the mandatary, some of which may be quoted here The Prophet authorised Hakīm b Hazām to purchase a sacrificial lamb (al-Sarakhsī, XIX. 2) and on another occasion he appointed ʿAmr b Umaiya al-Damrī as his *wakīl* at his marriage with Umm Habība. According to Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 3, a shepherd may kill an animal that is near to death and the mandatary may repair the thing that is deteriorating There are also hadiths regarding the mandate in criminal cases The Prophet for example gave authority for a woman to be stoned and a drunkard to be beaten (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 13) Other hadīths mention the agent who demands debts in names of a third person (Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 4). From this it is evident that the debtor satisfied the creditor by paying his agent Here the representation had further effects, for legal relations arose through the act of his agent between the principal and a third person.

III Idjmāʿ finally sanctioned the legality of representation (*mashrūʿiyat al-wakāla*) The Muḥammadans have from the earliest times to the present day used wakāla, without the slightest disapproval being shown, in the settlement of their affairs with one another For wakāla is an urgent necessity for man, since a man is sometimes not in a position to administer his own property when on a journey or on the pilgrimage, or to manage his estate on account of his lack of ability, or pressure of business or his great wealth By wakāla he can appoint a deputy The verse V 3 "Help one another to good deeds and to the fear of God" particularly urges this mutual help. — More particularly people of high rank or office usually do not attend to their affairs personally but through authorised agents.

IV. According to the teaching of the jurists, the wakāla is a contract and a revocable one (*ʿakd djāʾiz*).

1. For the validity (*ṣihha*) of the mandate we have the following four requirements (*arkān*)

a the muwakkil.

b the wakīl Both persons must be able to dispose of their property (*ittlāḳ al-taṣarruf*) A minor (*ṣabī*), a lunatic (*madjnūn*), a slave (*ʿabd*) or any one who is *mahdjūr* [q v] cannot be either principal or agent For validity are also required the conditions demanded for other contracts In particular we should add that in marriage and divorce only a person of irreproachable character in the eyes of the law (*ʿādil*) can be a *wakīl*, while in all other cases this is not demanded If then a woman chooses a man who is not of blameless character for her *wakīl* at a marriage, the marriage is invalid. According to the Mālikīs, a Muslim and a *dhimmī* cannot be *wakīl* for one

another; but the hadīth in Bukhārī, *Wakāla*, Bāb 2 is not so strict.

c. The object (*muwakkal fīhi*) must be the property of the principal, definite, legal and capable of representation Representation under a condition to come into operation in the future is not permissible The principal therefore cannot for example appoint a *wakīl* in order to divorce a wife whom he is only going to marry at a later date or to sell a slave whom he is going to buy in the future

Views differ on the question wether representation by a deputy is possible in the case of acquiring *mubāḥāt*, e g water, wood, or game

In general one can appoint a mandatary for all actions which one can carry out oneself Thus we have proxies in all contracts, marriage and divorce, law-suits, payment of blood-money etc According to Abū Ḥanīfa's teaching however, a representative in a law-suit could only be appointed with the approval of the other side, his successors however did not think this necessary According to the unanimous teaching of all the madhāhib, an oath cannot be transferred to a proxy. A list of the commonest cases is given by al-Sarakhsī, xix 190

As regards one's personal duties towards Allāh and actions belonging to the sphere of the *ʿibādāt*, one cannot of course appoint a deputy because they are obligations of a purely personal nature, with the exception of the *ḥadjdj* and the distribution of *zakāt* (*tafrikat* [or *adāʾ*] *al-zakāt*) A proxy cannot be appointed to commit crimes like murder or theft on account of the illegality of the action

d The form (*ṣīgha*) is that of offer and acceptance (*idjāb wa-kabūl*). Both parties must be willing for this legal transaction to take place and give their approval to it This is done by offer and acceptance. Acceptance may be given in silence or by an act which clearly shows the approval of the mandatary Representation is purely a matter of mutual agreement

2. The authorisation may be definite or general according as the proxy has to carry out a particular piece of business or all the business of his principal in the way he thinks fit The first kind of proxy is called *wakīl muʿaiyan*, the latter *wakīl mutlak*. The Shāfiʿīs reject the general authorisation as they demand that the mandate must define accurately the nature of the business

3 The proxy does his work without a fee, but some recompense may be made by arrangement. The proxy has in any case the right to be compensated for all expenses or losses that he has incurred This does not affect the mandate as such There is a difference of opinion among the jurists on the question where and when an agreement of this kind passes into hired service (*idjāra*)

4 As to the liability (*ḍamān*) it has to be remembered that the *wakīl* is a person of trust. His statement on oath is therefore valid without proof but only as far as the loss, deterioration and return of the *res mandata* is concerned. His statement regarding the return of the thing to another person than his principal is only to be accepted with proof

The proxy must adhere to the orders given him and is responsible for all mistakes in the transaction; he is thus responsible, *a.* in *tafrīṭ*, i. e. *culpa in omittendo*, if he does less than he ought strictly to do, and *b* in *taʿaddī*, if he does more than he ought, i. e. exceeds his commission.

5. Termination. As the mandate is an *ʿaḳd djāʾiz*, both parties can dissolve the contract when they please. The contract is dissolved like other contracts through death, insanity or the legal incompetence of one of the parties, since the mandatary like the depositary [cf. WADIʿA] is regarded as *amīn*.

V. Here we cannot go into the later development The *Code Civil Ottoman*, Art. 1449—1530 contains, broadly speaking, the doctrines of the Hanafīs. In the *Ḳāwānīn al-Miṣrīya*, wakāla is dealt with in §§ 512—531 and in the *Sharḥ al-Ḳānūn*, p 292—300.

Bibliography Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 13, Bukhārī, *Wakāla*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322, iv 242; al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, xix. 2, Ahmad Abu 'l-Fath, *Muʿāmalāt*, Cairo 1330, ii 567, v Tornauw, *Musl. Recht*, p 130 — In addition to the Fiḳh works: Sachau, *Muh. Recht*, Berlin 1897, p. 421 *sqq.*; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, Algiers 1896, p 103 *sqq* , *Ḫalīl*, *Muḫtaṣar o sommario del diritto malechita*, transl. Dav. Santillana, Milan 1919, p 381 *sqq* , R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Gottingen 1895, p 82 *sqq* , 132 *sqq.*; Querry, *Droit Musulman*, Paris 1871, i 557 *sqq*; Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford 1906, vi 375 *sqq* (OTTO SPIES).

WAḲĀR, MĪRZĀ AḤMAD SHĪRĀZĪ with the *takhallus* Wakār (Browne vocalises it Wiḳār), a Persian poet, the eldest of the six sons of the poet Wiṣāl His five brothers also attained fame as poets Specimens of the poetry of the father Wiṣāl are given in the *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ* of Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ii 528 *sqq* and in Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p 318; in the last named work on p 301, 319 *sqq* and 323 *sqq* are also specimens of the work of Dāwarī and Farhang, two brothers of Wakār In the *Madjmaʿ*, ii 103 *sqq* are two further poems of Wiṣāl's second son Mahmūd Ḥakīm and in ii 384, poems by Farhang Six *kaṣīdas* on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh composed by Wakār and his five brothers are given in the British Museum manuscript, No. 370 of Rieu's *Supplement* Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *op cit.*, ii. 82 *sqq.*, gives a few poems by Tawḥīd (Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Shīrāzī), another of Wiṣāl's sons

Waḳār must have been born about 1232 (1817) (cf Rieu, *Supplement*, p 230, Browne, *op. cit*, p 300) A few years after his father's death (in 1262 = 1846), Wakār travelled to India along with his brother Mahmūd. He stayed there from about 1266 (1849) to 1268 (1851) in Bombay until a letter from the *nawwāb* Nusrat al-Dawla Fīrūz Mīrzā induced him to return to Shīrāz. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān says that Waḳār was very highly honoured in Bombay, but the poet seems to have suffered from home-sickness there The verses in *Madjmaʿ*, ii 552 refer to his sojourn in India.

In 1274 (1857—58) Waḳār was in Ṭeherān where he was presented to the Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn and honoured by him with a *khilʿa* and a pension. The date of the poet's death does not seem to be exactly recorded He was not only a good Arabic scholar but also a fine calligrapher. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān mentions a copy of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, which he had copied in India.

Works: *Bahrām u-Bihrūz*, a *mathnawī*. On this work and its contents cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 229

sq.; *Andjuman-i Dānish*, a collection of anecdotes and short stories in the style of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*. According to Rieu (*op cit*, p. 230), a lithographed edition appeared in 1289 in Ṭeherān, and it was completed by the poet in 1281 (1864—1865).

More accessible are the extracts from Waḳār's lyric poetry, which are printed in the *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣahāʾ*, ii 548 *sqq*. The poems are composed on the old traditional models of the pre-Mongol period, as is to be expected with a poet of the first half of the Ḳādjār epoch (cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, p 299) In Waḳār we find *ḳaṣīdas*, *ḳiṭʿas* etc, also *muṣammaṭs*, a kind of poem, which was revived in the Ḳādjār period after having dropped out of fashion even before the beginning of the Mongol period (Browne, *op. cit*, p. 163).

In addition to panegyrics on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Waḳār also wrote them on Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā Muʾaiyid al-Dawla and on Nuṣrat al-Dawla Fīrūz among others It is particularly in the panegyrics that we frequently find passages which quite recall the mediæval court poets (e g. *Madjmaʿ*, ii 550)

An example of a very elaborate simile quite in the classical vein is to be found in one of his *ḳaṣīdas*, a snowcloud is compared to a camel with foam at its mouth and a broken headstall (*mahār*) It is laden with pearls from ʿAden, but the packing has burst and the pearls are being scattered in all directions (*Madjmaʿ*, ii 552) Pictures familiar to Persian panegyrics but which strike the western as peculiar are also found e g in the *ḳaṣida* on Nusrat al-Dawla Fīrūz (*Madjmaʿ*, ii. 553).

The artifices of the classical period are of course also found, we may mention for example the *tadjnīs* between the words *shaikh-i sālkhward* and *shankh-i khūrdsāl* (*Madjmaʿ*, ii 550) Waḳār sometimes uses internal rhyme, e g *Madjmaʿ*, ii. 551, 555 The *tashbībs* are descriptive of nature in the old style or they have an erotic subject Among the latter is a piece (*Madjmaʿ*, ii 549) which shows some similarity with the pretty *musammaṭ* by Waḳār's brother Dāwarī printed in Browne, *op cit*, p 319 *sqq*

The matter of Waḳār's lyrics is for the rest of little interest He moves mainly in the circle of ideas of the mediæval poetry In addition to regular panegyrics we also have poems of religious and moral content (these are not his best), a letter in poetry to his father Wisāl, verses on an earthquake in Shīrāz, indeed he even wrote a poem on an attack of fever

Bibliography In addition to the works already quoted cf also *Grundriss der Iran Philologie*, ii. 314 (C F Buchner)

WAḲF or Habs (a) is properly an Arabic *maṣdar* meaning "to prevent, restrain". In Muslim legal terminology it means primarily "to protect a thing, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person (*tamlīk*)" (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xii. 27) By it is meant 1. state land, which on being conquered passed to the Muslim community either by force or by treaty and remained in possession of the previous owners on payment of the *kharādj* and could neither be sold nor pledged by them (cf. e g. Mawardī, *Aḥkām*, ed Enger, p. 237 *sq.*) and 2 commonly a pious endowment, which is defined in various ways in the Sharīʿa according to the school. Following up these definitions we may say that by *waḳf* (plur. *awḳāf*) is meant a thing which while retaining its substance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes. Waḳf really means however the legal process by which one creates such an endowment (synonymous with *taḥbīs*, *tasbīl* or *taḥrīm*) and in popular speech became transferred to the endowment itself, which is properly called *mawḳūf*, *mahbūs*, *muhabbas* or *ḥabīs* Among the Mālikīs and therefore in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis the name *hubus* (plur. of *habīs*) or the syncopated form *ḥubs* (pl. *ahbās*) predominates (hence in French legal language *habous*)

I. The main principles of Fiḳh

1. The founder (*wāḳif*) must have full right of disposal over his property; he must therefore be in full possession of his physical and mental faculties, be of age and a free man (*ʿāḳil*, *bāligh*, *hurr*) He must further have unrestricted ownership in the subject of the endowment. Endowments by non-Muslims are therefore only valid if they are intended for a purpose not incompatible with Islām (e g. they must not be intended for Christian churches or monasteries)

2 The object of the endowment (*mawḳūf*) must be of a permanent nature and yield a usufruct (*manfaʿa*), so that it is primarily real estate There is a difference of opinion about movables. One section of the Hanafīs regards the granting of movables in an endowment as inadmissible but the majority, like the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, grant the principle, when it is a case of things which can be the subject of an agreement legal in the Sharīʿa, e g. animals for their milk and wool, trees for their fruits, slaves for their labour, books for study There are however here also differences of opinion on points of detail (thus Shīrāzī does not permit a slave to be made a wakf) Provisions, money (prohibition of usury!) etc are in general not admitted as their substance is consumed, they can only be the object of a *ṣadaḳa* Among the Mālikīs a *manfaʿa* can also be made a wakf, e. g the yield of a piece of ground which is let for the period of the lease (Khalīl, ii 553).

3 The purpose of the endowment must be a work pleasing to God (*ḳurba*) although this is not always apparent on the surface Two kinds are distinguished. *wakf khairī*, endowments of a definitely religious or public nature (mosques, madrasas, hospitals, bridges, waterworks), and *waḳf ahlī* or *dhurrī*, family endowments, for example for children or grand-children or other relations, or for other persons; the ultimate purpose of such a foundation must however always be *ḳurba*, for the poor for example.

An endowment for oneself is however invalid (except in Abū Yūsuf). The Shāfiʿīs give a subterfuge (*ḥīla*) to evade this condition the thing which is to be the subject of the endowment is to be presented or sold at a low price to a third person; the latter can then create an endowment in favour of the original owner Ibn Ḥadjar mentions a further subterfuge which is rejected by others: a waḳf is created in favour of the children of the benefactor's father and in the deed he himself is exactly described (Ardabīlī, *Anwār*, i. 433). On two other subterfuges see Ḳazwīnī, *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, ed. Schacht, iv. 45.

4. The form need not be a written one, al-

though this is usually the case The founder must clearly express his wishes either by *waḳaftu*, *ḥabbastu*, *sabbaltu* or if he uses other formulae by an addition that "it must neither be sold nor given away nor bequeathed" (a phrase always occurring in waḳf documents, cf. the tradition quoted below and the waḳf document of Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iii 281—83; otherwise it would only be a *ṣadaḳa*) The founder must further describe the object accurately and state exactly for what purpose and in whose favour the endowment is made. The fiḳh works deal very fully with the interpretation of the separate expressions describing those for whom the foundation is intended.

5. The following conditions are further necessary for the completion of a valid waḳf

a It must be made in perpetuity (*muʾabbad*), which in the case of foundations for definite individuals is managed by allotting the proceeds after their death to the poor It is therefore also inalienable

b It must come into force at once and there must be no provision for postponing it (*munaḏḏaz*), except the death of the founder; but in this case as in the case of a will the founder can only make one third of his property waḳf.

c It is an irrevocable legal transaction (*ʿaḳd lāzim*), but according to Abū Ḥanīfa (not however his pupils and the later Ḥanafīs), the foundation may be revoked except when it is connected with the death of the founder (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xii. 27) The Ḥanafī founder therefore always brings a formal suit against the administrator for the restoration of his property; the judge, who then has the choice between the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa and that of Abū Yūsuf, decides according to Abū Yūsuf, since the latter teaches irrevocability, and confirms the wakf by rejecting the petition

d Among the Ḥanafīs (also in Ibn Abī Laylā, Sarakhsī, xii 35) and the Imāmīs there is further required the conveyance (*taslīm*) of the endowment to those for whom it is intended or rather to the administrator; on the other hand not in Abū Yūsuf, since according to him, as in the other schools, the endowment is already complete by the declaration of the founder's wishes (*ḳawl*) In the case of a foundation for the common good (mosque or cemetery) the conveyance is completed by its being used, even if only by one person

Among the Mālikīs on the other hand, the points mentioned here are not essential, e. g. it can be revoked not only by the founder but also by his heirs (Khalīl, transl Santillana, ii. 560—61).

6 As Muslim law does not know the conception of the legal person, opinions differed regarding the position of the wakf in the law of property. According to one view (Shaibānī, Abū Yūsuf and the later Ḥanafīs; Shāfiʿī and his school), the founder's right of ownership ceases, it is usually said that it passes to Allāh; this however only denies the right of ownership of the founder and that of all other mortals. According to a second view (Abū Ḥanīfa [cf. thereon also Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iii. 275 *sq.*] and the Mālikīs) the founder and his heirs retain the right of ownership; he is however prevented from exercising it. According to the followers of this school, in the case of a mosque, the right of ownership of the founder ceases as soon as a single person has performed his ṣalāt in it. According to a third view (some Shāfiʿīs, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal), the ownership passes to the beneficiaries (*mawḳūf ʿalaihi*) (cf e g Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, p 164, 7) The ownership in the yield (*manfaʿa*) belongs however, according to all jurists, to the *mawḳūf ʿalaihi*.

7. The administration of the waḳf is in the hands of a *nāẓir*, *ḳayyim* or *mutawallī* who receives a salary for his services. The first administrator is usually appointed by the founder; frequently he is the founder himself (among the Mālikīs this invalidates the foundation). The ḳāḍī has a right of supervision; he appoints the administrators and if necessary dismisses them (e. g. for neglect of duty) The form of the administration and the use to which the revenues are put depend on the conditions laid down by the founder. The revenues must however be used primarily for the maintenance of the buildings etc ; only the surplus goes to the beneficiaries Agreements to lease the land and buildings can only be made for three years as a maximum

8. Extinction of the waḳf. If the founder secedes from Islām, the foundation becomes invalid and passes to his heirs Endowments which have lost their object fall, according to the view held of the position with regard to the law of property to the legitimate heirs (among the Mālikīs only if they are poor) or they must be used for the poor or for the common good, in no case may they be confiscated by the temporal authorities

II Origin, history and significance

According to the general opinion of the Muslim there were no waḳfs in Arabia before Islām, neither in houses or lands (cf Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, iii 275, 280) The ʿfuḳahāʾ trace the institution to the Prophet although there is no evidence of this in the Kurʾān In comparison with other things the support for this institution in tradition is very slight although it is always said by the legists that the companions of the Prophet and the first caliphs used to make waḳfs In a tradition of Anas b Mālik it is said that the Prophet wished to purchase gardens from the Banu 'l-Naḏjdjār in order to build a mosque they refused to take the purchase money however and gave the land for the sake of God (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 28, 31, 35) According to a tradition of Ibn ʿOmar, on which the legists lay chief stress ʿOmar, later caliph, at the partition of Khaibar acquired lands (*arḍ*) which were very valuable to him and asked the Prophet whether he should give them away as *ṣadaḳa*. The Prophet replied "Retain the thing itself and devote its fruits to pious purposes" (*ḥabbis aṣlahā wa-sabbil ṯhamaratahā*). ʿOmar did this with the provision that the land should neither be sold nor bequeathed he gave it as *ṣadaḳa* for the poor, (needy) relatives slaves, wanderers, guests and for the propagation of the faith (*fī sabīl Allāh*), it is not to be sin for the administrator to eat of it in moderation or feed a friend if he does not enrich himself from it (Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, bāb 19, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 29, cf 33, Muslim, *Waṣīya*, tr. 15, 16, Ibn Māḏja, *Ṣadaḳāt*, bāb 4; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii 12, 55; Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/i. 260, cf. Nasāʾī, *Iḥbās*, bāb 2, 3) In another version the reference is to a palm-garden called Thamgh (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 23; Nasāʾī *Iḥbās*, bāb 3, Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 114) which he acquired from the Jews of the Banū Ḥāriṯha (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 125). In both cases however, the reference is to one and the same piece of ground in Khaibar which was called Thamgh (cf. Nawaw

Sharḥ Muslim; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xii. 31; Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s. v., according to Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v, however, Thamgh was a quite well known estate of ʿOmar's in Medīna). A third tradition of Anas b Mālik concerns a family endowment In keeping with the pronouncement in Sūra iii. 86, Abū Ṭalḥa gave the Prophet his favourite piece of ground, the Bairuhāʾ garden (in Medīna, where Muʿāwiya afterwards built the Kasr Banī Hudaila; cf. Yāḳūt, i. 783) where the Prophet used to go to to enjoy the shade and drink the water The Prophet however gave it back to him with the observation that he should make it an endowment for his relatives. Abū Talha thereupon gave the garden as a *ṣadaka* for Ubaiy and Hassān (Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 17; cf. Nasāʾī, *Ihbās*, bāb 2). In other traditions quoted by Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 12. about a sacrificial animal, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 32 a riding camel) and others regarding the making wakf of movables it is only a case of simple *sadaka* The case of the palm-garden (*hāʾiṭ*) in Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, bāb 20 is similar

The legists seek to trace the institution of wakf back to the Prophet through these traditions It is remarkable however that the oldest legists are not agreed on essential points of the wakf In this connection Shāfiʿī's polemics against unnamed opponents, certainly including Abū Hanīfa, are interesting (*Umm*, iii. 275 *sqq*, 280) There the view of Shuraih (d. 82 = 701) is refuted, which challenges the admissibility of wakf at all by quoting a saying of the Prophet not found in the canonical collections· "No withholding from the quotas ordained by God" (*lā habsa ʿan farāʾid Allāh*) Shāfiʿī attacks the view that the wakf remains the property of the founder and his heirs The inalienability of the wakf was disputed by Shuraih as the Prophet was said to have sold things which had been made wakf (*habīs*) (Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-Sanāʾiʿ*, vi 219) An illustration of this is given in a note to the above quoted third tradition in Bukhārī, according to this, Hassān sold his share to Muʿāwiya Hassān however was attacked for this Shāfiʿī seems to have contributed to the success of the views on wakf, which later became predominant Abū Yūsuf is said to have first declared for the irrevocability of the wakf, when on a pilgrimage he saw in Medīna the numerous wakfs of the Muslims (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, xii. 28) All this suggests that the institution of the wakf arose only after the death of the Prophet in the course of the first century A.H and only assumed rigid legal forms in the second century. Its origin is to be sought in the strongly marked impulse to charitable deeds which is characteristic of Islām; thus we find it associated in a tradition (see above) with an appropriate verse of the Kurʾān, and Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, iii 275) calls it a *ṣadaḳa muḥarrama*. In addition there was the fact that the Arabs found in the conquered lands foundations for the public benefit for churches, monasteries, orphanages and poorhouses (*piae causae*) and may have adopted this form for the practice of the charity recommended by their religion These endowments of the Byzantine period were inalienable, and managed by *administratores* and were under the supervision of the bishops (cf especially Justinian, *Novelle* 131; Saleilles, *Les Piae Causae dans le droit de Justinien*, in *Mélanges Gérardin*, Paris 1907, p. 513 *sqq*.) C. H. Becker (*Isl.*, ii. 404) had already come to the same conclusion when he showed that in Egypt the custom of making sites in the towns (*riḍāʿ*) wakf and not agricultural land (*arādī*) which existed down to the Ṭūlūnid period, goes back to a Greek original But already in this early period agricultural land must elsewhere have been made wakf; Shāfiʿī already speaks of this and Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 27) has a chapter: "If anyone makes agricultural land (*arḍ*) wakf and does not give the boundaries". This was not unknown to the Byzantines also; Justinian (*Novelle* 65) exceptionally allows the Mysian church to sell lands and vineyards, which had been given as endowments for the ransom of prisoners and to be used for the poor and brought in no yield worth mentioning.

On the further history of the wakfs in Egypt Maḳrīzī (*Khitat*, ii 295 *sq*) gives interesting notes Abū Bakr Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Madharāʾī (this is the right reading, d. 345 = 956) was the first to make agricultural land wakf for the holy cities and other purposes The Fātimids however at once forbade the making wakf of country estates and entrusted the Kādi 'l-Kudāt with the supervision, assisted by a *dīwān al-ahbās*. In 363 (974) al-Muʿizz ordered the property of the endowments and the wakf documents (*sharāʾiṭ*) to be handed over to the state treasury (*bait al-māl*); the revenues from the wakfs were then farmed out for 1,500,000 dirhams annually; out of this sum the beneficiaries were paid while the rest went to the treasury As a result of this system of farming them out, the wakf possessions had so sunk in value by the time of al-Hākim that the revenues in the case of many mosques no longer sufficed for their maintenance In 405 (1014) he therefore created a large new foundation and had the condition of the mosques regularly examined

In the Mamlūk period the foundations were divided into three groups 1 *Ahbās* These were under the supervision of the *dawādār al-sultān* and were administered by a *nāẓir* with a special *dīwān*, they comprised extensive estates (in 740 [1339] 130,000 *faddān*) in the provinces of Egypt and were used to keep up mosques and zāwiyas. Maḳrīzī (d 845 = 1442) complains bitterly about the abuse and neglect of these endowments, they had come through corrupt practices into the hands of the emīrs; the beneficiaries, who were called *fakīh* or *khaṭīb* but knew nothing of fikh or of preaching, were registered in the name of some ruined mosque 2 *Awkāf hukmīya* These consisted of town lands in Miṣr and Ḳāhira; their revenues were earmarked for the two holy cities as well as for charities of all kinds They were under the control of the Kādi 'l-Kudāt and were administered by a *nāẓir* (sometimes by two, one for each part of the city); there was a special *dīwān* for each part of the town In this connection Maḳrīzī again makes a touching complaint about the conditions which were becoming worse and worse; from the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faradj (801—815 = 1398—1412) the wakf estates had become poorer and poorer as a result of maladministration. The ḳāḍis in return for bribes allowed sales, without another piece of ground being purchased in place of that sold; it was only necessary to produce witnesses who alleged that this or that building was dangerous to the neighbours and the passers-by. 3. *Awkāf ahliya*, family endowments, each of which had their own administrator. These were monasteries (*khānḳāh*)

madrasas, mosques, turbas, which owned extensive estates in Egypt and Syria, some of which were originally state lands, which had been acquired and made waḳf. The emīr Barḳūḳ (784—801 = 1382—1398) had already tried to confiscate these estates but his scheme failed against the protest of the fuḳahā'. They were however confiscated under his successors

Conditions in other lands must have been similar to those in Egypt. A hundred years before Makrīzī we find the Hanafī Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī (d 747 = 1346) in Transoxania complaining that the ḳāḍīs made the waḳfs void by a *ḥīla* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii. 163)

The waḳf inscriptions (usually only extracts from the wakf documents [*waḳfīya*] which were placed on mosques, madrasas etc. the better to prevent the endowment falling into oblivion) afford many valuable details. According to numbers, business premises were most frequently made wakf, usually small shops (*ḥānūt*) which often belonged in scores to a waḳf, but also warehouses (*ḵẖān*, *funduḳ*) and stables (*ruwā'* in Fās of the year 756 [1355] *J. A.*, ser. 11, xii 363), then there were tenements (*dār*) or even smaller dwellings Alongside of these we have various industrial premises baths, mills, bakeries, oil and sugar presses, soap works, paper works (*warāḳa C I A*, Jerusalem, N°. 70 of 695 = 1295), looms (*ṭirāz* in Fās of the year 725 [1325] *J. A.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 195), posthouses (*yam*, in Baghdād of 760 [1359] Saire-Herzfeld, *Archaol Reise*, ii 188) In the third place are agricultural establishments, most frequently gardens, but also farms and even whole villages (*ḳarya*, in Morocco *mad'shar*, first found in 666 [1267] in Homs of Sultān Baibars Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien*, N° 3 and 721 [1321] in Fās of the Marīnid Abū Sa'īd *J. A.*, ser 11, x 158)

The use to which the produce, sometimes in money and sometimes in kind, was to be put was minutely prescribed in the foundation document In addition to benefiting the poor the revenues were primarily used to pay the staffs of mosques, madrasas, Kur'ān schools, hospitals or to be used for the benefit of the inmates of a monastery etc. (cf for details C H Becker, *Islamstudien*, i 264 *sq* [from which the statements here without a reference are taken], for mosques and madrasas cf vol. iii, p 368—369, for libraries etc cf KITĀBKHĀNA) The income was also used in some way for the two holy cities Kā'itbāy in 885 (1480) for example ordered that from the revenues corn should be bought to provide *dashīsha* for the inhabitants of and visitors to Medīna (*C I A.*, Egypt, N°. 324), or the revenues, as in Tripolis in the case of the *waḳf al-sūr* which dates from the middle ages, were earmarked for the maintenance of the city walls (Califano, p. 127; now used for other pious purposes) Very frequently we find the provision that only what is left over, after paying wages etc. is to be used for the maintenance of the building (*C.I A.*, Jerusalem, N° 39 of 595 [1198], Egypt, N°. 538 of 710 [1310]; Bel, *Inscr. arabes à Fes*, in *J. A.*, ser. 11, x 119 of 810 = 1408)

The inscriptions are also eloquent about abuses, embezzlements, and exploitation of the waḳfs. Thus we frequently find edicts which free the waḳfs from unjust burdens and taxes (cf e g Sobernheim, in *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen u. Untersuchungen*, iii. [1922], N°. 36 and 38). The founders themselves endeavoured to prevent embezzlement etc by dividing the lands among a number of endowments in small portions so that the several administrators could keep a check on one another, or the supervision is put by the founder in the hands of an administrative commission, to which the ḳāḍī, the ḵẖaṭīb and the prominent citizens of the town belong (e. g. in Mostaganem of the year 742 [1340] in *J. A.*, ser. 11, xiii 81). We have very early evidence of a central waḳf administration like that of Egypt, e. g. under the Umaiyads in Cordova there was a central treasury for the waḳf (*bait al-māl* in contrast to the state treasury *ḵẖizānat al-māl*) under the supervision of the Kādi 'l-Kudāt (Lévi-Provencal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, Paris 1932, p 71, 85) and in Fās in the time of the Marīnids there was an official who had to administer all the waḳfs of the town (*J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 370). But all this could not permanently prevent embezzlement and frittering away of the waḳf estates.

The waḳf system in the east was very beneficial in ameliorating poverty and misery and in furthering learning, but it had its shady side morally as well as economically On the one hand, considerable sections of the populace were taken from industry by the continual creation of new sinecures and supported at the expense of the country; on the other hand, the capital for these great endowments had to be supplied by the wealthy and this was acquired not by productive labour but by extortion and unprecedented exploitation of the people (cf. C H Becker, *op cit*) The immense accumulation of landed property in the possession of the Dead Hand further was economically injurious, although from time to time confiscations by the state and illegal disposal by the administrators had a regulating effect One consequence of this accumulation very frequently was that the soil was not used to the best advantage; these great *latifundia* are even often an impediment to the introduction of modern agricultural methods They often deteriorated so much that the yields were not even sufficient for the necessary upkeep and improvements. To avert this evil and to arouse the personal interest of the tenants perpetual leases have been granted, apparently since the xvith century, which differ somewhat in the different countries but are the same in their main lines Originally only used in case of lands that had gone out of cultivation, they gradually came into use for other waḳf estates also.

The most widely distributed type of agreement of this kind (throughout the whole of the former Turkish empire including Egypt and Tripolis) is the *idjāratain* (in contrast to this the short term lease is called *idjāra wāḥida*) so called from the two sums in it the tenant pays a lump sum down according to the value of the land on the conclusion of the agreement (*idjāra mu'adjdjala*) and an annual fixed rent (*idjāra mu'adjdjala*) so that the right of ownership in the endowment may not lapse He is bound to keep the land in order and make it productive. He can bequeath it (originally only to his children, since 1867 however, to other heirs named by statute) and sell his rights in the land with the approval of the administrator of the endowment. If the tenant dies or the tenant following him without leaving heirs the land as *maḥlūl* goes back to the endowment. New buildings are regarded as increment.

Another kind of agreement usual in Syria and Egypt is the *ḥikr* which corresponds to the *kirdār* in Tripolis and Tunis but has a rent which rises or falls with alterations in the value of the piece of ground The tenant can only bequeath it, but has unrestricted rights in his new buildings and new plantations The agreement only becomes void on non-payment of rent. In Turkey the *mukāṭa'a* is similar and in Tunis the *enzel* (*inzāl*) agreement, but with a fixed annual rent and in Algiers down to the French occupation the *ana* (*'anā'*) agreement and in Morocco the *guelza* (*djalsa* in the case of business houses and factories) and *gza* (*djazā'*: in case of agricultural lands) (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, in *R M M*, xiii [1911], 197–248), as well as throughout the Maghrib the *khalw* [or *khulū*] *al-intifā'*. In all these agreements it is a question of the usufruct (*hukūk al-manāfi'*) The thing itself (*rakaba*) remains the property of the endowment, which is recognised by the payment of rent, while the *manfa'a* became the property of the lessee. As a result the legists, who at first regarded these agreements in accordance with the customary law as an unpermitted innovation, in the end came to tolerate them since the inalienability of the wakf remained secure

These varieties of agreement were not however created specially for the letting of waḳf estates but were rather older forms of lease adapted to the waḳf They probably originated in cases in which a piece of land had been made waḳf with similar formulae. Thus the *djazā'* is already found in the Marīnid period in a waḳf document for the medrese al-Sahrīdj in Fās of the year 723 (1323) in which such *djazā'* plots of ground are made waḳf (*J. A*, ser. 11, x 222); similarly in Egyptian waḳf documents of the year 691 (1292) *ḥikr* lands are made waḳf (Moberg, in *M O*, xii [1918], 10, N° 8) According to Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭat*, ii 114), it is a question of "lands the development of which undertaken by a third person is prevented". They were originally state lands, which however on payment of ground rent (*adjr*) could be built upon or used for planting gardens Later however, they became completely waḳf (Makrīzī, ed Wiet, ii 107) According to a *fatwā* of al-Farūḳī (d 1061 = 1670), the *ḥikr* agreement is a form of lease by which land is given in perpetuity when built upon or cultivated. Similarly the *kirdār*, a word which must be of Persian origin, is found as early as a *fatwā* of al-Bazzāzī (d 877 = 1424) In both cases we have the question whether such a piece of ground can be made waḳf (in Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Radd al-Mukhtār*, Miṣr 1327, iii. 428) These agreements probably deal with forms of lease which were originally used in the state domains and are ultimately a survival of the ancient emphyteusis, which was already usual in the Byzantine period for churches and monasteries and their lands (Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzuge und Chrest. der Papyrus-Kunde*, I/i, p 313).

Family endowments are almost as old as those for the public good. The earliest example is the waḳf document in which Shāfi'ī makes his house in Fusṭāṭ with everything belonging to it wakf for his descendants (*Umm*, iii. 281—283). Such foundations while being a charitable object in keeping with religion, primarily secure the descendants an income for all emergencies and in particular protect the property in times of insecurity from unscrupulous rulers, although in practice they did not always have the desired result (cf above). In addition it was a legal means of evading the Ḳur'ānic law of inheritance, whether in order to exclude particular heirs or to include those not entitled to inherit or in order to keep the estate intact, when it would be broken up by the application of the law of inheritance. The institution of the family endowment was also abused for other purposes' a man would make his property waḳf for his descendants in order to put it out of reach of his creditors, which however is forbidden in a *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Su'ūd (d 928 = 1474; cf Brit Mus. Add MS N°. 7,834, fol. 131b) Family endowments in the east are very numerous and economically harmful from their great extent. In Egypt for example, the income from these endowments in 1928—1929 was higher than that from all the other waḳfs together (over £ 1,000,000, cf *R E Isl*, iii 295)

III. Modern Conditions

The estates of the Dead Hand in the former Turkish empire were estimated at three quarters of the whole arable land and in modern Turkey they have recently been calculated at T£ 50,000,000 in value (*O M*, v. [1925], 8, in the Budget for 1928 the revenues are entered as T£ 3,489,000). Towards the middle of the xixth century, they comprised in Algiers the half, in 1883 in Tunis 1/3 and in 1927 in Egypt 1/8 of the cultivated soil The accumulation of such extensive possessions in the Dead Hand meant a serious injury to the economic life of the country, but apart from anything else a piece of ground that is waḳf cannot be burdened by a mortgage In addition there were everywhere abuses in the management of these estates and frequently there was an uncertainty in law regarding the question of ownership. The waḳf system thus everywhere became a problem in the course of the last century The European Powers (France) were the first to see in it an impediment to the economic development of their Muslim colonies but Muslims themselves (Turkey, Egypt) are now no longer blind to this point o view

France was the first to try to tackle the problem in Algiers and in not very skilful fashion As early as 1830 it was laid down that all public *habous* should pass into the possession of and be administered by the French government which aroused particular indignation among the Muslims on account of the endowments for the holy cities The inalienability of the *habous* was then overcome indirectly in 1844 the permanent rent was declared redeemable and in 1858 the *ana*-contract became a simple contract of sale, in which the rent was regarded as the interest on the purchase price. It was further ordained that the argument of inalienability should not be used as a ground of a charge against either French or natives. The sale of the *habous* was thus protected Finally by the law of July 26, 1873, the legal position of land was brought completely under French law and all conditions contradictory to it were abolished. The sale of the *habous* was thus recognised in practice, but in order not to interfere further with the religious sentiments of the Muslims or with their family life, the institution was left in existence as a means to circumvent the Muslim law of inheritance, although in this mutilated form. Since 1873 the French courts have adopted this standpoint, which does not follow

with absolute certainty from the ordinance The tenants of the waḳf are now no longer guaranteed the peaceful enjoyment of the endowment, since one of the partners can sell the *habous* and the others in such a case have to make their claims against him. The Muslim population however avoided a sale as far as possible or again invested the proceeds in another piece of ground to take the place of the first.

France went to work more cautiously in Tunis and Morocco. Khair al-Dīn had already in 1874 created a central office for the administration (*ḏjamᶜīya*) of the public *habous* in Tunis and in 1885 the *enzel*-agreement was legalised in the sense of the customs previously in vogue In 1898 it was then arranged that the *habous* could either be exchanged in kind or for money (in the latter case another piece of ground must be purchased to replace it, in keeping with the Sharīᶜa) and that it could be let out on a simple lease for a period of years (as long as ten with the possibility of extension). Here again however, they went a step further to break up the estates of the Dead Hand. By the decree of Jan. 22, 1905 the *enzel*-rent was declared redeemable in 20 annuities Later however another plan was adopted, less offensive to religious sentiment, to create small holdings on a state assisted basis By the decree of April 12, 1913, natives could get their lands as *enzel* without public competition, if they had for a long period passed from father to son. These endeavours were concluded for the present by the decree of July 17, 1926, by this in the case of landed estate the Tunisian Muslim who lives on the piece of ground in question and tills it himself, or his ancestors have for at least 33 years, becomes the permanent possessor on payment of a yearly rent, the plot of land can however only be inherited in the male line This measure met with opposition from occupiers of family foundations (cf. the party's item in the programme for the elections in the native section of the Grand Council in 1928 "to protect private waḳfs", *O. M*, VIII. [1928], 322). For the administration there has been since 1908 alongside of the *ḏjamᶜīya* also a *Conseil Supérieur des Habous*. The *habous* of the Zāwiyas, which are administered by Wakils (usually identical with the Shaikhs), are also under state control; in the case of the family endowments which are under the supervision of the ḳāḍī, the government interferes only under certain conditions e g. if the ownership of the endowment is threatened.

In Morocco in 1912 a *Direction des Habous* was created which also has to supervise family endowments and by a *ḍahīr* of July 21, 1913 the leasing of the *habous* was regulated anew, in the first place the long lease of untilled lands was restricted to ten years and an exchange for money made possible with the obligation to buy another piece of ground instead It was further ordained by *ḍahīr* of Feb. 27, 1914, that the rents, hitherto very small, should be raised in keeping with the value of the estates. A *ḍahīr* of July 8, 1916 then gave permission for the redemption of *manfaᶜa* privileges (*gza*, *guelza* etc) so that the waḳf land became the property of the occupier. In these cases, however, the sums received had to be invested in another piece of ground. France thus sought to avoid a conflict with the Sharīᶜa and to use the legal possibilities of the Sharīᶜa to improve the economic situation.

In Tripoli and Cyrenaica the central administration of the awḳāf which existed under the Turks was taken over by the Italians and reformed. The institution itself was not disturbed in the slightest. But under Italian jurisdiction disputes are settled, not by the Sharīᶜa courts but by the ordinary courts of law as the waḳf is regarded as coming under the land laws. Another regulation introduced in Cyrenaica by the decree of Aug. 23, 1923 was soon afterwards repealed. By the decree of July 3, 1921 (No. 1207) new land registers were introduced, including a special register for the awḳāf and for the awḳāf disposed of by *tḏjārataïn* agreements. The first interference with private waḳfs originated on political grounds and resulted in the confiscation of all the property of the Senūsī by the state, only the mosques and cemeteries retained their waḳf character and passed under the administration of the public waḳfs (decree of Dec. 22, 1930; cf. *O. M*, XI. 224).

For Palestine, Syria and the ᶜIrāḳ, it is provided in the mandate of 1921 that the waḳfs should be administered by the mandatory power in keeping with the Sharīᶜa and the conditions laid down by the founder In Palestine, England was content with a theoretical right of control by decree of Dec. 20, 1921, she created a *Supreme Muslim Sharia Council* (altered regarding the method of election and several other points in 1926 and 1929), of 5 members indirectly elected, which controlled the affairs of the waḳfs along with other matters (*O M*, I [1921], 594—596; IX. [1929], 311—313) — France on the other hand in her mandated areas in Syria placed the waḳfs under direct supervision of the mandatory power By an edict of the High Commissioner of March 2, 1921, three bodies for the administration of the Muslim waḳfs in the whole Syrian mandated territory were created a *Conseil Supérieur des Waqfs*, a *Commission général des Waqfs musulmans* and a *Contrôleur général des Waqfs musulmans*, who is the official directing the two other offices and at the same time the general controller The controller is appointed by the commissioner and is responsible to him (Rabbath, *L'Évolution politique de la Syrie sous mandat*, Paris 1928, p. 207 *sqq*). In 1926 *muḳāṭaᶜa* and *ḥikr* agreements were forbidden by the High Commissioner and replaced by *mubādala*. — In the ᶜIrāḳ by the constitution of July 10, 1924, the waḳfs were put under a Waḳf Ministry, the duties and powers of which are to be regulated by a special law (not yet formulated); disputes on points of law are dealt with by the Sharīᶜa tribunal, which decides according to the *maḏhhab* to which the foundation belongs (*O. M.*, X. [1930], 540 *sq.*).

In Turkey as early as the beginning of the XIXth century, a central administration of the *ewḳāf* was created and made a Ministry in 1840. A distinction is made between regular Ewḳāf (*waḳf-i ṣaḥīḥ*) in *mulk* lands and irregular Ewḳāf (*waḳf-i ġhairi ṣaḥīḥ*) in *mīrīye* or state lands, or according to the method of administration, between *ewḳāf-i mazbūṭa*, which are in the possession of and administered by the Ewḳāf Ministry, *ewḳāf-i mulḥaḳa*, which are only under the supervision of the Ministry, and *ewḳāf-i mustethnā*, which are completely independent (e. g. Christian foundations). While the complete abolition of the waḳfs had already been considered in the Tanzīmāt period (1867), it was the Turkish Republic which took

the final step, the first Muslim state to do so. By one of the secularising laws of March 3, 1924 (N°. 429), the Ewḳāf Ministry was abolished and waḳf affairs transferred to a general directory (*mudīriyet-i ʿumūmīye*) subordinate to the Premier in order "to solve the problem in a manner really advantageous to the nation" (Art 7) [The more rigorous formulation given by Pritsch, in *M S O S As*, xxvi. 196, from the previously published scheme, did not become law]. The tendency then was towards nationalising the waḳfs but the question is so far not quite settled. According to the law of Feb. 22, 1926 (N°. 748), waḳf estates (*waḳf-i mazbūṭ*) must be sold to the communes and other undertakings for the public good (e g factories) By the law of 1930 relating to communes, numerous buildings like mosques, cemeteries, waterworks have passed to the communes so that only one third of its work is left to the waḳf administration. It is now intended to replace it by an *evḳaf bankası* (*O M*, x [1930], 551) The endeavour is therefore being made to break up the estates of the Dead Hand and to put them to more useful purposes but no one has yet dared to abolish the waḳf system altogether It was permitted by the Budget of the Ewḳāf Directory for 1926 (N°. 850, 1276,, Art. 6, which was prolonged from year to year) to exchange or sell certain pieces of waḳf ground, but the money received could only be used for the purchase of land or the erection of buildings

In Egypt, the attempts at reform go back to Muḥammad ʿAlī who confiscated all waḳf agricultural land (*rizka*) and compensated the beneficiaries, he only left in existence waḳfs which consisted of houses and gardens (Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1840, ii 195, cf also Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. iv, at the end) In 1851 a central administration was created which after various transformations was raised to a Ministry in 1913. The decree of July 13, 1895 regulated the administration of the waḳfs anew and put under the central administration all waḳfs for the common good, as well as those family endowments the administration of which for any reason became transferred to the central authority by legal decision or arrangement. Since 1924 the Waḳf Ministry has been under the control of Parliament, with the result that the condition and revenues of the waḳfs have been considerably improved Stimulated by what had been done in Turkey the indefensible conditions of the family foundations provoked on the consideration of the budget of the ministry for 1926/1927 a discussion of the question whether family foundations should be retained at all Two bills were laid before Parliament by deputies in this connection. The one only considered reform; the family endowments were to exist for at most 30 years after the death of the founder and then become the property of the beneficiaries, the existing foundations were not to be dissolved but treated in this spirit. The second proposal was for the immediate abolition of family endowments and their transfer to the private ownership of the beneficiaries. Both proposals were referred to a committee, but the decision was deferred by the dissolution of Parliament in July 1928. These proposals naturally aroused the opposition of the orthodox, the Egyptian modernists, it is interesting to note, are careful not to propose to abolish waḳfs simply on economic and moral grounds but endeavour to support their proposals, like their opponents, by traditional views and to show that the family endowment is not a religious institution.

Czarist Russia had already administered the waḳfs in the Crimea through Russian officials for its own advantage and had confiscated numerous waḳf lands in Turkistan and given them to Russian emigrants, and under Bolshevik rule in the war against all that is connected with religion the waḳf buildings and mosques were also declared state property and let out. Cf on this the statements by ʿIyaḍ Iṣḥāḳī at the Islāmic Congress in Jerusalem in Dec 1931 (*O M*, xii [1932], 133—134).

Various Islāmic congresses have dealt with the problem of waḳfs but always on traditional lines. Thus the second pilgrimage congress at Mecca (1924) protested against governments dealing with awḳāf in any way not in keeping with the stipulations made by the founders and demanded that they should be administered by the standards of the Sharīʿa (*O.M.*, iv 602) The Islāmic Congress at Mecca in 1926 as well as the National Congress of the Ḥiḏjāz in 1931 demanded of the government that care should be taken to see that revenues from waḳfs in favour of the holy cities outside of the Ḥiḏjāz were collected (*O M.*, vi 314, xi 454). Similarly the Muslim Congress at Jerusalem in 1931 demanded the return of the Ḥiḏjāz railway with all its rolling stock, because, before it was built, it had been declared a waḳf by the Ottoman Sulṭān

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(Heffening)

WAKHĀN (in Arabic Wakhkhān), a district to the south of the Pāmīr [q v.] Wakhān is a long and narrow valley which runs from east to west and is watered by the upper course of the Oxus (Pandja) and by the river Wakhān-daryā, which is the most southern source of the Oxus [cf. AMŪ-DARYĀ] The length of Wakhān along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the Wakhān-daryā (from Langar-kish to the Wakhdjīr pass) 113 miles, Afghan sources put the distance from Ishkāshim to Sarhadd at 66 *kurōh* = 22 farsakhs

To the south of Wakhān rises the wall of the Hindū-Kush through which several passes lead to the lands of the upper Indus. The main pass (12,460 feet) of Baroghil leads into Čitrāl The northern wall of Wakhān is the Wakhān (Nicolas II) range the peaks of which reach a height of 23,000 feet In the west Wakhān stretches to the bend of the Oxus, where the river entering the boundaries of Shughnān [q. v.] turns northwards In the east Wakhān (through the high valley of Wakhdjīr) is adjoined by Chinese possessions and lake Čaḳmaḳ-tīng.

Wakhān lies as a barrier between Russian lands in the north and British in the south so that nowhere are they in direct contact. By the Russo-Afghan agreement of March 4, 1895 defining the frontier, it runs *a* in the lower part of Wakhān up the course of the Oxus as far as Langar-kish where the two sources of the Oxus meet the river Wakhān from S. E (from the Little Pāmīr) and the river Pāmīr from the N E. (from the Great Pāmīr); *b.* from Langar-kish the frontier follows the course of the Pāmīr river to its source (lake Zor-kul or Victoria), *c.* more to the east again, the frontier runs by a zigzag line towards the south to China (near the Beyik pass) Afghan territory therefore comprises the left bank of the Oxus, all the valley of the Wakhān-daryā, the land on the left bank of the Pāmīr river and a small part of the upper course of the Aḳ-su (including lake Čaḳmaḳ-kul)

The Afghan part of Wakhān contains seven districts, namely from west to east Waig, Ürgand, Khandūd, Ḳal'a-yi Pandja, Bābā-Tangī, Nirs-wa-Shalak and Sarhadd (this last named village is at the foot of the Baroghil pass at a height of 11,350 feet), as well as the thinly populated territory of the Little Pāmīr (watered by the Wakhān-daryā)

On the Afghan side there are in Wakhān 64 villages with 3,500 inhabitants and on the Russian 27 with 2,000 inhabitants. The population (Wakhīs) belongs to the race of Iranian mountaineers (*Ghalča*) very often with blue eyes, a feature which had struck the Chinese as early as the sixth century. The Wakhī language is an unusual variety of an Iranian dialect (Ghalča). At the present day the Wakhīs on the Russian side form part of the autonomous republic of Tādjīkistān.

In his monumental works Sir Aurel Stein supports the thesis according to which the Wakhān corridor ("the most direct thoroughfare") has been used from very early times for communication between the settled areas of northern Afghanistan (Balkh) and those of the modern Chinese Turkestān

From the seventh century, Wakhān is continually mentioned in the early Chinese sources under the names of Hu-mī, Po-ho etc. (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p 243, and Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, Index). Hiuen Tsang mentions the greenish eyes of the people of Ta-mo-si-t'ie-ti (a form not yet satisfactorily explained) and its capital Hun-t'o-to (= Khandūd) with its great Buddhist *vihāra* In 747 Wakhan had become the theatre of the operations of the famous Chinese general Kao-sien-če against the Tibetans (cf Chavannes, p. 152—153). Among Arab authors, Istakhrī (< Balkhī) several times mentions Wakhān as a land of infidels, as the place from which musk comes and where the Oxus rises (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p 279, 280, 296, Ibn Rusta, p 91). Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i. 213; *Tanbih*, p. 64, applies the term "Turk" to all the inhabitants of the upper Oxus the Awkhān (أوخان, read. وخان), Tubbat (Tibetans) and Ayghān (?). As to the Iranian Wakhīs the term "Turk" can only refer to their dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Wēhrōt und Arang* [still unpublished], p 101—102) More detailed information is supplied by the Persian geographical work *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (372 = 982, ed. Barthold, 1930, fol. 25[b]) which calls Wakhān the residence of the king and capital of the land (*shahr*) of Sikāshim (it ought probably to be emended to *Ishkashim, the capital of Wakhān!) At Kh-mdādh (*Khundād) are the temples (*but-khāna*) of the Wakhīs and "to its left" was a fortress occupied by the Tibetans. Samarḳandāḳ is regarded as the remotest frontier of the dependencies of Trans-oxiana, it had Hindu, Tibetan and Wakhi inhabitants (probably the Sarḥadd of the present day)

Bibliography Cf the articles PĀMĪR and SHUGHNĀN. Curzon, *The Pamirs*, reprint of 1898, p. 32 and the map, Comte Bobrinskoy, *Gortsï verkhovtsev Pandja*, Moscow 1908, Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan*, 1913, p. 99—102 (vol. xix. of the series *Russie* by P P. Semenov); *Tādjikistān*, Tashkent 1925, *passim* (collection of memoirs by Korženewsky, Barthold, Semenov, etc. on the Soviet Republic of Tādjīkistān); Burhān al-Dīn Khān Khūshkakī, *Kattaghan wa-Badakhshān*, Russ. transl., Tashkent 1926, p. 149—170; Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, 1921, vol. i., chap. iii., p. 60—71 (old Chinese references), do., *Innermost Asia*, 1928, ii. 863—871 (antiquities: Zangibār near Hisār, Zamr-i ātash-parast near Yamčīn); do., *On ancient Tracks past the Pamirs*, in *The Himalayan Journal*, iv., 1932 (special print, p. 1—26). — On the Wakhī language cf. Geiger in the *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/ii., p. 290 *sqq.*, and Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, x. (1921), 457—65. (V. Minorsky).

AL-**WĀḲI'A** (A.), the name of Sūra lvi. The title "the befalling, suddenly happening" which is the subject of the first verse is generally taken to refer to the *ḳiyāma* (q v. where the word is translated "the event") or *sā'a*, both periphrases for the Day of Judgment. The content of the Sūra is in keeping with this. Opinions differ as to the date of its origin Noldeke and Schwally put it in the first Meccan period but add that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī regards it as Medinese. That some verses are Medinese seems to be generally acknowledged in tradition while Noldeke-Schwally think the Sūra was composed at one time. In contrast to the verses there quoted as traditional Medinese, the *Tafsīr al-Ǧalālain* for example allots verses 80 and 13 (equal 38 in Flugel's notation) to the Medina period, while the official Egyptian Ḳur'ān (cf. Bergstrasser, in *Isl*, xx. 2 *sqq*) allots verses 81 and 82 (Flugel 80 and 81) to Medina. The same Ḳur'ān describes the Sūra as revealed after Sūra xx which according to Noldeke and Schwally belongs to the second Meccan period.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-**WĀḲIDĪ**, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B 'UMAR, an Arab historian born in 130 in Medina; according to *Aghānī*, vii 189, his mother was a great-grand-daughter of Ṣā'ib who introduced music into Medina Al-Wākidī was so called after his grandfather al-Wākid, al-Aslamī as a mawlā of 'Abd Allāh b. Buraida who belonged to the Medinese family of Aslam On the occasion of Hārūn's pilgrimage in 170 (see Ṭabarī, iii. 605) he was recommended to him as the best authority on the holy places of his native town and acted as guide to the caliph and his vizier Yahyā when they visited the sacred places He used the connections he had then formed with the court in 180 (see Ibn Sa'd, vii/ii. 77) when he met with financial difficulties and went to Baghdād and thence to Raḳḳa where Hārūn was then holding his court (see Ṭabarī, iii. 645). He was kindly received by Yahyā and presented to the caliph who recalled with pleasure his visit to Medina and gave him rich gifts. He himself left a full account of his journey to Hārūn's court and the reception he found there, which is given in Ibn Sa'd, v. 314 *sqq* The older sources make no reference to his receiving from Hārūn the office of ḳādī of the eastern quarter of Baghdād; the story first appears in Yākūt, *Udabā'*, vii 56, without a source being given. On the other hand it is certain that Ma'mūn after entering Baghdād in the beginning of 204 (see Ṭabarī, iii. 1037) appointed him kāḍī of 'Askar al-Mahdī in Ruṣāfa (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, i. 641, wrongly ascribes to Ibn Ḳutaiba the statement that Wākidī was ḳāḍī of the western side of Baghdād; Ibn Ḳutaiba only says in agreement with Ibn Sa'd that the ḳādī of the western side conducted Wākidī's funeral service). Wākidī was on intimate terms with al-Ma'mūn and appointed the caliph his executor, and al-Ma'mūn carried out the duties in person (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321) when Wākidī died at the end of 207 (see Ibn Sa'd, v. 321, vii./ii. 77; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 258; Sam'ānī, fol. 577b; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 56). Wākidī made no secret of his gratitude to Yaḥyā even after the fall of the Barmecides; the vizier had several times relieved him of the financial difficulties in which Wākidī was constantly involving himself. Wākidī himself (Ibn Sa'd, v. 319 *sqq.*) gives an example which has become celebrated of the vizier's generosity, which occurs again in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj* (Cairo), ii. 237 *sqq.*; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 57; Ibn Khallikān, i. 641 in a slightly different form. — A list of Wākidī's writings is given in the *Fihrist*, p 98 *sq.* and Yāḳūt has one that is almost exactly the same (*Udabā'*, vii. 58). The great majority of these works are of an historical nature, some relate to the Ḳur'ān, Fiḳh and Ḥadīth. To the first group belong. 1. *al-Ta'rīkh wa 'l-Maghāzī wa 'l-Mab'ath*, 2. *Akhbār Makka*, 3 *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, 4. *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, 5. *Futūḥ al-'Irāḳ*, 6. *al-Ǧamal*, 7. *Maḳtal al-Ḥusain*, 8. *al-Sīra*, 9. *Azwādj al-Nabī*, 10 *al-Ridda wa 'l-Dār*, 11. *Ḥarb al-Aws wa 'l-Khazradj*, 12 *Ṣiffīn*, 13. *Wafāt al-Nabī*, 14. *Amr al-Habasha wa 'l-Fīl*, 15. *al-Sakīfa wa-Bai'at Abī Bakr*, 16. *Sīrat Abī Bakr wa-Wafātuhu*, 17 *Ma'ānī Ḳur'ān wa 'l-Anṣār fī 'l-Ḳatā'i' wa-Waḍ' 'Umar al-Dawāwīn wa-Taṣrīf al-Ḳabā'il wa-Marātibiha wa-Ansābiha*, 18. *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusain*, 19 *Ḍarb al-Danānīr wa 'l-Darāhim* 20 *Ta'rīkh al-Fuḳahā'*, 21 *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*.

Wākidī's historical interest covered the early history of Mecca and Medina as well as the Muslim period Only the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* has survived as an independent work out of all his writings, the *Ṭabaḳāt*, which comes down to events of the year 186, is the foundation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn Sa'd (q v, v 314, 17) who also made considerable use of the *Sīra* (cf also *Bibl Arab. Hisp*, ix 231), *Mab'ath* and *Azwādj*; in all parts of his work that cover the same field, Wākidī is his main authority and also in the *Maghāzī*. Ṭabarī frequently quotes the *Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, which must have come down to the year 179 (see Tabarī, iii. 639) and Ibn Ḥubaish (d. 584) has preserved numerous fragments of the *Kitāb al-Ridda wa 'l-Dār* [*al-Dār* (*Yawm al-Dār*) i. e. the assassination of 'Uthmān (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii., index, s. v. Waḳidi, cf also *Bibl Arab Hisp*, ix. 237)]. The *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* and *al-'Irāḳ* are not preserved, the books which go under these names belong to a later date and have been credited to Wākidī. Wākidī prefixes a list of his most important authorities to his *Maghāzī*, a third of which was published by H. von Kremer (*History of Mohammad's Campaigns*, in *Bibl Ind.*, Calcutta 1856) and of which Wellhausen has given a synopsis in German (*Mohammad in Medina*, Berlin 1882), the list is repeated in Ibn Sa'd, ii/i 1, 3–10 and iii/i. 1 (cf. also vii/ii 77) and has been fully discussed by Sachau in *M S O S As*, vii 11 *sqq*, 21 *sqq* The list consists entirely of the names of learned men, either born or settled in Medina, who had given information to Wākidī, and went back to authorities like al-Zuhrī, 'Āṣim b 'Umar, Yazīd b. Rūmān etc Many of the authorities quoted by Wākidī, like Abū Ma'shar, Ma'mar b. Rāshid, Mūsā b 'Ukba had themselves written books on the Maghāzī; on the other hand, Wākidī never mentions by name his most celebrated predecessor in the field of the biography of the Prophet, Muḥammad b. Ishāḳ. This is all the more remarkable as he not only (in Ṭabarī, iii. 2512) passes a very favourable verdict on him but undoubtedly made very great use of his book and obviously follows him in the arrangement of the material (see Wellhausen, *op. cit*, p. 11 *sqq.*; J. Horovitz, *De Waqidii libro*, p. 9 *sqq.*); he possibly wished to conceal his indebtedness by not mentioning the name of Ibn Isḥāḳ. In the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*

Wāḳidī's strong interest in Ḥadīth and Fiḳh which is shown by his own writings on them finds expression in the fact that a very considerable portion of the new material contributed by him deals not with history proper but with theology and law. In Wāḳidī also the traditions either separately or digested into one record follow one another without being linked up just as in works on Hadīth, but quite contrary to the method of Ibn Isḥāḳ who gives them greater cohesion by adding a connecting text. Wāḳidī's merit lies mainly in his transmission of a very large amount of material and in fixing its chronology. Muslim scholars also recognise him as an authority in the field of history (and also of Fiḳh, cf Yāḳūt, *Udabā'* VII. 55) while they reject him for Ḥadīth proper (see the verdicts in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix. 363 *sqq.*, Dhahabī, in Fischer, in *Z D M G.*, xliv. 421 *sqq.*, J. Fück, *Muhammad Ibn Ishaq*, p 14). In the *Fihrist*, Wāḳidī is described as a Shī'ī of the moderate school (*kāna yataṣhayya'u ḥasana 'l-madhhab*) and it is added that he transmitted the statement that 'Alī was one of the miraculous signs of the Prophet, like the rod of Mūsā and the revival of the dead by 'Īsā When we are further told in the *Fihrist* that Wāḳidī also studied *taḳīya* (*yalzamu 'l-taḳīya*) this is in keeping with his point of view in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, for there 'Alī's name is not mentioned in several accounts of events in which Ibn Isḥāḳ expressly mentions his participation and Wāḳidī did not suppress traditions hostile to 'Alī (see J Horovitz, *loc cit.*, p 43 *sq* ; do , in Ibn Sa'd II/i., 127, 22, Noldeke, in *Z D M G* , liii. 31; W. Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis*, p. 21 *sqq.*) On the other hand, the very title of the monograph *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusain* (see above) reveals a Shī'ī attitude — a non-Shī'ī would hardly have dealt with this subject — and the zeal for 'Alī is also seen in the fact that Wāḳidī collects a great deal of evidence of Muhammad's having died in 'Alī's bosom (see Ibn S'ad, II/II 50, cf. also p 51, 21, 61, 19, 63, 22, 76, 19 *sqq* , 86, 18 *sqq.*) The story in the *Fihrist* seems however to be isolated and the Shī'ī riḏjāl books do not quote Wāḳidī In view of his close connection with the 'Abbāsids, it is not surprising that he puts the part played by 'Abbās in the most favourable light possible. If he does not mention 'Abbās in the *Maghāzī* among the prisoners of Badr (see Horovitz, *op. cit.*, p 44 *sq* ; Noldeke, *op. cit* , p 21 *sqq.*, Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 89, note, where however the fact is overlooked that, as Tabarī, p. 1341 shows, Ibn Isḥāḳ records his capture), it is clear from Ibn Sa'd, IV/II. 6, 18 *sqq.* that Wāḳidī admitted the fact of his capture but represented it as the act of an angel. In Ibn Sa'd, IV. 20, Wāḳidī is also given as authority for the statement that 'Abbās adopted Islām before the Hidjra and on p. 21, 8 *sqq.*, for the story that 'Umar entered his claims in the first place in his *Dīwān* (cf. also Caetani, *Annali*, under year 10, § 264, 266, 341).

Bibliography: given in the article; cf. also Brockelmann, *G. A. L* , i. 135 *sq.* and Supplements; Fischer, in *Z D. M. G* , liv. 421, note 4.

(J. HOROVITZ)

WAKĪL (A.), mandatary, solicitor, agent, vicegerent, see WAKĀLA; also one of the names of Allāh, "the Guardian", see ALLĀH, II.

WAḲT. [See ZAMĀN.]

WAḲWĀḲ or **WĀḲWĀḲ**, in Arabic orthography واق واق, وقواق or واقواق. The pagination which follows the names of Arab authors or titles of Oriental works refers, unless otherwise stated, to G. Ferrand's *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks* (cf. the *Bibliography*)

I WĀḲWĀḲ OF THE SOUTH OR WĀḲWĀḲ OF AFRICA

The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the Lārwī sea which washes the western coast of India and the lands inhabited by the Zandj (Ya'ḳūbī, p. 49). The Wāḳwāḳ of the south is different from that of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p 55). The lands of Sofāla and of Wāḳwāḳ are situated at the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p. 108). The land of Wāḳwāḳ is contiguous to that of Sofāla; there are two towns in it, Darū and Nabhana, miserable and sparsely populated (Idrīsī, p 183). The town of Daghdagha, inhabited by hideous and deformed negroes, is next to the land and island of Wāḳwāḳ (Idrīsī, p 184) Wāḳwāḳ is situated in the land of the Zandj (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425), to the east [= south] of Sofāla, on the same southern [= western] shore of the Indian ocean which extends without interruption to the end of the tenth section of the first clime, at the place where the Indian ocean flows out of the Surrounding Sea (Ibn Khaldūn, p 460) The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are near the last of the islands of Dībadjāt al-Dum [= Laccadives and Maldives] (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p .586)

The Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj is vast, fertile and prosperous (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425).

The gold of Wāḳwāḳ of the south is of inferior quality compared with that of the Wāḳwāḳ of China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55) There is much gold in the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj (Mas'ūdī, p 108, Ibn al-Wardī, p 425)

The natives of the Wāḳwāḳ of the land of the Zandj have no ships, but the merchants of 'Omān come to trade with them and get slaves in exchange for dates (Ibn al-Wardī, p 425; cf also Idrīsī, p. 183). They know neither cold nor rain (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 425)

II WĀḲWĀḲ OF THE EAST OR WĀḲWĀḲ OF CHINA

Wāḳwāḳ lies to the east of China (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 30), behind China (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55), to the south of the 'Irāḳ (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p 140) The Wāḳwāḳ of China differs from the Wāḳwāḳ of the south in the superior quality of its gold (Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55). Kankdiz is the remotest town in the east; it is situated at the extremity of China and of Wāḳwāḳ (*Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. G van Vloten, p 217). The island of Wāḳwāḳ is situated to the north-east of the Greater Sea (al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, p. 598). The island of Wāḳwāḳ forms part of the group of islands of Khmer (al-Bīrūnī, p. 163). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are situated in the southern part of the Sea of Darkness (Idrīsī, p. 190); they adjoin the islands of Mūdja and those of the Clouds and of places consisting of islets and inaccessible mountains (Idrīsī, p. 192—193). It is a land situated above [i. e. south] of China (Yāḳūt, p. 231—232). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ situated in the Chinese

Sea, are close to the islands of Zābag [= Sumatra] (Ḳazwīnī, p. 300, 303, 311); they are situated in the extreme east (Ibn Saʿīd, p 334); beyond the Uṣṭiḳūn range, quite close to the coast; they are reached by the Chinese Sea (Dimashḳī, p. 375), beyond the ocean of Darkness (*ibid*, p. 391). They are the most famous islands of the China Sea and number over a hundred (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl G. Le Strange, p. 222). The islands of Wāḳwāḳ are situated to the south of the island of Ḳomr and to the west of the islands of Sīlā [= Corea] (Ibn Khaldūn, p 461); in the China Sea and near the islands of Zābag, they are said to number 1,600 (Bākuwī, p 463), to the south of the islands of Timor, Banda and the Moluccas (Sīdī ʿAlī, p 513); opposite China, a year's journey from the east coast of Africa (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p 588). Wāḳwāḳ is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 32)

The island of Nias on the west coast of Sumatra, which adjoins Zābag, forms part of the archipelago of Wāḳwāk (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414—415). An island situated 50 *zām* [= 150 hours' sailing] from Sribuza [= Palemban, S. E of Sumatra] on the way from Sribuza to China, and 15 *zām* [= 45 hours' sailing] from Campa [= modern Annam], forms part of Wāḳwāḳ (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p 589).

The route to Wāḳwāḳ is from the Coromandel coast (Dimashḳī, p 391); one comes there by steering by the stars (Ḳazwīnī, p 300 and 311; Ibn al-Wardī, p 415, Bākuwī, p 463)

It is a large island (Ibn al-Wardī p 415) The islands of Wāḳwāḳ number 1,700 (Ḳazwīnī, p. 300, Ibn al-Wardī p 415); 1,600 (Kazwīnī, p 311, Bākuwī, p. 463) They are inhabited and cultivated (Ibn al-Wardī, p 145); they contain large towns (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p 387)

The ruler of the islands of Wāḳwāk is a woman She sits nude on a throne, a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by four thousand young slaves also nude (Ḳazwīnī p 300; Ibn al-Wardī, p 415) This queen is called Damhara, wears a robe woven of gold and shoes of gold (Ibn al-Wardī, p 415, cf. Idrīsī, p 177)

Some inhabitants of Wāḳwāḳ are black (al-Bīrūnī, p 164) They resemble the Turks, they are numerous, very industrious, active and intelligent, but treacherous, lying and cunning (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587). They weave tunics with sleeves in a single piece; they build large ships and floating houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p 415)

In 334 (945) of our era, a fleet of 1,000 ships from Wāḳwāḳ came to plunder some islands of East Africa and certain towns of Sofāla of the Zandj. The Wāḳwāḳ used to come there to get the merchandise necessary for their country and China, like ivory, tortoise shell, panther-skins, amber and Zandj slaves. The voyage lasted a year (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 587—588) The men there are finer than the women (al-Bīrūnī, p. 164).

The Chinese sometimes land there (Idrīsī, p. 193); merchants go with them to look for gold (*ibid*, p. 194). One cannot land there (Ibn Saʿīd, p. 335).

Gold is abundant (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 55; Idrīsī, p. 194; Kazwīnī, p. 300; Ibn Saʿīd, p. 334, Ibn al-Wardī, p. 415; Bākuwī, p. 463). The chains and collars of dogs, monkeys and other tame animals are of gold (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Ḳazwīnī, p 300; Dimashḳī, p 391; Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; Bākuwī, p 463). The chiefs have bricks made of gold with which they build fortresses and houses (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 414; cf. Abū Zaid Hasan, p. 84). Tunics woven in gold are sold there (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31 and 674; Kazwīnī, p. 300—301). The gold is exported in ingots and as dust (Idrīsī, p. 194). The gold mines of the islands of Wāḳwāḳ is of such productivity that official ordinances are engraved on plates of gold (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl. G le Strange, p 192)

There is no iron so that it is valued as gold is in other countries (Dimashḳī, p. 391).

Flora: ebony of excellent quality (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 31; Idrīsī p 194); ebony (al-Bīrūnī, p 164; Ḳazwīnī, p 301)

Fauna elephants, many birds (Idrīsī, p. 193); elephants of great size (Ibn al-Wardī, p. 416); many monkeys which are trained to sweep the houses, and to look for wood in the forests and to do other work (*Burhān ḳāṭiʿ*, p 563).

Fabulous Fauna fish 200 cubits long, tortoises 20 cubits round (Ḳazwīnī, p. 303); flying scorpions (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580); the *samandal* bird which enters fire without injury; a kind of hare which changes its sex (*ibid.*, p. 587).

III. WĀḲ OR WAḲ

In Arabic orthography الواق, الوق.

The island of Wāk lies to the south of the ʿIrāḳ (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 140), in the neighbourhood of the island of Ḳomr, behind the mountain of Ustīḳūn, in the centre of the Southern Sea (Abshīhī, p. 470). One goes from the sea of Čampa to the land of Wāḳ (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 144). The sea of Čampa, which comes before the China Sea, adjoins Wāḳ (*ibid*, p 145) The land of Wāk with its islands lies to the east of China (*ibid.*, p. 153). The land of Wāk lies south of the equator between China and Sofāla of the Zandj, on the south coast of the Indian Sea (Nuwairī, p. 394)

Wāḳ is 4,500 parasangs from Suez (*Mille et une nuits*, p. 506)

The mahārādja, king of the islands, lives in the land of Wāḳ (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153, Abshīhī, p. 144). Marvellous statues are made there (*ibid.*, p 153)

Much gold is found there (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153; Abshīhī, p. 471) The bits for horses, chains and collars of dogs are of gold (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p 153, Abshīhī, p. 471) The people make shirts woven of gold (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p 153 and 678).

The queen sits on a throne with a crown of gold on her head, surrounded by 400 young virgins (Abshīhī, p. 470).

The exports are aloes, musk, ebony, cinnamon and all kinds of merchandise (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 153).

IV. THE WONDERFUL TREE OF WĀḲWĀḲ AND OF WĀḲ

The earliest mention of the story of the fruits in the shape of human beings is given us by a Chinese text: the 通典 *T'ong Tien* of Tou Yeou, a book which was written between 766 and 801 of our era. Tou Yeou frequently quotes his relative Tou Houan, who in all probability was taken prisoner at the battle of Talas in 751, was in Arab lands from 751 to 762 and put what he

had learned in foreign lands into a book, the 經行紀 *King hing ki*, which is now lost. It was therefore apparently Tou Houan, who, during his forced sojourn among the Arabs, picked up the legend which Tou Yeou relates as follows (*T'ong Tien*, ch. CXCIII, p. 23ª):

"The king of the *Ta-ṣhe* (Arabs) had despatched men who boarded a ship, taking with them clothes and food and went to sea. They sailed for eight years without coming to the far shore of the Ocean. In the middle of the sea, they saw a square rock, on this rock was a tree with red branches and green leaves On the tree had grown a large number of little children; they were six or seven thumbs' length. When they saw the men, they did not speak, but they could all laugh and move. Their hands, feet and heads were fixed to the branches of the trees When the men detached them and held them, as soon as they were in their hands, they dried up and became black. The messengers returned with a branch of this tree which is still in the palace of the king of the *Ta-ṣhe* (Arabs)" (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, transl. by E Chavannes, p. 484—487).

This text was reproduced in the encyclopædia of Ma Twan-lin (Ch. cccxxxix) who wrote in 1319 Schlegel, who translated it for de Goeje and did not trouble to find out whence Ma Twan-lin had taken it, inserts before the penultimate phrase the words "The name of this tree was *ie-mie*". "I do not know, says Chavannes, where he got this note which is not in the text of Tou Yeou nor in that of Ma Touan-lin". On Tou Yeou cf. also Paul Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside en 751–762* in *T'oung-Pao*, 1928 (xxvi.), p 110—112

Trees called *wāḳwāḳ* are also found in India, the fruit of which looks like human beings (Muṭahhar, p. 117) or like women (Ibn Ṭufail, p 200)

This island of Wāḳwāḳ is not so called after a tree the fruit of which is said to be in the shape of human heads crying· *wāḳ*, *wāḳ* (al-Bīrūnī, p. 163) The island or land of Wāḳwāḳ is on the contrary called after this wonderful tree (Ḳazwīnī, p. 300, Ibn Saʿīd, p. 334, Dimaṣhḳī, p 375, Ibn al-Wardī, p 416; Bākuwī, p. 463, Ibn Iyās, p 483; Sīdī ʿĀlī, p 513; *Burhān ḳāṭiʿ*, p. 563, *Mille et une nuits*, p. 568—569; *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 580; *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl G. Le Strange, p 222)

There is in Wāḳ a tree like the nut-tree and cassia tree the fruit of which looks like a man When the fruit is ripe, it utters distinctly the words· *wāḳ wāḳ*, then falls (Dimaṣhḳī, p 375; Abṣhīhī, p. 470—471).

The *Kitāb al-Ḏughrafīya* of the anonymous geographer of Almeria (xiith cent. A. D.) contains the following interesting description. "In the part of the land of China which is in the sea, there are many islands; among them, those which are famous and well known number eight The largest and most important is the island of Wāḳwāḳ. It is so called because there are great, tall trees there, the numerous leaves of which are like those of the fig-tree, except that they are larger than the leaves of the fig-tree. This tree bears fruit in the month of *Adār*, i. e. the month of March, and they are fruits like the fruits of the palm-tree These fruits end in the feet of young girls which project from them; on the second day of the month the two legs protrude, and on the third day the two legs and thighs. This continues so that a little more protrudes each day until they have completely emerged on the last day of the month of *Nisān*, i. e. April. In the month of May their head comes out and the whole figure is complete. They are suspended by their hair Their form and stature are most beautiful and admirable. At the beginning of the month of June, they begin to fall from these trees and by the middle of the month there is not one left on the trees. At the moment of falling to the ground, they utter two cries *wāḳ, wāḳ*. It is also said that they utter three cries When they have fallen to the ground, flesh without bones is found They are more beautiful than words can describe but are without life or soul They are buried in the earth. If they were not buried but left lying no one would be able to approach them on account of the stench This is a wonder of the land of China. The island is at the end of the inhabited world in this sea It is in the east of the section of the coast where it touches the Greater Sea" (MS 770 of the Bibliothèque du Protectorat Francais au Maroc, in Rabat, fol. 5ᵇ, supplemented by a manuscript of the same work n the René Basset library).

V. The animal-vegetable Wāḳwāḳ

The Wāḳwāḳ are according to the *Kitāb al-Ḥaiyawān* of al-Ḏjāhiẓ (d. in 255 = 869) the product of plants and animals (in *Ḥayāt al-Ḥaiyawān al-kubrā* of al-Damīrī, Cairo 1330, ii. 177 and 38). The Wāḳwāḳ are beings closely resembling the human species They are the fruit of great trees from which they hang by the hair. They have breasts and sexual organs like those of women They are coloured and never cease crying *wāḳ*, *wāḳ*. When one of these creatures is captured, it becomes silent and falls dead (*Abrégé des merveilles*, p. 138 and 677–678) The Wāḳwāḳ are like palm and cocoanut trees, intermediate between the animal and vegetable kingdoms (Dimaṣhḳī, p. 367).

VI. The King of the Islands of Wāḳwāḳ

The king of the islands of Wāḳwāḳ is known as Kashmīr (var Ḳashmīr, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Pers. text, p 239; Engl transl. by G. Le Strange, p. 222). Mr Jadunath Sarkar has kindly examined the MSS. of the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, accessible to him. In that of the Oriental Public Library (Khuda Bakhsh Library) of Patna, the name of the king is blank. The Imperial Library of Calcutta (Bohar Collection) has two MSS of the text N⁰. 99 has كسمير and N⁰. 98 كشمر. These readings unfortunately do not recall any possible known name.

VII Proposed Identifications

In an appendix to the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* (p. 295—307) de Goeje published a French translation, reviewed and corrected, of his *Arabische berichten over Japan* under the title *Le Japon connu des Arabes*. He naturally knew and quoted most of the Arabic texts above mentioned. In the course of his researches, he found that the Chinese name for Japan in the Canton dialect is ***Wo-kwok***, of which ***Wāḳwāḳ*** is a perfect Arabic transcription and the identification of ***Wāḳwāḳ*** therefore seemed certain to him.

The old Chinese name for Japan is 倭國 *Wo-kwo*, once pronounced **Wa-kwak*, "land or kingdom of Wa", in Japanese *Wa-koku*, with a barely perceptible final *u*. *Wa-kwak* would be rendered in Arabic by واقواف or وقواف which corresponds exactly to the forms given by the Arab and Persian geographers This reasoning is then by no means worthless but it does not supply decisive proof. It remains to be seen if other evidence can be found to support this agreement.

De Goeje's thesis calls for several observations In the first place, according to certain geographers, there are two Wāḳwāḳ. Waḳwāk of China and Wāḳwāḳ of the south. Ibn al-Faḳīh expressly says so (cf. above, 1) Masʿūdī, Idrīsī, Ibn Ḵhaldūn and Ibn al-Wardī locate the African Wāḳwāḳ beside Sofāla of the Zandj on the east coast of Africa; Yaʿḳūbī in the Lārwī sea, west of India. Now according to certain modern works of Africanists like G MacTheal and R N. Hall, *wakwak* is a name given to the Bushmen by the Bantus of the country, who regard them as a kind of baboon This explains the statements made by Masʿūdī and the Arab geographers who follow him.

On the other hand, Wāḳwāḳ is represented in Malgasy by *vahwák* + vowel which corresponds phonetically to an old **wakwak* and means "the people, the subjects, a nation, tribe or clan as a whole" Madagascar might therefore be the island Wāḳwāḳ of Yaʿḳūbī. This identification is made certain by the following fact. in the great African island a *pandanus* called *vakwá* grows in great profusion, its fruit is a voluminous syncarp. It is known to the French as *vaquois* Its shape and characteristics might well have given rise to the story of trees producing human beings (cf above, iv.) Madagascar thus corresponds as exactly as possible with the description of Wāḳwāḳ of the south The ʿ*oṯhar* of which the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* speaks cannot in any case take the place of this wonderful tree, as de Goeje thought

The other information supplied by the Oriental geographers is as a rule of little use on account of its fantastic nature or its inaccuracy. One note in the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind* may be mentioned. a famous sailor of the lands of gold, Ibn Lākīs, reports that in 334 (945) the Wāḳwāḳ came with 1,000 ships to the east coast of Africa to procure merchandise and Zandj slaves The voyage lasted a year. De Goeje, who identifies these Wāḳwāḳ with the Japanese, acknowledges that the history of Japan makes no mention of this remarkable fact and concludes that it must have been a private enterprise of Japanese merchants and daimyos. E Chavannes says that such an expedition could not have taken place (*T'oung-Pao*, Oct. 1904, p. 485). M Maurice Courant, whom I have consulted, is also of this opinion and Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the eminent master of Japanese studies, has written to me to the same effect. It was impossible for the Japanese of the tenth century to undertake an expedition by sea to the islands and coast of East Africa. The Wāḳwāḳ of China or eastern Wāḳwāḳ are therefore not the Japanese.

The Arabic and Persian documents which seemed to de Goeje decisive in favour of his thesis, are far from being as conclusive as the illustrious Leyden orientalist believed. Indeed some are definitely against the Japanese theory of Wāḳwāḳ, which is really untenable. The existence of two Wāḳwāḳ is indisputable. The identification of Wāḳwāḳ of the south with Madagascar and East Africa south of Sofāla is equally certain. It only remains to locate Wāḳwāḳ of China. The most valuable hint for its identification is the statement that the Mahārādja, king of the islands, lives in it. Now we know from other sources that this is the title of the ruler of Zābag, i. e Sumatra, the land of gold The Sumatrans were acquainted with the islands and coasts of the western Indian ocean They peopled Madagascar at an early period and Malgasy is a descendant of a Malay dialect. Idrīsī gives valuable information on this point: "The people of Ḳomr (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārādja (= Sumatra) visit them (the natives of the west coast of Africa) and are well received and trade with them" (MS. 2221 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 37ᵃ, l. 7–8). A few pages earlier he says "The people of the islands of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj (here Madagascar) in large and small ships and they export merchandise from it *since they understand one another's language*" (*ibid*, fol 29ᵃ, l. 15).

The name of the port of Baros on the west coast of Sumatra, the *Bālūs* of the Arab geographers, the *P'o-lou-she* of the Chinese, is mentioned for the first time by Ptolemy ("Βαρούσαι πέντε, the five Baros islands, inhabited, it is said, by the anthropophagi", in L. Renou. *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, vii 1—4, p 59); then, by the *Leang Shu* or *History of the Leang* (502—556) in the form *P'o-lu* and at the end of the viiᵗʰ century by Yi-Tsing who has *P'o-lou-che*. The Arabs call it sometimes Bālūs and sometimes Fansūr < Malay Pančur. One or other form is found in the oldest texts and recurs in the later ones It is the famous port of Pakpakland or land of the Pakpak from which used to come the most esteemed camphor.

The tribal name *Pakpak* goes into Arabic as *Fakfak*, which is phonetically so close to *Wāḳwāḳ*, that one need not hesitate to identify the two In Sumatra, as in Madagascar, the *pandanus* flourishes in a wild state and its Batak name *bakkuwaṅ* = Malgasy *vakwa*. There are remarkable agreements in the tribal names and in the flora of the two islands in Sumatra a Batak tribe called *Pakpak* > Arabic form *Fakfak* and the *pandanus*. *bakkuwan*, in Madagascar the *Vahwáka* < older **Wakwak* and the *pandanus*· *vakwá*. It is an historical fact that the Sumatrans only have on several occasions come into the western Indian ocean. The Japanese theory of Wāḳwāḳ is therefore to be abandoned.

This article is only a synopsis of a memoir now being printed, which will appear in the *Journal Asiatique* under the title: *Le Wāḳwāḳ est-il le Japon ?*. In the limited space available here, the main arguments in favour of this new identification have been given.

Bibliography: Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIème au XVIIIème siècles*, Paris, 2 vol., 1913—1914 (these two volumes with continuous pagination contain translations of the text of. Ibn Ḵhurdādhbih, 844—848; the Arab merchant Sulaimān, 851; Yaʿḳūbī, ca 875 or 880; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 902; Ibn Rosteh, ca. 903; Abū Zaid Ḥasan, ca. 916, Masʿūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, 943; *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, 955; Muḳad-

dasī, middle of the tenth century; Mutahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, 966; Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif-Shāh, ca. 1000; *Kitāb Mafātīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, end of the tenth century; Bīrūnī, 973—1048. *Chronologie des peuples anciens*, 1000; *Histoire de l'Inde*, ca. 1030; *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 1030, Idrīsī, 1154; Ibn Ṭufail, d. in 1185, Yāḳūt, 1179—1229; Ḳazwīnī, 1203—1283; Ibn Saʿīd, 1208 or 1214—1274 or 1286; Shīrāzī, d in 1311, Dimashḳī, ca. 1325; Nuwairī, d. in 1332, Abu 'l-Fidā', 1273—1331, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *The geographical part of the Nuzhat al-qulūb composed by Hamd-Allah Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, Persian text, London 1915, English transl., London 1919, by Guy Le Strange; Ibn al-Wardī, ca 1340; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ca. 1355, Ibn Khaldūn, ca 1375; Bākuwī, beginning of the xvth century; Maḳrīzī, 1365—1442, Abshīhī, 1388—1446; Ibn Iyās, 1516, the Turkish admiral Sīdī ʿAlī, 1516, the Persian dictionary *Burhān kāṭiʿ*, *Mille et une nuits*, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, etc.); do., *Madagascar et les îles Ûâq-Ûâq*, in *J A*, 1904, p 489—509, do., *Les îles Râmny*, *Lâmery*, *Wâkwâk*, *Ḳomor des geographes arabes et Madagascar*, in *J A.*, 1907, p 450—506, M. T de Goeje, *Le Japon connu des Arabes*, excursus F. in the *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, 1883—1886, p 295—307. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

WALĪ (A.) 1. From the Arabic root *wala*, to be near, and *walīya*, to govern, to rule, to protect someone In ordinary use this word means protector, benefactor, companion, friend and is applied also to near relatives, especially in Turkish [cf the art. ʿAṢABAN WILĀYA].

When used in a religious connection walī corresponds very much to our title "saint", but the idea behind it has given rise to a regular theory and in practice has attained sufficient importance for it to be necessary to explain the use of the term. In the Ḳurʾān this theory does not yet exist, the term *walī* is found there with several meanings that of near relative, whose murder demands vengeance (xvii. 59), that of friend of God (x 63) or ally of God, it is also applied to God himself ii. 258: "God is the friend of those who believe". The same title was given to the Prophet and it is one of the names of God in the Muslim rosary

2 According to Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, the term walī is equivalent to that of *ʿārif bi'llāh* "he who possesses mystic knowledge", "he who knows God". The Muslim saint who is important enough to merit this title is believed to possess several privileges. Not only is he delivered from the 'yoke of the passions' as Hudjwīrī says, not only has he influence with God, he can 'bind and loosen' but he also has the gift of miracles (*karāmāt*). he is a miracle-worker He can transform himself, transport himself to a distance, speak diverse tongues, revive the dead; he can produce various phenomena, often mentioned to-day in pyschic studies: thought-reading, telepathy, prophecy; he can raise himself from the ground (levitation) or summon objects from a distance He can make a dry stick put forth leaves, check a flood, control rains and springs etc. Hudjwīrī goes even farther and attributes to the saints 'the government of the universe'. It is by their blessing, he says (their *baraka*) that the rain falls and by their purity that plants come up again in the spring. Their spiritual influence makes battles won.

This conception resembles that of Indian poems telling of the great ascetics of Brahmanism who by power of penance succeeded in gaining complete power over nature; but in Islām, this power is rather the result of a gift from God than the result of the personal merit or ascetic practices of the saints. Popular belief has however not extended the power of the saints in this way it has rather inclined to specialise it, each of them having in the eyes of the multitude the power of performing a special miracle, like curing a particular disease, bringing success in a particular kind of business, guiding travellers, discovering secrets etc These miracles of saints (*karāmāt*) are distinguished from the miracles of the prophet, which are called *muʿdjizāt* and are besides few in number, and the theologians discuss in an interesting fashion their evidential value. It is not absolute, whereas the miracles of the prophet count as proofs of religion — The Muʿtazilīs denied that there were men like this having special gifts; they reject the privileges and miracles of the saints and teach that every faithful Muslim who obeys God is a 'friend of God, walī'.

3 The saints have been classed in a hierarchy according to a system which is found in much the same form in different authors. There are always saints on the earth; but their sanctity is not always apparent; they are not all not always visible It is sufficient that their hierarchy goes on and that they are replaced on their death so that their number is always complete. 4,000 live hidden in the world and are themselves unconscious of their state. Others know one another and act together. These are in ascending order of merit the *akhyār* to the number of 300, the *abdāl*, 40, the *abrār*, 7, the *awtād*, 4, the *nuḳabāʾ*, 3 and the Pole who is unique, *ḳuṭb* or *ghawth*. A number of mystics have actually been given the title of Pole. Djunaid for example was the Pole of his time, Ibn Masrūḳ was one of the 'pillars' (*awtād*). Every night the *awtād* traverse the universe in thought and inform the Pole of any defects in order that he may remedy them.

Another variant of this theory is given by Doutté from Algeria The hierarchy consists of 7 degrees In the lowest there are the *nuḳabāʾ* to the number of 300, each of whom is at the head of a group of saints without special titles. Next come the *nudjabāʾ*, then the *abdāl*, from 40 to 70 in number; the *khiyār*, the chosen, 7, who continually move about and spread the Muslim faith in the world, the *awtād*, pillars, 4, living at the four cardinal points of the compass with reference to Mecca; the *ḳuṭb*, the Pole, the greatest saint of his time, and quite at the top the *ghawth*, here distinct from the Pole, capable of taking upon his shoulders a portion of the sins of the believers.

D'Ohsson gives the following theory for Turkey; here also there are 7 degrees. There are always 356 saints living on the earth. The first is the *ghawth aʿẓam* or 'great refuge'; the second, his vizier, the Pole, *ḳuṭb*. Then come the 4 *awtād*, the pillars. The rest are known by their numbers: *učler*, the 3; *yediler*, the 7, *kirkler*, the 40 and *uẕyediler*, the 300.

These seven classes correspond to the 7 degrees of beatitude in Paradise. The saints of the first three classes are present invisibly in Mecca at the hours of prayer. When the *ghawth* dies, the *ḳuṭb* replaces him and there is a moving up all through

the series, the purest soul of each class rising to the next degree.

This classification of the walīs was made according to Hudjwīrī by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tirmiḏhī, who lived shortly before him (vth = xiith century) This individual, also called Muḥammad Hakīm, wrote a work entitled *Khatm al-Wilāya*, the "seal of sanctity", and founded a sect called the Ḥakīmī. One of his disciples, Abū Bakr Warrāḳ, was surnamed the "instructor of the saints", *muʾaddib al-awliyāʾ*.

Some difficulty may be found in reconciling this system with the pure spirit of orthodox Islām; it was admitted by the theologians only with the express reservation that however great the saints, the walīs, may be, they are always inferior in rank to Muhammad and the prophets

4. The worship of saints is not Kurʾānic Without being expressly prohibited by the Ḳurʾān it is sufficiently contrary to its spirit, Muhammad having forbidden the worship of standing stones, tombs and every kind of superstition But Islām had to yield on this point to the pressure of popular sentiment, which by its traditions, its tendency to the marvellous and other psychological factors, is strongly inclined to this way of expressing its religious feelings. Numerous saints, differing in different areas, are held in honour in Muslim lands, Sunnī and Shīʿī These saints are of different origins. Some are great mystics, often founders of orders or of religious brotherhoods, others are ancestors or chiefs of tribes, princes and founders of dynasties Some are of humbler origin, *illuminati*, half-deranged persons, *madjdhūb*, whose peculiar or incoherent utterances are often regarded as inspired, or even the simple-minded, *bahlūl* Other saints are transformations or survivals of ancient cults, heroes of old days, gods of woods and springs, we find such among the Beduins. As in the Roman Catholic worship, saints are patrons of towns, villages, trades and corporations.

In the Turkey of the sulṭāns, each province had its saint. The most venerated were. Shaikh ʿUbaid Allāh in Samarḳand; Mawlānā Djāmī, the great poet, in Bukhārā, Khōdja Ahmad Yesewī in Turkestān; Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the famous author of the *Methnewī* and founder of the Mawlawī order (dancing dervishes) in Konya; Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳonawī in the same town; Pīr Naḳshabandī, founder of an order, in Kasr ʿArifān in Persia, also venerated in Egypt and Turkey; Shaikh Ahmad Rifāʿī, founder of the order of "howling" dervishes, in Asia Minor; Aḳ Shams al-Dīn, Aḳ Bıyik Dede, Shaikh Abu 'l-Wafāʾ, Sayyid Ahmad Bukhārī, Hādjdjī Bektāsh, founder of the Bektāshīs, Ḥadjdjī Bairām Walī in Aḳ Serāi in Anatolia.

Baghdād has been called the "city of saints" on account of the great number of saints who have lived in the town or whose tombs are there. The most famous is Sīdī ʿAbd al-Kādir Djīlānī, whose prestige is very great throughout the whole Muslim world. Djunaid is also an illustrious saint of Baghdād, as is Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī who has a magnificent mausoleum in the centre of the town Near Damascus is the tomb of Ibn ʿArabī, the famous mystic and prolific writer, who is honoured in Syria and elsewhere. The greatest saint of Constantinople and its patron is Abū Aiyūb al-Anṣārī, the standard-bearer of the Prophet, who fell as a "martyr" (*shahīd*) at the fort of the Golden Horn and was buried on the spot where the famous mosque that bears his name stands. A son-in-law of Bāyazīd I, Emīr Sulṭān, was regarded as a saint. Several Ottoman sulṭāns are also venerated but the title of walī has actually only been given to Bāyazīd II, on account of his piety. Other princes of the Imperial house have been regarded as saints and miracles attributed to them. Among the Arabs the only caliph who is reputed a saint — excepting of course the first four who occupy a special position — is the Umaiyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a very pious ruler.

In Egypt the most popular saints are Ibrāhim al-Dasūḳī and Shaikh Ahmad al-Badawī whose tombs are at Ṭanṭā To these we may add Sīdī Shādhilī who died at Humaithira in the mountains of Upper Egypt; his tomb is much visited. The festival of Saiyid Masrūḳ al-Aḥmadī in Cairo is the cause of one of the most picturesque processions A very popular saint in Egypt is Sitt Nafīsa

In Arabia various individuals are honoured in the holy cities and their tombs visited, in addition to the usual rites of the pilgrimage At Medīna in the cemetery of Baḳīʿ are the tombs of several imāms, that of the caliph ʿUthmān and that of the amīr Hamza, uncle of the Prophet. The "tomb of Eve" recently destroyed by the Wahhābīs, as well as many others, was a few minutes from Djidda and much visited The tomb had the peculiarity of being in several parts. the head, the navel and the feet were separated by a short distance from each other In Mecca, in the cemetery of al-Muʿallā, the pilgrims used to visit the tombs of Āmina and Khadīdja, the mother and wife of the Prophet

In North Africa the worship of saints and marabouts is highly developed. The road to Tripoli along the sea and the vicinity of the town are fringed with numerous tombs of marabouts, elegant in style, shaded by palm-trees, decorated with gaily coloured cloths and ex-votos placed there by the devout. In the desert at Djerbūb is the tomb of Shaikh Sanūsī, founder of a well known order

The patron saint of Tunis is Sīdī Makhlaṣ and its other saints are Sīdī Ben ʿArūs, Sīdī Ben Kāsim, Sīdī Bū Saʿīd The Tunisians hold in reverence the caves to which these pious men retired. This region includes the sacred city of Ḳairawān which has many tombs and the famous mosque of Sidī ʿOḳba and that called "of the Barber" in which the barber of the Prophet is said to be buried. — In Algeria in the first rank we have Sīdī Abū Madyān, a great miracle-worker whose mausoleum near Tlemcen is still much visited No less important is Sīdī ʿAbd al-Kādir Djīlānī, the saint of Baghdād to whom are dedicated a vast number of mosques, chapels, and cemeteries in Algeria. Over 200 *ḳubba*'s are dedicated to him in the province of Oran alone. Next come Sīdī Ben Mashīsh, successor to Sīdī Abū Madyān of the tribe of the Benī ʿArūs, assassinated in 625 A. H. whose tomb is in the Djebel ʿAlem near Tetwān; Mawlāy al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī of Fās, a modern saint who died not long after 1822, and was buried in his *zāwiya* near Fās; Shaikh Tīdjānī, founder of the order, died in 1230 (1815) and also buried in his *zāwiya* near Fās. In Morocco the principal patron saints are Mawlāy Idrīs, the founder of the dynasty, venerated at Volubilis, and the sharīfs of Wezzān, even during their lifetime,

on account of the blessing they bring (their *baraka*) which is much esteemed by the people; even their women are believed to possess this virtue. Several women in Morocco like Lālla Marnia, and Umm ʿAbd Allāh have been given, like Sitt Nafīsa, the title of saint (*walīya*) Marrākush has seven patron saints called "the 7 men", *sabʿat al-riǧāl*; among them are Sīdī bel ʿAbbās and Sīdī Sulaimān al-Ǧazūlī, author of a wide-spread book on prayers. In Tangiers there is Sīdī Bū al-Raḳya, a miracle-worker of the xviiith century whose festival (*moussem*) is celebrated on the seventh day of the Prophet's *mawlid*, at Meknes, Muḥammad b ʿĪsā, founder of the ʿĪsāwa. In this town a strange story is recorded of a living saint who kept standing leaning against a wall; pious people had a penthouse built above him, then a *kubba* without disturbing him. — In Timbuktu Sīdī Yahyā, a miracle-worker of the xvth century, and Sīdī Ben Sāssī are held in honour

Bibliography: Oriental works: al-Ḥuǧwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥǧūb*, transl R. A. Nicholson, in *G. M. S.*, London 1911; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkira-i Awliyāʾ*, transl. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1889. This book gives the biographies of 97 shaikhs. A similar work by Ǧāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, "The breathings of the esoteric life", contains 600 biographies Muhammad ʿAlī ʿAinī, *Ḥādiǧī Beirām Walī*, Constantinople 1343 — A work on saints by Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh is very appreciated among Muslims The various brotherhoods also have books which tell of the lives and miracles of their saints.

Western works M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788, i 306 *sqq* , Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Trumelet, *Les Saints de l'Islam*, Paris 1881, L Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1888, ii. 275—378, Bargès, *Vie du célèbre Marabout Cidi Abou-Médien*, Paris 1884, Doutte, *L'Islam Algérien en l'an 1900*, Algiers 1900; do., *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, Asín Palacios, *El Mistico Murciano Abenarabi*, ii., Madrid 1926, P Ricard, *Le Maroc*, in the collection of the *Guides bleus*, Paris 1930, and various books by travellers.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

AL-WALĪD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK, Umaiyad Caliph (88—98 = 705—715). On the death of his father, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Oct. 705), al-Walīd, his successor, was over 30 A prince of only average culture, he brought to the throne an aristocratic outlook and a display of religious fervour unknown among his predecessors. In the history of the Umaiyads he ranks as the great builder of the dynasty. One of his first cares was to give his capital Damascus a magnificent mosque Walīd cast his eyes on the basilica of St. John the Baptist, once a temple of Jupiter Damascenus. Of this edifice, tradition says that it was divided in two between its old owners and the Muslims after the Arab conquest. Against this we have the explicit testimony of the pilgrim Arculf who visited Damascus in the reign of Muʿāwiya I. He says "*in honorem sancti Johannis baptistae grandis fundata ecclesia est. Quaedam etiam Saracenorum ecclesia incredulorum et ipsa in eadem civitate, quam ipsi frequentant, fabricata est*". If this may be believed, then under Muʿāwiya, the Arabs in Damascus were content with a single mosque, a modest (*quaedam*) erection built for them and not obtained at the expense of the basilica which was still in Christian ownership in the time of the Sufyānid caliphs The upholders of the Muslim tradition say that Arculf made a mistake. He did not notice that mosque and church formed a single building.

The caliphs Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik had vainly negotiated with the Christians for the cession of the whole basilica The autocratic Walīd decided to confiscate it without any more ado. He did not take down the building; he only abolished the eastern apse; he built the *Ḳubbat al-Nasr*, the "Dome of the Eagle", above the transept and to the north of the mosque pavement the "Minaret of the Fiancée", the two other minarets were built upon older towers Walīd's activity was fully displayed in remodelling the interior of the basilica in which he gave rein to all his taste for magnificence and to the suggestions of Syrian decorators He mobilised a regular army of marble workers. The capitals were covered with gold and the walls with mosaics An inscription "in letters of gold on a ground of lapis-lazuli" (Masʿūdī) bore the name of Walīd with the date (Nov. 706) marking the beginning of the work, a year after the accession of the Caliph Along with this great undertaking, Walīd directed the building of the great mosques of Medina and Mecca, which he also entrusted to Christian architects

The arabicisation of the administration is another striking feature of his reign The great government offices were taken from the Christians, the control of. the finances from a Damascus family, the descendants of Ibn Sarǧūn. Finally we may mention the progress of foreign conquests By a process of expansion which was almost automatic, the Arab empire in this reign attained its greatest extent from Transoxania to Spain, where the Arabs now succeeded in gaining a footing. Walīd was a continually fortunate sovereign. Everything succeeded with him, even his autocratic manner, which found expression in a diminution in the tolerance shown to the *dhimmīs* In Syria he enjoyed undisputed popularity People admired his great buildings, his charitable undertakings and public works and the great conquests of his reign In keeping with the will of ʿAbd al-Malik, his brother Sulaimān was to succeed him. Walīd was thinking of substituting his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in his place when death overtook him at Dair Murrān, near Damascus on Feb. 23, 715 at the age of about 45

Bibliography: Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1177—1269; Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān* (ed. de Goeje), p. 123—126, Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* (ed. de Paris), v. 360—395; *Itinera hierosolymitana* (ed Geyer), p. 276, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p 157—166; Lammens, *Un gouverneur omaiyade d'Egypte. Qorra ibn Šarīk d'après les papyrus arabes* (in *B. I. E.*, 5th series, vol. ii.), p. 99—115; the remainder of the bibliography printed on in MS. is given in Lammens, *Le calife Walīd et le prétendu partage de la mosquée des Omayyade à Damas* (in *B. I. F. A. O*, xxvi.), p. 21—48 (H. LAMMENS)

AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿOMAR B. MAKHZŪM, an opponent of Muḥammad. Little is known of his life but it is certain that he was one of the most powerful men in Mecca and one of the most ardent opponents of

he Prophet. As head of the numerous and prominent family of the Makhzūm he naturally represented the aristocratic interests in the city of Muḥammad's birth and that he was himself very prosperous is evident from the fact that, according to traditionists, he owned a garden in Ṭā'if which he planted for pleasure only and never pulled the fruit in it (Sprenger, I, 359). According to the commentators, there are references to him in several passages in the Kur'ān, e g Sūra vi 10; xliii. 30; lxxiv. 11 *sqq.*; lxxx. 1 *sqq.*, although his name is never expressly mentioned. One cannot of course place implicit confidence on such statements, which are sometimes based on later deductions. Muslim historians frequently mention al-Walīd among those Ḳuraish who vigorously persecuted Muḥammad and endeavoured to silence him Thus he is said to have been a member of a deputation which went to Abū Ṭālib [q. v.] and protested to him but without success at the Prophet's conduct It is also related that Muhammad's enemies had on one occasion, on the approach of the pilgrimage discussed the best means to set strange visitors against Muḥammad and proposed in turn the epithets *kāhin* 'soothsayer', *madjnūn* 'possessed' and *shā'ir* 'poet' but al-Walīd rejected them all until those present finally agreed to his proposal to call Muhammad a *sāḥir* 'magician', who would separate a man from his father, brother, wife and whole family, and to warn the pilgrims seriously against the alleged magician When ᶜOthmān b. Mazᶜūn, a relative of al-Walīd, who had adopted Islām and taken part in the emigration to Abyssinia, but was still under al-Walīd's protection, wished to break off this relationship, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain After al-Walīd had therefore released himself from all obligations to his relative ᶜOthmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walīd again offered him his protection but ᶜOthmān rejected this kindly meant offer. Al-Walīd died in Mecca in the year 1 and three of his seven sons adopted Islām In keeping with his aristocratic descent and social position, his actions were frequently characterised by a certain magnanimity and dignity, and Sprenger (II. 111) describes him as follows, probably with justice "He was one of the earliest and most decided enemies of Islām, but at the same time chivalrous and not without culture. He therefore laid more emphasis on dissuading his fellow citizens from the new religion than on nipping it in the bud by attacking the personal rights of the Muslims Instead of using physical force, he gathered round him men of talent, knowledge and experience like Umaiya b Abi 'l-Salt and Nadr b Ḥārith and endeavoured to expose Muḥammad's contradictions and deceptions and to make him ludicrous and despisable in the eyes of intelligent people, while he silenced the common people by his prestige and material advantages".

Bibliography. Ibn Hishām (ed. Wustenfeld), i. 123, 167, 171, 187, 236, 238, 240, 243 *sq.*, 262, 272 *sq.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i., see index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), ii. 32, 47, 53 *sq.*, 58 *sq*, 85; Ya'ḳūbī, *Historiae* (ed. Houtsma), i 300; ii. 6, 18, 24, Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*², i. 90, 361; ii. 19, 21, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56 *sq.*, 70, 75, 80, 89, 109, 111 *sq*, 161, 320, 345, 393, 405; Krehl, *Das Leben des Muḥammed*, p. 41 *sq.*, 74—76, 78; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 168, 179; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i., see Index with further literature in the text.

(K. V. Zetterstéen)

AL-WALĪD B. YAZĪD, Umaiyad Caliph. He was about 35 (Feb. 743) when he succeeded his uncle, the Caliph Hishām b. ᶜAbd al-Malik. "If only for his personal courage, liberality, love of letters and patronage and practice of poetry, Walīd was bound to shine in the first rank among the Umaiyads". Such is the judgment of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (vi. 101) the author of which could not be suspected of partiality for the Umaiyads. An artistic and remarkably cultivated young man, which none of his predecessors had been, the son of the hysterical caliph Yazīd II, he was certainly also the most libertine After a brief appearance in Damascus for the enthronement (*baiᶜa*) the new caliph hastened to resume in the desert the free life, void of all constraint, that he had led as a prince without worrying about affairs of state or the interdictions of the Ḳur'ān We need not however believe all the stories of his eccentricities given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* He spent his time in merry company surrounded by poets, parasites, musicians of both sexes, he himself being justly esteemed as a musician

His cruelty towards the faithful Khālid al-Ḳasrī [q. v] whom he put to death soon raised against him the Yemenīs in Syria. Fond of field sports, the caliph had in the lifetime of his uncle built in the middle of the desert a hunting lodge, Kusair ᶜAmra [cf ᶜAMRA]. When he became caliph he proposed to build in the solitude a grand palace and transfer there all the refinements of civilization Such was the origin of the fantastic castle of Mshattā [q v.] A virtuoso in music and poetry, this bizarre and blasé character dreamed of eclipsing the architectural glories of ᶜAbd al-Malik [q. v.] and of Walīd I [q. v.]

With its unusual proportions, its façade, carved with delicate tracery like lacework, the building of al-Mshattā "has fascinated the whole world and caused more ink to flow than any other in Syria" (van Berchem) Archæologists have attributed it successively to the Romans, Byzantines, Ghassānids and Persians They have neglected the Umaiyads, who were great builders from ᶜAbd al-Malik onwards, and all fond of a *bādiya* or a holiday in the desert. For the builder of Mshattā, we had hesitated at first between Yazīd II and his son, both of whom lived in the region of Moab (Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Ḥira sous les Omaiyades*, p 110 *sq*) A passage in Severus Ibn Muḳaffaᶜ (p. 163—164) settles the question in favour of our Walīd.

Rebellion was stirring in the provinces and soon spread to Syria. For the first time since Muᶜāwiya, the harmony between this country and the Umaiyads which had given them strength to face the most violent storms, was broken. The discontented Yemenīs — they formed the great majority of the Arabs in Syria — were joined by the Kadarīs, who also had been ill-treated by Walīd II. The numbers of the Ḳadarīs had grown and they were led by a Marwānid, Yazīd, son of Walīd I The majority of the Marwānids whom he had alienated by his caprices joined the conspiracy. The rebels left Damascus to surprise the caliph who was hunting In his flight northwards he was overtaken and killed in the little fort of Bakhrā' south of Palmyra (April 17, 744).

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Būlāḳ), vi. 101—141; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1728—1803, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (ed. de Paris), vi 1—17; Severus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, ed. Seybold, Hamburg 1912, p. 163—164; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p 218—228, Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Ḥîra sous les Omaiyades* (in *M F O B.*, iv), p. 108—111

(H. LAMMENS)

WĀLIDE SULṬĀN (A.) Turkish pronunciation *vālide* or *valde sulṭān*, the two words are in apposition, according to Turkish syntax), "the sultān Valide" or "sultāna mother", a title borne in the old Ottoman empire by the mother of the reigning sulṭān and only for the duration of her son's reign.

The political history of the Wālide Sulṭān is fairly well known from the Turkish historians, at least as far as those are concerned who took part openly in the government of the country, for example Nūr Bānū, Ṣafiye, Māh-Peiker Kosem and Turkhan Khadīdje.

We are by no means so well informed about the conditions of their life in the sultān's ḥarem The organisation of the harem only began to be unveiled at the period when the institution itself was beginning to disappear. Influenced no doubt by a feeling of discretion or of modesty, the Turkish historians do not touch on the subject. Western writers, in spite of a lively curiosity, never succeeded in piercing the mystery and frequently give rein to their imagination to complete their notes The oldest travellers passed over the subject in silence It is however in western sources that we find valuable information if it is used with care It is only in modern times however that criticism has dealt with certain fables long believed, such as, for example, the story of the handkerchief thrown by the sultān to his favourites (cf. v Hammer, xiv 71—72).

As Naʿīmā says (iv 250, 5 *sq.*) the Ottoman sulṭāns "according to the sulṭānian *kānūn* did not live in a state of marriage but of concubinage (*teserrī*)". The word *ḳānūn* is to be taken here in the sense of "traditional usage" and not of written law. The chief of the customs (*gumruk nāzırı*) and later the official slave dealers (*yesirdji bashi*) and private individuals by gifts supplied the sulṭān's ḥarem with slaves of the most varied origins. Europe, Asia and Africa.

The custom of concubinage — which we also find in Persia (Chardin, vi 235) down to the reign of Muhammad ʿAlī Shāh (1907—1909) — must have become established in Turkey gradually In the early period the Ottoman sulṭāns chose their wives from the daughters of the Turkish rulers of Anatolia or Byzantine princesses. It is difficult to say what was the social status of these wives or to know in what way they differed from the concubines of these princes We see clearly from ʿĀshīḳ-pasha-zāde's history (ed. Giese, p. 109—110) that Murād I regarded the Serbian princess whom he married simply as a *djāriye* or "slave" but the preparations for certain other unions were made with a solemnity which suggests that great importance was attributed to them.

After the taking of Constantinople, official marriages of the sulṭāns became quite the exception We may mention Sulaimān the Magnificent and ʿOthmān II and lastly Ibrāhīm who was the last to conclude a matrimonial alliance with one of his ḥarem Telli-Khāsṣekī or Shāh-Sulṭān in 1647 (d'Ohsson, vii. 62; Naʿīmā, *loc. cit.*). The sulṭān was however represented in this ceremony by the Grand Vizier.

The principles of Ottoman policy were themselves against these marriages The relatives of a slave seemed less to be feared and indeed were officially put into seclusion. It is hardly necessary to add that this prohibition only partially palliated the evil it was intended to avoid. As is seen from the bloody story of the Jewess Kera, a contemporary of the Wālide Sulṭān Ṣafiye (Baffa), ḥarem intrigues played a great part under some sulṭāns. In Turkey as in Persia (Chardin, vi. 228), the sultān's mother had to be reckoned with. It was therefore natural for a politician to endeavour to get into the serāy as a gift to the sulṭān a woman devoted to his interests The Circassians in particular were very skilful in deriving advantage from the secret influence of such connections. It may also be noted that some sulṭāns such for example as Mustafā III and ʿAbd al-Hamīd I married slaves formally or rather from conscientious scruples. "Religious law", says d'Ohsson, "not permitting a person born free and a Muslim to be reduced to slavery, the intercourse of a master with a female slave can only be legitimate when it is certain that she was not born a Muslim and free. If he has not proof of this, and wishes nevertheless to live with her, he ought for the peace of his conscience to free her and marry her The sulṭān then marries his manumitted slave without the slightest display in the presence of the Mouphti".

From all this then it is clear that the Wālide Sultāns were always former slaves Von Hammer (viii 288) is therefore right when he says that the sulṭān was bound to be the "son of a slave". Ubicini (*La Turquie actuelle*, Paris 1855, p. 122) also adds that the people never mention him except by this name, but we do not know to what Turkish term he refers

From her former position there survived to the Wālide Sulṭān a picturesque name which was popularly believed to be taken from the Persian and to which was sometimes added an ordinary Muslim name (cf. the list of Wālide Sulṭāns, below). The mere fact that she had given birth to a prince had early earned her the title of *ḳadīn* or *ḳhāseki* (*ḳhāṣṣekī*) but nothing could equal the prestige which the accession of her son brought her and which, unlike dowager queens of other countries, she had not to share, officially at least, with a queen consort. Under the name of Wālide Sultān she became henceforth the first woman in Turkey, simply as a result of the respect due to her quality of mother This respect is so deeply rooted among the Turks that the influence of Islām (cf. the *ḥadīth*: "Paradise is at the feet of the mothers") is not sufficient to explain it. The sulṭāns used to set an example of filial piety and the Wālide Sultān sometimes exercised a very considerable influence over her son whom she called in Turkish fashion *aslanīm* 'my lion' or *ḳaplanīm* 'my tiger' (we know that ʿAlī's mother called her son Asad, 'lion', but this had been her own father's name).

The installation of the Wālide Sulṭān was a solemn ceremony, especially if she had been relegated to the old serāy (*eski serāy* or *serāy-i ʿatīḳ*), a building erected by Meḥmed II, later the Seraskerat and now the University. This relegation

took place regularly when, after the death of the sulṭān, her husband, the throne passed to an heir who was not her son. A week or two after the accession of her son, the new sulṭān's mother was brought in procession (*wālide alayi*) to the new serāy (*top-kapi* or *top-kapu sarāyi* wrongly called the "old serāy" by western writers) where the sulṭān lived (cf. the examples of *wālide alayi* in Wāsif, i 28, Djewdet, iv. 1275, 243; Muṣṭafā Nedjīb, p. 112). The chief black eunuch (*dār us-saʿādet ush-sherīfe aghasi*), the *wālide kehyasi* (cf. below) and the officers of the imperial harem figured in this procession. The Wālide Sultān was borne on a litter (*takhtrewān*), later in an open carriage, surrounded by *peik* and *solak* [q v] According to Andréossy, the Wālide Sultān, as a remarkable privilege, showed herself to the people without a veil (*yashmak*) The sultān went to meet his mother at the Bāb-i Saʿāde gate of the serāy She was settled in her suite (*wālide sulṭān yeri*) which can still be seen to-day, although in comparatively modern form, for it was destroyed by fire on 10th Muharram 1076 (July 23, 1665) (*Silahtar Tarihi*, i. 384; Halil Ethem [Khalīl Edhem], *Le Palais de Top-kapou* [in French] Istanbul 1931, p. 58 and picture on p. 50, cf also a description of this suite in Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople* etc, Paris 1805, ii 256—257). Her removal to her new abode was announced next day to the Sublime Porte in an official document called *ḥukum-nāme* (Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿOsmānli Tārikhi*, p 1082)

The new Wālide Sultān sent to the Grand Vizier a dagger (*khanǰer*) studded with jewels The Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām also each received a cloak of sable (*samur*)

The Wālide was supreme mistress of the female personnel of the imperial harem, the discipline of which she supervised Every favour or permit to go out had to be submitted to her The deference shown to her found expression in a special etiquette She could not be approached unless a formal request for an audience had been made It was forbidden to address her without being invited to speak or to sit down in her presence One stood in front of her in the respectful attitude called *diwān durmaḳ* or *el penče durmak*. Ladies, even the greatest favourites, never appeared before her except in the *entari*, the name in the language of the palace for a kind of ceremonial robe When the Wālide Sulṭān went out she was escorted by an imposing suite and all the guards saluted her (P. de Régla, *La Turquie officielle*, 1891, p 264—265).

The Wālide Sulṭān was so used to these honours that the adopted mother of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II is said to have been offended when the German Empress did not kiss her hand (G. Rizas, *Les Mystères de Yildiz*, Constantinople 1909, p. 64–65). As to the incident of the salute paid to the Wālide Sultān by ships of the Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, it was exaggerated if we may rely on what the Marquis de Bonnac says, according to him, his predecessor made excuses (cf. Vandal, *Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, p. 53; Le Marquis de Bonnac, *Mém. hist. sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. Schefer, 1894, p. 25).

On the death of the Wālide Sulṭān, the sulṭān accompanied her remains as far as the gate at which he went to meet her on his accession The cortège then went on to the place of burial led by the Grand Vizier and the Shaikh al-Islām (Wāsif, i 50). Forty days of mourning followed, during which the ministers visited the tomb and the Ḳurʾān was read (*Tārikh-i Selāniki*, 1281, p. 173)

If on the other hand the sulṭān died before his mother, she returned to the old *serāy* to rejoin the women retired or disgraced from the ḥarem (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 10, p 190)

We can only quote two cases of the Wālide Sulṭān retaining the title in the reigns of two sons. Māh-Peiker Kosem Sulṭān, mother of Murād IV and of Ibrāhīm, and Gül-Nūsh Emet-Ullāh Sulṭān, mother of Muṣṭafā II and of Aḥmed III. In one case there were two Wālide Sultāns simultaneously· Māh Peiker Kosem Sulṭān already mentioned, grandmother (*buyuk wālide*), and Tarkhan Khadīdje (*Turhan Hatidje*) Sultān, mother of Mehmed IV. This was however terminated by the violent death of the former

When a prince imperial became sultān after the death of his mother, the title of Wālide Sultān was given to his foster-mother or nurse (*sut wālide*, *taya kadïn*, older formula: *dāye khatun*), foster-relationships being held in high regard in Turkey In default of either, the name of *wālide* was given by the sultān to the Khaznadār-Usta or Grand Mistress of the Treasury.

In the reign of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II, who had lost his mother at an early age, the rank of Wālide Sultān was given to his adopted mother Peresto Hanïm, formerly fourth *ḳadïn* of ʿAbd al-Medjīd (Razis, *op cit*, p 109, Dorys, *Abd al-Hamid intime*, 1907, p 6 *sqq*)

The position of the Wālide Sultān was very important during minorities. They acted practically as regents

Titles of the Wālide Sultān. The word *wālide* "she who gives birth" is not in itself of any honorific significance It is a synonym of the word *ana* "mother" but with the implication of greater respect. The Wālide Sultān very frequently has additional epithets like *mādjide* "glorious" or *muḥtereme* "honoured" *wālide-i mādjide* (*muḥtereme*), the (deceased) father of a reigning sulṭān was called *wālid-i mādjid* (The popular pronunciation is due to the loss of the narrow vowel in the second syllable, a phenomenon fairly common in Turkish which even affects foreign words, when the accent is displaced to the last syllable. *khalīfe* > *kalfa*; *khazīne* > *khazna*. Cf also in Arabic Wālda Basha, see below).

The title of sultān "sultana" on the other hand was the peculiar prerogative of the mother of the reigning sovereign. It was not given by marriage and she was the only woman who could bear it "without birth" as Baron de Tott says. It is moreover used here as an honorific affix or more accurately in post-position [cf the article SULṬĀN] like other titles of this kind (*pasha*, *bey*, *efendi*, etc), and it is a mistake to explain it, as is sometimes done, by the Arabic *wālide sulṭān* (!) which is said to mean "mother of the sulṭān". "Mother of the sulṭān" would be in Arabic in the construct state *wālidet as-(al)-sulṭān* And we actually find this in the Arabic epitaph of Khwand-khatun or Māhperi, mother of a Saldjūḳ sulṭān, at Pazar Nāhiyesi (4 hours from Toḳat; cf. the text in Ismāʿīl Haḳḳi, *Kitābeler*, Istanbul 1345 [1927], p. 77–78). Nor is there any question of a haplology in the Persian construction **wālide-i sulṭān*.

Besides the Wālide Sulṭān, the only women entitled to the affixed title of Sulṭān — like *begum* in Persia (Chardin, vi. 223) — were princesses, daughters of a sovereign or a prince imperial, the daughter of a sultana having the right only to the title *khanîm-sulṭān*.

Numerous authors, such as Cantimir and Guer who followed him, are therefore wrong in lavishing the title sultana on the wives of the sultāns. De Tott — who got his information from his wife who was born in Turkey and on terms of intimacy with Turkish princesses — long ago protested against this misuse of the term (i. 42). It seems however that we must not go to the other extreme Thornton (*Present State of Turkey*, London 1812, ii. 411) seems to be right when he says that the title of sultan was given "by courtesy" to all *khāṣṣekī*, and according to d'Ohsson (vii 88), it is only since Meḥmed IV (1648—1687) that it was given only to daughters of sovereigns. The dates would have to be brought down a little, if we remember that the same author (vii 65) says that down to the reign of Aḥmad III (1703–1730) the *ḳadîn* who gave birth to a prince was given only the title of *khāsseki-sulṭān* (If we believe the Marquis de St Maurice, this title was given only to the mother of the male firstborn; cf *La Cour othomane ou l'Interprète de la Porte*, Paris 1673, p. 94 and, with the necessary modifications, p. 185). These customs were sufficiently well known in the west for Racine, who was nothing of an orientalist, to allude to them in these lines of his *Bajazet* (Act. i., Sc. i.) "Et même il (Sulṭān Amurat) a voulu que l'heureuse Roxane, Avant qu'elle eût un fils, prît le nom de Sultane".

It is clear from the above that from the beginning of the xviiith century at latest the title of sultana had ceased to be given to certain concubines of the sultān but we do not know at what period it was given to the latter's mother

Among the Saldjūḳs, the predecessors of the Ottomans, the sultān's mother had the title *khatun* [q. v.] (arabicised plural *khawātīn*) "empress", "queen", as in the already quoted epitaph of Khwand-khatun.

The mothers of the early Ottoman princes bore the same title of *khatun* which under the form of *ḳadîn* was to remain until the end of the imperial régime as the title of the sulṭān's principal favourites and in ordinary usage to lose its honorific significance to the extent of becoming inferior to *khanîm* "lady" and meaning simply "woman". This is how we find the mother of the Sultān Čelebi Meḥmed I called *dewlet-khatun* in the epitaph of 816 preserved at Brusa (cf *T. O. E. M.*, p. 509—510; corrected in *M. T. M.*, ii. 177, l. 4 *sqq.*) The mosque founded at Toḳat by Bāyazīd II in honour of his mother is called Khātūnīye (Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 29—30) It is probable that in the following reign the practice became established of calling the sultān's mother Wālide Sulṭān

We have not space here to enumerate the other titles, administrative, literary or poetic, given to the Wālide Sulṭān. The most common was that of *mehd-i ʿulyā* found as early as the Mongols of Persia (Mirkhond).

Allowances and house of the Wālide Sulṭān. The allowances to the Wālide Sulṭān like those of the *khāṣṣekī* and also sometimes those of the judges (Ewliyā Čelebi, ii. 6) were in general called *bashmaḳlîḳ* or *pashmaḳlîḳ*, properly 'for sandals' (v. Hammer, vi. 318; x. 75, 188). They were not fixed and consisted sometimes of money and sometimes of land. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm distributed whole provinces among his *khāṣṣekī* as *bashmaḳlîḳ* (Naʿîmā, iv. 243).

In normal times the Wālide Sulṭān enjoyed a much larger income than the sultanas (relations of sisters of the sulṭān; cf. d'Ohsson, vii. 95). According to Cantimir, it amounted to over 1,000 purses. The Turks, says the same author, never take a town without setting aside a street in it for the *bashmaḳlîḳ* of the Wālide Sulṭān (cf. also Bianchi's dictionary under the word *bashmaḳlîḳ*). The town of Smyrna formed part of her appanage and she maintained a *mutesellim* there (Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne*, Paris 1817, i. 29—30. On the appanage of Crete, cf. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, 1788, p 247). The mother of the Sulṭān was sometimes rich enough to build mosques or, like Ahmed III's mother, to raise troops.

In more modern language, the word *bashmaḳlîḳ* was replaced by *takhṣîṣāt* (*-i humāyūn*) "civil list" (Khloros) In 1850 the civil list of the sulṭān's mother and of the married sisters of the sulṭān amounted to 8,400,000 piastres, the piastre at this time being worth 23 gold centimes (*De la réforme en Turquie au point de vue financier et administratif*, Paris 1851, p. 12, a brochure of 84 pp. 8°, of which a résumé was given in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* of Sept 1st 1850 in 10 pp.. p 938–948).

Like all the sultanas, the mother of the Ottoman sovereign had a *kehya* (*ketkhudā*) or "superintendent, comptroller of her finances" (cf. the expression *selāṭīn ketkhudālarî* "comptrollers of the sultanas" in *Silahtar Tarihi*, i. 646 below) but that of the Wālide Sultān was by far the most important in view of the considerable financial interests which he controlled and the influence which he himself could exert with the Wālide Sultān. He sometimes exerted enormous influence although it was frequently hidden. Foreign ambassadors were well aware of this and as a rule did not fail to win these officials' good graces by every means in their power (Beauvoisins, p. 12; *Tārîkh-i Djewdet*, 1288, viii. 252—256).

It has been said that the *wālide kehyasî* combined this office with that of Master of the Mint (*darbkhāne-i ʿāmire nāẓırı*) and this was indeed frequently the case (e g al-Hādjdj Mehmed Efendi later Pasha and his successor, in 1127, Atinalî ʿOsmān Efendi, cf. *Sidjill-i othmānī*, iv 219; iii. 425, Rāshid, i, fol 105, 105b—106) but there were very many exceptions; cf Agha-babasî Ibrāhīm Agha appointed *wālide kehyasî* in 1605 (Wāṣıf, p. 30 etc., cf. also Abdulbaki, *Melâmîlik*, 1931, p 180, note 1)

The rank of *rutbe-i ulyā ṣınf-i ewweli* created on Monday 19th Rabīʿ II 1253 (July 24, 1837) was given to the *wālide sulṭān kehyasî* and to the Master of the Mint (*Sālnāme-i neẓāret-i khāridjiye*, 1302, p 199). When the rank of *bālā* was instituted in 1262 (1845—1846), the *wālide kehyasî* Ḥusein Bey was one of the two officials who first received it (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 559, below).

The Wālide Sulṭāns, like all the important ladies of the serāy, had at their command a first (*bash-agha*) and second eunuch (Leila Hanoum, *Le Harem Impérial*, 1925, p. 113). Details of the organisation of their household, which resembled those of other sultanas, except that it was more

magnificent, are given in Osman-Bey, *Les Femmes en Turquie*, p. 268.

List of Sultana mothers. The list of mothers of the rulers of Turkey is here given from the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī* of Thüreiyā (Süreyyā) Bey with a few modifications.

The princesses figuring at the head of this list were not, as we have seen above, properly Wālide Sulṭāns since this title did not yet exist in their time. This title was nevertheless and like that of the sulṭāns themselves often wrongly put back to the beginning of Ottoman history. The title was even given to the mother of Ertoghrul Ghāzī, a legendary figure known as Khiyme Ana "mother tent" whose tomb was discovered in the reign of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II at the village of Čehār-shembe (Čarshamba) in the nāhiye of Dumanič, in the district of Ine-Gol (*Sidjill*, i 86) We do not know if this discovery is due to the zeal of an inventor devoted to the old dynasty or to the persistence of a local tradition which cannot be substantiated. The very name Khiyme Ana is suspicious

In Süreyyā Bey's list, the title of "sultana" first appears in the case of Gülbehār, mother of Bāyazīd II, which in itself is not impossible but we have already seen that she had the title of *khatun*

The following is this list with a few changes and a list of the buildings erected by the Wālide Sulṭāns interested in building (Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 21 and 22) The references refer only to these buildings Abbreviations m. = mother; s = sultān, *Had Djaw* = Hāfiz Husein b al-Hādjdj Ismāʿīl Aiwanserayi, *Ḥadīkat ul-Djawāmiʿ*, Constantinople, Ramadān 1281, 2 vols (transl by Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol xviii); Cuinet = Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, 1892, 4 vols in-4°.

1 Malkhun Rābiʿa Khatun (or Malkhatun), daughter of Shaikh Edebali, m of Orkhān Bey (and of the vizier ʿAlā ed-Dīn); † 726 (1325—1326).

2 Nilüfer, daughter of *tekfūr* of Yār-Hiṣār, m. of Murād I

3 Dewlet Khatun (Sureyyā. Sultān Khatun), daughter of Germyan Oghlu, m of Mehmed I

4. N., daughter of Isfendiyār, m. of Mehmed II (cf. however ISFENDIYĀR where Halīma, daughter of Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār and wife of Murād II, is given as mother of Hasan, killed in 855)

5 Gülbehār, m. of Bāyazīd II.

6. ʿĀʾishe s., m. of Sulaimān the Magnificent; † 4th Ramadān 940 (March 19, 1534)

7. Nūr Bānū s, m of Murād III, † 21st Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 991 (December 6, 1583; according to *Silahtar Tahiri*. December 7).

Buildings: in Scutari in Asia (Top-tashī quarter)· mosque called *Wālide(i) ʿatīḳ djāmi(s)i*, with *medrese*, primary school (*mekteb-i ṣubyān*), *ʿimāret*, hospital (*dār ush-shefā*) with *mesdjid*, school of Tradition (*dār ul-hadīth*), school for reading the Kur'ān (*dār ul-ḳurrā*), a hostel (*musāfir-khāne*; cf. *Had. Djaw*, ii 182–184 and 218—219, Hammer, xviii., 89, N°. 749; p. 94, N°. 781; p. 114, N°. 54; Cuinet, iv. 639—640)

8 Safiye s, of Venetian origin (sultana Baffa), m. of Mehmed III; † 28th Djumādā II 1014 (Nov. 10, 1605).

Buildings: in Constantinople (?): *medrese* built in 1006 (Süreyyā, p. 48). Began in 1006 the *Yeñi djāmiʿ* continued by Turkhan Khadīdje (N°. 13). In Cairo: a mosque there bears her name: Malika Ṣafiya (R. L. Devonshire, *L'Egypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p. 123 *sqq.*)

9. Khendān s., m. of Aḥmad I; † 15th Radjab 1014 (November 26, 1605).

10. Māh-Fīrūz(e) s., m. of ʿOthmān III.

11. Māh-Peiker Kosem s., m. of Murād IV and of Ibrāhīm I (and also of Ḳāsim); † Saturday 16th Ramaḍān 1061 (Sept 2, 1651).

Buildings · in Scutari in Asia (*Yeñi maḥalle* quarter) mosque called *Činili djāmiʿ* and medrese; in Constantinople: *wālide khānī*, with a little mosque and medrese, in Anadolu Ḳawaḳ: mosque; in the Dardanelles began the citadel continued by Turkhan Khadīdje (N°. 13); numerous *wakf* (*Had Djaw.*, i. 215 below, 218; ii 184—186, p 144, No. 1, Hammer, xviii. 91, N°. 752, p 144, No. 55, Cuinet, iv. 640—642 [Koulsoum Mâh-péikèr and other errors p. 641, lines 20 to 24]; Ahmed Refiḳ, *Yeni mecmuʿa*, N° 3, p. 49—50; cf also the picture in Cornelius Gurlitt, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin n d., p 86–87; cf *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, i 176, v Hammei, x. 286, d'Arvieux, 1735, iv 484).

12 N, m. of Mustafā I.

13 Tarkhan Khadīdje (*Turhan Hatidje*) s, of Russian origin, m. of Mehmed IV; † Tuesday Shaʿbān 10, 1094 (Aug. 4, 1683; according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii. 116 *sqq.*, date confirmed by the *Relazione* of Donado, cf. the *Bibliography*, otherwise, Süreyyā Bey, Aḥmed Refiḳ in *Turhan Valide*, p 424 10th Radjab)

Buildings. in Stambul (Emin Ónu quarter, Baghče-ḳapīsī, dominating the well known bridge of Karakoy or Galata) the famous mosque *Yeñi djāmiʿ* or *Yeñi wālide djāmi(s)i*, begun by Safiye s (N°. 8) and finished in 1074 (inscription); on the Dardanelles: completed the building (inscription of 1070) of the citadel begun by Māh-Peiker Kosem, N°. 11, cf. *Had Djaw*, ii. 144, N° 3, v. Hammer, xviii. 89, No. 748, Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Lyon 1717, ii. 196; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, Paris 1815, p. 185—189; Gabriel, *Les Mosquées de Constantinople*, in *Syria*, 1926; Ahmed Refiḳ, *Wālide Djāmiʿleri*, *Yeñi Djāmiʿ*, in *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, N° 10, p 189—192 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, i 218 and 390, the building of the mosque was resumed in 1071 and finished on Friday 20th Rabīʿ II 1076 [October 30, 1665]); cf. also Journal of Antoine Galland, i 79; Grelot, *Relation*, p. 281—282; Diehl, *Constantinople*, 1924, p. 115—117, 138—140; Arménag Bey Sakisian, *Syria*, 1931; Djelal Esad, Paris 1909, p. 211—214.

14. Ṣāliḥe Dil-Ashūb s, m. of Süleimān II; † 22nd Muharram 1101 (according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, ii 484, Sunday 22nd Ṣafar 1101 [December 4, 1689]).

15. Gülnūsh (or Gülthūm) Emet-ullāh s. (often wrongly called Ummet-ullāh), of Cretan origin from Retimo (of the Verzizzi family, according to Donado), m. of Muṣṭafā II and of Aḥmed III; † 9th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1127 (November 6, 1715; according to *Had. Djaw.*, ii. 188: Tuesday 8th Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda = November 5).

Buildings: in Mecca: Khāṣṣekiye ʿImāret, fountains and wells on the pilgrims' road, at Galata. *Yeñi*

ǧāmiᶜ or *Wālide-i ǧedīd ǧāmi(ṣ)i*, with 2 minarets, with fountain (*ṭeṣḥme*), *sebīl*, *ᶜimāret* and *mekteb-i ṣubyān*, *medrese*; at Scutari in Asia. mosque (*Ḥad. Ḏjaw.*, II. 187–188, p. 34; v. Hammer, XVIII., p. 71, N°. 637, p. 90, N°. 750, p. 126, N°. 242; Cuinet, iv. 636—637).

16. Ṣāliḥe s., m. of Maḥmūd I; † in 1150 (1737–1738). Buildings: fountain near ᶜAzab Ḳapïsï (*Siǧill-i ᶜoṯmānī*, p. 27); aqueduct (v. Hammer, XIV. 279; Mambourg, p. 137 and 148).

17. Shehsüwār s., m. of ᶜOsmān III; † 27th Radjab 1169 (April 27, 1756).

18. Mihr-i Shāh s., of Georgian origin, m. of Selīm III, † Wednesday 22th Radjab 1220 (October 16, 1805).

19. ᶜA'ishe Sīneperwer s., m. of Muṣṭafā IV, † 3rd Djumādā II 1244 (December 11, 1828)

20. Nakṣh-i Dil s., m. of Mahmūd II; † in the middle of Shawwāl 1232 (about Aug. 22, 1817); according to Sureyyā, p. 85 and Djewdet Pasha, x. (1309), 214, according to the *Moniteur Universel* of Oct. 14, 1817, about September 8.

21. Bezm-i ᶜĀlem, m. of ᶜAbd ul-Medjīd, † 23rd Radjab 1269 (May 2, 1853).

Buildings mosque at Dolma-Baghče, hospital at Yeñi Baghče; *dār ul-meᶜārif* near the *turbe* of her husband, fountains (*Siǧill-i ᶜoṯmānī*, p 26)

22 Pertew-Niyāl s, m. of ᶜAbd ul-ᶜAzīz; † 27th Rabīᶜ I 1300 (Feb. 5, 1883).

Buildings. added two minarets to the *Kᵗātib ǧāmiᶜ(ṣ)i* mosque in Aḳsaray, library, fountain and school (*Siǧill-i ᶜoṯmānī*, p 27, Barth, *Constantinople*, 1906, p 148).

The mothers of the other sulṭāns died before the accession of their sons. In Sūreyyā Bey's list after our N°. 14, comes Khadīdje Sultān, m. of Aḥmad II, but according to the *Silahtar Tarihi*, II. 273, the mother of this prince died on Thursday 5th Dhu 'l-Ḳaᶜda 1098, i e before the accession of her son.

The nationality of the Wālide Sultān cannot be ascertained in most cases. At first they were Turkish and Greek princesses but from the time when they were always former slaves the latter must themselves have been often ignorant of their origin. All that we can say is that on the one hand the import of Turkish blood must have ceased at this time since in principle there were no slaves of Turkish origin and on the other the lands of the extreme west (including Germany but not Italy) counted for nothing or for very little in the genealogy of the sulṭāns It is in vain that several attempts have been made to establish the contrary, in the case of France.

First of all a story was put into circulation which made Meḥmed II the son of a royal princess of France captured by the Turks (cf. e g. Ubicini, *op cit*, p 122 and with more detail, de La Jonquière, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1914, I. 175). This fiction which de La Jonquière called "absurd" was accepted by well known Turkish historians like Pečewī, Selānikī and ᶜĀlī; it is also found in the *Tārīkh-i Ḏjewrī Celebi*, 1291, ii. 2. The sulṭāns themselves in their negotiations prided themselves on their "relationship" to the kings of France (cf. Louis de Bonneville de Marsagny, *Le Chevalier de Vergennes, son ambassade à Constantinople*, Paris 1894, II. 86—87: in this version the reference is to the ḥarem of Sulṭān Selīm). Western historians, following the more reasonable tradition of the Turkish historians, make Meḥmed II's mother the daughter of Isfendiyār (cf. de Salaberry, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, Paris, I. 148; cf. No. 4, above, in the list of the Wālide Sulṭāns). The very interesting but always credulous and often mendacious Ewliyā Čelebi admits in spite of everything (i. 106 *sqq.*) that Meḥmed II was the son of Isfendiyār's daughter "ᶜĀlīme Khanum" (it may be noted that this is the name given to the alleged French princess) but to arrange matters he makes the king of France's daughter the concubine of Meḥmed II and the mother of Bāyazīd II He also says that his father had known a certain Sukemerlī Muṣṭafā, *baṣh-kᵗātib* of Janissaries, who was related to this princess and on this account used to receive presents from France. On the other hand, Cantimir (1743, II. 410) records, without however believing it, another version of the story in which a granddaughter of a king of France enters the ḥarem of Sulaimān the Magnificent. It was obviously the Turks themselves who invented these fables, to explain the favoured treatment accorded the "pādishāh" of France in Turkey.

More recently the French and Turkish governments have had to deal from time to time with people desirous of having their relationship with the old Ottoman dynasty recognised. Maḥmūd II was, it was said, the son of Aimée du Buc de Rivery, a Creole of Martinique and a relative of the Empress Josephine (see *Bibl*) The impossibility of this has been proved from official documents: Sulṭān Maḥmūd II was born in 1785 (July 20) and Mlle de Rivery was still in Nantes in 1788, when she was a witness to and signed a marriage contract which is still in existence. The thesis was however not abandoned on this account, it was simply modified. Aimée du Buc de Rivery — whose admission to the ḥarem of Selīm III one is obliged to postulate, since she arrived in Constantinople after the death of ᶜAbd al-Hamīd I — is said to have been chosen to act as adopted mother of the future Maḥmūd II, son of ᶜAbd al-Ḥamid. This is a hypothesis which has little chance of ever being proved We know actually that at the accession of Maḥmūd II his mother Nakṣh-i Dil was brought in solemn procession from the old seray to the new (Djewdet Pasha, VIII [1288], 424, Muṣṭafā Nedjīb, p 122). It is unlikely that the honours of the *wālide alayï* were ever accorded to what might be called honorary wālides, like the nurses or adoptive mothers of the sulṭāns. Moreover, according to the *Moniteur Universel*, in 1817 she was about 50 years old; at that time A. de R. must have had an age of 41 years.

The Wālide (*wālde*) Pasha of Egypt. The customs of the ḥarem of the Khedives were almost exactly copied from those of Constantinople. As in the Ottoman seraglio, the viceroy's concubines were numbered and called *birindji*, *ikindji* (*ḳadïn*) or according to the Arabic pronunciation *biringi*, *ikingi* etc. "first, second", etc. The title of "mother of the Khedive", or as they say in the official French of Cairo the "Khédiva Mère" (in Turkish also *wālide-i ḫhidīwī*), was modelled on that of mother of the sulṭān with the substitution of *pasha* for *sulṭān*. It was also the only case in which the title *pasha* was borne by a woman, for it is a case of an honorific epithet and not of an expression meaning "mother of the pasha", which would be in Arabic Wālidet el-Basha and not Wālda Basha.

In the wealthy Khedivial family of Egypt, the Wālida Pasha was no less rich and her *dāʾira* "offices for the administration of estates" was very important. Two streets in Cairo bear the name Wālda or Wālda Basha. On one of them stood the palace of the last "Khédiva Mère", Emine Khanïm, mother of ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II, daughter of Ilhāmī Pasha and grand-daughter of the viceroy ʿAbbās I, she died in her country house at Bebek near Istanbul on 18th June 1931.

The present king has broken with the Turkish custom by acknowledging his one wife as the queen of Egypt This is a consecration of the principle of monogamy and of association on the throne. The widow of the Sultān Husain enjoys an analogous position by right of survival.

Bibliography (for the more famous Wālide Sulṭāns see the general histories of the Ottoman Empire. We have been content here to give a few isolated bibliographical references to supplement those in the text of the article) Michel Baudier, *Histoire Générale du Serrail, et de la cour du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs*, Lyons 1659, p. 84 (book i., chap. xi), p 95 (chap. xii), p. 101 (*ibid*, *in fine*), Ricaut, *History of the present state of the Ottoman Empire*[2], chap iv (relating to Māh-Peiker Kosem s , N° 11 of our list), J B Tavernier, escuyer Baron d'Aubonne, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1691, chap xviii. De l'entrée à Constantinople de la Sultane mère du Grand Seigneur, appelée par honneur *la Valide* le 2 juillet 1668 (Tarkhān or Turkhān Khadīdje, N° 13 of our list), *Relazione del nobil uomo Gianbattista Donado quondam Nicolò* (1684), in Barozzi e Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori e baili veneti a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1871, ii 303 *sqq*. (N°. 13 and 15 of our list); Demetrius Cantimir, *Hist de l'Emp Othoman*, Fr transl de Jonquières, Paris 1743, iii 228, p. 450 *sqq* ; Beauvoisins, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand-Seigneur*[4], Paris 1809, p ii *sqq* (relating to Mihr-i Shāh s , N° 18 of our list); Adam Neale, *Voyage en Allemagne, en Pologne et en Turquie*, transl. from the English, Paris 1818, ii 169 to 185 (the same sultana); Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Emp Othoman*, vii (1824), p 86 *sqq* , p 62, 64, 69; M-me Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha, *Trente ans dans les harems d'Orient, souvenirs de Melek-Hanum, femme de S A. le Grand-Vizir, K-M.-P , 1840—1870*, Paris 1875, p. 130, 271 *sqq* (relating to Bezm-i ʿĀlem s , N° 21 of our list); Osman-Bey, *alias* Major Vladimir Andrejevitch (= Decourdemanche, son of M-me Kibrizli-Mehemet-Pacha), *Les Femmes en Turquie*[2], Paris 1878, p 267 to 275; Paul de Régla, *La Turquie officielle*[2], 1891, p. 264—265, 269, 282; Aḥmed Refīḳ (Ahmet Refik), *Ḳadïnlar Salṭanatï*, 4 vols. in-12. i. (years 699 to 1027), ii. (1027 to 1049) — Istanbul 1332; iii. (1049 to 1058), iv. (1058 to 1094) — *ibid*, 1924, by the same, *Turhan valide* (in Latin characters), Istanbul 1931, 424 pages in-12, Mehmed Zihnī (Dhihnī), *Meshāhīr un-Nisā*; Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The women of Turkey*, ii. 393—397.

The quotations from Naʿïmā's history are taken from the 4th ed. (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 246); those from Rāshid, from the edition by Ibrāhīm Mütafarriḳa, of 1153; those from Wāṣif, from the new edition of Būlāḳ, 1246 (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 337); those from the *Silahtar Tarihi* from the edition of *T. T E.*, in 2 vols., 1928.

We shall not give here the abundant literature relating to the "French sultana" (Aimée du Buc de Rivery). It will be sufficient to mention those who have written on the subject, Xavier Eyma, Jouy, Sidney Daney, Dr. Cabanès, Benjamin Morton, author of *The Veiled Empress*, New York 1923, Marc Hélys. The majority of these writers reveal a remarkable credulity. We find more criticism displayed in the lengthy articles by M. René Puaux in *Le Temps* of Oct. 7 and Nov. 10, 1923. A résumé of the subject was given by M. Albéric Cahuet in *L'Illustration* of Nov 21, 1931, p. 382—383 The theory by which Nakṣh-i Dil was the adopted mother of Sulṭān Mahmūd II is defended in the recent work of Mme A.-M Martin du Theil, *Silhouettes et documents du XVIIème siècle* (Martinique, Périgord, Lyonnais, Ile-de-France), Périgueux 1932, 138 pp in-4° with illustrations (p 7 to 46. Aimée du Buc de Rivery—Sa mystérieuse destinée).

The Wālide Sulṭān could also, it seems, be studied in the novel V Smirnow quotes in *Vostočnïya zamʿetki*, p. 56, *Bʿeglïy vzglʿad na nastoyashčiy i proshlïy seray*, note 1, a novel by Čistʿakov, in *Žurnal dlʿa dʿetʿey*, 1864, N° 5 and 6, cf also the novel by Nizameddin Nazif, *Acuzenin definesi*, publ. in the feuilleton to *Vakït*, beginning Novembre 11, 1931. (J. Deny)

WĀLIHĪ, the name of two Ottoman poets of the xth (xvith) century:

1 Wālihī Kurd-zāde of Adrianople (an alleged Wālihī from Gisr Erkene or Ergene Koprü is the same man). On the conclusion of his studies he came as a ḳādī to Cairo and was admitted into the Gülshanī order by Saiyid Khayālī, the son of Ibrāhīm Gülshanī, the founder of the order. Returning to Adrianople, he worked there as a Ṣūfī preacher, celebrated for his eloquence and command of language He was given to drinking He died in 994 (1586) in Adrianople where he is buried in the Shaikh Shudjāʿ on the bank of the Tundja. He left a complete *Dīwān* which is still unprinted.

2 Wālihī Aḥmad of Üskub who was also for a time *muderris* in Adrianople He died in 1008.

Bibliography Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv 602; Brusalï M Tāhir, *ʿOthmānlï Muʾellifleri*, ii. 476, Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, vi. 4671; Saiyid Rizā, *Tezkere*, Istanbul 1316, p 102.

(Th Menzel)

WALĪMA. [See ʿUrs]

WĀMIḲ WA-ʿADHRĀ, a Persian romance alleged to come from a Pahlawī original. It is said to have been presented in Nīshāpūr to the emīr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. in 230 = 844) in the form of an old book dedicated to Khusraw I Anūsharwan (531—579 A.D.) and the governor is said to have ordered it to be destroyed, because it had been written by Zoroastrians. In any case, it was put into verse by ʿUnṣurī [q v] and again by Faṣīḥī of Djūrdjān in 441 (1049). In addition to ʿUnṣurī's version, Ethé (*Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, ii 240) mentions no less than six versions which are all lost. At the end of the xiith (xviiith) century, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ wrote, under the pseudonym of Nāmī, a romance in verse with the same title (Luṭf ʿAlī Beg, *Ātesh Kede*, Bombay 1277, section on contemporaries, s v *Nāmī*; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥā*, ii 523; E G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, iv. 283).

The subject was also taken up in Ottoman Turkish by Bihishtī (a contemporary of Bāyazīd II; mistake in Gibb) who put it in his *Khamse* and and probably prepared it from the versions of ʿUnṣurī and Faṣīḥī, and by Lāmiʿī (d 937 = 1530 or 938 = 1531), also probably from ʿUnṣurī Gibb (*H.O.P.*, iii. 357 *sqq.*) has given an analysis an of the latter poem: Wāmiḳ, son of the emperor of China, falls in love with ʿAdhrāʾ, daughter of a king and sets out to find her again through all kinds of difficulties which he overcomes with the help of fairies. He finds his beloved princess then, is taken prisoner by the enemy, taken to India where the natives try to burn him; the flames do not touch Wāmiḳ, whom the Indians worship as a god. The hero escapes, finds ʿAdhrāʾ again and marries her.

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WĀN, a town in Turkey on the Armenian plateau on the eastern shore of Lake Wān.

The name Wān is not found in the Arabic sources which deal with the Muslim conquest. Lake Wān is usually named by the Arabs after the towns on the northern shore, Ardjīsh and Akhlāṭ.

Ibn Ḥawḳal alone (p 250) mentions the Artsrunid Ibn Dairānī, lord of Zawazān, of Wān and Wostān Yāḳūt, iv 895, mentions a fortress of Wān but makes it a dependency of Erzerum and locates it between Akhlāṭ and Tiflis (?).

For the Muslim conquest of Armenia see that article. The important fact is the campaign of Bughā al-Kabīr who in 238 (852) overran the whole of Armenia including Albāḳ (at the source of the Great Zāb) from which he carried off the Artsrunid prince Ashot Artsruni

In 885 the Bagratid Ashot was recognised as king of Armenia by the caliph and later by the Byzantine emperor and the princes of Waspurakan became his vassals Of these the principal were the Artsrunis whose hereditary fief was Hadamakert in Albāḳ.

In the ninth century colonies of Arabs had settled in Armenia, like the Amīrs of Manāzkert (Malāzgert) whom the Armenians call Kaisikkh (< Ḳais) and who ruled on the northern shore of lake Wān (Apahunik, in Arabic باجنيس for باحنيس), and the ʿOthmānids (in Armenian Uthmanikkh) on the northeast shore of the lake, at Bergri and Amiuk Towards the east, Waspuiakan was exposed to the attacks of the Arab governors of Ādharbāidjān The Sādjid [q. v.] Afshīn occupied Wān and Wostān and appointed eunuchs as governors there (cf. Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, p. 221).

In 916 the Sādjid Yūsuf executed the Bagratid king Smbat in Dwin (cf. Stephen Asoḷik, *History*, iii., chap. iv.—v., transl. Macler, p. 18—24). Before this catastrophe, the Artsrunid prince Gagik (through his mother a nephew of Smbat) had enrolled himself in Yūsuf's suite and by this manoeuvre was able to assert the independence of Waspurakan against Smbat's successors (kings of Ḳars and Ani). The Artsrunid kings were overlords of the principalities of Mokkh (now: Mukus) and Andzevatsik (cf. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, p. 359—382).

The Artsrunid princes are several times mentioned in Ibn Miskawaih's *Chronicle*. In 326 (937), the troops of the Dailamī chief Lashkarī were defeated near ʿAḳabat al-Tinnīn by Atom b. Djurdjīn (= Gurgen), lord of Zawazān (Ibn Miskawaih, i 402; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 262). This Atom belonged to the elder line of the Artsrunids which was eclipsed by that of Hadamakert. In 330 (940 *ibid.*, ii. 33), Daisam, prince of Ādharbāidjān, took refuge with Djadjīḳ b al-Dairānī (Gagik b. Deranik) In 342 (953, *ibid*, ii. 151), Ibn Dairānī and (?) Ibn Djadjīk (probably "Deranik b Gagik") surrendered Daisam to the Musāfarid Marzubān.

In 1004, the Artsrunid Senekherim being pressed on all sides ceded Waspurakan to the emperor Basil II who gave him in exchange Sīwās to which 40,000 Armenian families followed their king Byzantine domination was of short duration: the battle of Melāzgirt in 463 (1071) lost the Byzantines the last of their possessions in Armenia (cf. a brief account in Lynch, *Armenia*, i. 334—367)

The name of Wān is briefly mentioned among the towns of "the province of Akhlāṭ" which the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn besieged after the capture of Akhlāṭ in 626 (1229) (Bargrī, Manāzgird Bitlis, Walashdjird, Wān, Wostān).

In the Mongol period (after Arghun Khān 1284—1291), the region of Wān was close to the summer encampments of the Mongol Ilkhāns (on the mountain of Ala-Tagh, the ancient Νιφάτης Tendurek, to the N E of Lake Wān) but the local authority of Wān must have been in the hands of the Kurd chiefs of Ḥakkārī (cf. below)

The *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 102, says that "Wān is a fortress while Wostān (Ostan) has been a large town but now is a medium sized one". "Its climate and its fruits are good, its water comes from a mountain; its taxes amount to 53,400 dīnārs (Urmiya 74,999 dīnārs and Ardabīl 85,000 dīnārs)".

Towards the end of the viiith (xivth) century, the rule of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turkomans whose hereditary centre was at Ardjīsh, was extended over Wān but the direct administration remained in the hands of a family of Kurdish begs. When in 789 (1387) Timūr had plundered the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu encampments of Ala-Tagh, he ordered the destruction of the fortress but 'this building of the time of Shaddād' resisted his efforts. Timūr made ʿIzz al-Dīn, lord of the fortress, governor of the 'wilāyat of Kurdistān' (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i. 421—424) The ʿIzz al-Dīn, here referred to in the *Ẓafar-nāme*, was an important figure and took part in many of the events of his time (cf. *Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdain*, transl. Quatremère, in *N. E*, xiv. 110, 153 180). The son of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad was well received by Shāh Rukh in 824. Under Uzun Hasan [q. v.] the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu troops conquered Ḥakkārī and placed it under the Domboli tribe but the Nestorian Christians restored the power to a scion of the old family.

After the coming of the Ṣafawids, prince Zāhid b. ʿIzz al-Dīn II entertained friendly relations with Shāh Ismāʿīl.

In view of the rival propaganda of the Ṣafawids the Ottoman empire must have endeavoured to strengthen the very loose organisation given to Kurdistān by Idrīs, but the incorporation of the distant frontier district of Wān, filled with foreign elements, was full of incidents.

In 1534, during the offensive of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha against Tabrīz, delegates from Wān gave him the keys of the fortress. But as soon as the cold weather forced Sulṭān Sulaimān's army to withdraw, the Persians advanced to Wān and soon afterwards occupied this town and Ardjīsh (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 51 [according to Ewliyā Čelebi, iv 174 the Persians retook Wān in 953=1546]). The situation during the 14 years from 1534—1548 is not very clear but when, at the instigation of the Persian prince Alḳās Mīrzā, Sulaimān again marched on Tabrīz, he laid siege to Wān in 955 (Aug. 1548). The town surrendered through the mediation of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā and the *defterdār* Čerkes Iskender Pāshā was appointed governor (cf. v. Hammer, ii 209; cf. Ewliya Čelebi, ii. 174). From this period date the baths of Rustam Pāshā at Wān and a mosque of 975; cf *Djihān-numā* [The dated inscriptions of the fine Ulu-Djāmiʿ (cf. Lynch, ii., fig. 131—132, and Bachmann) have now disappeared].

With the appearance of the Ottoman *mīr-i mīrān* at Wān, the Kurd chiefs retired to their fiefs of Djūlamerk and Wostān. On the intervention of the *mīr-i mīrān* in their affairs, cf *Sharaf-nāma*, i. 99.

In 1013 (1604) Čighāla-Zāde, appointed commander-in-chief against Persia, established his head-quarters at Wān (of which he had previously been wālī in 1585; cf. v. Hammer, ii. 552). He was besieged there by the Persian troops under the command of Allāh Werdi Khān and escaped from the fortress by boat Very soon he undertook a new campaign against Tabrīz but it ended in a complete debacle in the autumn of 1605; cf *ʿĀlam-ārā*, p. 474—476, and the article TABRĪZ; Hammer, *G. O R²*., ii 678, 660, Govvea, *Relation des grandes guerres*, French transl, Rouen 1649, book ii, ch xvi—xviii, p 268—286, Arakel de Tauris, *Livre d'histoires*, transl. Brosset, St-Petersburg 1874, ch vi, p. 303—307

About 1600 the administrative organisation of Wān was described by Kodja Nishandji (1528–1567) who in his *Ṭabaḳāt* quoted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa included in this *eyālet* some places now belonging to Persia (e. g. Salmās), and by ʿAin-i ʿAlī (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, p 72) who numbers in Wān 13 *sandjaḳs* and 1 *ḥukūmet*, including in all 1,115 large and small individual fiefs (*ḫāṣṣ*)

Ewliyā Celebi, who in 1065 (1655) accompanied his uncle Aḥmed Melek, who had been appointed Wālī of Wān, has given us a very full description of the *eyālet* of Wān (iv. 130—190). It is curious that the text is silent about the Christian population unless this information was suppressed by the censorship under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

Ewliyā (iv. 176) gives 37 feudal *sandjaḳs* in Wān of different dimensions and with different privileges. The most important were the *ḥukūmet* of Ḥakkārī (with an army of 47,000, including 10,000 with guns?), of Bidlīs, Maḥmūdī and Pinyānish.

The description in the *Djihān-numā*, faṣl 41, p. 110 (Ermeniye) is much shorter.

In the autumn of 1236 (1821) the heir to the Persian throne, ʿAbbās Mīrzā, took advantage of some complications with the Ottomans to invade the Turkish territory of Bāyazīd as far as Bitlīs. Diplomatic complications and more particularly the epidemic of cholera arrested the Persian operations and the *status quo* was re-established (cf. Mīrzā Taḳī Sipihr, *Taʾrīḫ-i Ḳādjār*, Ṭeherān, i., under the years 1286—1287; cf. Watson, *A History of Persia ... to 1858*, London 1866, p. 197–221) After the Russo-Japanese war the Ottomans in their turn advanced claims to the "unredeemed" territories and in July 1907 Yāwer-Pāshā occupied many districts of the region of Salmās [q. v.] The *status quo* was however re-established after the Balkan War (Ottoman note of Oct. 12, 1912) and given legal sanction after the delimitation of 1913—1914 (on the basis of the Final Protocol of Nov. 17, 1913).

As a result of the Armenian movement which had broken out at the end of 1895 in many areas inhabited by Armenians, trouble broke out on a large scale at Wān between June 3 and 11, 1896 which cost the lives of 500 Armenians and 250 Muslims (cf. *Blue Book*, 1896, N⁰ 8)

During the Great War, Russian troops occupied Wān on May 20, 1915 On Aug 4, the Turkish counter-attack forced them to evacuate the town, but at the end of the month they returned, to remain there till the armistice of Dec. 18, 1917.

Statistics. It was only at the beginning of the xixth century that the first European travellers penetrated into the region of Wān Schulz, who visited Wān in 1829 estimated that it contained 10,000—12,000 houses. In 1889 Mayevsky counted 4,953 houses in the town of which 2,012 were Turkish and 2,887 Armenian

Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., 1891, p 629—760 for the wilāyet of Wān gives the following figures (from the Turkish *sālnāme*):

	Sandjaḳ of Wān	Sandjaḳ of Ḥakkārī
area	11,530 sq. km.	10,000 sq. km.
number of *ḳaḍās*	8	11
number of villages	724	1,555

The number of inhabitants in the wilāyet was: Turks 30,000, Kurds 210,000, Armenians 79,000, Nestorians 92,000 etc., total 430,000.

Mayevsky (about 1900) is probably more accurate the wilāyet of Wān had an area of 62,820 sq. km. in two sandjaḳs. that of Wān (in the west near Lake Wān) and that of Ḥakkārī (in the east along the Turko-Persian frontier).

The vicissitudes of the Great War, the deportations of the Armenians, the expatriation of all the Nestorian population to Persia and later to Mesopotamia and the trials to which the Kurds were exposed from the Christian militia in the Russian army left the wilāyet of Wān in ruins, and we are still (1932) very ill informed regarding present conditions there After the reorganisation of the wilāyets, the old sandjaḳs of Wān and Ḥakkārī were made into separate wilāyets.

The Turkish official annuals of the years 1921—1926, 1926—1927, 1927—1928 (*Turkiye Djumhuriyeti Dewlet Sālnāmesi* [*Yıllığı*]) reflect the changes in the administrative system. According to that of 1927—1928 (with numerous mistakes in the Roman transcription), the wilāyet of Wān has an area of 21,905 sq. km. and 75,437 inhabitants. Its ḳadās are. Wān, Ardjish (Erdjish), Bash-Ḳalʿa, Shataḳ, Kiawash, Müadiye, Sarāy (Maḥmūd).

The wilāyet of Hekkārī has an area of 15,505 sq. km. and 25,216 inhabitants Its ḳadās are: Hekkārī, with the chief town Djulamerk (Čülemerk), Beyti-Shebab (capital Elki), Shemdīnān, Gawār (Giawer).

It should be noted that the two wilāyets do

ɔt coincide with the old sandjaks. The old ɔundary between them followed the meridian hile the new follows the parallel. The wilāyet Wān (which includes Bash-Ḳal^{c}a) is situated the north and the wilāyet of Hek^{c}ārı (Hakkārī) the south on the frontier of that part of Kurdi-ān which belongs to the ^{c}Irāḳ.

Bibliography. Cf. the art. ARMENIA and the very full bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, ii., 1901. The early travellers are fully used in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix (1840), 972—1009; 639—687 (Ḥakkārī), x. (1843), 285—356; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II/1, 1926 (very full study of the antiquities), on the excavations at Wān during the Great War Marr and Orbeli, *Arkheologičeskaya expeditsiya 1916 v Wan*, Petrograd 1922. Marquait, *Streifzuge*, and Markwart (Marquart), *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, contain many topographical and genealogical details on the Kaisikkh, Uthmanikkh etc The most detailed description of the wilāyet of Wān is by V. T. Mayevsky, *Voyenno-statisticheskoye opisaniye Wanskago i Bitlisskago wilayetov*, Tiflis 1904. (V MINORSKY)

WĀNḲŪLĪ, MEḤMED B. MUṢṬAFĀ AL-WĀNĪ, famous Ottoman jurist in the time of urād III (982—1003 = 1574—1595) who pecially distinguished himself in the field of ḳh, lexicography and literature. Born in Wān, e acted in a number of towns (Constantinople, hodes, Manissa, Salonika, Amasia, Kutahia, enishehir) as müderris, ḳādi and mollā and died 1000 (1591—1592) as mollā of Medīna, to hich he had come in 998 (1590) in succession Su^{c}ūdī In his long period of 30 years' service, e displayed great activity in writing and transting His principal work is the translation of ıe *Ṣaḥāḥ* oı *Ṣiḥāh* of Djawharī [q v] which is garded as the most correct Arabic lexicon and more esteemed by many than the *Ḳāmūs* of ırūzābādī This work, which is briefly called *Wānḳūlī*, brought him the most enduring fame It was inted in 1141 by Ibrāhīm Mutafarrika, as one the first books printed in Turkey. A new lition appeared in 1168. His translation of Ghaıli's *Kīmiyā' al-Sa^{c}āda* (which according to M āhir is also attributed by many to Nawalī) is ·lebrated In addition to a few brochures like s *Tarḏjih-i Baiyināt wa-Tartīb-i Siyāsat*, he rote commentaries on the *Durer-i Ghurer* entitled *Ḳaḳd al-Durer* and on the *Ferā'id-i Saiyidī*; also ıe on the *Wesīle* entitled *Miftāḥ al-Naḏjāh*.

Bibliography *Manāḳib-i Wānḳūlī*, in vol. i. of the edition of 1141, *Shaḳā'ik-i nu^{c}mānīye*, Dhail of ^{c}Aṭā'ī, p 316—317, Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ^{c}othmānī*, iv. 130, Brusalī M Tāhir, *^{c}Othmānlī Mu'ellifleri*, ii. 48, Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-A^{c}lām*, vi. 4678, v. Hammer, *G O R*., ii. 575. — The Turkish translation of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* should be added in Brockelmann, *G A L*, i. 128 (TH MENZEL)

AL-WANSHARĪSĪ, *nisba* from the land of Wansharis, a mountainous area in western Algeria in the south of the Wādī Shalaf (Chélif) known in modern geographers in the corrupt transcription uarsenis.

1. ABU 'L-^{c}ABBĀS AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B MUḤAMMAD B. ^{c}ABD AL-WĀḤID B. ^{c}ALĪ AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-WANSHARĪSĪ, a famous Mālikī jurist of the Maghrib, born at Tlemsen, studied under celebrated teachers, like Ibn Marzūḳ al-Kafīf and Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḳāsim al-^{c}Uḳbānī. In 874 (1469) after some trouble with the government of Tlemsen of which we do not know the details, he left his native town to settle in Fās where he devoted himself to teaching and gave lectures to numerous pupils. It was in the northern Moroccan capital where he spent most of his life that he died at the age of 80 in 914 (1508).

The most important work of Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī is a voluminous collection of legal opinions (*fatwā*; q v) entitled *Kitāb al-Mi^{c}yār al-mughrib wa 'l-Djāmi^{c} al-mu^{c}rib ^{c}ammā taḏammanahu Fatāwī ^{c}Ulamā' Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*. This work which is a regular corpus of the *nawāzil* of the jurists of North Africa and Muslim Spain contains a mass of material of considerable value from the legal as well as sociological point of view. It has been lithographed at Fās in 12 vols. (1315 A H), a partial translation was published by E. Amar, *Consultations juridiques des fakihs du Maghreb*, in *A M*, vol xii, Paris 1908. The biographers of Ahmad al-Wansharīsī also mention among his works 1 *Kitāb al-Fā'iḳ bi 'l-Wathā'iḳ*; 2 *Īḍāḥ al-Masālik ilā Ḳawā^{c}id al-Imām Mālik*; 3. a supplement (*ta^{c}līḳ*) in three volumes to the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [cf the article]; 4 a commentary on the *Wathā'iḳ* of al-Fishtālī; 5. a biographical list of his teachers (*fahrasa*)

Bibliography Aḥmad Bābā, *Nail al-Ibtihādj*, Fās, p. 74, Ibn al-Ḳādī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās, p. 80, Ibn ^{c}Askar, *Dawḥat al-Nāshir*, Fās, p 37, Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān*, Algiers, p 53, transl Provenzali (Algiers 1910), p 57, Muḥammad b Dja^{c}far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās*, Fās, ii 153, Brockelmann, *G A L*, ii. 248, M Bencheneb, *Études sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjaza du cheikh Abd al-Kader el-Fasy*, § 71, E Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, p. 70, N^{o}. 217

II ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ^{c}ABD AL-WĀḤID B. AḤMAD B YAḤYĀ B ^{c}ALĪ AL-WANSHARĪSĪ AL-ZANĀTĪ AL-FĀSĪ, son of the preceding, a learned legist of Fās, where he held the office of *ḳādī* along with that of *muftī* and a teaching post He had been a pupil of his father and of the principal teachers of the Moroccan capital. He was celebrated for his independence of character, for example, having to preside at the salāt in the open air on the occasion of one of the canonical feasts and the Marīnid sulṭān being late, he was not afraid to begin the solemn service before the sovereign arrived In the course of the troubled period which immediately preceded the occupation of the capital by the Sa^{c}dians, when brigandage was practised in it with impunity, he was assassinated on the threshold of one of the doors of the mosque of the Ḳarawāniyīn (Djāmi^{c} al-Karawīyin) at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 955 (1540). He was about 70. He left a number of works of a legal nature.

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WARAḲA B. NAWFAL B. ASAD AL-ḲURASHĪ, a cousin of Khadīdja, who encouraged and possibly influenced Muḥammad in the first years of his mission.

All we know concerning him has the colour of legend. he is classed with the (artificial?) group of Meccans known to tradition as the *ḥanīfs*, who, abandoning paganism, resolved to seek for the true religion of Abraham. Waraḳa became a Christian, he was abstemious, knew Hebrew, studied the Bible, and had written down the Gospels in Hebrew (in the Hebrew alphabet?).

In his relations with Muhammad he is endowed with supernatural powers, like the hermit Baḥīra. The fictitious woman who offered herself to ʿAbd Allāh in order to become the future prophet's mother, is described as a sister of Waraka, who had seen on ʿAbd Allāh's forehead the sign of his son's mission. It was Waraka who found the infant Muhammad when he strayed from his nurse Khadīdja consulted him on her marriage, of which Waraḳa warmly approved One of the earliest confidants of the first revelation, he told Muhammad that Jesus had predicted his mission, that he had been visited by the *Nāmūs* who came to Moses, and foretold his career and final triumph. It was also Waraḳa who consoled Bilāl, tormented by his pagan master

Tradition however admits that Waraka was never converted; this is rather feebly explained by making him die in the second or third year of the mission, before Muhammad had been ordered to preach and make converts He was probably an independent religious thinker, unlikely to follow a younger and less learned enthusiast In the last years of his life Waraḳa became blind After his death Muhammad had a dream of him in white robes, meaning that he was in heaven.

Waraḳa died too early to transmit any traditions, Muslim authors on *ḥadīth* denounce as apocryphal the brief account of Gabriel's appearance which Ibn ʿAbbās claimed to have heard from him.

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, ed Wustenfeld, p 100—101, 107, 143, 149, 153—154, 205; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i 1147—1152, Ibn Saʿd, i/i. 58, 130, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, v 88, Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, vi 317, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii 14–15, Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre*, i 128—134, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introduzione, p 129, 156, 180, 182, 183, 208, 210, 227, 231, 251, 262; Lammens, *Les Juifs de la Mecque à la veille de l'Hegire*, in *Recherches de Science des Religions*, viii (1918), 18

(V. VACCA)

WARĀMĪN (or WARĀM, cf. Yākūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv 918), a town about 40 miles (Yākūt, c 30 *mīl*) S.S W. of Teherān, now the capital of the district of Khwār-wa-Warāmīn The plain of Warāmīn watered by canals from the Djādjarūd is regarded as the granary of Teherān The town lies to the south of the great road from Raiy to Khurāsān passing via Khwār (near Kishlāḳ?) and Simnān (cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 22; only in the Mongol period did the road from Sulṭānīya to Khurāsān run via Raiy–Warāmīn–Khwār. *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 173) On the other hand in the ninth and tenth centuries, Raiy was connected with Iṣfahān and Karadj [cf. SULṬĀNĀBĀD] by Warāmīn (Yākūt, iv 918, also puts Warāmīn on the route taken by couriers from Raiy to Iṣfahān) The route took this detour to the east apparently to avoid the low lying Hawḍ-i Sulṭān which before becoming a brackish lake was probably a salt-impregnated desert Iṣṭakhrī, p. 209, mentions the little town of Warāmīn as a dependency of Raiy but does not explicitly say that it is on the Iṣfahān road. The Ouseley MS. (*B G A*, iv 414) alone contains a later addition saying that Warāmīn had a large market, from Raiy to Warāmin it was one *manzil* through cultivated country (except for a stretch of 2 farsakhs) and from Warāmīn to Dair al-Djiṣṣ (according to Tomaschek to the south of the Kūh-i gač), a *manzil* through the desert which faces the Kargaskūh; (from there the road went to Ḳādj and Ḳumm) [cf also the statements regarding the journey of the celebrated Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād who on the way from Raiy to Iṣfahān passed through Warāmīn ("a village like a town") and then through a village called Naubihār, Yāḳūt, iv. 817]. Muḳaddasī, p. 401, places Warāmīn 2 *marhala* from Raiy (via K shāna) and 6 *marhala* from Karadj (via Āwa, cf. the article SĀWA). Cf. particularly Tomaschek, *Die Wege durch die persische Wuste*, in *Sitzungsber. Wien Akad*, phil. hist Classe 1885, cviii, p 125—128.

Warāmīn does not appear to be specially mentioned in ancient times but situated between the great city of Raiy [q. v] and Khwār (the ancient Χωρηνή, Χοαρηνή, cf Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, p. 410) it must have lain within the settled and civilized area.

Lt G Pézard to whom we owe a detailed map of the region found no traces of a large town having disappeared, but excavations made to a depth of 10—15 feet brought to light Sāsānid ruins (at Tapa-Mīl). "There is no doubt that there are in deeper strata . between Teherān and Warāmīn much older remains". It seems that the site of Tapa-Mīl shown on the map by Pézard to the north of Āsiyābād is the same as Morosov has recently described as "palace of Afrāsiyāb" to the south of Kalʿa-yi nau and 15 miles from Teherān, cf. *Revue des arts asiatiques*, Paris 1931, p. 20—22

Warāmīn had a period of fame in the Saldjūḳ, Mongol and Timūrid periods. We have no exact information about the inhabited and administrative centres of the region of Raiy but the many monuments of Warāmīn show that even when Raiy was at the height of its glory important buildings were being erected at Warāmīn. The destruction of Raiy by the Mongols must have contributed to improve the position of Warāmīn which was less affected by events It was a long time before Ṭihrān [q v.] finally triumphed over Warāmīn as the successor to Raiy In the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* (740 = 1340) Warāmīn is called "the capital of the *tuman* of Raiy.. Its climate is better than that of Raiy and Warāmīn produces cotton, wheat and fruit just like Raiy.. The inhabitants are Twelver Shīʿīs very arrogant in their dealings". In 1405 Clavijo (transl le Strange, p 306) describes Warāmī ("Vatami") as a large town without walls and considerably depopulated. We may regard as an echo of the Shīʿa tendencies of the people of Warāmīn the fact that we have in its neighbourhood to this day Turkish tribes who follow ʿAlī-Allāhī teaching (Ahl-i Ḥaḳk), cf Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahlé Haqq*, in *R. M. M.*, xl, 1920, p 48, 63.

The architectural features. Pézard mentions 18 ancient buildings in the neighbourhood of Warāmīn Among them is the great square citadel of Ḳalʿa-yi Gabr, to which Pézard ascribes "great antiquity" (Sarre: to the xith century). Then there are the great sepulchral towers called after the

imāmzāde ʿAbd Allāh, Sayyid ʿAẓīm, Yaḥyā and ʿAlī; Sarre connects the style of the *imām-zāde* Yaḥyā with that of the tower of Nakhičewān dated 557 (1162) although the decoration of the interior dates from 661 (1262) The most remarkable monument is the cathedral mosque which is worthy to rank with the mausoleum at Sulṭānīya [q. v]. The mosque was built under the Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd in 722 (1322) by [Ḥasan b.] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b Manṣūr *al-Ḳūhadhī To judge by an inscription of 726 (1326) the work lasted at least four years. Some of the formulae of the inscriptions are Shīʿī, which according to Madame Kratchkovskaya, "reflected the beliefs and desires of the people rather than of the sovereign" for Abū Saʿīd was a Sunnī Under Shāh Rukh in 821 (1418) the mosque was rebuilt and enlarged by the amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Yūsuf Khwādja. Recently the building has been studied very minutely by the architect V. M Morosov but only a very small section of his work has been published or exhibited (London 1930 and Paris 1932)

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WARGLA (Ouargla), an oasis in the Algerian Sahara 100 miles S of Tuggūrt in 31° 58′ N Lat. and 5° 30′ East Long (Greenw) at a height of 320 feet above sea-level Wargla occupies a depression above a sheet of undergiound water fed by the subterranean course of the wed Myia which can easily be reached by sinking wells 60 to 150 feet deep. This has enabled palmgroves to be planted there, numbering 500,000 trees all in full productivity and an almost equal number of trees which are dying but might be revived by irrigation works. The stagnation of the waters, which cannot run away, has however the inconvenience that it makes the country unhealthy and produces a dreaded fever (the *tehem*) in spring and summer. The town itself is built on a limestone terrace 10 to 15 feet above the level of the palmgroves, surrounded by walls, traversed by narrow alleys, intersected by vaulted passages, with houses built of coarse rubble or roughcast; it is divided into three quarters called after the septs that inhabit them: Benī Sissin, Benī Waggurn, Benī Ibrāhīm. Other villages have been built in the neighbourhood, Sīdī Khuiled in the N E., Shott and Adjadja to the E., and Rouissat, the most important in the S.E. The settled population once proprietors of the palmgroves now usually cultivate them as *khammes* (paying a rent of a fifth) on behalf of merchants of the Mzāb and particularly the Shamhaa Arabs who lead a nomadic life in this part of the desert. Of Berber origin and still speaking a Zenāta dialect, the original purity of their stock has been much affected by intermarriage with negroes The *Ruagha* as they are called have retained certain ancient customs, particularly in connexion with marriage and a kind of carnival (*shaṭb al-*ʿ*āshūrā*ʾ) corresponding to the first fortnight of the month of Muharram. Alongside of these are negroes, Mzābīs and a few Jews. The population of Wargla and of the *ḳṣūr* amounts to 5,149.

History We have no information about Wargla before the Arab conquest At that time the land was occupied by Zenāta tribes According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Benī Wargla (Berber Benī Urdjelan) came from the N W along with other Berber elements (Ifren Maghrāwa) and founded several little towns in these regions which combined to form the town of Wargla The people adopted Ibādī doctrines so thoroughly that after the destruction of the Rustamid kingdom of Tiaret by the Fāṭimids at the beginning of the tenth century A D many Khāridjīs came to settle in Wargla and founded the town of Sedrata, the ruins of which still exist buried under the sands half a day's journey to the S. W. At the same time Abū Yazīd, the "man with the ass", who had rebelled against the Fāṭimids recruited many followers in this region. The Ibādīs had nevertheless in the xiith century, as a result of conflicts with the orthodox and perhaps under the pressure of Arab elements, to abandon the region of Wargla and migrate to the Tadmayt, where they finally settled and created the oases of the Mzāb [q v] Ibādism, however continued to survive at Wargla, where in the xviith century it still had a few representatives

During this period, Wargla, which according to the traveller al-Ayāshī was ruled by the Benī Tudjīn dynasty, seems to have been a prosperous city enriched by trade with the Sūdān (Idrīsī, transl de Goeje, p 141) The Hilālī invasion marked the beginning of a troubled era In the course of the wars between the Hammādīs and the Athbadj, with whom the people of Wargla had contracted an alliance, the dynasty of the Benī Tudjīn was overthrown and the town destroyed. Rebuilt a short distance from the original site it suffered later in the wars between the Almohads and the Benī Ghāniya In the xivth century, although under the suzerainty of the Benī Mozni, representatives of the Ḥafṣids in the Zab, Wargla was practically independent under the rule of sulṭāns belonging to the family of the Benī Abī Ghabul, of the fraction of the Benī Waggurn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbers*, transl de Slane, iii 286) At the end of the xvith century, these sultāns were extremely wealthy but according to Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, book vi, vol iii., p. 146) they had to pay heavily for the protection of the nomad Arabs Wargla at this time still preserved the commercial importance which it owed to its situation as a "port of the desert", to use Ibn Khaldūn's phrase (*loc cit*) It was a market where the produce and slaves of the Sūdān were exchanged for the merchandise bought from Tunis

and Constantine. Leo Africanus remarks on the beauty of the houses, the number of artisans and the wealth of the merchants This opulence attracted the attention of the Turks to Wargla. In 1552 Salāh Reʾīs at the head of an army of Turks and Kabyls advanced as far as Wargla, the inhabitants of which offered no resistance and he returned after plundering the town and imposing on the sultān an annual tribute of 30 negroes

The expedition of Ṣalāḥ Reʾīs was followed by a new period of troubles which was ended, it seems, at the beginning of the xviiith century by the proclamation of a new sulṭān Allahum, to whom local tradition attributes a Sharīfian origin, his descendants held power down to the middle of the xixth century But the real masters of the country were the nomad Shamhaa, Benī Tur, and Said Otba, whose continual interference in the quarrels of the two ṣoffs into which the settled population was divided kept up the disorder and made the authority of the sulṭāns illusory The latter had even to recognise the supremacy of the Ben Babia, hereditary chiefs of the oasis of Ngusa, which they did not cast off till 1841. But ten years later, a new cause of trouble arose Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh (the sharīf of Wargla) raised the tribes of the Sahara against the French who entrusted the task of reducing the rebels to the Shaikh of the Ūlād Sidī Shaikh, Si Hamza. The latter occupied the town in the name of France in 1853 and was given supreme command of the Sahara tribes But the participation of the people of Wargla in the rising of the Ūlād Sīdī Shaikh in 1854 forced French columns to intervene on several occasions in the region. Another rebel, Ben Shusha, nevertheless succeeded in establishing himself in Wargla in 1871. The suppression of this rebellion resulted in the final establishment of French authority in 1872

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(G. YVER)

WĀRITH. [See MIRĀTH]

AL-**WARḲĀʾ**, a ruined site in southern ʿIrāḳ, in 45° 25′ N. Lat and 31° 19′ East Long (Greenw.). Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv. 922) knows al-Warkā as a place which belonged to the district of Kaskar and the circle of Zawābī in the area of the two south Babylonian Euphrates canals called Zāb (cf. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, i., Leyden 1900, p 32; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 37, 73). According to a Muslim tradition, Ibrāhīm, the Abraham of the Bible, was born in al-Warkā (see Yāḳūt, iv. 922, 14 *sq* and cf also Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 161 *sq.*) At the same time however, a whole series of other places are mentioned as Ibrāhīm's native place. As Saif b ʿUmar records in his *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (see Yāḳūt, iv. 922, 23 *sq*) the first encounter between Arabs and Persians at the beginning of the Muslim campaigns against the Sāsānian empire took place at al-Warkāʾ.

Warkāʾ is the largest of all the groups of ruins in Southern Babylonia It marks the site of the town of Uruk (Sumerian Unu-ki) of the cuneiform inscriptions, which, with Nippur, Ur, Eridu and Lagash, was one of the oldest towns in the country and played a prominent part in the religious life of the Babylonians from the most primitive times to the Parthian period Alongside of Uruk we sometimes find the form Arku for the name in inscriptions (cf. the ethnic Arkewāyē in Ezra iv 9). Besides this reference, Uiuk occurs only once in the Bible in the form Erekh where it is mentioned with three other towns as a part of the dominions of Nimrod (Gen x. 10)

Of the epoch of Babylonian history before Hammurapi, we know five dynasties of Uiuk, of which however the first, to which belongs Gilgamesh, the hero of the famous epic which bears his name, is mythical The end of the fifth dynasty of Uiuk is to be dated about 2300 B C. Uiuk remained an important town under the rule of the Persians, Seleucids and Arsakids, many cuneiform documents of this late period have been found here Pliny, *Nat Hist*, xxvi. 123, 130 and Strabo, xvi 739, know Orchoe, Ὀρχοή (ethnic Orcheni, Ὀρχηνοί) as a great centre of Chaldaean astrology (cf also the reference in Ptolemy, v 20, 7; viii 20, 19)

Uruk was not a Hellenistic town like Babylon; but it is very possible that it had a considerable Greek community within its walls Even in the later Parthian period only a small portion of the extensive site of the old town was still inhabited, under the Sāsānians the town must have become more and more ruined By the time of the Muslim invasion, it was presumably completely deserted and abandoned

The first exact examination and description of the ruins we owe to W. K Loftus (see *Bibl.*). He was three times in Warkāʾ in 1850 and 1854, on his second and third stays there he conducted excavations for three weeks and three months respectively Of further visitors we may especially mention W H. Ward (1885), see J. P Peters, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, i (New York 1898), p 349—350 (Peters himself also visited Warkāʾ; see *op cit.*, ii 98—99), also E. Sachau (1895); P. Anastase Carme (1900), see *Bibl* The examination of the ruins of Warkāʾ entered into a new phase with the scientific expeditions of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.

Loftus gave an excellent account of the topography of Warkāʾ (see his plan, *op. cit.*, p. 160: repeated e. g. by Hommel in his *Gesch Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 208 and in Zehnpfund, *op cit.*, p 70) Andrae prepared a later plan. The new plan made in the winter of 1912—1913 by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft's expedition is still more accurate and shows even more details; see

it in Jordans, *Uruk-Warka*, 1928 (p 7 *sq*) and cf. also *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orientges.*, N°. 66 (1928), p. 4

Uruk must have been a very populous town at its zenith when it extended for a period beyond the walls around it, which can still be recognised to-day, as is shown by the mounds of ruins and other traces of habitation outside them; cf Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Sachau, *op cit*, p. 64.

In Babylonian antiquity, either the Euphrates itself flowed past Uruk or else an arm of it, which might be identified with the now entirely silted up river-bed of the Shaṭṭ al-Kār (in the N W of Warḳā'), supplied the town with its water by a canal. Jordan thinks the latter can be identified with remains of the Shaṭṭ al-Nīl which comes from the north and runs along the N. E. city wall. The modern Euphrates flows south of Warkā' at a distance of over 4 miles, reckoning from the nearest point on the bank The easiest road to the ruins is now from al-Khiḍr on the north bank of the river, a station on the Baghdād–Baṣra railway The ruins lie in a completely deserted region which is only occasionally visited by Beduins pasturing their flocks

The expedition of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft in the winter of 1912—1913 found a considerable number of lead bullae and seal impressions which throw an instructive light on the style of the mixed Babylonian and Hellenistic culture, they also obtained ceramics of the late period (especially clay figures, terracotta animals), and among other things a hoard of 196 coins of the Parthian king Gotarzes (40—51 A D), the number of cuneiform documents was particularly large but they came mainly from the Seleucid period (cf Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p 39, 57—70 and in the *Mitteil d Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch*, N°. 66, p 12—17) In 1929—1931 were found numerous clay tablets with pictographs

Besides these things found as the result of official excavations, we have a considerable number of objects (mainly inscriptions but also sculptures) which have been brought to light through the plundering by the Arabs, tempted by the gold of the dealers in antiquities. This systematic pilfering began before the excavations by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft (1912) and was continued before the Society could resume their work in 1928, through the market these finds of Arab burrowings found their way into various European and American museums and private collections, in Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin, Newhaven (Yale Babylonian Collection), Baltimore (Goucher College), Pierpont-Morgan Library, Nies Collection etc. On a number of especially remarkable objects found cf. Unger, *op. cit.*, p 36

In the last two decades, numerous cuneiform texts from Warkā', among which documents of the late period (late Babylonian to Parthian) predominate, have been published in specialist periodicals and in separate works

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WARRĀḲ, ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUHAMMAD B HĀRŪN, an independent thinker, who finally was accused of *zandaḳa*, was like his friend and pupil, Ibn al-Rāwandī [cf AL-RĀWANDĪ], at one time a theologian of the Muʿtazila school. Victims of the same persecution, both died in exile in Ahwāz in 297 (909)

His theological vocabulary only makes mild concessions to Hellenistic philosophy, but his dialectic is powerful, and his documentation of an objectivity and exactness unknown in this period enabled him to write a manual of the history of religions, the *Kitāb al-Makālāt*, the only source (unfortunately lost) of al-Bīrūnī and al-Shahrastānī for certain Irānian heresies and Jewish sects His critical examination of the three branches of the Christianity of his time, a little book of great accuracy, has survived under the title *Kitāb fi 'l-Radd ʿala 'l-Firak al-thalāth*, the methodical refutation of which was attempted by the Jacobite philosopher Yahyā b. ʿAdī (Bibl Nat. Paris, MS. Arabe, N° 167). His *Kitāb al-Madjālis* is lost.

Bibliography al-Khayāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed Nyberg, Cairo 1925, p 97, 149, 150, 152, 155, 205, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p 338, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p 270, 278—279, al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ baina 'l-Firaḳ*, p 49, 51, *Tusy's List of Shi'a books*, p 58, 72, Houtsma, in *W Z K M*, 1891, p 231, Massignon, *Textes inédits conc l'hist de la mystique*, 1929, p 182–185, II Ritter, *Philologika*, iii 35, vi 10 (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

WASHMGĪR B ZIYĀR, ABŪ ṬĀLIB (and according to his coins ZAHĪR AL-DAWLA) or better WUSHMGĪR, if the name means „catcher of quails" (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ix. 30, note), second ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty, reigned 935—965. He only left his native land Djīlān, after his brother Mardāwīdj [q v] had come to power, and had lived until that time the primitive mountaineer life of his people (Ibn al-Athīr, viii 182). Under Mardāwīdj he conquered Iṣfahān and drove from there ʿAlī b Būye, who had taken that town when he was in Mardāwīdj's service. After Mardāwīdj had died in Iṣfahān (323 = 935), Washmgīr went to Raiy, where his brother was buried with great solemnity; there he was proclaimed Mardāwīdj's successor by the population

and by the Dailamite army that had been previously sent to Khūzistān in order to march on Baghdād. Until about 328 (940) Washmgīr was able to keep together the territory conquered by his brother; he corresponded with the vizier Ibn Muḳla about an advance to Baghdād in order to drive out Ibn Rāʾiḳ, and tried to extend his influence to the west by supporting the Kurd Daisam b Shādhilūye in his endeavour to reconquer Ādharbāidjān. In the year mentioned, however, Washmgīr came in conflict with the Sāmānids in consequence of his alliance with Mākān b Kākī [q v.], who at that time had made submission to the Sāmānids but had received in 936 from Washmgīr the government of Djurdjān and also of the country round Sāriya (Sārī) on account of previous good relations Mākān then renounced his allegiance to the Sāmānids and the Sāmānid ruler sent against them his general Abū ʿAlī Ibn al-Muhtādj The latter invaded Djurdjān and at the same time the Būyid brothers ʿAlī and Hasan (ʿImād al-Dawla and Rukn al-Dawla) took the opportunity to seize Isfahān and even Raiy. Washmgīr and Mākān mobilised in Sāriya an army composed exclusively of Dailamīs and Djīlīs to meet the Sāmānid army In the battle of Ishākābād near Dāmghān, however, Mākān was killed (Dec. 25, 940) and Washmgīr retired to Āmul, leaving Ibn al-Muhtādj to take Raiy in his turn

In the following years Washmgīr got into difficulties through Mākān's nephew Hasan b. Fairuzān, who at first had taken the Sāmānid side in order to recover his uncle's possessions, then made an attack on Ibn al-Muhtādj's already retiring troops, so that he was able to make himself master of Djurdjān, while Washmgīr recovered Raiy for the last time But soon Hasan turned against him, while the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla seized Raiy again Washmgīr had to fly for protection to the Sāmānid ruler Nūh b Nasr in Khurāsān and so lost his political independence The protection sought for was readily given and until Washmgīr's death Nūh was constantly helping him with reinforcements against Hasan b Fairuzān and Rukn al-Dawla; in this way Tabaristān became a useful buffer state between Sāmānids and Būyids Washmgīr all the time remained a loyal ally of the former dynasty, Hasan being the candidate of the Būyids About 950 he was attacked by Rukn al-Dawla in Tabaristān and had to retire; in 954 a last endeavour was made to recapture Raiy, together with Ibn al-Muhtādj After the failure of this expedition he was again driven back to Khurāsān, but soon reinstated by a Sāmānid army. In 962 the same thing happened again; Washmgīr had to leave Sāriya and withdrew to Djurdjān At last, in 967, great military preparations were made by the Sāmānid Mansūr b. Nūḥ to attack Rukn al-Dawla; the Sāmānid general Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm Sīmdjūr joined Washmgīr in Djurdjān Washmgīr was to be chief commander of the expedition, but before it came to an end Washmgīr was killed by a wild boar in Muharram 357 (according to Miskawaih on 1st Muharram = December 7, 967). He was succeeded by his son Ḳābūs b. Washmgīr [q v.]. Washmgīr had won the reputation of an able and good ruler and the Ziyārid dynasty is not seldom called after him the dynasty of Washmgīr. As his biography shows, he did not excel in the arts of war, which accounts for the dwindling down of the large territory originally conquered by Mardāwīdj At times, however, he was undisputed ruler of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān, although, as Ibn Hawḳal (p 274) points out, there remained strongholds which he never had been able to subdue.

Bibliography: Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed. Margoliouth, i. ii; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristān*, transl. by E. G. Browne, p. 217—225; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, viii; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Tabaristān*, ed Dorn; Munedjdjim Bashī, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, ii. 479 *sqq.*; S Lane-Poole, *Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, iii 10 *sqq.*; Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xlii (1922), 377—384; E. Denison Ross, *On three Muhammadan Dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, ii. 205—225; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites* (*Publ. de la Soc. des Etudes Iraniennes*, N⁰ 3), Paris 1932 (J H. Kramers)

AL-WASHSHĀʾ, Abu 'l-Taiyib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ b Yaḥyā, Arabic philologist and bel esprit, pupil of Mubarrad and of Thaʿlab, who earned his living as a teacher in an elementary school, but in the most important of his works that has survived to us, the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (ed. R E Brunnow, Leyden 1886, reprinted as *Kitāb al-Zarf wa 'l-Ẓurafāʾ*, Cairo 1324), prepared a handbook of rules of good society for the aristocrats of Baghdād In addition there survives by him a letter-writer *Tafṣīl al-Muhādj wa-Sabab al-Wusūl ila 'l-Faradj* or *Surūr al-Muhādj wa 'l-Albāb fī Rasāʾil al-Ahbāb* in the Berlin MS, *Ahlwardt Verz*, N⁰ 8638 He was probably also the author of the *Kitāb Waṣāyā Mulūk al-Arab fi 'l-Djāhilīya*, the first part of which was printed in Baghdād in 1332, although Yahyā al-Washshāʾ is named in it.

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WAṢĪ. [See Waṣīya]

WĀSIʿ ʿALĪSI or ʿAlī, an Ottoman author, scholar and poet, stylist and calligrapher of Philippopolis. His full name is ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Čelebi b Sālih or Sālih-zāde al-Rūmī, known as ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi or Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi (from the *muderris* Mewlānā ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ whose assistant [*mulāzim*] he had been) He was *muderris* in various medreses in Brussa, Adrianopl and Constantinople, then *kāḍī* He died in Brussa in 950. His fame is mainly based on the elegant and pompous translation, surpassing even the Persian original, of the *Anwār-i Suhailī* of Ḥusain Waʿiz Kāshifī [cf. Kāshifī] which in turn is a translation from the Arabic version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ being based on the *Pañcatantra*. On the complicated problem of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* see that article. The manuscript of a version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* done directly from the Arabic is N⁰. 1897 in the Lāleli Library in Stambul The Turkish translation by Wāsiʿ ʿAlīsi called *Humāyūn-nāme* with its pompous and elegant style and the interspersed verses was regarded as one of the most important prose-works of the old school, a masterpiece which could not be equalled and a model of tasteful

style and composition. While the grand vizier Luṭfī Pasha (945—947) accepted the dedication of the work to which Wāsiʿ had devoted his whole life with the reproachful remark that he would have done better to have devoted his time to legal treatises, Sulṭān Sulaimān, whose attention was called to it by the historian Ramazān-zāde at once recognised its importance and the very next day appointed the author to the important office of ḳāḍī of Brussa. He died there only a year later. The *Humāyūn-nāme* was printed in Būlāḳ in 1251 (1835) One of the two synopses made by Othmān-zāde Ahmed Ṭāʾib (d 1136 = 1723) appeared in 1256 under the title *Thamār al-Asmār*. Another synopsis was made by Muftī Yahyā Efendi

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WĀṢIF, Aḥmad, official historian of the Ottoman empire, belonged to Baghdād, early entered the service of high Ottoman dignitaries, for example Kel Ahmad Pasha and Abāza Mehemmed Pasha, for whom he acted as librarian He was captured by the Russians and his fortune was made when he was sent with letters from Catherine the Great to the grand vizier. He finally acted as secretary (*wakʿa nuwīs*; q v.) at the peace of Bucharest (1772). In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1197 (Oct 1783) he was appointed imperial historian (*wakāʾiʿ nuwīs*, q v.) in place of Enwerī [q v] Efendi Five years later he was sent on an extraordinary mission to Madrid, which is fully described by him. As the Russo-Turkish war had broken out in the meanwhile Enwerī was again appointed official historian during his absence in Spain and Edib his deputy Wāsif on his return had therefore to be content with an office in the Porte until in 1205 (1791) he was able to take a very active part in the peace negotiations, for which he was granted the important post of *Anadolu muḥāsebeḏjī wekīlī* Later we find him leading a lonely and wretched life in Stambul, maintaining a constant fight with poverty. He was then banished to Mytilene but recalled on a change of government and again given the post of imperial historian (1213 = 1798) In Djumādā I 1220 (July 1805) he was even promoted to be *reʾīs efendi* Sickness and bad health crippled him however and he died on 7th Rabīʿ I 1221 (May 24, 1806) He was not an attractive character because he was greedy, envious and malicious to a degree but rightly enjoyed a great reputation as an historian As he had taken an active part himself in important events, his accounts are of peculiar historical value His style is noble and sonorous and was regarded by his contemporaries as a model of impressive writing From his pen we have four state chronicles known as *dhuyūl*, appendices, because they follow on to ʿIzzī's work [q v]. The history, printed under the title *Maḥāsin al-Āthār wa-Haḳāʾiḳ al-Akhbār* (on the various editions cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p 337), runs from 1166 (beg Nov. 8, 1752) to 1st Radjab 1188 (Sept. 7, 1774) but the greater part of the second volume (1183—1188) is from the pen of Enwerī. As to the appendices themselves, the first which follows on to Enwerī's fourth part deals with the concluding events of the year 1197 (end of 1783) and ends with the month of Shaʿbān 1201 (June 1787). The second appendix begins with Selīm's III's accession (Radjab 1203 = April 1789) and ends with the beginning of the year 1209 (beg July 29, 1794). The third appendix covered the period for 1213 (beg. June 15, 1798) to 1217 (beg. May 4, 1802), it seems to have completely disappeared. The fourth and last appendix runs from Rabīʿ I 1217 (July 1802) to the end of Shawwāl 1219 (Jan. 1805) In conclusion Wāsif wrote a brief account of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. It is one-sided and therefore of no value as history Wāṣif also prepared translations from the Arabic, for example, he translated Zamakhsharī's [q v] *Nawāghib al-Kalim* into Turkish

Bibliography v. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Die osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber der neueren Zeit* (reprint from vol viii of the *Denks. Ak Wien*, Vienna 1856), p 5—9; F Babinger, *G. O W.*, p 335—337 (with a list of manuscripts, printed texts, separate editions and translations of the works of Wāṣif Efendi)

(Franz Babinger)

WĀṢIL B ʿAṬĀʾ, Abū Ḥudhaifa al-Ghazzāl, the chief of the Muʿtazila [q v] Biographical facts concerning this personality are meagre, especially from early sources, yet without considerable divergencies. Born in Madīna in 80 (699—700), where he was a client of the Banū Dabba, or of the Banū Makhzūm, he migrated to Baṣra, where he belonged to the circle of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [cf al-Ḥasan b abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī], and entered into friendly relations with notable personalities such as Djahm b. Safwān [q v] and Bashshār b. Burd [q. v]. With none of these three men, however, these relations remained undisturbed His wife was a sister of ʿAmr b ʿUbaid Abū ʿUthmān [q v], next to himself the most celebrated of the earliest Muʿtazila He had the guttural pronunciation of the *r*; on account of his mastery of the language he succeeded in avoiding this letter, in *khuṭba*'s and sayings, specimens of which are preserved. Further he was conspicuous for his giraffe-like neck, an object of satirical lines by his former friend Bashshār

He received the *laḳab* al-Ghazzāl because of his frequenting the spinners' market in order to bestow alms upon the poor women who exercised that métier. He was praised for being very scrupulous in touching money.

Wāsil's deviation from the views of Ḥasan is said to have become the starting point of the Muʿtazila The origin of the name of the sect cannot, however, be based on that fact [see Muʿtazila].

Four theses are ascribed to Wāṣil Denial of Allāh's eternal qualities [cf. the art. Ṣifa], the doctrine of free will, which he shared with the Kadarites; the doctrine that the Muslim who commits a mortal sin enters into a state intermediate between that of a Muslim and that of a *kāfir*; the doctrine that one of the parties who took part in the murder of ʿUthmān, in the battle of the Camel and that of Ṣiffīn was wrong, just as in the case of *liʿān* [q. v] one of the parties must be considered to swear a false oath.

The last doctrine is made by the author of the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* the starting point of Wāṣil's

system. He represents it in this form · The intention to kill a *ṣaḥābī* [cf AṢḤAB] does not render a Muslim *fāsiḳ* (p 170). Yet he admits to having been rebuked for this representation, on the ground that Wāsil considered the intention to kill one of the *ṣaḥāba* as *kufr* [cf KĀFIR].

In this connection it may be noted that the passage on Wāsil in Djāhiẓ' *Bayān* suggests more important deviations from orthodox Islām than those mentioned in later sources

Lack of contemporary information is the cause of our not being able to say more of this.

It is said that Wāsil propagated his ideas through missionaries whom he sent to different parts of the Muslim world. Al-Shahrastānī states that in his days a sect called *al-Wāṣilīya* was living in the Maghrib. Yet the *Wāṣilīya* are not mentioned in al-Ashʿarī's *Makālāt*, where the name of Wāsil occurs once only (ed Ritter, i 222). — He is said (see e. g. Ibn Khallikān) to have written several books or pamphlets on the theological and political questions of his days. He died in 131 (748—749)

Bibliography Abu 'l-Husain ʿAbd al-Rahīm b Muhammad b ʿUthmān al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed Nyberg, Cairo 1344, Register; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, vii 234, al-Djāhiz, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1311, i. 8 *sqq* , Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Adab al-Kātib*, ed Grunert, p 15 *sq* , Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii 24, 61; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḳ bain al-Firak*, ed. Muhammad Badr, Cairo 1328, register, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, ed Cureton, p 31—34, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed Wright, Register, al-Idjī, *Mawākif*, ed Soerensen, p 290, 330, Ibn Khallikān, ed Wüstenfeld, N⁰. 791, Yākūt, *Irshād*, ed Margoliouth, *G M S*, vii 223 *sqq.*, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Ahmad b Yahyā b al-Murtadā, *Kitāb al-Munya*, ed. Arnold, Haidarābād 1316—Leipzig 1902, Register; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl*, N⁰ 2301, Pococke, *Spec hist. arabum*, ed White, Oxford 1806, p. 214 *sq* ; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i 193, ii 261, 262, A v Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. 410 *sq.*; H Steiner, *Die Muʿtaziliten*, Leipzig 1865, p 25, 49 *sqq* , Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ashʿari*, Leyden 1875, p 51 *sqq* , Goldziher, *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, p 101; H Galland, *Essai sur les Moʿtazelites*, Geneva 1906, p 39 *sqq.*; M Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, Register; Houtsma, in *W Z. K M.*, iv. 219 *sq*

(A. J. WENSINCK)

WĀSIṬ, once one of the most important cities of the ʿIrāḳ in the centre of which it stood The city was a creation of al-Hadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [q. v]. As to the date of its foundation, the statements of the Arab writers vary between 83 (702) to 84 (703). Yākūt is probably right in saying that the building of it occupied the years 83—86 (702—705) Al-Ḥadjdjādj was certainly living in his new city by the year 84. On the date of its foundation cf Streck, *op cit.* (see *Bibl*), p 324—325; Périer, *op cit.*, p. 208; Masʿūdī, *B. G A* , viii. 360

On the immediate reasons which led to the building of a new town and the choice of its site see the story in Ṭabarī, ii. 1125, 12 *sq.* (transl. in Streck, *op cit.*, p 323 *sq.*) Al-Hadjdjādj wished by creating a fixed camp for the Syrian troops, his best soldiers, to strengthen their morals and by separating them from the ʿIrāḳīs to avert friction between them. The new garrison town was also intended to keep in check the two turbulent military colonies of Kūfa and Baṣra, for it was built equidistant between them (cf. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, Berlin 1885—1887, i 394; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 156; Périer, *op cit*, p. 205 *sq.*; Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 46 *sq*) Being immediately above the Baṭīḥa [q. v] Wāsit was also intended to facilitate the effective control of these somewhat inaccessible regions.

According to the usual statement, al-Hadjdjādj himself chose the name Wāsiṭ = "middle" for his new city, because it was roughly midway between the two principal cities of the ʿIrāḳ, Kūfa and Basra, and was a similar distance from al-Ahwāz, the capital of Khūzistān.

According to another story, however, there had previously been a village named Wāsit al-Kaṣab (= Wāsit of the Reed) on the site chosen by al-Hadjdjādj, cf Streck, *op cit*, p 322 *sq* and Périer, *op. cit.*, p 206 *sq.*

In the Muslim east, at least where Arabic nomenclature prevailed, there were over 20 places called Wāsiṭ in the time of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The most important of all these was Wāsit al-Hadjdjādj, as the town is often called to distinguish it from others of the same name, it is also particularised as Wāsiṭ al-ʿuzmā ("Great Wāsit") and Wāsit al-ʿIrāḳ (cf Streck, *op cit*, p. 323)

Even if we reject the somewhat doubtful existence of a place named Wāsit al-Kaṣab, the immediate vicinity of al-Hadjdjādj's town was already inhabited in the Sāsānian period, Wāsiṭ was built on the west bank of the Tigris while opposite it on the east bank lay the town of Kaskar.

In the story of the foundation of Wāsiṭ which has been embellished with legendary details a not inconsiderable part is played by the great magician ʿAbd Allāh b Hilāl, whom al-Hadjdjādj brought specially from Kūfa (cf Yākūt, iv 885, 4 *sq.* and *W Z. K M.*, vii. 255) Considerable sums were required to build the new city (cf. Streck, p 325, Périer, p 208 and Reitemeyer, p 47—48). The palace built by al-Hadjdjādj was surmounted by a towering green dome which got the name of *al-Ḳubba al-khaḍrāʾ*. Its plan (square in general form, the measurements of the sides, the dome) afterwards served as a model to the caliph al-Manṣūr in building his palace in Baghdād, the latter was therefore also called *al-Ḳubba al-khaḍrāʾ* Beside his palace al-Hadjdjādj built the chief mosque, al-Mansūr also copied the proportions of this in his chief mosque likewise built beside the palace in Baghdād, as Herzfeld points out in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii. (Berlin 1919), p 135

Among the buildings erected by al-Ḥadjdjādj in Wāsit must be mentioned the large prison called *Dīmās* (presumably Greek δημόσιον "prison") (see Streck, *op cit.*, p. 326). Al-Ḥadjdjādj died in 95 A. H (714) in Wāsiṭ and was buried there.

At first al-Ḥadjdjādj would only allow Arabs (preferably Syrian) to settle in his new capital, later he settled there Transoxanian Turks (mainly from Bukhārā originally) from Baṣra where a considerable number had settled, sometimes as prisoners and sometimes as voluntary emigrants (cf. Périer,

op. cit., p. 209). It was only after the death of al-Ḥaddjādj that the old native Aramaic population and the Persians were admitted; in course of time the population became a very mixed one Wāsiṭ and Kaskar gradually became merged in a single twin city united by a community of political and economic interests

During the whole period of the Umaiyads, Wāsiṭ remained the most important town in the ʿIrāḳ, the seat of government of the country and the residence of its governors except for the last years of the dynasty. It was the ʿAbbāsids who put an end to the dominating position of Wāsiṭ But even after its loss of position as the centre of the region Wāsiṭ continued to be of great strategic importance It has always played a very important part in the political and military history of the central and southern ʿIrāḳ, especially that of the districts of the Baṭīḥa and Maisān [q v.]. Cf. Ibn al-Muʿallim and Maigolıouth in *Z A*, xxvi 334 *sqq* In the xv^th^ century Wāsiṭ played an important part under the dynasty of the Mushaʿshaʿ Saiyids, cf. Caskel, *Islamica*, iv. 48 *sq*

The decline of the city seems to have gradually begun in the xv^th^ century This was mainly the result of a change in the distribution of the water to the two arms of the river at the old bifurcation of the Tigris at Kūt al-ʿAmāra It may be mentioned that the Turkish geographer Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who lived in the first half of the xvii^th^ century, in his *Djihān-numā* (Latin version by Norberg, Lund 1818, p 70) records of Wāsiṭ that it lies in the middle of the desert and that the canal there is famous for the pens made out of its reeds

The population of the town in the days of its prosperity was certainly very considerable Yāḳūt who was several times in Wāsiṭ shows that in the early decades of the xiii^th^ century it was still a large place The *dihkān*, the Persian landowners, were still in Yaʿḳūbī's time (see *B.G A*, vii 322), i e about 891, living in the old town of Kaskar. The Christian element must have been not inconsiderable in Wāsiṭ in the Muslim period, their quarters were probably in Kaskar, as in the Sāsānian period. Here there was in any case a Jewish colony before the Arab invasion Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Babylonia about 1170, found a strong Jewish community in Wāsiṭ which he estimated at 10,000 people, the same as in Basra The bulk of them presumably lived in a special quarter of the old eastern city

The region in which Wāsiṭ was built is said to have been unfertile before the settlement by al-Ḥaddjādj The latter improved the soil of the surrounding country The result was that conditions of life became much healthier and sanitation was improved so that the climate of Wāsiṭ was regarded as healthier than that of Baṣra. The Arab geographers agree in their panegyrics on the countless orchards, extensive groves of date-palms, the water flowing everywhere, the plentitude of fish, and the very fruitful yield of the soil of the region of Wāsiṭ. Much corn was exported from the granary of Wāsiṭ and in times of famine Baghdād had to be supplied from here (cf. the accounts of Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Muḳaddasī, Yāḳūt, Kazwīnī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Streck, *op cit*, p. 328—330)

Wāsiṭ was also an important centre of communications, partly from its location on the navigable Tigris and its position in the centre of the ʿIrāḳ and from the fact that important roads ran north, south and east from it, one along the Tigris to Baghdād, another through the Baṭīḥa to Baṣra and the third to al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān). Wāsiṭ was therefore bound to become an important commercial centre; as Muḳaddasī mentions, it had fine bazaars; among other things, valuable textiles were manufactured here (for curtains) which were known as *Wāsiṭī* fabrics (cf. *B. G A*, iv. 375 and Salmon, *L'Introduction topograph. à l'histoire de Baghdad d'al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Paris 1904, p. 135). Shipbuilding also played a part in the activities of Wāsiṭ in view of the busy traffic on the river; *al-wāsiṭiya* is still found in the ʿIrāḳ as the name of a kind of boat, cf. *Lughat al-ʿArab*, v. (Baghdād 1927), p 463, 11.

Wāsiṭ also took the place of its predecessor Kaskar as capital of one of the twelve districts into which the Sāsānians had divided the ʿIrāḳ for taxation purposes (cf thereon Streck, *op cit.*, p 15, 18, 332).

Wāsiṭ was not only a strong garrison town but an important agricultural and commercial centre. It also distinguished itself in the cultivation of knowledge, particularly of Muslim theology Among its inhabitants in the time of Muḳaddasī (c. 985) were notable legists and Ḳur'ān readers, the study of the sacred book was especially carried on here (*B G.A*, iii. 118, 119, note) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 2, 9 *sq* and cf. Streck, *op cit*, p 330—331) who was in Wāsiṭ in the first half of the xiv^th^ century, is full of praises of the pious citizens, most of whom knew the Kur'ān by heart and recited it correctly The subject of *tadjwīd al-Ḳur'ān* [q v] was studied with special enthusiasm A representative of the art of reading the Kur'ān who belonged to Wāsiṭ was Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī (d. c. 1291; cf. Brockelmann, *G A L.*, i 411).

It may be mentioned that the mystic theologian al-Ḥallādj who was born in Fārs, spent his youth in Wāsiṭ (cf L Massignon, *al-Ḥallaj* [Paris 1922], i 20 *sq*) In this connection it may be noted that the founder of the Karmatian sect of the Bakliya, Abū Ḥātim, made his first appearance in 295 (908) in the *sawād* of Wāsiṭ [cf. above, art BAKLĪYA].

In Wāsiṭ was also studied the history of the town and of that of the adjacent Baṭīḥa. Aslam b Sahl Bahshal (d. 904) wrote a local history, consisting mainly of biographies (see Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, in *Abh G G.W*, 1882, N^o^. 83, Brockelmann, *G A L*, i. 138) The history of Ibn al-Maghāzilī al-Djullābī (d 1139, see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p 240) was probably a continuation of this An appendix to the latter work was probably the local chronicle of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Saʿīd al-Dhahabī al-Dubaithī (d 1239); see Wustenfeld, *op. cit*, N^o^ 323; Brockelmann, *G A.L.*, i. 330; *Z. S.*, ii. 107

Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Bakhtiyār (d. 1157), a native of Wāsiṭ, wrote a history of the Baṭīḥa (*Ta'rīkh al-Baṭā'iḥ*), cf. ʿAlī Sharḳī, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, vi (Baghdād 1928), p 279, 3 *sq*.

As to the history of the mint of Wāsiṭ, we have coins of the town from its foundation (85 = 704) down to the period of the Mongols of Persia. Cf. e. g. St. Lane-Poole, *Catal. of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. x., p. ccxvii.—viii. (years 85–326 = 704–937 or 701—770 = 1301–1368) and O. Codrington, *Manual of Musulman Numismatics* (London 1904), p. 194.

In conclusion we have still to discuss the site of Wāsiṭ. Its exact location is one of the most difficult and most important problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia We know definitely that the twin city of Wāsiṭ-Kaskar stood on the Tigris on either side of it All the Arab geographers of the IXth—XIIIth centuries agree in this (cf the passages in Streck, *op cit*, p 319 *sq.* to which we may add Masʿūdī, *B G A*, VIII. 53, 17 and also Suhrāb [Ibn Serapion], who about the middle of the tenth century described the river and canal system of the ʿIrāk fully; see his *Kitāb ʿAǧāʾib al-Akālīm al-sabʿa* [ed Mžik, Leipzig 1930] p 118, 3 = *J R A. S*, 1895, p. 9, 4 from below). In order to identify the site of Wāsit the first thing necessary is to establish the course of the mediaeval Tigris It must be pointed out that the arm of the Tigris on which Wāsit stood, the main stream of which since the XVth century has been gradually diminishing and sinking to be a secondary arm, as the bulk of the water was gradually diverted from below Kūt al-ʿAmāra into the eastern bed, is to be considered the real lower course of the Tigris

The Shatt al-Haiy (better Shatt al-Ghairāf) which branches off at Kūt al-ʿAmāra S E from the main stream, has been usually said to be the mediaeval Tigris (on this water course cf. especially the artt DIJLA, ʿIRĀK and MAISĀN) It forks again a little below the town of Kūt al-Ḥaiy (also known briefly as Haiy) into two arms, one of which is now called Abū Djuhairāt and as a rule is now the only one to contain water, and the eastern Shatt al-Aʿmā Both unite again at the village of Shaikh Khadr (Khdēr) and enclose an island about 30 miles long called Djazīrat al-Hairat on maps Herzfeld has rightly pointed out in Sarre-Herzfeld, *op cit*, I 247, that the Shatt al-Haiy forms the greatest crux in the ancient geography of the ʿIrāk Is it really the mediaeval Tigris or is it only a secondary arm? Perhaps we have to see in it a canal which was dug in ancient times to give a convenient connection between the Euphrates and the Tigris The little that we have so far learned from European travellers about the ruins of Wāsit is against locating it on the banks of the Shatt al-Haiy and therefore against identifying the latter with the mediaeval Tigris

Unfortunately the whole canal and river system of the Shatt al-Haiy, especially the wide territory between it in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south, has been very insufficiently investigated from the geographical point of view and the maps to be consulted for the region of Wāsit are very defective. Of these the following have been used here F R Chesney, *The Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1850), Atlas, plate IX (pertinent text in vol I 36—37); Ed. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris* (Leipzig 1900), plate II and cf. p. 69 *sq.*; *Lower Mesopotamia between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf* (1 1,000,000), London, War Office, 1907 (also reprinted by the cartographical section of the German General Staff, Berlin 1915); *Karte von Nordbabylonien* (temporary edition; 1 : 200,000), sheet 9: Kūt al-ʿAmāra, Berlin (kartograph. Abteilung der preussisch. Landesaufnahme), 1918; *Karte von Mesopotamien* (temporary edition; 1 · 400,000), sheet 5d, Bagdad, Berlin (*ibid*) 1919.

A number of European travellers visited the actual site of the mediaeval Wāsiṭ in the XIXth and XXth centuries, their accounts however are rather brief The first to be mentioned are the English officers Ormsby and Elliott who stopped in Wāsiṭ in 1831. On their information are based the statements in Chesney, *op cit*, I. 37, J R. Wellstedt, *Travels to the city of the Caliphs*, London 1840, I 171 (an edition of Ormsby's diary) and J B. Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, Edinburgh 1842, p 155 R. Koldeweg and B Moritz are said to have visited Wāsiṭ during their archaeological expedition to Southern Babylonia in 1886—1887; but so far nothing has been published of their observations. Count Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort, who fell in 1916 in the War, also visited Wāsit on an archaeological expedition in 1913—1914 His valuable account of the district in question was published by Virolleaud, in *Babyloniaca*, VI, Paris 1922, p 105—116 unfortunately without a map. We therefore really have only two brief descriptions of the ruins of Wāsit, one of 1831 and the other of 1913—1914

The former going back to Ormsby and Elliott gives (according to Chesney) the following data The old dry bed of an arm of the river can be followed for a few miles below Kūt al-ʿAmāra, this flows S. S E. through the ruins of Wāsit and then goes on in the same direction under the name of Shatt Ibrāhīm, and rejoins the Euphrates midway between the Shaṭt al-Haiy and Kurna That this river-course should be recognised as the Tigris proper, on the banks of which Wāsit lay, is suggested by the breadth of the ancient bed and the ruins on both sides of it, some of Wellstedt's notes supplement this mounds of ruins are to be seen everywhere; the ground is covered with fragments of buildings (pillars, architraves, friezes, glass and ceramics) Special mention may be made of a fairly well preserved little domed building in the style of the period of the caliphs, very probably a mosque, the channel which cuts through these ruins is of the breadth of the Euphrates Fraser finally tells us that in the vicinity of the old town there has arisen a little village of 40—50 wretched houses built out of the material of the ruins and inhabited by fishermen

As to A de Liedekerke-Beaufort's description 80 years later (see *op cit*, p. 115—116) it may be noted that this traveller came to Wāsit from the old Babylonian site of Zerghul (Surghul), 4 miles N E of Shatra; striking N E. After 3 hours' march from Zerghul he crossed the old silted up bed of the Tigris of the ʿAbbāsid period which the natives call Shatt el-Khorder. This he met again at the ruins of Wāsiṭ Among the shapeless mounds of ruins there the only remarkable thing was a fine brick portico. According to A. de Liedekerke-Beaufort, Wāsit lies 25 miles west of Haiy (Kūt al-Haiy) This remark must be due to an error or rather to a slip of the pen; for it must be "east of Ḥaiy" (correct also the statement above, art KASKAR) Our traveller thinks that the Tigris in ancient times used the Shatt al-Haiy as far as Djelatseker (meaning Kalʿat Sikkar on the Shaṭt al-Aʿmā), then followed the lakes of the swamps (*hōrs*, cf. above, art. MAISĀN) of Tellōh, al-Hibba and Serghul, finally entering the sea at the side of the modern Hōr al-Ḥammār (cf. above, art. MAISĀN); in the Muslim period on the other hand, it created for itself this eastern bed on which Wāsit lay.

According to the already mentioned map of Mesopotamia, sheet 5d, Bagdad, the geographical position of Wāsiṭ is 32° 15′ North Lat That this town is probably to be placed north and not south of 32° N Lat. was already proved by Wagner (in *N d. G G W*, phil.-hist Kl., 1902, p. 272, 279) from the statements of the mediaeval Arab itineraries. On the above mentioned map the ruined site of Wāsiṭ is crossed by a channel running S. E ; three further channels enter it of which those still in use take their water from the Nahr Dudjēle Quite close to Wāsiṭ is marked a place Beled, presumably the fishing-village mentioned by Ormsby and Elliott (in Fraser).

The Dudjēle (= little Tigris) leaves the Tigris about 6 miles below Kūt al-ʿAmāra. It might be identical with the ancient, now dried up arm of the river which Ormsby and Elliott were able to follow and which they took for the mediaeval Tigris of Wāsiṭ (see above) In Stieler's *Handatlas* sheet 59 (1918), this water course is marked as Shatt al-Wāsiṭ and Wāsiṭ itself is marked on it in 32° 15′ (according to the map of Mesopotamia, leaf 9, Wāsiṭ lies 4—5 miles south-west of the river Djudjēle). The distance between Wāsiṭ and Kūt al-Hayy is, according to the map of Mesopotamia sheet 5d and that of Babylonia, sheet 9 (see above), and sheet 59 in Stieler's *Handatlas*, about 15 miles as the crow flies; A de Liedekerke's estimate (25 miles) is decidedly too high The distance Wāsiṭ–Kūt al-ʿAmāra is about 45 miles as the crow flies

The question of the site of the mediaeval Wāsiṭ would therefore seem to be solved with considerable certainty by the above considerations. The town was at one time sought on the bank of the Shatt al-Hayy or at least in its immediate neighbourhood, modern native geographers of the ʿIrāk like Hāshim al-Saʿdī and ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī still hold this view. It is a fact that the place-name Wāsiṭ is still found in the district in question, especially around Kūt al-Hayy as well as to the south in the island formed by the two arms of the Shatt al-Hayy, quite near the eastern arm, the Shatt al-Aʿmā Chesney (*op cit*, i 36 and *Atlas*, plate ix.) knows the "mounds Neishaget Wasut" in the neighbourhood of Kūt al-Hayy to the east of it On the same position Loftus puts Wasut in the map accompanying his *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London 1857), Streck therefore also at one time (1911, see above, i., p 677a) considered locating Wāsiṭ near Kūt al-Hayy Hāshim al-Saʿdī (*Djughrāfiyat al-ʿIrāk al-hadītha*, 2nd ed, Baghdād 1927, p 145) has obviously the same region in mind when he places the ruined mounds (tells) of Wāsiṭ on the banks of the Shatt al-Aʿmā near the town of al-Ḥayy ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasanī (*Rihla fi 'l-ʿIrāk*, 2nd ed, Baghdād 1925, p 29) holds a similar view; he lays stress on the existence of numerous tells and pieces of buildings, still visible at the present day The same author says in his more recent work *Mūdjiz Taʾrīkh al-Buldān al-ʿIrāḳiya* (Baghdād 1930, p 119) that al-Ḥayy is identical with the ancient Wāsiṭ.

Cuinet's authority (see his *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii 313) says that half-way between Kalʿat Sakar (the already mentioned Djelatseker in A. de Liedekerke = Ḳalʿat Sikkar; a little below 32° N. Lat.) and Kūt al-Ḥayy one comes to an area covered with mounds, which may be presumed to contain old ruins; the most important is "Hai al-Ouaset", the celebrated town of Wāsiṭ, there one can still see the door of a palace which the local Arabs call el-Menāre With this statement in Cuinet, I would take a note in L. Massignon, (*La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, i., p. 23) which is based on a communication by a Baghdādī, a former inspector of the domains in the region of al-Hayy. According to the latter, the now abandoned ruins of Wāsiṭ, which lie on the bank of a dead watercourse named Rasid, consist only of a few old tombs and a minaret in ruins (apparently that mentioned in Cuinet) The reference here is probably to the same ruins as are mentioned by Chesney and the two modern Arab geographers In keeping with these views Wāsiṭ is placed by Kiepert, *Carte générale de l'Empire Ottoman* (Berlin 1892), on the eastern bank of the Shatt al-Hayy, in 31° 55′.

We also find marked on maps (e. g. in Chesney, plate ix. and in Stieler's *Handatlas*, *loc cit*, in the latter in about 31° 45′ N Lat.) on the already mentioned Shatt al-Hayy island a village of Wāsiṭ al-Hayy, which no doubt still exists It is about 25 miles south of Kūt al-Hayy and at least 4 miles from the Shatt al-Aʿmā which probably at one time flowed directly past it This is the Wāsiṭ of the map *Lower Mesopotamia*, several times already mentioned, which marks also in 31° 45′ on the east bank of the eastern Shatt al-Hayy arm a Kalʿat Shaikh Djewaid with the addition "al-Wāsiṭ".

It must be left for future thorough topographical study on the spot to establish what these villages or ruins near and on Shatt al-Hayy are The existence of two places called Wāsiṭ, one in the vicinity of Kūt al-Hayy, one much further south (Wāsiṭ al-Hayy), seems to be proved, but it also seems safe to assert that all these places in the region of the Shatt al-Hayy have nothing to do with the mediaeval Wāsiṭ The occurrence of the name Wāsiṭ in this region could, in my view, be explained most simply by saying they are settlements by emigrants from the old mother-city When their existence became more and more threatened by changes in the course of the Tigris, many, if not the majority, of the inhabitants must have abandoned the city and settled on the banks of the Shatt al-Hayy which presumably gained in importance with the decline in the Tigris at Wāsiṭ in volume and importance. To distinguish it from the ancient Wāsiṭ a colony of people of Wāsiṭ on the Shatt al-Hayy may have been called Wāsiṭ al-Hayy.

On the antiquity of the town of Kūt al-Hayy nothing is exactly known, but I do not consider it probable that it goes far back into the middle ages, while it may have existed then as an insignificant village, it only began to come to the front from the xvith century with the decline of Wāsiṭ. It may in a way be described as the successor of the ancient Wāsiṭ Kūt al-Hayy is now developing rapidly; it is the largest place in the whole valley of the Shatt al-Hayy and at the last census had about 10,000 inhabitants (cf ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Hasanī, *Mūdjiz* etc., 1930, p. 119).

Bibliography· In addition to references in the article see *B G.A* (ed. de Goeje), *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wustenfeld), iv. 881—888; Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 289—292; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje) and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), Indices, s. v ; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arabisch. Geographen*, ii. (Leyden 1901),

p. 318—338 (where further references are given); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p 39—40 and previously in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 44—45; J Périer, *Vie d'Al-Hadjdjâdj Ibn Yousof* (Paris 1904), p 205—213 (and index, s v); E Reitemeyer, *Die Stadtegrundungen der Araber im Islam* (Munich 1912), p 44—48, J Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (Frankfurt a M 1929), p 91—93, 199—201, 336—337, cf also the articles AL-BAṬĪḤA, KASKAR and MAISĀN.

(M. STRECK)

WAṢĪYA (A.), commission; as a technical term, last will, testament, legacy, *waṣī*, the person empowered, particularly the executor of a will

1. The waṣīya of the pre-Islāmic Arabs was less concerned with the distribution of the estate than with orders and instructions to the survivors, it is the spiritual testament of the dying man sanctified by religion which is to hand on obligations and secure the continuity of tradition. In this sense, according to the Shīʿa, ʿAlī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet and every imām the wasī of his predecessor, i e. the continuer of his religious task and the steward of his doctrine. The literary form known as wasīya for transmitting instruction and advice, especially from devout men and scholars, goes back to this source.

2. In so far as the term waṣīya was of significance in connection with the law of property in Muhammad's milieu, it must have consisted in the consideration of more remote heirs — something between legal will and an expression of wishes — alongside of the *ʿaṣaba* who are called upon first to inherit [cf. MĪRĀTH] According to Sūra xxxvi 50 (of the second Meccan period) to draw it up before death was the obvious duty of a Kuraish merchant. Such a wasīya is expressly ordered the believers by sūra ii. 176 *sqq* in favour of parents and "relatives" (sūra iv 37, which, without using the term demands the same thing, adds also the so-called confederates), at the same time any alteration falsifying it is forbidden but any friendly interference in the interests of reasonableness is allowed; sūra ii 241 going decidedly beyond the old Arab usage, makes provision for the widow by a wasīya a duty These three passages date from about the same time, the year 2 A.H Sūra v 105 *sqq*, apparently later, prescribes for the wasīya, which it presumes to be usual, two witnesses, the method of swearing them and the manner of challenging their evidence

3. The later thorough regulation of the law of inheritance was doubtless intended to replace the earlier rules for the wasīya [cf MĪRĀTH], a tradition which expressly states this was very early interpreted to mean that a legacy in favour of an heir-at-law is inadmissible at all; the former verses were therefore considered abrogated by the latter Along with this prohibition the restriction of the legacies to one third of the estate is prominent in the traditions. Neither of these rules is traced to Muḥammad, it is true, but they obtained recognition so early and so generally that only the slightest traces of divergent views are to be found in tradition (e g. al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā*, Bāb 8, 14, 26; *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, viii., N⁰. 5409). The question was more disputed, following sūra vi 12—15, whether the legacies should be handed over before the payment of the debts or vice versa; the second alternative predominated and quite early Further traditions reveal two opposite views on the making of a waṣīya: on the one hand it is urgently recommended and on the other one is advised against it; in any case, an unjust waṣīya is regarded as a grevious sin and a just one on the contrary as a good deed. To insert pious advice in the wasīya (cf. section 1) is regarded as commendable. — Stress is laid upon the statement that the Prophet died without making a waṣīya — against the Shīʿa view (cf. Lammens, *Fāṭima*, p 110 *sqq*).

4 According to the teaching of the Fiḳh, every Muslim may make arrangements by will that *a.* one or more individuals shall settle the business of the estate as *waṣī*; this *waṣī* represents the estate, actively and passively, may not however burden it with an *iḳrār* and enjoys the privileged position of the *amīn*, that *b.* he or another *waṣī* as *walī al-māl* is to administer the property of his infant children (or grandchildren); for this office the mother usually comes first, although according to the Shāfiʿīs, she has no legal claim to it; the *waṣī* as administrator of the estate is empowered to transact all business of his ward but may only pledge or dispose of his land or houses in a case of obvious advantage or absolute necessity, and when the latter reaches his majority he must render an account; in both cases *a* and *b* the persons named are urgently recommended to accept the appointment as *waṣī* (the so-called *īṣā*ʾ) and if possible to do the work of the office without payment, in case of necessity the *ḥākim*, the public authority, represented by the *ḳādī*, sees to the appointment of a *waṣī*, who in this case is usually called *ḳayyim*, the *ḳādī* is also empowered to supervise the *waṣī* and if necessary to dismiss him, that *c* legacies which in all must not amount to more than a third of the estate after payment of debts [cf. MĪRĀTH, 6ᵃ] are to be paid, if it turns out that they amount to more than a third of the estate they are cut down *pro rata* unless the heirs *ab intestato*, to whom the remaining two thirds go, confirm the provision of the deceased after his death Under the same limitation come all gratuitous business transactions which he has undertaken in a condition of severe illness (*marad al-mawt*) or, according to the Shāfiʿīs and Mālikīs, also under any other serious threat to his life, if his death results from it, a legacy in favour of a person who is also an heir of the testator to be valid needs the approval of the other heirs, it is further demanded that the person who draws up the will should be capable of doing business (with the exception of the spendthrift under age) and act under no pressure, that the legatee at the time of making the will is in a position to accept the bequest (except an unborn child, which is born within the next six months) and survives the testator and further that a transfer of property in the subject of the legacy is possible (but it need not yet be in existence at the death of the testator, for example the produce of a piece of land); the wasīya can be used not only for individuals and groups of individuals but also for public purposes or even assume the form of a foundation (*waḳf*) but in this case its purpose must be one allowed by law; a definite form is not prescribed for drawing up a will but the Muḥammadan law of evidence requires two witnesses even in the case of a written waṣīya; lastly for validity acceptance

by the legatee after the death of the testator is necessary; the testator on the other hand retains while alive the power to alter the waṣīya.

5. The limitation of gratuitous disposal of property in case of mortal illness to a third of the estate is the answer of the fiḳh to attempts to obtain real liberty of bequest by evasions, other plans however, which are still in use at the present day, could not so easily be prohibited Among these is the irrevocable acknowledgment (*iḳrār*) which may refer to all kinds of obligations, admits no counterproof and in case of a mortal illness as well as, at least according to the Shāfiʿīs, in favour of an heir, may be completely rejected, only in case of obvious impossibility is it invalid The next two evasions are only effective before being overtaken by mortal illness. They are the so-called *hiba bi 'l-ʿiwad*, i.e a gift, in return for which another, even if insignificant, gift is stipulated or given, which cannot be regarded in law as the purchase price (this gift is complete and irrevocable even if the giver does not own it up to his death), and the endowment (*waḳf*) the yield of which the founder can allot quite freely to any one legally qualified and (but this is only according to the Ḥanafīs) earmark during his own lifetime for his own support or the payment of his debts A simple gift (*hiba*) from one man to another may also be used to circumvent the restriction to a third and sometimes the waṣīya is actually put in the form of a *hiba*, for which as far as possible the approval of the nearest blood relation is obtained (both usual in the Dutch East Indies) Further possibilities of evasion by fictitious transactions are given in the *ḥiyal*-literature. In many Muslim countries however, in contrast to these endeavours there is a decided objection to the waṣīya, e g in Somaliland

Bibliography Section 1 Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p 191, Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, p. 200 — Section 3 Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v. Will, Peltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du „Ṣaḥîḥ" d'el-Bokhâri*, Algiers 1909. — Section 4, in addition to the Arabic works, especially Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 198, 225 *sqq* ; do, *Handleiding*[3], p 229, 260 *sqq*., Vesey-Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan Law*, chap. xiii., xix, xx, xxi, xxv E, xxvi E a, M Abdel Gawad, *L'Exécution testamentaire en Droit Musulman* (Paris 1926; thereon Snouck Hurgronje, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1932, p 6) — On the teaching of the Shāfiʿīs M Mossadegh, *Le Testament en Droit Musulman, Secte Chyite*, Paris 1914; on the teaching of the Ibāḍīs. Milliot, in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1930, p 188 *sqq*.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WAṢṢĀF, a Persian historian, properly Waṣṣāf al-Ḥadrat "panegyrist of the court", the name by which Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b Faḍl Allāh of Shīrāz is known Employed as a tax-collector under the Mongols, he became the protégé of the minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn, who presented him to Ūldjāītū (712 = 1312), when the Ilkhān was in Sulṭānīya His history *Taʾrīḵh-i Waṣṣāf* is the continuation of the *Taʾrīḵh-i Djahān-gushā* of ʿAṭā Malik Djuwainī, it is called *Taḥriyat al-Amṣār wa-Tazdjiyat al-Aʿṣār* "division of the towns and propulsion of the centuries" and covers the period 1257—1328. Although it contains an authentic account of contemporary events, its value is diminished by the lack of method and the artificial and bombastic style, imitated by his successors J von Hammer edited the first volume with a German translation (Vienna 1856). The whole text has been lithographed in Bombay in 1269 (1853).

Bibliography *Taʾrīḵh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay 1269, p. 544 *sqq* ; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus*, p. 162, Riḍā Ḳulı Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fusahā*[2], 1 655; Hammer, *Geschichte d. schon. Redekunste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, p. 243; Edw. G Browne, *Hist of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 67.

(CL HUART)

WATAD or **WATID**, "a peg", means in prosody 1. a group of two vocalised consonants followed by a quiescent consonant (*watad madjmūʿ*), 2. a group of two vocalised consonants, separated by a quiescent consonant (*watad mafrūḳ*) Each foot ought of necessity to have a *watad* followed or preceded by one or two *sabab* [q. v.]

Bibliography See the article ʿARŪḌ.

(MOH BEN CHENER)

AL-WĀTHIḲ BI 'LLĀH ABŪ DJAʿFAR HĀRŪN B. AL-MUʿTASIM, ʿAbbāsid Caliph He was given the name Hārūn after his grandfather Hārūn al-Rashīd; his mother was a Greek slave. On the day that his father al-Muʿtaṣim bi 'llāh [q v] died (18th Rabīʿ I 227 = Jan 5, 842), al-Wāthiḳ was proclaimed as his successor Before al-Muʿtasim's death an alleged descendant of the Umaiyads, named Abū Harb, usually called al-Mubaiḳaʿ "the veiled" from the veil which he always wore, had provoked a dangerous rising in Palestine, and Radjāʾ b Aiyūb al-Hadārī whom al-Muʿtasim sent against him could at first make no progress Soon after the accession of al-Wāthiḳ, Damascus also became the scene of a great rising; the rebels shut the governor up in the citadel and encamped on the plain of Mardj Rāhit not far east of the town, but they were very soon routed by Radjāʾ who had been recalled to meet the danger from Palestine He next turned his attention to al-Mubaiḳaʿ. After a section of the latter's followers had left him because the season for sowing the fields was approaching Radjāʾ succeeded in defeating and capturing him. The Beduins around al-Medīna also gave the Caliph trouble When the Banū Sulaim plundered the market places of the Ḥidjāz the governor of al-Medīna sent a large army under Hammād b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī against them, but he was defeated and slain so that al-Wāthiḳ had to turn to the tried general Bogha al-Kabīr [q v]. In Shaʿbān 230 (April—May 845) Bogha entered al-Medīna and after defeating the Banū Sulaim and taking the prisoners to al-Medīna he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then turned his attention to the Banū Hilāl, who had also taken part in the rising The most guilty were imprisoned in al-Medīna and the others pardoned. Bogha then turned against the Banū Murra and the Banū Fazāra, who had seized the town of Fadak, but as soon as he appeared they abandoned the town and took to flight (231 = 845—846). In the meanwhile the prisoners escaped from al-Medīna and killed their warders but were cut down by the citizens of the town with the help of the many negro slaves in al-Medīna In the following year, Bogha had also to fight against the Banū Numair in al-Yamāma and only subdued them after much

difficulty. There were also troubles among the Khāridjīs and the Kurds. Al-Wāthiḳ died on the 23rd Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232 (Aug. 10, 847) at the age of 32, or according to others 34 or 36. He had not the gifts of a great ruler and his brief reign was not distinguished by remarkable events. The Caliph's character also was not such as to make him beloved. It is true that he was liberal to the poor in Mecca and al-Medīna and he also treated the ʿAlids with great benevolence and took a considerable interest in poetry and singing; for the rest he is described as covetous, intolerant and devoted to sensual pleasures. He extorted huge sums of money from the high officials and as an ardent Muʿtazilī he persecuted the orthodox theologians. In the circumstances, it is not remarkable that the generally respected Aḥmad b Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī prepared a plot to dethrone the Caliph and put a check to the arrogance of his Turkish officers By an accident the signal was given too soon (Shaʿbān 231 = April 846), the authorities were therefore able to discover the conspirators without difficulty and Ahmad b. Naṣr was executed

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(K V. ZETTERSTEEN)

WAṬṬĀSIDS (BANŪ WAṬṬĀS), a Moroccan dynasty of the xvth and xvith centuries The Banū Wattās were a collateral line of the great family of the Banū Marīn, to which also belonged the Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, founders of the dynasty generally known as the Marīnid dynasty [q v] After leading a nomadic life on the edge of the Sahara and the high plateaus of the Central Maghrib the Banū Wattās settled in the xiiith century in eastern Morocco and soon established themselves in the Rīf, of which they were became practically independent rulers, when their relatives the Banū Marīn had replaced the last Almohad rulers in northern Morocco. Henceforth their history is at first linked with that of the Marīnids and afterwards closely connected with the Christian attempts to conquer territory in Morocco and with the events which led to the accession of the Saʿdian princes to power in the middle of the xvith century.

During the whole of the Marīnid dynasty, the Banū Waṭṭās, on account of the bonds of relationship which connected them with the ruling family, had been overwhelmed by the latter with honours, dignities and offices which they held either at the court of Fās or in the principal towns of the country. In 823 (1420) Sultān Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān was assassinated and Morocco was left in complete anarchy and exhausted by civil war. Spain had now been almost entirely reconquered by the Christians; the Portuguese had seized Ceuta, several pretenders supported by Tlemcen or Granada, were endeavouring to restore for their own advantage the unity of the kingdom of Fās. It was then that one of the outstanding members of the family of the Banū Waṭṭās, Abū Zakarīyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Zaiyān, who was governor of the town of Salé, took control of the destinies of the country. He proclaimed and succeeded in getting recognised a son, still a minor, of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, and ruled the country in his name as vizier This regency was continued far beyond the minority of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ. When Abū Zakarīyāʾ (called in his land Abū Zekrī) died in 1448, he was at first replaced as mayor of the palace by his cousin ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, then by his son Yahyā

Events at first favoured the Banū Wattās. The repeated landings of the Portuguese on the Moroccan coasts soon produced throughout the country a revival of religious sentiment which found expression in summons to a *djihād* and in arousing the fanaticism of the masses by marabouts and descendants of the Prophet The Waṭṭāsid regents at first turned to their own advantage this feeling among the people by taking the lead in the holy war and organising the struggle against the Portuguese While Abū Zakarīyāʾ succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the latter in 1437 and taking the Infanta Ferdinand prisoner, Alī b. Yūsuf was less successful and could not prevent the fall of al-Ḳasr al-Saghīr In Fās, the Idrīsid shorfāʾ [q v] were working for themselves, reviving the cult of Idrīs II [q v], the founder of the town, and their chief ʿAlī b Muhammad al-Djūtī saw his power growing daily. At the same time the regency of the Banū Waṭṭas had come to an end, two months after he had assumed power in 1458, Yahyā, the third Wattāsid vizier, was assassinated along with most of his family The Marīnid Sultān ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ then tried to govern directly but he very soon alienated the people of the capital by his mistakes, such as appointing the Jew Hārūn as vizier. In 869 (1465), he was assassinated and with him the Marīnid dynasty ended

But two brothers of the vizier Yaḥyā had been able to escape the massacre of their family in 1458. One of them, Muhammad al-Shaikh, had taken refuge in Arzila (Aṣīlā) and had been able to create an increasingly important party in the highlands of northern Morocco On the death of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, he made up his mind to take Fās, now under Idrīsids government, and after a six years' struggle, he entered the ancient capital of the Marīnids and was proclaimed sultān there in 1472. He reigned until 1504 but had to face many difficulties The capture of Granada by the Catholic kings in 1492, the foundation of Mazagan [q v.] and of Safi [q v] by the Portuguese had only exasperated still further the religious movement in Morocco and encouraged on all sides the rising of pretenders who used the *djihād* for their own private ambitions

On his death, Muhammad al-Shaikh was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, called al-Burtuḳālī (the Portuguese), who managed to hold the throne of Fās till 1524. But events were moving rapidly; the Saʿdian shorfāʾ, after consolidating their authority in the extreme south of Morocco, advanced rapidly northwards and in 1523 seized Marrākush. The struggle between Waṭṭāsids and Saʿdians was only to end in the final triumph of the latter The successors of Muḥammad al-Burtuḳālī, his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (1526 and 1547–1549) and his grandson Muḥammad al-Ḳasrī (1545–1547), vainly endeavoured to check the vigorous progress of the Saʿdian

prince Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Mahdī. When the latter in 1550 had finally occupied Fās, the issue was decided. A second Waṭṭāsid pretender, ʿAlī Abū Ḥassūn (Bā Hassūn), brother of Muḥammad al Burtuḳālī, made another effort to save and restore his dynasty: he went to seek help in the rest of Barbary and in Europe, visited Charles V in Germany, seemed to have interested the Portuguese for a time in his fortunes, and finally persuaded the Turks, who had just arrived in north Africa and extended their rule to Tlemsen, to make an expedition against Fās. This city fell to them in 1554 but Muhammad al-Mahdī regained it a few months later. The last Waṭṭāsids now left Morocco without hope of return Some, it is interesting to note, were converted to Christianity and became monks.

The period of the Waṭṭāsids in Morocco was one of transition between the Berber and the Shaiʿifian dynasties, between the mediaeval and the modern periods in the history of the country In spite of the political turmoil, the country had occasional brief periods of prosperity Fās continued to flourish under the Banū Wattās, as it had done in the greatest days of the Marīnids, and it was at this time that it was visited by Leo Africanus, who has left us a valuable and accurate description of it

A genealogical table of the Banū Waṭṭās with full notes is given in H de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, first series, Spain, vol I, Paris 1921, pl IV. (p 162 and 163)

Bibliography The main facts regarding the dynasty of the Waṭṭāsids are scattered through the treatises on Moroccan hagiography and biography of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries The only consecutive sketch of their history is that given at the end of the XIXth century by the historian Ahmad b Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [cf. AL-SLAWĪ], in his *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā'*, I. 159 *sqq* — The European sources are Marmol and Diégo de Torrès Cf also the official documents published or in course of publication in H de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* A monograph was written on the Wattāsids by A Cour, *La dynastie marocaine des Beni Wattas*, Constantine 1920 (cf. on this book and its subject *Revue Africaine*, 1921, p. 185—189, *Hespéris*, I., 1921, p 492—497).

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

WAṬWĀṬ, RASHĪD AL-DĪN, a Persian poet, a native of Balkh, whose proper name was Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-ʿUmarī (descendant of the Caliph ʿUmar), he was called Waṭwāt (the swallow or martin) from his diminutive stature and insignificant appearance. He flourished under the Saldjūḳ sultān Sandjar and the Khwārizmshāh Atsiz (d 551 = 1156—1157) and was secretary and court poet to Atsiz. While Sandjar was besieging the latter in the fortress of Hazārasp in Khwārizm (khānate of Khīwa) in 542 (1147) he commissioned the poet Anwarī to write insulting verses which were shot into the town on an arrow, and Waṭwāṭ had to reply to them Taken prisoner, he was condemned to be cut into seven pieces but was saved by the intervention of Muntakhab al-Dīn Badīʿ al-Kātib, ancestor of the author of the *Djahāngushā*, who remarked that the swallow (*waṭwāṭ*) is too small a bird to be cut into seven pieces and that they should be content to cut him in two, which caused Sandjar to laugh and pardon the poet In 547 (1152—1153) he incurred the wrath of Atsiz and was banished from the court of Khwārizm but was restored to favour on addressing a poem to him. He died in this town in 578 (1182—1183) aged 97 lunar years, it is said. In addition to poems, he left works in prose. the *Maṭlūb Kull Ṭālib*, a translation and paraphrase in Persian of the 100 sayings of ʿAlī, which has been edited and translated into German by H L Fleischer (Leipzig 1837), and the *Ḥadā'iḳ al-Siḥr* "gardens of magic", a treatise on rhetoric based on the *Tardjumān-i Balāghat*, "the interpreter of eloquence" of Farrukhī, used by E G. Browne in the introduction to vol II. of his *Literary History of Persia* (London 1906) His *Dīwān* contains 7,000 verses

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WĀW, 27th or 26th (when it precedes *hā'*, this is the sequence in some dictionaries), letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 6. For its palaeographical pedigree, see ABABIA, plate I. — It belongs to the group of the labials (*al-ḥurūf al-shafawīya*) as well as to that of the soft letters (*hurūf al-līn*) It is pronounced like English *w* In the north-Semitic languages and sometimes in Ethiopic, its place at the beginning of words is taken by *y*. In a few cases it corresponds with *m* (cf. *urdjuwān* "purple" with Aramaic ארגון and Hebrew ארגמן)

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WAZĪR, vizier, title of ministers of state and of the highest dignitaries, especially in the Ottoman empire The word and the idea come from Īrān. In the *Avesta vicira* means "decider, judge", in Pehlevi *v(i)čir* "judge, decision". The Arabs undoubtedly took over the term in the Sāsānian period and it was only in later times that modern Persian took back *wazīr* from the Arabic as if it were really Arabic Under the Umayyads the usual name of the secretary of state was *kātib*, it was later replaced by wazīr (cf. Et Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, II /2, Paris 1845, p. 317 *sqq*., W. Bjorkman, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, p 6, on the origin of the name cf. also Th. Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 53, note 1 and p 444, note 3, where for the abstract significance we may compare *sulṭān*). The first wazīr was Abū Salama Hafṣ b. Sulaimān al-Khallāl, appointed by al-Saffāḥ who was in office from Rabīʿ I 132 (Nov 749) but was killed on 5th Radjab (Febr 27, 750) (cf. E. v Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 6 and Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafāyāt al-Aʿyān*,

transl by W. MacGuckin de Slane, i 467). Under the caliphs the vizier managed the chancellery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*), later, as business increased, jointly with the head of the *dīwān*. It meant a considerable increase in the power of the vizier when the caliph al-Rashīd gave Dja'far b Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (d. 187 = 103) the right to decide petitions (*tawḳī' 'ala 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*, cf. W Bjorkman, *op. cit.*, p. 6 *sq.*) A full list of the viziers under the caliphs is given by E. v. Zambaur in his *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover 1927, p 6—9. The last was 'Alā' al-Dīn Djuwainī in 661 (1263) The successors of the viziers were the governors of Baghdād. The signet-ring was the visible badge of the vizier's office (cf. Ibn Badr, ed R Dozy, p 244). A history of the vizierate under the caliphs with its varying importance and scope has not yet been written. A list of the more important sources is given in the *Bibl* A history of the vizierate in Persia and under the Saldjūks, cannot be given here, although the importance of the vizierate was greater than elsewhere, as may be seen from the distinguished names among the Persian and Saldjūḳ viziers

Under the Ottomans the first vizier is said to have been 'Alā' al-Dīn, brother of the second sultān Urkhān The historians give 726(1326) or 728(1328) as the date of the inauguration of this office, with what justice we do not know Among the Saldjūks the office was called *perwāne*, lit "command, advice", which is also used in old Ottoman. The power of the earliest Ottoman wazīrs was considerably restricted. In 788 (1386) Timurtash Pasha appears as the holder of the highest office in the kingdom. He bore three horsetails as a distinguishing badge. He is regarded as the first grand vizier of the Ottomans (*ulu wazīr*) and henceforth every Pasha of three tails bore the title vizier (cf J v Hammer, *G. O R.*, i 199) The number of the viziers was constantly changing. In the reign of Meḥemmed II the number was not allowed to exceed seven but could be less. Down to the conquest of Constantinople there was only one vizier. The viziers with the grand vizier (*ulu wazīr* in xvith century documents and later in popular usage, *sadr-i a'ẓam* in official language) were called *ḳubbe wezīrleri* "viziers of the dome" because they sat with the grand vizier, whose name they shared but not his power, under the same dome in the Diwān (so J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 80 *sq*) They were called in order of rank, second, third, fourth etc. vizier

As a rule, vizier in later times was simply a title of the other high officials like the *nishandji*, the *defterdār*, the Ḳapudan Pasha, sometimes even of the Agha of the Janissaries. The grand vizier was usually chosen from their number. When they appeared together before the sultān, only the grand vizier could speak about official business. The other viziers stood silent beside him with hands crossed.

In war time the viziers of the dome commanded armies and were then called *serdar* or *ser 'asker* and had extensive powers, such as filling empty offices and fiefs. They had even the right to issue *firmāns* from their camps in the name of the sovereign and to place the sultān's *tughra* [q. v.] upon them. Their income did not exceed 200 aspers. In the reign of Aḥmad III the institution of viziers of the dome was abolished on account of the great confusion which they caused and only the Ḳapudan Pasha [q. v.] retained the title of vizier (cf. on the preceding J. v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, etc., ii 81) Afterwards it was given to the four chief pashas of the empire, the governors of Rumelia, Anatolia, Baghdād and Egypt, but then gradually extended to all the governors of the Ottoman empire as soon as they were promoted from the rank of a pasha of two tails to that of pasha of three tails. On extraordinary occasions such as the marriage of a sultān's daughter, according to J v Hammer, *op. cit*, p 82, viziers used to be appointed in name only without any official power. With the abolition of the viziers of the dome the power of the grand vizier increased immensely and only began to lose its prestige with the introduction of reforms in the reign of Selīm III. The external symbol of omnipotence among the Ottomans also was the sovereign's seal, which the grand vizier kept and handed on to his successor on his dismissal On the honours which used to be enjoyed by the grand vizier as well as the insignia of his rank, cf J. v Hammer, *op cit*, ii 83 *sq.*; on the different names, *ibid*, p 84. — The history of the grand viziers of the Ottoman empire has been sketched by a number of authors. Cf the list and biographies of the grand viziers in F Babinger, *G.O W*, p 165, 254 *sq*, 259, 267, 292, 306, 314, 315, 364, 365, 366, 368. Lutfī Pasha (d. 1564) who had himself been a grand vizier, wrote a special work (*Āsafnāme*) on the duties of the office of grand vizier, on it cf. F Babinger, *G.O W*, p 80 *sq*. With the dissolution of the Ottoman empire after the Great War, the office of grand vizier naturally disappeared.

Bibliography· On the history of the word. Geiger-Kuhn, *Gr I. Ph.*, i. 2, 48, 91, 181; on Arab ideas, cf the Ḳur'ān commentaries on Sūra xx 30 and xxv 37, Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, *passim*, esp p 25; Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Ahkām al-sulṭānīya*, ed M Engel, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p 81, Ibn Abdus, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed H v. Mžik, Sābī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed Amedroz, Māwardī, *Kitāb Adab al-Wazīr*, Cairo 1929; Ibn al-Sairafī, *al-Ishāra ilā man nāla 'l-Wizāra* (Fāṭimid period); 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Athar al-Shī'a al-imāmīya* (= biographies of Shī'ī viziers under the Saldjūks, Ṣafawids etc); Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, ed Ravaisse, Paris 1884, p 93; H Bowen, *The good Vizier Alī Ibn Isa*, Cambridge 1928; Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii 58; S de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, ii 57, note 31 (important)

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-WAZĪR AL-MAGHRIBĪ. [See AL-MAGHRIBĪ]

WEDJĪHĪ, Ḥusain, an Ottoman poet and historian. Ḥusain whose *makhlaṣ* was Wedjīhī, came from Baghče Serāy in the Crimea at an early age to Stambul where he became seal-bearer (*muhurdār*) to the later grand vizier, then Ḳapudan Pāshā, Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha. He died in 1071 (beg. Sept. 6, 1660) in Stambul and was buried before the Adrianople gate. Wedjīhī left a history and a *Dīwān* which has not yet been printed. The former begins in the year 1047 (beg. May 20, 1637) with the description of the conquest of Baghdād under Murād IV, then describes the reign of Ibrāhīm I fully, as well as the first twelve years of the reign of Muḥammad IV. It ends with the year 1070 (beg. Sept. 18, 1656). The concluding portion for the year 1070 is especially

valuable because there is a gap here between the works of the imperial historians Naʿīmā and Rashīd. There are manuscripts of the still inedited chronicle of Wedjīhī in Leyden, Vienna and Stambul, and an Italian translation in the Library of St. Mark in Venice entitled *Relatione delli successi nell' imperio ottomanno, principiando dall' anno di Mahometto 1047 sino li 1071, e di Christo Nostro Signore 1638 sino li 1660, composta in lingua turca da Hassan* (!) *Vezhi e tradotta nell' idioma italiano da Giacomo Tarsia, Dragomanno veneto, in Pera di Constantinopoli, li 20 octobre 1675.* Extracts from this Italian translation were published by N Jorga, in *Annales de l'Académie Roumaine*, xxi. 55 *sqq*

Ḥusain Wedjīhī is sometimes wrongly called Ḥasan Wedjīhī

Bibliography. F. Babinger, *G O W.*, p 208 and the references there given.

(Franz Babinger)

WEGA (Vega) (al-Nasr al-wāḳiʿ). The Arabic name *al-Nasr al-wāḳiʿ* "the falling eagle" — in Latin always reproduced as *Vultur cadens*, in Greek γὺψ καθειμένος, although *nasr* is undoubtedly the eagle not the vulture — is the name first of the brightest star (first magnitude) *α* in the constellation of the Lyre and secondly of the whole constellation of the Lyre itself. The name Vega, a corruption of *wāḳiʿ*, is found in this form as early as the Alfonsine Tables e g "Lucida super *pupillam deferentem* et est *Alohore* et dicitur *Wega*" The expression *pupilla deferens* which here occurs for the first time in the Latin translations from the Arabic is to be explained, as Ideler (*Sternnamen*, p 71) has shown, by a confusion of the word *nasr* with the similarly sounding *nāẓir* "eye, pupil", *deferre* is, especially in mediaeval Latin, frequently used synonymously with *cadere* The *Alohore* of the Alfonsine Tables is the Arabic *al-Lūrā* which again is identical with the classical Greek λύρα, which was applied to Vega and also to the whole constellation.

The Arabic name *al-Salyāḳ* or *al-Shalyāḳ* [q v] also applied to both star and constellation, to which al-Ḳazwīnī gives first place, is presumably (cf Hyde, *Com in Ul. B.* 1665, p 18 and Ideler, *op cit*) an Arabic corruption of the Greek χέλυς (οι χέλωνον) "tortoise", which we find for example in Aratus as a synonym of λύρα. (The equation of λύρα and χέλυς is based on the legend of Mercury according to which the god made the first lyre from the shell of a tortoise; cf *Hymnus Hom in Mercurium*). *Sulaḥfāt* (in al-Ṣūfī, Ulugh Beg etc.) is the Arabic name of the tortoise (from Pers. *sūlāḳ* > *sūrāḳḳ* = *pāy*, *pā*), it is therefore equivalent to *al-Salyāḳ*.

For the whole constellation, more rarely for Vega alone, we find in Arabic literature also the names *al-Iwazz* ("crane, goose"), *al-Miʿzafa* ("cymbal") and *al-Ṣanj* ("stringed instrument"); the latter word represents the arabicised form of the Persian name of the constellation *Čang-i rūmī* ("Greek harp") and appears in the Latin translation of ʿAlī b. Riḍwān as *Assange* and also from a wrong reading (cf. Ideler, *op. cit.*) as *Armig*

In the Arab conception of the constellations *al-Nasr al-wāḳiʿ* is a companion piece to the "flying eagle" (*al-nasr al-ṭāʾir*) as an eagle falling down from north to south with wings folded, the two wings being represented by the stars ε, ζ Lyrae which together, according to al-Ṣūfī, are popularly called *al-Athāfī*, "the Tripod".

Pictorial representations of a later date frequently show the figure of the falling eagle, sometimes that of an eagle hovering in the lyre. (Gundel points out [Pauly-Wissowa, Stuttgart 1927, vol xiii., article *Lyra*] that possibly Abū Maʿshar had already thought of this combination when he [Arabic text, published by Dyroff in Boll, *Sphaera*, p 527] mentions the lyre as paranatellon to the third decan of Sagittarius and gives the explanatory note. "i e the Tortoise, and it is also called 'the falling eagle'." This assumption however, is not certain for in the text the two pictures are mentioned successively and not as a combination).

The oldest Arab representation of the heavens of the Muslim period, the fresco in the dome of Ḳusair ʿAmra (cf. Saxl-Beer, *The Zodiac of Quṣayr ʿAmra*, Oxford 1932, and art. Minṭaḳa), shows the constellation as a Lyre; the fine manuscript of *King Alfonso X's Book of Stars* and the Arabic globe of the heavens of the xiᵗʰ century in Florence shows it as a tortoise, as do several other Latin MSS of astrological works (cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, p 432)

Vega was quite well known to the ancients; among the Babylonians the star (*bēlit balāṭi*) is identified as "mistress of life" with the goddess Gula (cf. Jeremias, *Geisteskultur*, p. 225); in Chinese it is often mentioned as *chih-nu* (the "woman weaving"). It is one of the brightest stars in the northern heavens and therefore forms an extremely favourable object of observation for the astronomer Among the Arabs it plays an important part as an astrolabe star (cf. al-Ṣūfī. *al-Kawākib wa 'l-Ṣuwar*), in astrology however, it is of minor importance in view of its great distance from the ecliptic and is only rarely taken into account in horoscopes

Bibliography ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes*, ed. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʿIbād* ("Kosmographie"), ed Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1849, do., transl by H Ethé, Leipzig 1868; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen uber den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809, Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903 — On the etymology of Sulahfāt A Siddiqi, *Studien uber die persischen Fremdworter im klassischen Arabisch*, Gottingen 1919 (Willy Hartner)

WILĀYA (a), a *maṣdar* from *waliya* "to have power over something", according to others a substantive like *ṣināʿa*, a general term for any "conferment of power", authorisation. Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, p 275, defines it as the "carrying through of a decision affecting a third person whether the latter wishes or not"

I In constitutional law it means the sovereign power (= sulṭān; Ibn al-Sikkīt [d. 243 = 857], in *Lisān*, s. v) or the power delegated by the sovereign, the office of a governor, a *wālī*. The *wilāya* is derived from Sūra iv. 62. "O ye who believe, obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority amongst you". It is regarded as granted by God and is a *farḍ ʿala 'l-kifāya*. A distinction is made between a general and a special *wilāya*. The *imām* [q. v] or *khalīfa* [q. v] possesses the general power. According to Māwardī, the vizier and governors of provinces have the general *wilāya*, the latter for their provinces. On the other hand

military commanders, judges, imāms (i. e. the leaders of the *ṣalāt*), the leaders of the *ḥadjdj*, financial officials etc have a special *wilāya* The possessors of a *wilāya* must be males of full age (*bāligh*), be in full possession of their mental faculties, have no physical defects, must be *ʿadl* and be fitted by education and knowledge for the office in question, there are also still further conditions for particular offices (e g the *ḳāḍī* must be a free man)

Wilāya then comes to mean the appointment and certificate of appointment of an official. The different kinds are dealt with very fully by Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Maḳāla 5. (cf the statement of contents in Bjorkman, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei*, Hamburg 1928, p 144 *sq*). In this connection we may note the designating of his successor by the reigning caliph, called *wilāyat al-ʿahd*, which was first done by the caliph Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and became the rule in the ʿAbbāsid period, every heir apparent is still therefore called *walī al-ʿahd*

Wilāya has in time come to be applied to the area of a *wālī*'s authority thus in the Mamlūk period in Egypt and Syria it meant the smallest administrative area, at the head of which was a wālī of the rank of an *amīr al-ṭablḵhāna* (Kalkashandī, *Ṣubh*, iv, p 199 *sqq*) In Persia it means the larger administrative areas into which provinces are divided, in Turkey, however, since the xvith century, the name has been given to the largest administrative units (also called *eyālet*) under Beglerbegs, later *wālīs* (Turkish pronunciation *vilāyet*)

II In personal law every freeman possesses *wilāya* (usually pronounced *walāya*, cf *Lisān*, s v), the power of disposing of himself (cf. e. g. Sarakhsī, *Mabsūt*, xxiv 157, 18 *sq*) In certain cases this power can and must be transferred to another But even then the Islāmic jurists speak simply of a *walāya* We have this *walāya* in the case of the administrator of waḳf properties, the executor of a will, a father with respect to his infant children and particularly in the case of *walāyat al-nikāh* [see NIKĀH] and *walāyat al-māl*, guardianship, We shall deal only with the latter here

a Muhammad, himself an orphan, was always interested in the protection of orphans, e g in the later Meccan period in Sūra xvii. 36 = vi. 153 "Touch not the property of the orphan, except for his good, until he is grown up". In the Medīna period we are told that one should deal fairly with orphans (iv 126), be good to them (iv 40; ii 77, 211) and treat them as brothers (ii 218—219) and support them for the love of God (ii 172) Muḥammad set aside the fifth of the booty for orphans among other objects (viii 42; cf. lix 7) The principal passage however is Sūra, iv. 2 *sqq* : "And give to the orphans their property, substitute not worthless things for that which is good, and devour not their property after adding it to your own, for this is a great crime .... (4) And entrust not to the incapable (i. e. in money matters, *sufahāʾ*) your substance which God has placed with you for a support; but maintain them therewith, and clothe them, and speak to them with kindly speech; (5) and make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment (*rushd*) then hand over their substance to them; but consume ye it not wastefully or hastily (6) (out of fear that) they are growing up. And let the rich guardian abstain [from it]; and let him who is poor use it for his support (eat of it) with discretion. (7) And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses against them .. (11) Behold, they who swallow the substance of the orphans wrongfully, shall swallow down only fire into their bellies, and shall burn in the flame".

The pertinent traditions only contain certain developments of the Ḳurʾānic idea (cf Wensinck, *Handbook*, s v Walī and Orphans).

b. The main doctrines of the Fiḳh.

1. The ward (*mahdjūr*, i e. the "bound") is either an orphan minor or a mentally deficient person (*madjnūn*) or a spendthrift (*safīh* or *mubadhdhir*). The *safīh* was only added about the end of the first or beginning of the second century A. H The Kurʾān (cf above) speaks, it is true, of the *safīh* but not yet in the later technical sense, the oldest expositors of the Kurʾān (Mudjāhid [d 100 = 718), al-Hakam [d 115 = 733], Katāda [d 117 = 736], al-Suddī [d 127 = 744]) only understand thereby women and children or one of these two Tabarī still criticises this interpretation at considerable length and defines the *safīh* as "one who on account of the dissipation of his fortune, his immorality, his injury to and mismanagement of his fortune requires control (*ḥadjr*)" (*Tafsīr*, iv 153) Abū Hanīfa still refused to put the *safīh* under a guardian

2 The guardian to be appointed should by law be the paternal father or grandfather, who is also entitled to appoint a guardian by will, the so-called *waṣī* (who may also be the mother) In other cases the guardian (*ḳayyim*) is appointed by the ḳādī. The guardian must be a Muslim, who has attained years of discretion and is in full possession of his mental faculties, of good repute (*ʿadl*) and able to undertake the office Guardianship is a religious duty and can only be declined for important reasons approved by the ḳādī

3 The obligations imposed on a guardian. He has to administer the estate of his ward and act here as *wakīl* Among his powers are that of arranging marriage or divorce and making of a will etc. He has to champion the interests of his ward, he may invest his ward's estate in business enterprises but not in his own business He can only dispose of lands or houses with the approval of the ḳādī He cannot have any business dealing between himself and his ward and cannot give anything away of his ward's property.

4 The guardianship is ended by the death of the guardian or of the ward, by deposition of the guardian for faithless conduct or when the ward attains years of discretion (*bāligh*, as a rule at 14) or becomes *rashīd*, i. e capable of administering his estate himself (and according to the Shāfiʿī view also possesses the ability to recognise the true faith). The guardian has then to give his ward an account of his stewardship.

Bibliography. On I. Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīya*, ed Enger, Bonn 1853, transl by E. Fagnan, as *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1915; transl. Ostrorog, 2 vols. (unfinished), Paris 1901, esp introd, p. 74 *sqq* — On II In addition to the *Kitāb al-Ḥadjr* in the Fiḳh works: Th W Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, Leyden 1910, § 44; 3rd (Dutch) ed, Leyden 1925, § 52, D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i. 232 *sqq*.

(HEFFENING)

WIRD (A., pl. AWRĀD). The technical term *wird* (etymologically "to go down to a watering-place"; not to be vocalised *ward*) means the definite time (*waḳt*) of day or night which the pious believer devotes daily to God in private prayer (in addition to the five prescribed prayers). It also means the formula of prayer recited on this occasion, called properly *ḥizb* (plur. *aḥzāb*, cf. Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, i. 81—84 and i 4—22). The simplest *wird* consists of 4 rakʿas, with the recitation of a seventh of the Ḳurʾān, but, very early, in private devotional prayer (*duʿāʾ*, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī, cf. Kulainī, *Kāfī*, at the end — and Khārijī, cf. Djaiṭālī, *Kanāṭir al-Khairāt*, iii. 397—416) there were added litanies, either isolated phrases (*basmala*, *tahlīl*, *takbīr*, *tasbīḥ*, *taṣliya*, *istighfār*, *istiʿādha*) or isolated words (Arabic names of God *Allāh*, *huwa*, and invented or cabalistic names) because they were found to be "efficacious"

When in the xiith century, Islāmic congregations were formed which took up the Shīʿa idea of the initiatory *baiʿa*, they decided to teach the novice on the day of his admittance (*talḳīn* = *aḳhdh al-wird*) a special *wird* (cf for the first appearance of this term L Massignon, *Recueil*, 1929, p. 107, 6) which became the distinctive *dhikr* of each congregation.

In practice the *wird* is divided into two *wird ʿāmm* (*dhikr djahrī*), an exoteric formula often of some length (several hundred *istighfār*, etc several times a day after the *fadjr* and *maghrib* among the ʿAlawīya), and *wird khāṣṣ* (*dhikr sirrī*), "secret" name of God (e. g. *yā Laṭīf*, among the Sanūsīya), which the Shaikh only communicates to the initiate as a great mystery (cf. Hasan Ḳādirī, *Irshād al-Rāghibīn*, p 27—28; publ. at the end of the *Kawl makbūl* of Ibn ʿAlīwa of Mostaganem, Tunis, Nahda, 1339). The term *ḥizb* or *dhikr* is used by preference for the assemblies of the brethren for common recitation (old term *samāʿ*, now *waẓīfa*)

Since the xivth century special collections have been put together, in the style of the *muḥaddithūn*, containing the *wird* of the principal Sunnī *ṭarīḳa*'s with the *isnād* of the transmission of the initiation The oldest, the *Risāla* of the *ḥāfiẓ kubrawī* Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Futūḥ Ṭāwūsī of Abarḳuh, compiled shortly after 822 (1419) (cf Ḳushāshī, *Simṭ*, p 75, 109 and Kattānī, *Fihris*, i 337, ii 274—275, 306—311), remodelled and brought up to date successively by the *shaṭṭārī* Ghawth Hindī (d 970 = 1562; in *Djawāhir* and *Daradjāt*), Abu 'l-Mawāhib Shinnāwī (d. at Medina in 1028 = 1619, in *Sharḥ ʿala 'l-Djawāhir*), Aḥmad Ḳushāshī (d. 1070 = 1661; cf. his *Simṭ maḏīd*, lith Haiderābād 1327) and Ḥasan ʿUdjaimī (*Risāla*, cf. ʿAiyāshī, *Rihla*, lith. Fās n d., ii. 214—222; and Kattānī, *loc. cit*, i. 336—337; ii. 150, 193—195, 396), culminated in the famous manual, still unpublished, of Sanūsī, called *al-Salsabīl al-muʿīn* (cf the article TARIḲA and L. Massignon, *Recueil*, 1921, p. 169—171) where everything is found down to the "*wird* of the Hindu Yogis". These collections of *awrād*, brought from Mecca by pilgrims with *idjāza*, have spread them throughout the Muslim world.

Bibliography: The essential work is ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris*, Fās 1346, 2 vols (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

WITR. In the treatment of ceremonial law in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* this term is applied to the odd number of *rakʿa*'s which are performed at night. For details see below.

I. *a.* Witr (*watr* is also admitted) does not occur in this sense in the Ḳurʾān, but frequently in *ḥadīth*, which in this case also discloses to us a piece of the history of the institution, which is probably a continuation of the history of the fixation of the daily *ṣalāt*'s, as the traditions on witr presuppose the five daily *ṣalāt*'s. Some traditions even go so far as to call witr an additional *ṣalāt* of an obligatory nature (see also below, II). When Muʿādh b. Djabal, at his arrival in Syria, perceived that the people of this country did not perform witr, he spoke to Muʿāwiya on this subject. When the latter asked him. Is then this *ṣalāt* obligatory? Muʿādh answered· Yes, the Apostle of Allāh said: My Lord has added a *ṣalāt* to those prescribed to me, namely witr, its time is between *ʿishāʾ* (cf. MIḲĀT) and daybreak (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, v. 242) In accordance with this tradition it is reported that witr, when it had been forgotten or neglected, had to be recovered (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii 206; Ibn Mādja, *Iḳāma*, b. 122). ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit [q v], on the other hand, denied the obligatory character of witr, on account of a different tradition (Aḥmad b Hanbal, v 315 *sq*, 319).

A second stage in the position of witr is expressed in those traditions in which Muḥammad admonishes his people to perform witr, "for Allāh is witi (viz One), and He loves witr" (e. g. Aḥmad b Hanbal, i 110).

The third stage of *ḥadīth*, which was to become the point of view of all *madhhab*'s with one exception, is represented in those traditions which call this *ṣalāt sunna* Many traditions of this kind expressly deny its obligatory character and are consequently of a polemical nature; they are frequently ascribed to ʿAlī (e. g Ahmad b Hanbal, i. 86, 98, 100, 115, 120, 145, 148 etc) It may be that this question, like other ceremonial points, belonged to the polemical repertory of the early Shīʿīs

b. The time of witr is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in connection with different parts of the night. "Witr consists of pairs of *rakʿa*'s, whosoever fears *ṣubḥ*, has to add a *rakʿa* in order to make the total number odd" (Aḥmad b. Hanbal, ii 5, 9, 10, 75). In other traditions three *rakʿa*'s are mentioned in order to avoid the *ṣubh* (*fa-bādir al-ṣubḥ bi-rakʿatain*, e g Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii 71). The number of thirteen *rakʿa*'s occurs also (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 4), and in general witr is supposed not to be allowed after *ṣalāt al-ṣubh* (cf Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Witr*, trad 24—28, and Tayālisī, N⁰ 2192: "No witr for him who has not performed it before *ṣubḥ*").

Witr is also frequently mentioned in connection with the first part of the night (cf. below, II). Abū Huraira performed it before going to sleep, on Muhammad's order (Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 3). Muḥammad himself is said to have performed this *ṣalāt* in any part of the night (e. g. Tirmidhī, *Witr*, b. 4). The time between *ʿishāʾ* and daybreak appears as the largest space accorded to witr in *ḥadīth* (Aḥmad b Hanbal, v 242). It is prohibited to perform more than one *witr-ṣalāt* in one night (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv. 23 bis).

c. Tradition frequently mentions the *rakʿa*'s, prayers, invocations and formulas by which witr used to be followed (e. g. Nasāʾī, *Ḳiyām al-Lail*, b 51, 54; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, i. 199, 350).

II. The chief regulations of witr as fixed by the different *madhhab*'s show insignificant divergencies only (see Shaʿrānī, p. 198 *sqq.*), with the single exception, that witr is declared obligatory

by the Ḥanafīs, whereas in all the other *madhhab*'s it is *sunna* (cf above, I. *a.*). The rules of the Shāfi'ī school are as follows. the number of *rak'a*'s may vary between the odd numbers from one to eleven; the *nīya* [q. v.] is required; after every two *rak'a*'s and after the last a *salām* or *tashahhud* is performed The best time is immediately after *tahadjdjud* [q. v.] for those who do not perform this *ṣalāt* in the first third of the night. In the second half of Ramaḍān [see TARĀWĪḤ], witr is prolonged by *ḳunūt* [q. v.].

Bibliography. A J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s. v.; al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya wa 'l-Kifāya*, Bombay 1863, i. 152 *sqq* ; *Futawa Alemgiri*, Calcutta 1829, i. 155 *sqq* , al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 123 *sqq*, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll, p. 27, al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Wadjīz*, Cairo 1317, i. 54; do, *Ihyā'*, Cairo 1302, i. 177 *sq.*, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtādj bi-Sharḥ al-Minhādj*, Cairo 1282, i 203—205, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Muhaḳḳiḳ, *Kitāb Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255 (1839), p 25, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-Ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, i 31, al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1219, p 198 *sqq.*, Lane, *Manners and Customs*, index s. v. Taráweeh prayers, C Snouck Hurgronje, *Mr L. W. C v. d. Berg's beoefening v. h moh recht*, p 402 *sq.* (*Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 101 *sq*), Th. W Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis der mohammedaansche wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 75. (A. J. WENSINCK)

WIZĀRA. [See WAZĪR.]

WUḌŪ' (A), the minor ritual ablution which gets rid of the condition of 'minor" ritual impurity (*ḥadath*, q v). Regulations for ritual ablutions based on a belief in demons and on animistic ideas were known to the Arabs as a survival from the older Semites but in Muhammad's time they were no longer carefully observed The regulation in Sūra v. 8, of the late Medīna period, already betrays Jewish influence "Ye, who believe, when you prepare for the *ṣalāt*, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows and rub your heads and your feet up to the ankles". Muslim regulations for purity based on this passage and the next verse v 9 (in part identical with iv 46) developed in all details under the influence of the corresponding regulations of Judaism but on the whole are less exacting than the Jewish system The material for the study of their origins is contained in an unusually comprehensive body of traditions, in the transmission of which Aḥmad b Ḥanbal had a particularly large share, in it we find on the one hand a, to some extent, antinomian tendency and on the other an endeavour to regulate everything in minute detail and lastly the harmonising tendency of the moderate elements.

The text of the Ḳur'ān taken literally prescribes a ritual ablution before each *ṣalāt*. This is actually maintained to be obligatory by the Ẓāhirīs and and Shī'īs. The four orthodox madhāhib however are agreed that a *wuḍū'* is only necessary to make a *ṣalāt* valid in case of a "minor" *ḥadath*. This view, which it was even endeavoured to support by an insertion in the text of the Ḳur'ān ("while ye are in the condition of *ḥadath*"), represented a concession to actual practice, which had already been very slack since ancient times. According to the law, a "minor" *ḥadath* is produced by: 1. touching the skin of the other sex (sexual intercourse itself causes "major" *ḥadath*) even if the two persons are related in a way that prohibits marriage; 2. relieving nature, 3 loss of consciousness and sleep apart from a snooze while sitting; 4. touching the sexual organs and in several other ways.

The essential elements of the *wuḍū'* are according to the Shāfi'ī teaching 1. washing the face, 2. washing the hands and the forearms up to the elbows, 3 rubbing the wet hands on the head, 4. washing the feet; 5. observing this order in the process; 6. formulating the intention (*nīya*) of performing the *wuḍū'* before beginning it. Other actions recommended by the sunna are. the previous washing of the hands, rinsing of the mouth and clearing the nose (before 1); stroking through the beard with the wet fingers, rubbing the ears and washing the neck (before 4), uttering certain formulae at the separate actions, beginning with the right side of the body and performing certain actions three times As a rule the *wuḍū'* takes barely two minutes to perform, many people do it hurriedly and confine themselves to the essential points The demands to which the water intended for ritual ablutions must conform, are fully discussed in the *fiḳh* books. If the believer has no suitable water available or on account of illness or wounds cannot perform the usual *wuḍū'*, it is sufficient to rub the face, hands, and forearms with sand or dust (*tayammum*, q. v).

All the orthodox madhāhib permit a man who is at a permanent abode, once in twenty-four hours, and if he is on a journey, thrice in twenty-four hours, to rub his foot-covering instead of washing the feet at the *wuḍū'*, if the feet when last covered were washed clean and put into clean shoes, which must be impermeable and fit tightly. This process of *masḥ 'ala 'l-khuffain* is not permitted by the Khāridjīs nor by the Shī'is; as one of the most important external distinctions between Sunna and Shī'a, this has attained a considerable religious significance and among the Sunnīs its recognition is an absolute essential of the profession of faith. The practice of *masḥ 'ala 'l-khuffain* is very old and is perhaps one of the alleviations of ritual introduced by the Muslim armies. There is besides a difference of opinion regarding the normal treatment of the feet at the *wuḍū'*. all the Sunnīs, the Khāridjīs and the Zaidīs demand that they should be washed, the Imāmīs, on the other hand, rubbed only; the former view, which is in keeping with the sense of Sūra v 8, is no doubt the original one, while the latter represents an attempt to emend it in keeping with the literal text of the Ḳur'ān, which caused the representatives of the older view to produce tortuous explanations.

Bibliography· On the aspects of *wuḍū'* in the history of religion. Goldziher, in *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. 20 *sqq.*; Wensinck, in *Isl.*, iv. 219 *sqq.* — On tradition. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. WUḌŪ' — On the development of Islāmic legislation on purity: Wensinck, in *Isl.*, v. 62 *sqq.* — On the doctrines of the *fiḳh*: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 72 *sqq.*, do., *Handleiding* [3], p. 56 *sqq.* (where further references given), Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 48 *sqq.*; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, chapt. Religion and Laws. — On *masḥ 'ala 'l-khuffain*. Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, p. 21 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. p. 273 *sq.* (2nd ed . p 268 *sqq.*).

Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, general index, s v. Shoes. — Cf. also ṬAHĀRA.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

WUḲŪF or WAḲFA (A.), "halt", means in particular the halting of the pilgrims at any spot they choose within the plain of ʿArafa; it begins on the afternoon of the 9th Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja and lasts till sunset This *wukūf* is considered the most essential part of the ḥadjdj. The imām of the ḥadjdj usually introduces it (before the beginning of the combined *ẓuhr* and *ʿaṣr ṣalāt*) with a khuṭba; his words can of course only be heard by those in his immediate neighbourhood. The pilgrims for their part recite portions of the Ḳurʾān, say prayers — mainly for forgiveness of sins — and cry *labbaika* [q. v.] and other religious formulae. The ceremony ends with the running (*ifāḍa*) to Muzdalifa. A similar halt, spent in prayer and also called *wuḳūf*, is made in the early morning of the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja in Muzdalifa before the running to Minā, also on each of the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja after the throwing of stones on the "little" and "middle" heap. The stop, spent in prayer, on the elevations of al-Safā and al-Marwa in the running (*saʿy*) between these two sacred places is also occasionally called *wukūf*.

The significance of the *wuḳūf* in the Muslim ḥadjdj is clear. it is a kind of common worship, a "standing before God" (cf. *Riʿāya*, i. 141) But the form of the ceremony goes back to pre-Islāmic rites For the monotheism preached by Muḥammad would in itself have had no reason to invent the sacred rite in ʿArafa and with it the most important part of the hadjdj It might however be supposed that Muhammad wished with the help of this act of worship to fill in gaps which may have arisen from the omission of some ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, and to this extent the *wuḳūf* may have in a way been a new creation of his But this hypothesis loses its probability when we reflect that the *wukūf* (except in the last halt on al-Marwa, which follows the last *saʿy*) seems always to precede a ritual running and to be connected with it (cf. *Isl.*, xviii 192. *wuḳūf* in contiast to *iʿtikāf*). Now, since the ceremony of ritual running certainly goes back to pre-Islamic rites, the same may be presumed for the *wuḳūf*. The original significance of this custom is however not thereby explained. This much nevertheless seems to be probable, that the *wuḳūf* took place on holy ground or at least in the neighbourhood of such. the *wuḳūf* of ʿArafa was perhaps located at the foot of the hill later called Djabal al-Rahma, the special sanctity of which continued under Islām. The sojourn of the Israelites at the foot of Sinai described in Exodus xix. might in a way be compared with it. The Muslim theory, according to which the whole of ʿArafa (or Muzdalifa) is *mawḳif* (place of *wuḳūf*), perhaps points to the very fact that this was not the case before Islām. This statement, it is true, is easily explained as a concession to the multitude of Muslim pilgrims who could not all find a place on a restricted area. It may also from the first have served the purpose of destroying the influence of an old pagan sanctuary within ʿArafa (or Muzdalifa). The supposition that the *wuḳūf* in its original form presupposed the making of a sacrifice cannot be maintained, so far as the present evidence goes.

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(R PARET)

X

XATIVA, town in Spain. The present orthography is Játiva. Cf. SHĀṬIBA.

Y

YĀ', 28th and last letter of the Arabic alphabet with the numerical value of 10 For palaeographical details, see ARABIA, i 382b, 383b, 384a and plate 1 It belongs to the soft letters (*hurūf al-lin*), its pronunciation is that of English *y*

Bibliography W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3rd ed, i 2, 5, 7, do, *Comparative Grammar of the Sem Languages*, p. 69 *sqq* ; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl Grammatik der sem. Sprachen*, i. 138—150, do, *Précis de linguistiques sém*, transl W Marçais and M Cohen, Paris 1910, p 75, A Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index (A J WENSINCK)

YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ (the forms Ya'djūdj and Ma'djūdj occur also), Gog and Magog (cf. *Gen* x 2, *Ez* xxxviii, xxxix), two peoples who belong to the outstanding figures of Biblical and Muslim eschatology Magog in *Gen* x is reckoned among the offspring of Japheth, this notion is also found in Arabic sources (e. g. Baidāwī on sūra xviii 93, where also different traditions are mentioned), this much only may be said here, that the Bible as well the Arabic sources connect these peoples with the North-East of the ancient world, the dwelling-place of peoples who are to burst forth from their isolation in the Last Days, devastating the world southwards, until they will be destroyed in the land of Israel (cf H Gressmann, *op cit*)

In Muslim eschatology this picture is repeated with many, partly fresh, details, and connected with the reappearance of 'Isā on the earth Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj will be so numerous that they will drink all the water of the Euphrates and Tigris or of the Lake of Tiberias When they have killed the inhabitants of the earth they will shoot their arrows against heaven, whereupon God shall send worms into their nostrils, necks or ears, which will kill them to the last man in one night, so that the smell of their corpses will fill the earth (Muslim, *Fitan*, trad 110; Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, bāb 33, 59, Ahmad b. Hanbal, i 375, ii 510 *sq* , iii 77, iv 182; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii 62 *sq* , 65) Or a host of birds will catch them and drown them in the sea (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvii 64). They are cannibals (Tha'labī, p 320) and dwell behind the mountains of Armīniya and Ādharbāidjān (Tabaī, *Tafsīr*, xvi. 12)

The traditions of the Arabic sources are largely connected with sūra xxi 96 "until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them [in the Last Days] and they shall hasten from every high hill" etc Here is an allusion to the connection of Gog and Magog with the dam which was built by Alexander the Great, as it is said in sūra xviii 92 *sqq.*: "And he [Alexander] prosecuted his journey from south to north, until he came between the two mountains, beneath which he found certain people, who could scarce understand what was said. And they said, O Dhu 'l-Karnain, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The power wherewith the Lord hath strengthened me is better than your tribute; but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them" etc. Then the text goes on to relate how Alexander built the dam or gate behind which Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj should thenceforth be shut up till the Last Days Every night they will try to dig under the wall in order to escape, and every night the sound of their tools is heard But God repairs before the morning the breach they have made (Ṭabaī, *Tafsīr*, xvii. 64).

Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj are of three kinds one as tall as cedars; the second are as broad as they are tall; the third can cover their bodies with their ears (Tabaī, xvi 16)

Tradition relates that one day Muhammad came in a hurry into the room of Zainab bint Djaḥsh, saying So much has been opened of the dam of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, making a sign with his thumb and index finger She said Shall we perish, there being so many good people? He answered Ay, if evil be widespread (Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, b. 7; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, b 23, Ibn Mādja, *Fitan*, b. 9; Ahmad b Hanbal, ii 341, 529 *sq.*; vi. 428, 429).

According to de Goeje (cf *Bibliography*), the story of the dam (which is found in the Syriac Legend of Alexander; cf. *Bibl*) refers in reality to the wall which surrounded a part of the Chinese empire and which had a gate in the South, called the jasper gate. He mentions reports of travellers who visited the wall, especially in the times of the caliphate

The term *Bahr Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj*, which occurs in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Cairo 1347, ii 50[3]) apparently refers to the Caspian Sea.

Bibliography. The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, on sūra xviii 93 and xxi. 96; for the passages in *hadīth*, cf Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v., Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 68 *sq* , 211 *sq.*, 218, 223, 627; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, i. 267, 337; ii 308; iii. 66; Ya'ḳūbī, ed Houtsma, i 13, 93, Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B G A.*, vi. 162–169; Ibn Rosteh, *B. G A* , vii 83, 98, 148 *sq.*; Mas'ūdī, *B. G A.*, viii 24, 26, 32, Idrīsī, transl Jaubert, ii. 344, 349, 380, 431; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wustenfeld, i 515, ii 440, iii. 53, 131; iv. 591; al-Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, p 320 *sqq* , I. Friedlander, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig–Berlin 1913, indices; de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, in *Versl Med Ak. Amst*, 3rd series, vol. 5, p. 87 *sqq.*, Noldeke, *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften d Kais Ak. d. Wissensch.*, Vienna, vol. xxxviii., N°. 5, H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-judischen Eschatologie*, Gottingen 1905, p 180 *sqq* ; C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied* (Dissertation), Gottingen 1904; do , *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *Z. D. M. G* , lx. 169 *sqq.*; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1889; Fr. Lenormant, *Gôg et Magôg*, in *Revue des sciences et des lettres*, Louvain 1882, p. 9 *sqq.* (A. J. WENSINCK)

YĀFĀ or YĀFA, JOPPA, JAFFA, a town on the Mediterranean, the port of Jerusalem. It occurs in the form *Y-pw* as early as the XVIth century B.C in the list of towns in Palestine taken by Thutmosis III (W. Max Müller, in *M V A G*, xii., 1907, 1, p. 21, N°. 62). In the Amarna tablets and among the Assyrians it was called Yapū or Yappū, in Phoenician inscriptions יפי, in the Bible Yāfō and by the Greeks Ἰόπη or Ἰόππη. Yāfā is already the port of Jerusalem in the Bible, to which king Hiram sent in floats the wood destined for the building of the temple Before the conquest by Sennacherib (701 B.C.) it was subject to the king of Ascalon. It was not till the time of the Maccabees that the ancient Canaanitish city came under Jewish rule. The legend of Jonah which is localised here and the story of Perseus and Andromeda are probably connected with some very early cult of a fish-god in Yāfā.

In the year 15 (636) ʿAmr b al-ʿĀṣī (according to others Muʿāwiya) took the town (al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p 138) The importance of the old harbour of Jerusalem further increased when the Umaiyad Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik founded the new capital of Djund Filasṭīn, al-Ramla, some 14 miles S E of Yāfā Yāfā with the rest of Filastīn passed in 264 (878) into the hands of Aḥmad b Ṭūlūn [q. v] and remained under the rule of the Ṭūlūnids of Egypt until in 905 it passed to the ʿAbbāsid al-Muktafī After Djaʿfar b Fallāh had conquered Syria for the Fāṭimid Muʿizz [q v.] in 359 (969), the Ḳarmaṭians penetrated in 360 (971) under Hasan al-Aʿṣam as far as Yāfā in which the troops (11,000 men) sent to Syria by Djawhar b. ʿAbd Allāh were blockaded. After the Karmaṭians had been driven out of Egypt in 362, Yāfā was relieved and the garrison brought back to Egypt The Turkish emīr Atsiz b Abaḳ in 463 (1071) took al-Ramla but Yāfā and ʿAskalān did not come into his power

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades The Franks who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099—1187) The vizier al-Afdal sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1105, 1113 and 1115 After his murder, the caliph al-Āmīr besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians After the battle of Hattīn (583 = 1187) most of the coast towns surrendered to Saladin, and Yāfa to his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587 (1191) Saladin besieged it in 1192 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not however take the citadel, and Richard, who hurried to the help of its garrison, drove Saladin's troops out of the town and refortified it At the truce of al-Ramla the Christians were confirmed in possession of Yāfā.

By 593 (1197) however, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had again taken Yāfā, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year Saxon and Brabant troops temporarily occupied the town, but abandoned it in 595 again whereupon al-ʿĀdil regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204) the town was again in the hands of the Franks The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228; as did Louis IX in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamlūk period Yāfā belonged to the district of al-Ramla, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the *mamlaka* of Dimashḳ; for a time however (under Saladin's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashḳī, ed Mehren, p. 230)

Baibars attacked the town unexpectedly on 20th Djumādā II 666 (March 8, 1268) and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramla, ed. van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 57–64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel A certain emīr Djamāl al-Dīn ... b Ishāḳ, according to an inscription preserved in Yāfā, built there in 736 (1335) the sanctuary of Kubbat Shaikh Murād which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, *Matériaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1876; do., *Archæological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873—1834*, ii, London 1896, p 154) When the kings of England and France were planning a new crusade in 1336, al-Nāṣir had the harbour of Yāfā destroyed to make it impossible for the Franks to land there. For the same reason, the town as well as the harbour, was destroyed in 1345 (Tolkowsky, in *Journ. Pal. Orient. Soc.*, v., 1925, p 82—84)

The Arab geographers describe Yāfā as a small, strongly fortified coast town which as the port of Jerusalem and al-Ramla enjoyed thriving trade and busy markets in times of peace. In times of war it was greatly exposed to enemy raids, in the first centuries of Islām, for example, to attacks by the Byzantine fleet, the Mardaites and the Krbyrraiotes To protect the coast against these raids, watch-towers (*ribāṭ*) were built, like those of Byzantium from Luʾluʾa to Constantinople, from which was signalled by smoke or fire to the capital, al-Ramla, the approach of Byzantine ships, which also used to visit the ports from Ghazza to Arsūf to ransom prisoners (al-Maḳdisī, ed de Goeje, p 177).

After the battle of Dābiḳ in 922 (1516) the whole of Syria passed to the Ottomans Yāfā, which was in ruins, only began to revive gradually in the second half of the XVIIth century, especially after its quays were built From 1770 for several years the Pasha of Dimashḳ fought with ʿAlī Bey and his followers for the town, in which, the Mamlūks perpetrated a frightful massacre on May 19, 1776. The French behaved even worse after the capture of the town by Napoleon (March 6, 1799), 4,000 prisoners were shot on the shore. Immediately after the entry of the garrison the plague broke out in the French army which suffered heavily Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Mehemmed ʿAlī, in 1831 occupied Yāfā, which passed to the Turks again in 1840 An earthquake in 1838 destroyed many houses and a portion of the defences.

On Nov 16, 1917 Yāfā was occupied by the English (Anzac Corps). Since the war the town has grown very little (44,000 inhabitants); but its northern suburb, the Jewish colony of Tel-Aviv founded in 1909, has rapidly developed into a modern town, which is already the size of the old town. To the northeast of the town are the German Templar colonies of Wilhelma and Sarona founded in 1868 and to the south Jewish agricultural colonies The plan of building a new harbour, accessible to modern ships, instead of the old and useless one which is surrounded by reefs,

has so far not materialised owing to the expense; it would enable the town to compete with Ḥaifā, which is growing rapidly.

Bibliography: al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed v. Mžik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 19 (N⁰. 251); Suhrāb, *ibid*, v, Leipzig 1930, p. 27 (N⁰. 221); al-Istakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 55, 66; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B G.A*, ii. 111, 125, 127, al-Maḳdisī, *B. G A.*, iii 54, 155, 174, 177, 192, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B G. A.*, v. 103; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 79, 98; Kudāma, *ibid.*, p 255, al-Yaʿḳūbī, *B G. A*, vii 329; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 1003; Safī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 332, al-Idrīsī, ed Gildemeister, in *Z D. P V*, viii. 11; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed Reinaud, p. 239; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, Indices, ii. 830, Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 24, 28 *sq*, 39, 41, 381, 550, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. CV, 10, note 1, 29, 56, L Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine A History of Jaffa*, London 1924, do, in *Journ. Palest. Orient Soc*, v, 1925, p 82–84; vi, 1926, p. 70–74; George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*[15], p 236 *sqq.*, on the ancient town Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p 289; P. Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, Halle 1907, i 73, Beer, Art *Joppe*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzykl. d klass Altertumswiss*, ix, col 1901 *sq*

(E Honigmann)

al-YĀFIʿĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b Asʿad b ʿAlī b ʿUthmān b Falāḥ al-Shāfiʿī ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Saʿāda Abu 'l-Barakāt, a Ṣūfī and author, was born one or two years before 700 (1300 – 1301) in the Yaman though the place of his birth does not appear to be known He studied first under the tuition of Muhammad b Aḥmad al-Dihānī al-Bassāl and Aḥmad b ʿAlī al-Harāzī, Kāḍī of ʿAdan These studies comprised probably only the Ḳurʾān and theology, but his ascetic inclinations must have been developed early and have guided his whole life As early as 712 (1313) he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca and there he associated himself with ʿAlī al-Tawāshī who remained his chief Shaikh In 718 he settled in Mecca and married. The following years he spent partly in Mecca and partly in al-Madīna, and in 734 (1335) he made a journey to Jerusalem and Damascus and came also to Egypt After his return to the Ḥidjāz he remained some time at al-Madīna and then came to Mecca where he married a second time. Later he made a short journey to the Yaman to pay a visit to his old teacher al-Ṭawāshī. Subkī in 747 (1346) made his acquaintance on the occasion of the pilgrimage and it was in Mecca that he died on the 29th Djumādā II 768 (Febr 21, 1367) Subkī gives as the date of his death Djumādā I 767, probably an error

He had received the *khirḳa* of a Ṣūfī from several masters Biographers praise his devout mode of living and his kindness towards his pupils, and his reputation as a pious and learned man was widely spread during his life-time While the older biography as yet knows nothing of his *barakāt* [q. v.], later works are fairly full on this point.

His leisure in Mecca permitted him to write a large number of works, especially upon Ṣūfism and the principles of faith. He made a point of defending the doctrines of al-Ashʿarī and among other works wrote a treatise against Ibn Taimīya, which brought upon him the hostility of the adherents of the latter. He is said to have had a very high opinion of the Spanish Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArabī. The works of al-Yāfiʿī which are accessible prove him to be in the main a compiler from the works of others with very little originality on his part.

1. His principal work is probably the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn fī Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn* (also called *Nuzhat al-ʿUyūn al-nawāẓir wa-Tuḥfat al-Ḳulūb al-ḥawādhir*) in which he gives biographies of five hundred saints and ṣūfīs Pious narratives outnumber in it by far the historical data. The work has been printed several times (Būlāḳ 1286; Cairo 1301, 1307 etc). Of this work a number of abbreviations are in existence and it has in addition served as a source for later works of similar tenor, the latest perhaps the *Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ* by Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī (printed in Cairo 1329 in two volumes).

2 His historical work *Mirʾāt al-Djanān wa-ʿIbrat al-Yaḳẓān* (printed in Ḥaidarābād 1334—1339 in four volumes) serves also principally biographical purposes As Yāfiʿī, according to his own statement, was content with extracting the chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr and the works of Ibn Khallikān and Dhahabī, we find hardly anything new in it. The book has however a certain value as long as we have no edition of the large biographical works of Dhahabī Only at the end of the work he gives a few biographies of his teachers in the Yaman, but in these notices one is hardly able to pick the few historical details out of a volume of empty words; dates are quite a secondary consideration. There are several abbreviations and excerpts of the work in existence, some with later additions, among them the *Ghirbāl al-Zamān* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Husain b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (died 885 = 1480), which deals principally with South Arabian saints; also an extract by a certain ʿAlī al-Kurashī al-Shūstarī who lived about 1100, contained in a Berlin Ms.

3 *Nashr al-Maḥāsin al-ghāliya fī Faḍl al-Mashāʾikh al-ṣūfiya*, mentioned at the end of the *Mirʾāt al-Djanān*. This work has been printed in the margin of the *Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ* of Nabhānī (see above) and contains like the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn* accounts of pious Ṣūfīs and seems to be a first draft of his larger work. The purpose of this work, according to his own statement, was to furnish a proof that the Sharīʿa and Ṣūfism can be made to agree with one another. For this reason he gave to this book the second title of *Kifāyat al-Muʿtaḳid fī Nikāyat al-Muntaḳid* (*Mirʾāt*, iv. 335)

4. *Marham al-ʿIlal al-muʿaḍḍila fī 'l-Radd ʿalā Aʿimmat al-Muʿtazila bi 'l-Barāhīn al-ḳāṭiʿa al-mufaṣṣala* This work he composed at the instigation of Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī (died 750 A. H). Collecting material from all manner of sources, he attempts the refutation of the doctrines of the Muʿtazila, which hardly existed any longer in his time. The work has been printed to the extent of about two thirds in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1910—1911. The title is wrong in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, and wrongly corrected on the title-page of the printed edition.

5. *al-Irshād wa 'l-Tatrīz fī Faḍl Allāh wa-Tilāwat Kitābihi 'l-ʿazīz*. Composed before the *Mirʾāt*, the title indicates the contents.

6. *Durr al-Naẓīm fī Faḍāʾil* (or *Khawāṣṣ*) *al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa 'l-Āyāt wa-Dhikr al-Ḥakīm*.

A short treatise concerning the advantage of reading the Ḳur'ān and of prayer. Printed in Cairo 1282 (1313) and later.

In addition he composed a large number of poems of religious content and generally with long titles, partly preserved in manuscript or only known by name. Two are printed at the end of the *Mir'āt*.

7 *Bāhiyat al-Muhaiyā fī Madh Shuyūkh al-Yaman al-aṣfiyā'*.

8. *Muḥḍjat al-Asḍjān fī Dhikr al-Aḥbāb Ahl al-Awṭān* etc

9 *Asna 'l-Mafākhir fī Manāḳib al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir* (i. e. 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī)

10. *Shams al-Imān wa-Tawḥīd al-Rahmān wa-Aḳīdat al-Ḥaḳḳ wa 'l-Itḳān*, preserved in several manuscripts.

In addition several treatises the contents of which are unknown to me.

11. *Nūr al-Yaḳīn wa-Ishārat Ahl 'al-Tamkin*

12 *al-Risālat al-Makkīya fī Tarīḳ al-Sādat al-Ṣūfiya.*

Bibliography *al-Durar al-kāmina*, II 247, Subkī, *Tabaḳāt*, VI. 103; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II. 176—177; Sarkīs, *Dictionnaire*, col 1952—1953 and later works on the saints of Yaman.

(F. KRENKOW)

YĀFITH, the Japheth of the Bible, is not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, but the exegesis of the Ḳur'ān and legend are familiar with the names of the sons of Nūh Sām, Hām, Yāfith (exceptionally Yāfit. Tabarī, I 222). The Biblical story (Gen. IX. 20—27) of Ḥām's sin and punishment and the blessing given to Sām and Yāfith is known in Muslim legend but it is silent about Noah's planting the vine and becoming intoxicated Al-Kisā'ī completely transforms it in the Ark Nūh could not sleep from anxiety, when he came out he fell asleep on Sām's bosom, the wind revealed his nakedness, Sām and Yāfith covered him up but Hām laughed so loudly that Nūh was awakened, he uttered the following blessings and curse. Prophets shall be born descendants of Sām, kings and heroes of Yāfith and black slaves of Hām But Ḥām's descendants intermarry with Yāfith's family, thus the Abyssinians, Hind and Sind were born to Kūsh b Hām, the Copts are the descendants of the union of Kūt b Hām with a descendant of Yāfith. Nūh divided the earth among his three sons Yāfith received the district of Faisun (Pishon) His descendants are variously given, either exactly as in the Bible (Tabarī, I. 217 *sq.*) or partly (al-Kisā'ī, I. 101) or quite differently He is usually regarded as the ancestor of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj, often of the Turks and Khazars, more rarely of the Ṣaḳālība [q. v.]. Persia and Rūm are sometimes traced to Sām, sometimes to Yāfith, to Yafith also e.g. Cyrus, who killed Belshazzar b. Evilmerodach or Nebuchadnezzar, and Yezdigird. Briefly Sām is said to be the father of the Arabs, Yāfith of Rūm (or Yādjūdj-Mādjūdj), Ḥām the father of the Sūdān. Of the three, Semitic tradition naturally prefers Sām. But Yāfith is rarely spoken of unfavourably as in Ṭabarī, I. 223 where we are told that nothing good comes from Yāfith and his descendants are deformed. On the other hand, the 72 languages are divided as follows: 18 to Sām, 18 to Hām and 36 to Yāfith. He is the blessed son of Nūh.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I. 211—225; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p 38; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, I. 98—102. — See also the art. NŪḤ, SĀM.

(BERNHARD HELLER)

YA'FUR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (also AL-RAḤĪM) B. KURAIB AL-ḤIWĀLĪ (on the disputed vocalisation of the poem in van Arendonk [see *Bibl.*], p. 232, note 3), founder of the dynasty of Ya'furids or Ḥiwālids who claimed to be descended from the Tubba's, the ancient Ḥimyarite kings. Their ancestral home Shibām, called Shibām Aḳyān or Shibām Kawkabān to distinguish it from other places of the same name, is described by geographers as a well cultivated hilly country. In the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim, i e. before 227 (842), Ya'fur began to show his independence of the 'Abbāsid governors who were succeeding one another rapidly; in 247 (861) Ya'fur had succeeded in driving the governor Himyar b al-Ḥārith out of San'ā' and extending his rule over the highlands southwards as far as Djanad The accounts, full of obscurities even in the special histories of the Yaman, show at least one thing clearly the lack of unity in the dynasty from the first. By 256 (870) Ya'fur's son Muḥammad appears as lord of Ṣan'ā', as the acknowledged governor for the caliph Mu'tamid He was however slain about 270 (883) by his own son Ibrāhīm presumably at the instigation of the aged Ya'fur himself who had been thrust aside by Muhammad but he himself henceforth disappears from history. Ibrāhīm's son Asad was still lord of San'ā', but the two-fold 'Alid penetration by the Ḳarmaṭians and Zaidites raised up new enemies, so that he had only two successors in office. Some younger princes established themselves for a time in the Tihāma and in the mountains round Ṣa'da

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. D. H Muller, Leyden 1891, I 57, 106 *sq*, D H Muller, *Die Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens nach dem Iklīl des Hamdānī*, in *S B Ak Wien*, XCIV 1879, p 352 *sqq* , Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. F Wustenfeld, III 249, IV. 544; 'Azīm al-Dīn Ahmad, *Die auf Sudarabien bezuglichen Angaben Našwan's* (*G M S*, XXIV, Leyden 1916), p 30, H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its Early Mediœval History*, London 1892, s Index; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p 103 *sqq*. (with careful consideration of unpublished Yaman sources), E de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 116.

(R STROTHMANN)

YAGHMĀ DJANDAḲĪ, pseudonym of the Persian poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Raḥīm b. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Kulī He was born about 1196 (1782) in the village of Khūr in the oasis of Djandaḳ or Biyābānak in the middle of the central desert of Persia. He began his life as a camel-herd but by the age of 7 his natural gifts had been noticed by the owner of the oasis, Ismā'īl Khān 'Arab-i 'Āmirī whose secretary (*munshī-bāshī*) he ultimately became His first nom de plume was Madjnūn. In 1216 (1802) Ismā'īl Khān after a rising against the government had to flee to Khurāsān, while Djandaḳ was occupied by Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān, representative of the governor of Simnān and Dāmghān. Yaghmā was forcibly conscripted as an ordinary soldier but at Simnān his gifts obtained him the post of secretary to the governor. In 1808 as a result of a false charge, the poet

received the bastinado and his property was handed over to be plundered (*yaghmā*) by the soldiery. The poet's innocence was proved and he regained his freedom but the act of injustice had embittered him. He then assumed the pen-name of Yaghmā and composed a satire, *Sardāriya*, on Dhu 'l-Fiḳār Khān, full of coarseness beyond all bounds Exiled, he wandered in Persia and via Baghdād and Yazd reached Teheran where fortune shone upon him again and he gained the good graces of Hādjdjī Mīrzā Aḳāsī, the first Minister of Muhammad Shāh Yaghmā was appointed wazīr to the governor of Kāshān but a new satire (*Khulāṣat al-Iftirāḍ*) against a family of Kāshān nobles made him ostracized again and he was denounced as a *kāfir* from the pulpit of the mosque His wandering life was resumed We know that he accompanied Muhammad Shāh to Harāt He only returned to his native land as an octogenarian to die at Khūr on the 16th Rabīʿ II 1276 (Nov. 16, 1859) and was buried near the tomb of Saiyid Dāwūd

Yaghmā's works in prose and verse were collected in a *dīwān* and published at Teheran (?) in 1283 (1886) with a preface by Hādjdjī Muhammad Ismāʿīl (389 fol. pp.)

Yaghmā practised all varieties of verse and his poems (*ghazal*, elegies, *kiṭʿa*, *tardjīʿ-band*) show a great mastery of language and form The most original part perhaps of his work is in the field of funeral chants (*nawḥa-yi sīna-zanī*) which he invented They were obviously intended for the public lamentations in Muharram [cf TAʿZIYA] They are in the form of a *mustazād* in which each line is prolonged by a refrain which the audience is intended to murmur as a spontaneous echo These *nawḥa* are composed in simple and unaffected language. E. G Browne, *op cit.*, iv. 340, mentions the popularity of this genre among the poems of the revolutionary period (1905–1911)

Yaghmā's most characteristic works however are his slanderous and obscene satires. Berthels sees in them a revolt against the political and social iniquities of old Persia but the poet never seems to rise above his own personal grievances If his wit is exercised even at the expense of his benefactor Hādjdjī Mīrzā Aḳāsī it is because the poet is simply carried away by his satirical humour and too fluent tongue Yaghmā has not yet anything of the revolutionary. His grievances induced fits of pessimism and of piety The Gulistān Museum at Teheran possesses a Ḳurʾān written on a single sheet of cloth (about 8 feet × 1 1/2 feet) and arranged in complex geometrical figures This is ascribed to Yaghmā (cf. the specimen of his hand in Browne, *op cit*, iv 338)

Yaghmā made little use of Arabic and in several of his letters set himself the task of writing pure Persian. He considerably added by his annotations to the dictionary *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, the manuscript of which is in possession of his grandson.

In the *Grundriss d iran. Phil.*, i./2, p. 380, Geiger (following Querry) attributed to Yaghmā verses in the dialect of Simnān. In reality these verses are by Naʿīmā Simnānī (cf. A. Christensen, *Le dialecte de Sāmnan* (sic ?), Copenhagen 1915, p. 291). Yaghmā wrote verses in the dialect of Khūr; cf. Yaghmāʾī, *op. cit.*, p. 18. On the dialects of this region cf. Ivanow in *J R.A.S*, July 1926, p 405—432.

Bibliography Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii. 580; Ethé, in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, ii. 314; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iv. 336–344, Berthels, *Očerk istorii persid. literatury*, Leningrad 1928, p. 94–99, Ḥabīb Yaghmāʾī (grandson of Yaghmā), *Sharḥ-i Ḥāl-i Yaghmā*, Teheran (c. 1927?), first appeared in the periodical *Armaghān*, v., Nos. 7–9), on p 31 the author quotes a letter from Yaghmā repudiating the authorship of a large number of poems included by his future editor in the collection. This declaration, however, being made by the poet "in his old days" (*dar awākhir-i ʿumr*) to escape the denunciation of censors is not very convincing.

(V MINORSKY)

YĀHŪD, the Jews The message which Muhammad as an "admonisher" brought to his people was believed by him to come from the same source of revelation as the Tora and the Gospel If the "Arabic version" of the new scriptures was only a confirmation of what preceding "scriptures" taught, the new Prophet was referred for instruction to the Jews and Christians. The idea of the "day of judgment" which continually recurs in the early Meccan period, makes him speak of the 19 guardians of hell in order to convince those "to whom the scripture was given" of the truth of the Kurʾān (lxxiv 30—32), from which it may be deduced that Muhammad at the beginning of the first Meccan period was already engaged in trying to win over the Jews Of them he already knew that they "studied" their scriptures (lxviii 37 *darasa*) It is in keeping with this that he also speaks of the *ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā* (lxxxvii 19), i e he knows that Jews and Christians ascribed to Abraham the composition of sacred books (*Jubil*, xii. 27, *ʿAbōdā-zārā*, 14b, Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr Vet. Test*, Hamburg 1722, i 400). Hebrew expressions are already increasing, e g. *li 'l-ālamīn* = *leʿōlāmīm*, *al-muʾtafika* for *mahpēkā* (liii 54), *ʿilliyān* for *ʿelyōnīm* (lxxxiii 18), *ǧan* for "garden", *sullam* for "ladder" and *maḳām* (lv 46), which perhaps corresponds to the Talmudic epithet of God, *hamākōm* (*ʿAbōdā-zārā*, 40b).

The desire to produce a book of revelation makes Muhammad at the beginning of the second period frequently speak of "books" in which all that has happened is written down (liv. 43, 52—53) The first reference to the "children of Isrāʾīl" whom Allāh saved from Firʿawn and whom he chose "in his knowledge" in preference to all the world (cf. Amos, iii 2, Aphraates, *Hom*, 16, ed. Wright, p. 331) is in Sūra xliv 29—32 The story of Mūsā in Sūra xx. which contains Jewish legends (e g. verses 51—54, cf *Exod. r*, 5, 18) thrice mentions the "children of Isrāʾīl" (verses 49, 82, 95) whom Firʿawn is to release, who received the revelation and of whose sin of the calf Mūsā complains to Hārūn. Sūra xxvi. four times mentions the "children of Isrāʾīl" (verses 16, 21, 59, 197) in connection with the story of Firʿawn and the revelation of the Kurʾān which "the wise men among the children of Isrāʾīl" (*ʿulamāʾ Banī Isrāʾīl* = *ḥakmē Yisrāēl*) shall recognise. Sūra xix. 59 mentions "the descendants of Ibrāhīm and Israʾīl" whom Allāh guided in the right path and in this connection the *millat Ibrāhīm* is put alongside of the revelation as of equal worth. Just as Firʿawn and his people are an "example" in the bad sense for later generations (xliii. 56), ʿĪsā who desired

to be nothing but a servant of Allāh is an "example" in a good sense for the "children of Isrā'īl" (xliii. 57, 59). The conception of God, formulated by Muḥammad at this time (xxiii 117), seems to be of purely Jewish origin and he at this time decisively rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God (xliii. 59; xxiii. 93; xxi. 26). The story of Ibrāhīm destroying the idols, which is now given in detail (xxi 59 *sqq*) and which is also occasionally found among Christians (*Apok. Abrahams*, ed. Bonwetch, p 10 *sqq*; Philastrius, *De hæresibus*, p 97) is therefore rather of Jewish origin (*Gen r*, 38, 39) Jewish expressions which now appear are *būr* (xxv 19), with which we may compare *Ābōt*, ii 5, *Yōmā*, 37ª The "children of Isrā'īl" according to the revelation granted them are to recognise none except Allāh (xvii 2), according to the scripture revealed to them they shall twice cause ruin (verse 4) on the earth, and once live in the holy land (verse 106) Perhaps it was also Jews, who at this time wished to induce Muhammad to leave his country (verse 78) According to Muhammad's view however, only the Kur'ān could smooth over the disagreements among the "children of Isrā'īl" (xxvii. 78) It is in keeping with this that the story of Mūsā in this Sūra (verse 7 *sqq*.) has a distinctly Jewish stamp as has the story of Sulaimān (verse 17 *sqq*, cf *Targum Shēnī*)

As late as the beginning of the third Meccan period Muhammad was frequently reminding the "children of Isrā'īl" of the revelation granted them through Mūsā (xxii. 23, xlv 15). Allāh gave them leaders and preferred them but the Israelites fell out among themselves when the "knowledge" came to them, and now Allāh has placed Muhammad over them as arbiter in religious matters (xlv 15—17) Jewish expressions in the story of Yūsuf which (Sūra xii.) like the story of Nūh (xi 27 *sqq*) can be proved to be of Jewish origin are *ba'īr* for "cattle" (xii. 65, 72) and *Yūsuf aiyuha 'l-ṣiddīk* for *Yōsēf haṣṣaddīk* (xii 46) The Hebrew word *miṯnā* was probably taken over by Muḥammad at this time with the meaning of "story" (xxxix 24) The Meccans however are still only to dispute "in the best fashion" with the "people of the scriptures" to whom they are so closely bound as regards religion (xxix. 45) Allāh had indeed granted the "children of Isrā'īl" a safe habitation, provided them with all good things (x 93) and given them, the weak people, "the east and the west of the land" (vii 133) Muhammad however now calls himself the *ummī*, the prophet of the *ummōt hā-'ōlām*, whose coming was foretold by Tora and Gospel He now considers the food prohibitions of the Jews as a punishment for their secession (vi 147)

The Medīna period made Muhammad more acquainted with Jews and Jewish conditions and he gradually drew the barriers between the "peoples of the book" and the new community of Islām Muḥammad then turned to the "children of Isrā'īl" with the demand that they should keep their bond with Allāh (ii. 38 *sqq*), be conscious of their having been chosen, remember they were saved from the hand of Fir'awn (ii. 46) The Jews, if they only believe in Allāh and the last judgment, are still mentioned along with believing Christians and Sabaeans (ii. 59) but we already have it indicated that their scriptures are forgeries (ii. 70) They write it down with their own hands and say: "it is from Allāh" (ii. 73). But in reality there are uneducated people among them who do not know their scriptures at all (*ibid.*). The punishment of hell which must overtake them is regarded by them as being only temporary (ii. 74). The "children of Isrā'īl" have broken their bond with Allāh (ii. 77) They drive one another out of the country but on the other hand ransom their prisoners (ii. 79). Mockingly they say of themselves "our hearts are uncircumcised" (ii 82) They made ambiguous speeches when against their will they had to accept the Tora (ii. 87. *samiʿnā wa-ʿasainā* instead of *sh̲āmaʿnū wa-ʿāsīnū*) They cling to life and many would like to live a thousand years. Instead of the mocking *rāʾīnā* with which they address the Prophet, they are to say clearly *unẓurnā* (ii. 98). At this time many Jewish ideas came to Muhammad, e. g. *safaka 'l-dimā'* for *sh̲afak dam* (ii 28, 78) and *kh̲alāḳ* for *hēḳlā ʿōlām habbā* (ii. 96) The Jews believe, as do the Christians, that they alone will enter Paradise, without being able to prove it (ii. 105). From this time onwards Muḥammad calls the Jews of his time al-Yāhūd, a term by which they were already known before his time (Abū Miḥdjan, ed. Landberg, p 72; ʿUrwa, xiii 1), or uses the root *hāda*, while by "children of Isrā'īl" he means their Old Testament ancestors. Muhammad noticed how Jews and Christians reproached each other with the worthlessness of their religion (ii. 107) and he sees that neither creed will be satisfied with him until he follows their religion (ii 114) But they are not to profess Judaism or Christianity but only the "religion of Ibrāhīm", who professed the true religion (ii 129) But neither Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Ishāk, Yaʿḳūb nor the tribes were Jews or Christians (ii 134) The Jews now refuse to follow "on the path of Allāh", that is, to fight in battle for him, and the "children of Isrā'īl" acted similarly when they asked for a king after the death of Mūsā (ii 247). Yet Allāh had always given the "children of Isrā'īl" many clear signs (ii 207) An expression taken over from the Jews at this time is *furḳān* for "distinction" (ii. 181). Muhammad had heard the Jews boasting of their scriptures although in his opinion they often did not know them (ii 73) But "the simile" for those who are laden with the Tora and will not carry it is that of an "ass carrying books" (lii 5 = *ḥamor nōsē sefārīm*). The Jews should desire death rather than assert they are the "friends of Allāh" (lxii 6; cf 1 Chr xvi 13 *sqq*) Tora and Gospel are only confirmed by the Ḳur'ān which is to be regarded as *furḳān* (iii 2). ʿĪsā has already taught the children of Isrā'īl Tora and Gospel "book" and "wisdom" (iii. 43) and Muḥammad is the confirmer of the Tora (iii. 44) The dispute about the *millat Ibrāhīm* is therefore meaningless. Tora and Gospel were only revealed after it (iii. 58) and Ibrāhīm was neither Jew nor Christian but a Muslim (iii 60) His real followers are Muhammad and his community (iii 61) The reference is obviously to the Jews in Sūra iii. 69, where there is mention of those among the "people of the scripture" who will not readily give back property entrusted to them, saying "there is no obligation upon us towards the *ummīyūn* (*ummōt hā-ʿōlām*)". It is they also who are represented by Muḥammad as relying upon scriptures which do not belong to the "scripture" at all; the reference is probably to the so-called "oral Tora" (*Tōrā beʿāl pē*) (iii. 72). In reality the prophets have

already solemnly pledged themselves to recognise the "apostle" who will one day appear (iii. 75), and compared with the *millat Ibrāhīm* all previous revelations are alike (iii. 78) In the dispute with the "children of Isrā'īl" regarding what is forbidden or permitted Muḥammad actually challenges them: "Bring the Tora and read it if you are speaking the truth" (iii. 87) The Jews, however, distort the sense of the words of the scriptures (iv 48), and if the "people of the scripture" demand from Muḥammad as a sign of his mission that he should bring a book down from heaven (iv. 152) their ancestors once asked Mūsā to do an even greater thing as proof of his mission (*ibid.*) The laws regarding food were only given to the Jews because they left Allāh's way and practised usury although it was forbidden them (iv 158—159). Muḥammad however holds out prospect of a great reward to those among them who believe in Allāh, the last judgment and in the new mission (iv. 160). In this period falls the fighting between Muhammad and the Jewish tribes in which, in spite of their strongholds, numbers of them were forced to emigrate (lix 2 *sqq.*) or were taken prisoners (xxxiii. 26) Their land became Muhammad's booty (xxxiii 27) After he had laid down the boundaries between the new Islām and the "peoples of the scripture", he mentions as enemies of the believers Jews, Christians, Sabaeans, Magians and polytheists (xxii. 17). Muḥammad in this period attributes hateful things to the Jews. They worship ʿUzair as "Allāh's son" (ix. 30 *sq* , cf Ez xiv 9, 14), worship their rabbis as the Christians do their monks along with Allāh, who want to "extinguish Allāh's light with their mouth" (ix 32) Jews and Christians are wrong in saying "we are the children of Allāh and his favourites" (v. 21), since Allāh punishes them for their sins (*ibid.*). The Jews to Muḥammad are "listeners to lies and listeners to others" (v. 45), who falsify the words of their scriptures (*ibid.*) and quote their Tora against Muhammad's mission (v. 47) But all the apostles of God, who ever legislated truthfully according to the Tora, the prophets, rabbis and teachers, were Muslims (v 48). Believers should therefore not accept the Jews and Christians as friends (v. 56). The Jews wrongly believe "that Allāh's hand is tied" (v 69). Muḥammad finally turns to the "peoples of the scripture" and assures them that they have "nothing to stand upon" if they do not recognise the revelation thrice given in the Tora, Gospel and Ḳur'ān (v. 72). But "the children of Isrā'īl" have always followed the apostles of falsehood (v. 74), even ʿĪsā to them was only Allāh's servant (v. 76), and the infidels among them were once cursed by Dāwūd (v. 82). Muhammad finally finds that the Jews and idolators are the greatest enemies of the believers, while the Christians are friendly to Muḥammad and his community (v. 85). — The Hebrew expressions and terms used by Muḥammad in the late Meccan period are: *ḳaddasa* from the Jewish liturgical *ḳiddēsh* (lix. 23); *bahīma* from *behēmā* (xxii. 35); *aḥbār* for *ḥabērīm* (ix. 31, 34); *minḥadj* for *minḥāg* (v. 25); *kaffāra* for *kappārā* (v 49, 96); *rabbāniyūn* for *rabbānīm* (v. 48, 68) and frequently *tawrāt* for *tōrā* (v. 47 *sqq.*). — See also the article DHIMMA.

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(HEINRICH SPEYER)

YĀHŪDĪ. [See YĀHŪD.]

YAḤYĀ, John the Baptist This prophet plays a fairly prominent part in the Ḳur'ān, which mentions him with Jesus, Elijah and other prophets among the just persons who serve as arguments for the oneness of God (Sūra vi. 83). The history in the Gospels of his miraculous birth is twice given (iii. 33—36 and xix. 1 *sq*) God gives him to his parents Zacharias and Elisabeth in spite of their years. There is a kind of annunciation to Zacharias "O Zacharias, we announce a son to thee; his name shall be Yaḥyā; no one has borne this name before him" (xix 7). Yahyā speaks in his cradle and, like Jesus, has wisdom from his childhood God gives him the title of lord (*saiyid*) which according to the commentators means merciful. His characteristic qualities are gentleness and chastity A point discussed is the phrase in Sūra xix. 13 "O Yahyā, take the book with steadfastness", which seems to mean that Muhammad thought that John had received a revealed book. The commentators, however, do not admit this meaning, they are of the opinion that the book mentioned here is the *Tora*, the Pentateuch, and that Yahyā did not receive a special revelation but had as his mission only to "confirm the word of God" (iii 34). Zamakhsharī simply says that God gave him understanding of the Tora — The Ḳur'ān does not mention his role of Baptist, and does not tell the story of his death

The legend of John the Baptist among the Arabs presents different features according to different authors Tabarī says he was the first to believe in Jesus; he makes him survive Jesus and says that he was put to death at the request of Herodias, niece of Herod or daughter of his wife, for having said to the king that he could not marry her. A curious episode developed at length by Ṭabarī, is that of the boiling of the blood of the decapitated Baptist. The blood boils not only in the dish on which the head is presented but on the tomb of the martyred prophet and can only be restored to its normal condition after great calamities. The blood and the decapitated head speak. — The legend is evidently in some way connected with the Neapolitan cult of the blood of St. Januarius

Masʿūdī relates of Elisabeth, John's mother, the story of the flight into Egypt which the Gospel tells of Mary. Elisabeth fled with her infant son to escape the wrath of a king. John sent as a prophet to the Jews is disowned by them and put to death. Later his "blood" is avenged by a king named Kherdūsh who massacres many

of the Jews. Masʿūdī knows the episode of the baptism of Jesus by John, the scene of which he puts in the Lake of Tiberias, or in the Jordan. Al-Bīrūnī mentions among the feasts of the Syrian calendar that of the "beheading" of John the Baptist on the 29th of the month Āb, and he records that, according to al-Harawī, there could be seen in front of the "Pillar Gate" at Jerusalem a pile of stones said to have been thrown by the passers-by to restore John's blood to a normal state, but the blood would not cease boiling and continued to do so until a Persian king had sent a general who put many men to death on the prophet's grave Al-Bīrūnī thinks, like Ṭabarī, that this general was an Ashkanian.

At the present day there is still shown a tomb of John the Baptist in the great mosque of Damascus, where is also a tomb of Zacharias mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

As to the "Christians of St. John" or Mandaeans, the Ḳurʾān and the Arab writers hardly know them, if they do refer to them, it is not by these names but as "Ṣābiʾa" [q v] They regard them as a sect intermediary between the Jews and the Christians and admit that they have a "book", they do not however give them John the Baptist as their prophet but Noah.

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YAḤYĀ, a Turkish poet of Albanian origin of the time of Soliman. A scion of the noble north Albanian family of Dukagin, to which also belonged the Turkish poet Dukagin-zāde Ahmad Bey, Yaḥyā was taken under the *dewshirme* for the Janissaries and brought to Stambul He himself speaks in his *Genḏjīne-i Rāz* of his being conscripted in this way, a thing that was only to bring him good and when an old man he still recalls his Albanian origin In Stambul he was put in the corps of ʿAdjemi-Oghlan, in which officers for the Janissaries and Spahis were trained and he attained the rank of Yaya Bashi and Buluk Bashi of the Spahis Shihāb al-Dīn, the *Kātib* of the Janissaries, soon recognised his poetic gifts and allowed him a great deal of freedom for his literary inclinations Later he gained access to the intellectual coteries of Ibn Kemāl, Djaʿfar Čelebi, Ḳadrī Efendi and to those of the two great Maecenases Ibrāhīm Pasha and Iskender Čelebi. When the latter fell into disgrace the poet boldly interceded for him with the grand vizier Ibrāhīm but could not save him.

Yaḥyā was a bitter enemy of the court poet Khayālī Bey whom he had first encountered in 943 (1536) and with whom he had a poetical feud as well as with Khaṭṭī. He wrote a *ḳaṣīda* against Khayālī, which he gave to Soliman on a Persian campaign and it so delighted the grand vizier Rustem Pasha, the declared enemy of all poets, simply on account of the contempt poured on Khayālī in it, that he made Yaḥyā administrator of several foundations in Brussa and Stambul. But when Yaḥyā in his usual fearless fashion endeavoured to save the life of prince Muṣṭafā, who was popular with army and people alike and fell a victim to the intrigues of the grand vizier and the sulṭāna Khurram; but without success, and then wrote an elegy on the prince after his execution which was soon on every one's lips, Rustem did all he could to get Yaḥyā executed but only succeeded in depriving him of his offices. When the grand vizier summoned him and prepared a trap with the question, how could he lament a man condemned by the Pādishāh, he is said to have replied with great presence of mind, that he condemned him with the Pādishāh but loved him like the people. When his enemy Rustam died, Yaḥyā would not lose the opportunity of writing a satirical lament upon him.

The poet later retired to a large fief (*ziʿāmet*) of 27,000 akče annual income, which he had at Lozniča in the sandjaḳ of Zvornik in Bosnia. Here the octogenarian worked at the collection of his *dīwān*, at which the historian ʿĀlī found him engaged in 982 (1572), a year before Yaḥyā's death (according to others he did not die till 986 or 990). After his death ʿĀlī was given the preface to the *dīwān* to examine, in keeping with a wish of the deceased

Besides a *dīwān* of his *ghazel*s which does not rise above the average, Yahyā left five considerable poems, which, following distinguished examples, he placed together in a *khamse* The five titles are *Shāh ū-Gedā* (on pure love, 4 MSS. in Vienna. Flugel, N° 688—691), *Yūsuf we-Zuleikhā* (written on the pilgrimage to Mecca), *Kitāb-i Uṣūl* (or *Uṣūl-nāme*), *Genḏjine-i Rāz* (mystical, on this the poet Nūrī Aḳserāʾī wrote a *dhail* of 2,000 verses entitled *Sabʿa Saiyāra*), *Gulshen-i Anwār* (There are also attributed to him a *Nāz ū-Niyāz* and an unfinished *Sulaimān-nāme* in 2,000 verses). The three last parts of the *khamse* are not romances but consist of moral aphorisms on morality and rules of life, etc. The two first which were published at Stambul in 1284 have only the title in common with the works of Hilālī and Djāmī of the same name, and, besides, treat their subjects in quite an individual and independent fashion. Yahyā himself on one occasion says that he has no wish to eat *helwa* from the dead Persians This independence along with his frankness and courage is the most notable trait of our Albanian and makes him an attractive figure to us. These qualities are also in keeping with his bravery as a soldier which was celebrated, and which he displayed for example in the fighting at Temesvár, and the Turkish literary historians mention him as representative of a type which admirably combined the sword with the pen For him the frequently much abused *dewshirme* was the cause of his rise to fame in these days when birth counted for nothing, and good luck and particularly tact meant everything.

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YAḤYĀ B. ĀDAM B SULAIMĀN, a Muslim student of religion His full name was ABŪ ZAKARĪYĀʾ, as mawlā of a descendant of ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿaıṭ he bore the *nisba*'s al-Ḳurashī and al-Umawī (al-Makhzūmī in al-Nawawī is a mistake), his other *nisba* al-Kūfī shows that he belonged to or lived in Kūfa His father is mentioned among the traditionists of Kūfa (Ibn Saʿd, VI 133; al-Nawawī). Nothing is known of his career except the statement that he never studied under his father To judge from the dates of death of his oldest shaikhs he must have been born about 140 or soon afterwards This agrees with the statement that he did not live to a very great age He died about the middle of Rabīʿ I of the year 203 (middle of September 818) in Fam al-Ṣilh near Wāsıt Among his shaikhs may be mentioned· Abū Bakr b ʿAıyāsh, al-Hasan b. Sālih, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān b ʿUyaina, Sharīk b ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd Allāh b al-Mubāıak (fuller lists confirmed by the *Kıtāb al-Ḵharādj* are in al-Dhahabī and al-Nawawī), among others who studied under him were Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Abī Shaıba and Yahyā b. Maʿīn. He is usually said by the critics to be reliable

Nothing has survived directly of Yahyā's work on the Kurʾān, which was apparently an important part of his activity The *Fihrıst* mentions him as transmitter of a small portion of al-Kısāʾī's reading of the Ḳurʾān (p 30, l 10) and mentions by him a *Kıtāb al-Kırāʾāt* (p 35, l 17) and a *Kıtāb Muḏjarrad Ahkām al-Kurʾān* (p 38, l 7). Hādjdjī Khalīfa also mentions him among the authors of works on *Ḳırāʾāt* (v. 136) Yahyā however was primarily a traditionist and legist of the orthodox school (as the *Fihrıst* and Ibn Kutaıba already say) The *Fihrıst* mentions as further works of his a large *Kıtāb al-Farāʾiḍ*, the *Kıtāb al-Ḵharāḏj* and a *Kıtāb al-Zawāl* of unknown content Of these only the *Kıtāb al-Ḵharāḏj* has survived in a unique manuscript It never seems to have been widely known and Hādjdjī Khalīfa did not know it; but it was used by several writers, notably al-Balādhurī Yahyā's *Kıtāb al-Ḵharāḏj* is a polemic against the book of the same name by Abū Yūsuf in which great stress is laid on the traditions; even the opinions of his teachers are given second place to tradition Yahyā's work is therefore important for the history of the land tax in Islām It is not limited to the *ḵharāḏj* in the later sense but includes all kinds of taxes on land, including the *ʿushr* in so far as it is levied on immobilia Yahyā's own position in *Fiḳh* may be judged by his approving verdict on al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, a companion of Abū Ḥanīfa, as well as by his high opinion of tradition (*Fihrıst*, p. 204, l 26).

Bibliography *Fihrıst*, p. 227, l 4; Ibn Saʿd, VI 281, Ibn Ḳutaıba, *Bitāb al-Maʿārıf*, p. 258; al-Nawawī, *Tahḏhīb*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahḏhīb al-Tahḏhīb*, al-Dhahabī, *Taḏkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*; *Le Livre de l'Impôt foncier de Yaḥyā ibn Ādam*, ed. by Th. W. Juynboll, Leyden 1896; new ed. with introduction, notes and indices by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1347; F. Pfaff, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zu dem Grundsteuerbuch des Jaḥjā ibn Ādam* (Diss. Erlangen), 1917 (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

YAḤYĀ B ʿALĪ B. YAḤYĀ B. ABĪ MANṢŪR AL-MUNADJDJIM, ABŪ AḤMAD, was one of the best known theorists of music of the old Arabian (classical) school He belonged to a learned family who were authors, several of whom wrote on, or were interested in music His grandfather (d c 831) was the famous astronomer at the court of al-Maʾmūn [q v.] His father (d 888) had "particular skill in music (*ghınāʾ*)" says Ibn Khallikān, having been taught by the celebrated Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [q. v], and wrote a book entitled *Kıtāb Akhbār Isḥāḳ b Ibrāhīm* [*al-Mawṣılī*]. That ʿAlı was also acquainted with the theory of music is evident from the fact that so eminent a theorist as Thābıt b Kurra [q v] consulted him on the *ʿılm al-mūsīḳī*. His uncle, Muhammad, was also commended for his "knowledge of music (*ghınāʾ*)" Yahyā b ʿAlī was born in the year 856 and, like his father, became a "boon companion" of the caliphs, beginning this career in the service of al-Muwaffaḳ, the brother of the Caliph al-Muʿtamid [q v] He is praised by most biographers on account of his knowledge of the literature and sciences of the Greeks (*awāʾıl*). This evidently gave him his pronounced taste for philosophy, in which sphere he shone as an exponent of the Muʿtazalī school He was also a gifted poet and an accepted theorist of music He died in the year 912.

According to the *Fihrıst*, the best known book of Yahyā b ʿAlī was the *Kıtāb al-Bāhır* ("Book of the Illuminating"), which dealt with the poets who were half-castes He left it unfinished, but his son completed it Specimens of his poetry delivered before the caliphs al-Muʿtadid [q v] and al-Muktafī [q v] have been preserved by al-Masʿūdī Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [q v.] quotes a treatise on music by Yaḥyā entitled the *Kıtāb al-Nagham* ("Book of Melodies [or Notes]") in an authoritative sort of way This is probably the work that has come down to us in the solitary exemplar in the British Museum bearing the title *Risāla fi 'l-Mūsīkī* (Treatise concerning Music) This latter is, with the *Risāla fī Idjzāʾ khabarıyat al-Mūsīḳī* of al-Kindī in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, the only work that throws any light on the music theory of the old Arabian (classical) school, the technical phraseology of which crowds the pages of the *Kıtāb al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faradj. This treatise, which is of the utmost importance, is being edited by the present writer, and will form a volume of his *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music*. In its pages will be found a complete explanation of the so-called "Finger Modes" (*aṣabīʿ*), with their "Courses" (*maḏjārī*), and divisions (*ṭarāʾıḳ*), in which the melodies (*alḥān*) of the various vocal pieces (*aṣwāt*) were composed [see the article MŪSĪḲĪ].

His son, Abu 'l-Hasan Aḥmad, a *faḳīh* (lawyer) of the school of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī [q v.], was famed as a writer A nephew, ʿAlī b Hārūn (d. 963), wrote a *Risāla fi 'l-Fark bain Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī wa-Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣılī fi 'l-Ghināʾ* (Concerning the Difference between Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and Isḥaḳ al-Mawsılī concerning Music), whilst a son of the latter compiled a *Kitāb Mukhtār fi 'l-Aghānī* (Book of Choice Songs).

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Būlāḳ,

viii. 26—27; ix. 26; xv. 159; xviii. 175—176; *Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 143—144; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, p. 122, 364; Ibn Khallikān, *Biog Dict.*, ii. 312; *Wafayāt*, ed. Būlāḳ (1882), i. 506, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii. 206, 222, 238; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe* (*J A*, Nov.–Dec, 1904), p. 405; (July–Aug., 1906), p. 162–168, Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, see Index; do, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, see Index.

(H. G FARMER)

YAḤYĀ B KHĀLID, a Barmakid In the ʿAbbāsid caliphate we find Yaḥyā already prominent in the reign of al-Manṣūr, who in 158 (774—775) appointed him governor of Ādharbāidjān or, according to another account, Armenia. Three years later, the caliph al-Mahdī appointed him tutor to his son, the young Hārūn, and in 163 (779—780) the latter was appointed governor of the western half of the empire, i e. of all the provinces west of the Euphrates, with the addition of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān, and Yaḥyā was put at the head of his chancellery According to al-Mahdī's original arrangements, his older son Mūsā was to succeed him on the throne and Hārūn only to be considered in the second line of succession. Shortly before his death however, he decided to make a change in favour of Hārūn Mūsā however was not satisfied; after the death of al-Mahdī in 169 (Aug 785), Yahyā gave his protegé Harūn the wise advice to retire voluntarily and pay homage to his brother whereupon Mūsā was acknowledged as caliph with the name al-Hādī. Nevertheless relations between the latter and Yahyā were very strained The new caliph was thinking of cutting Hārūn completely out of the succession and having homage paid to his own son Djaʿfar as the successor designate. This plan however met with vigorous opposition from Yahyā which went so far that al-Hādī had him imprisoned. According to the usual story, he was kept in prison until the caliph died in Rabīʿ I, 170 (Sept 786) When Hārūn had ascended the throne, he appointed Yahyā as vizier with unlimited power in all branches of the government. Yahyā's period of office lasted seventeen years, then the catastrophe — probably long planned — came like a flash of lightning from a clear sky. At the end of Muharram or in the first night of Ṣafar 187 (Jan 23, 803) (or according to another statement, probably due to a copyist's error, 188), the caliph had his till then practically all-powerful favourite Djaʿfar b Yahyā suddenly executed without legal proceedings. Soon afterwards Yahyā and his other sons were arrested and their property confiscated Yaḥyā was kept in prison till his death on the 3rd Muharram 190 (Nov. 29, 805) in al-Rāfiḳa at the age of 70 (or 74) Cf the article BARMAKIDS

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed Wüstenfeld), N° 816; transl. by de Slane, iv 103; al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), iii., see index; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vi., *passim*; Yaʿḳūbī (ed Houtsma), ii. 490, 506, 510—512; al-Masʿūdī (ed. Paris), vi., *passim*; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), see index; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 65, 99 *sq.*, 120 *sq*, 134 *sqq.*, 144 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*[3], p. 465, 475 *sqq.*, 483 *sq.*; Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

YAḤYĀ B. PĪR ʿALĪ. [See NEWʿĪ]

YAḤYĀ B. ZAID AL-ḤUSAINĪ, son of Zaid b. ʿAlī [q. v.]. After his father had fallen in the rising (122 = 740) into which he had been dragged by the Shīʿa of Kūfa, the young Yaḥyā was no longer safe in Kūfa The reports differ as to whether he at once left the town (Ṭabarī, ii 1710) or whether he was kept in concealment there for a time until the search for him was abandoned (*ibid*, ii. 1713 *sq.*). He finally escaped to Khurāsān with a few followers.

According to the *Makātil al-Ṭālibiyīn*, Yaḥyā went from al-Madāʾin to Rayy and then to Sarakhs where he stayed six months with a certain Yazīd b ʿAmr al-Taimī (*ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib* b ʿUmar al-Tamīmī) *Muḥakkima* (Khāridjīs) are said to have sought to make common cause with him but on Yazīd's advice he would not join them. He came from Sarakhs to Balkh where he found a welcome with al-Harīsh b ʿAmr b Dāwūd (*Makātil*, p 62, *al-Ifāda*, fol 12b· al-Djarīsh b ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Shaibānī).

Learning of Yahyā's activities, Yūsuf b ʿUmar ordered the governor of Khurāsān Nasr b. Sayyār to take him prisoner The governor of Balkh thereupon brought the ʿAlid from his hiding-place and sent him to Nasr who imprisoned him in Marw. The caliph al-Walīd II, to whom the matter of Yaḥyā was referred by Ibn ʿUmar, wrote to Nasr to grant immunity to Yaḥyā and his friends and to release them With a warning against any attempts at rebellion and orders to go to the caliph, Nasr dismissed him and gave him money and animals for his journey In keeping with Naṣr's orders, the governors of Sarakhs, Tūs and Abrashahr (i e. Naisābūr) would not allow the ʿAlid to stop there Yahyā thus came to the frontier town of Baihaḳ Probably from fear of Ibn ʿUmar, he preferred not to go further west. According to *al-Ifāda* (fol. 13a below), from here he published an appeal (*daʿwa*) to follow him 70 men are said to have acknowledged him With his little force, he turned against the commander of Abrashahr, ʿAmr b Zurāra, after demanding their mounts from a caravan on the way. In spite of the superior force of the enemy, he was able to fight successfully. Ibn Zurāra fell, according to Yāḳūt (ed Wüstenfeld, i 630), in the village of Bushtanikān near Naisābūr and in his camp Yahyā seized many riding-animals He then succeeded in fighting his way through the district of Herāt into al-Djūzadjān, where he gained some adherents. But soon after this a strong body of cavalry under Salm b Aḥwaz sent by Naṣr overtook him. After three days desperate fighting in the village of Arghuwa (?) he was killed with his followers (probably in Ramaḍān 125 = June 743).

According to the *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib*, Yahyā was 18 years of age at his death; other sources say 28 His head was sent to Damascus and put up there and his body placed over the gate of the capital of al-Djūzadjān, Anbēr (Anbār; cf. Yāḳūt, i 370, 367) until followers of Abū Muslim [q. v.] took it down and buried it. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage

Yaḥyā's death and the shameful treatment of his body deeply affected the Shīʿa of Khurāsān. Vengeance for Yaḥyā became the watchword of the followers of Abū Muslim, who executed those concerned in his death.

The Zaidīs regard Yaḥyā as one of their imāms.

Bibliography al-Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, see Indices, al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 392, 397 *sq.*, do., *Kitāb al-Buldān*, in *B. G A.*, vii. 302; Ibn Ḳutaiba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 111; al-Masʿūdī, ed. Paris, vi. 2–4, 79; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālbiyīn* (lith Teheran 1307), p 61–64 (on margin of Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nadjafī, *al-Muntakhab fi 'l-Marāthī wa 'l-Khuṭab*, lith Bombay 1311, p. 182—191); Ibn Muhanna' al-Ḥasanī, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* (lith Bombay 1318), p 230 *sqq* ; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, in *G M. S*, xvii London 1910, p 283 *sq.*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī, *Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*, Cod Ambr, N S, A 55, fol 51a—52b, Abū Ṭālib al-Baṭḥānī, *al-Ifāda fī Taʾrīkh al-Aʾimma al-Sāda*, MS Leyden, Or 1974, fol 12a—14b, Ḥamid b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾik al-wardīya fī Manākib Aʾimmat al-Zaidīya*, MS Munich, Ar. 86, fol. 82 *sq* , G. van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasan*, Diss Leyden 1890, p 60—62, J Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh G. W. Gott.*, N. S, v 3, Berlin 1901), p. 97 *sq.*, do, *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p 211, 311; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p 74, 107, C van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p. 30 *sq* , 32, 37 (C VAN ARENDONK)

YAILĀ (East. Turk *yaylak*, from *yaz* "summer" and the suffix *lak*) "summer encampment", usually situated in the mountains, to which people resort to in order to avoid the heat of summer, opp. *ḳishlā* (*ḳishlak*, from *ḳish* "winter" and the suffix *lak*), "dwelling-place in winter" (whence in Osmanlı Turkish the meaning "barracks"). When the hot summer days approach, the inhabitants of the villages take their cattle with them to the highlands (cf. the Swiss *matten*). When the *kishlak* of Adjwān near Tabrīz was left by its inhabitants who went to the *yaylak* of the Ḳara-Bagh, fire was put to all the huts (ʿAinī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, as cited by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i. 21, N0 27)

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YAʿḲŪB, the patriarch, the son of Isaac in the Bible, is in the early Meccan Sūras (vi. 84; xix. 50; xxi. 72; xxix. 26) the brother of Isḥāḳ, son of Ibrāhīm, the genealogy Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Isḥāḳ, Yaʿḳūb, the (12) tribes (ii. 130, 134), is more true to the Bible. Yaʿḳūb is numbered among the Prophets (xix 50) He is once or twice mentioned in the Yūsuf Sūra. Yaʿḳūb orders his sons not to go through a door (xii. 93), he becomes blind through sorrow and regains his sight when Joseph's coat touches his eye (xii. 93, 94).

Post-Ḳurʾānic legend relates that Yaʿḳūb and Esau fought already in their mother's womb, that Yaʿḳūb was to be born first but to spare his mother took second place: Yaʿḳūb was really entitled to the rights of the first-born (Tabarī, i. 350). Yaʿḳūb's journey to Haran and his stay with Laban are told as in the Bible but in several versions Yaʿḳūb only marries Rāḥil after Leah's death. The Yūsuf Sūra receives many embellishments. On hearing that a wolf has torn Yūsuf to pieces, Yaʿḳūb wishes to see the wolf; the brothers bring the first wolf they can find but this beast miraculously begins to speak and exposes their deceit. Many reasons are given as to why Yaʿḳūb has to suffer Yaʿḳūb writes a letter to the king of Egypt. After eighty years of separation, Yaʿḳūb recognises at a distance of 80 parasangs the heavenly aura of Yūsuf The haggada is known according to which Esau and Yaʿḳūb dispute about the burial-place in Machpelah "thou hast made me lose the blessing, thou shall not make me lose the tomb" (Ṭabarī, i. 359, very similarly *Sōṭa* 13a; later parallels in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, v. 371, 422.

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YAʿḲŪB B AL-LAITH [See ṢAFFĀRIDS]

YAʿḲŪB BEY [See GERMIĀN OGHLU]

AL-YAʿḲŪBĪ AHMAD B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB B. DJAʿFAR B WAHB B WĀḌIḤ AL-KĀTIB AL-ʿABBĀSĪ, an Arab historian and geographer, a descendant of the Wāḍiḥ, a freedman of Ṣālih and later of his father, the Caliph al-Mansūr, after whom the family takes the name al-ʿAbbāsī. Like his ancestor, who as governor of Egypt paid with his life for the protection which he gave to Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh on his flight after his defeat at al-Fakhkh in 169 (785), our author was also a Shiʿī of the moderate Mūsawīya who belong to the Imāmīs He spent his youth in Armenia and in the service of the Tāhirids in Khurāsān, whose doings he celebrated in a special work (*Hist*, ii 537, 5). He seems to have written his history of the world which he brought down to the year 259 (872) while still in the east It begins with the history of the patriarchs of Israel, then gives the story of the Messiah and the Apostles, of the rulers of Syria, Assyria and Babylon, the Indians, Greeks and Romans, Persians, northern peoples including the Turks, Chinese, Egyptians, Berbers, Abyssinians, Bedjā and negroes and lastly the pre-Islāmic Arabs. The second part, almost twice as long, begins with the birth of the Prophet and brings the history of Islām down to 259 (872). Besides the Shiʿa tendency, which however never influences him sufficiently to present a false view, his fondness for astrology is apparent, for he gives at the beginning of each reign the exact constellation His work is of importance as a check on the tradition which is otherwise almost entirely dependent on Ṭabarī, although his interest in speeches and letters often leads him to digressions. He also hardly ever mentions his sources and his account of contemporary events is confined to few brief references. In addition to the Cambridge MS. from which M. Th. Houtsma edited the work (*Ibn Wādhih qui dicitur al-Jaʿqūbī historiae*, 2 vols., Leyden 1883), another is now known in Top Ḳapu (*R S O.*, iv. 708), cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Über die Geschichte der Abbasiden von al-Jaʿḳūbī*, in *Travaux de la 3ème session du congr. internat. des or.*, St. Petersburg and Leyden 1879, ii. 153—166; M. Klamroth, *Der Auszug aus den Evangelien bei dem arab. Historiker Jaqubi*, in *Festschr. zur Einweihung des Wilhelmsgymnasium in Hamburg*, 1885; do., *Über die Auszuge aus griechischen Schriftstellern*

bei al-Jaʿqūbī, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 189—233, 612—838; xli. 415—442.

After the fall of the Ṭāhirids, Yaʿḳūbī went to Egypt where he died in 284 (897) In 278 (891) he wrote there his 'geographical work *Kitāb al-Buldān*, for which he had been collecting material by research in literature and making enquiries of travellers His interests are predominantly statistical and topographical, he gives the distances only roughly in days' journeys and lays special weight on giving the yields of taxation He begins with a detailed description of Baghdād and Sāmarrā, then goes on to Īrān and Tūrān with northern Afghānistān. Kūfa with west and south Arabia follow, then Baṣra with Central Arabia, but this part with the description of India, China and the Byzantine Empire is now lost The description of Syria with its military colonies was followed by that of Egypt, Nubia and the Maghrib The concluding part is a section on the governors of Sidjistān down to the death of al-Manṣūr, with which this province lost its independence and became amalgamated with Khurāsān, and of Khurāsān to the end of the Ṭāhirids His style is simple and his text free from the fables so beloved by the geographers of the time See M J de Goeje, *Specimen e litteris orientalibus exhibens descriptionem al-Maghribi sumtam e libro regionum al-Jaqubi*, Leyden 1860; *Kitāb al-boldān auctore Ahmed ibn abi Jaʿḳūb ibn Wādhih al-Kātib al-Jaʿḳūbī*, ed M. J de Goeje, *B. G A*, vii., *ibid* 1892. His works quoted on the Geography of the Byzantine Empire and on the history of the conquest of Africa are lost

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(C Brockelmann)

YĀḲŪT AL-RŪMĪ, or, according to a genealogy which he assumed later, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb b ʿAbd Allāh al-Hamawī, the famous Arab encyclopædist Born in 575 (1179) in Byzantine territory of non-Arab parents (hence his ethnic *al-Rūmī*), he was captured when a boy, sold as a slave in Baghdād and purchased by a certain ʿAskar b. Ibrāhīm al-Hamawī, a merchant in the capital of the caliphs. ʿAskar gave Yāḳūt, who added to his name his master's ethnic, a good education and a few years later sent him to trade in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kishm [q v], ʿUmān and Syria Manumitted in 596 (1199) and estranged for a time from ʿAskar, Yāḳūt took to copying for a living, attended the lectures of the grammarian al-ʿUkbarī (d 616 = 1219), became reconciled with his old master and resumed his trading journeys for him, settled in Baghdād on his death and became a bookseller In 610 (1213) however, he again resumed his life of travel. We now find him in Tabrīz, next year in Syria or Egypt, and in 612 (1215) at Damascus again where he was nearly lynched for his anti-ʿAlid views but he escaped to Aleppo, Mōṣul, Khurāsān and Marw. He spent nearly 2 years in this town, ransacking the libraries. He now began to put together the material for his principal books. At the end of 615 (1218) he left his studious retirement and visited Khwārizm (the modern Khīwa) Hearing however of the coming of the Mongol hordes led by Čingiz-Khān in 616 (1219) he fled hurriedly, abandoning all his property, to Mōṣul where he arrived completely destitute in Radjab 617 (Sept. 1220) He wrote a letter seeking assistance from the vizier Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [q v.] then in Aleppo. The latter supplied him with means of rejoining him in 619 (1222) But two years later, Yāḳūt returned to Mōsul and settled down to finish his geographical dictionary, which he completed on 20th Ṣafar 621 (March 13, 1224) However he did not stay long here, but went to Egypt at the end of this year, returned to Aleppo at the beginning of 625 (1228), and had put the finishing touches to his geographical compilations when he died on 20th Ramaḍān 626 (Aug. 20, 1229)

A certain number of Yāḳūt's works seem now to be lost. This is the case with the *Kitāb al-Mabdaʾ wa 'l-Maʾāl* and *Kitāb al-Duwal*, on history, the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Mutanabbī* and the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Shuʿarāʾ*, the *Muʿdjam al-Udabāʾ* and the *Muʿdjam al-Shuʿarāʾ*, on biography, the *Kitāb ʿUnwān al-Aghānī*, perhaps extracted from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī Of Yāḳūt's work we have only the following 1. *Kitāb al-Muktadab fi 'l-Ansāb*, on the Arab genealogies (Mss in Cairo) 2. *Kitāb Irshād al-Arib ilā Maʿrifat al-Adīb* (in Ibn Khallikān *Irshād al-Alibbāʾ ilā Maʿrifat al-Udabāʾ*), better known as *Muʿdjam al-Udabāʾ* or *Ṭabaḳāt al-Udabāʾ* (ed. by Margoliouth, in *G M S*, Leyden 1907—1931, 6 vols.) This considerable work contains, in alphabetical order, biographies of grammarians, philologists, calligraphers, men of letters, poets and in a general way all those who have dealt with *adab* It has not come down to us in its entirety 3 The *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, on which Yāḳūt worked from 1212 till his death (see Wustenfeld, *Jacut's geographisches Wortebuch*, Leipzig 1866—1873, 6 vols ; 2nd ed , 1924, Cairo 1906—1907, with a modern supplement for Europe, America, etc. 10 vols) This dictionary contains not only geographical information but also under each place-name astrological and historical data, quotations from poems and a list of eminent natives of the place. This mixture of history and geography, which is by no means peculiar to Yāḳūt, led another compiler, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b ʿAbd al-Hakḳ (d. 735 = 1339), to prepare an abridgment entitled *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā Asmāʾ al-Amkina wa 'l-Bikāʿ* (ed by Juynboll, Leyden 1851—1864, 4 vols) containing only the geographical matter of the *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*. 4 *Kitāb al-Mushtarik wadʿan wa 'l-Mukhtalif ṣaḳʿan*, composed in 623 (1226), remodelled in 626 (1229) (ed. by Wustenfeld, Gottingen 1846, 1 vol.) It is a dictionary of place-names of the same spelling which are applied to several different places

Yāḳūt is closely connected with the school of compilers who, like Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, al-Ḳazwīnī, Ibn Khallikān, without producing any original work, extracted with remarkable skill the essentials from the work of their predecessors, completed and corrected in detail the information found in books and presented the whole in accessible and handy fashion Yāḳūt in a general way confines himself to quoting the actual words of the authors from whom he borrows, not omitting to give the source. In this way there have been preserved for us numerous fragments of works now lost

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Orientaux, preface to the *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Paris 1848), i., cxxix. *sqq.*; do., in *J.A.*, 1860; Herr, *Die histor. und geogr. Quellen in Jaqut's geogr. Worterbuch* (Strassburg 1898); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 479—481, Huart, *Litt. arabe*, p. 301—303. (R. Blachère)

YĀḲŪT al-MUSTAʿṢIMĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Madjd b ʿAbd Allāh, a famous calligrapher, was a slave of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād, al-Mustaʿṣim, who had him brought up and educated, whence his surname. His origin is unknown; some say he was a Greek from Amasia; he was probably carried off on a razzia while still very young. He was a eunuch He died at Baghdād in 698 (1298) at the age of 80 (lunar years) which would make him born in 618 (1221) The continuer of Ibn al-Bawwāb, he was called *Ḳiblat al-Kuttāb*, "model of calligraphers", and was head of a school, he also wrote in prose and verse, we have by him a *Kitāb Akhbār*, an anthology written in 662 (1264) and the *Afkār al-Ḥukamā'*, a collection of aphorisms (printed at Constantinople in 1300) Kur'āns, said to be copied by him, are in the following libraries St Sofia, 654 (1256), Hamīdīya *turbe* at Bāghče-Ḳapu (Constantinople), 662 (1264), Cairo (Moritz, N⁰ 89), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds arabe, N⁰. 6082; Peytel Collection, 681 (1282), etc.

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YĀM. 1. Name of a tribe belonging to Hamdān in South Arabia, described by Ibn al-Mudjāwir as the Banū Yām b. Asbaʿ living in al-Ḳadīm and in the wādīs of al-Ḥānik and al-Ḥukka Al-Hamdānī numbers the Banū Yām among the tribes who speak a pure Arabic but E. Glaser established the fact that their dialect is different from the Arabic which is spoken in the Yaman highlands The Banū Yām are, according to Passama, the finest type of men among the southern Arabs, of fine physique, proud and warlike. They live in Nadjrān and belong to the sect of the Ismāʿīlīya which is found not only in Nadjrān and Hamdān but also in Ṭaiba, Harāz, Ṣaʿfān and several places in Yerīm and is under the leadership of the Dāʿī Ḳabā'il Yām, who lives at Bedr Since about 1760 this dignity has been hereditary in the al-Makramī family, the founder of which extended the power of the tribe in 1763 beyond Nadjrān to Ṣaʿfān, Ḥarāz, Menākha and Ṭaiba and thrust their plundering raids into towns on the coast They were able to retain their power and prestige afterwards The tribe of Yām was represented in the embassy to the Prophet, which adopted Islām in the year 10 under the leadership of Mālik b. Namaṭ. When Sulṭān Selīm conquered the Yemen, the Yām assisted the Turks and were rewarded with the right to levy tribute on the tribes subdued by the Turks This of course did not prevent them supporting the Imām Ḳāsim about 1640 in driving the Turks out of the Yaman. The Dāʿī of Yām was however able to re-establish good relations with Constantinople in 1834 and his successors also were friendly with the Turks so long as the latter held firm control of the Yaman.

2 Name of a Mikhlāf in the Yaman, which included the sphere of influence of the tribe of Yām.

3. Name of a mountain in the Yaman Djawf between the wādīs of Khārid and al-Ferḍa.

Bibliography al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 88; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G A.*, vi. 137; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D H. Muller, Leyden 1884—1891, p 115, 9, 136, 3, 4; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 1004, al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, ii. 614, 849; A Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients (Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii./3, Leipzig 1864), p 155; do., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii. (Berlin 1869), p. 456, 457; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1875, p. 292, C Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii./i, Berlin 1846, p. 954, 1008—1014; M Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, Paris 1840, p 186 *sq* , J Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv., Berlin 1889, p. 179 *sq* ; J. Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammads an die Stamme Arabiens* (Dissert., *M. S O. S As*, xix, 1916/ii.), p 80; E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mârib*, Vienna 1913, p. 22, 29, 118, 128, 165, J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, in *J. A.*, ser. vi., vol. xix, Paris 1872, p. 30; A Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, p. 4, 49, 51, 97, note 1, 104 (Adolf Grohmann)

YAMAḲ [See Janissaries]

al-YAMĀMA, a district in Central Arabia, which was originally called Djaww ("the bottom of a valley"). The name of Yamāma is said to go back to the seeress Zarḳā' al-Yamāma, who plays a prominent part in the story of the decline of the tribes of Ṭasm and Djadīs. The district was first of all called after her Djaww al-Yamāma, then simply al-Yamāma The statement that al-Yamāma lies on the long ridge of the ʿĀriḍ, to which belongs its chief wādī ʿIrḍ, which runs through the district, shows, like the long list of place-names and not least the very considerable yield in taxation, 510,000 dīnārs according to Kudāma b. Djaʿfar, that it must have been an extensive area, which included a considerable portion of the range now called Djebel Tuwaiḳ The boundaries given by Jomard, who understands the statements of Idrīsī and Abu 'l-Fidā' to mean that al-Yamāma included the provinces of al-ʿĀriḍ and al-Khardj, are probably too extensive. It is not however possible to define exactly the limits of this region which was very important in ancient Arabia; the Dahnā however was the frontier on the east.

The name al-Yamāma is now given to an oasis in the Wādī ʿAdjaimī on the southeastern slope of the Djebel Ṭuwaiḳ, which consists of a palm-grove, a mile square with four villages, in front of which lies an extensive area covered with the ruins of palaces and dwelling-houses. Philby therefore seeks to locate the ancient Yamāma in the angle formed by the Wādīs Ḥanīfa and Nisāḥ. Its first capital was al-Khidrima in the Wādi 'l-ʿIrḍ (or Wādī Banī Ḥanīfa), later in the second half of the fourth century A. H. the market town of Ḥadjr al-Yamāma or al-Ḥadjr, which was however already in ruins in the time of Idrīsī. The following places in it are also mentioned:

Manfūḥa, Wabra, al-ʿAwḳa, Ghabrāʾ, Muhashshama, al-ʿAmmārīya, Faishān, al-Haddār, Ḍāhik, Tūdiḥ, al-Miḳrāt, al-Sāl, Salamīya, al-Ḳuraiya, al-Madjāza, Maʾwān and al-Naḳb. Al-Khiḍrima is described as an important and town, smaller than al-Madīna, but rich in palms and fruit-trees. Among the crops the most important was wheat, which was even sent to the caliph's table (it was known as *Baiḍāʾ al-Yamāma*), there was also excellent fruit and dates. The beef was well flavoured as there were fine pastures and the drinking-water excellent. A speciality of al-Yamāma was the slave girls who fetched high prices for their complexion — up to as much as 100,000 dirhams.

In the pre-Islāmic period al-Yamāma was inhabited by the Djadīs, who had their strongholds in the ʿIrḍ valley and along with the Ṭasm whose army they destroyed here, were under Himyarite rule. After their decline, which South Arabian legend narrates fully, we find the Banū Hanīfa b. Ludjaim who, after being almost annihilated in the battle against the rival prophet Musailima b. Thumāma (12 A H.) submitted to Islām At a later period al-Yamāma was settled by the Numair b ʿAmīr and Bāhila b Yaʿsur as well as by the Tamīm and their clients of other tribes At the present day the district belongs to the Wahhābī kingdom, has about 2,000 inhabitants and has sunk to a low level. Philby no doubt rightly ascribes the destruction of the old cultivated land to a disastrous flood in the valley of the Hanīfa.

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AL-YAMAN, formerly a province, now an imāmate in the southwest of the Arabian peninsula. The name is variously explained; some say it was given because the Yaman lies to the right of the Kaʿba or to the right of the sun (al-Bakrī, ii 856), others because Yuḳtan b. ʿĀbir and his companions turned right on separating from the other Arabs (*B. G. A*, v 33, Yāḳūt, iv. 1034), while others again derive the name from the eponymous hero Yaman b. Ḳaḥṭān cf. al-Wāsiʿī, p. 281). Sprenger thinks the Greeks and Romans translated Teman and Yaman by "eudaemon" and "felix" and included under Arabia Felix all the land south of Shām. This coincides roughly with the delimitation of the Yaman attributed to Muḥammad, who is said to have climbed a mound at Tabūk and pointing to the north said "All this is al-Shām" and turning to the south "All this is al-Yaman" (Sprenger, p. 9). The greatest extension of the Yaman to the north actually corresponds very well with the boundary of Arabia Felix which, according to Ptolemy, vi. 7, 2, 27, begins about 6 miles south of al-ʿAḳaba and the northern frontier of which runs from there northeastwards to the foot of the Sharāʾ range and then turning east, crossing the northern edge of the desert of al-Nufūd, ends at al-Nedjef. Al-Wāsiʿī (p. 282) also represents al-Yaman as bounded in the east by the Persian Gulf, in the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by the Red Sea and in the north by the Gulf of Ḳulzum, the Syrian desert and the ʿIrāḳ. The frontiers given by the Arab geographers are considerably narrower. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 135, 137, 189) and Idrīsī (p. 143 *sq.*), the northern frontier of the Yaman ends at the tree called Ṭalḥat al-Malik between al-Muhdjira and Sarūm Rāḥ south of Mecca According to others, it begins below Tathlīth, while al-Asmaʿī (Yāḳūt, iv. 1035) makes the northern boundary run from ʿOmān through Nadjrān; Hamdānī (p. 51; Yāḳūt, iv 1035) more accurately lays it through Yabrīn, south of al-Yamāma, via al-Hudjaira, Tathlīth, Djurash and Kutna to the coast towards Kudummul near Ḥamiḍa (17° 52′). Ibn Hawḳal (p 18) who includes two thirds of the Diyār al-ʿArab in the Yaman, puts the northern limit at al-Sirrain, Yalamlam, al-Tāʾif and makes it run through the highlands to the Persian Gulf, this makes it intelligible why some geographers even include Mecca in the Yaman Tihāma. Towards the east the Yaman extends over Ḥaḍramōt, al-Shiḥr (Mahra), Zafār (Ḍofār); even ʿOmān is sometimes included in the Yaman when it is not (as e g. in Maḳdisī, p. 68) made a separate province. The whole of this extensive territory, which al-Dimashḳī (p 216) divides into 24 administrative districts (*mikhlāf*), was in the early days of Islām divided into three: Sanʿā, al-Djanad and Ḥaḍramōt (or Ẓafār) under separate governors The taxes under the ʿAbbāsids yielded 600,000 dīnārs (*B G A*, vi. 144, 249, 251) After the Yaman broke off from the ʿAbbāsid empire its area diminished considerably and its administrative divisions varied substantially; sometimes the Sunnī Tihāma with its capital Zabīd was actually independent of the Zaidī highlands with Ṣanʿā as capital. When C. Niebuhr travelled in the Yaman he ascertained that the following districts were independent. 1. Yaman in the narrower sense with Ṣanʿā; 2 ʿAden with its hinterland, 3. Kawkabān; 4 Hāshid and Bakīl; 5 Abū ʿArīsh, 6. the lands lying between this and the Hidjāz; 7. Khawlān; 8. Sahān with Ṣaʿda; 9 Nadjrān; 10. Ḳaḥṭān; 11. al-Djawf with Mārib; 12. Nihm; 13. Khawlān, S. E. of Ṣanʿā, 14. Yāfiʿ.

The geographical definition of the Yaman becomes still narrower under Turkish rule. The wilāyet according to the provincial law of 19th Rabīʿ II, 1331 comprised the sandjaḳ of Ṣanʿā with the ḳaḍās of Ḥarāz, Kawkabān, Ānis, Hadje, Dhamār, Yarīm, Redāʿ and ʿAmrān, the sandjaḳ of al-Ḥudaida with the ḳaḍās of Zabīd, Luḥaiya, Zaidīya, Djabal Rēma, Ḥadjūr, Bēt al-Faḳīh and Bādjil, and the sandjaḳ of Taʿizz with the ḳaḍās of Ibb, ʿUdain, Ḳaʿṭaba, Ḥudjarīya, Mukhā and Ḳamāʿira. In the north it was adjoined towards 18° N. Lat. by the independent districts of Abū ʿArīsh, Ḳaḥṭān, Wādaʿa, Bilād Yām (Nadjrān), in the east by the Balad Ktāf, Barat, the oasis of Khabb, al-Djawf with Arḥab and Nihm and also Mārib, Khawlān, Ḥarīb, Baiḥān and Yāfiʿ as well as the Faḍlī region, and

in the south by the hinterland of ʿAden, which is under the protectorate of England and since the Anglo-Turkish frontier adjustment of 1902—1905 has endeavoured to push its boundary northwards, which tendency has been repeatedly opposed by the Imām Yaḥyā b Ḥamīd al-Dīn in recent years, his kingdom is bounded in the north by the Ḥiḏjāz and Naḏjd, and in the east in about 46° Long by Ḥaḍramōt which the Imām regards as within his sphere of influence The official Turkish estimate of the area of the wilāyet of Yaman is 191,100 sq. km but both higher and lower estimates are given. If we include the hinterland of Aden as well as the islands of Kamarān, Perim, Soḳoṭrā and Khūryān-Mūryān, which belong to India (Bombay), we get roughly 195,000 sq km The estimates of the population vary quite as much The English figure is 1,000,000 for the Yaman, and 100,000 for the protectorate of ʿAden E Glaser (*Tagebuch*, VIII, 1886, p. 45) gives the Turkish Yaman 1,800,000 inhabitants, al-Wāsiʿī, 5,000,000 The population of the Yaman is, apart from about 60,000 Jews and a few Christians and Parsees, entirely Muslim, but of different schools The highlands between Saʿda, Yarīm and ʿAththāra and the whole of the east including al-Djawf are Zaidī, the Tihāma, Taʿizziya and Ḥaḍramōt, Shāfiʿī The Ismāʿīlīya includes among its followers the districts of Naḏjrān, Ḥamdān, Ṭaiba, Ḥaraz, Saʿfān and the neighbourhood of Yarīm The Yaʿḳūbī sect has followers in the vicinity of Menākha

The anthropological classification of the population is not yet settled There is undoubtedly a strong Hamitic element of the same type as in North Africa, alongside of which the dolichocephalous Semitic race of northern Arabia and the short and high headed, large-nosed race of hither Asia, not to mention a negro element, form a strong component in the racial mixture of South Arabia, at the basis of which there is probably an ancient pigmy people

The sharp distinction between the low lying coast-lands and the highlands of the Yaman had already been noticed by the Arab geographers The former, 25—45 miles in breadth, passes into an undulating area of sandy, hilly country with occasional ridges and cones standing out like islands, which is succeeded by the bordering echelon of foot hills, then an outer trench-zone, on which abuts the curved and broken edge of the Arabian plateau. An inner trench-zone follows, and forms the transition to the eastern highlands The Yaman highlands, the scene of a great upheaval, in the angle of two great depressions, has thus become a great mountain area which contains the highest peaks in Arabia (about 10,000 feet) and has towns (Māʾrib, Ṣanʿāʾ) at a level of 3,500 to 7,000 feet. The extensive desert known as Rubʿ al-Khālī which bounds the Yaman on the east and stretches in the form of a wide valley between Naḏjd and Ḥaḍramōt, has only been made better known recently through the explorations of B. Thomas and Philby Al-Yaman has not unjustly been called the "Green" (al-Khaḍrāʾ) A fairly intensive system of agriculture is possible not only in the plains of the coast (especially producing millet and maize) but also in the bordering foothills, which are very favoured climatically and have a luxurious vegetation An arduous but intensive system of cultivation is carried on artificial terraces. The most valuable article of cultivation is the coffee plant; the eastern slopes of the inner hills are permanently cultivated since perennial streams and springs secure irrigation and wells make possible an intensive oasis-cultivation. The healthy climate of these inner valleys has in places led to a denser population than on the outer hills. On the edge of the eastern highlands at the mouths of the valleys there are extensive oases which grow dates (Djawf, Mārib) That the centres of culture in ancient Arabia (Sabaʾ, Maʿīn) grew up here is due to the great skill in irrigation works, of which the dam at Mārib is an example Among the articles grown may be mentioned wheat from very early times; it does well at a medium height of 4,000 feet; millet, sorghum, maize and oats are also grown The chief centres for cereals were Dhū Djuma, Khawlān, Dhamār, Ruʿain and al-Sahūl The Tihāma still produces 50—400 fold crops and wide stretches e. g. in the plain of Mārib could be cultivated if they had a better system of irrigation Numerous fruits (apples, quinces, bananas, lemons, apricots, peaches, plums and oranges etc.) grow in the Yaman, especially in the Wādī Dahr at Sanʿāʾ, the date and vine have also been cultivated since ancient times Vineyards are often mentioned in the early south Arabian inscriptions and the geographers mention them in Sarūm Rāh, Khawān, Athāfit and in the Wādī Dahr Among dye-yielding plants are indigo found particularly at Zabīd, *wars* in Bilād Hobēsh, ʿUdain, Djible, Ibb etc., madder, safflower and hennā A widely distributed plant the leaves of which are used for chewing is *ḳāt* (*Catha edulis Forsk*) The trees and shrubs which produced drugs and gums were of special importance in antiquity, especially frankincense and myrrh The export of their resins laid the foundation for the prosperity of South Arabia, there was also the aloe, an especially fine quality of which was found in Sokotrā Mineral wealth is also to be found in the Yaman Gold is obtained in considerable quantities from the sands of the rivers and from mines, among jewels varieties of onyx and cornelians were esteemed. The high degree of culture also raised the level of local industries The weaving was particularly good, high prices were paid for striped cloaks from Sahūl and Hibara Cotton was made as early as the sixth century A. D. Tanning and the manufacture of leather was general and increased considerably in the period of Persian rule Yaman leather and book-bindings were greatly appreciated The chief manufacturing towns were Saʿda, Zabīd, Djurash and Naḏjrān. The manufacture of weapons was also a flourishing one, swords and cuirasses from the Yaman were highly prized as were the safety-locks still manufactured there. Other products of the Yaman which were exported were drinking vessels from Halī, palm leaf baskets from ʿAththar, rope from Muhdjura (*B G. A.*, III. 98). The favoured position of the Yaman as a centre of trade for Indian products and valuable perfumes, which it held down to the middle ages, is now lost, probably for ever. Coffee, hides, drugs and resins and salt still have some importance in its export trade The most important harbours are ʿAden, al-Ḥudaida, Mukhā, Luḥaiya, Mukallā and al-Shiḥr. The internal trade is still mainly conducted by caravans. The building of the first railway in the Yaman from al-Hudaida to Ṣanʿāʾ (begun in 1912) was stopped by the Great War in 1915; the railway from ʿAden via Laḥaḏj has only reached

Ḥabīl al-Ḥamrā'. The difficulties in the internal transport of goods occasionally lead to disastrous famines but the economic development of the country is probably only a matter of time.

It is not possible here to trace the varied history of the Yaman through all the stages of its development from the conversion of the land to Islām which began as early as 9 A H. (cf. the articles ṢAN'Ā' and ZABĪD and the short sketch of "Jemen im Islām" in M Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 530—547). On the other hand, since conditions in the Yaman are much involved in general questions of eastern politics, it seems advisable to give an outline of events since the reconquest of the Yaman by the Turks. The incentive to more energetic action against the Yaman, which had been again administered as a wilāyet by the Turks since 1849, was given by the opening of the Suez Canal and the desire to command the E coast of the Red Sea. In 1870 the Wālī Ḥalebli 'Alī Pasha defeated the emīr of 'Asīr Muḥammad b 'Ā'id, who was threatening al-Ḥudaida At this time the Turks held only al-Ḥudaida, Luḥaiya, Zabīd, Bēt el-Fakīh, Bādjil, Mukhā, Djizān, and half of Djabal Rēma. The Turkish force set out from Ḳunfuda against Sukā and Reida in 'Asīr where 'Ā'id had established himself but he had to surrender after a six days' siege. The Turkish commander Redīf Pasha had him put to death immediately after his surrender Asīr was now occupied by the Turks. Ahmad Mukhtār Pasha who had taken command after Redīf Pasha's illness advanced via Bādjil, 'Aththāra to Ṣan'ā' (1871) 'Amrān, Kawkabān and Shibām were taken; the Turkish advance was only checked before Ṣarāra. In the south the Djabal Rēma and the Ta'izzīya were occupied, a road made from al-Ḥudaida to Ṣan'ā' and the post to 'Aden instituted. Ahmad Aiyūb Pasha became governor of the wilāyet in place of Ahmad Mukhtār Pasha who had been summoned to Constantinople to a seat in the cabinet in May 1873. Arhab, Ḥāshid and the Bilād Sanḥān were taken and his successor Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim Pasha advanced as far as Sūda and Shahāra In spite of these successes, the risings of the Yamanīs against the Turks continued to flare up Ḥāfiz Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī Pasha, the successor of Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim, had to fight in Hamdan, Ḥāshid and at Luhaiya, not always with success, also in Hadā, Dhamār and al-Hodjerīya. In March 1882, he was succeeded by Muḥammad 'Izzet Pasha whose diplomacy won over the Dā'ī of Yām to drive back the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn who had advanced on 'Amrān and to obtain the recognition of Turkish suzerainty in Habūr, Shahāra and Ṣa'da and extend Turkish rule in the south as far as Bāb al-Mandab. Risings, which occasionally took place when the garrisons were weakened, were easily suppressed. There was however a more dangerous one in 1892: Ṣan'ā' was besieged by the Arabs, Menākha, Djible, Yarīm and Ta'izz passed to the Imām. Faiḍī Pasha put down the rebellion but in 1895—1896 war broke out again in the north, and the two following years there was considerable unrest in the land; piracy in the Red Sea even led to a demonstration by Italian cruisers before al-Ḥudaida (1902). The chain of isolated actions only produced a serious movement when the present Imām Maḥmūd Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn, a farseeing and vigorous man, undertook the leadership in 1904 and proclaimed the *djihād* against the Turks. Ṣan'ā' was invested by the forces of the Imām; the fighting outside the town went against the Turks and in April 1905 an agreement was reached by which Ṣan'ā' and the vicinity passed into the hands of the Imām and the Turks agreed to withdraw Menākha, Ta'izz, Ibb, Makhātir, Ka'ṭaba and Redā' alone remained in Turkish hands; the Porte however did not approve of the conditions of the peace but decided to send Aḥmad Faiḍī Pasha to reconquer the lost territory, he retook Ṣan'ā' after a march right across Arabia but lost it again after fierce fighting. The losses in men in this, the most serious rising, were so considerable that they were forced to negotiate with the Imām, missions being sent from Constantinople to the Yaman and *vice-versa*. In the meanwhile the governor Aḥmad Faiḍī Pasha was replaced by the politic Hasan Taḥsīn Pasha who endeavoured to come to a satisfactory agreement with the Imām. At the Sulṭān's request a deputation of Yaman notables came to Constantinople, the very excited negotiations however came to nothing in spite of the willingness to consider the Imām's claims to independence After the victory of the Young Turks (1909) they appeared to be ready in Constantinople to carry through a complete reorganisation of the Yaman

The province was to be divided into two separate wilāyets the one comprising the highlands with 'Amiān, Hadje, Tawīla, Dhamār and Yarīm, was to be directly administered by the Imām, the other part including the coast to be put under a new wālī The two governors were to be independent and rule with the assistance of kādīs and native gendarmerie according to the Sharī'a, the net yield from taxation was to be taken to Constantinople and separate accounts kept. Menākha was to be the main Turkish garrison town The scheme of reform was upset by new risings in Ṣa'da, which although put down by the son of the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, Muḥammad Abū Naiba, gave a pretext to the Turks to resort to force once more. The policy of violence pursued by Muhammad 'Alī Pasha had a disastrous effect for it produced a general rising, which became all the more dangerous when Saiyid Idrīs of 'Asīr also attacked the Turks (1910) The struggle was finally concluded by the agreement of Da'ān in 1911, which was concluded between 'Izzet Pasha and Imām Yahyā and contained 20 articles (Wāsi'ī, p 236—239, Stuhlmann, p. 96 *sq*) In this, the territorial status quo under Ahmad Mukhtār Pasha was recognised, the appointment of Zaidī judges by the Imām and the establishment of a court of appeal recognised; the Imām handed over a tenth to the government according to the Sharī'a, while his territory was recognised as autonomous The war between the Porte and Italy led to the blockade of the Yaman coast and the bombardment of al-Ḥudaida, but the military assistance given by the Imām strengthened his relations with the Turks. Saiyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, the ally of Italy, was defeated by the Imām's troops This alliance was further strengthened by the World War In 1915 (or even 1914?) Turkish troops and Yaman volunteers led by Sa'īd Pasha attacked Laḥadj and drove the English back to 'Aden. In 1915 'Aden was cut off for a considerable time by land. The unfortunate result of the war in Palestine however affected the situation in the Yaman and in 1918 the Turks left the country by order of the Sulṭān The Imām moved

his capital first to al-Rawḍa (Aug. 1918) and then to Ṣanʿāʾ. The English bombarded al-Ḥudaida which they gave to their friend Saiyid Idrīs. The Imām then attacked ʿAden and took several places in the hinterland, but an arrangement was soon come to In 1924 there was fighting in Djawf with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b Saʿūd, but Yaḥyā succeeded in taking al-Ḥudaida and al-Tihāma, and in the following year a treaty was concluded by Sir Gilbert Clayton between England and the Imām. More recently Italy's active policy has involved the Imām in her sphere of interest and this has been emphasised by a visit of Yamanī notables to Italy.

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YAMBOʿ. [See Yanbuʿ.]

YAMĪN, the most usual Muslim term for oath, from the meaning "the right hand", according to al-Djawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v., because these swearing take one another's right hands but rather because participants in an oath in general use the right hand in the ceremony; cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xvii. 356, 7 On the oath s ḤILF and ḲASAM. On particular expressions like *Yamīn al-Ḥinth*, *Yamīn al-Ṣabr*, *Yamīn al-Ḳadā*ʾ etc. s. *Corpus Iuris di Zaid Ibn ʿAlī*, ed. Griffini, Indices; *Il Muḥtaṣar o Sommario del Dirritto Malechita di Ḫalīl Ibn Isḥāq*, transl Guidi and Santillana, i. p xl. (Johs Pedersen)

YANBUʿ (Yamboʿ), a little port and also a town some distance inland on the west coast of Arabia; the former is also called Yanbuʿ al-Baḥr or Sherm Yanbuʿ and the latter, 6—7 hours journey N. E. of it, is called Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl. The port, which has now replaced the old harbour of al-Djār as the port of al-Madīna, lies on a shallow but wide bay with good anchorage, protected from the winds by an island lying outside it The town is divided by an arm of the sea into two parts and defended on the land side by a wall with towers, which has two gates, the Bāb al-Madīna on the east and the Bāb Maṣr on the north, as well as several others on the sea side The houses are badly built and the mosques insignificant. The harbour lives mainly by the trade of al-Madina which goes through it and does a busy traffic with Suwēs, Ḳusair and Ḳene in Upper Egypt by native sailing ships The inland town of Yanbuʿ, written al-Yanbūʿ in Ibn Djubair, is an old settlement and probably identical with the Ἰαμβία κώμη of Ptolemy The town, which was celebrated for its *hennā*ʾ, is described by the geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī as large, well populated and rich in palms and had a strong castle It was inhabited by Anṣār, members of the Banū Djuhaina and Laith, the Prophet is said to have conducted the *ṣalāt* in its mosque. The oasis lies at the foot of a row of hills and owes its prosperity to a stream coming from them. Vegetables, dhura and tobacco are grown; the greatest care is devoted to the date-palm groves which have been celebrated since these ancient times; the houses lie scattered among them. The tradition that the harbour of Yanbuʿ is a later foundation from Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl, where leading Yambawīs have date-groves and country houses, still survives among the people. The name Yanbuʿ or Yanbūʿ (spring) is attributed to the wealth of the place in springs.

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(ADOLF GROHMANN)

YARBŪʿ, an important group of the tribe of Tamīm [q v.] Genealogy· Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm (Wustenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, K 13). The same name is borne by other ethnic groups not only Tamīmī (e. g. Yarbūʿ b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala [K 14 and cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, p 122, 18 and parallel passages] and also Yarbūʿ b. Tamīm in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-Ansāb*), but also of other tribes, of the south (Kalb, Saʿd Hudhain, Djuhaina) and of the north (Ghaṭafān, Thaḳīf, Ghanī, Sulaim, Ḥanīfa, ʿĀmir b Ṣaʿṣaʿa; we also find among the Ḳuraish a Yarbūʿ b ʿAnkatha b. ʿĀmir b. Makhzūm). *Yarbūʿ* being the name of a rodent widely distributed in Arabia, its application to the tribe has been taken as an example of totemism (W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*[2], p. 235), a theory which however is now abandoned. Mythological legend which has survived to a greater extent in this connection than elsewhere among the traditions of the Tamīm, dwells on the mother of Yarbūʿ, Djandala bint Fihr, of the Kināna, who is said to have been violated one stormy night, and later married, by Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (*Djamhara*, Brit. Mus. MS. fol. 62r; *Nakāʾid*, ed Bevan, p 225, note 1, this is perhaps an etiological myth, formed to explain certain connections between neighbouring clans) Compared with the other groups descended from Hanẓala, reunited under the name of al-Barāḏjim, the Yarbūʿ appear isolated, probably because they were powerful enough to do without a federative alliance. Indeed we find that even some of the sub-groups of the Yarbūʿ enjoy a certain autonomy, like the Riyāḥ, the Kulaib, the Salīt, the Thaʿlaba, and the Ghudāna. They are divided into two sections, the exact nature of which we do not know. al-Aḥmāl (Thaʿlaba, ʿAmr, Subaira and al-Ḥārith) and al-Uḳad (Kulaib, Ghudāna and al-ʿAnbar) Their territory was very extensive, for we find them practically throughout the whole extent of the territory of the Tamīm, from Yamāma to below the Euphrates; but their centre was the valley of al-Hazn of remarkable fertility, (cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 261 and iii. 870; the name of one of their oases was Firdaws al-Iyād) Although tradition mentions "towns" belonging to them (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 254) they led a nomadic life, like most of the Tamīm.

The history of the Yarbūʿ during the Djāhilīya is closely connected with that of the rest of the Tamīm, and on several occasions they took command in the wars of the latter. Sometimes however we find them engaged by themselves in war with one or other of the neighbouring tribes; for example they fought several battles alone with the Banū Shaibān, the best known being those of Dhū Ṭulūk (*Naḳāʾid*, p. 45—59, 73) and of al-Iyād (*ibid.*, p. 580—587, also known by other names), in which they took prisoner the famous Shaibānī leader Bisṭām b. Ḳais (cf. E. Bräunlich, *Bistam ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held*, Leipzig 1923, passim) in spite of the support given to the latter by the Persian governor of ʿAin Tamr.

At the beginning of Islām, the attitude of the Yarbūʿ was that of hostile reserve. They did not dare declare openly against the powerful prophet of Madīna but on his death they were the first to rebel. The prophetess Sadjāḥ [q. v.] was one of them (the tradition which makes her belong to the Taghlib seems to have little authority) To the Yarbūʿ also belonged the two brothers Mālik and Mutammim b Nuwaira whose relations with Khālid b. al-Wālid made such a stir. After the suppression of the *ridda*, however, the Yarbūʿ like the rest of the Tamīm proved faithful to Islām and took an active part in the conquests: but their turbulent and rebellious nature was revealed in the considerable support they gave to the Khāridjīs; in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vi. 4, it is noted that at the battle of Dawlab, in 65, where the forces of the Azraḳīs were crushed, the leaders of the two parties, ʿUbaid Allāh b. Bashīr al-Salīṭī and al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAmr al-Ghudānī were both of Yarbūʿ.

The many details that we possess of the deeds of the Yarbūʿ during the wars of the Djāhilīya and even of those of the tribal wars of the Islāmic period, have survived mainly because these wars are mentioned in the verses of Djarīr (who belonged to the clan of the Kulaib b. Yarbūʿ) and because his commentators discuss them fully — The Yarbūʿ moreover gave to the poetry of the pre-Muḥammadan period and of the first century A. H. quite a number of remarkable poets: in addition to those given at the end of the article TAMĪM we may mention Suḥaim b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī (cf. especially *Aṣmaʿīyāt*, ed Ahlwardt, No. 76), Ḥārītha b Badr al-Ghudānī, al-Shamardal b. Shaiṭān, of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ

Bibliography: see the article TAMĪM

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-YARMŪK, a river in Syria, now called Sharīʿat al-Manāḏira (from the Beduin tribe ʿArab al-Manāḏira). It rises in the Hawrān, flows west through a deeply cut valley of erosion, the Wādī al-Ramād, which describes a flat curve open to the south, to the Ghawr, where it flows into the Nahr al-Urdunn (the Jordan) below Lake Gennesareth at Djisr al-Mudjāmiʿ Pliny calls it (*Hist Nat.*, v. 74) Hieromix or Hieromices (*Gadara Hieromice praefluente*, var. *Hieromiace*; the now so popular form "*Hieromax*" is not recorded).

On the 12th Radjab 15 (Aug 20, 636 A D) in the celebrated battle on the Yarmūk an army of some 50,000 Byzantines was decisively defeated by an Arab force, probably half as strong, under Khālid b. al-Walīd. The battlefield lay near the junction of the Nahr al-Ruḳḳād and the Yarmūk not far from al-Wāḳūṣa (the modern al-Yāḳūṣa). According to Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p 332), the disaster to the Byzantine army took place κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθᾶ (al-Djābiya, now Djābiye [q. v.]) καὶ Ἱερμουχάν This battle was sometimes confused with that of Adjnādain [q. v.] of 28th Djumādā I, 13 (July 30, 634), perhaps because the battlefield lay not far from Khirbet Yarmūk, this Biblical Yarmūth (Ἱερμούς, north of Wādi 'l-Ṣamt; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leyden 1900, p. 59 *sqq.*). Caetani explains the confusion in the accounts of the battles as a result of the erroneous assumption that Abū ʿUbaida was present as early as the first siege of Damascus and proposes, following Mědnikov, to emend the otherwise unknown Adjnādain to Djannābatain. The accounts of the two battles are fully treated

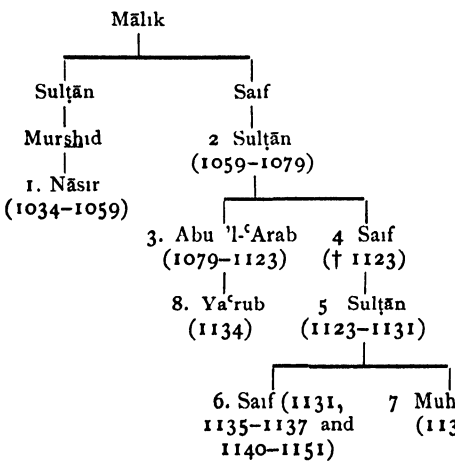
and analysed in his *Annals dell' Islām*, III/I., p. 24—81, § 17-67 (Aǧnādain); III/II., p. 499—613, § 11—124 (al-Yarmūk). — Near the battle-field lay Dair al-Khill, where the Arabs encamped on the day of the battle (Yāḳūt, *Muʿǧam*, II. 658; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid*, I 428).

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(E HONIGMANN)

YAʿRUB, I Yaʿrub b Kahtān b Hūd, the grandson of the prophet Hūd, who is also regarded as the ancestor of the Himyar kings, is one of the mythical rulers of the Yaman He is said to have conquered the ʿĀdites who occupied Maʾrib and thus to have become the founder of the Sabaean kingdom His name is derived by the genealogists from *aʿraba* "to speak correct Arabic (i e. with the *iʿrāb*)" as he is also said to have been the first to speak Arabic, for his father Kaḥtān still spoke the original language of Sām b Nūḥ

2 Yaʿrub b. Mālik, the ancestor of the Yaʿrubid dynasty of ʿUmān whose capitals were al-Rustāḳ, Yabrīn and al-Hazm, they ruled from 1034—1154 (1624—1741) They succeeded one another as follows



The last member of the dynasty, Sultān b Murshid, was set up as a pretender against Saif b. Sultān with the help of Aḥmad b Saʿīd and chosen imām The greater part of ʿUmān fell to him and Saif b Sulṭān could only held out in Masḳat which lost much of its importance to the rival port of Maṭrah favoured by Sulṭān b. Murshid. In fighting with the Persians who came to his help, his opponent Sulṭān b. Murshid was slain and after Saif's death which took place soon after, the governor of Ṣuḥār, Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, who had married a daughter of Saif b. Sulṭān, became Imām of ʿUmān (1154 = 1741).

Bibliography· I. al-Masʿūdī, *B G A*, VIII. 80; Yāḳūt, *Muʿǧam*, ed Wustenfeld, I 448; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 217; A. v Kremer, *Über die sudarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, p. 19 *sq.*, 24, 26, 55.

2 C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 298—301, J. R. Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien*, ed Rodiger, I, Halle 1842, p 9, 274—277; E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, I (Hannover 1927), p. 128.

(A. GROHMANN)

YATHRIB. [See AL-MADĪNA]

YATĪM (A), the orphan, i.e. fatherless minor child. The improvement of the social position of orphans, who were particularly numerous in ancient Arabia, played a large part in Muhammad's scheme of social reforms The vigour with which the Prophet had to intervene on their behalf is significant of the conditions which he found When relations did not take charge of them, the care of orphans fell upon the *sayyid* of the tribe (Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p 246), this obligation was also put upon the Prophet as leader of the community (Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p 153) In Sūra XCIII 6, 9 (of the first Meccan period) the Prophet is reminded that he himself as an orphan was protected by Allāh and admonished on his part not to oppress the orphan The Kur'ānic passages which make good treatment of orphans a duty and forbid their oppression cover a long period: Sūra CVII 2; XC 15, LXXXIX. 18 (also of the first Meccan period); XVII 36; LXXVI. 8; XVIII. 81 (of the second Meccan period); VI 153 (of the third Meccan period), II. 77, 172, 211, 218 *sq* (of the year 2); IV. 9—11, 40 (of the years 3—5) In Sūra VIII. 42, and LIX. 7 (of the years 2 and 4 respectively) the orphans are allotted a share in the fifth part of the *ghanīma* [q v] or in the *faʾ* [q v.] Illegal appropriation of the property of an orphan — apparently by his guardian — is specially condemned and in Sūra IV 11 even threatened with the punishment of hell Sūra IV. 2—7, 126 (also of the years 3—5) is particularly directed against such crimes; here we have the fullest reference to orphans: "2. And give to orphans their property, substitute not worthless things in place of their valuable ones, and devour not their property after adding it to your own, for this is a great crime. 3 And if ye are apprehensive that ye shall not deal fairly with orphans, then, of women who seem good in your eyes, marry by twos, or threes, or fours; and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only; or the slaves whom ye have acquired: this will make justice on your part easier . 5. And make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage; and if ye perceive in them a sound judgment, then hand over their substance to them, but consume ye it not wastefully, 6. or in order ta anticipate them before they grow up. And let the rich guardian not even touch it, and let him who is poor eat of it with discretion 7. And when ye make over their substance to them, then take witnesses in their presence; Allāh also maketh a sufficient account". Verse 126 apparently refers to verse 3: "Moreover, they will consult thee in regard to women; say:

Allāh shall instruct you about them, and His will is rehearsed to you in the Book, concerning female orphans to whom ye give not their legal due, and whom ye refuse to marry, also with regard to weak children; and that ye deal with fairness towards orphans. Whatsoever ye do of good, verily God knoweth it". It is probable from this that verse 3 also deals with orphan girls, where marriage with their guardian is in prospect, the exact interpretation is uncertain. The two verses are interpreted in this sense in a tradition ascribed to ʿĀʾisha; but the details are not reliable. Another tradition not dependent in wording on the Kurʾān (in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) forbids the guardian to force an orphan girl who is his ward to marry him. Other traditions simply repeat the substance of the Ḳurʾānic prescriptions, for example paradise is promised as a reward for conscientious performance of one's duties as a guardian, or dishonest administration of the property of an orphan is numbered among the "grave sins". The idea of protecting the orphan is also at the basis of a *ḥadīth*, which makes the Prophet dissuade Abū Dharr as the type of the pious and experienced man from undertaking a guardianship In two points the tradition shows a development of the doctrine in the first place the question is raised when the position of being an orphan may be considered to end (it is out of this that the conception of attaining years of discretion developed; cf BULŪGH); various answers, some emphasizing age, others discretion, are put in the mouth of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAlī, of the later law schools the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs make the power of disposing of his own affairs in one who has attained his majority dependent on his *rushd*, while the Hanafīs drop this condition after his 25th year There were also differences of opinion as to whether the money of orphans (and especially of minors) was liable to *zakāt* or not, the latter view is still held by the Hanafīs and the former by the other schools, it is justified not only by the direct statement that ʿĀʾisha in such a case paid *zakāt* but also by the demand attributed to the Prophet or to Omar that the guardian should trade with his ward's money so that the *zakāt* should not gradually consume it On the doctrines of the *fiḳh* on orphans cf the article WASĪ It is worth noting that the right of the poor guardian to use the orphan's estate is limited to receiving compensation for his trouble The Kurʾānic command to produce witnesses of character has lost its *raison d'être* through the fact that the guardian must be a trustworthy person (*amīn*).

Bibliography A J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v. Orphans. — Further references in the article (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

YAZD, a town in Persia, in the province of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, formerly called Katha. It has taken the name of the area of which it was the capital This area was formerly in the district of Iṣṭakhr in the province of Fārs (Ibn Ḥawḳal, Yāḳūt). Katha had a citadel and a suburb on the edge of the desert. It had two iron gates, the Gate of Izid (Izad) and the "gate of the mosque", so-called because it was near the cathedral mosque which was in the suburb. It is surrounded by subterranean channels bringing water into cisterns and reservoirs of remarkable workmanship It has a temperate climate; the town is very clean, because the refuse is removed daily and taken to the fields as manure. The inhabitants, formerly Shāfiʿīs, were almost all weavers. Cotton garments used to be exported. At the present day it still produces highly esteemed brocades (Polak, *Persien*, i. 103) Saiyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAlī, minister of Shāh Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū (d in 752 = 1351), and Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī, author of the *Ẓafar-nāme*, were natives of Yazd

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv. 1017; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p 475, 611; *B G. A*, i. 116, 125; ii. 182, 187, 196; iii 437, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed Le Strange, p 74, 188 = transl., p. 77, 178; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii 68. (CL. HUART)

YAZDĀN (P.), God. This word comes from the sphere of Zoroastrian ideas (cf. Avestan *yazata*, Sanskrit *yajata* = "worthy of reverence", a Vedic epithet of gods, e g Agni, Indra, Savitar, and also of objects). Old Persian used for "god" the word *baga* (cf. Avestan *bagha*, Sanskrit *bhaga*, Pahlavī *bagh*) The Avestan *yazata* as an adjective means "worthy of reverence" and as a substantive "god", it is used of Ahuramazda himself (he is called the "Greatest of the *yazatas*") as well as of the divine beings subordinate to him, like Mithra, Sraosha etc (cf Bartholomae, *Altiran. Worterbuch*, col. 1279 *sq*) In Pahlavī *yazdān* (the plural; this form corresponding to the modern Persian is also to be found in the later Sāsānian period) means "the gods, the good powers, who are under Ōhrmazd". i. e. the same significance as in Avestan Cf, e. g, from the beginning of the *Pandnāmak-i Zartusht* the sentences *Ōhrmazd khʷēsh hom ayāw Ahraman? Yazdān khʷēsh hom ayāw dēwān?* = "Am I Ōhrmazd's or Ahraman's?; am I the gods 'or the demons'?" The singular of the word also is found in Pahlavī and survives in the modern Persian *izad* and in proper names like *Yazdidjird* The Pahlavī pronunciation of this singular form at the end of the Sāsānian period was probably also *izad*, the *yazd* in some proper names must represent an older form

The meaning of *yazdān*, in the modern Persian literary language, "God" in the sense of the one God, must have developed already in Pahlavī The transition in meaning probably took place through the aspects of the powers of the divine beings becoming comprised under *yazdān*, at least it is very improbable that in the final syllable of the modern Persian word we have a suffix other than the usual Pahlavī and modern Persian plural The word *yazdān* in the meaning "God" is already connected with the Madjūs [q. v] of the middle ages in Shahrastānī (*Kitāb al-Milal*, ed Cureton, p. 181 *sq*); according to this author, Yazdān is the name of the principle of light in contrast to that of darkness, the Ahramanic. The term is therefore synonymous with Ōhrmazd. The Kayūmarthīya sect of the Magians assumed that the principle of good, Yazdān, was uncreated (*ibid.*, p. 182) while the Zoroastrian sect taught that both Yazdān (= Ōhrmazd) and Ahraman were created, so that darkness (Ahraman) had to be understood not as a principle but as a necessary consequence of the existence of light (*ibid.*, p. 186)

In the *Lexicon Shāhnamianum* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī (ed. Salemann, p. 244 *sq.*) the opposites Yazdān and Ahraman are also attributed to the Manichaean system. The passage from a lexicographer in Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1515a, perhaps

goes back to the same source. The Irānian Manichaeans actually used the word *yazd*, plural *yazdān* for the "gods" of their system We also find *bag*, plur. *bagān*. In proper names borne by Manichaeans we find the singular *yazd* (e. g. in Yazdāmad, name of a Manichaean priest, cf. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, p. 16 and 17) as well as the plural (e.g. Yazdānbukht, the name of a Manichaean teacher; cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 334, 337, 338).

In the modern Persian literary language, *yazdān* means, as already mentioned, God and is synonymous with *k̲hudā*. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (*op. cit.*) glosses the word *k̲hālik̲ we-yaradik̲ī* and *ised-i wāǧib al-wuǧūd* and Allāh In the language of the epic (Firdawsī and his imitators), *yazdān* is the most usual term for God, often with the epithet *pāk* In poetry other than epic the word is used along with other names signifying the deity.

Bibliography References in the article.

(V. F Buchner)

YAZĪD B ʿABD AL-MALIK, Omaiyad Caliph, who came to the throne in Feb. 720 The reign of this prince so devoid of energy is a striking contrast to that of his immediate predecessor, the conscientious ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q v] Son of ʿAbd al-Malik, grandson of Yazīd I through his mother ʿĀtika, he had inherited none of the qualities of his Sufyānid ancestors which had made them popular in Syria. His brother, the caliph Sulaimān, had favoured the Yamanīs Yazīd was imprudent enough to declare for the Ḳaisīs and by this tactless step attracted the hostility of the Yamanīs, i e the great majority of the Syrians The rising of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q. v] forced Maslama, brother of the caliph, and the Syrian troops to leave for the ʿIrāḳ. While they were putting down the rebellion, the impressionable caliph fell under the influence of two women musicians of Medīna, Sallāma and Ḥabāba. To escape remonstrances, Yazīd withdrew to the district of Balḳāʾ east of Jordan The death of his favourite Ḥabāba broke his heart Yazīd followed her to the grave a week later, at Bait Rās [q v.] after a reign of four years He died on Jan. 26, 724 and was still under 40.

Bibliography Ṭabarī, ed de Goeje, ii 1372—1463, Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ* (Paris), V, 445—464, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xiii. 157—166, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 194—203; H. Lammens, *La Bâdia et la Ḥîra sous les Omaiyades*, p. 108—111 (in *M F O B*, iv). (H Lammens)

YAZĪD B **MUʿĀWIYA**, second Omaiyad Caliph and successor of Muʿāwiya, born about 642. As a prince he had commanded the Arab army at the siege of Constantinople. Immediately after his accession (April 680) there broke out in the Ḥiǧāz the rising which the genius of Muʿāwiya had so long prevented. At Medīna, Husain b ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair refused to recognise the new caliph and took refuge in the inviolable territory of Mecca. Very soon letters from old partisans of ʿAlī and from the chiefs of the ʿIrāḳ, jealous of the hegemony of Syria, decided his son Ḥusain to leave his asylum in Mecca and set out for Kūfa with about a hundred relatives and friends. Yazīd had ordered the governor of this town, ʿUbaid Allāh b. Ziyād, to take steps to disarm them and prevent them entering the ʿIrāḳ and stirring up trouble there. No one stirred among the ʿAlid partisans in Kūfa. Ḥusain and his handful of devoted followers foolhardily attacked the very superior forces sent to disarm them; the latter then manœuvred to surround them and force them to lay down their arms. The son of ʿAlī and the more stubborn of his companions only succeeded in meeting their deaths (Oct. 10, 680). This is the tragedy of Karbalāʾ [q. v.] annually commemorated by the Shīʿīs

Medīna no less than Kūfa disliked Syria; it accused the latter of depriving her of her title as capital. In a great assembly in the chief mosque the Medīnese proclaimed Yazīd deposed. After having vainly tried negotiations, the caliph had to have recourse to arms The command of the expedition was entrusted to Muslim b. ʿUḳba [q. v] This general encamped before Medīna in the Harra, a plain covered with volcanic debris, hence the battle was known as that of al-Harra [q v.] The Medīnese were having the best of it at first when a detachment of Syrian cavalry going round the town attacked them in the rear. This was the signal for the collapse of the defence (Aug. 26, 683). The Syrians entered Medīna. The three days of loot promised by Yazīd and the horrible scenes invented by hostile tradition belong to the domain of legend Next day, Muslim assembled the citizens to make them renew the oath of loyalty He then went on to Mecca to suppress Ibn al-Zubair. On the way the illness which had been troubling him since he left Syria, took a turn for the worse and he died at Mushallal, where his tomb long continued to be stoned. His successor, Husain b al-Numair, led the army against Mecca and began the attack on it

The inhabitants soon found themselves shut up in the town. Siege-artillery was placed on the surrounding hills and hurled a continuous shower of stones on the town Ibn al-Zubair had made his headquarters in the courtyard of the great mosque A wooden structure covered with mattresses protected the Kaʿba. The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set this on fire. The burning of the Kaʿba did not interrupt the siege. It had lasted for two months when Yazīd died at Huwwārīn, in Nov 11, 683 Ibn al-Numair led his men back to Syria.

Yazīd was not the frivolous prince, the thoughtless ruler depicted by the historians who are inspired with the rancour of the Shīʿa, or the political feuds of the ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥiǧāz, or who are too much impressed by the catastrophes of his very short reign. He tried to continue the policy of Muʿāwiya and retained his surviving collaborators. A poet himself, and fond of music, he was a Maecenas of poets and artists. He completed the administrative organisation and the military defences of Syria by creating the *ǧund* of Ḳinnasrīn [q.v.] in the north of the country. He reorganised the finances, lightened the taxation on the Christians of Naǧrān [q. v] who had been arbitrarily expelled from Arabia by the caliph ʿOmar. On the other hand, he abolished the exemption from taxes granted to the Samaritans as a reward for the services they had rendered at the time of the Arab conquest. He was interested in agriculture and completed the system of irrigation of the *Ghūṭa* [q. v.], the oasis of Damascus, where he dug the upper canal which waters the suburb of Ṣāliḥīya, and is called Nahr Yazīd after him. Alone among the caliphs he earned the title of *muhandis* "water engineer". The author of the *Continuatio byzantino-arabica*

gives a far from commonplace picture of him: *Yzit... jucundissimus et cunctis nationibus regni ejus subditis vir gratissime habitus, qui nullam unquam sibi regalis fastigii causa gloriam appetivit sed communis cum omnibus civiliter vixit.* Extremely affable, quite devoid of conceit, loved by all those under his authority, hating the pomp of royalty, living like a private citizen, *civiliter...*[1] "No caliph", says Wellhausen, "received such a panegyric; it comes from the heart".

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YAZĪD B. AL-MUHALLAB B ABĪ ṢUFRA AL-AZDĪ, governor of Khurāsān. Yazīd was born in 53 (672—673) and after the death of his father al-Muhallab [q. v] at the end of 82 (702) was appointed governor of Khurāsān With his brother-in-law, the powerful al-Ḥaddjādj b. Yūsuf [q v.], his relations were strained and in 85 (704) the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, after some hesitation, was persuaded by the latter to remove Yazīd from his office which was given first to his brother al-Mufaḍḍal b al-Muhallab and a few months later to the able Ḳutaiba b Muslim [q v] In the following year the caliph died and was succeeded by his son al-Walīd. In the same year al-Ḥaddjādj had Yazīd thrown into prison where he was exposed to all kinds of humiliation and when his sister Hind, wife of al-Ḥaddjādj, showed sympathy for him she was divorced by her husband It was not till 90 (708—709) that Yazīd succeeded in escaping and went to al-Ramla where Sulaimān, the caliph's brother, lived The latter afforded him protection and interceded for him with al-Walīd so that al-Ḥaddjādj had to leave him in peace. After the accession of Sulaimān in 96 (715) Yazīd was appointed governor of the ʿIrāḳ and settled in Wāsiṭ. The supporters of Ḥaddjādj, who had died in the meanwhile, had now to pay for the cruelty with which he had treated Yazīd But when Yazīd asked the caliph to relieve him of the administration of the taxation, Sulaimān placed an official of the chancellery named Ṣāliḥ b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at the head of the finance department and the latter refused to satisfy Yazīd's extravagant demands on the treasury, so that Yazīd began to turn his eyes towards the adjoining province of Khurāsān He succeeded in being appointed governor of Khurāsān while retaining the supreme command in the ʿIrāḳ (97 = 715—716). Shortly after his arrival in this province, he permitted all kinds of cruelty to be practised on the relations of Ḳutaiba and the officials appointed by him In the following year he undertook a campaign against Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān; the people of Djurdjān escaped on paying a sum of money. But when Yazīd later suffered heavy losses, they rebelled and fell upon the Muslim garrisons which he had left. He had as a result to conclude peace with the lord of Ṭabaristān and turning against Djurdjān wreaked a bloody vengeance on its people. He made himself generally hated by his extortions in his province and Sulaimān is said, just before he died, to have been thinking of sending some one to Khurāsān to have a reckoning with him. After ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ascended the throne in Ṣafar 99 (Sept.—Oct. 717) he had Yazīd arrested because the latter could not produce the fifth of the booty from Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān the amount of which he had much exaggerated out of vanity; shortly before or after the death of the caliph, he escaped from prison and went with a small body of followers to al-Basra. When the negotiations which he began with the governor ʿAdī b Arṭāt al-Fazārī came to nothing, the decision had to be left to force of arms. In the first encounter ʿAdī fled and took refuge in the citadel This was stormed and ʿAdī taken prisoner (Ramaḍān 101 = March–April 720). Yazīd then began to preach open war on the Omaiyads; the rebellion spread and in a short time Yazīd seized Wāsiṭ but was defeated on 14th (or 12th) Ṣafar 102 (Aug 24, or 22, 720) at al-ʿAḳr near Wāsiṭ by Maslama b ʿAbd al-Malik, who had come with a large army from Syria. Yazīd himself fell and his relations were everywhere persecuted with the greatest vigour

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YAZĪDĪ, YAZĪDĪYA, the name of a Kurd tribal group and of their peculiar religion which shows ancient characteristics

Area of Distribution The Yazīdīs are found scattered over a wide area usually leading a settled life but also split up into nomadic clans 1. in the district of Mōsul in the northern ʿIrāḳ, in Assyria proper, in the district of Shaikhān. Special mention may be made of Bāʿadhrī (Bāʿidhrī, Baʿidhrā) about 40 miles N. of Mōṣul, the residence of the chief emīr, their political head; three hours to the north at Lālesh in the valley Shaikh ʿAdī is the tomb of their chief saint Shaikh ʿAdī, their national sanctuary and the centre of their national and religious life, Bahazanīye, north of Alḳosh at the foot of the hill on which is the Chaldaean monastery of Rabbān Hormuzd; and also Bāʿshiḳā (Bāʿashiḳā, Ba Heshīke) N E. of Mōsul, the centre of the tombs of the shaikhs; 2. on the Djebel Sindjār, 100 miles west of Mōṣul, a range of hills in the middle of the desert, which is the great bulwark of their efforts for freedom and independence. The chief Sindjār-Shaikh lives in the Beled Sindjār (picture of the citadel in P. Schütz, *Zwischen Nil und Kaukasus*, p. 135); formerly his residence was in Milik (Mirik); 3. in the district of Diyārbakr, N and N. E. of the Tigris; 4. in the district of Aleppo, W. of the Euphrates, at Kilis and ʿAintāb; 5. in

Russian Armenia (Kars, Eriwan) and in the Caucasus (at Tiflis) — There are also Yazīdīs in Persia.

Numbers. The total number can only be approximately estimated; there can hardly be more than 60,000—70,000 altogether, while only half a century ago they numbered 120,000—150,000 According to the ʿIrāḳ census of 1922—1924 (apparently exclusive of Sindjār which was only joined to the ʿIrāḳ at the end of 1932) they numbered 26,257 in the ʿIrāḳ, while the Turkish census of 1923, which deliberately emphasised the Muḥammadan element, only gave 18,000 Yazīdīs, compared with 264,000, or 450,000 Kurds, which corresponds to the English figures In 1912 the Turkish statistics for the 6 wilāyets in question gave 37,000 Yazīdīs Nūrī in 1905 estimated 35,000 Yazīdīs for Shaikhān and Sindjār (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 169) According to figures which are undoubtedly exaggerated, Sindjār which is now joined to the ʿIrāḳ contains 36,000 Yazīdīs (*O M*, xii 502) There are only a few hundreds in Persia

The Russian census of Dec 17, 1926 gave for the Caucasus (Tiflis, Eriwan and Kars) 14,522 Yazīdīs compared with 54,600 Kurds. In spite of the accessions during the war their number has fallen compared with that of the Russian census of Feb 9, 1897· 14,726 Yazīdīs and 85,175 Kurds while in 1901 in Russian territory there were 25,000 Yazīdīs compared with 125,000 Kurds

As to their numbers at an earlier date, Karcew in 1884 gave exact figures based on quite reliable statements of the *kawwāls* (Menzel, *op cit*, p 116)

Name. The name Yazīdī, which the Yazīdīs themselves feel to be modern, seems to have nothing to do with Yazīd b Muʿāwiya or with Yazīd b Unaisa, with whom it is connected, and as little with the name of the Persian city of Yazd. It probably comes from the modern Persian *īzed* (angel, deity), Avestan *yazata* (being worthy of worship), Pahlavi *yazd*, Sanskr *yajatá*, cf modern Persian *yazdān* [q v] God, Avestan *yazatanam*, Pahlavi *yaztān*, *yazdān* of which *īzed* is the natural phonetic development while *yazdān* represents an Avestan word brought through ritual into modern Persian.

The Azidi, Izidi, Izedi or Izdi would therefore be as they themselves say "worshippers of God", an etymology known to the Yazīdīs, and quoted as early as Campanile, *Storia della regione del Kurdistan*, Naples 1818, p. 148, as *Seguace di Jazad* (*Iddio*) The Yazīdī popular etymology of the name from *aez da* (for *dām*) *khudā* ("God created me") is useless, as *aez* or *ez* is not used in Yazīdī, only *men* ("I").

Evolved from the name Yazīd we find in legend an angel *ezdā* and a *yazdān* among the ancestors of the Yazīdīs as well as the term *yazdānī* for the first Yazīdīs.

With this we may perhaps connect *Izdai*, the name of a sandjaḳ in the form of a man made from grapes (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

According to Marr (*Zapiski Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshč.*, xx. 99), Čelebi was the former name of the Yazīdīs (cf Barthold, above i., p. 833). In Niebuhr also Čelebi is given as "devil"

The Yazīdīs call themselves Dāsin, Dasnī, Dasenī, plur. Dawāsīn, Duāsin, Dawāshim, probably from the name of an old Nestorian diocese. In 941 (1534) Sulṭān Sulaimān gave the Yazīdī chief Ḥusain Beg Dasinī, who was later executed, the sandjaḳ of Arbil and the wilāyet of Sohrān Among the Syrians, the Yazīdīs are called Dasnāyē (not to be confused with Daysānāyē, the followers of Bardesane of Edessa; cf. Furlani, in *R.S.O.*, xiii. 97), among the Armenians, Thondracians and Polichaeans. Before the days of Christianity they were called *putperest* (idol-worshippers) according to the *Maṣḥaf rash*

The defamatory name given them quite unjustly is *shaiṭān-perest* or *ʿabede-i Iblīs* ("devil-worshipper") although they should rather be called "angel-worshippers", and *čiragh sondiren* ("light-extinguishers") Another term of abuse for them is the Turkish *halta* ("dog-collar")

Tribes. Although the Yazīdīs hold no communion with the neighbouring tribes and in particular do not intermarry with them, they look exactly like Kurds, even those who live in Syria in the centre of an Arabic speaking area, although two types are to be distinguished among them· one, their own traditional type, Assyrian-Semitic with particularly thick hair and beard and the other more an Indo-Germanic type In any case traces of the early inhabitants of the country still survive in them. They have some physiological similarities with the earlier Wan Armenians. an Armenian intermixture is not to be denied

Their thick hair earned them from the Turks the nickname *sačlī Kurd* ("hairy Kurds") and *sekiz bīyīklī* ("eightfold bearded") because hair grows on the lips, eye brows, nostrils and ears.

The Yazīdīs are a handsome, long-haired, proud type, with the feeling of independence characteristic of the mountain-dweller, and usually of powerful physique The unveiled women have remarkably regular features. The Yazīdīs were formerly dreaded rebels and brigands who resisted fearlessly all attacks and onslaughts by their neighbours Their faithfulness to their word and their loyalty was recognised even by their enemies. They are industrious tillers of the soil and cattle-rearers, who are superior to their neighbours in skill and activity Special mention may be made of the meticulous cleanliness of their persons and houses, which is in great contrast to the filth of the other Kurds

They are organised like the Kurdish tribes, with an emīr or chief of the tribe (*agha-e ele*) at the head According to Kaicew, the tribe is divided into bodies of elders (*ruspiti*) Every family or sept forms a unit by itself. On the tribal organisation, the taxes and labour given to the chiefs, on the law of inheritance (primogeniture, but restricted by the condition of worthiness), on the patriarchal life of the tribes, settled and nomadic, see Jegiazarow, *Kratkij etnografičeskij očerk Kurdov*, in *Zapiski*, xiii, Tiflis 1891, who gives very full data (Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 108), also Minorsky, above s. v. KURDS, Isya Joseph and Empson.

Language. The language of the Yazīdīs is almost without exception Kurdish, an idiom related to Persian, with a number of dialects which are particularly closely related to Kurmandjī Kurdish. But the differences are often so great that another language has to be called in to make the parties intelligible to one another, for example Turkish in the case of Gokčai Yazīdīs in intercourse with the Ararat and Bāyazīd Kurds (Wagner) In consequence of their distinct religion they form a people sharply distinguished from the Kurds. The Yazīdīs of the Sindjār also speak Arabic. The supposition that

at least a portion of the Yazīdīs formerly spoke Arabic and migrated from Syria and Babylonia, as tradition has it, is not to be rejected offhand

Religion The origin and evolution of their peculiar synthetic religion have not yet been fully explained but it seems to include old pagan elements (but no worship of the sun and moon), Iranian-Zoroastrian elements (echoes of Persian dualism), Manichaean (the Persian gnosis), Jewish elements (prohibition of certain foods), features from Christian sects, especially the Nestorians (baptism, a kind of eucharist, breaking of bread, visiting of Christian churches at weddings, permission to drink wine), also Muslim elements (circumcision, fasting, sacrifice, pilgrimage, Muslim inscriptions on tombs), Ṣūfī-Rāfiḍī features (secrecy of doctrine, ecstasy, reverence for a large number of Ṣūfī-Shaikhs), Sabaean (transmigration of souls) and Shamanistic features (burial, interpretation of dreams, dances)

Sacred Books The spoken language is used throughout in worship. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the text of the two sacred books, said to have been in existence before the Creation and to have been learned from the original copies, was in Arabic, although only the priests and the ḳawwāls learned some Arabic These are the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* [q v] (*Kitāb-ī Djalwa*) "the Book of Revelation" and the *Mashaf ʿash* [q. v] "the Black Book" "Black" seems to imply worthy of veneration

One cannot conceal a certain disappointment on becoming acquainted with the sacred books A hymn in praise of Shaikh ʿAdī [see ʿADĪ] in 80 verses of considerable theological merit, written in Arabic, is also regarded as a kind of sacred book

Religion Whether, though it is very improbable, there has survived to the present day in Yazīdism a remnant of the old Iranian Zoroastrianism, whose views have been in course of time fundamentally altered by the adoption of foreign elements, or whether the Yazīdīs are former Manichaeans or Nestorians and Jacobites or survivors of the old Syrian community, which settled on the Sindjār and in their isolation became contaminated by Muslim and other ideas, is uncertain

According to Spiro, Yazīdism is descended from Manichaeism, which has been affected by Assyrian, Persian, Christian and Muslim elements In any case, the Iranian element plays a considerable part for it appears to be the main basis for the development of Yazīdī doctrine, which in many points approximates to Christianity and still more to Islām.

In the actual doctrinal system, the six minor deities seem to disappear completely and to be replaced by the dualism between God and Malak Tā'ūs, the peacock angel. God is only the Creator, not the preserver of the world. He is passive and does not trouble about the world The active, executive organ of the divine will is Malak Tā'ūs, with whom Shaikh ʿAdī who has risen to divinity through transmigration, seems to form one. Malak Ṭā'ūs is God's *alter ego* and is the active aspect of God's being. He is one with God and inseparably bound up with him. To this extent Yazīdism is monotheistic but there are also semi-divine and divine beings, intermediate between God and man.

According to Horten, the religion of the Yazīdīs is a pure worship of light and represents a victory over the old Persian dualism. Malak Ṭā'ūs is not the principle of evil but on the contrary the denial of evil at all, which forms an indispensable portion of the divine plan of the world and in a proper conception of the relativity and subjectivity of evil is recognised as necessary.

Malak Ṭā'ūs is a good deity. Yazīdism does not countenance the worship of Satan. Shaiṭān = Malak Tā'ūs is regarded as an angel who has fallen into disgrace and, according to the legend, for his repentance has been restored or will be restored to God's favour. The Yazīdīs do not appear to believe in a hell, in a devil in our sense or in the punishment of hell, which would be an incorporation of the principle of evil Evil is denied. According to legend, Malak Tā'ūs with his tears of repentance in hell filled 7 jars in 7,000 years and with them the fires of hell were extinguished. The triumph over hell by this theory of redemption is found in several variants in Yazīdī legend. Corresponding to the non-existence of an eternal hell is the belief in transmigration, which makes possible a gradual purification through continual rebirths It is strictly forbidden to pronounce the name of Malak Tā'ūs *Shaitān* even as the name of the deity (art 5 of the creed) The white pearl is of the same nature and identical with the peacock The peacock also plays a part in early Christian and other religions as a symbol of the sun and of immortality, as its flesh is said not to decay.

The view held by Chwolsohn and Lidzbarski that Ṭā'ūs corresponds to the Babylonian-Assyrian divine name *Tamūz*, Aram. *Tamūzā*. تموز = تاموز = تاوز is untenable Yazīdism has nothing to do with the god Tamūz Similarly Tā'ūs = Θεός is to be rejected while Ṭā'ūs seems to be the same as ταώς

The problem of the origin and nature of the worship of the divine angel Malak Tā'ūs, who is represented in the form of a bird, as a cock or peacock, is not yet solved

Sandjaḳ The most concrete expressions of Yazīdism are the figures of peacocks made of bronze or iron, the so-called *sandjaḳ* (Yaz. *sindjaḳ*) pl *sanādjiḳ*, sometimes quite crude figures, sometimes very fine products of Persian art. Pictures of them may be found in Layard, Menant, Guerinal, Isya Joseph, *Anthropos* VI, Empson, Husnī etc

There are seven *sandjaḳ*, corresponding to the number of the angels who took part in the creation of the world; they have particular names, being called after individuals who have attained divinity through transmigration Dāwūd, Shaikh Shams al-Dīn, Yazīd (b Muʿāwiya), Shaikh ʿAdī, Shaikh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Manṣūr (al-Hallādj). The last named is the oldest *sandjaḳ*, weighs 679 lbs. and is called 'caliph of the *sandjaḳ*". It remains always at the tomb of Shaikh ʿAdī The seventh *sandjaḳ* is lacking in all the illustrations. The *sandjaḳ* Izdai has been mentioned above

Six *sandjaḳs* make the round of the various Yazīdī lands yearly. 1. in Mōsul and Shaikhān thrice yearly; 2. in Sindjār and in Mesopotamia twice a year, 3. in Aleppo once, 4. in Diyār Bakr once; 5. in Takrīt, Sāmarrā etc. once; 6. in Nisibīn, Bāyazīd, Wan and Caucasus once

The travelling *sandjaḳs* are taken by the Ḳawwāl and Kočak in their own simple receptacles on the dangerous journey. If lost they seem to be replaced at once. They are kept in the treasury *Khazīnat al-Raḥmān* in Shaikh ʿAdī.

Here one may deal with the often mentioned snake, of the height of a man, painted black, which

is cut into the wall at the entrance door of the sanctuary. On the same wall are carved a number of peculiar figures: rings, daggers, a peculiar kind of crozier or seven armed sceptre, hands, spoons, croziers, combs. They are probably family or tribal marks, as the little houses for pilgrims scattered all over the valley bear the same marks on the walls

It is significant that at the present day in Sindjār the quarrels of the emīrs for power seem to concentrate around the possession of a *sandjaḳ* guaranteeing a regular income.

Exclusiveness. The idea of their complete separation from the rest of mankind held by the Yazīdīs is remarkable. They are convinced that they are descended from a child (Shahīd b Djaiyār) or twins, developed from the seed of Adam only in a jar which was kept closed for nine months, while the jar with the seed of Eve who was disputing for priority produced only vermin. On this is based the belief of the Yazīdīs in their unique position which does not allow them to mix with the rest of mankind who are descended from Adam of Eve. One cannot become a Yazīdī, one must be born one This strict isolation is intensified by a rigid caste system within the Yazīdīs

The most dreadful punishment for a Yazīdī, which can only be completely realised when we remember this fact, is excommunication, expulsion from his people, because this also settles the fate of his soul.

Morals, religious usages In spite of all the slanders of their neighbours, the Yazīdīs are really on a much higher level of morality than their Christian and Muslim neighbours The superstitious anxiety of the Yazīdīs to have a circle described around them by which one can put them on oath seems to be a fact (cf. Goldziher, *Zauberkreise*, in the *Kuhn-Festschrift* and *Z.D M. G*, lxx. [1916])

The prayers consist of a Kurdish main prayer and a morning prayer at sunrise, which has to be said at a distance from members of other creeds, and turned towards the sun (Creed, art 3) They ought at the same time to walk round a stone put up for the purpose The principal prayer is addressed to Malak Tā'ūs and shows that the latter is regarded as identical with the Christian and Muslim God. The seven divine angels are addressed The erroneous view that the sun and moon are worshipped arose from the fact that the supreme deity (= Malak Ṭā'ūs) is called "Lord of the moon and of the darkness" and "Lord of the Sun and Light".

A three days' fast (سێ روز not سه روز) is observed in December, the fast being broken by drinking wine with the proper Shaikh or Pīr The performance of prayer, however, is — apparently under Ṣūfī influence — not regarded as a strict duty.

According to the Yazīdī catechism, Saturday is the day of rest and Wednesday the holy day Once to three times yearly the Yazīdī villages are visited by the *sandjaḳ* amid great celebrations.

The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh ʿAdī on Sept. 15—20 of the Greek-Julian calendar is a strict religious duty. This pilgrimage to the national sanctuary is the principal expression of the national and religious isolation of the Yazīdīs. The feast of the pilgrimage is celebrated with ritual ablutions by bathing in the river, by washing or dipping the *sandjaḳs*, with processions, music (flute, drum and tambourine), hymns, ecstatic songs and dances by the priests, which recall the Ṣūfī *dhikr* and Shamanistic rites, the lighting of hundreds of sesame oil-lamps at all the saints' graves, by offerings and special foods (*harisa*, *sawīḳ*), the cooking of a sacrificed ox (*kaldūsh*).

The blessing of Shaikh ʿAdī is important for the rites, i e little balls of earth or clay from the tomb of the saint, and consecrated water from the water in which the *sandjaḳ* has been dipped for the living and the dead.

The little balls of earth are used as talismans and as a medicine and as extreme unction for the dying All eyewitnesses agree as to the devoutness and dignity of all these ceremonies in the outer court of the sanctuary. The ceremonies within the sanctuary, which seem to include the reading of sacred books, have never been witnessed by an outsider.

Trees, at the sanctuary mulberry trees, are also honoured, surrounded with walls and visited by the sick These trees have their own personal names

Non-obligatory pilgrimages are made to the tombs of several other saints, mostly Ṣūfī shaikhs

The most important festival of the year, the feast of the New Year. *sar-i sāl*, *sarsalī*, *sarsalīye* on the first Wednesday in April, is celebrated with great solemnity, as among the Harranians, at the tomb of Shaikh ʿAdī but without music An attempt has been made to trace this to the Assyrian festival of *zagmuk*. Red flowers over the doors play a great part in it.

The obligatory institution of the brotherhood of the next world, which corresponds to our system of godfathers (each Yazīdī must have a brother and sister of the next world), binds one to a daily kiss of the hand and presence in the dying hour. The collar of the new shirt, which unlike other eastern shirts is always buttoned behind, must in any case be opened by a sister of the next world

In marriage, endogamy is strictly observed and the limitations imposed by the caste system are very marked. Marriage is as a rule monogamous, except in the case of the emīr, who is allowed several wives. It is marriage by purchase with simple ceremonies performed by the local shaikh or pīr, who breaks a loaf in two and gives it to the two parties. The bride wears red clothes and has to visit all the places of worship including the Christian churches on the way. The bridegroom on her entering the house gives her a blow with a stone as a sign of her subjection. Drums and fifes are necessary. Here and there the old system of marriage by capture survives, but it is now forbidden.

The punishment for adultery used to be death. Divorce is rendered difficult through the necessity of having three witnesses. The widow may be remarried six times. If a Yazīdī remains more than a year abroad, he cannot live with his wife again nor can he receive another Yazīdī woman to wife.

Baptism is a characteristic ceremony: it is performed by a shaikh or pīr plunging the child three times into the zemzem in a dark vault of the sanctuary in the first week after birth. In the case of Yazīdīs living at some distance away, consecrated water brought by the ḳawwāls is used.

Circumcision, which takes place soon after baptism, seems to be more a matter of choice. In

some Yazīdī tribes it is said to have fallen into disuse some time ago, probably to escape military service.

The burial ceremonies are peculiar. The corpse is buried immediately after death with arms crossed and pointing to the east. In the case of persons of rank, a rough wooden figure is hung with the deceased's clothes and carried for three days in procession with music The tomb is repeatedly visited by the mourners. On the 3rd, 7th and 40th day and the anniversary memorial services are held.

After death an answer to the question of the rebirth of the soul of the deceased is sought from the interpretation of a dream of a priest or kočak. The Kurdish system of blood vengeance exists to the present day in a somewhat milder form among the Yazīdīs.

Theocratic structure of society· The whole structure of this people, small and scattered but extremely well organised, is theocratic. The Yazīdīs fall into two very distinct classes

I. The laity (*murīd*) who form one great caste without consideration of position or wealth and among whose members there is no distinction in principle, in spite of the division into common Yazīdīs and notables (emīrs), so that marriage between them is possible and frequent. Every Yazīdī is the novice or disciple of a definite shaikh or pīr, whose hand he must kiss every day, with whom he must break his fast by drinking wine and who has to perform the various rites of worship for him. On the institution of brotherhood of the next world, see above.

II. The clergy, priests, *rūḥān*, *kahana*, who enjoy extraordinary respect and reverence The cleric must not cut his beard nor crop his hair As regards duties the clergy are divided into six classes and as regards exclusiveness into three rigidly marked classes It is impossible to move from one caste to another and marriages between the different castes are forbidden Still more unimaginable is it for a layman to enter the clerical class and vice versa. This rigidity is a dogma of belief as the Yazīdīs rely upon it for the purity of their sects. Every one must live and die in the caste in which he is born. In certain cases the priesthood may pass by inheritance to women

The *rūḥān* are divided into the following classes:

1. The *shaikhs* who are descended from only five families in all are believed to be descended from pupils or brothers of Shaikh ᶜAdī. Their dress is white with a black wound turban; a red and yellow or orange cloth is flung round the body. The houses of the shaikhs serve as the places of worship of their charges.

2. The *pīrs*, priests of less exalted descent. Their dress is black, the turban white with black feather or wound round with red.

The shaikhs and pīrs are the regular clergy and pastors, they enjoy immunity of person and various privileges. It is their duty to teach their charges good and restrain them from evil. They have to perform religious duties on festival days, at fasts, at marriages, births, circumcisions, in illness (treatment with sacred earth), at death and at auguries, for which regular fees (*sykat*) are due them.

The so-called *mollā* or *imām*, who claims descent from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, is said alone to have the right to read and write. At one time he had charge of the sacred books but they are now kept for safety in Sindjār.

Writing is strictly forbidden to the common Yazīdīs by custom, probably in order not to profane it, since according to the *Maṣḥaf*, xxxi, God himself puts creation on record.

3. The *faḳīrs* or *ḳarabaṣh* ("blackheads", on account of their black headgear), a kind of order, a voluntary brotherhood, recruited from the shaikhs and pīrs and under a head called *kāk* "master", who lives in Aleppo and receives the income of the *sandjaḳ* Yazīd. They wear a black garment of hair and a turban with red band. They live on alms and play a part as negotiators and peace-makers. A faḳīr is said to act as deputy of the chief emīr. There is also said to be a sisterhood called *faḳraya*, the head of which is called *kabana*.

4. The *kawwāls*· singers, clergy of minor rank. There is a gild of musicians said to number 50 men, which has to take part in all religious festivals by singing hymns (we have two of these hymns with the music), playing the flute, tambourine or drum They also act as *missi dominici* of the chief shaikh and chief emīr. They are farmers of the sacred images, the *sandjak*, for which they had to pay an annual rent (before the war about £T 6,000) and with which they went regular definite circuits through the different Yazīdī districts in order to strengthen the faith of the Yazīdīs and keep them together and to collect offerings. An undeniable similarity to the pardoners is found in the trade which they carry on in balls of earth from the tomb of Shaikh ᶜAdī and in holy water. Of the contributions levied on behalf of the emīr half goes to the tomb of ᶜAdī, a quarter to the emīr and a quarter to the ḳawwāls.

They wear white, rarely coloured, dress and black turbans Many Yazīdīs consider it meritorious to sanctify their new clothes by giving them to the ḳawwāls for a time.

5 The *kočak*, dancers, who serve in considerable numbers at the tomb of Shaikh ᶜAdī (the estimates vary between 30 and 300) and as ministrants of the *ḳawwāls* carry the *sandjaḳs* to the villages on their circuits and dance at festivals in frenzied ecstacy with their long hair unbound.

Not to be confused with them are the *kočak*, who have the same name and crop up occasionally; they were a kind of Mahdī, usually religious fanatics of the nomadic Yazīdī tribes, who endeavoured to influence and impress those around them by interpreting dreams, falling into trances and seeing visions and believed they were called upon to play the part of religious leaders. In drought and famine they acted as rain-makers, in rebellions and military enterprises they sought like the old prophets to inflame their people and assume the leadership. At the same time they used to their own advantage the belief that Shaikh ᶜAdī will appear once again in a rebirth. For this reason therefore they were hated not only by the Turkish Government but also by the Yazīdī chiefs themselves and not infrequently betrayed to the Turks who disposed of them without mercy.

6 The lowest class of clergy: the *awḥān* or *awān* (deacons) and *ghulām-e odjaḳh-e Shēkh ᶜAde*, the servants at the tomb of Shaikh ᶜAdī, together with a *ferrāsh* (sacristan to look after the oil-lamps) and 4 or 5 *shāwīsh* (*čawsh*): doorkeepers who serve in the sanctuary. Each Yazīdī village

also has a *shāwīsh* to maintain order. The head of the servants at the tomb is the *ikhtiyār* of Merke (Menzel, *op. cit*, p. 147, note 1)

At the top of this theocratic organisation there are a religious and a secular head:

1. The chief Shaikh. *mīr-i shaikhān*, known as *Shaikh Nāṣir*, who is said to be descended from the family of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī or from a brother of Shaikh ʿAdī and lives in Lālesh He takes precedence of every one and the supreme spiritual power is in him. He is infallible on questions of belief. He is the chief authority on and expositor of the holy scriptures, he alone gives legal decisions, and — with the approval of the chief of the tribe — sentences to the severest punishment, excommunication He can summon to the holy war — this recalls the *djihād* — but the leadership devolves on the chief emīr The Mīr-i Shaikhān has a claim to tithes but their place is taken by voluntary offerings He wears white and a black turban Only the daughters of a family descended from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Gīlānī are considered his equals in rank His house is the most venerated *odjak* of the Yazīdīs next to the tomb of Shaikh ʿAdī

2 The Mīrzā Beg or *emīr al-umarāʾ*, the prince of the Yazīdīs, who according to the *Maṣḥaf* is regarded as a descendant of Shāpūr but is usually called a descendant of Yazīd and exercises the highest political and secular power He lives in Bāʿadrī His person enjoys immunity and he receives voluntary offerings (according to Browski £T 8,000 a year) His word is final on all secular matters He alone represents the Yazīdīs to the outer world. He occupies the same position with respect to all Yazīdī tribes that the tribal chief has to the individual Yazīdī

Since the loss of independence in 1832 the emīr has to obtain recognition from the Turkish Government The present emīr of the Yazīdīs is Saʿīd Beg, son of ʿAlī Beg, murdered in 1913, who was the son of Husain Beg (d 1878), son of ʿAlī Beg murdered in 1832.

History. We are quite in the dark regarding the first appearance and early history of this people who reveal so many diverse elements According to the chief shaikh, the Yazīdīs, Layard tells us, have a chronology of their own, an era beginning in 292 A D which could without difficulty be connected with the year of Mānī's death (276) But as we have no further confirmation and no historical records or annals of the Yazīdīs are known which might throw some light on the point, the correctness of the statement may legitimately be doubted

It is not clear what part the caliph Yazīd b Muʿāwiya (60—64 = 680—683) really plays in Yazīdism, according to the origin of the name already given, he can have had nothing to do directly with their foundation Guidi however holds — in contrast to the views hitherto held by European scholars — that the connection of Yazīdism with Yazīd can no longer be doubted, and regards the Yazīdīs as having at one time been Muslims, a view which has always been held by Muḥammadan theologians.

According to the Yazīdī view, Yazīd was not the real founder of the Yazīdīya, but only the restorer of the original sect, founded by Shāhid b. Djarrāḥ, the only son of Adam. According to the legend, Yazīd abandoned Islām to devote himself exclusively in Syria to the sect named after him. It cannot be denied that there are historical relations in this connection between Syria and the ʿIrāḳ and the Kurdish movement There are still villages of Yazīdīs who speak Kurdish near Aleppo. By transmigration Yazīd became Shaikh ʿAdī, who will come to earth again and again. In *Maṣḥaf* xv, ʿAdī alone is mentioned, whom God sends from Syria to Lālesh, but not Yazīd.

An attempt has been made to dispose of the difficulties which arise out of the caliph Yazīd by making the Yazīdīs disciples of Yazīd b. Unaisa, on the authority of a statement in Shahrastānī's (469—548 = 1071—1153) *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, mainly because a prophet from Persia was expected by the Ibādī sect of the Yazīdīya founded by Yazīd b. Unaisa. But even this does not remove the difficulty

It seems no less peculiar that the Yazīdīs should have chosen as a national saint a Ṣūfī Shaikh like ʿAdī b Musāfir [q v] recognised without qualification throughout the whole Muḥammadan world, whose orthodoxy, as we find it in his works, could hardly have led to the foundation of a sect so heterodox and foreign to the nature of Islām as Yazīdism actually is It appears impossible that a Muslim Ṣūfī order could degenerate into a religion so different from Islām as Yazīdism is.

In any case, the Yazīdī movement seems to have begun in the time of the Omaiyads in Syria. According to the tradition still alive among them, they came from Baṣra and the lower Euphrates in the time of Tīmūr at the end of the xiv^th^ century and gradually advanced into the Sindjār which they did not inhabit before the xv^th^ century, and into Kurdistān and there became kurdicised.

As, strange to say, unlike Muslims, the Yazīdīs never laid stress on their possession of sacred books, they were not regarded as privileged *Ahl al-Kitāb* Down to recent times, they were connected from their name with the hated caliph Yazīd and branded as Muslim heretics

It was from this point of view that the various authoritative *fetwās* were issued which unanimously declared the land of the Yazīdīs *dār al-ḥarb* and proclaimed the destruction of the Yazīdīs and the confiscation of all their property permitted and meritorious from the religious point of view. These served as justification for the numerous attempts at conversion and extermination by the Turkish pāshās and the Kurdish tribes. I may mention the *fetwā*, published by Sharaf al-Dīn, of Mewlānā Ṣāliḥ for Shaikh ʿAbd Allāh al-Rubtakī (?) of the year 1159 (1746) and the *fetwā* of ʿAbd al-Salām and that of Muhammad al-Barḳlāʿī al-Kurdī.

The memory of these atrocities, which are unparalleled even in the bloody history of Kurdistān, may have played a part in the final separation of the Mōṣul territory from Turkey. For the Yazīdīs were as determined as the eastern Christians to migrate if the disputed area became Turkish again The union with the ʿIrāḳ was therefore hailed with all the more enthusiasm.

The resolution and strength of character of the Yazīdīs is remarkable; in spite of centuries of persecution they have never abandoned their identity nor their faith.

Bibliography· I refer the reader to my Yazīdī-Bibliography, published in my work *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Yeziden*, in H. Grothe's

Vorderasienexpedition, i., Leipzig 1911, p 109–126 which comes down to 1910. Here I give only the later literature with a few additions. See also my article *Yezîden*, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii. 171—173

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AL-YĀZIDJĪ, 1 al-Shaikh Nāṣīf b ʿAbd Allāh, an Arab poet and philologist of the xixth century, born March 25, 1800 in Kafr Shīmā (Lebanon, near Bairūt, see Baedeker, *Palastina und Syrien*, seventh ed, p 266 and map at p 263), d. on 8th (not 5th as *G A L*, ii 494) February 1871 in Bairūt Members of his family, mainly of the Greek orthodox confession, are mentioned as early as the xviith century in northern Syria, especially in Ḥimṣ, Ṭarābulus etc as capable secretaries of Turkish officials and the higher clergy, whence their family name *Kātib*, Turk. *Yāzidjī* (see ʿI I. al-Maʿlūf, *Dawāni 'l-Ḳutūf fī Taʾrīkh Banī 'l-Maʿlūf*, Baʿabdā-Lubnān 1907—1908, p 199—200). The family later moved to the Lebanon where the father enjoyed a considerable practice as an old-fashioned physician of the school of Avicenna (see *Mach*, xxvii, 1929, p 363) Nāṣif received no regular education, when a child he had some lessons from a monk named Matthew at Bait-Shabāb He very early displayed a great love for books and poetry; in boyhood he had already learned the Kur'ān and the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī by heart His younger brother Rādjī (1803—1857) also left a *Dīwān* in MS (see Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXème siècle*², Bairūt 1926, ii 43) From 1816—1818, Nāṣīf was secretary to the Greek Catholic patriarch at Dair Ḳarḳafa; his odes (from the year 1824 onwards) attracted the attention of the celebrated emīr Bashīr [q. v.] to him and from 1828—1840 he was employed in his secretariat at Bteddīn It was probably he who was described by Lamartine in his travels in the east as one of the court-poets (see *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient*, Leipzig and Stuttgart 1835, i 242). After Bashīr's banishment to Malta, al-Yāzidjī went to Bairūt where he became very active as a writer and teacher He remained quite free from foreign influences of every kind; he knew no European languages Nevertheless he assisted the American missionaries in their translation of the Bible, was a member of the Society of Syrian Scholars and taught in nearly all the larger and better schools. A number of schoolbooks (no less than 15) were composed and printed by him, particularly on grammar, rhetoric, poetics, logic (a carefully prepared list by F A al-Bustānī, *al-Shaikh Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī*, Bairūt 1929, pp. *nūn-rā'*); several of these are still in use in old-fashioned schools.

As a poet al-Yāzidjī followed exclusively the classical tradition, especially under the influence of al-Mutanabbī [q v], to whose popularity in Syria in the xixth century he contributed not a little. All his life he collected material for a commentary on al-Mutanabbi, which was edited after his death by his son Ibrāhīm (*al-ʿArf al-ṭayyib fī Dīwān Abi 'l-Ṭayyib*, Bairūt 1882). Al-Yāzidjī's odes are in form and matter modelled exactly on well known classical metres, even the *muwashshaḥ* type was foreign to him The elegies are full of stock sentiments He was particularly fond of chronograms and plays on words in which he could display his extraordinary command of language and form. His poems were collected in three volumes (on the first see Fleischer, in *Z. D M G*, vii, 1853, p 279), the best edition is that by his son Ibrāhīm (1 *al-Nubdhat al-ūla*, Ḥadath 1904, with the biography written by his grandson Amīn al-Ḥaddād; 2 *Nafhat al-Raihān*, Bairūt 1898, 3 *Thulith al-Ḳamarain*, Bairūt 1903, not mentioned in F al-Bustānī, *op cit.*, p. *shīn*).

Al-Yāzidjī acquired particular fame in the east and in Europe as the last great representative of the writers of makāmas [q v] His collection of 60 maḳāmas, *Madjmaʿ al-Baḥrain*, still enjoys great popularity in Syria (first edition, Bairūt 1856, the best that by his son Ibrāhīm of 1872 and often reprinted) It arose gradually. Following a suggestion of the French consul in Bairūt he began to study the *Makāmas* of Hariri in Silvestre de Sacy's edition (1821–1822) and as a result put together his emendations (ed by A F Mehren as *Epistola critica Nasifi al-Yazigi Berytensis ad De Sacyum*, Leipzig 1848; s also Reinaud and Derenbourg, *Les séances de Hariri*², 1853, ii. 72 *sq*, cf. V Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, ix., Liège 1905, p 105, 130) In the early fifties he began to write makāmas of his own; the whole collection was finished in 1855 and was very well received in Europe (Chauvin, *op cit*, p 123, 234), one of them had been translated by Fleischer as early as 1851 (*Z.D M G*, v 1851, p 96–103, also Russian translations by A Krymsky, *Die arabische Poesie*, Moscow 1906, p 322—328 and Ign Kračkowsky, in the periodical *Wostok*, ii., 1923, p. 31—34) Like those of Harīrī his maḳāmas are not only of linguistic and lexicographical interest but they also contain much material of ethnographical value (see also Th Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, London 1837, i 98—101).

Although his own outlook and works were very conservative and traditional, al-Yāzidjī nevertheless exercised a very great influence on modern Arabic literature He is with justice reckoned with his younger contemporary Buṭrūs al-Bustānī [q v] among the founders of the new movement in Syria. He was not a populariser of European knowledge or European methods like the latter or Rifāʿa al-Ṭahtāwī; language only in the wide sense was his field By a masterly command of language, by his verses, maḳāmas and schoolbooks, he showed and taught that the old saying *al-ʿarabiya lā tatanaṣṣur* (the Arabic language cannot be christianised) no longer held true Every Arabic speaking Christian must as a member of the Arab race play his part in the renaissance of his fatherland In this respect al-Yāzidjī did a great deal to pave the way for the later Arab nationalist movement.

2. Several members of the numerous family of

Shaikh Nāṣīf attained a literary reputation. His son Ibrāhīm (b March 2, 1847; d. Dec 28, 1906) is specially celebrated as a sound philologist and a purist who did a great deal for modern Arabic terminology He revised or edited many of his father's works and published a number of articles, mainly of a linguistic nature, in the periodicals edited by him in Syria and Egypt (e. g. *al-Tabīb*, 1884—1888; the article on Dozy's *Supplément* was translated by Fleischer in 1881, see *Kleinere Schriften*, III. 605—641; especially *al-Bayān*, 1897—1898, see M Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p 36 *sq*, 60 *sq*. and *O L Z*., I, 1898, col 225; *al-Diyā'*, 1898—1906, s. M. Hartmann, *O. L. Z*, II., 1899, col 57—59; III., 1900, col 311—316, 340—346), a number of his letters on literary matters and chronograms were collected by his friends (*Rasā'il al-Yāzidjī*, Cairo 1920) as were his poems (*al-'Ikd*, *ibid*, n d, publ. in a facsimile of the original MS.) Most of his larger works were unfinished He took a great interest in Arabic printing and even invented new types and signs. A monument was put up to him in Beirūt in 1924 (see *Mach*, XXII, 1924, p 637—638, a description with photograph in the magazine *al-Mar'at al-djadīda*, IV, N° 8, p 336)

3 The youngest son Khalīl (b 1858, d Jan 23, 1889) is best known as the author of one of the first original tragedies in Arabic with a subject from ancient Arabia, *al-Muruwwat wa 'l-Wafā'* (written in 1876, first produced in 1878, first edition 1884, second Cairo 1902), a second was never printed (see Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col 1333). In 1881 for a time he edited in Cairo the *Mir'āt al-Sharķ*, later went back to his native land where he taught and prepared a new school edition of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (1885) He is known as a poet from his collection *Nasamāt al-Awrāķ* (Cairo 1888 — not 1880 as in *G.A L.*, II 495 note — and 1908) His great dictionary of the spoken language was never finished

4. A daughter of Shaikh Nāsīf named Warda (b 1838, d Jan 28, 1924) was one of the first women writers in Arabic of the XIX^th^ century. She married Fransīs Shim'ūn in 1866 and lived most of her life in Egypt Her collection of poems (*Hadīķat al-Ward*, Beirūt 1867, 1887, Cairo, n. d. [1332 = 1913]) shows considerable fluency in the style of her father but of course without his power, as regards subject-matter they are mainly *vers d'occasion* which are of no little value for the chronicles of the Yāzidjī family

5 The Shaikh's eldest son Habīb (b Feb. 15, 1833, d. Dec 31, 1870), author of a commentary on one of his father's books, was a translator, his death was the occasion of the last elegy written by his father, now crippled with age.

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2. Ibrāhim. Brockelmann, *G A.L.*, II. 485, N° 2, M Hartmann, *O L Z*, VII, 1905, col 138—143 and do, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 586, N° 210, Gibb, *op cit*, p. 750, Kampffmeyer, *op cit*, p 203, Kračkovsky, *op cit.*, p 62, Zaidān, *Tarādjim*, II [3], p 106—120, Cheikho, *La littérature*, II.[2], p. 38—43; do., *Catalogue*, p 106, 212, N° 824, do, *Ta'rikh al-Ādāb al-'arabīya fi 'l-Rub' al-awwal min al-Karn al-'ishrīn*, Beirūt 1926, p. 23; Tarrāzī, *op cit*, II 88—98, Sarkis, *op cit.*, col 1927—1930, al-Zurukli, *op cit.*, I 25.

3 Khalīl Brockelmann, *G. A L*, II 495, note, Kračkovsky, *op cit*, p. 63—64, Zaidān, *Tarādjim*, II [3], 266—271, do., *Ta'rikh*, IV. 240—241, Cheikho, *La littérature*, II [2], 36—38; do, *Catalogue*, p. 212, N°. 826; al-Zurukli, *op cit.*, I 299, Sarkis, *op cit*, col. 1932—1933.

4. Warda Brockelmann, *G. A L.*, II. 495, note, Cheikho, *Ta'rikh*, p 415—416, do., *Catalogue*, p. 213, N° 829, al-Zurukli, *op. cit.*, III 1134, Sarkis, *op cit.*, col 1939—1940. The public lecture devoted to her by Mayy (Maryam Ziyāde) in May 1924 was printed in the same year in Cairo by Maṭba'at al-Balāgh (62 pp with portrait, not mentioned in Sarkis, *op. cit.*, col. 1607).

5 Habīb Cheikho, *La littérature*, II [2], 31, 35—36, do., *Catalogue*, p. 212, N°. 825, Sarkis, *op cit*, col 1931—1932.

(IGN KRATSCHKOWSKY)

YĀZIDJI-OGHLU or YĀZIDJI-ZĀDE, the epithet of two early Ottoman poets and mystics, both sons of a certain *yāzidjī* (i. e. *kātib*) Salāh al-Dīn. He is said to have come from Bolu and spent most of his later life in Angora. Salāh al-Dīn wrote in addition to works on mysticism, a treatise on medicine called *Shemsiye* and a poetical calendar of 5,000 couplets of no literary value, but perhaps of linguistic interest, on the omens of certain phenomena in the heavens such as rainbows, eclipses, lunar rings, falling stars etc. The work was published in 841 (1412) and dedicated to a certain Ķaṣṣāb 'Alī. The author mentions the celebrated physician Ḥādjdjī Pāshā as his patron It seems to be better known under the title *Mulhime*; manuscripts are rather rare (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, I. 73 *sqq.* with details of contents) There are old and good copies in Berlin,

Staatsbibliothek, fols. 3128 and 3397. The poet Djewrī rewrote it in 1045 (1635) to suit the taste of his time, cf Rieu, *Catalogue Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 93 *sq.*, other copies of this version are in Dresden, Gotha and Leipzig. Cf. on Yāzidjī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also Brūsalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānlī Muʾellifleri*, i 194, note. He seems to have lived for a time in Ḳāḍī Koyi near Malghara in Thrace where his eldest son Meḥmed was born.

1 Yāzidjī-Oghlu Meḥmed, the elder of the two brothers, was born at Ḳāḍī Koyi but seems to have been educated in Persia and Transoxania and to have completed his studies with Hādjdjī Bairām in Angora. He retired into the solitude of a cell (*zāwiya*) built by himself at Gallipoli where he died in 855 (1451). His tomb is still pointed out and revered as a holy place Yāzidjī-Oghlu Mehmed is still known everywhere as the author of the celebrated *Risāle-i Mehmedīye*, or briefly *Mehmedīye* This long didactic poem contains a lengthy exposition of the doctrines and traditions of Islām based on the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth Considerable space is devoted to Muḥammad's divine mission, his life, the end of the world, paradise, hell etc (cf. the full account of the contents in J. v Hammer, *G. O. D*, i 128—143). The epilogue contains a description of the visions in which Muhammad and his teacher Ḥādjdjī Bairām appeared to him in a dream, also panegyrics of the sulṭāns Murād II and Meḥmed II and of his patron, the grand-vizier Mahmūd, known as Kaṣṣāb-zāde It was completed at the end of Djumādā II, 853, i e. middle of August 1449 The *Mehmedīye* is exceedingly common in manuscript, which suggests that it was once extremely popular. Since 1261 (1845) when Mīrzā Kāẓimbeg printed it in Kazan, the poem has been several times lithographed (e g. Stambul 1258 and 1270, cf *J. A*, ser iv, vol iii, p 223 and *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xvii. 169). The commentary by Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī entitled *Farḥ al-Rūḥ* (first edition Būlāḳ 1252, second edition in two vols. ibid 1258, with text of the work and life of the author at the end of the second volume) is famous ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad known as Muṣannifek (cf. *M O G*, ii. 244) translated the *Meḥmedīye* into Persian (cf G Flugel, in *Jahrbucher der Litteratur*, vol 47, *Anzeigenblatt*, p 21) As is known from the appendix to the *Anwār al-ʿĀshiḳīn* of his brother Aḥmad, Mehmed prepared at the latter's request under the title *Maghārib al-Zamān* a comprehensive exposition of the truths of religion in Arabic, which Aḥmad then translated into Turkish as *Anwār al-ʿĀshiḳīn*, while Meḥmed put it into Turkish verse under the title *Mehmedīye*. On other works of Yāzidjī-Oghlu Meḥmed cf. Brūsalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOṯmānlī Muʾellifleri*, i. 194 *sqq.* No trace is to be found of other works attributed to him such as an *Oghuz-nāma* and a *Ṣaltiḳ-nāma*.

2. Yāzidjī-Oghlu Aḥmad, usually called Aḥmad Bīdjān (on account of his excessive thinness), was the younger brother of Meḥmed. Of his career we only know that he lived with his brother in Gallipoli and died there. His death must have taken place about 860 (1456), the date 855 often given is that of the death of his brother Aḥmad Bīdjān was the author of several much esteemed mystical works of which the most important are: 1 *Durr-i meknūn*, a cosmographical work in 18 *bāb*, which deals with the wonders of creation. It exists only in MSS. which are not rare (e g. Dresden, Gotha, Leyden, London, Paris, where there is also a French MS. translation, and Vienna). 2 *Anwār al-ʿĀshiḳīn* completed at the beginning of Muharram 855 (Feb. 1451) in Gallipoli, a Turkish prose version of his brother's Arabic *Maghārib al-Zamān* (see above). The work has been repeatedly printed: Stambul 1261, Kazan 1861, Stambul (1291 lith.) and Būlāḳ 1300 A detailed account of its contents is given by J. v. Hammer in the *S. B Ak. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl., iii. 129—133. 3 *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt*, dealing with the wonders of creation In the introduction the author says that in the time of Alexander the Great, the wise men of the earth arranged to describe the wonders of the universe. In the time of the Imām Shāfiʿī this book was translated from Hebrew into Arabic. He himself at the suggestion of Ḥādjdjī Bairām translated it, he says, into Turkish for the benefit of his countrymen who did not know Arabic, at the time when Sultān Mehmed captured Stambul, i e 857 (1453) A superficial comparison with Ḳazwīnī's book of the same name shows its complete dependence on it, as Rieu has clearly shown (*Cat. of Turkish MSS in the Brit. Mus*, p. 106 *sq*). The book is quite common in MS. e g in Dresden, Leipzig, London, Upsala and Vienna. 4 *Muntahā*, a mystical work on the exact content of which nothing has been published. There was a manuscript in the bookshop of Khālis Efendi in Stambul.

Bibliography J. v. Hammer, *G. O D*, i 127 *sqq*, do, *G. O. R*, i 497, 601, Gibb, *H. O P*, i 391 *sqq.* and 395 *sqq* (with further references and many extracts from ʿĀlī's *Kunh al-Akhbār*), Tashkopruzāde, *Shakāʾik al-Nuʿmāniya*, Turk transl. of Medjdī, i. 127 *sq.* and 128 *sq*, Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tāḏj al-Tawārīkh*, ii. 460 and the sources mentioned in the text

(Franz Babinger)

YĀZŪRĪ, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan b. ʿAlī, vizier and chief ḳāḍī of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustansir bi 'llāh His father was a citizen in comfortable circumstances of Yāzūr, a little town in Palestine near Ramla It was in his native town that he began his administrative career in the office of ḳāḍī. In this capacity he attracted the attention of an officer in the service of al-Mustansir's mother, by reporting to him an injustice done by the chief ḳāḍī of Egypt and it was probably as a result of this that he was transferred to the capital with a post in the official hierarchy.

After the assassination of the Jew Abū Saʿd al-Tustarī, superintendent of the estates of the caliph's mother, in 439 (1047), Yāzūrī was appointed to succeed him. His ambition seems now to have been apparent, for the grand vizier Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Husain Djardjarāyī appointed him in 441 (1049) chief ḳāḍī purposely to exclude him from the vizierate Yāzūrī retained his post as superintendent, the duties of which were performed by his eldest son Muḥammad

In the following year the caliph gave him the vizierate, which he was to hold for eight years. This period was marked by important events in foreign politics The year 443 (1051) saw the breach between the Zīrids and the Fāṭimid empire. Yāzūrī in revenge sent the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim to ravage North Africa A rising of the tribes of the Buḥaira was suppressed. In the east there was the rising of Arslān al-Basāsīrī against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Kāʾim, to which Yāzūrī gave considerable financial assistance. These events are related elsewhere; we need only mention that

the taking of Baghdād by the Turkish adventurer caused the authorities in Cairo to lose their heads. To receive the captive ʿAbbāsid in the Egyptian capital, the caliph Mustanṣir hurriedly had a new palace built This unfortunate step was to have serious consequences for the Shīʿī lords of Egypt. The Saldjūḳs were not content with reestablishing the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Mesopotamia but a few years later extended the boundaries of the empire as far as Damascus.

This affair also had a more direct result, the execution of Yāzūrī; did he put to his own use a part of the considerable sums allotted to the enterprise or did he perhaps play a double game by conducting secret negotiations with sulṭān Ṭughril Beg in spite of his official position ? Both charges weigh upon his memory. The caliph threw him into prison with all his family in Muḥarram 450 (March 1058), and the following month the former vizier was executed at Tinnīs.

The rise to power of Yāzūrī marks the first disastrous stage in the reign of Mustanṣir which began so well. cf for example the enthusiastic descriptions by Nāsir-i Khusraw who spent the first year of Yāzūrī's vizierate in Cairo. Yāzūrī exhausted the resources of the state, as we have seen The year 446 (1054) was also marked by a serious famine.

The Arab historians say that Yāzūrī's name was put on the coins but so far no such coin has been found. On the other hand, his name appears on a piece of cloth in the Elsberg collection, as *A]bū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd* [*al-*] *Ṛa*[*ḥmān*] (*JRAS*, 1930, p 765 and pl. xii).

Bibliography Ibn al-Sairafī, *Iṣhāra*, in *BIFAO*, xxv 68—73; Ibn Muyassar, *Annales*, p 2—9; *CIA.*, *Égypte*, *MIFAO*, lii 279, index, with a full bibliography, Wiet, in *Précis d'Histoire d'Égypte*, ii. 184, 191, 207—208 (G. Wiet)

YEÑIČERI. [see Janissaries]

YESHIL-IRMAḲ (T, "green river"), a river in Asia Minor (the ancient Iris) formed by the combination of the Gilgit coming from Ḳara-Ḥisār-Sharḳī and Nigisār and the Tūzānlı from the west, i e. from the direction of Amasia It thus straight north, enters the sandjaḳ of Djānik (wilāyet of Trebizond) and flows into the Black Sea opposite Sāmsūn. Its length is about 60 miles from the confluence of the two rivers.

Bibliography Sāmī-Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, vi 4799 (Cl Huart)

YEZDEGERD. [see Sāsānians]

YĪLDĪZ KÖSHKÜ (T), Yıldız Kiosk, properly the "Kiosk of the Star" or more popularly in Turkish usage, *Yīldīz Sarāyī* "Palace of the Star", or simply Yīldīz, the imperial residence consisting of a vast and somewhat chaotic agglomeration of pavilions and gardens situated in the northeast of Istanbul (Constantinople) on the heights which command Beshiktash (Beşiktaş) and Ortakoy.

The surrounding wall is adjoined in the east by the Ortakoy quarters, in the south by the Čeraghan (Çeragan) quarter and in the west by the slopes known as *Serendje Bey yokushu*. Yildiz may be reached from above by the west (gates: *Ḳoltuḳ ḳapīsī*, *Salṭanat* ., *Ḥarem* or *Wālide ḳ.*), passing the Ḥamīdīye mosque, which belongs to the palace, on the right, or from below (gate: *Medjidīye ḳapīsī*), by the gardens which run down almost to the road running along the European bank of the Bosporus between Beshiktash and Ortaköy. For the topography see the map of Dolma-Baghče in Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Klein-Asien*, Leipzig 1905, p 84—5.

It was under Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II that Yildiz attained its greatest development and its greatest renown (up to 12,000 occupants), but at the beginning of the xixth century it was already a park as is evident from a fountain bearing the *tughra* [*q. v*] of Sulṭān Selīm III (1789—1807) (information supplied by Selīm Nuzhet Bey).

The earliest buildings date from Sulṭān Maḥmūd II who surrounded them with a garden. According to Dorys, they were built in 1832, but in reality they are before 1826, for Andréossy mentions "Yıldızkioskı" (as served by the Baghče-Koy aqueduct) in his work *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813 et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris 1828, p. 424.

Maḥmūd II's kiosk was demolished by his son and successor ʿAbd al-Madjīd (1839—61) and replaced by others which were called *Malta koshkü*, *Cadīr k* (Kiosk of the Tent) and *ʿAdjem k.* (Persian Kiosk) or *Yeñi koshk* (New Kiosk). According to Dorys and ʿOsmān Nūrī who wrongly followed him, the *Malta k* and the *Čadīr k.* were only built under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; according to the *Guide Joanne*, the same is true of the *Yeñi koshk*.

Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861—76) built the palace of *Mābeyn* (the Court) It was he also who joined the Čeraghan palace built in 1874 to the Yildiz park by a bridge over the Beshiktash-Ortakoy road (ʿOsmān Nūrī, ii 450).

All the other buildings belong to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876—1909). This ruler, who never built a palace in the proper sense of the word, delighted in multiplying light buildings, often of cement, and these pavilions, chalets and kiosks were sometimes run up very quickly.

Before his time, Yıldız was a pleasure resort: only the mother of ʿAbd al-Madjīd, the Wālide Sulṭān Bezm-i ʿĀlem (d 1853), seems to have lived there regularly (Moritz Busch, *Die Turkei*, in *Lloyd's Reisebibliothek*, vi, Trieste 1860, p. 199).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II moved there soon after the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war He gradually stayed there more and more until he finally never left it and made a fortified camp and a regular town out of it The park was extended and the surrounding wall raised (in 1898) The name of Yıldız contrasted or superimposed on that of Sublime Porte, became a synonym for the government of the Palace and the Ḥamīdian régime.

Three main portions of Yıldız are distinguished: 1. the Palace proper with its immediate annexes, 2 the Inner Garden (or Park) (*iç bagh̆če*) and 3. the Outer Garden (or Park) (*dīsh bagh̆če*).

1. The buildings of the Palace in the strict sense comprise:

Mābeyn, already mentioned, an elegant building, the largest in the Yıldız (whence its name of *Buyuk Mābeyn*), situated outside the walls so that it is seen in its entirety on arriving from the west, on the left of the Ḥamīdīye mosque. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd set it aside for the private secretaries (*mābeyndjīs*) of the Palace. It was also called the "Ambassadors' pavilion" or Yildiz par excellence (see illustration).

Selāmlik, private apartments of the sulṭān (*hunkiār*).

Ḥaremlik or *Ḥarem dā'ireleri* "women's apartments".

Shehzāde dā'ireleri "apartments of the imperial princes", each of whom had a separate civil and military establishment (the private apartments of the sultān, his wives and princes were included in the "small enclosure" surrounded by a wall 12 feet thick).

Theatre (*tiyatro*).

Library (*kutub-khāne*), containing important manuscripts and Museum of antiquities and curiosities, with drawing-room, music room, photographic studio, museum of natural history (coleoptera) (the manuscripts have now been removed to the National Library; some of the bookcases are now being used by the Library of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara).

Silāḥ-khāne "arsenal or armoury", also a museum of arms, a long, low pavilion, adorned with columns.

Čit koshku ("Kiosk of the Hedge"), here the ambassadors used to be received after the Friday ceremony of the Selāmlik (*ṣalāt* at the Hamīdiye mosque to which the sultān went ceremonially in a victoria driving in front of the terrace, under the Mābeyn, on which stood the ambassadors and other distinguished guests); it was the place of meeting of the *Komisyon-u 'askerī* "military commission"; here also took place in Ramadān the *khuṣūr dersleri* "religious instruction in presence of the sulṭān" (Taḥsīn Pasha, p 16, 21, 95 and 129).

Kaskat koshku "Kiosk of the Waterfall"

Various offices *bash kiātibın dā'iresi* "offices of the First Secretary of the Palace" (Tahsīn Pasha), *kiātib-i sānînin d* "office of the second secretary (Arap 'Izzet Pasha)", *teshrīfāt nāẓırının d* "office of the master of ceremonies", *yāwerān d* "office of the aides de camp", *mudīriyet* "administration of the palace", *Sertufengi Ṭāhir pashanîn dā'iresi* "offices of the T. P., commander of the fusiliers, bodyguard", *terdjeme odasî* "office of the translators", *khazîne-i ewrāḳ* "archives", *mûtbaḳ* "kitchen" (list taken from 'Osmān Nūrī, in Tahsīn Pasha, p. 18 *sqq.* will be found an account of the distribution of the various offices, fifteen in number)

2 The Inner Garden possessed a *Dıhān-numā koshku* or "Belvedere" from which the sulṭān had a very extensive view.

3. The Outer Garden comprised

Malta koshku in which Murād V was imprisoned for some time and Midhat Pasha was tried

The *Čadîr koshku*, in which Prince Henry stayed; the commissions of the Hidjāz and of finance used to meet here; offices for the judicial enquiries and examinations conducted by Rāghib Pasha

'Adjem koshku or *Yeñi koshk* (these three, the oldest, kiosks have already been mentioned; the last was raised in height by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd).

Merāsim koshku "Kiosk of the Ceremonies" or *Shale koshku* "Kiosk of the (Swiss) Chalet", in two stories, the largest in the Outer Park (cost £T 75,000), where the emperor William II and Alexander (Battenberg), king of Serbia, stayed; it was connected with the "little enclosure" and rooms were set aside in it for the chamberlains and for the meetings of the Council of ministers; the princes had their music lessons there.

Ta'lîm-khāne koshku, built (of cement) in three days to enable the emperor William II to see a military review.

Čînî fabrikasî "porcelain works".

Marangoz-khāne "furniture factory" which employed 60 workmen and produced most of the furniture of Yıldız kiosk ('Abd al-Ḥamīd had a passion for carpentry at which he himself worked).

Iṣṭabl-i 'āmire "imperial stables"; there were five (*khāṣṣ akhîr koshkleri*) at Yıldız ('Abd al-Ḥamīd had a passion for horses)

Museum of (stuffed) animals, near the *Merāsım koshku*, dovecots, poultry houses, not to mention greenhouses, menagerie, bird cages, kennels, hospital for dogs, horse training ground, *hammām*.

The palace had two mosques, a large work department (*ta'mîr-khāne*), with saw-mill, foundry, locksmiths' shops etc which employed 300 workmen not counting the foremen, the princes used to work there sometimes

The domestic staff (*bendegān*, *khademe*) lived near the palace, but outside the walls.

Independent of the buildings above mentioned there were two which we have not identified· *Ferhan koshku* and the Little Tiranon.

There were two ponds in the Outer Park, one called *Dere ḥawuzu* „pond of the valley" (between Beshiktash and Ortakoy), 500 feet long and 30—100 broad, the other near *Cadîr koshku*, about 5,000 sq. yards

In the Inner Garden is a pond or rather an artificial stream, 300 yards long and 80 broad.

Yıldız now belongs to the prefecture of Istanbul (*I Shehremāneti*) which has leased a part of it (*Merāsım koshku*) to a casino.

There is some talk of the resumption of the Merāsım Koshku again by the municipality to give it to the National Assembly of Turkey which would make it a meeting-place for international conferences (*Akṣam* of May 10, 1933). Several schools are established in the old buildings or annexes of Yıldız *Harp akademisi* "Military school", *Milkiye mektebi* "School of political sciences" (in the old *seyisler dairesi* "grooms' lodgings"), *Polis mektebi* "Police-school", *Harımıyeti milliye yatî mektebi* "Boarding-school of national sovereignty"

Bibliography. P de Régla, *La Turquie officielle*, Paris 1889, p. 41—59; G Dorys, *Abdul-Hamid intime*, Paris 1907 (7th edition), p 101—141 Yıldız, with numerous illustrations (some reproduced in G Rizas, *Les Mystères de Yıldız ou Abdul-Hamid*, Constantinople, Pallamary Press, 1909), 'Osmān Nūrī. *'Abd ul-Ḥamīd-i sānı we-Dewr-i Salṭanetı*, "'Abd II and his Reign", Istanbul, Kitābkhāne-i Islām we-'askeri, 1327, ii 449 *sqq*. *Yıldîz Sarāyî*; Guides-Joanne, *De Paris à Constantinople*, Paris, Tahsīn Pasha, *Abdulhamit we-Yıldîz Hatîralarî*, "'Abd and the souvenirs of Yıldız", Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, Istanbul, p 18—24 *Yıldîzda Teskilāt*; Sefer Bey, *Yeldız*, in *La Revue* (formerly "*Revue des Revues*") of Oct. 1, 1907, p. 351—63 (of no interest); Ch. de Mouy, *Lettres du Bosphore*, Paris 1879, p. 240—50, *Catalogue des perles, pierreries, bijoux et objets d'art précieux, le tout ayant appartenu à S. M. le Sultan Abdul-Ḥamid II et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris .... les lundi 27 .... novembre 1911 ...*

The melancholy reputation of Yıldız has produced several novels and pamphlets which however contain no information of definite value Paul de Régla, *Les secrets d'Yildız*, novel in-8, 2nd édition; Mouiad-Bey, former imperial commissioner of the Ottoman Public Debt, *Le Palais de Yildiz et la Sublime Porte*; — *Le véritable*



Art. YILDÎZ KÖŞKÜ
Mabain and Ḥamīdīya Mosque

Cliche Sebah et Joaillier

mal d'Orient, Paris 1895, 27 pages in-8°; ʿAlī Kemāl, *Yıldız Khaṭirāt-i elīmesi* "Tragic memories of Yıldız", Istanbul, Iḳbāl-ı Millet Maṭbaʿası, 1326, 33 pages in-12; Moralī-zāde Waṣṣāf, *Yıldız Fādjiʿaları* "The crimes of Yıldız", drama in 4 acts, Istanbul 1327, 80 pages in-8°.

(J. DENY)

YOGHURT (T, *yoghur-*, to "knead"), a preparation of soured milk made by heating After putting into the heated milk a certain quantity of a *yoghurt* already made, which curdles it, it is left to cool slowly until it is solid. This is called *māst* in Persian and *laban* in Syrian Arabic Various dishes are prepared by mixing it with vegetables, e. g. with cucumber· *māst-khıyār* is much esteemed by the Persians (E. G Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p 175—178)

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YORGĀN LĀDIḲ. [see LĀDHIḲ.]

YŪNUS AL-KĀTIB or **AL-MUGHANNĪ**, whose full name was YŪNUS B. SULAIMĀN B KURD B. SHAHRIYĀR ABŪ SULAIMĀN, was a well known musician and writer on music in the IInd (VIIIth) century He was the first to make a collection of Arabic songs (*ghinā'*) He was a *mawlā* of al-Zubair b. al-ʿAwwām or of ʿAmr b al-Zubair, his father being a lawyer (*faḳīh*) of Persian origin. Settling in Madīna, Yūnus entered the municipal administration as a scribe, hence his surname al-Kātib Early in life however, he was attracted by music, and took lessons from the "four great singers", Maʿbad [q v], Ibn Suraidj [q. v.], Ibn Muḥriz and al-Gharīd, as well as from Muhammad b. ʿAbbād, and soon became esteemed both as a musician and poet Whilst on a visit to Syria during the reign of Hishām (724—742 A D) his fame in music and poetry brought him the patronage of the Amīr al-Walīd b Yazīd who detained him three days and suitably rewarded him. This event forms the basis of a highly coloured story in the 684th night of the *Alf Laila wa-Laila*. Returning to Madīna, Yūnus was unfortunate enough to get into trouble. A poet-friend named Ibn Ruhaima had composed some verses extolling the beauty of a young lady named Zainab, the daughter of ʿIkrima b ʿAbd al-Rahmān b al-Hāiith b Hishām These songs, which Yūnus set to music, were originally sung at private *soirées musicales*, but they soon spread to a wider circle and became the rage under the name of the *Zayānib*. This publicity greatly offended the lady's family and the Caliph was appealed to The result was that the governor of Madīna was ordered to inflict 500 strokes of the lash on the shoulders of the musician and the poet. Being forewarned of the impending punishment they fled from the city, and did not return until the death of the Caliph On the accession of al-Walīd II (743—744), Yūnus was summoned to the Damascus court where he was treated with "high honour and munificence", as Yūnus himself is said to have stated. Here his "wealth increased" sufficient not only for his own needs, but for his heirs after him. He remained at court until the death of this pleasure-loving ruler. After this we have little information about Yūnus, save that he was alive under the early ʿAbbāsids. Both Sīyāṭ (d. 785) and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 804) are said to have been his pupils. Among his books were a *Kitāb mudjarrad Yūnus* ("The Unique Book of Yūnus"), a *Kitāb al-Ḳiyān* ("Book of Singing Girls"), and a *Kitāb al-Nagham* ("Book of Melodies").

As a composer, Yūnus has a place among the great musicians of the classical era, as we know from the high esteem accorded his *Zayānib*. As a singer, he must have had considerable ability to have roused the jealousy of so great a performer as Ibn ʿĀʾisha. It is however rather on account of his "famous books on songs and singers" as the author of the *Fihrist* says, that Yūnus deserves particular praise Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, testifies that Yūnus' book concerning the songs was one of his chief sources of information. It was, in fact, the first attempt made to collect the Arabic verses which had been set to music, together with particulars of authors and composers, as well as information concerning the modes (*tarāʾik*) in which the melodies (*alhān*) and rhythms (*ikāʿāt*) were sung.

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YŪNUS B. MATTAI, the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (II Kings xiv. 25). In the Ḳurʾān he is four times mentioned as Yūnus, without his father's name being given, once as Dhu 'l-Nūn (xxi 87), once (lxviii 48) as *ṣāḥib al-ḥūt*, "he of the fish". This epithet explains also why Yūnus is the only one of the major and minor prophets who is mentioned in the Kurʾān; a prophet who is swallowed by a fish naturally attracts attention. Muḥammad numbers Yūnus among the apostles of God (iv 161; vi 86) Sūra x is called after Yūnus, and tells of the town which comes to believe and therefore its fate is averted from it (x 98). Yūnus, an apostle of God, fled on a ship which was overloaded. He was condemned by lot and a fish swallowed him. He was worthy of blame If he had not praised God he would have remained in the fish's belly until the resurrection. So We threw him sick upon a barren shore, and caused a gourd to grow up over him, sent him to over a hundred thousand people, and they believed and We gave them respite for a further period (xxxvii. 139—148). Remember Dhu 'l-Nūn, how he departed in wrath and thought We could exercise no power over him; then he called out of the darkness. There is no God but Thee, praise be unto Thee, I was one of the sinners Then We heard him and rescued him (xxi. 87—88) Await patiently the judgment of thy Lord, be not like him of the fish, who cried out when he was in distress, had the grace of his God not been granted to him, he would have been shamefully cast upon the barren shore but the Lord heard him and he became one of the righteous (lxviii. 48, 49).

Bukhārī and Nawawī also quote as divine revelation not put in the Ḳurʾān the utterance: "No one can say he is better than Yūnus b. Mattai, even if his genealogy goes back to his father" (Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i. 257).

Muslim legend further develops this material.

Why was Yūnus enraged? 1. He was angry with the sinners; 2. he was angry because the calamity he had prophesied was delayed at the last minute and he appeared as a liar worthy of death; 3. because the angel Gabriel did not even allow him time to mount a steed or put on a shoe. His ship could go neither forward nor backward. He confessed his guilt but the sailors would not throw him into the sea, three times they cast lots and then threw the arrow (Tha'labī) Finally Yūnus throws himself into the jaws of the whale (Ibn al-Athīr), which says he has come from India on account of Yūnus (Kisā'ī). God commands the whale, saying I do not give thee Yūnus as food, I give thee him that you may shelter him (as in a mosque Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i. 683). The threefold darkness of the fish, the sea, and the night envelops Yūnus The fish is swallowed by another fish (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, etc). God makes the fish transparent so that Yūnus can see the wonders of the deep He hears the songs of praise of the sea-monsters just as the angels hear his from the inside of the fish It is disputed whether Yūnus remained 3, 7, 20 or 40 days in the fish. Hurled out upon the shore he is given shade by a gourd tree, and suckled by a goat (Ibn al-Athīr), or antelope (Tha'labī), or a gazelle (Kisā'ī) When they disappear Yūnus laments Then God reproaches him for not having had sympathy with over 100,000 people This admonition is impressed upon him deeply by other means also by fruit-trees torn up, by the example of a potter who is anxious about his pots and a sower who is anxious about his seeds. The city of the prophet is in despair because he does not come back Then Yūnus has a shepherd announce his approach· the earth, a tree, an animal of his herd, all bear witness to the truth of the message

Al-Kisā'ī extends the miraculous to the earlier history of the Prophet His father was 70 when Yūnus was born. His mother, who became a widow soon after, had nothing left but a wooden spoon, which proves to be a cornucopia As a result of a miraculous dream he marries the daughter of Zakarīyā' b. Yahyā He loses his wife, both his sons and his property. He therefore will not pray with the others on the ship. Everything is miraculously restored to him.

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

YÜRÜKS, the general term for the wandering Turkish tribes in Asia Minor, also found sporadically on the Balkan peninsula The name in Turkish means "wanderers", i.e nomads in general, and some scholars (first v. Strahlenberg [1730], then J v. Hammer and H. Kiepert) held the view that the same word was contained in the name of the *Iyrkes* (Ἴυρκαι), a people described by Herodotos (iv. 22), who lived by hunting, roughly in the southern Ural. J. H. Mordtmann has similarly referred the account by Kinnamos of the nomads driven by the Emperor Manuel I in 1175 from the region of Eski-Shehir [q.v.] to the Yürüks. According to Hasluck, the word Yüruk was first applied by Rycaut to the nomads of the Troad (*History of the Turks* [1687], ii 138).

The Anatolian nomads are usually called by the settled Turks, Yuruks, Gočebs or Türkmens, or after the tribal confederation to which they belong (e g Afshārs, Bāyāts, Kačars, Sheikhlī, Warsaks, etc) or after the particular tribe (e g. Aidınlı, Anamaslı, Gok Musalli, Harmandali, Kara-Kečili, Kara-Koyunlu, Khurzum, Kozanlı, Ṣari-Kečili, Zili etc.) The tribal organisation is rather important. A tribal confederation (*'ashīret*) at the head of which is a bey or shaikh is divided into clans (*kabīla*) and again into septs (*maḥalla*).

A strong tribe often subdues a weak one and even down to the Tanzīmāt [q v] the Yuruks were usually ruled by their own beys Some of these beys in Rumelia were given fiefs (*zi'āmet*; q. v) (cf 'Ain-i 'Alī, in Tischendorf, *Das Lehnswesen* etc , p 63 and Ewliyā Čelebī, iii 394)

In his monograph on the Yüruks Dr. M Tzakyi-oglu has given a full list of 88 tribes (reproduced by Hasluck, ii 475—477) of whom the majority were in his official district of Smyrna and the adjoining wilāyet of Aidın There are also numerous Yüruk tribes in Southern Anatolia (around Menteshe [Mughla], Adalia, Alaiye and Adana) in the districts of Sīwās and Konya, also in east and south-east Anatolia (in the wilāyets of Urfa, Diyārbakr and Mārdīn); their distribution is connected with the distribution of pastures.

As early as Bāyazīd I's reign, the Yüruks were coming to Europe (to the district of Philippolis [Plodiv]) and in time they spread over Thrace and Macedonia as a number of place-names show Since the wars of recent years, however, these Yuruks have for the most part gone back

Although they do not form a single homogeneous stock, the Yürüks are predominantly Turks and have retained the old Turkish type, as well as many old words better, than the settled Ottomans They speak as a rule different "coarse" Turkish dialects, which are as a rule not essentially different from those of their settled neighbours (cf iv , p. 921[a]), only a few tribes speak Kurdish.

On the religion of the Yüruks nothing much certain is known. Under the influence of Sunnī or Shī'ī propaganda they have become nominally Muslims, but they are more attached to their primitive (animistic) religion, in which the worship of trees, shrubs, springs and mountains plays an important part In any case they pay more heed to their old rites and customs than to the prescriptions of Islām

The occupations of the Yuruks are decided by local conditions. In the steppes and along the coast where they spend the winter, they rear sheep and goats, and sometimes cattle, which they take in the summer to high-lying pastures. Some tribes are good breeders of horses and camels In forest country the Yürüks are more frequently woodcutters (*takhtadjīs*; q. v) Many tribes are hunters and in certain circumstances practise a little agriculture. The women engage in cooking, making clothes, spinning, basketwork, weaving of felt, mats and carpets. The Yürüks live in tents woven of dark goats' wool or in primitive huts.

Their total number is estimated at 300,000. According to ʿAin-i ʿAlī (*op. cit.*), the Rumelian Yüruks in the xviiith century had 1,294 *oḏjaḳs*, i. e. 38,820 men (1 *oḏjaḳ* = 30 men). In the xviiith century they provided a contingent of 57,000 troops under their own leaders (Perry in Hasluck, p. 136).

All attempts by the Turkish government to make the Yüruks settle permanently have had very little success for obvious reasons

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(Fehim Bajraktarević)

YŪSHAʿ B NŪN, the Joshua of the Bible. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him by name but alludes to him. When Moses wished to lead his people into the holy land and Israel was afraid to fight with the giants, they were encouraged by two God-fearing men (v. 23—29), who may be recognised as Joshua and Caleb Neither can it be doubted that the young man (*fatā* = *naʿar*, Exod. xxxiii. 11) who accompanies Moses on a journey to Khadir (not named) (Sūra xviii. 59—64) is no other than Joshua.

Muslim legend has supplied the figure of Yūshaʿ with features not found in the Bible Yūshaʿ is given the task of summoning the Egyptians to the true faith To enable Moses to depart this life without anxiety, Yūshaʿ is installed as prophet in his lifetime The Arab tradition varies as to whether the victory over the giants was won in the time of Moses or not till that of Yūshaʿ The credit is usually given to Yūshaʿ Balaam supports the giants (in Ibn al-Athīr the story is embellished Balaam's wife is bribed to incite him to evil). When Yūshaʿ is successfully fighting the giants, Friday evening comes If the Sabbath begins, the fighting cannot be continued and the victory will be incomplete. Yūshaʿ wishes to stop the sun. at first it refuses, saying it is fulfilling divine orders just as Yūshaʿ is; finally the sun agrees. After the victory Yūshaʿ collects the booty as a sacrifice but no flame comes down from heaven to consume it. There has been some dishonesty Moses summons the heads of the tribes. The hand of the sinner sticks to the hand of Moses (al-Kisāʾī records another divine judgement; each tribe has a mark on Aaron's robe and the mark of the guilty tribe becomes twisted). A bull's head studded with pearls and jewels is found in the sinner's possession and added to the booty. Flames now consume the booty, the bull's head along with the sinner Yūshaʿ cannot cross the Jordan for 40 days. At his prayer the two hills on the banks become a bridge, across which the people pass (al-Kisāʾī). Jericho is besieged for six months and in the seventh the walls fall at the blowing of trumpets.

In Ṭabarī (Leyden, i. 558) we have the isolated tradition that the dead man conjured up by Tālūt (Saul) was Yūshaʿ.

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YŪSUF I. [see Almohades.]

YŪSUF B ʿOMAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAKAM B. ABĪ ʿAḲĪL B MASʿŪD AL-THAḲAFĪ, governor of the ʿIrāḳ Yūsuf was a parent of the famous al-Ḥaddjādj b. Yūsuf [q v] and governed the province of the Yaman for many years before he was transferred to the ʿIrāḳ by the caliph al-Hishām b ʿAbd al-Malik On Ramaḍān 27, 106 (Feb. 15, 725) he arrived as governor in the Yaman and in Djumādā I, 120 (April—May 738) he was appointed governor of the ʿIrāḳ, and took up his quarters in al-Hīra while his son al-Ṣalt remained as his deputy in the Yaman In al-Hīra he acquired the reputation of a blood-thirsty tyrant; all kinds of stories, some almost incredible, are told of his cruelty. The first notable victim of his hatred was the former governor of the ʿIrāk, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kasrī [q v] In 122 (740) the ʿAlid Zaid b ʿAlī b. Husain b. ʿAlī raised a dangerous rebellion in al-Kūfa which, however, ended in a fiasco [cf. HISHĀM B ʿABD AL-MALIK]. After order had been restored, Yūsuf is said to have asked the caliph for permission to lay waste the town of al-Kūfa, but the caliph refused. He endeavoured to bring suspicion upon the able Naṣr b. Saiyār, whom Hishām had appointed governor of Khurāsān on the fall of Khālid, in the hope that he would succeed in getting him dismissed, and then combining his governorship with his own For this purpose in 123 (740—741) he sent al-Hakam b. al-Salt to the caliph to turn him against Nasr and ingratiate himself with him. Hishām, however, was not deceived but left Nasr in office. After the assassination of al-Walīd II, the Kalbī Mansūr b. Djumhūr was appointed governor of the ʿIrāḳ and as Yūsuf found no support among the government troops and the Kaisīs made common cause with the Kalbīs, there was nothing left for him but to take to flight He set out for Syria and reaching al-Balḳāʾ in Transjordania, he tried to hide among the women of the harem but was discovered by the soldiers of the caliph Yazīd III and brought to Damascus Here he was imprisoned and remained there till the outbreak of civil war on the death of Yazīd. But when Marwān b Muhammad [q. v] after his victory over Sulaimān b Hishām, who led the followers of the late caliph, approached the capital, Sulaimān had Yūsuf as well as Walīd II's two sons murdered before himself seeking escape in flight. This happened in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 126 (Sept —Oct. 744), or according to another statement not till the following year (beg. Oct. 744). Yūsuf was then about 60 According to the Muslim historians, he did not lack literary training; as to his appearance we are told that he was small in stature and had an unusually long beard.

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ed. Houtsma, II. 353, 380, 387—392, 397, 400, 404; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p 68, 281, 285, 314, 350, 365, 469; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*, Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I. 623 *sq*., 627, 663, 666, 675, 683; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed , p. 387, *sqq* , 404, 406, 410 *sqq*., 420, Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p 208—211, 216, 221, 223 *sq* , 229 *sq* , 234

(K. V ZETTERSTÉEN)

YŪSUF B TĀSHFĪN. [see ALMORAVIDS.]

YŪSUF B. YAʿḲŪB, the Joseph of the Bible, is a favourite subject of Muslim legend In Sūra xii. Muḥammad deals with the whole story of Yūsuf, claiming that it is the most beautiful of stories. It is the most beautiful, says Thaʿlabī, because of the lesson concealed in it, on account of Yūsuf's generosity and its wealth of matter, in which prophets, angels, devils, djinn, men, animals, birds, rulers and subjects play a part

Yūsuf in the Ḳurʾān. Yūsuf is mentioned twice outside of Sūra xii Once (vi 84) as one of the pious ancestors, further in Sūra xl 36 Yūsuf came with clear proofs but they doubted him and after his death it was thought that God would never send another prophet, Sūra xii contains more and less than the Bible Let us first consider the additions to the Biblical story.

Yūsuf is warned not to tell his brothers his dream (verse 5) Yaʿḳūb is afraid for Yūsuf on account of the wolf (13). Yaʿḳūb does not believe the story of his death (17, 18). Yūsuf returns the love of the temptress, only a sign from his Lord keeps him from sin (24) Yūsuf's coat is torn from behind and a witness proves his innocence from this (25—28). The women who speak evil of Yūsuf's temptress are so dazzled by the angelic beauty of Yūsuf when he comes in that they cut their own fingers instead of the food (31). Yūsuf proclaims the true faith in prison (37—40) The seven fat and seven lean years are followed by a prolific year with a good rainfall (49) Yūsuf interprets Pharaoh's dreams while still in prison and will not come to court until his innocence is recognised (50, 51) Yūsuf asks Pharaoh to appoint him over the treasures of Egypt (55) Yaʿḳūb orders his sons not all to come in at one gate (67) Yūsuf at once reveals himself to Benjamin (69). When the goblet is found in Benjamin's sack the brothers cry out If he be a thief, his brother has already been a thief (77) Yūsuf sends his coat to his father Yaʿḳūb recognises the smell of it from a distance and regains his sight from it (93—95). Yūsuf's parents bow down before him thus fulfilling his dream (101)

For most of these additions to the Biblical story, Geiger, Grunbaum, Neumann and Schapiro have shown a Haggadic origin, on the other hand, we find Muḥammadan influence in the later Jewish legend.

On the other hand, we do not have in the Kurʾān the description of his character. Remarkable also is the omission of the dream of the brothers' sheaves which bow down before Joseph's sheaf (Gen. xxxvii. 5—7). This dream is replaced in post-Ḳurʾānic legend by a miracle. A tree grows near Yaʿḳūb's house, on which a new branch sprouts whenever a son is born to him. None grows at Yūsuf's birth. At Yaʿḳūb's prayer, Gabriel brings a branch from Paradise, which surpasses the others and blooms and bears fruit. The Yūsuf Sūra is strikingly uncertain and hesitating in that it mentions no one by name except Yaʿḳūb and Yūsuf and gives no numbers or times. The only references are to one of the brothers or at best the eldest of the brothers, a king, a noble, his wife, a witness. Yūsuf is sold for a paltry sum; the number of his brothers is not given. This gives the expositors of the Kurʾān an opportunity to search for the anonymous and undefined (*mubhamāt*) (see Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, index, s v. *Mubhamāt*)

Yūsuf in post-Kurʾānic legend. When the Kurʾān cautiously says "one of the brothers said or did something", in legend we find Reuben, Judah, Simeon and in Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī also Dan, in course of time we have Benjamin with his ten or three sons. Sometimes Judah, sometimes Reuben, sometimes Simeon is represented as possessing a terrible temper which can only be calmed by a hand of the house of Jacob. The man who buys Joseph from his brethren is called Mālik b. Daʿī and the Egyptian to whom he is sold Kitfīr, Itfī, Itfīn, Kutifar, Kittīn, Kittīfīn, his wife is called Rāʿīl, later (as in Firdawsī and Kisāʾī) Zālīka, Zulaika. The king of Egypt, whom Yūsuf converts to Islām, is called Raiyān b Walīd, his butler Nabū, his baker Mudjlib. The shāhid, the witness, becomes a relative of the temptress or even a baby who miraculously proves Joseph's innocence from his cradle. Even the names of the eleven stars which bow down before Joseph are given Muslim legend knows how old Yūsuf was at the time of the dream, how long he was kept in the well, where the well was and what he was sold for on each occasion The letter selling him and Yaʿḳūb's letter to Yūsuf are both given in full

A reason is given for everything that is unexplained in the Kurʾān. Why does Yaʿḳūb suffer? Because he killed a calf before the eyes of its mother, because on one occasion he did not share his meal with a hungry man, because he separated a slave from her parents — Why does Yūsuf suffer? Because of his vanity, later, because he appeals to the butler instead of to God — When Yūsuf is warned not to communicate his dream, how do the brothers learn of it nevertheless? From Yusuf's aunt, and so on.

We also find the legend developed by the story-teller's art without any foundation in Kurʾān or Haggada Yaʿḳūb touchingly recommends the little Yūsuf to the care of his brothers They pretend to be very gentle when in sight of the father but very soon ill-treat him, break the jug out of which he wants to drink, tear his coat from his back which he begs as a shroud, and tell him to appeal to the sun, moon and stars of his dreams Gabriel takes pity on the deserted boy, brings him the cloak with which Abraham was protected from the heat of the flames A caravan loses its way and comes to the well The brothers ask the purchaser to put Yūsuf in chains, nevertheless Yūsuf takes leave of them with dignity. On the way he throws himself from his camel on to the tomb of his mother Rachel, which they pass — The efforts to seduce him are described in glowing language Yūsuf sells corn to the Egyptians During the years of famine however, Yūsuf starves also so that he may feel what it is like to be hungry; he partakes only lightly of Pharaoh's banquets. When Yūsuf is questioning the alleged magic cup, Benjamin asks him to enquire if Yūsuf still lives. — He lives, you will see him. — When

Yaʿḳūb receives a message from Yūsuf, he asks how is it with Yūsuf? — He is king of Egypt. — That is not what I am asking; I mean how is it with his faith? — He is a Muslim. — Then my happiness is perfect — Yūsuf enquires how his father could abandon himself completely to grief as if he did not believe in a reunion after the resurrection? — I believe in it but I was anxious lest you had abandoned your faith so that we should remain separated in the next world

The Ḳurʾān tells nothing of Yūsuf's death and sarcophagus Muslim legend, however, has taken stories of this from Haggada. Yūsuf's sarcophagus was sunk in the Nile At the Exodus Moses went to take it with him but could not find it until an old woman (Serach, a daughter of Asher) showed it to him In Islām, the legend seems to have been further developed, for we find the people living on the banks of the Nile disputing over the sarcophagus, which is finally sunk exactly in the middle of the river so that both sides may equally share its virtues

Islām is very proud of its story of Yūsuf Thaʿlabī says that the Yūsuf Sūra surpasses the Tora Kisāʾī tells us that God has given the Yūsuf Sūra to every prophet, but the Jews concealed it until Muhammad revealed it as evidence that he was a prophet — The Shiʿīs do not recognise Sūra xii

Bibliography Tabarī, ed Leyden, i 371–414, the commentaries on Sūra xii, esp. Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, vol xii. 83, xiii 53, Ibn al-Athīr, ed Tornberg, p 54—61, Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i 152, 153, Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902², p 139—148, G Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmanner*, p 100—125, Neumann Ede, *A mohammedán Jozsefmonda eredete és fejlódése*, 1881 (diss of Budapest), M. Grunbaum, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p 148—152, Schapiro, *Die haggadischen Elemente im erzahlenden Teil des Korans*, 1907, J Walker, *Bible Characters in the Koran*, Paisley 1931, p 67—75; Djāmī, *Yūsuf u-Zulaika*, ed and transl by Rosenzweig, Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Jussuf und Zuleicha, Romantisches Heldengedicht von Firdussi*, Vienna 1889, thereon M Grunbaum, *Zu "Jusuf und Suleicha"*, in *Z D M G*, xli. 577, xliii 1, do., *Gesammelte Aufsatze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, ed by Felix Perles, Berlin 1901, p 515–593, Wilhelm Bacher, *Zwei judisch-persische Dichter, Schāhin und Imrāni*, Budapest 1907, p 82, 117—124, on the women cutting their fingers see R. Kohler, *In die Hand nicht in die Speisen schneiden* (*Kleinere Schriften zur Marchenforschung*, ii 83—87), B. Heller, *Die Sage vom Sarge Josefs* etc., in *M G. W J.*, 1926, p 271—276, see also the art BINYĀMĪN, DJĀMĪ, FIRDAWSĪ ḲIṬFĪR.

(BERNARD HELLER)

YŪSUF KHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB of Balāsaghūn, a Turkish author, who wrote the mirror of princes, *Kutadghū-Bilig* in 462 (1069—1070) for the sultān of Kāshghar, Tawghač Ḳara Khān Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Sulaimān Arslān [see BUGHRĀ-KHĀN] and was given the title of chamberlain as a reward This, the first classic of the Turkish poetry of Central Asia, is completely under the influence of Persian literature The author no longer uses the syllabic measure of Turkish popular poetry but experiments with a new and somewhat clumsy imitation of the *mutaḳārib* and says in his preface that the Iranians would call his work a *Shāhnāma*. In style also he is influenced by the Persian lyric, especially in the song of spring with which he introduces the praise of his prince. Whether the elaborate form which he has given his work is his own invention or what model he followed has not yet been discovered There is no proof of the influence of Chinese literature which was at one time suspected The author puts his instruction into the mouth of allegorical figures: the prince Kun-Toghdū, who represents justice, the vizier Ai-Toldū, the representative of good fortune, his son Öktulmish and his friends Alig and Okturmish. For his social ethics and occasional medical references, the author is completely dependent on Ibn Sīnā, as O Alberts first pointed out. The author cannot be denied a certain originality for the way in which he applies these principles to the conditions of his people In spite of all their pedantry his expositions are a valuable source for the sociology of the Turks of Central Asia The language of the book is apparently that of Kāshghar, but it is an artificial language which had become strictly conventional in form in court circles under Iranian influence and was already superior to the dialects; it is based on a somewhat younger form of Turkī than that which Kāshghari gives in his *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, really it is not strictly Uighur as was once thought On the other hand, one cannot say with certainty in what script the work was originally written, whether in the so-called Uighur, which is based on the Nestorian Syriac alphabet, in which the Vienna MS, the only one known down to 1897, is written, or in the Arabic script used for the fragment in the National Library in Cairo and the manuscript found by Zekī Welidī Bey in 1914 at Nemengān. Sections of the Vienna MS were published by Vámbéry as *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, *Uigur Text mit Transcription und Übersetzung nebst uigurisch-deutschem Worterbuch und Facsimile aus dem Originaltext des Kudatku Bilik*, Leipzig 1870 W Radloff published a facsimile of the whole manuscript St Petersburg 1890, the text in transcription in 1891 and in 1900 text and translation from the MSS in Vienna and Cairo followed While Radloff in his transcription and in the form of the title *Kudatku Bilik* had used the pronunciation of the northern dialects, V. Thomsen in his essay *Sur le système des consonnes dans la langue ouigoure*, in *Kéleti Szemle*, ii 241 *sqq* showed from the rhymes of the *Kutadghū Bilig*, that it had completely preserved the phonetic system of the Orkhon inscriptions with its wealth of sonants and spirants, which was confirmed by the MS in Arabic script.

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(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAWLĀNĀ **YŪSUFĪ**, *munshiʾ* of the Great Moghul Humāyūn (1530—1556), probably identical with Yūsuf b. Muhammad Yūsufī Harawī, the celebrated physician of Bābur and Humāyūn. He acquired a place in Indian literature with his well-known letter-writer *Badāʾiʿ al-Inshāʾ*, which he composed in 940 (1533—1534) for his son Rafīʿ al-Dīn Ḥusain and several other *tullāb*. The book begins with a *muḳaddima* on the different

kinds of modes of address which must be regulated by the relation of the correspondents to one another in rank; Yūsufī then divides the different kinds of correspondence (*muḫāwarāt*) into three parts: letters to persons of higher rank (*murāḳaʿāt*), of the same rank (*murāsalāt*) and to those of lower rank (*riḳāʿ*). Then comes a series of forms of letters which are divided into sections, such as sulṭāns to sulṭāns of higher, equal or lower rank, princes to sulṭāns and princes, princesses to princesses, amīrs, grand-viziers, viziers, officials of the Dīwān, secretaries (*munshiʾ*), saiyids (*sādāt*), shaikhs, judges, poets and astronomers Then come what one might call private letters: to relations and friends on various occasions, e. g if a reply has not been received, when on a journey, on grief at separation, longing for home, on returning soon, faithlessness, reconciliation, excuses, congratulations, condolences etc. A *ḫātima* gives examples of addresess (*ʿunwān*). The book, which is also known as *Inshāyi Yūsufī*, was lithographed in Delhi (1843?); manuscripts are fairly common. If Yūsufī is really the same man as the physician Yūsufī, he is also the author of a number of medical works among which we may mention the *Ṭibb-i Yūsufī* (lith. Cawnpore 1874), *ʿIlāj al-Amrāḍ* (lith. 1863), *Mulḥaka-i ʿIlāj al-Amrāḍ* (lith. 1879), *Dalāʾil al-Nabḍ* (lith. 1874)

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(E. BERTHELS)

Z

ZĀʾ, ZĀY, 11th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 7 For its palaeographical pedigree, see ARABIA, plate i It belongs to the sibilants (*al-ḥurūf al-asalīya*) and corresponds to the same sound in the other Semitic languages. It is pronounced like English and French *z* In the spoken Arabic of to-day *z* may also represent other sounds of the classical language, such as *dh* and *ẓ* In Persia and Turkey Arabic *d* is often pronounced *z*

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AL-ZĀB, the name of two left bank tributaries (al-Zawābī) of the Tigris.

1. The Upper or Great Zāb (*Zāb al-aʿlā* or *al-akbar*) was known already to the Assyrians as *Zabu ēlū*, the "Upper Zāb" The Greeks called it *Lykos* (Weissbach, s. v., No. 12 in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E*, vol xiii, col. 2391 *sq.*, on the name see J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, Vienna 1930, p. 429 *sq.*), the Byzantines however have again *ὁ μέγας Ζάβας* (Theophan, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 318, 320). In Syriac it was called *Zābhā*, in Armenian *Zaw* (Thomas Arcruni, ed. Patkanean, iii/iv, p. 143; transl. Brosset, in *Collection d'hist. Arméniens*, i. 122). The Kurds at the present day call it *al-Zāʾī* (G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge*, p 236, note 1884). On account of its torrentuous course the Arabs called it *al-Madjnūn* According to the Arab geographers, it rises in the mountains of Ādharbāidjān in the district of Mushanghar (in al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 52 and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 902 read this for Mushtaghar, cf. G. Hoffmann, *op cit.* p 228) Its water there is said to be red at first (cf. however G Hoffmann, p 234, note 1866) It then flows via Zarkūn and Bābaghēsh (Syr Bēth Baghāsh in Hedhaiyab, now probably Bash Kalʿa in Albāḳ), then via Bāshazzā, two days' journey from al-Mawṣil, to the district of Haftūn, where it makes a turn before leaving the hills and flows through the *kūra* of al-Mardj until finally it enters the Tigris at the monastery of ʿUmr Bārḳānā below al-Mawṣil, a farsakh above al-Hadītha. Hādjdjī Khalīfa says it is formed by the streams of Kawai (now Nehil-čai) and Djūlamerk. After their junction it flows along the hills past the Sandjaḳ Čall (at the turn of the river to the S E) and through the district of Zībārī of the region of al-ʿImādīya Then it turns again S W. at its junction with the Rāwānduz-čai Shortly before joining the Didjla below Nimrūd, the ruined site of the Assyrian Kalakh, it is joined by its right bank tributary, the Khāzir, which has previously been increased by the waters of the Gōmel-ṣū (Greek *Bumōlos*) from Tell Gōmel (Gaugamela)

The Great Zāb plays an important part in military history. It is several times mentioned in the campaigns of Maurice and Heraclius (Theophyl Simok., ed. de Boor, iv. 1, 7, according to whom the lower course is navigable [*ναυσίπορος*, p. 150], 2, 5, 9, 1, v 5, 6, 6, 1, 8, 1, Georg Kedren., ed Bonn, i. 730; Theophan., *Chron*, *loc. cit.*). On its tributary al-Khāzir was fought in Muharram 67 (Aug. 686) the battle between Ibrāhīm and ʿUbaid Allāh (Caetani, *Chronografia islamica*, Fasc. v, p. 781, A. H. 67, § 2). On the Great Zāb itself Marwān was decisively defeated in the battle of 2nd—11th Djumādā II 132 (January 16—25, 750) (Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. 285 *sq.*; Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 1698 *sq.*, A. H. 132, § 12)

2. The Lower or Little Zāb (*al-Zāb al-asfal* or *al-aṣghar*) is called in Assyrian *Zabu shupalū*, "the lower Zāb", in Greek *Kapros* (Weissbach, art. *Kapros*, No 2 in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopaedie*, vol. x., col. 1921), Byzantine Greek ὁ μικρὸς Ζάβας (Theophan, *Chron.* ed de Boor, p 320, according to whom there were four bridges over it) or ὁ ἕτερος Ζάβας (Theophyl. Simok, ed. de Boor, v. 8, 1) According to the Arab geographers, its source was in the district of Daibūr (Syriac Dēbwar, Dēbor, on the modern Dībūr-sū near Sidikān) and in the mountains of Salak (Syr. Salak), in Adharbāidjān not far from Shahrazūr, and it flowed into the Tigris 1 *mīl* above al-Sinn (Syr. Shenna) at Dair Ibn Gāmish (Syr Dairā dhĕ-Bar Gāmēsh) The Little Zāb is formed by the confluence of a number of small streams, which rise in the hills between Lāhidjān south of Lake Urmiya and the pass of Awromān The main stream is now called Altun-sū, in its upper course Akṣū or Kalwī. On the lower course is Altun-kopru; just below its junction with the Tigris is Kal'at Djabbār

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(E Honigmann)

ZĀB, a region of Algeria. The name Zāb (plur. *Zībān*) is given to the area around Biskra measuring about 125 miles from W to E. and 30 to 40 from N. to S. It is a rather flat plain shading in the south into the Sahara and bordered on the north by the southern slopes of the Saharan Atlas, but having easy communication with the depression of the Hodna and the plateaus of Constantine through a wide gap which opens up between the hills of Zāb and the Awrās. Being subject to desert influences Zāb has only rare and irregular rainfall, insufficient in ordinary times for the cultivation of cereals, but the streams from themountains and subterranean supplies Sustain an oasis vegetation at many places, which contain nearly 800,000 palms.

Three parts of Zāb are usually distinguished. Zāb Shaṛkī or Eastern Z, between the foot of the Awrās and the Shoṭṭ Melr'ir; the Dahrawī or northern Z., between the hills of Zāb and the Wād Djedi, and lastly Zāb Guebli (*ḳiblī*) or Southern Zāb, separated from the preceding by a strip of sand and marshes. Zāb Sharḳī is watered by the waters of the Awrās, Wād al-Abiad, Wād al-'Arab which irrigate on leaving the mountains the oases of Zeribat al-Wad, Badis and in the plain those of Sidī 'Okba, Seriana and Oumache. The Zāb Dahrawī, owing to the springs which are dotted along the foot of the hills, contains the most prosperous oases, Bu Chagrūn, Lichana, Farfar and particularly Tolga, which is regarded as the capital of this part of the Zībān. To Zāb Guebli belong the oases of Wlad Djellal, Ourellal and Doucen, the magnificent palm-groves of which form a striking contrast to the miserable oases of Mlili and Bigu which are half buried in sand.

The population (93,000, not counting the inhabitants of the commune de plein exercice of Biskra) is for the most part settled in the oases but we also find in the Zibān wandering shepherds belonging almost all to the tribes of the Arab Sheraga, who in the spring go up into the Hodna and the Tell with their flocks. The settled population does not find sufficient resources in the country. They have therefore always been in the habit of migrating temporarily to the towns of the Tell In the Turkish period natives of the Zībān under the name of Biskris formed an important corporation in Algiers, where there are still about 2,000 of their compatriots

History We know practically nothing about Zāb in the pre-Islāmic period and during the first four centuries of the Hidjra The Romans never occupied and colonised the country but were content to establish forts on the Wād Djedī, at Biskra and at the southern exit of the valleys of the Awrās. As to the name Zāb itself, it should perhaps be connected with Zabi, a Roman town in the region of Hodna, which was in the fifth century A. D. the see of a bishop. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, p. 64, transl Fagnan, p. 133) mentions among the towns of Zāb, Tobna, Tolga, Tahūda, Doucen, Idrīsī (transl. de Goeje, p 109) describes Tobna [q. v.] as the capital of Zāb It seems however that at this period, or in any case in the period immediately after it, political preponderance passed to Biskra [q. v] in which lived influential families like the Banū Rummam and the Banū Sindjī who controlled the region's affairs in turn. The country suffered greatly from the Arab invasions of the xi^th^ and xii^th^ centuries. A Hilālī group, the Athbedj, ravaged the country and drove out a number of the former inhabitants. Driven back into the south at the beginning of the xiii^th^ century by the Almohads, they abandoned their nomadic for a sedentary life; they were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the Wlad Muḥammad (Dawawida), a section of the Sulaim, who settled in Western Zāb while another group, the Ḳarfa, settled in Eastern Zāb. An Athbedj family finally became supreme; this was the Banū Mozni to whom the Ḥafṣids entrusted the government of Zāb and who took advantage of the troubled times in the xiv^th^ century to make themselves almost independent (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, transl. de Slane, iii. 125: History of the Beni Mozni). In this period the name of Zāb is no longer applied only to the region south of the Atlas between Doucen to the S. W. and Badis in the N. E. Ibn Khaldūn credits it with a hundred villages each called Zāb (distinguished as Zāb of Tolga, Zāb of Biskra etc.; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i. 77). Leo Africanus gives Zāb the same boundaries as Ibn Khaldūn and mentions in it 25 towns in addition to large

numbers of villages (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed Schefer, iii 250)

Freed from Hafṣid authority, Zāb escaped Turkish rule in the xvith century although a garrison was established at Biskra Effective power for two centuries and a half was in the hands of the chief of the Arab family of Bū Okkaz to whom the Turks allowed the title of Shaikh al-ʿArab but against whom in the second half of the xviiith century, they opposed another family, that of the Ben-Gana The rivalry of these two families kept the country in a state of anarchy, aggravated between 1835 and 1840 by the intervention of ʿAbd al-Kādir. Disorder came to an end only in 1844 with the occupation of Biskra by the French and the suppression of the rebellion stirred up in 1849 by Bū Zian at Zaatcha, from which date the Zibān may be regarded as definitely pacified

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(G. YVER)

ZĀBAG (زابج), inaccurately transcribed *Zābedj* < Sanskrit *Jāvaka*, the name of an island. The Arabic transcription, so far as I am aware, goes back to the ninth century A D. We do not see why the Arabic has rendered by a sonant the guttural occlusive surd of the Sanskrit The fact that we might be dealing with a form borrowed from a highly sonorous Prākrit hardly seems to me to require to be considered here The Chinese knew this place-name as early as the seventh century under various forms which are reproduced in Chinese characters in *L'empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya* *She-li Fo-she* < Skr *Śrī Vijaya* or shortened form *Fo-she* < Skr. *Vijaya* (Yi-tsing, Houei-je and Vajrabodhi), *She-li Fo-she* = *Śrī Vijaya* (*Sin t'ang shu*, *T'ang hueı yao*, *Ts'o fu yuan kueı*), *San-fo-ts'ı* (*Ču fan če* of Čao Ju-kua, *Sung she* or History of the Second Sung, *Ming she* or History of the Ming, *Tao yi če lio* of Wang Ta-yuan, *Ying yai sheng lan* of Ma Huan, *Sing č'a sheng lan* of Fei Sin, *Tong si yang k'ao*) In Malay, the island of Sumatra is called Pūlaw Ĕmas "Island of Gold" (cf. Chin *kin čow*, Arabic *suwarn dīb*, an arabicised form of the Sanskrit *suvarṇadvīpa*, with the same meaning). We only know the early history of Jāvaka = Zābag = Śrīvijaya = She-li Fo-she from inscriptions and a few oriental texts. We need not then be surprised that there are many lacunae

At the beginning of our era, the *Rāmāyana*, composed some time earlier not definitely known, places in the Far East a Yava-dvīpa "Island of Yava", the island of gold and of silver (*suvarṇarūpyakadvīpaṃ*), embellished with gold mines (*suvarnākaramanditam*), which has usually been identified with Java. Its wealth in gold however makes me identify it with Sumatra for which alone we have evidence of extraordinary wealth in precious metals. In 132 A. D Chinese texts mention an embassy from the king of Ye-tiao, old pronunciation *Yap-div = Yavadvīpa = Sumatra, to the court of China It is this form that Ptolemy reproduces some years later in the Prākrit form Ἰαβαδίου < Yavadvīpa.

240—252 A. D In the surviving fragments of the *Fu-nan t'u su čuan* of K'ang T'ai, there are several references to the land of Ču-po, old pronunciation *Ču-bak*, defective transcription of **Sho-bak* < Skr *Jāvaka* It was probably about this time that Madagascar was colonised by Sumatrans who had been influenced by Hindu culture The modern Malagasy language still bears clear traces of this

In 410 on the occasion of the Synod of Isaac, there is mentioned a metropolitan of Dābag and of Čīn and Mačīn (J B Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, Paris 1902, p 620) Four years later, Fa-Hien returning from India via Ceylon arrived in a country which he calls *Ye-p'o-t'ı* = *Yavadvīpa*, which I also locate in Sumatra, as well as the *Sho-p'o* mentioned in the *Kao seng čuan* composed in 519

According to a Malay inscription of 605 Śaka = 683 A D, an unnamed ruler who ruled in Śrīvijaya went on an expedition to institute a magic ritual, i e. to seize the suzerain state of which he was a vassal In saka 606 = 684 A D, a king called Śrījayanasa (read Śrījayanāga) ordered a garden to be made called Śrīksetra = "auspicious field" In 608 Śaka = 686 A D another Malay inscription records that the stone was engraved at the time when the army of Śrīvijaya was setting out against the land of Java which was not in subjection to Srīvijaya

From 670 to 741, the *She-li Fo-she* sent embassies to China In 724, *She-li T'o-lo-pa-mo* = Skr *Śrīndravarman*, king of Śrīvijaya, sent an ambassador to China In 742, the king of *Fo-she* = Vijaya, Lien-t'eng-wei-kong (?), sent his son to the Chinese court.

At a date which is uncertain, the Tamil poem *Manimegalai* mentions a town Nāgapuram (city of the *nāga*), in Çāvaka-nādu or land of Çāvaka < Skr Jāvaka and the names of two of its kings. Bhūmičandra and Punyaraja, who claimed descent from Indra

In 671—692 A D, the famous Chinese monk Yi-tsing went from China to India and back He made his first stay of six months in *She-li Fo-she* in 671—672 and another of four years in 685—689 and a third, equally long, on his return from Canton There he studied Sanskrit grammar "In the fortified town of Fo-She", he says, "there are over a thousand Buddhist priests, whose thoughts are devoted to study and good deeds They examine and study all possible subjects just as in India; the rules and ceremonies there are identical [to those in India]. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to India to hear lectures there and read the original Buddhist texts, he would do well to spend [first] a year or two at Fo-she and to practise the proper rules there; he could then go on to Central India". But this is not all. This mastery in the teaching of Malay, of Sanskrit and of the Law which is a sure sign of a high level of intellectual development was accompanied by equal skill in naval and military matters. Trade and the mercantile marine were no less flourishing. Lastly if we may judge by the attitude of the mahārāja of Zābag to the conquered Cambodians, the noble morality and political wisdom of these Śailendra rulers can-

not be too highly admired. Such was the position of the Sumatran empire at the end of the seventh century A. D.

In 717, Srīvijaya was visited by the monk Vajrabodhi and probably about the same time by the Chinese monk Hueï-je on his way from China to India

A Sanskrit inscription found in Java of 654 Saka = 732 A D mentions "an excellent island, incomparable, called Yava, fertile in cereals and other grains, rich in gold mines (*kanakākara*) . " This looks like a repetition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*

A Sanskrit inscription from Ligor (eastern Malay peninsula) and dated 775 A D celebrates a supreme king of kings, head of the family of the Śailendra, called Śrī Mahārāja (the rest is wanting)

In 844—846 we have the first mention known to me of the Mahārāja of Zābag in an Arabic text (Ibn Khordādhbeh) The merchant Sulaimān (851) also mentions Zābag and adds that the land of Kalāh (= Kra on the western Malay peninsula) and Zābag are ruled by the same king, Ishāk b ʿImrān, d in 907, and mentions the camphor of Zābag. Ibn al-Faḳīh (902) and Ibn Rosteh (ca 903) give some information about the location, products and customs of Zābag. Abū Zaid al-Hasan (ca 916) gives a somewhat detailed description of Zābag and the mahārāja's court, and tells how the victorious campaign of the mahārāja against Cambodia was carried through (Masʿūdī, *Prairies d'or*, I 169 *sqq*, expresses himself in identical terms Cf on this subject my suggestions in *J A.*, Oct –Dec. 1932, p 275 note)

The *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* (ed van der Lith, transl Marcel Devic, p 174—175) records that in 334 (945) the Wāḳwāḳ [q v] i e Sumatrans, came with a thousand ships on a raid on the east coast of Africa to procure the products of the country and Zandj slaves (cf. *J A*, Oct –Dec 1932, p 298).

In 960 and 961, the king *Si-li hu-ta Hia-li-tan* = Malay Sĕri kuda Haridana (?) sent an embassy to the court of China. In the following year another embassy was sent by the king *She-li Wu-ye* = Skr. Śri Vuja (?) Other embassies arrived in China from *Hia-če* = old Malay *hadji* "king" in 980 and 983 In 1003, the king *Sso-li Ču-lo-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-kua* = Skr. Śrīculamaṇivarmadeva and his son and successor *Sso-li Ma-lo-pʿi* (sic) = Skr Śrīmaṇivijayottungavarman in 1008 sent an embassy to the emperor of China These two Sumatran sovereigns are also known from the Tamil inscription known as the "large Leyden scroll" which commemorates the donation of a village to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam The building of this temple was begun by Culamaṇivarmadeva and finished by his son and successor. It may be noted that this temple was built at the "town of the *nāga*" and that the Malay rulers who built it, belonged to a royal family, the Śailendra, who were descended from a *nāga*. The choice of this Indian town was a very natural one for their pious works.

In 1017 there came to the court of China, ambassadors from *Hia-če Su-wu-čʿa-pʿu-mi* = Hadji Sumatrabhūmi "king of the land of Sumatra". The modern name of the island appears here for the first time.

In his geography of the world compiled in 1154, Idrīsī records that "the people of the isles of Zābag come to the land of the Zandj on small and large ships ... for they understand one another's languages". And also: "The people of Ḳomr (= Madagascar) and the merchants of the land of the Mahārāja (= Sumatra) come among them (the people of Ṣofāla and the east coast of Africa), are well received and trade with them (*J. A.*, Oct.–Dec 1932, p. 299—300)".

The other Arabic and Persian texts (Yāḳūt 1224, Ḳazwīnī 1203—1284, Ibn Saʿīd XIIIth century, Ḳutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī d 1311, Dimashḳī c. 1325, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ 1273—1331, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī 1340, Ibn al-Wardī c. 1340, Bākuwī at the beginning of the XVth century, etc.) only supply a few notes on the actual or imaginary flora and fauna of Sumatra and the products of the country, especially gold and camphor We have to come down to the XVth and XVIth centuries to get accurate and detailed information in the *Instructions nautiques* of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī which I have translated and published

From the XIIIth century, the oriental texts of other origins should be studied and annoted again. They will be given in the *Bibliography* but no use has been made of them here as our space is limited

Čeu K'iu-fei in his *Ling Wai tai ta* (1178) and Čao Ju-kua in his *Ču fan če* (1225) deal at length with *San-fo-ts'i* The latter includes even the foreign countries dependent on him and mentions Ceylon among his conquests, which is unexpected and does not appear to be confirmed by history The statement by Masʿūdī (*Prairies d'or*, I. 170) that "the Mahārāja is king of the islands like Zābag, Kalah (= Kra on the eastern Malay peninsula), Sirandīb (= Ceylon) etc ..", three centuries before the publication of the *Ču fan če* is also devoid of historical value. The only thing that seems certain is that in the XIIIth century A. D, the glorious Sumatran empire collapsed Malāya with the help of the Javanese regained her former suzerainty which had been lost in the seventh century, and the Thais of Sukhodaya came down on the lower Menam and seized all the colonial possessions of San-fo-ts'i on the Malay peninsula.

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(Gabriel Ferrand)

ZABĀNIYA. [See Malāʾika.]

ZABĪD, a town in the Tihāma of Yaman, on the road running from north to south from Mecca to ʿAden, halfway between the Yaman highlands and the Red Sea, about 16 miles from the coast. At this distance the country is suitable for agriculture in view of the better water-supply, and the town itself is adjoined by two wādīs, in the north the Wādī Rimaʿ and the south the perennial Wādī Zabīd, from which it has taken the name which has replaced the original al-Husaib. In contrast to the rest of the Tihāma it is famous for its gardens with date-palms,

a little corn, indigo and various medicinal plants; the hides of Zabīd are also well known Along with Bait al-Faḳīh and a few smaller places, it is an important centre for the weaving of garments.

Zabīd has always been the capital of a district (*mi<u>kh</u>lāf*) It adopted Islām in the year 10 (631) and its first governor was <u>Kh</u>ālid b Sa'īd b al-'Āṣ. It took no part in the *Ridda* wars It became important under the Ziyādids as the capital of an independent province Muḥammad, a descendant of Ziyād b Abī Sufyān (b. Abīhi), granted the Tihāma by the caliph al-Ma'mūn, gave the town in <u>Sh</u>a'bān 204 (beg. 820) its circular form with four towers (it is still called *al-Mudawwara*) and made the aqueducts from the wādīs The Ziyādids were followed from 412—554 (1021–1159) by the Abyssinian Mamlūks, the Banū Nadjāh. Both dynasties remained under 'Abbāsid suzerainty and were Sunnīs, but the capital itself was for a time in <u>Sh</u>ī'ī hands; at the end of the third century it was burned by the Karmatian 'Alī b al-Fadl and about 379 (989) taken for a time by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān of the Banū Ya'fur [q. v.] The latter acknowledged the Fātimid caliphate, as did the Sulaihī [q. v.] who came down from the highlands and interrupted the rule of the Banū Nadjāh in Zabīd for the greater part of the years 452—481 (1060—1088). They did not however become their successors; but after the interlude of the <u>Kh</u>āridjī Mahdīs [q. v] the Egyptian successor of the Fātimids, the Ayyūbid Saladin, sent his brother Tūrān<u>sh</u>āh there at the beginning of 570 (1175), and he had the Mahdīd 'Abd al-Nabī executed When the third Ayyūbid of the Yaman, Ismā'īl b Tughtegīn, who wanted to play the part of an independent caliph, was murdered in 598 (1201) by his own Kurdish soldiers at Zabīd, rule practically passed into the hands of Atābegs until 'Umar, son of 'Alī b. Rasūl, the Ayyūbid governor of Mecca, in 626 (1229) founded the Rasūlid sultānate This was followed in 858 (1454) by the Tāhirids who claimed to be Umayyads descended from the caliph 'Umar b 'Abd al-'Azīz After a temporary occupation by the Meccan <u>Sh</u>arīf Abū Numayy Muḥammad (922 = 1516) and then by irregular troops during the fighting between the Egyptian Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the latter had governors there from 943—1045 (1536—1635) The Zaidīs [q v.], the only Yaman power that had survived all previous dynasties and had made a previous attempt to gain a footing in the Tihāma, were able to drive the Turks from the coast also After the second Ottoman occupation (1289—1338 = 1872—1918), the Zaidīs again became lords of the Tihāma after fighting the Idrīsids [q v.] of 'Asīr.

Zabīd has many important buildings dating from the days in which this town was a royal residence. These buildings have stood very well as they are mostly built of brick, which gives the town a rather gloomy look. Even in Niebuhr's time however, the town had decayed considerably and the chronicles record much damage by fire and also from wars and even numerous showers of volcanic ash that have fallen upon it. When the Turks moved the capital to Ṣan'ā' and made the road run further north, starting from the fort of Ḥodaida [q. v.], and not touching Zabīd, its trade fell considerably. In the new Zaidī state which has expanded into the kingdom of Yaman, Zabīd is merely a provincial town. It retains a certain importance as the home of <u>Sh</u>āfi'ī tradition, from which the spiritual welfare of the non-Zaidī part of the country is cared for. The *nisba* Zabīdī is still a common one among Yaman scholars.

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(R Strothmann)

ZABŪR (A.), probably a loanword from the South, but already used by pre-Islāmic poets in the sense of "writ", in this sense it is still found in al-Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'iḍ*, lxxv 1. From the second Makkan period onwards, Muhammad uses the plural *zubur* in order to denote the revealed books (Sūra xxvi. 196, iii. 181; xvi 46, xxxv 23) as well as the heavenly writings, in which human deeds are recorded (Sūra liv 43, 52) The singular zabūr, on the other hand, occurs in the Kur'ān exclusively in connection with Dāwūd. In the early Sūra xvii 57 Muhammad says that Allāh has given Dāwūd one zabūr The same zabūr he mentions another time, viz in Sūra iv 161, and in Sūra xxi 105 he quotes from this zabūr Psalm xxxvii. 29, in an almost literal translation Possibly the pre-Islāmic poets were already acquainted with Dāwūd as the author of the zabūr, it is e g. not impossible that this is meant by Imra' al-Ḳais when he mentions a "zabūr in the books of the monks" (*ka-<u>kh</u>atti zabūrin fī maṣāḥifi ruhbānī*, lxiii 1). At any rate, this use of the term zabūr (apart from the question whether Muhammad was the first to make use of it) is based on its affinity in sound with Hebrew *mizmōr*, Syriac *mazmōr* or Aethiopic *mazmūr*, it was this term that by Muḥammad or others before him, in analogy with Arabic zabūr, was identified with the latter's meaning "writ". Apart from Sūra xxi. 105 the Ḳur'ān contains other passages bearing a close resemblance to verses from the Psalms, especially from Psalm civ. Moreover the majority of the passages in the Ḳur'ān which remind us, by sense or sound, of the Bible, are from the Psalms. The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān recognise that the zabūr mentioned in Sūra iv. 161 is the book of Dāwūd bearing this name; it is only some of the Kūfic commentators who propose to read the plural *zubūr* in the sense of "writings" Ṭabarī rejects this view (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi. 18). Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, a *mawlā* of the caliph Hārūn, it is said, identifies the zabūr with "the *masāmīr*

which are in the hands of Jews and Christians", o the number of 150

A fragment of a translation of the Psalms, lating from the IInd (VIIIth) century, the oldest nown specimen of Christian-Arabic literature, was iscovered in Damascus by B. Violet It contains the Arabic translation of Psalm lxxviii., vss 20—31, ,1—61 in Greek majuscular writing. Al-Kindī, in is *Risāla* (composed about 204 = 819), and Ibn Ḳutaiba, as cited in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Wafā'*, quote erses from the Psalms in literal translation The Nestorian renegade ʿAlī b Rabban al-Ṭabarī, who iad the Syriac translation at hand, devotes to he Psalms an entire chapter of his "Book of Religion and Empire" (written about 240 = 854) Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 112, mentions Arabic transations of the Bible which also contained the Psalms Of these translations the one by Saʿīd l-Fayyūmī (*Fihrist*, p. 23, 7, 13; cf. also H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, p 318 *sqq.*) has come down o us Even a free translation of the Psalms in Arabic verses is still exstant, viz. the *Urdjūza* f Hafs b al-Birr al-Kūtī, which goes back at least to the Vth (XIth) century Muhammadan pologists find the coming of Muḥammad prophesied n the *Zabūr* as they do in the *Tawrāt* [q v] bn Ḳutaiba takes a number of verses in the Psalms to refer to Muhammad, Alī b Rabbān in he section "Prophecies of David concerning the Prophet" collects similar references, some identical nd others different, and al-Sinhādjī adds a few nore On the other hand, Ibn Ḥazm criticises cutely the Psalms as well as other books of the Bible and says several passages are forgeries which e as a result of erroneous translation condemns s blasphemous In contrast to the translations of he *ahlu 'l-alsinati 'l-mukhtalifati*, the *Kitāb al-Mazāmīr Tardjumat al-Zabūr* offers the translation said to have been made by the *ʿulamā' l-Islām*, it is preserved in several manuscripts, nd Krarup and Cheikho have published selections. n reality however, this book has nothing to do vith the Psalms, which only the two first sections ecall, the author took the Ḳur'ān as his model nd indeed calls his separate sections Sūras The oldest MS. bears the date 666 A H. and perhaps he *Kitāb Zabūr Dāwūd* ascribed to Wahb b Munabbih in Ibn Hayy's *Fihrist Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana*, IX. 294 is identical with this work.

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(J. Horovitz)

ZACHARIAS. [See Zakarīyā'.]

ẒAFĀR, 1. now a group of ruins near an insignificant village in southern Yaman, about 10 miles S. W. of Yarīm, celebrated in ancient times s the capital of the Himyar kingdom (also called Ẓafārī; see Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, III ,576; I 196, South Arabian inscriptions give the radicals *ṣ-p[f]-r*; t is reproduced in Ethiopic as *Ṣafār*).

The royal city is mentioned by Pliny, *Natur. Hist.*, VI. 104 as *regia Sapphar* and in the *Periplus Mar Erythr.*, § 23 as μητρόπολις Σαφάρ in which Χαριβαήλ (Karība'il), "king of the Homerites (Himyar) and Sabaeans" ruled, of that dynasty which, succeeding the kings of Saba' under the name "kings of Saba' and Dhū Raidān" was predominant in South Arabia from, at earliest, the end of the second century B. C. According to this evidence of the *Periplus*, the Sabaeans were already subjects of the Himyar kings and there was still a Himyar kingdom in the time of Pliny's sources.

The next reference to the capital Ẓafār in Graeco-Roman literature is Ptolemy, VI. 7, 41 (VIII 22, 16) where among the towns of the interior of Arabia Felix Σάπφαρ (vulgo Σάπφαρα) μητρόπολις is mentioned i. e exactly as in the *Periplus* Of the two variants in the MSS for the longitude in Ptolemy, 78° and 88°, the former is to be preferred, it is also given by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa Djazīrat al-ʿArab* (ed D H Muller, Leyden 1884, p 28) while in his *Iklīl* (in D H Muller, *Die Burgen und Schlosser Sudarabiens*, in *S B Ak Wien*, XCIV [1879], 417) he gives 77°. As the coast town Μόσχα in Ptolemy has the longitude 87° 30′ (var 88° 10′ and 88° 30′) and the same latitude 14° as Zafār, E Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, II 180 said this variant in the longitude of Σάπφαρα was clearly only a mistake by a copyist of the post-Ptolemaic period, who confused this Yaman Zafār with the Zafār which had meanwhile arisen in the east near Moscha This supposition is based on Glaser's erroneous location of Moscha (see N°. 3), it is also from the first probable that in the transmission of Ptolemy we have had a mistake in the numeral for 7 just as in the variant in the longitude of Moscha His statement that "we can only allocate to the Sabaeans" the Metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy, "because its situation will not fit the then undoubtedly very limited Himyar territories" and that "in the period of the 'kings of Saba' and Raidān' Mārib was undoubtedly the royal residence" and that this city had been in ruins "for centuries by Ptolemy's time" (*op cit.*, p 240, 242) are only the results of his views on the chronology of the development of the Himyar kingdom and are moreover in contradiction to the testimony of the classical sources just quoted, with which latter the inscriptional evidence can best be reconciled [cf also the article MA'RIB].

The Σαπφαρῖται (in most MSS Ταπφαρῖται] according to Ptolemy, VI 7, 25 living near the Homerites were the inhabitants of the town and district around it, i e. the ruling stock There are also references to Zafār as a district in Arabic literature, e. g in Idrīsī, but it is no longer found as a tribal name (Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 311) A road may have branched off to Yarīm and Zafār from the road mentioned in the *Periplus* which led east from the port of Mokhā, that the capital played a part in commerce is intelligible. On the road in Ptolemy's map see Sprenger, *op. cit*, p 183 *sq.*

It is to this Ẓafār that Philostorgius (first third of the fifth century), *Hist eccl.*, III. 4, refers in telling of the conversion of the Homerites to Christianity c. 354—355 in the time of Constantius II (357—361; cf. the extract in Nicephorus Callistus, IX. 18) at whose instigation Theophilus,

later bishop, obtained from the Ḥimyar ruler permission to erect churches in Τάφαρον, ʿAden and Hormūz. In opposition to this definite statement, Glaser (*op. cit.*, p. 181) considered that Τάφαρον did not mean the Ḥimyar town but the one on the coast (N⁰ 2) (similarly before him Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1846, VIII/XII., p. 65). There is however not the slightest probability that Philostorgius was wrongly informed; and besides the capital is a more probable place for the building of a church G. W Bury, *Arabia infelix*, London 1915, p 10, wrongly identifies this Ẓafāi with Yarīm The conversion of the Ḥimyars to Christianity is put by Theodorus Anagnostes, II 58 (cf. Nicephorus, XVI 37) in the reign of Anastasius (491—518) An apocryphal literature is connected with the name of Gregentius, bishop of Ẓafār about the middle of the sixth century Ẓafār is also mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (end of the fourth century) XXIII as Tapharon, and by the Ravenna geographer (seventh century), II 6, as Tafia, the latter calls Ḥimyar Omeritia, it finally appears as Τά[ρ]φαρα in Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v, who, as a grammarian, is only concerned with the form of the name

About the middle of the fourth century the Ḥimyar kingdom had been conquered by the Axumites, but by the last quarter of the century native kings again gained the upper hand The ruler of Zafār mentioned by Philostorgius as friendly to the Christians was therefore either a governor appointed by the Axumites (cf *mutatis mutandis* Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p 166) like Sumaifa in the year 525, or the reconquest of the country, the rulers of which were still the Axumites according to an inscription put up shortly before 356 [cf SABA', IV, p. 9b] had already been successfully begun by the Ḥimyars about 355 It was not till 525 that the Abyssinians again won supremacy over Ḥimyar but about 570 they were overthrown by the Persians. Till then Zafār had been the capital of South Arabia The last Persian governor in Sanʿā' became a convert to Islām in 628

According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 145, al-Masūdī, *Murūḏj*, III. 178, Yāḳūt, III 577 (II 722) there was an inscription on the gate of Zafār to this effect "Who held royal sway over Zafār? The excellent Ḥimyars Who became lord afterwards? The wicked Abyssinians Who came next? The noble Persians For whom had they to make way? The Ḳuraish, the traders. Who will next win the lordship of Ẓafār? It will again fall to the Ḥimyars" This expresses very neatly the history of the changes in the hegemony of South Arabia That Zafār was the capital of the Ḥimyar kings is testified, in corroboration of the Greek and Roman authors, by the Arab geographers, historians and lexicographers, e.g Ibn Khurdādhbih, VI. 140; al-Maʿsūdī, III. 177; Djawharī, s. v ; Yāḳūt, III. 577 (812 in the quotation from a poet), the *Ḳāmūs*, s. v.; *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, III. 370; the *Dj.thān-numā*. The royal castle of Raidān in Ẓafār is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 140, who quotes the verse of Imruʾu 'l-Ḳais (206, 32 in Ahlwardt, *The Dwans*), al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl*, p. 410 and 414 (in the verse from Asʿad Tubbaʿ), al-Bakrī's *Muʿdjam*, s v., Yāḳūt, II. 885, III 422 (where the form Zaidān is altered by D H. Müller on *Iklīl*, p. 410, 3, as a misreading, to Raidān [cf. the same form in Ritter, XII. 258 from Idrīsī]; see below on Glaser's explanation of the Raidān of the inscriptions) Idrīsī, I. 148 *sq.* (ed. Jaubert, Paris 1836) also describes Ẓafār as one of the most important and most celebrated towns in Yaman, which was the residence of the kings of Yaman According to him, it is in the district of Yaḥṣib, which was also called Ẓafāi. Muḳaddasī, *B. G A*, III. 70 (53) in his survey of the two parts of the Yaman, al-Tihāma and al-Nadjd, mentions Yaḥṣib among the towns of Nadjd. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl*, III./3, Leipzig 1864, p 109 thought that this referred to Ẓafār. This identification which is also found in H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediæval History*, London 1892, p. 246 (and on his map) is not convincing, he also wrongly writes Yahdib Yahsib (Yaḥsub) is the name of Mikhlāf (cf. besides Idrīsī also Yāḳūt, II 885, who says the castle of Raidān is in this Mikhlāf and gives the further detail that Raidān is in Zafār and quotes the verses of Asʿad Tubbaʿ in *Iklīl*, *op cit*, p. 414, according to which Ẓafār with the tribal citadel of Raidān lay in the plain of Yaḥṣib) According to *Iklīl*, p. 410, Zafār was known as Haḳl (plateau of) Yahsib. In Yāḳūt, IV. 436 there is a reference to Yahsib al-ʿulw in Ẓafār. Sprenger's explanation of the statement in Ibn Khurdādhbih (*op cit.*) "Yaḥsib is the name of the town, and the castle where the king . lives is called Ẓafār" (*Postrouten*, *op. cit*, p. 147) is wrong. The meaning is rather· "Yahsib, (in it) the town of Zafār and its castle Raidān".

According to Idrīsī, this castle was in his time a remnant of the royal palace there, he speaks also of other traces of its ancient prosperity. In Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I. 526, the foundation of Zafār is traced to the Ḥimyar kings. Al-Hamdānī gives in *Iklīl* (*op. cit.*, p. 412) a description of the situation of Zafār on the slope of a hill near the town of the Sukhtiyūn (Mankath; there are still ruins in the village of Mankat, near Zafār with Ḥimyarite inscriptions found by Seetzen, cf. D H Müller, *op. cit*, p. 370), he quotes there (p 414) a line of ʿAmr b 'Tubbaʿ who mentions inscriptions in Zafār and lines from ʿAlḳama which refer in laudatory terms to Zafār In the *Ṣifa*, p. 203, he mentions Zafār among the celebrated places of the Yaman with old castles. As an illustration of his remarks on the reduction of degrees of longitude in Ptolemy to those of the eastern astronomers, he chooses the position of Zafār and deals (*op. cit.*, p 27) with the Ptolemaic positions of this town and of Ṣanʿā', both of which are on the same meridian (so also p. 28 and 44; cf. also 45), Zafār being about 3 days' journey farther south (which on the whole agrees with Niebuhr's estimate that Ẓafār is 1° 12′ south of Ṣanʿā'). On p. 201 he gives from the geographical point of view nothing more definite than that Zafār is in the neighbourhood of Ṣanʿā', similarly Yāḳūt, III 577 (where he adds that some hold the view that Zafār was Ṣanʿā' itself), the *Ḳāmūs*, s v. (cf. Djawharī, s. v.) and the *Tāḏj al-ʿArūs*, III. 370, which quotes Yāḳūt. D. H. Müller, *Burgen*, p. 369 shows that Yāḳūt, III 422 compares Ẓafār with Ṣanʿā' (but see N⁰. 3). The Arab tradition of the history and genealogy of the Himyar kings, the Tubbaʿ's, is for the most part unhistorical.

Yāḳūt distinguishes in the *Muʿdjam* (cf. III. 577) between this Ẓafār and the place of the same name on the coast (N⁰. 4), in the *Mushtarik* the

distinction is not pointed out. Arab writers occasionally confused the two towns, as have some modern authorities. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p 236 and Ritter, *op. cit.*, p 254 and others have lamented this; the latter however makes the same mistake, cf. p. 65 and 253. Abu 'l-Fidā' in his description which confuses the two towns (other cases under N°. 4) only says that Ẓafār is in Yaman; all his other statements apply to the coast town.

Al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl*, *op cit*, p. 416 and with variations, al-Bakrī, *op. cit*, p 464 and Yāḳūt, iii. 577 give in the form of a brief anecdote to explain the saying "Who comes to Ẓafār must understand Ḥimyar" (or "Ẓafār belongs to the Ḥimyars") an example of specifically Ḥimyar idiom The Arabs distinguish between the sons of the older, younger and 'nearest' Ḥimyars, i.e. between Himyars, in the widest, usual and strictest sense (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 72 *sq*). One can only speak of a Ḥimyar dialect (on some peculiarities, see Sprenger, p 74) among the Ḥimyars in the narrowest use of the name. In the tenth century A D. are mentioned as districts in which pure Ḥimyar was spoken, the territory west of Sanʿā' and south of Dhamār as far as Hakl Kitāb, an area which includes Yarīm and Ẓafār (references for Himyar areas in Sprenger, *Das Leben . . des Mohammad*, Berlin 1865, iii 438). Himyar and the mixed speech of the adjoining districts used, according to Fresnel, to be inaccurately called Eḥkilī, a term which was wrongly extended also to Mehrī and the Kaiā dialect (Hakilī) or to what Glaser calls Shehrāt The language of the old Himyar inscriptions in the strict sense is closer to Sabaean than the language of the second great group of South Arabian inscriptions, Minaean

These two pure Himyar districts are fertile and well suited for agriculture The soil of Zafār also yields a semi-precious stone the onyx of Zafār is mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, p. 415 (with quotations from the poets), Djawharī; Yāḳūt, iii 577; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi 192; *Ḳāmūs*, *Tādj*, *loc. cit* (cf. Lane s v. *djaza*ʿ on the meaning of the word and Sprenger, *op. cit*, p 62)

After the last occupation of Zafār by the Abyssinians, of which we have a full account in the *Martyrium Arethae* and after the extinction of the South Arabian kingdom and still more after the rise of Islām the former royal capital gradually fell into decay, especially as it was cut off from the main routes of traffic. In the later history of the Yaman it plays with its mountainous surroundings, a subordinate role as a fortified place in connection with military operations. When for example after the Ziyādī dynasty had died out (409 = 1018) and Nadjāh had taken Zabīd and assumed the royal title (412), the wālīs there held out in their strongholds in the mountains, among these were (according to ʿUmāra al-Hakamī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman*, ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p 12) al-Naḳīl ('pass'), which Kay, p. 246 explains as Naḳīl Sumāra near Ẓafār

The information supplied by modern travellers agrees with the statements of the Arab authors. Cf also: Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 94, 236, 290; do., *Beschreibung von Arabien*, i. 400; the article SABAʾ, iv. p. 3–18; D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, Vienna 1883, p. 85, Plate VI (inscription); W. Harris, *A Journey through the Yaman*, Edinburgh–London, p. 25; Glaser, *Die Abessinier*, p. 58, 100, 116, do, in *M V A. G*, 1897, vi. 41; do., *Skizzen*, ii. 241; Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, Copenhagen–Paris–London 1927, p. 21, 88; Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, Munich 1926, p. 656, 711; Osiander, in *Z D M. G.*, xix, 1865, p. 180; *C. I. S.*, iv/1., N° 312.

2. A ruined site S. W. of Ṣanʿāʾ. The *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (iii. 370) mentions from al-Ṣaghānī, in addition to the two towns of the same name (see N°. 4), also two castles named Ẓafār, one north, the other south of Ṣanʿāʾ.

3. A fortified hill about 20 miles N. W. of Ṣanʿāʾ near Kawkabān.

4 Name of a very old town, which has been in ruins since the end of the middle ages, and of the plain around it, in the corner of S E. Arabia on the Indian Ocean now usually reckoned to Mahra. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar* (see the extract in Kay, *op cit*, p. 133) gives the vocalisation Zafār and al-Maḳrīzī, *De valle Hadhramaut*, ed. Berlin Noskowyj, Bonn 1866, p 29, says it should be pronounced Ẓofār as does Maltzan in the introduction to his edition of *Wrede's Reise in Ḥadhramaut*, Brunswick 1873, p. 24, 39; it is pronounced Zfār, Zfōi, and now occasionally also Dofār. That the town is already referred to in Greek literature is practically certain; it is to be sought among the places mentioned by Ptolemy on the sea-coast. Sprenger, who emphasises that Ptolemy used information given by travellers from India and along the Arabian coast for his description of the south east coast of Arabia, is probably right (*Geographie*, p 95 *sq*) in pointing to the place on Ptolemy's map (vi 7, 11) which corresponds to the location of Ẓafār, namely the *μαντεῖον Ἀρτέμιδος* mentioned among the towns of the *Σαχαλῖται* which contains a translation of *al-Ḳamar* ("Diana") which we also find in *Djibāl al-Ḳamar* "Mountains of the Moon", *Ghubbat al-Ḳamar* "Bay of the Moon", on which Zafār actually lies The position of the "Oracle of the Moon" according to Ptolemy's statements brings us quite near Raisūt (called Κωσεύδη [Ῥωσεύδη] *πόλις* in Ptolemy just before), the former port From this place stretches a well watered plain about 9 hours' journey in length and an hour's journey wide at Ṭāḳa, where it is broadest. It also runs into the hills and is now called Ẓafār (Sprenger, *op cit.*, p. 96). Carter (see below) found the ruins of some six towns there Whether these were the successive capitals of Zafāra, as Sprenger thought, is another question which can no longer be answered. Sprenger also conceded the impossibility of ascertaining where the "Oracle of the Moon" had been With reference to the statement of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*op. cit*, ii. 203) that there was a sanctuary with the tomb of Hūd (see also i 205) half a day's journey from (the later) Zafār (i e Manṣūra) and a mosque on the coast in a fishing village, Sprenger thought that this mosque and tomb were the "Temple of the Moon" The latter however could only be recognised in one of the two buildings, presumably only in the former. Its position, according to Sprenger, agrees with Ṭāḳa in 54° 22′ East Long, 17° 2′ N. Lat. "on an inlet, which could be used as a harbour for rafts and boats". This location should be modified in the light of Bent's statements and the ancient

Ẓafār be sought in a ruined site east of Ṭāḳa (see below).

We cannot support Glaser's view (*Skizze*, ii. 97, 180) that the Ἄβισσα πόλις, mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after μαντεῖον Ἀρτέμιδος which Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 97 said was the port of Ẓafār and identified with Mirbāṭ, was Zafār itself and Moscha, *Periplus*, p. 32, its harbour (the latter already suggested in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii. 329; also Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 90 *sq* , Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654), identical with Khōr el-Belīd, and that the name Zafār probably only appeared in the district after the time of Ptolemy, either for Abissa polis or for Moscha (*Skizze*, p 180; *Abessinier*, p 187 *sq*) Against these topographical arguments, which, by the way, still leave undecided the place to which the name Zafār is said to have been transferred, is the fact that there is not the slightest probability in its favour and also that it is in direct contradiction to Ptolemy's map and that of the *Periplus* and that, as Glaser himself has to confess, Moscha, which Ptolemy puts west of Cape Syagros (Rās al-Fartak) must, according to the *Periplus*, which Glaser prefers to Ptolemy for the description of the Shihr coast, be sought about 10 miles west of Mirbāt. There is now no harbour at Khōr el-Belīd, but a lagoon (Glaser, *Skizze*, p 181), on the other hand Moscha in Ptolemy as well as in the *Periplus* is described as λιμήν and this significance is particularly emphasised in the latter. Moscha is probably Maḳshi, a harbour in East Long 51° 55′ "less than an hour's journey west of Rās Fartak and sheltered from the south wind" (Sprenger, *op cit.*, p 85) Sprenger's assumption that in the transmission of Ptolemy the true position of Moscha has been dropped out is possible but not, it seems, necessary His location agrees with the statement of the Arab authors, e g Yāḳūt, iii. 577, iv 481, that the harbour of Zafār which had no suitable anchorage (so also Ibn Khaldūn, *op cit*, p 133, ed. Kay) was Mirbāt, about 5 parasangs distant and much visited by merchants, and also with the fact that the Rās Fartak near which he would locate Moscha and of which Ibn al-Muḏjāwir tells us that it is built at the entrance to the 'Gulf of the Moon' and that there is a landing-place there for ships from India, is in modern times the first landmark for which steamers from Bombay make (Sprenger, *op cit*). New material for a confirmation of this view is given, in part unintentionally and unconsciously, by Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 240 *sqq*. He says it is certain that the ruins on the coast at the modern al-Balad (el-Belīd, according to Glaser, *Skizze*, p 181, also *Abessinien*, p 184 [so also Fresnel, Al Bilad of the English chart]) about 2 miles east of the present capital al-Hāfa (Lhāfe) are those of the old capital of this territory When he adds that there is no difficulty in following Sprenger in identifying this town with the μαντεῖον Ἀρτέμιδος, he is inaccurate in as much as Sprenger expressly distinguishes Ṭāḳa, where he sought the original Zafār, from al-Balad to the west of it, the presumed site of the later Mansūra. This ruined site, according to Bent, containing remains of Sabaean temples, last inhabited during the Persian invasion about 500 A.H., is the largest and most imposing in the whole plain Bent who (p. 268) gives inaccurately Glaser's identification of Abissa polis and Moscha, further says that the point on the coast near the river Rori, which is particularly broad at its mouth (so in the map he gives of the Ẓafār territory ["from a survey by Imam Sharif, Khan Bahadur", his travelling companion]; the description of the water as Kho Roury in Bent, p 270 is wrong, see Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 185, the English chart has Khor Reiri, Cruttenden Khore Ririe) and the rocky island of Khatiya on the coast is Abissa polis and also Moscha But only a little west of this point in 54° 25′ is Ṭāḳa (54° 22′) at which Sprenger sought to locate the μαντεῖον Ἀρτέμιδος and later Glaser, *Abessinier*, p. 187, Abissa polis, which left him for „the Oracle of the Moon", which Bent very arbitrarily thought lay in the ruins of a Himyar town in the Wādī Nahast not far from al-Hafa, "only ʿAbḳad or Robat or one of the ruined sites farther inland, e g in the Wādī Nefas" which is not plausible. We may look for the site of the ancient Zafār and of the "Oracle of the Moon", perhaps also of the sanctuary mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the ruins which Bent (p 269) found east of Ṭāḳa a little further west than Sprenger and at the adjacent river mouth, the Khor Rori, the landing place for the town Glaser's statement (*Skizze*, p 181) "the ruins of Zafār are at ʿAbkad, ʿAuḳad, Rēsūt and Khōr el-Belīd" is insufficient Bent was also wrong about Μόσχα, which he identified with Mokhā, "a not unusual name for harbours on the Arabian coast" He took no account of the inaccuracy of the statements about the Shihr coast in the text of the *Periplus* as transmitted to us (§ 32) That the latter means Raisūt by the centre of the Sachalite frankincense trade is not so certain as it is usually assumed to be The mistake, which is repeated by Bent, arises from the fact that this place is called Moscha

The lord of the frankincense country under Himyar rule at the time of the *Periplus*, § 32 was the king of Ḥaḍramōt That Ptolemy refers to Katabānians between the Omanites and the mountains of Asabon does not justify the deduction that the frankincense coast proper (from Zafār eastwards) was wholly or in part a Katabānian colony

The coast town of Zafār is most probably older than the Himyar capital, it was long ago with great probability identified with "Sephar, a mount of the east" of Genesis x 30.

The Arabs sometimes place Zafār in Mahra, with which the present attribution agrees, sometimes, which comes to the same thing, in the Shihr territory (coast of Mahra), so Yāḳūt, iii 577, Abu 'l-Fidā' (see Hommel, *op cit.*, p 30), Ibn Khaldūn (ed Kay, *op. cit.*, p 132), *Tāḏj*, iii. 370, sometimes, less accurately, in ʿOmān (Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 92) According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 196, it is at the extreme end of Yaman (i. 205, it is simply called a town of Yaman), in a note in a manuscript of the *Marāṣid* (quoted by Wüstenfeld, Yāḳūt, v 24) it is described as the remotest town of Yaman, Mahra [q. v.] is included by the Arab geographers in Yaman Yāḳūt, iii. 577, after mentioning the capital of Yaman, speaks of the celebrated town of his time of the same name on the coast of the Indian Ocean (this location also in iii. 422, iv. 481 [where the form Ẓifār is used; cf the reading in Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B.G.A*, vi. 146], in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and *Tāḏj*, iii 370); in the last mentioned passage Yāḳūt describes it in general terms as situated between Ḥaḍramōt and ʿOmān (cf. i 196 and the addenda in *B. G. A.*, iv. 432 to Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 32 [also on the distance between

Ẓafār and Mirbāṭ]; the *Ḳāmūs* briefly: near Mirbāṭ). In the principal passage, Yāḳūt tells us that in the mountains at some distance from the town of Ẓafār frankincense grows and a share in the proceeds is given to the independent lord of the town who has established a monopoly of trade in it; then follow remarks on the gathering of the frankincense which has to be taken to the town (a similar account briefly in iv. 481)

Ẓafār is in the frankincense district proper; its extent as given in Yāḳūt is much too small, as is evident from the statements of other Arab geographers and especially from Carter's investigations, whose western boundary at 52° 47′ to 55° 23′ East Long. is too far east, as we know from Glaser's survey, who corrected his own figures in course of time and from Bent, Hirsch and the South Arabian expedition of the Vienna Academy

The name Zafār ("aromatic plant") originally perhaps meant simply the idea which the Greeks expressed by λιβανωτοφόρος Fresnel's idea (*Sur la géographie de l'Arabie*, *Lettre*, iv., in *JA*, ser. iii, vol. v, 1838, p 518), followed by Ritter (xii 252, 260), that the Himyar town was called Zafār after the coast town out of rivalry of it, was wrong. Probably this name was used for the former in another sense, as the "victorious", as in the lines of As'ad Tubba', *Iklīl*, *op cit*, p 410 (= al-Bakrī, p 464) Accounts of the frankincense country were brought to Europe by Portuguese sailors, we find an echo of these in Camões, *Os Lusiadas*, x. 101, 1 "Olha Dofar insigne, porque manda O mais cheiroso incenso pera as aras"

Yāḳūt (ii 881) speaks in almost the same words as al-Hamdānī (*Djazīrat*, p. 51) of a coast road that leads from 'Aden via Zafār passing Raisūt on the left to 'Omān Ibn al-Mudjāwir who visited Zafār c 619 A H, gives the various stages on the road from Shibām in Ḥadramōt to Zafār with the distances (fuller details in Sprenger, *Post-routen*, p. 144, do, *Geographie*, p 164) He observed that pepper, sugar-cane and numerous kinds of fruit flourished at Zafār and that between Ḥadramōt and 'Omān there were traces of old terraces on which the frankincense tree had been planted, this latter remark is confirmed by Bent. He tells of a safe caravan route from Baghdād (through the desert) to Mirbāt and Zafār, by which the Beduins twice a year bring horses which they exchange for spices and costly robes According to him, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh (618 = 1221) destroyed Zafār and built Mansūra not far from it to which the name Zafār later passed, in his time the district was in possession of the Ḥadramōtīs. According to Ibn Khaldūn (Kay, *op cit*, p 133), the destruction took place in 619 and the name (al-Aḥmadīya) of the new Zafār was given it from the name of the destroyer.

In Abu 'l-Fidā''s account, the confusion in which (see above) was recognised by Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p. 236 and Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 30 *sqq.* (with references to the earlier literature) showed in more detail, without being himself completely free from errors, we are told of the coast town in addition to what has already been mentioned, that it lies at the top of a gulf and has trade with India, is surrounded by gardens (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *B G.A.*, v. 109) and betel and cocoa grow there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description is similar (ii. 196 *sqq*) The latter about 730 (1329—1330) sailed from Kiloa to Ẓafār, over a century after the destruction of the old town. He tells us that the town stood isolated on a wide plain (cf. Yāḳūt, iv 481) but gives noteworthy details about the rich orchards and spice yielding trees and plants (betel, cocoa) in the neighbourhood and their economic importance. The Zafār described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also an important commercial centre.

With reference to the ancient history we may here mention a suggestion by Glaser, that Ẓafār was the old Habashī capital (cf. *Skizze*, p 181; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 654) It is certain that in the early middle ages, like South Arabia generally, it passed for a time under Persian influence Of importance at a later date was the Persian attempt at invasion in 664 (1265) when the emīr Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Kūsī, lord of Hormūz, conquered and plundered Zafār. Soon afterwards Sālim b Idrīs, ruler of Zafār, quarrelled with al-Muzaffar, the second ruler of the Muzaffarid dynasty His troops were defeated by those of Yaman in 678 (1278) and Zafār surrendered (Kay, *op cit*, p. 311, on Ibn Khaldūn, p. 132) In Ibn Battūta's time, Zafār was independent of Yaman.

Marco Polo, the contemporary of Abu 'l-Fidā', had heard of Zafār as one of the most important sources of frankincense Niebuhr, *Beschreibung*, p 236, 262, rightly distinguishes between the two towns of the same name but he could learn nothing of the second except that there was "on the S E. coast of Arabia a town and harbour" of Ẓafār, similarly p 286 where he refers to the export of frankincense (p. 143 *sq* on the growing of frankincense) The first more accurate particulars of this region in modern times were given by the English Coast Survey Commission. J R Wellsted who came here in 1833, describes Mirbāṭ and the coast west of it (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, ii 453 *sq* and *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London 1840, ii 129 *sqq*). In 1837 C J Cruttenden went by land from Mirbāt to al-Dahārīz, the chief town of the coast region of Zafār (see *Journal of an Excursion from Morebat to Dyreez*, in *Proceed of Bombay Geogr Soc*, 1837, p 70 *sqq*. [*Transactions*, 1844, p 184 *sqq*]) He established what Fresnel from his informant in Djidda and Haines confirmed that in his time there was no longer a town of Zafār but that, as is still true, the district from Mirbāt to Raisūt bears this name. At about the same time Fresnel (see his *Lettre*, iv, *op cit*, p 251 *sq*) learned from Muhsin, his adviser on linguistic points, that the ruins at el-Belīd which the latter had visited, still retained traces of the splendour of an old city of Zafār (i. e. probably Manṣūra) and that there were now only three or four houses standing Fresnel wrongly took this Zafār for the Ḥimyar capital (like Ibn Khaldūn) and el-Belīd for its harbour Wellsted's *Travels* are supplemented by Capt. S B Haines, *Memoir of the South and East Coasts of Arabia*, in *J.R.G.S*, London 1845, xv. 104 *sqq*. Wellsted's information came partly from the observations made by Haines's expedition and published prematurely without the latter's authority (see Ritter, xii 608 and the extract p 645 *sqq*.) H J. Carter, whose account (*A description of the frankincense tree of Arabia*, in *J Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, 1847, ii 380 *sqq*.) was too late for Ritter, xii. 356 *sqq*. to use, gave further details of the occurrence of the frankincense tree. Glaser gives (*Skizze*, p. 180 *sq*.,

Abessinier, p 184 *sq*) from his own explorations several places on the coast called Ẓafār of which the majority had already been mentioned by Fresnel, Cruttenden and Haines.

Our knowledge of the plain of Ẓafār was amplified by Bent who travelled in 1894—1895 along the coast (see the section *Dhofar and the Gara Mountains* in his book p 227 *sqq*). He gives several places hitherto unknown and fixes the frankincense area more definitely; its size, he says, is not much bigger than that of the Isle of Wight. The Wālī of al-Hāfa is the *de facto* lord of the plain of Ẓafār, the land is only nominally under the sultān of ʿOmān, as belonging to the imāmate of Masḳaṭ (cf also Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 126) Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Mudjāwir and Ibn Baṭṭūta (see above) also mention an independent sultān of Ẓafār and of modern travellers, Niebuhr (*op cit*, p 287) already mentions the "independent shaih" there. The district never came under Turkish rule; the Turkish attempt to subdue it towards the end of the last century failed. Bent describes the frankincense trade as unimportant, the Ḳara Bedouins (Glaser, *Abessinier*, p 185 also gives the native pronunciation Krā) bring the frankincense from the mountains to the coast on camels (this recalls Yāḳūt, iii 577) He saw stores of frankincense at al-Hāfa The road to the mountains runs through an area which is full of frankincense trees and has a rich vegetation generally In ancient times the cultivation of frankincense was probably not much more extensive. Myrrh also is found in the mountains He tells us, like Carter, that the savage Bedouins live in caves in the mountains, this gives modern confirmation of the statement in the *Periplus*, § 32 regarding the Troglodytes [see WABĀR] They seem to be the representatives of the earliest inhabitants Their language is not understood by the Arabs; this recalls what al-Istakhrī, al-Idrīsī and Ibn al-Mudjāwir say about Mehrī [see MAHRA] — Bent is supplemented by C Craufurd, *The Dhofar District*, in *Geogr Journal*, London 1919 (p. 101 *sq* a description of the ruins of el-Belīd)

Glaser was the first to devote attention to the language of the people of the plain and mountains of Zafār (cf *Abessinier*, p 184), on his accurate reproductions of Shehrāt see Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 153 The specimens of language in Bent, *op cit*, p. 275 *sq* are to be used with a certain amount of caution A series of texts was taken down by N Rhodokanakis from the mouth of a native in 1904 in Vienna, they are published in vol viii. of the *Sudarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1908 (*Der vulgararabische Dialekt im Dofâr (Ẓfâr)*, vol. x. (1911) contains the glossary and grammar In vol vii of the same series D H. Müller published texts in the language of the hill people from the same native authority (*Šḥauri-Texte*, 1907), see also M Bittner, *Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache*, i.–iv., in *S B Ak. Wien*, 1915—17).

Bibliography. The information in the Arabic, Greek and Roman authors and the works of Sprenger, D. H Müller, Glaser, Hommel has already been quoted with bibliographical details. We may further mention on 1. and 4. the references to earlier literature in Ritter, xii. 64 *sq*., 251 *sqq*., 260 *sqq*, 293 *sqq*., 311, 323, 650 *sqq*., 728, 770 (with many inaccuracies in view of the insufficiency of his sources, quoted in the index to vol. xiii. under 10 different heads) and in A. Zehme, *Arabien und die Araber seit 100 Jahren*, Halle 1875, *passim*. On 1. see the article ḤIMYAR, ii., p. 310–311 by J. H. Mordtmann; on 1. and 4. my full treatment of many details in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Realenz. der klass Altertumswiss.*, s. v. *Saba* (col 1372 *sqq*., 1378, 1427 *sq*., 1437 *sqq*., 1461 *sqq*. [cf. SABA', iv., p. 3—18]); on 4. the articles of Bent *The Exploration of Southern Arabia*, in *Journ. for the Advancement of Science*, 1895, p. 492 *sqq*., *Exploration of the Frankincense Country, Southern Arabia*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, London 1895, vi. 109 *sqq* , *The Land of Frankincense and Myrrh*, in *Ninet. Century*, 1895, p. 595 *sqq* ; finally the *Bibliography* to MAHRA. (J TKATSCH)

AL-**ẒAFAYĀN**, nickname of the radjaz poet ʿAṭā' b Usaid Abu 'l-Miḳāl (according to another reading Miḳdām). He belonged to the Banū ʿUwāfa, a branch of the tribe of Saʿd b Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm, whence he was known as al-Saʿdī or al-Tamīmī It is clear from one of his poems that he went through the rising of Abū Fudaik (73 = 692) and was roughly a contemporary of al-ʿAdjdjādj

Bibliography A few quoted fragments of his *urdjūza*'s from a defective copy of the *Dīwān*, ed. by Ahlwardt in *Sammlungen alter arab. Dichter*, Berlin 1903, vol. ii (H. H BRAU)

AL-**ẒĀFIR**. [See FĀṬIMIDS, above ii. 91.]

ẒĀHID. [See ZUHD]

ẒĀHIR. [See BĀṬIN.]

AL-**ẒĀHIR** BI-AMR ALLĀH ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B AL-NĀṢIR, an ʿAbbāsid Caliph As early as Safar 585 (March–April 1189) the caliph al-Nāṣir had designated his eldest son Muḥammad as his successor Later however, he changed his mind in favour of his younger son ʿAlī but since the latter died in 612 (1215—1216) and al-Nāṣir had no other male heirs, he had to come back to Muḥammad and again have homage paid to him as heir-apparent Regarding the treatment given the future commander of the faithful in his father's house we are told in Ibn al-Athīr, xii 287 "He was watched and guarded and could do nothing of his own accord". After the death of al-Nāṣir at the end of Ramaḍān 622 (beg. October 1225), Muhammad ascended the caliph's throne with the name al-Ẓāhir bi-Amr Allāh but his reign lasted only nine months and fourteen days, for he died on 14th Radjab 623 (July 11, 1226) He was succeeded by his eldest son al-Mustansir. The Muslim historians bestow the highest praise on al-Ẓāhir for his high moral qualities. He is described as god-fearing, benevolent, just and gentle and compared with the Umaiyad ʿOmar b ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who is celebrated for his piety In politics however, he played an insignificant and subordinate part, after his accession as before, and he exercised no influence worth mentioning on the course of affairs

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, xii. 26, 287—289, 298 *sq*.; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed Derenbourg, p. 443–445; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii 451, 453 (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-MALIK AL-**ẒĀHIR** GHĀZĪ, an Ayyūbid, second son of Saladin [q. v] Born in 568 (1172–1173) he was installed as nominal governor of Ḥalab immediately after its conquest by Saladin at the beginning of 579 (1183), but a few months later Saladin handed over the town to his brother al-ʿĀdil [q. v.]. Three years later al-

Ẓāhir was definitely given Ḥalab and several other towns so that his rule extended northwards to the frontier of Armenia, eastwards as far as the Euphrates (at Manbidj) and southwards to near Ḥamāt. He therefore had the task of defending the northern frontiers against any inroads of Byzantines, Armenians and Crusaders, he strengthened the fortifications [cf. ii. p 233] and Ḥalab remained a bulwark of Islām and one of the most prosperous places in the Ayyūbid kingdom. In the wars with the Crusaders he loyally assisted his father and later his brother al-Afḍal [q. v.] and his uncle al-ʿĀdil [q v] In Djumādā II 584 (Aug. 1188) he took the fortress of Sarmīn from the Christians, liberated many hundreds of prisoners and had all the inhabitants who could not pay their ransom massacred and the defences razed to the ground. In the fighting that followed for ʿAkkā and Jaffa al-Ẓāhir played an energetic part and displayed great bravery After the death of Saladin on the 27th Ṣafar 589 (March 4, 1193) he hesitated in loyalty between al-Afdal, who had inherited Damascus and Syria, and al-ʿĀdil who had received the two fortresses of al-Kerak [q v.] and al-Shawbak [q v.] with other places in Mesopotamia and who played the part of mediator in the war between his nephews. After al-Afdal in 892 (1195—1196) had to give up Damascus and Saladin's third son, al-ʿAzīz who had inherited Egypt, had died in Muharram 595 (Nov 1198), there was nothing left for al-Ẓāhir but to recognise al-ʿĀdil's suzerainty along with the other members of the family; nevertheless he supported but without success al-Afdal's attempt to reconquer Damascus. At the end of 597 (1201) the two brothers besieged this town which might have fallen into their hands if they had not quarrelled and al-Afdal dismissed the troops under his command, and when al-ʿĀdil threatened Halab in the following year, al-Ẓāhir was forced to submit once more and surrender some of his possessions In Shaʿbān 599 (April/May 1203) by threats he forced al-Afḍal to surrender Ḳalʿat Nadjm to him without compensation. Al-Ẓāhir died on the 7th Djumādā II 613 (Sept 3, 1215) after arranging that his three year old son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad, with whom his wife Ḍāʾifa, the daughter of al-ʿĀdil, had presented him, should succeed him to the exclusion of an older son. His atābeg Shihāb al-Dīn Toghril took over the government as guardian of the young prince. Another daughter of al-ʿĀdil's, al-Ghāziya, whom al-Ẓāhir had married in 582 (1186—1187), had predeceased him without leaving male heirs Ibn al-Athīr praises al-Ẓāhir for his benevolence to poets and for his eminent political gifts, but at the same time says he was hard hearted and little scrupulous in his choice of means

Bibliography. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 330 *sq*., 366; xii. 7, 34, 63 *sq*, 71, 77, 79, 94 *sq*., 98 *sq*., 102, 105–107, 110 *sq*., 117, 119, 131, 158 *sq* , 181, 189, 204 *sq*., 227; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Histoire d'Alep*, transl. Blochet, *passim*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 402, 406, 433—435; Rohricht, *Geschichte des Konigreichs Jerusalem*, see Index; cf. also the article ḤALAB. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-ẒĀHIR [See the articles BAIBARS I, BARḲŪḲ, FĀṬIMIDS, *Supra*, ii. 90.]

ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN (Saiyid) AL-MARʿASHĪ, son of the Saiyid Nāṣir al-Dīn, descendant of a family of Saiyids, Persian statesman and historian, born in 815 (1412), was at the court of Muḥammad, Sulṭān of Gīlān, for whose son Kārgiā Mīrzā ʿAlī he composed the Chronicle of Ṭabaristān from the earliest times to 881 (1476). The sovereign employed him on various missions, sent him to the help of Malik Iskandar, son of Malik Kayomarth of Rustamdār, who was fighting his brother Malik Kāʾūs and entrusted him with other military expeditions; among these he led an army against the fortress of Nūr which he besieged unsuccessfully in 868 (1463)

Bibliography. J von Hammer, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1813, iii. 317; B. Dorn, *Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan*, St Petersburg 1850, p. 13—17 (CL. HUART)

ẒAHĪR-I FĀRYĀBĪ, ABU 'L-FAḌL ṬĀHIR B. MUḤAMMAD, a Persian poet of the xiith century, born at Fāryāb near Balkh in 551 (1156), a pupil of Rashīdī of Samarḳand, entered the service of Ardashīr b Hasan, *ispahbad* of Māzandarān (d. 607 = 1210), then went to the court of Toghān, prince of Nīshāpūr (d. 582 = 1186); after being imprisoned for six years, he left Khurāsān for ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī where he wrote panegyrics on the Atābek Ḳizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz about 583 (1187). Towards the end of his life, he retired from the world and led a life of devotion in Tabrīz where he died at the end of 598 (1201) and was buried in the cemetery of Surkh-Āb, he was a Sunnī His *Dīwān* includes *kaṣīdas*, some ghazels and a few fragments, in all 115 pieces and 97 quatrains. His style resembles that of the court poets, it is polished and graceful but somewhat insipid On him was made the verse which has become a proverb· "If you find Zahīr's *Dīwān*, steal it, even in the Kaʿba".

Bibliography ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, ed. Browne, London 1903, ii. 298—307; Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkira*, ed Browne, p 109–114, Luṭf-ʿAlī-Beg, *Āteshkede*, Bombay 1277, not paginated, chapter on Tūrān; Riḍā-Kuli-Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-Fusahāʾ*, i. 330, Hammer, *Gesch. d. schon. Redekunste Persiens*, p. 130, E G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii 412—425. (CL. HUART)

ẒĀHIR AL-ʿOMAR In Syria, he is called Ḍāhir (local pronunciation of Zāhir) al-(āl-)ʿOmar, from the name of his father ʿOmar, shaikh of the Banū Zaidān, nomads who had settled in the district of Ṣafad [q. v]. In 1750, Ẓāhir lord of Tiberias and the upper Jordan, came to an arrangement with the Metwalis of Galilee to drive out the Turkish officials by degrees; after which he seized the ruined port of ʿAkkā which was to serve him as an outlet for the export of cotton and silk He repopulated the town and hurriedly rebuilt the strong walls made by the Crusaders, which were not completely demolished at their departure. Ẓāhir did not wish to break with the Porte, to whom he continued to pay the taxes (*mīrī*) without their going through the hands of Turkish agents. He bore no resemblance to the typical marauding Bedouin. Wishing his authority to endure, he endeavoured to base it on the prosperity of the country. He protected the peasants and encouraged their production. Tremendously active, spending his life on horseback, he was never daunted by reverses.

His establishment in ʿAkkā earned him the hostility of the *dīwān* at Stambul. To help him

to face the storm, Ẓāhir entered into relations with ʿAlī Bey [q. v.] who had just revived in Egypt the government of the beys or Mamlūks. Abū Dhahab, ʿAlī Bey's lieutenant, hurried to Syria, took Damascus and then rebelled against ʿAlī Bey whom he forced to seek refuge with Zāhir, his recent ally The latter quite undaunted began by routing the troops of ʿOthmān Pasha, Turkish governor of Damascus; after which he took Saidā. The Porte raised a large army, Ẓāhir could rely on the help of the Metwalis, of a few hundreds of Mamlūks who had accompanied ʿAlī Bey, and finally on the Russian squadron under Admiral Orlof which had been cruising in the eastern Mediterranean since 1770. The encounter took place along the coast, near Ṣaidā The fire of the Russian ships decided the day (May 1772) The Russians then went on to bombard Bairūt which they plundered Taking advantage of this great success, Zāhir hastened to extend his authority over the Palestinian provinces. From Saidā to Ramla all the country acknowledged his authority. The tide now began to turn against him ʿAlī Bey foolishly allowed himself to be drawn back to Egypt, where he was defeated and put to death ʿAlī Bey being disposed of, Abū Dhahab reappeared in Palestine After taking the places on the coast which belonged to Ẓāhir, he was advancing on ʿAkkā when death overtook him (June 1775) The Turkish fleet however after taking Saidā, blockaded ʿAkkā, where Zahir had shut himself up The bombardment had no effect on the old walls built by the Crusaders but Turkish gold had more success. During a mutiny in the garrison a shot killed instantaneously the old Beduin chief (Aug 1775) who had for over a quarter of a century defied the authority of the Porte. His name remained popular in Syria The Christians whom he had protected were not the last to regret him.

Bibliography Djarbartī, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo 1880, i. 371 *sqq*, 413 *sqq*, Tannūs Shidyāk, *Akhbār al-Aʿyān fī Djabal Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p 360—361, 388—391, Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, Paris 1807, ii 5 *sqq*., Abbé Mariti, *Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine*, Paris 1791, ii. 85 *sqq*., Ed Lockroy, *Ahmed le Boucher, la Syrie et l'Egypte au 18ème siècle*, Paris 1885 (interesting for its local colour, otherwise valueless) References to manuscript authorities are given in H Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, ii 103—112. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-ẒĀHIRĪYA, a school of law, which would derive the law only from the literal text (*zāhir*) of the Kurʾān and Sunna In the "branches" of law (*furūʿ al-fikh*) it still further increased the number of contradictory detailed regulations by many divergencies, peculiar to it alone. More important is its significance for the principles of legislation (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), the development and elucidation of which it considerably furthered by its uncompromising fight against *raʾy*, *kiyās*, *istiṣhāb*, *istihsān* and *taḳlīd* [q v.] In the ʿIrāḳ the Ẓāhirī *madhhab*. also called Dāʾūdī after its founder [see DĀʾŪD B. KHALAF], became organised as a regular school the influence of which spread to Persia and Khurāsān while in Spain Ibn Hazm remained practically isolated. Only in the reign of the Almohad Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580—594 = 1184—1199), was the Ẓāhirī school recognised as the state code. But there had always been Ẓāhirīs in outlook, although not organised as a school or called one, and there continued to be such, after the school itself, in spite of all the concessions it was forced to make to the principles of its rivals, had failed in the solution of problems, which had not cropped up in the circle of the Prophet or the earlier transmitters of the *Sunna*. As late as 788 (1386) a Ẓāhirī outbreak is recorded in Syria, where the *madhhab* itself never was and in Egypt we still find Maḳrīzī writing in the Zāhirī spirit The Zāhirīya attitude could be maintained, especially in theory, by people who were not in contact with the little matters of everyday life and disliking the casuistry and quarrels of the schools did not adhere to a particular school. It is therefore not remarkable that it is a mystic, Shaʿrānī [q v, N⁰. 1], who has preserved many decisions of the historical Zāhirīya. It is true that commentators on the Kurʾān, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and on the collections of traditions frequently note the particular Zāhirī exegesis, but on the other hand, the later jurists no longer take their former rivals seriously and are silent about them, at least in the special literature of the *Ikhtilāf al-Fikh* that has survived. Shaʿrānī however puts Dāʾūd in the radiant rosette in his *Mīzān* (see *Bibl*), p 44, between Ibn Hanbal and Sufyān b. ʿUyaina and on the parallel roads to the gate of Paradise (p 47) between Ibn Hanbal and Abū Laith b. Saʿd As no manuscripts of a Zāhirī law-book are available we give as specimens of the distinctive features mentioned by Shaʿrānī from Book I those relating to ritual purity.

Details P 98, 12 Gold and silver vessels are forbidden for eating and drinking According to Nawawī, commenting on the *Ṣahīh* of Muslim (Cairo 1284), iv. 416 and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales* (ed Reiske, ii 262), the Zāhirīs on the authority of the *hadīth* in question, which only mentions drinking, permitted eating from such vessels — P 98, 23 The use of the toothstick is necessary; according to Ishāḳ b Rāhwaihi, Dāʾūd's teacher, deliberate neglect of this actually renders the prayer invalid — P 99, 12 *sqq* and ii 163, 15 Wine is not impure although forbidden — P 103, 17 and 107, 15 A person in a state of minor ritual impurity (*hadath*, q. v.) may take up and carry a copy of the Kurʾān. — P 105, 33 Any contact of a man with a strange female, even a baby girl an hour old, produces *ḥadath* and the minor ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) is necessary — P 107, 26. There is no regulation that in relieving nature we should turn the face or the back in the direction of the *ḳibla*; it is therefore permitted — P. 108, 17 and 113, 10 I *Wuḍūʾ* is according to ʿUbaid Allāh al-Nakhaʿī, a Zāhirī ḳādī in Khurāsān (d 376 = 986), only valid for 5 prayers (a certain ʿUbaid b ʿUmair laid it down that it was only valid for one) — P. 109, 24 The mentioning of the name of God at the *wuḍūʾ* is not only recommended but necessary. — P. 109, 33: According to some Zāhirīs, this also applies to the washing of the hands whenever purification is necessary. — P 110, 30· The *wuḍūʿ* does not extend to the elbows (Zufar b Hudhail, d. 158 [774], who was in close contact with Abū Hanīfa, however also held this). — P. 113, 20· The major ritual ablution (*ghusl*, q. v.) is only necessary after actual effluxus seminis. — P. 114, 21: If a woman is in a state of major ritual impurity (*djanāba*, q. v.) and then enters

the *ḥaiḍ* [q. v.] she must perform two *ghusl*. — P. 114, 29 and 122, 22: In spite of *ḏjanāba* any one, even a woman during *haiḍ*, may recite the Kurʾān as he pleases. — P. 115 11: Rubbing with sand (*tayammmum*, q. v) actually removes a *ḥadaṯh*. — P. 120, 23: The wiping of only the foot-gear is valid even if it is much torn — P. 122, 8 A similar partial *ghusl* suffices for the woman to fulfil the demands of Kurʾān ii 222 so that intercourse is permitted even during the *ḥaiḍ* (so also Awzāʿī).

As these examples show, the Ẓāhirī *maḏhab* cannot be briefly summed up as "light or heavy". Sharʿānī has sometimes to describe it as the mildest and sometimes as the strictest of all The field in which many of the jurists found their main object, to make alleviations, was one it could not enter upon and for example it insisted upon the literal text of the passages in the Kurʾān and Tradition against unbelievers to a degree of complete intolerance. It does not work systematically, for it forbade inquiry into the reason for a regulation and did not allow it to be extended to an analogous case or from the individual to the class. It absolutely refused to weaken the words of the religious sources by parallels from passages in pagan poets, and aimed at creating the true *fikh al-hadīṯh* out of the religious texts with the assistance of a special Muslim philology and lexicography. That of Mālik seemed to it to be *raʾy* equally with that of Abū Ḥanīfa, Shāfiʿī, from whom it had itself started, had only disciplined, not abolished *raʾy*. *Iḏjmāʿ* [q. v] could only be defined as the consensus of the early Companions It made no distinction in degrees of prohibition or commandment, the imperative, in other systems not infrequently interpreted as mere permission and recommendation or simple disapproval, meant for it the absolutely obligatory or completely forbidden It naturally used a great mass of Tradition and it has been charged with not examining carefully what it took over, on the other hand, it was itself forced to criticism of tradition against many *hadīṯh*s favourable to *raʾy* which were finding recognition or against that of difference of opinion as a grace, but the school saw in this rather the disruptive influence of subjective methods against which it regarded itself as the champion of the lost unity of primitive Islām. In spite of Ibn Hazm, the Ẓāhirīya never attained theological unity. In general it maintained an attitude of cautious neutrality and aloofness in theological disputes and in keeping with its respect for the literal sacred text accepted the utterances about God without going into any exegesis.

Bibliography. Shaʿrānī, *al-Mīzān* ², Cairo 1317, *passim*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, i. 216—219, Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (in *G M S*, xx), s v. *Dāʾūdī*, fol 220r, 8—16, ult —220v, 5, further s v. *Ẓāhirī*, fol 376v, 2—30, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 95 *sq.*, I Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884 — Cf. also the art DĀʾŪD B KHALAF and IBN ḤAZM.

(R. STROTHMANN)

ZAID B. ʿALĪ ZAIN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN [q. v.] gave his name to the Zaidīya [q. v.] who revere him as a political and religious martyr; he was the first ʿAlid after the catastrophe which overwhelmed his grandfather al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī [q. v.] at Kerbelāʾ to endeavour to deprive the Umaiyads of the caliphate by armed rebellion when he placed himself at the disposal of the Kūfans as Imām Except for an interval of two months when he was secretly seeking adherents in Baṣra, he spent a year in preparation in Kūfa, hidden in constantly changing hiding-places. But when he was ready to begin, the governor Yūsuf b. ʿOmar al-Thaḳafī, although at the time away in Hīra, proved so well prepared that only a few hundred men joined Zaid, although many thousands had taken the oath of loyalty to him. After several days' street fighting he was mortally wounded, the place of concealment of his body buried under water was betrayed and the body exhibited in Kūfa, the head in Damascus, Mecca and Medīna Tabarī has preserved from Abū Mikhnaf very vivid and full accounts from the few survivors of the details of the fighting. The date, beginning of 122 (740), is however not quite certain, apparently because Zaid had to begin his revolt a few days before the date arranged in view of the excellence of the official secret service; when 121 or even 120 is given, this presumably neglects the long period of preparation. The Umaiyad police force, by no means large, owed its success to the remarkable irresolution of the Kūfan conspirators They had gathered together in the great mosque, allowed themselves to be shut in and did not support Zaid's efforts, which several times promised to be successful, to release them They were not homogeneous but simply a mass of discontented opponents of the government, including even Khāridjīs, while further all those who simply wanted an ʿAlid to be caliph did not come to the support of Zaid, although the story that many deserters appealed to his brother Muhammad al-Bāḳir as the true imām is probably coloured by ante-dating later troubles within the Shīʿa Moreover Zaid himself was not the real leader of the movement; he did not come to Kūfa of his own accord He was in al-Rusāfa with the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [q v] to whom he had turned in his poverty, when the governor had summoned him to Kūfa about a debt case Zaid himself had misgivings about his prospects, after the first four months he wanted to withdraw completely from the enterprise and had reached al-Kādisīya on his way back to his native city of Medīna, when he was persuaded to return by some Shīʿīs who had hurried after him

A number of writings and fragments have survived which go under Zaid's name, these include elucidations of passages of the Kurʾān, and of problems of the imāmate and the pilgrimage and especially a complete compendium of fikh, but in its present form, they contain too many theological, ritual, legal and political contradictions within themselves and to such principles of the later Zaidī literature as are given the authority of Zaid There is however some evidence that he had a certain amount of learning, while we need lay no special stress on his honorary title, *ḥalīf al-Ḳurʾān*, or on the Zaidī tradition that Abū Ḥanīfa studied under him and supported the rising by a fetwā and money, yet it is evidence of legal experience that he conducted as a skilled advocate for the Husainids long suits against the Ḥasanids about the family endowments.

Zaid was much celebrated in song, even as early as by al-Saiyid al-Himyarī [q. v.] and in old *maḳtal* books (martyrologies); legend endea-

voured to atone for the shameful treatment of his corpse by stories of miracles; in general however, the descriptions, in keeping with the Zaidī attitude, are relatively moderate in tone At his death he was still in the forties; like all the ʿAlids he inclined to corpulence His mother was a slave-girl. He himself married Raita, a grand-daughter of Muḥammad b al-Hanafīya [q. v.]; she bore him Yaḥyā, who fought in the rising and was able to escape to Khurāsān, where Zaid's supporters had been working, but in 125 or 126 (743 or 744) he met the same end as his father. The leader of the Zandj [q v] professed to be the great-grandson of this Yahyā. As a matter of fact the line of Yaḥyā was by then extinct, and the descendants of Zaid at this time were those of Yahyā's half-brothers, whose mother was a slave-girl To secure a following, Zaid married in Kūfa a woman of the Banū Farkad and another of the Azd, the latter bore him a daughter who however died before him.

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, v 239 *sq.*, Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed Houtsma, II 390 *sq*, Ṭabarī, *Annales*, II. 1667—1688, 1698—1716, al-Nātik Abū Tālib Yahyā b Husain b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī, *al-Ifāda fī Taʾrīkh al-Aʾimma al-Sāda*, MS. Berlin, N⁰. 9665, fol. 13ᵃ *sqq.*, Berlin N⁰ 9666, p. 39 *sqq.*, Leyden N⁰. 1974, fol. 10ᵃ *sqq* , Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, *al-Ḥadāʾiḳ al-wardīya fī Manāḳib Aʾimmat al-Zaidīya*, MS. Munich N⁰. 86, fol. 75ᵇ *sqq* , Aḥmad b ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Muḥannā, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib fī Ansāb Āl Abī Tālib*, Bombay 1318, esp. p. 230 on the date of his death; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, *Makātil al-Ṭālibīyīn*, Teheran 1307, p 50—61, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, ed B. Meynard, v. 467—473, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v 171—177, 181—186; J Wellhausen, *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott*, N.S, vol. v, N⁰ 2, 1901, p 95 *sqq* , C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, p 25 *sqq*, 281 *sqq* ; E. Griffini, *Corpus Juris di Zaid ibn ʿAlī*, Milan 1919; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. ʿAlī*, in *Isl*, XIII. (1923), 1—52 (R. STROTHMANN)

ZAID B. ʿAMR B NUFAIL, a Makkan and Ḳurashī, one of the religious seekers known as the *ḥanīf*, died before Muḥammad's mission, when the Prophet was about 35. He had abandoned the pagan religion without embracing either Christianity or Judaism, objected to female infanticide, refused to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols or slaughtered without invoking God's name, and considered himself the only true believer in Makka and a follower of Abraham's religion A cousin of ʿOmar b al-Khattāb, he was married to Safīya bint al-Ḥaḍramī and to Fāṭima bint Baʿdja, and had a son, Saʿīd b. Zaid, who told traditions about him

Persecuted by his family on religious grounds, he travelled in search of the true faith as far as Mawṣil, and visited Syria; in Maifaʿa, in al-Balḳāʾ, a learned monk (a double of Baḥīra ?) predicted to him the rise of a true prophet in Makka Zaid hurried back, but was assaulted and killed while crossing the region inhabited by the Lakhm tribe. According to another tradition, Zaid had himself predicted Muḥammad's mission and career. Ibn Isḥāḳ quotes poetry attributed to him, but its authenticity is doubtful.

Though dead before Islām, Zaid was considered by *ḥadīth* a true believer; Muḥammad, declaring him to be in heaven, allowed prayers to be said for him.

Bibliography Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd, § 164, 180, 182, N⁰. 2, 186, 187, Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, I/1 105; Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 143—146, 149.
(V. VACCA)

ZAID B. ḤĀRITHA B. SHARĀḤĪL AL-KALBĪ, Abū Usāma, was brought as a slave to Makka by Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwailid, a nephew of Khadīdja's, who had bought him in Syria and sold him to her. Khadīdja made a gift of Zaid to Muḥammad before his mission. His father Hārītha came to Makka to obtain his freedom, but Zaid refused to leave Muhammad, who thereupon freed him and adopted him. He was thenceforward known as Zaid b Muhammad, and was often associated in his adopted father's commercial enterprises

About ten years younger than Muhammad, Zaid was one of the very first converts to Islām, perhaps the first He came from a tribe settled near Dūmat al-Djandal, where converts to Christianity were plentiful and Jewish influences felt, his influence on the Prophet's religious development may have been considerable.

In Madīna Zaid was joined in brotherhood to Hamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. In I A H he went to Makka to accompany Sawda bint Zamʿa and Muhammad's daughters to Madīna A brave warrior, Zaid fought at Badr, Uhud, al-Khandak, was at al-Ḥudaibiya, commanded several expeditions (al-Ḳaraḍa in 2 A. H , al-Djamūn and al-ʿĪs in 6, etc.) and was often left in command at Madīna when Muḥammad was on some military expedition For his marriage to, and divorce from, Zainab bint Djaḥsh see ZAINAB Following this divorce, the verse in the Ḳurʾān abolishing adoption (XXXIII. 40) was revealed After Zainab, Zaid married Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUḳba, who bore him Zaid and Ruḳaiya, and Durra bint Abī Lahab, both of whom he divorced, Hind bint al-ʿAwwām and Muhammad's freedwoman, the negroid Umm Aiman, who bore him Usāma.

Zaid died in 8 A.H., aged about 55, as commander and standard-bearer of the unfortunate expedition of Muʾta Muhammad mourned him and planned to avenge him [see USĀMA B ZAID]. His place in *ḥadīth* is important, both on account of Muhammad's affection for him, which induces orthodox tradition to set him up as the Prophet's favourite, against ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib, and by reason of his name being mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, III/1. 26—31; Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed Wüstenfeld, p 160—161, 801—802; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, II. 224—227, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd, § 175, 223, 226, 227; I A. H, § 15, N⁰. 50, § 50, 53; 5 A H, § 201. 8 A.H, § 7—15, Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet, passim.* (V VACCA)

ZAID B. THĀBIT B AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. ZAID B. LAWDHĀN B ʿAMR B. ʿABD MANĀF (or ʿAwf) **B. GHANM B MĀLIK B AL-NADJDJĀR AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ**, one of the Companions of Muḥammad, best known through his part in the editing of the Ḳurʾān. His father was killed in the battle of Buʿāth [q. v.], five years before the *hidjra*, when Zaid was six years old. His

mother was al-Nawār, daughter of Mālik b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAdī, also of a Madīndjadj family.

It is said that the boy knew already a number of Sūras when Muḥammad settled in al-Madīna. At any rate he became his secretary, who recorded part of the revelations and settled the correspondence with the Jews, whose language or script he is said to have learned in 17 days or less. His quickness of understanding, his sagacity and his knowledge are praised by his contemporaries; he was called "the rabbi of the community".

After the death of Muhammad, Zaid acted in several capacities of greater or lesser importance. He was entrusted with the government of al-Madīna by ʿUmar and by ʿUthmān, when they went to perform the *ḥadjdj*. He accompanied ʿUmar to Syria. He regulated the division of the booty after the battle of the Yarmūk [q v]. He made the lists of those who were inscribed in the *dīwān*, when ʿUmar founded this institution. He was *kāḍī* in al-Madīna and finance minister to ʿUthmān. After the latter's death he kept aloof from ʿAlī, although he showed him due honour. It is said, however (Ṭabarī, i. 3070, 3072), that he refused to do homage to him.

Best known is the part he took in the editing of the Kur'ān [cf KOR'ĀN, §§ 7, 8] — He was a specialist on the subject of hereditary law

Zaid died in 45 (665—666), the years 42, 43, 51, 52, 55, and 56 are also mentioned The *ṣalāt* over his corpse was held by Marwān b al-Hakam

Bibliography Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, p 560; Yaʿkūbī, ed Houtsma, index, Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2937, 3058, 3070, 3072; ii. 836; see also indices, Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, ii/ii 115—117, al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ*, ed Wustenfeld, p 259 *sq* , Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii 221–223, Ibn Hadjar al-Askalānī, *Iṣāba*, N⁰. 2865; do , *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Haidarābād 1325, iii 399 *sq* , Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii 54, Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, iii., p xxxix. *sqq.*, L Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, index to vols. i.—ii. and iii.—v , do , *Chron islamica*, p 505, Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh Tradition*, s v

(A. J WENSINCK)

ZAIDĀN (in modern pronunciation ZĪDĀN), DJIRDJI, an Arab scholar, journalist and man of letters, born in Bairūt on Dec 14, 1861, died in Cairo on Aug. 21, 1914. Born in a poor Christian family, he had no regular education and in almost all branches of learning he was self-taught. He spent some time at the Protestant College and received the diploma in pharmacy Soon afterwards he went to Egypt where for about a year he was on the staff of the newspaper *al-Zamān*. In 1884 he served as a dragoman on the expedition to the Sūdān to the relief of Gordon, and then returned to Bairūt. After a brief stay in London (1886), he finally settled in Cairo where for some years he taught and was on the staff of the *Muḳṭaṭaf* newspaper Except for his two journeys to Europe (1886, 1912), his literary activity was in Egypt; for political reasons it was only after the revolution that he was able to visit Turkey (Stambul 1908, Palestine 1913).

His first work was of a linguistic nature. "Philosophy of Language and the Arabic Language" (1886, 2nd ed. 1904). Rather naive on some points, it represents the first meritorious effort to apply the principles of comparative philology to the Arabic language He returned again to the same subject in his book "The History of the Arabic Language" (1904) He then turned to historical works and textbooks. "History of Modern Egypt" (2 vols., 1889), "History of Free-masonry" (1889), "General History" (first vol.), "History of Greece and Rome", "History of England", "Geography of Egypt", "Genealogy among the ancient Arabs". They had no great success. — In 1891 appeared his first historical novel "The last Mamlūk" (German transl. by Martin Thilo, Barmen 1917), and in 1892 he began the publication of his literary periodical *al-Hilāl* From this date till his premature death his life was closely bound up with this work He displayed tremendous activity. Not only were the majority of the articles written by himself (the most important of them were republished by his sons in three vols. *Mukhtārāt*, 1919–1921 , he himself collected and published the articles of a biographical nature in 2 vols 1902–1923; 2nd ed. 1910; 3rd 1922), every year he wrote a new novel and a volume of a popular educational nature *Al-Hilāl* gradually became the most widely circulated Arabic periodical and Zaidān's name as a novelist and historian became known not only in Arabic speaking countries but throughout the Muslim east.

The majority (17) of his novels (22 in number) deal with the earlier history of Islām from the Arab conquest to the dynasty of the Mamlūks (xiiith cent) The scene of three others is laid in the xviiith–xixth centuries, one in the nineties in Egypt and in the period of the Turkish revolution. Several went through several (up to four) editions, almost all were translated into Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Ādhaibāidjānī, some into other Oriental and European languages (besides Thilo's translation cf. for example "La sœur du Khalife" with Claude Farrère's introduction, Paris 1912, and "Allah veuille", Paris 1924). The main value of these works lies in their popularising of history. Written in easy and fluent language, they afford pleasant and interesting reading To European literary taste they do not appeal greatly Their style of composition is somewhat old fashioned and sentimental

Of his numerous historical works by far the most important is his "History of Muslim Civilisation" (5 vols. 1902—1906) It is based on the well known European works by Sedillot, Kremer, Goldziher and others with many additions from Arabic sources and supplemented by the author's knowledge of the modern life of the east. For Muslim lands it was an achievement of the first rank and it was natural for the book to be translated into other languages (Persian, Turkish, Hindustani) (cf. Bouvat in *J A* , ser. x , vol xix., 1912, p 401—402) Even a European scholar can frequently find details which are not given elsewhere (cf. de Goeje, in *J A* , ser. x , vol. iii., 1904, p 356—359). The fourth volume was translated into English by D S. Margoliouth (*G. M. S.*, iv., Leyden 1907). A supplement to this work is his unfinished "History of the Arabs before Islām" (1908) which has all the merits and demerits of the larger work

No less important for the east was his last great work "History of Arabic Literature" (4 vols. 1911—1914, with index 1922; abbreviated edition

in one vol. 1924) This was the first work in Arabic, designed on European principles Basing his work on those of Brockelmann, Huart etc., Zaidān also used Egyptian collections of MSS and here and there produced new materials for European scholarship His use of the European sources is not always above criticism as was shown by the reviews by Shaikhō (*al-Mashrik*, xiv., 1911, p. 582—595; xv, 1912, p 597—610, xvi, 1913, p. 792—794) and P Anastase (*Lughat al-ʿArab*, i., 1912, p. 392—397; ii, 1912, p 52—62, 139—146, 205—209; iv., 1914, p. 82—90; cf. also M. Ḥ. Haikal, *Fī Arkāt al-Farāgh*, Cairo 1925, p. 221—247) The fourth volume is the most important for European scholarship, it gives a good survey of Arabic literature in the xixth century and with the corresponding works of Shaikhō and Tarrāzī is our only source for the study of this period.

Of his other works the following may be mentioned. "Science of Physiognomy", "Categories of Nations", Wonders of Nature" and the description of his journey to Europe (in *al-Hilāl*, reprinted separately 1923). His "Memoirs" which he left, and which to judge from the extracts published are very interesting, are shortly to be published by his sons, who are continuing the publication of *al-Hilāl*

Zaidān was not an original investigator yet he was of epoch-making significance for Arabic speaking countries, acquainted with European methods He made accessible many and varied subjects and showed that every Arab must take an interest not only in the advance of European technique and exact sciences but also in his history and literature. He was no revolutionary in the intellectual field, but of a very fine and noble character The sharp criticism, which his works frequently met, was for the most part superficial (cf e. g Amīn al-Madanī, *Nabsh al-Hadhayān min Taʾrīkh Djirdjī Zaidān*, Bombay 1307, or Yūsuf Tabshī, *al-Burhān fi ʾntikād Riwāyat ʿAdhrāʾ Kuraish*, Cairo 1900, and particularly Shiblī al-Nuʿmānī, *Intikād Kitāb Taʾrīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1330). Conservative Muslims could not forgive the fact that he, a Christian, wrote on specifically Muslim subjects, as was amply shown by the attacks on his being offered a professorship in the Université Egyptienne. The purists (like Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī) criticised his language and style in the most fault-finding spirit The first quarter of the xxth century has shown how great a part Zaidān played, his name will never be forgotten in the history of modern Arabic literature and society

Bibliography European accounts of Zaidān are not complete (e g Brockelmann, *G. A L*, ii. 483^a); the most important are those of Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London 1899, p 35—36, 72 and do, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, p. 586—588, Margoliouth, in *J. R A S*, xxxvi. (1904), 582—586, Desormeaux, in *R. M. M*, iv (1908), 838—845, H. A R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *B S.O S.*, iv. 759—760; G Kampffmeyer, *Index zur neueren arabischen Literatur*, in *M S O. S*, xxxi, sect. 2, 1928, p. 205. Cf. also L. Shaikhō, *Taʾrīkh al-Ādāb al-ʿarabīya fi ʾl-Rubʿ al-awwal min al-Karn al-ʿishrīn*, Bairūt 1926, p 71, J. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1929, p. 985—987 A general characterisation and biography based on personal relations with special reference to his novels is given by Ign. Kračkowsky in the article *Der historische Roman in der neueren arabischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1930 (= *W. I*, vol 12, p. 69—79); the Arabic biography with portrait in Ilyās Zakhūra, *Mirʾāt al-ʿAṣr fī Taʾrīkh wa-Rusūm akābir al-Riḏjāl bi-Maṣr*, Cairo 1897, p 457—464 and in the appendix to the fourth posthumous volume of his *History of Arabic Literature* (Cairo 1914, p. 323—326; a list of his works is also given there) The biography has been reprinted in an extended form (with five portraits) as an introduction to the first volume of his *Mukhtārāt* (Cairo 1919, p 7—16), cf also *al-Hilāl fī ʿarbaʿīn Sana* (Cairo 1932, p 9—40). His personality is undoubtedly worthy of a systematic monograph

(Ign Kratschkowsky)

al-ZAIDĪYA, the practical group of the Shīʿa, distinguished from the Ithnā ʿAsharīya [q v.] and the Sabʿīya [q v.] by the recognition of Zaid b. ʿAlī After the latter's death they took part in several ʿAlid risings but were not a united body. Writers on heresy distinguish eight schools among them from Abu 'l-Djārūd, who combined warlike activity with apotheosis of the imāms and belief in a Mahdī, to Salama b Kuhail whose Zaidism was watered down to a simple Shīʿa point of view It was the same as regards theology The Zaidīya only became a united community when ʿAlid claimants to the imāmate themselves took over the spiritual leadership As far as can be ascertained this was the work of two men 1. al-Hasan b Zaid [q v], founder about 250 (864) of a Zaidī state in the south of the Caspian Sea, and 2. al-Kāsim al-Rassī, Ibn Ibrāhīm Tabātabā b Ismāʿīl al-Dībādj b Ibrāhīm b al-Hasan b al-Hasan b ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib (d. 246 = 860). While the works of al-Hasan b. Zaid are only known indirectly from quotations, we possess some by al-Kāsim, who was however quite unsuccessful in the political sphere, although his name has only recently become better known in connection with his polemics against the Christians (Di Matteo, in *R S.O*, ix, 1921—1923, p. 301—364) and against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (M Guidi, *La lotta tra l'islām e il manicheismo*, Rome 1927) The school founded by al-Ḳāsim and developed by his successors, now the only surviving school, is Muʿtazilī in theology, in ethics anti-Murdjiʾite with a puritanical trait in its rejection of mysticism, indeed orders are forbidden in the modern Zaidī state In worship it has certain "sectarian" features in common with the other Shīʿīs the call to prayer "come to the best of works", the fivefold *takbīr* in the funeral service, rejection of the *mash ʿala ʾl-khuffain* (wiping the covered foot as a substitute for washing), of the impious leader at prayer and of the eating of the meat, killed by a non-Muslim In family law they prohibit mixed marriages, on the other hand they do not allow *mutʿa* [q v] As their opponents were almost entirely Muslims they observed in theory at least the regulations for dealing with *bughāt*, those who refused obedience to the imām; but as there was in addition the distinction Muʿtazilīs and Sunnīs, the Zaidīs often called themselves simply the believers in contrast to them, just as they called their wars *djihād* with the corresponding legal consequences. As a result of the scattered distribution of the original Zaidīs, we find the most

diverse views on legal questions, which were not fundamental for the sect as such. These are registered by later writers without the accusation of heresy in their simple delight in *ikhtilāf al-fikh*, and we find individual Zaidīs appearing with individual Sunnīs against other Zaidīs and other Sunnīs in changing combinations, so that the Zaidī *madhhab* in practice is a fifth alongside of the four The Zaidī Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAbd Allāh b. Miftāh gives a vivid picture of this in his *al-Muntazaʿ al-mukhtār min al-Ghaith al-midrār* (vol. i, Cairo 1328) In the present day Zaidī state there must of course be greater uniformity; this is brought about by the use of *al-Azhār fī Fikh al-Aʾimma al-aṭhār* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, ii. 187, 6, i) of Ahmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtadā (see below) and *al-Rawḍ al naḍīr* (see *Bibl*) as official text-books.

The essential demands on the imām are *a* Membership of the *Ahl al-Bait*, without any distinction between Hasanids and Husainids, i. e. no succession by inheritance, *b* ability to resort to the sword if necessary for for offence or defence so that neither a child nor a concealed Mahdī can be considered, *c* the necessary learning how seriously this is taken, is shown by the vast mass of writings of imāms at all times. As there could therefore be no dynastic tradition, and individual success was in the end the deciding factor, we have no series of imāms without a break, we find rather the possibility of "an age without an imām" recognised with a sense of the realities, while we also have the opposite "several imāms at one time", i e the frequent appearance of an anti-imām; if the latter can oust his predecessor, the former's deposal or abdication is recognised as legal; if there is a turn in the tide he may however come back. If the qualifications for the imāmate are not completely possessed, he cannot be recognised as full imām, we thus have imāms of war or of learning only. Leaders whose strength is only sufficient to keep alive the Zaidī claim are called *dāʿī*, *muhtasib*, *muktaṣid*, etc. The uncertainty as to who is really to be considered an imām is seen in the list of those among ʿAlid pretenders who have been chosen by the later Zaidīya as a state to preserve a connection with the original Shiʿa. In the first list preserved, that of the founder of the Zaidī kingdom in the Yaman, we have 1. ʿAlī, 2 al-Ḥasan and 3. al-Ḥusain, then 4 Zaid b. ʿAlī and his son 5 Yaḥyā, then the three brothers 6. Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [q v], 7 Ibrāhīm [q v], also 9 Yaḥyā who appeared in Dailam after fighting alongside 8. al-Husain b ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan; lastly 10 Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā who rebelled with Abu 'l-Sarāyā and 11 his brother, the already mentioned al-Kāsim al-Rassī Later lists add as many as 10 more names, among them the most interesting for the theory of the imāmate is Idrīs [q v], another brother of 6, 7 and 9, who, although he fulfilled the qualifications for an imām, founded a kingdom in the Maghrib which remained Sunnī.

The political ambitions of the Zaidīya have been realised in two places· On the Caspian Sea about 20 imāms and *dāʿī* appeared from al-Hasan b. Zaid down to about 520 (1126) at irregular intervals and sometimes also in opposition to one another The Zaidīs there afterwards became merged in the little sect of Nuktawīs. The founder of the Zaidī state in the Yaman was al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakk Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain, grandson of al-Ḳāsim al-Rassī. It has survived all the kingdoms of the Yaman although it has frequently been driven back into its starting point Ṣaʿda, for example at the beginning of the fourth (tenth) century on the death of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, son and second successor of al-Hādī, and in the course of this century only minor efforts at expansion could be made by sons and grandsons of this Aḥmad and also by collateral lines descended from al-Ḳāsim but not through al-Hādī; among the latter were the ʿAiyānī. One of these was the prolific writer the imām al-Mahdī al-Husain b al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim whose death in 404 (1013) in view of the hopeless outlook produced a schism at which a group which expected the Mahdī at the end of a millenium broke off About 447 (1055) al-Nāsir Abu 'l-Fatḥ b al-Husain fell in battle against the Sulaiḥids [q v], he was called al-Dailamī because his original sphere of activity had been among the Caspian Zaidīs He was a descendant of Zaid b ʿAlī, it is therefore inaccurate to describe the Yaman imāms as Rassids It was not till 533 (1138) that a successor to him appeared (till 566 = 1170) in al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b. Sulaimān of the family of al-Hādī, in addition to his military campaigns which took him as far as Nadjrān, he conducted a literary campaign against the theological heresy of the Mutarifis The disorder of the viith (xiiith) century is seen in the fact that al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Husain of the family of Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Muhammad b. al-Kāsim al-Rassī was murdered in 656 (1258) by his own people after being imām for ten years. Al-Mahdī Ibrāhim b. Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad had a rival imām in Yahyā b. Muhammad of a quite unknown Hasanid family of al-Sarādjī and he himself ended in the prison of the Rasūlid [q v] al-Muzaffar Yūsuf in Taʿizz while al-Mutawakkil al-Mutahhar b. Yahyā, again of al-Hādī's line (d. 699 = 1299), is famous as al-Muzallal bi 'l-Ghamāma, because a cloud enabled him to escape from the pursuing Rasūlid al-Muʾaiyad Dāwūd when he was on a dangerous retreat into Khawlān The succession in the imāmate to his son al-Mahdī Muhammad and his grandson al-Muṭahhar was interrupted by several strangers, for example al-Muʾaiyad Yahyā b Hamza, descendant of the "Twelver" Imām ʿAlī al-Ridā [q v], his writings filled "as many sheets of paper as there were days in his life". No less prolific as a writer was al-Mahdī Aḥmad b Yaḥyā b al-Murtaḍā (d. 836 = 1432), imām for several days only After several imāms had fought with one another and with the Tāhirids for Dhimār and Ṣanʿā', his grandson al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn had to retire for a time to Thulā before the invading generals of the Egyptian Mamlūks (in 933 = 1527) His son al-Mutahhar was temporarily able to regain all land lost as far as al-Tihāma. In the meanwhile Ottoman suzerainty had been established and his grandson ended in prison in Stambul, as did in 1004 (1595) al-Nāsir al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī of a different line from al-Hādī, after maintaining himself in al-Ahnūm for seven years as imām.

At the end of this year al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad, also of the house of al-Hādī, opened a new era in Zaidī history with his call to arms and fought successfully till his death in 1029 (1620), and in the reign of his son al-Muʾaiyad Muhammad (d 1054 = 1644) the Ottomans abandoned the Yaman (1045 = 1635). As a rule, the imāms since then have belonged to the family

of this al-Ḳāsim, although genuine Zaidī families which had once produced imāms, successfully came to the front again after centuries; there were however frequent domestic feuds in which the different Arab tribes were played off against one another. The death of al-Muʾaiyad Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b al-Ḳāsim (1097 = 1686) was for example attributed to poisoning by his nearest relatives. A state of order was restored under al-Mahdī ʿAbbās b al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusain (d. 1189 = 1775), Ṣanʿāʾ to this day bears witness to his activity as a builder. Although his son al-Manṣūr ʿAlī (d 1224 = 1809) in whose time the Wahhābīs penetrated into al-Tihāma, was incapable, his grandson al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad was able to restore order in Sanʿāʾ, although al-Tihāma passed to the Sharīfs of Mecca, he built a treasury and a library The latter's grandson al-Mansūr ʿAlī b al-Mahdī ʿAbd Allāh (from 1251 = 1835) is as unfavourably described even by the Zaidīs themselves as by C J. Cruttenden who calls him a drunkard (*J. R. G. S*, VIII., 1838, p. 284) His by no means incapable grandson Muhammad b Yaḥyā, threatened by an anti-imām, took the fatal step of summoning the Turks from al-Tihāma and they entered Ṣanʿāʾ in 1264 (1847) but were driven out by the people who had risen in rebellion Risings of the tribes and raids by the Ḳarmaṭians increased the general disorder Then three deposed imāms, originally enemies, joined against the imām al-Mutawakkil Muhsin b. Ahmad and on Safar 16, 1289 (April 25, 1812) played Sanʿāʾ again into the hands of the Turks. While Muḥsin's son Muḥammad wanted to be imām there with Turkish approval and in Turkish pay, the Husainid al-Hadī Sharaf al-Dīn Muhammad, a descendant of the above mentioned Yahyā b Hamza of the VIIIth (XIVth) century, maintained an independent imāmate in al-Ahnūm and Saʿda from 1296 to 1307 (1879—1890) Then al-Mansūr Muhammad b Yahyā Hamīd al-Dīn, starting from Saʿda and al-Ahnūm by much fighting and also diplomatic negotiations with the Turks, contended for the right of the Zaidīs in Yemen generally to live according to the Zaidī Sharīʿa His son al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā who succeeded on Rabīʿ I 20, 1322 (June 4, 1904) was still more vigorous. In obedience to his summons the tribes at once attacked the Turkish strongholds. Ṣanʿāʾ was surrendered in 1904 and could only be reconquered after a regular war. Yaḥyā did not take advantage of Turkey's difficulties after the war in Tripolis, but in Safar 1337 (Nov. 1918) he was able to occupy Ṣanʿāʾ. In 1341 (1923) he successfully resumed his fight for al-Tihāma with the Idrīsids of ʿAsīr This proximity to the protectorate of ʿAden involved the new king of the Yaman, Zaidī imām and *amīr al-muʾminīn*, in the wider sphere of international politics. His latest attempt at expansion is directed against the Ḳarmaṭians of Nadjrān just as one of his earliest victims was the *dāʿī* of the Ḳarmaṭians around Menākha This fighting makes the imāmate of the present Yahyā recall, as in many other points, even the true Zaidī tenor of his encyclicals (see in ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ, cf. *Bibl.*), that of the first Yaḥyā al-Hādī. He is reckoned — which may help to throw light on the theory of the imāmate — his descendant in the 26th generation, but counting partially recognised and anti-imāms about his 100th successor in office. Of his ancestors his father al-Manṣūr Muḥammad was an imām His grandfather Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn was a vizier and in 1293 (1876) was imprisoned by the Turks in Ṣanʿāʾ with many other scholars and notables. For ancestors of note we have to go back to the seventh, Muḥammad, and the eighth, al-Ḥusain, both learned commentators on legal works; it is not till the ninth that we have another imām, al-Mansūr al-Kāsim (d. 1029 = 1620) who fought the Turks. Going further back still we find in the VIIth (XIIIth) century, the sixteenth ancestor al-Husain al-Asghar, who had however only the rank of emīr and as imāms, whose title was however not undisputed, in the fourth (tenth) century the 22nd ancestor al-Kāsim, the 23rd *dāʿī* Yūsuf and the 24th Yaḥyā, the 25th was the full imām al-Nāsir Ahmad and the 26th al-Hādī Yahyā himself.

Bibliography. On the original sources cf. *Isl*, I (1910), p. 354—368 and II. (1911), p 49—78, since then there has been printed al-Husain b Aḥmad al-Ḥaimī al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Rawḍ al-nadīr*, a commentary with glosses on *Madjmūʿ al-Fiḳh al-kabīr* (4 vol, Cairo 1347—1349) Of the collections, numbering many hundreds, of Zaidī manuscripts in Europe, a catalogue of MSS in Vienna has not yet appeared and that of those in Milan by E. Griffini (in *R. S O*, from vol. II, 1808) has not been finished — Cf. also the articles ṢANʿĀʾ, UṬRŪSH, AL-MANṢŪR BI 'LLĀH AL-ḲĀSIM (two imāms), AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AHMAD (three imāms), ZAID B ʿALĪ and the references there given. especially on the latter see C. van Arendonk and E. Griffini; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyīn*, ed Ritter, index, Shahrastānī, ed Cureton, p 115—121; Ibn Hazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-Milal*, Cairo 1325, IV. 179–188, and thereon J. Friedländer, in *J. A. O. S*, XXVIII. (1907), p 1—80 and XXIX (1909), p 1—183; R Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, do, *Kultus der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, Amīn al-Raihānī *Mulūk al-ʿArab*, Bairūt 1924, p. 69–196, M Guidi, *Gli scrittori Zayditi e l'esegesi coranica Muʿtazilita*, Rome 1925, A S Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford 1925, ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ b Yahyā al-Wāsiʿī al-Yamānī (sic), *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1346; Muhammad b Muhammad b. Yahyā Zubāra al-Hasanī al-Yamanī (sic) al-Ṣanʿānī, *Nail al-Waṭar min Tarādjim Riḍjāl al-Yaman fi 'l-Ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar*, Cairo 1348.

(R STROTHMANN)

ZAILAʿ, a port on the African coast o the Gulf of ʿAden It lies on a narrow tongue of land, which is cut off from the mainland at high water and is the only harbour of importance in British Somaliland. Formerly an important trading centre and one of the largest ports of export for the slave trade with Arabia, the town now only possesses modest remnants of buildings of the middle of the XIVth century like the tomb of Shēkh Ibrāhīm, and also the fort erected to the west of it by the Indian government, the palace of Sharmakai ʿAlī of which only the ground-floor and the first story survive and a mosque. Alongside of the ruins of the old Arab houses, of which only one or two are habitable, stand hundreds of rectangular huts of straw (*ʿarīsh*). The town covers an area of 40—50 acres; the the part built of stone covers barely a fifth of this. The town was formerly surrounded by a stone wall; its ruins were used to build the quay of the harbour which can only be approached by

Arab sailing ships at high water. At the entrance to the harbour is the customhouse and the guard-house as well as the old residency, southeast of this was a mission station which later fell into ruins. Numerous tombs of shēkhs surround the town, among which that of Shēkh Dīnī b. Saᶜd al-Dīn is held in special veneration. The population reveals a considerable mixture of Hamitic and Semitic blood and is estimated at 7,000. The coral reefs around Zailaᶜ which contain many pearl oysters, give the inhabitants a remunerative industry Merchants of Zailaᶜ finance the pearl fishers who come from Zailaᶜ and the opposite Arabian coast. The yield is quite considerable Until the rise of Djibūtī about 35 miles N. W. of Zailaᶜ, which is now connected by railway with Harar, Zailaᶜ was the port of export of Abyssinian coffee, but its trade has now declined considerably The main articles of export are the smaller domestic animals and hides, which go mainly to the Yaman.

In ancient times Analites occupied the site of Zailaᶜ, it attained increasing importance after the foundation of the Axumite kingdom and was in direct relations with India The Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī describe Zailaᶜ as the port of Abyssinia for trade with the Yaman and Ḥidjāz Goat-skins were the chief exports which the Yaman market absorbed in great quantities with the tremendous development of the leather industry under Persian rule

When Ibn Battūṭa visited the town, it was considered the metropolis of the kingdom of ᶜAdal, at the beginning of the xvith century, it fell into the hands of the Turks, who however were defeated in 1516 by the Portuguese, who burned the town About 1525 it attained a new importance under Muhammad Grañ [q v.], ruler of ᶜAdal, then passed into dependence on the sherifs of Mukhā In 1848, it passed to ᶜAlī Sharmakai who paid tribute to the governor of Mukhā. On his death it went to Abukr Muḥammad Pasha, was conquered by Egyptian troops in 1870 and visited by General Gordon in 1878. The town was then very prosperous and controlled the whole trade with the interior In 1884 the Egyptian troops vacated the town and since 1885 it has been an English possession first under the India Office, then the Foreign Office and now under the Colonial Office.

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(A GROHMANN)

ZAIN AL-ᶜĀBIDĪN. [See ᶜALI B. AL-ḤUSAIN, AL-TŪNISĪ.]

ZAIN AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAWĀFĪ, founder of an order called after him Zainīya, which traced itself to Djunaid, was born in 757 (1356) at Khawāf (between Bushandj and Zuzan) in Khurāsān, and was buried in 838 (1435) at the village Mālīn (two parasangs from Herāt), whence his remains were transferred to Darwīshābād, and thence to the *ᶜIdgāh* of Herāt, where a mosque was built over them. He obtained authorization (*iḏāsa*) in Egypt from Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, N⁰ 505), and returned to Central Asia, but visited Egypt again, whence he sent in 822 (1419) a gravestone for Khwādja Muḥammad Pārsā, who died in Madīna, and from one of whose letters our authorities derive some of their information about him. In Egypt he made a disciple of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Amīr al-Marzifūnī, who accompanied him to his home; in Jerusalem of ᶜAbd al-Laṭif b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maḳdisī, and one ᶜAbd al-Muᶜtī, a Maghribī. A fourth disciple was Khwādja Saᶜd al-Dīn of Kashghar, the most celebrated native of that place (d. 860 = 1456; *Relation de l'Ambassade au Kharezm*, transl C. Schefer, 1879, p. 164). Zain al-Dīn was the author of several works. *Risālat al-Waṣāyā al-Ḳudsīya*, composed in Jerusalem, *al-Awrād al-Zainīya*, and a treatise on asceticism. A grandson of his, also called Zain al-Dīn, was a courtier of Bābur, and translated his *Memoirs* into Persian

Bibliography Nafaḥāt al-Uns, N⁰. 506; *al-Shaḳāᵓiḳ al-Nuᶜmānīya*, transl. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p 38—41; Brockelmann, *G. A. L*, ii 206.

(D. S MARGOLIOUTH)

ZAINAB. [See ALMORAVIDS.]

ZAINAB BINT **DJAḤSH** B RIᶜĀB, AL-ASADĪYA, one of Muhammad's wives, was the daughter of Umaima bint ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib; her *kunya* was Umm al-Ḥakam and her name had been Barra. One of the first emigrants to Madīna, she was a virgin (some traditions say a widow) when the Prophet gave her in marriage to his freedman and adopted son Zaid b Ḥāritha

In 4 A.H. Muḥammad, calling on Zaid in his home, saw Zainab alone and fell in love with her. Zaid divorced her in order that the Prophet might marry her, the latter's scruples were set at rest by the revelation of Ḳurᵓān xxxiii 36—39 Zainab received a dowry of 400 dirhams She was proud of the circumstances of her marriage, and used to say that Muḥammad's other wives had been given to him by their fathers and brothers, while her union had been brought about by special divine revelation. The *āyat al-ḥiḏāb* (xxxiii. 53) is said to have been revealed on the occasion of Zainab's wedding feast, and Ḳurᵓān lxvi. 1 is also referred by some to Zainab and to the other wives' envy of her.

Zainab was a friend of ᶜĀᵓisha's, and, next to her, Muhammad's favorite. She accompanied him on the expedition against Khaibar. Her charity is celebrated, Muḥammad's prediction "the longest-handed of my wives shall be the first to join me in paradise" alludes to this She had received 12,000 dirhams from ᶜOmar in 20 A H, but left no money, having given all to the poor.

Zainab was about 35 on her marriage to Muḥammad, and died at about 50, in 20 or 21 A.H.

The episode of the Prophet's infatuation with his adopted son's wife was made much of by Christian propaganda (see Marracci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, p. 562); modern Muslim biographers and commentators of the Ḳurᵓān have tried to present the episode in a seemlier light, e. g Muḥammad ᶜAbduh in *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa wa-Mushkilāt al-Ḳurᵓān*, Cairo 1330, in the chapter entitled *Tawḍīḥ Masᵓalat Zaid wa Zainab*, and Mawlānā Muḥammad ᶜAlī in his biography *Muḥammad the Prophet*, Lahore 1924, p. 249—250.

Bibliography: Ibn Saᶜd, ed. Sachau, viii. 71—82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, I A. H.,

§ 15, N°. 25; 5 A. H., § 20—27, 8 A. H., § 15, N°. 2; 10 A. H., § 139, N°. 8; 20 A. H. § 267, 298, 400—406, Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed Wüstenfeld, p. 1004; a literary portrait· Enrico Ruta, *Visioni d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, Milan 1924, p 35—45. *Zaınab* (V. VACCA)

ZAINAB BINT **KHUZAIMA** B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-HILĀLIYA, one of Muhammad's wives, had borne the name of Umm al-Masākīn since the Djāhilīya Her first husband, al-Tufail b al-Ḥārith, had divorced her; the second, ʿUbaida b. al-Ḥārith, was killed at Badr Muḥammad married her in Ramaḍān 4 A H. and gave her a dowry of 400 dirhams; she died 2 or 8 months later, the first of his Madīnese wives to die before him, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baḳīʿ.

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, VIII 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, 4 A. H, § 16 and § 22, al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, I 1775—1776; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, V 466—467 (V VACCA)

ZAINAB BINI **MUḤAMMAD**, one of the Prophet's daughters, said to have been the eldest, was married before her father's mission to her maternal cousin Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī b. al-Rabīʿ.

She was in al-Ṭā'if at the time of Muhammad's *hidjra*, and did not follow him to Madīna, her husband, still a pagan, was taken prisoner at Badr. Zainab sent a necklace which had belonged to Khadīdja to ransom him, and Muḥammad freed him on condition that Zainab should come to Madīna On her way thither she was maltreated by al-Ḥabbār b. al-Aswad and had a fall which caused her to miscarry (some authors place this accident in 8 A. H and attribute her death to it)

Her husband was taken prisoner a second time in 6 A. H in the expedition of al-ʿIs, and freed by his wife's intercession He became a Muslim in 7 and was reunited to his wife by a second marriage

Zainab died in Madīna in 8 A H She had two children, ʿAlī who died in infancy, and Umāma, married to ʿAlī b Abī Ṭālib after Fāṭima's death

Bibliography Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, VIII. 20—24, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Introd., § 160, N° 1, § 349, N° 1, 2 A H, § 82, 6 A H, § 9, 7 A H, § 3, 8 A H, § 80, 81, 201, al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, III 2303—2307, H Lammens, *Fatimah et les filles de Mahomet*, *passim.* (V VACCA)

AL-**ZAINABĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ B TIRĀD B MUḤAMMAD, a vizier of the ʿAbbāsids. He and his family had the name Zainabī because they were descended from Zainab bint Sulaimān b. ʿAlī b ʿAbd Allāh b al-ʿAbbās, the cousin of the two first ʿAbbāsids, who was held in great honour among the ʿAbbāsids In Radjab 453 (July—Aug 1061) his father Tirād was appointed chief inspector (*nakīb al-nukabā'*) of the ʿAbbāsid sharīfs and after his death in Shawwāl 491 (Sept. 1098), ʿAlī al-Zainabī inherited this office with which was combined in 517 (1123—1124) that of the ʿAlid chief inspectorate (*nikābat al-ʿalawīyīn*). After the dismissal of the vizier Djalāl al-Dīn b. Sadaḳa in Djumādā I 516 (July—Aug. 1122), al-Zainabī administered the vizierate for some months but was not actually appointed vizier. It was not till Rabīʿ II, 523 (April 1129) that the caliph al-Mustarshid gave him this office, in 526 (1131—1132) however, al-Zainabī was dismissed and Anūsharwān b Khālid appointed in his place. In the meanwhile al-Mustarshid was assassinated and his son al-Rāshid succeeded him (529 = 1135). But the very next year the latter was declared unfit to rule by an official *fatwā* of a number of theologians and legists at the instigation of al-Zainabī and when the Saldjūḳ Sultān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad applied to al-Zainabī to ask who was best fitted to be caliph he proposed al-Rāshid's uncle Muhammad b al-Mustaẓhir, and the latter was proclaimed commander of the faithful under the name of al-Muḳtafī, he then made al-Zainabī his vizier But the new caliph and his vizier quarrelled after a time. The latter therefore went to the court of Sultān Masʿūd with whom he was on particularly good terms and although the caliph summoned him to return and resume his official duties, he refused to do so and was therefore dismissed in 534 (1139—1140) Through the intervention of Sultān Masʿūd however, a reconciliation took place and in 536 (1141—1142) al-Zainabī was allowed to return to Baghdād. The caliph however had no further use for him and in Ramaḍān 538 (March—April 1144) al-Zainabī died in great poverty

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ZAITŪN, a town in the southeast of Asia Minor. It is the chief town in a ḳazā of the wilāyet (formerly sandjaḳ) of Maraʿash and is (or was before the recent persecutions) inhabited for the most part by Armenians, who call it Zethun or Ulnia, usually however simply Kegh ("village") The name Ulni (Ulnia) is also used for the whole of the mountainous country on the Djaiḥān between Karatūth (S W. of Albistān) and Bertis Whether Ulnia was originally the name of Zaitūn or Furnus to the S. W of it, in the neighbourhood of which is mentioned a monastery of the martyr Stephen of Ulni, is doubtful. An Aplgharip, i e ʿAbd al-Ḳarīb, of Furnos is mentioned at the beginning of the reign of Leon I of Little Armenia (1129–1137) (*Rec Hist Croix*, *Doc Arm*, I 636, III. 636) On the other hand, the town of Zaitūn is first mentioned after the capture of the last Rupenid (1375) According to local tradition, the inhabitants came from the fortress of Ani or Anē-dzor, which probably lay in the Cilician plain. The earliest mention of the town which Alishan could find is in 1526 (Bishop Narses of Zethun; *Sissouan*, p 199, 201). Paul of Aleppo calls Zaitūn in 1699 "the well-known town of the Armenians" The inhabitants, a brave, liberty-loving, mountain people, were for long (till about 1864) able to maintain a certain independence. A rising broke out in 1819 as a protest against the heavy taxes imposed by the Porte The people of Zaitūn resisted Ibrāhīm Pasha on behalf of the Turks. The troubles of 1862 lasted till 1872 and broke out again in 1878 and 1884. In the summer of 1876 the residence of the governor was burned down, it was rebuilt in 1877. The conflagrations of Sept. 22, 1884 and July 26, 1887 were much worse and almost the whole of the town was destroyed. New unrest was caused by the outbreak of smallpox, from which 400 children in Zaitūn died in 1890, its spread was ascribed to the carelessness of the Turkish doctor. The worst was the rising in 1895—

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

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1896 following the general persecution of Armenians in Turkey. The governor of Mar'ash besieged the little town in which 15,000 fugitives from the surrounding country had taken refuge; completely exhausted by bombardments, epidemics and lack of munitions, the defenders were only able to secure peace and an amnesty from the Porte, through the intervention of the European Powers notably France, they had to surrender their arms and were granted government by a Christian *kā'im-makām*

The persecutions of Armenians during and after the world war have doubtless had considerable effect in Zaitūn also; part of the Armenian population must have been deported and perished on the way and others have migrated to Syria.

Zaitūn lies in terraces on the slopes of a steep hill; it has narrow, zigzag streets. On the top of the hill is the Turkish fort which commands the surrounding country. The town consists of four quarters. Yenidunian, Surēnian, Gharghalar and Boz Bayır West of Zaitūn is the hill called Gankrod (Kangrot "artichoke hill", perhaps in *Z. D. M. G.*, xi 188 Darb al-Kankarūt should be read for -rūn) About 1880 the number of inhabitants of Zaitūn and the country round was estimated at 17,000, that of the whole hill country at nearly 36,000 (including 27,500 Armenians and 8,300 Turks). The "Zaitūnlis" were mainly engaged in exploiting the iron-mines of Bairūt (Barīd) Dāgh to the north of the town and in the manufacture of arms, while the women cultivated silkworms (according to Léon Paul who stayed there from June 27—29, 1864) The botanist Haussknecht studied the flora of the Barīd Dūgh in 1865, where he found over 200 varieties, his fine collection he sent to Edmond Boissier who published it in his *Flora Orientalis* (Geneva and Basle 1866—1884)

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AL-ZAIYĀNĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B AḤMAD B ʿALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM, Moroccan statesman and historian of the xviiith century. Al-Zaiyānī, a member of the great Berber tribe of the Zaiyān in Central Morocco, was born in Fās in 1147 (1734—1735). He received his education in this city At the age of 23, he accompanied his parents on the pilgrimage to Mecca and after a exciting journey, coming as well as going, which lasted over two years, he returned to Fās, where he obtained a position as secretary to the *makhzen* [q. v.] of sulṭān Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. His ability, his knowledge of Berber dialects and the course of events rapidly brought him to the front; having played an active part in the suppression of a rising against the tribe of the Ait Amālū, he gained the confidence of his ruler and was entrusted with negotiations with the various unsubdued Berber elements of the empire. We now find him travelling up and down Morocco incessantly and making several journeys to distant Tāfilālt In 1200 (1786) al-Zaiyānī was charged by the sultān Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh with a mission to the sulṭān of Constantinople ʿAbd al-Hamīd [cf. i., p 39]. He reached the Ottoman capital after many vicissitudes and spent over three months there, which enabled him to write on his return a very full description of it. On his return after carrying out several confidential missions, he was appointed governor of Sidjilmāsa [q. v.], where he remained till the death of sulṭān Muhammad b ʿAbd Allāh in 1204 (1790)

The sultān's successor, his son al-Yazīd, put an end to the political career of al-Zaiyānī whom he hated It was only by a miracle that the latter escaped death when al-Yazid in 1206 (1792) himself succumbed to a wound received in a fight against the pretender Hishām Al-Zaiyānī, at the time a prisoner in Rabāt, was set free and immediately took an active part in the proclamation at Meknes of another son of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh as sultān, Mawlāi Sulaimān (Slimān). The latter gave him the office of governor (*ʿāmil*) of the district of the town of Udjda (q v., Ar. Ūdjda) but on taking up his post, al-Zaiyānī was attacked and defeated by the people he had been sent to govern. This misfortune gave him a distaste for public life and he retired to Tlemsen, where he spent 18 months in studious seclusion, which only ended when he decided to make once more the journey to Constantinople, this time in a private capacity and to perform the pilgrimage for a second time. On his return in 1210 (1795—1796), he was summoned by sulṭān Mawlāi Sulaimān and returned to Fās. In spite of his great age, he was now employed on a number of important missions and received the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratain*, as the head of the sovereign's *makhzen*. He remained in office for several years, then was dismissed and died at Fās in 1249 (1833) at the age of 99. He was buried in the *zāwiya* [q. v.] of the brotherhood of the Nāṣirīya in the al-Siyādj quarter.

Famous in Morocco as a statesman, al-Zaiyānī was no less celebrated as a writer. In the course of his stirring life, he found time to write some fifteen books, almost all on history and geography. The first in date of these works was a general history of Islām entitled *al-Turdjumān al-mughrib ʿan Duwal al-Mashrik wa 'l-Maghrib*, in which he paid most attention to the Sharīfian dynasties of Morocco and which he later continued, keeping pace with events down to the year 1228 (1813). The part of the *Turdjumān* relating to the Saʿdian dynasty is still unpublished; on the other hand, that relating to the ʿAlids of Morocco

was published and translated into French in 1886 by O. Houdas under the title *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812* (*P E L O V*, 2nd series, vol. xviii) It is a narrative, in parts a résumé, of events in Morocco from the foundation of the ʿAlid dynasty to the early years of the xixth century. A more detailed version of this part of the *Turǧumān*, in which he dealt specially with events in which he had himself played a part or of which he had been a witness was later prepared by al-Zaiyānī, and he gave it two different titles *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī Dawlat Awlād Mawlāya ʿAlī al-Šarīf*, and *al-Rawḍa al-sulaimānīya fī Ḏhikr Mulūk al-Dawla al-ismāʿīlīya wa-man takaddamaha min al-Duwal al-islāmīya*. — Another important work by al-Zaiyānī was a very full account of his various journeys to which he added all kinds of digressions, literary, historical and biographical, and gave it the title of *al-Turǧumāna al-kubrā allatī ǧamaʿat Aḫbār Mudun al-ʿĀlam barran wa-baḥran*. This book which is of the nature of both *riḥla* and *fahrasa* is also a very curious geographical treatise, with maps (e g. a map of the seas, which is reproduced in my *Historiens des Chorfa*, between p 188 and 189) All these works of al-Zaiyānī are to be found in manuscript in Morocco in various private libraries. A complete list is given, *ibid*, p 167—168.

Al-Zaiyānī's work is the principal source we possess, with the recent *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā* of al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [cf. the article AL-SIʿĀWĪ], for the history of the ʿAlid dynasty of Morocco It is full of valuable details and deserves serious study. It gives throughout an impression of accuracy and precision in historical as well as topographical matters Information is given about innovations and social reforms and about the monumental history of the towns of Morocco Al-Zaiyānī also shows a very remarkable acquaintance with events in Europe. Finally all that he tells us about what he saw on his journeys to Constantinople is worth publishing in full.

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ZĀKĀNĪ ʿUBAID. [See ʿUBAID ZĀKĀNĪ]

ZAKARĪYĀ', the father of John the Baptist, is reckoned in the Ḳur'ān (vi. 65) along with John, Jesus and Elias among the righteous Muḥammad gives the substance of Luke i. 5—25 as follows. Zakarīyā guards the Virgin Mary in the niche (*miḥrāb*) and always finds fresh fruits there. He prays to God, angels announce to him that a son will be born to him, Yahyā, a name never previously given to anyone, a pious man, a prophet, Yaʿḳūb's heir, pleasing to God. Zakarīyā thinks he is too old As a sign to him he is struck dumb for three days (Sūra iii. 32, 36 xix 1—15, xxi. 89—90)

Later legend expands the Gospel story and says that Gabriel was the announcer (Luke i. 19) and that Zakāriyā was struck dumb as a punishment for his doubts (i 20). It elaborates the details as follows: 19 people anxious to take charge of Maryam write their names each on a reed, these are thrown into the pool of Siloam and the reed with Zakāriyā's name comes to the top. Zakārīyā grows old and resigns his office of custodian which Kalamuslos gives to Joseph the carpenter (Thaʿlabī p 236) In Mary's niche there is winter fruit in summer and summer fruit in winter, this encourages Zakāriyā to pray that his aged body also may be fruitful out of season (Thaʿlabī, p. 237)

Muslim legend makes Zakāriyā as a prophet die the death of a martyr. After Yaḥyā's death he escapes into a tree which opens for him But the hem of his cloak remains outside the tree Iblīs betrays him, the tree is sawn down and with it Zakāriya (Thaʿlabī, p 240, Ibn al-Aṯīr p 120) This is modelled on the Haggada and the martyrdom of Isaiah (Pal *Sanhedrin*, x. 28c, Bab *Sanhedrin*, 101a, Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, ii 123 Isaiah, Djemshīd, Zakāriyā)

Muslim legend seems to identify the Zakāriyā of the Gospel with the prophet Zachariah of whom the Haggada records that his blood boiled until Nebuchadnezzar's general Nebuzaradan came. The latter sought to calm it with the blood of the sacrificed victim and with the best of Israel, but in vain Only his appeal calms it Muslim legend tells this of the blood of Yahyā b. Zakāriyā

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(BERNHARD HELLER)

ZAKĀT (A), the alms-tax, one of the principal obligations of Islām. By this the law means a tax, which is levied on definite forms of property and is distributed to eight categories of persons Muslim scholars explain the word from Arabic as meaning "purity" or "increase" In reality it was borrowed in a much wider sense by Muhammad from Jewish usage (Hebrew-Aramaic *zākūt*). In the east among the religiously inclined, the giving away of worldly possessions was regarded as a particularly pious act, the possession of earthly riches on the other hand almost as an obstacle to salvation; the same word that denoted virtue and righteousness in general could therefore also be used for benevolence and charitable gifts. Muhammad, who had become acquainted with this form of piety as one of the marks of the religion of revelation, from the first laid stress on the practice of benevolence as one of the chief virtues of the true believer; cf Sūra xiii 22; xxxv. 26 "(those who) of what we have given them spend out secretly and openly" (many similar passages), Sūra lxx. 24 *sq*.. "those who acknowledge that the beggar and the needy have a determined claim on their possessions"; also

Sūra lxxvi. 8 *sq.* (all of the Meccan period). Muḥammad at any rate already uses the word zakāt in the Meccan period along with several derivatives of the stem *zakā* "to be pure", which to the Arab mind were related to it. Even the latter have in the Ḳur'ān almost exclusively the meaning "to be pious", which is not pure Arabic, but borrowed from the Hebrew. The term zakāt means not only virtue in general but also with an almost imperceptible transition of meaning (cf Sūra lxxxvii 14; xxiii 4; xcii. 18) giving (e. g Sūra xix 32, 56) and the pious gift (e g Sūra vii. 155; xxi 73; xxx 38; xxxi. 3, xli 6) During the whole Meccan period, in which Muhammad had only a few, but these enthusiastic, followers any regulation of private charity was unnecessary and indeed impossible The Muslim view also makes the zakāt as a legal obligation first be introduced in Medīna, but varies, as regards the date, between the year 2 and the year 9, the earlier general prescriptions are regarded as thereby abrogated The uncertainty regarding date weakens the positive statements of this tradition, the following is the idea we get, mainly from the Kur'ān, of the further development of the zakāt Charity, sometimes referred in general terms and sometimes by the word zakāt (both in turn e. g Sūra ii. 263—281), continues to be one of the chief virtues of the believer, and must be based on a corresponding frame of mind In this word the general meaning gradually falls into the background to be replaced by that of gift *Ṣadaka* [q v] occurs as practically synonymous with zakāt. Muhammad must have become more closely acquainted with it from the Jews in Medīna In this town altered conditions soon influenced the nature of the zakāt, the poor believers who had migrated from Mecca had to be supported and charity increased as accessions took place from motives no longer purely religious On the other hand, the Prophet was now able to introduce a kind of organisation for the reception and distribution of pious gifts, as laid down in Sūra ix 60, but at first no change was made in the character of the zakāt as an individual offering, in spite of the obligatory character of certain ṣadaka's (in Sūra ii 172 both kinds of gifts are mentioned together). Finally Muhammad used the yield of these collections not to support the needy only but also, and if necessary preferably, for his military enterprises and other political purposes The raising of the considerable sums necessary for this caused great difficulties, therefore we have repeated admonitions in the Ḳur'ān to give "for Allāh's purposes", supported by promises and threats of a religious nature and accompanied by complaints about the insufficient contributions The use made by the Prophet of the voluntary offerings aroused the criticism of the believers; and there was a fierce dispute, when Muḥammad, after the surrender of Mecca, endeavoured to reconcile prominent Ḳuraishīs with the new order of things by gifts from the zakāt fund The discontent had to be appeased by a special revelation (Sūra ix. 58—60): "Some of them make reproaches to thee on account of the ṣadaḳa's; if they receive anything of them, they are satisfied, but if they receive nothing, they murmur ... The ṣadaḳa's are for the poor, the needy, their collectors, those whose hearts are to be conciliated, for slaves, debtors and for Allāh's purposes and for the traveller, as a duty prescribed by Allāh". The passage became the basis for the later laws about the distribution of the zakāt. The collectors here mentioned had to receive the zakāt of the Beduin tribes who had adopted Islam; for the latter the zakāt from the first was hardly anything but an obligatory impost, the amount of which was usually fixed definitely in the agreements made with the Prophet; the reluctance of many Beduins to pay it is fought in Sūra ix 99 *sq.* The transformation of the zakāt into a state treasury, now beginning. was limited by Muhammad to the irreducible minimum, essential elements of the later regulation are unknown to the Kur'ān and a part of the traditions. The Kur'ān answers the question of the believers as to what they should give without any limitations "the superfluity" (Sūra ii. 217), and a further revelation of the last year of the Prophet's life threatens with the punishment of hell "those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend it for Allāh's purposes" (Sūra ix. 34 *sq.*). Tradition also ascribes to the Prophet utterances which imply no limitation to the obligation of zakāt; among the Companions of the Prophet, Abū Dharr is held to have championed the view that one should only keep as much property as one needs ʿAlī is said to have fixed the maximum value of property allowed at 4,000 dirhams, and the opinion is even ascribed to so late an authority as Mālik b. Anas that all wealth is forbidden (*ḥarām*) The Ḳur'ān (e g Sūra ii 211) and Tradition repeatedly describe as recipients of the zakāt parents, relatives, orphans poor, travellers, beggars and slaves, but according to Tradition, a zakāt given to the rich, thieves and prostitutes can also be meritorious, since it is the mere fact of giving which is the first consideration The nature of the objects liable to zakāt is not further defined in the Ḳur'ān Tradition knows of cases of paying zakāt, which cannot be fitted into the later system In any case, the character of zakāt in the time of the Prophet was still vague and it did not represent any of the taxes demanded by religion After Muhammad's death many Beduin tribes therefore refused to continue to pay zakā as they considered their agreements cancelled by the death of the Prophet, and many believers among them ʿOmar himself, were inclined to agree with this Only the energy of Abū Bakr made the zakāt as a regular tax a permanent institution which through the establishment of a state treasury contributed greatly to the expansion of Muslim power. Ardent believers continued as before to regard it as their right to bestow their zakāt as they thought fit, but very soon the developmen and centralisation of the state made this impossible in practice When the obligations of a Muslim had been definitely laid down the zakāt was established as a religious tax and regulated in all its details; the views put forward on this occasion have left their effect in Tradition In this connection may be mentioned the detailed regulation of zakāt, which is usually ascribed to Abū Bakr sometimes to the Prophet or to ʿOmar or ʿAlī.

According to the Shāfiʿī school, the main regulations of the zakāt laws are as follows. Only Muslims pay zakāt (according to the Hanafīs only those who have attained years of discretion and are in full possession of their faculties) and on the following kinds of property: 1. fruits of the field, which are planted for food, 2. fruits, grape and dates being especially mentioned in Tradition 3. cattle, i. e. camels, oxen and smaller domesti

animals (according to the Hanafīs also horses); 4. gold and silver, 5. merchandise. On the two first classes the zakāt is to be paid at once at the harvest, on the last three after one year's uninterrupted possession; a condition for liability to zakāt is the possession of a certain minimum (*niṣāb*) On the first and second class the zakāt is 10% (when artificial irrigation is used 5%), the *niṣāb* 5 camel-loads (*wasḳ*) There are complicated rules for the third category, which are based mainly on Abū Bakr's zakāt ordinance and take into consideration not only the number but also the kind of animals, the *niṣāb* is 5 camels, or 20 cattle, or 40 smaller animals; the animals are only liable to zakāt if they have grazed freely during the whole year and not been used for any work. The zakāt on the fourth and fifth category is $2^1/_2$%, the *niṣāb* for precious metals is calculated according to the weight and amounts for gold to 20 *miṯḳāls* (or *dīnārs* = c 84 grammes = 1,320 grains), for silver seven times this, 200 dirhams (for gold and silver ornaments the commercial value is the deciding factor), the value of merchandise must be estimated at the end of the year in gold and silver, in this case also there is no liability to zakāt if the precious metal or merchandise has not been kept for a full year unused "as treasure" Lastly the surrender of precious metals obtained from mines as well as of treasure trove is regarded by the best authorities as zakāt (cf F F Schmidt, *Die occupatio im islamischen Recht*, in *Isl*, i., sect iv. and v) It is permitted to hand the zakat direct to the persons who have claims to it, it is however preferable to hand it to the Muslim authorities for regulated distribution If the zakāt is collected by the government, one is bound to pay it to the collector (*ʿāmil*) even if the character of the government is no guarantee of a proper distribution (according to some, especially Hanafī scholars, in this case to satisfy one's conscience, the zakāt should be collected a second time and distributed direct). The right of the government to demand the zakāt is however limited to the so-called *ẓāhir* possessions, i e the visible articles of the first three categories, in the case of which the *ʿāmil* can fix the amount of the zakāt from his own observation, the so-called *bāṭin* properties on the other hand, i. e the hidden articles of the two last categories, are expressly withdrawn from this control and the zakāt is left entirely to the conscience of the individual — The yield of the zakat is destined only for the eight classes mentioned in Sūra ix 60 (excluding the family of the Prophet, in contrast to the *ghanīma* and *faʾ*), and after deducting a fixed salary for the collectors is to be distributed in equal parts to the other seven categories so far as they exist in the country (so according to the Shāfiʿīs, while according to the other schools various necessities may be considered) The distinction that is made between "poor" and "needy" is quite an arbitrary one, at any rate, the legists usually interpret the definition in such a way that they themselves belong to one of these classes Whether after the time of the Prophet there were still persons "whose hearts have to be conciliated" is disputed among the schools. By the slaves who have a claim to a share in the zakāt are understood (except by the Mālikīs) such as have concluded a contract to purchase their liberty (*mukātaba*), by debtors (with the Shāfiʿīs) especially such as have taken upon themselves to wipe out a debt for God's sake (The part set aside "for Allāh's purposes" is to be devoted to the fighters for the faith who voluntarily take part in the *ǧihād* without belonging to the regular troops These categories have been drawn up as a result of a schematic interpretation of the passage in the Kurʾān — The artifices (*ḥiyal*) to avoid payment of zakāt are according to the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs invalid, according to the Hanafīs and Shāfiʿīs sinful but valid.

Actual practice differed considerably from the theory of zakāt in the different Muslim countries. The high imposts and taxes (*mukūs*) not foreseen by the Sharīʿa made the collection of the zakāt usually difficult or impossible so that it, particularly on *bāṭin* property, was either not paid at all or not to the prescribed extent Frequently its collection led to extortion and other abuses. Nor was the yield in the majority of cases applied according to the law, the collectors themselves or the ḳādis kept the larger portion. Sometimes the zakāt on the fruits of the field under the name of "tithe" (*ʿušr*; q v) became a purely secular tax. Nevertheless the legal obligation to pay zakāt is everywhere recognised and where the peasant is not overburdened with other taxes, he pays it at least on *ẓāhir* property as far as circumstances permit, although with many abuses in details

By *zakāt al-fiṭr* (zakāt of the breaking of the fast) is meant the obligatory gift of provisions at the end of the month of Ramaḍān, which according to Tradition was ordered by the Prophet in the year 2 and fixed as regards the amount (the latter is however not certainly historical). There were differences of opinion regarding the relation of this zakāt to the general one and regarding the question whether it was obligatory. According to the view which finally prevailed, the zakāt al-fitr is obligatory (according to the Mālikīs only *sunna*) and has to be handed over by every free Muslim for himself and all persons whom he is legally bound to support at latest on the first of the month Shawwāl which follows Ramaḍān A man is exempted only if he possesses the bare necessities of life for himself and his family The amount of this zakāt is 1 *ṣāʿ* (= $^1/_{60}$ *wasḳ*) or 4 *mudd* of the usual foodstuffs of the country for each member of the household The recipients according to the Shāfiʿīs are the same as in the case of the general zakāt, while the other schools, more in keeping with the original character of the zakāt al-fiṭr, approve its limitation to the poor and needy — Throughout the Muslim world the regulations about the zakāt al fitr are observed with particular scrupulousness; the people feel that it is part of the duties of Ramaḍān and will serve to atone for any involuntary negligence during this month.

In conclusion we may note that freewill, not obligatory offerings (*ṣadakāt*) have been always considered very meritorious in Islām

Bibliography On the etymology Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 25; Horovitz, *Isl.*, vol. viii., p. 137. — On the Ḳurʾān · Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii 9 *sqq*; i 346 *sqq.* (discussed by H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, part i). — On Tradition Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s v. — On *Fiḳh*: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, p. 94 *sqq*; do., *Handleiding*³, p 77 *sqq.*; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, s.v. — On the practice, esp. in the

Dutch East Indies: Snouck Hurgronje; *Verspr. Geschr*, II 380 *sq*; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 85, 89 *sqq*. — On the allegorical interpretation of the zakāt law by the Bāṭinīs cf. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī*, p. 23, note 4.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

ZAḲĀZIḲ, an unimpressive, but busy commercial town in the Egyptian Delta, in the administrative division (*mudīrīya*) of Sharḳīya. Along with Damanhūr it is one of the towns which do not constitute fiscal units for purposes of land tax. The town, an important railway centre, has an extensive trade in grain and cotton There are oil refineries and a large market for dates, oranges and onions It is 46 miles from Cairo, and is connected with it by rail. Its inhabitants in the time of Bonet Bey numbered 35,715 but in 1927 the total population had increased to 52,351. Tuesday is market day. There are several mosques and a modern Theological Institute (opened 1925), while the various Christian bodies Coptic, Greek, Catholic, Maronite and Protestant (American) have their places of worship There are also government and community schools, hospitals and missions. The place is well supplied with and irrigated by canals which join with the Nile The Muʿizz Canal (*Baḥr Muʿizz*) is the former Tanitic branch A certain kind of small fish which is caught thereabouts is called a *zakāzīl* The situation of the town is very favourable owing to the fertility of the the surrounding country. Within the last century it has accordingly developed considerably in importance and wealth. In the neighbourhood are the ruins of *Tell Baṣṭa* (the ancient *Bubastis*) where amid fallen granite blocks and masonry lies all that remains of the famous Temple of Bast.

Bibliography Baedeker, *Egypt* (1929), p 181, 183, 192, Bonet Bey, *Géogr Économique*, p 226 *sq*, Wallis Budge, *By Nile & Tigris*, I. 79 *sq*; D. Tambacopoulo, *De la Peste de Zagazig en 1901*, Amélineau, *Géogr*, p. 89, Rene Francis, *Egyptian Aesthetics* (London 1911), p. 33 *sq*, Bairon and Hume, *Topography and Geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt* (1902), p. 128—9 (J WALKER)

ZAKKŪM. [See DJAHANNAM]

AL-**ZALLĀḲA**, the name given by the Muslim historians to the place near the town of Badajoz ([q. v.] Ar *Batalyaws*) where the armies of the Almoravid sultān Yūsuf b Tāshfīn [q v], assisted by Andalusian contingents, inflicted a memorable and severe defeat on the troops of Alfonso VI of Castille on Friday 12th Radjab 479 (Oct 23, 1086) This famous battlefield is now known as Sagrajas on the banks of the Rio Guerrero about 8 miles N. E of Badajoz

Almost all the Muslim historians of Spain devote a large space in their works to the account of the battle of al-Zallāḳa, but the most circumstantial account is that incorporated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyarī in his historical and geographical compilation entitled *al Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* reproduced almost in its entirety in his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*. On the circumstances which led up to the battle of al-Zallāḳa and resulted in the landing of Yūsuf b Tāshfīn in Spain as well as for an account of the battle itself see the article YŪSUF B. TĀSHFĪN

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II. 484, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy, p 93—94; transl Fagnan, p. 113—115, Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*, p 94—98; *al-Ḥulal al-mawshīya*, (Tunis), p. 40—41, Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, Spain, ed in preparation, s. v. al-Zallāḳa; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x. 99 suiv., Dozy, *Script. ar. loci de Abbadidis*, II 8, 21—23, 36—39, 134—136, 196—201; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (*Analectes*), II 673 *sqq*; al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, I. 166 *sqq*., transl. G. S. Colin, in *A M*, XXXI, Paris 1925, p 165 *sq*.; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed, Paris 1932, p 126—130; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p 71; C F Seybold, *Die geographische Lage von Zallâka und Alarcos*, in *Revue Hispanique*, XV, 1906, p 647, R Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, I. 357—365.

(E LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-**ZALZALA** or AL-ZILZĀL, title of sūra XCIX., taken from the opening words

AL-**ZAMAḴSHARĪ**, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. ʿOMAR, a Persian born Arabic scholar, theologian and philologist Born in Khwārizm on 27th Radjab 467 (March 8, 1075), in the course of his travels as a student he came to Mecca, where he stayed for some time as a pupil of Ibn Wahhās, hence his epithet *Djārᵘ 'llāhⁱ*. He must however have achieved a literary reputation before this, when he passed through Baghdād on the pilgrimage he was welcomed there by the learned ʿAlid Hibat Allāh b al-Shadjarī As a theologian he followed the teachings of the Muʿtazila, as a philologist, in spite of his Persian descent, he championed the absolute superiority of Arabic and used his mother tongue only in instructing beginners. He died at al-Djurdjānīya in Khwārizm on the day of ʿArafāt 538 (June 14, 1144) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Paris ed., III. 6) was still able to see his tomb there

His principal work, completed in 528 (1134), is his commentary on the Kurʾān, *al-Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaḳāʾik al-Tanzīl*, which in spite of its Muʿtazila bias — at the very beginning he declares the Kurʾān created — was widely read in orthodox circles The author devotes most attention to dogmatic exegesis of a philosophical nature, paying only slight attention to tradition. Besides giving the purely grammatical exposition, he devotes special attention to pointing out rhetorical beauties and thus supporting the doctrine of the *iʿdjāz* of the Kurʾān He gives particular care to the lexicographical side of his work, going fully into the readings and supports his explanations by ample extracts from the old poetry. His work still retained a place in literature when Baidāwī produced his own as the orthodox counterpart and tried to surpass him in the accuracy of the grammatical exposition and in quoting variant readings Even in the western lands of Islām, where his dogmatic point of view gave particular offence to the Mālikīs, Ibn Khaldūn placed it high above other commentators; it is not however an accident that manuscripts of his work are rarer in the west than in the east. The first edition by W. Nassau Lees and the Mawlawīs Khādim Husain and ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy (Calcutta 1856, 2 vols.) was followed by the printed editions at Būlāḳ 1291, Cairo 1307, 1308, 1318. To the 15 glosses quoted in Brockelmann, *G A. L.*, I. 290, of which that of ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (d 816 = 1413) was printed on the margin of the Cairo editions of 1308 and 1318 we may add — setting aside uncertain statements in

Stambul library catalogues — glosses on Muḥ. al-Fīrūzābādī's (d. 817 = 1414) preface *Naghbat al-Kashshāf min Khuṭbat al-Kashshāf* by Muḥammad ad-Dawwānī (d. 907 = 1501) in the Escurial (s. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss. ar. de l'Esc.*, III, N°. 1283) and superglosses by al-Khayālī (d. 863 = 1458) on the glosses by Djāibardī (*op cit*, N°. 4) in Cambridge (Browne, *Suppl Handlist*, N°. 1037) On the illustrative verses, in addition to Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Taḳī al-Dīn al-Muftī al-Hamawī (d. 1016 = 1608), we now have al-Dimashḳī's *Tanzīl al-Āyāt*, composed in 1011 = 1602, Būlāk 1281, Cairo 1307, 1308, on the margin of the *Kashshāf* 1318, and a work, dealing at the same time with Baiḍāwī, by Khiḍr b ʿAtāʾ Allāh, *al-Isʿāf fī Sharh Shawāhid al-Ḳādī wa 'l-Kashshāf*, written in 974 (1566) in the Edinburgh MSS N° 2—3 In addition to the synopses given in *G A L*, may be mentioned the *Tadjrīd al-Kashshāf maʿa Ziyādat Nukat Liṭāf* of the Zaidī Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b Muhammad b Abī 'l-Kāsim b. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ b Rasūl Allāh, composed in 795 (1393) in Sanʿāʾ in the Brit Mus Or 5752 (s *Descriptive List*, N°. 4) and in the Ambrosiana (Griffini), B 304, 104, also *al-Djawhar al-Shaffāf al-multaḳat min Maghāṣat al-Kashshāf* of ʿAbd Allāh b al-Hādī b Yahyā b. Hamza b Rasūl Allāh about 810 (1407) in the Ambrosiana, B 47—48, 99 (*R S O*, IV. 105), as well as the *Khulāṣat al-Kashshāf* of Abu 'l-Faiyib b Siddīk al-Kannawdjī, Naʾib of Bhopal (d 1307 = 1890), Lucknow 1289. Of the counter-blast, the *Kitāb al-Intiṣāf min al-Kashshāf* of Ahmad b Muhammad b al-Munaiyn al-Mālikī (d. 683 = 1284), pr Cairo 1307, 1318 on the margin of the *Kashshāf*, there is a second synopsis *al-Inṣāf* by ʿAbd al-Karim b ʿAlī al-Ḥākī al-Ansārī in the Escurial (Lévi-Provençal), N° 1278 and in Stambul, Selīm Agha, N° 34

A *Kitāb al-Kashf fī 'l-Ḳirāʾāt*, so far as I know mentioned nowhere else, is according to *K. A D*, VIII. 758 in the library of Ribat Saiyidnā ʿOthmān in Medīna

Of his grammatical works, *al-Mufaṣṣal* written in 513—515 (1119—1121) has become celebrated for its succinct yet exhaustive and lucid exposition, it was published by J B Bioch, Christiania 1859, 1879, with glosses and appendices by Mawlawī Muhammad Yaʿḳūb Rāsbūrī, Dehlī 1891, by Hamza Fath Allāh, Alexandria 1291, Cairo 1323, with Shawāhid commentary by Muhammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Nasʿānī al-Halabī To the commentaries mentioned in *G A L*, I 291, of which that published by G Jahn, Leipzig 1882 in 2 vols, written by Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 643 = 1245) is the best known, may be added 1 *al-Muhaṣṣal* by Abu 'l-Bakāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b Abī ʿAbd Allāh Husain al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616 = 1219), *Fihrist*², Cairo, II 157, 2 *al-Mufaddal* by ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. ʿAlī al-Ansārī, Escurial, Derenbourg, N°. 61; 3 *al-Muhaṣṣal* by Muhammad b Saʿd al-Marwazī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, VI. 38, 43), Brill–Houtsma, N°. 134, 4. *Dhikr Maʿānī Abniyat al-Asmāʾ al-mawḍūda fī 'l-Mufassal* by Ibn Mālik (d 673 = 1273) in Damascus, s Zaiyāt, *Khazāʾin al-Kutub*, p 64, 55; 5. on the verses by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī, *ibid*, p 86, 24, 6 by Muhammad b. Muhammad Fakhr al-Faraskhān, Brit. Mus Or 7472 (*Descr. List*, N° 50), 7. *al-Muʾawwal fī Sharh al-Mufaṣṣal* by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī, Calcutta 1322 (1904); 8. by ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿImādī, Lucknow 1323, 9. by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ahmad al-Ṣiddīḳī al-Andalusī in Stambul, Selīm Agha, N°. 1157. An imitation of the *Mufaṣṣal* with the same title was written in 671 (1271) by Aḥmad b. Bahrām b. Maḥmūd, MS in the Brit. Mus., s. *Oriental Studies presented to E. G Browne*, p 148, N°. 826.

In addition to a treatise on syntax, *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Muʾallaf fī 'l-Naḥw*, which had a small circulation and is only known from the Stambul MSS Koprülü, N° 1393, Lālelī, N° 3740 (see Rescher, in *M S O S*, XIV. 31), he also wrote the short handbook *al-Unmūdhadj*, which attained great popularity, see de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale*, p 99 *sqq.*, A. Fischer, in *Centenario d. nasc di M. Amari*, I. 357—363, autographed by Bioch, Christiania 1867, pr Tihrān (?) 1269, Tabrīz (?) 1275, Cairo 1289, Stambul 1299 (following al-Maidānī's *Nuzhat al-Sarf*), in a Persian *Madjmūʿa* 1279, on the margin of the main work, Kazan 1901 In addition to the commentary of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Baidaʿī (for MSS see *G A L*, I 291) may now be mentioned that by his pupil Diyāʾ al-Dīn al-Muskī, Brit. Mus Or. 6260 and the two modern ones *al-Fawāzidj fī Sharh al-Unmūdhadj* by Muhammad ʿĪsā ʿAskarī, Cairo 1289, and *ʿUmdat al-Sarī* by Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Khusūsī, written in 1298 (1880), Būlāk 1312 For a work on grammatical puzzles and another on prosody see *G A L*, *loc cit* Here also may be mentioned his commentary on the *Lāmīyat al-ʿArab* of Shanfarā *ʿAdjab al-Aʿdjāb fī Sharh Lāmīyat al-Aʿrāb*, printed with the commentary of Mubarrad, Stambul (Djawāʾib) 1300, alone Cairo 1324, together with a series of other commentaries, Cairo 1328

He made the Arabic vocabulary available to his countrymen in the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* with explanations in Persian, dedicated to the Sipāhsālār Atsiz b Khwārizmshāh (*Samachschari Lexicon arabico-persicum*, ed J G Wetzstein, 2 vols, Leipzig 1844). A dictionary of the classical language remarkable for its methodical arrangement is his *Asās al-Balāgha*, printed in 2 vols, Cairo 1299, 1341 (Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya), Lucknow 1311. He collected the peculiarities of the language of the traditions (*Gharīb al-Hadīth*) in the *Kitāb al-Fāʾik*, printed Haidarābād 1324 The geographical dictionary *Kitāb al-Amkina wa 'l-Djibāl wa 'l-Miyāh* was published by M Salverda de Grave (auspice T G J Juynboll), Leyden 1856. Of his *al-Durr al-dāʾir* (?) *al-muntakhab fī Kināyāt wa 'stiʿārāt wa-Tashbihāt al-ʿArab* only a fragment has survived in Leipzig (Vollers, N° 873, 1)

His wonderful knowledge of the language was shown in a series of collections of sayings which enjoy great popularity. A collection of old proverbs is contained in the still unprinted *al-Mustaḳṣā fī 'l-Amthāl*, which exists in numerous MSS. in Stambul, in addition to those given in *G A L.*, I 292 (see Rescher, in *M S O.*, XV. 23; *R S O.*, IV 708, *M O*, VII. 97, 102), in Brussa (cf. *Z. D M G*, LXVIII 50) and Scutari (*ibid*, 58), a selection from it entitled *Zubdat al-Amthāl* was made by Muṣṭafā b Ibrāhīm al-Gallipolī (d. 1024 = 1615) in 999 (1591) with Persian commentary and Turkish glosses (see *G. A. L.*, II. 423) He made three collections of apophthegms, composed by

imself with particular care and all the fine artifices of rhetoric: 1. *Nawābigh al-Kalim* (*Anthologia ententiarum arabicarum cum scholiis Zamachsjarii*, d, vertit, illustravit H A. Schultens, Leyden 772; *Les Pensées de Z*, texte arabe, ... par C. Barbier de Meynard, in *J A*, ser. vii, vol vi, . 313 *sqq.*, cf de Goeje, in *Z D M G*, xxx. 569 *qq*, lith. Stambul 1866, pr Cairo 1287, 1305, Bairūt 1306). Of the commentaries the best known s that of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792 = 1389) ntitled *Nı'am al-Sawābigh*, lith. Stambul 1866, Cairo 1287, with glosses by Muhammad al-Bairūtī, Bairūt 1306, that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan b 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Khaiwakī, written about 770 (1368), was printed in Kasan in 1314 In addition to the commentaries mentioned in *G. A L.*, i 292 by al-Kabindī (viith century), the prince of Yaman al-Nāsir li 'l-Hakk al-Mubīn, written in 782 (1380), and by al-Kōnawī about 1000 (1591), we have also those of Muhammad b Dihkān 'Alī al-Nasafī, which Schulthess, *loc cit*, used, and that of Muhammad b Ibrāhīm al-Raba'ī (d 971 = 1564, see *G A L*, ii. 368), written in 967 (1560), see Lévi-Provençal, *Les Mss arabes de Rabat*, N° 421, and the Turk. transl by Yūsuf Siddik Efendi, pr Stambul 1283, 2. *Rabī' al-Abrār fī-mā yasuru 'l-Khawātir wa 'l-Afkār* (cf v. Hammer, *Wiener Jahrb*, lxiii, *Anz Bl*, p 231), pr Cairo 1292, a synopsis with additions from other sources was prepared by Muhammad b. al-Khatīb Kāsim (d. 940 = 1533, see *G A L*, ii 429) and entitled *Rawd al-Akhyār*, pr Būlāk 1279, 1288, Cairo 292, 1306, 1307, 3 *Aṭwāḳ al-Dhahab* (*Samachcharis Goldene Halsbander als Neujahrsgeschenk arabisch und deutsch von J. v. Hammer*, Vienna 835), new translation by H L Fleischer, Leipzig 835, again transl by G. Weil, Stuttgart 1863, *Les colliers d'or, allocutions morales de Z*, ed and ransl by C Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1876 as *al-Nasā'ih al-ṣighār*, by which name it is also cited n the *Kashshāf*, in Leyden MSS N° 2153 and Brit Mus Suppl N° 1003 (see de Goeje, in *Z D M.G.*, xxx. 569), pr. Bairūt 1314, with Turk ransl Stambul 1286, with commentary *Kalā'id al-Adab* by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Asīr (d 1307 = 889, see *Hilāl*, iii 869), Bairūt 1293, 1322, Cairo 1321. Imitations entitled *Atbāḳ al-Dhahab* were compiled by the otherwise unknown Ahmad b Muhammad b. Maḥmūd al-Nahwī, see Cat. Brill-Houtsma, N°. 496, 13, and the Persian poet 'Abd al-Mu'min b Hibat Allāh al-Isfahānī, who flourished about 600 (1203), printed along with the *Aṭwāḳ* Stambul 1289, alone Cairo 1329, on the margin of Muhammad Efendi Sa'd's *Tuhfat Ahl al-Fukāha i 'l-Munādama wa 'l-Muzāḥa*, Cairo 1307, 1326, with commentary by Muhammad Sa'īd al-Rāfi'ī, Cairo 1328, with glosses by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabahānī (President of the High Court in Bairūt), Būlāk 1280, Cairo 1880, Bairūt 1309.

He composed a series of moral discourses opening with the address *Yā Aba 'l-Ḳāsim* to himself and called *Makāmāt*, after the older meaning of this word [q. v.]; they are also known as *al-Nasā'ih al-kibār*, and he added 5 pieces of a different nature, on grammar, prosody and the *Aiyām al-Arab*, after recovering from a severe illness in 512 (1118), printed with the author's commentary Cairo 1313, 1325, transl. by O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqâmenliteratur*, fasc 6, Greifswald 1913. The *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muta'annis wa-Nahzat al-mukta'abis* also belongs to *adab* literature; it is a kind of "lexikographische Bellettristik", preserved in the Aya Sofia N°. 4331 (cf. Rescher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxiv. 508)

Of his poems, which were collected into a *Dīwān*, *Fihrist*, Cairo 2, iii. 131, a *Marthiya* on his teacher Abū Mudar has been printed in al-'Izzī's *Maḍnūn*, ed. by Yahuda, p 16 *sqq.*

He composed only two works on the field of Tradition 1 *Mukhtaṣar al-Muwāfaḳa baina Āl al-Bait wa 'l-Ṣaḥāba*, in the library of Aḥmad Taimūr, see *R A D*, x. 313, 2. *Khaṣā'iṣ al-'Aṣhara al-Kirām al-Barara*, see Ahlwardt, Berlin MS N°. 9656, *Hespéris*, xii 117, 991

Bibliography. al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Alibbā'*, p 469—473, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, ii 107, Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vii 147—151, Suyūtī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p 388, *Liber de interpretibus Korani*, ed Meursinge, p. 41; Ibn Kutlūbugha, *Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, ed by G Flügel, N°. 217, Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiya*, p 87, Djamil Bek, *'Ukūd al-Djawhar*, i 294 *sqq*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed Popper, iii 34, 7—17, Barbier de Meynard, in *J A*, 1875, ii 314 *sqq*, Brockelmann, *G A.L.*, i 289 *sqq*; Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-Matbū'āt*, col 973 *sqq*; Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch des Qorāns*, ii. 174, Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p 117—177 (C Brockelmann)

ZAMĀN (A) is the word generally used in the terminology of philosophy to express the conception of time *Dahr*, *wakt* and *ḥīn* are synonyms To distinguish it from time as perceived of the senses, time in the abstract is often called *dahr* (Pers *zurvān*) or described as *zamān ma'nawī*, *zamān mutlak*, *zamān 'alwī* etc

Speculations on time (or space) as the highest principle of the world, with which Islām was acquainted from Hellenistic and Persian tradition, were of course strictly avoided The doctrine that time, like space, was one of the five principles of the All was widely known, if it found little acceptance. Similar pentads, with different components and names, are found among the followers of hermetic wisdom (cf J Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, in *Beitr z. Gesch d. Philos. d M A*, xii 2—4, Munster 1914, p. 67 *sqq.*), among the Sābi'ans of Harrān, among the Ismā'īlīs, Druses etc (S Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, in *N E*, xxii, Paris 1874, p 331 *sqq* and *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Alnoqat Waldawāir*, ed. Chr Seybold, Leipzig 1902, p. 68). The physician Rāzī (d. 923 or 932) gives them in the following order 1 God-Creator; 2 World-Soul, 3 Original Matter, 4. Absolute Space, 5 Absolute Time (*Alberuni's India*, ed. E Sachau, London 1887, p. 163, Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, Cairo 1317, i. 24 *sq.* [where *malā* should be read for *mudda* for absolute time]) As, according to Muslim belief, only God is absolute, infinite, eternal, this doctrine was condemned as heresy

The metaphysical pentad (God, etc.) found an analogy in physics Al-Ya'ḳūbī (second half of the third = ninth century) says with reference to the Aristotelian system of physics that there are five things (*ashyā'*) in all the beings of nature, namely matter, form, space, motion and time; the last three however are accidents (al-Ya'ḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, i 148) Al-Kindī (d after 870 = 1466) wrote a small book, which survives only in the Latin

translation, *De quinque essentiis* (in *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Isḥāq al-Kindī*, ed Alb Nagy, Munich 1867, p. 28—40) in which after a general introduction the same five things are discussed, mainly on the basis of Aristotle's *Physics*, iv These five things are discussed more fully but in the same order by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay, ii, *Risāla* xv., in Dieterici's selection Leipzig 1883, i. 24 *sqq*. it is *Risāla* xiv.) They give various views about them It is however clear that they not only give form precedence to matter, but put space as an accident of the body below motion and time which are in the soul and proceed from it. It is probably from this point of view that we are to understand the problem which we find in Tawhīdī's *Mukābasāt*, Cairo 1929, p. 172 *sq*. "Which is better, space or time?" The answer is. "Time is better, for space is of the senses but time is spiritual, space is in the world but time surrounds it", etc

While the older literature is often satisfied to detail the different views about time, acquaintance with Aristotle's exposition seems to have produced agreement among the philosophers The matter is however complicated because the neo-Pythagorean and neo-Platonic distinction between perceptible and abstract time is retained The physical treatment of time in connection with place and motion in space is based on Aristotle's *Physics*, iv although not without Stoic influence Metaphysics, in which the relation of the temporal to the eternal is dealt with, is influenced by neo-Platonism, mainly transmitted through the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, the *Liber de Causis* and neo-Platonic commentaries on the works of Aristotle.

Physical time is distinguished as past (*zamān māḍī*), present (*ān*, *z hādir*) and future (*z mustakbal* or *musta'naf*) Since time, like motion, is according to Aristotle a continuous quantity, it does not consist of separate moments (contrary to the theological atomic theory) Consequently the present is strictly not time Nevertheless the present moment is the only real one in time This paradox led either to scepticism or to speculations about a real continuation of the past in the present

With Aristotle, time was more nearly defined as the number (*'adad*), measure (*mikdār*) and the quantity (*kam*, *kamīya*) of motion in its before- and afterness Vice versa, motion was defined as the number or measure of time Aristotle, who was concerned with pointing out the functional relation between motion and time, gives in one passage (*Physics*, iv. 12, 220b, 14—16) the latter definition but it becomes the regular one among the neo-Platonists. Finally it may be mentioned that time, as defined by Aristotle, has, like motion, neither beginning nor end World space is limited and the point in space may be the point at the end of a line, because this line is at rest, but time as a measure of motion flows always on

The definition of time as interval or duration (*mudda*, *imtidād*, *madā*) differs from this Aristotelian conception Most probably we have here translations of διάστημα and διάστασις, which mean interval among the Stoics and are explained by Plotinus in the higher sense as duration of the life of the soul (cf H. A Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle. Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge-Harvard 1929, between the separate acts (*a'māl*) (*Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islams* by al-Ash'arī, ed. H. Ritter [*Bibl. Isl.*, Ib], Constantinople 1930, ii. 443). Similarly Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī says that in the Muslim view time (*zamān*) is the movement of the sphere of heaven and *madā*' between actions (*af'āl*) (*Le livre de la création et de l'histoire d'Abou Zéid Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhî*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899, i. 41). On the other hand, *mudda* means duration in the *Kitāb Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* (ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden 1895, p. 137 *sq*.) where we read "Time is a duration (*mudda*) which is counted i. e measured, by movement, as by the motion of the spheres of heaven and other things in motion" Strictly we have here the above mentioned distinction between perceptible time measured by bodies in motion and abstract duration which cannot be measured, but is perceived by the soul and directly experienced (cf H. Bergson's distinction between *temps* and *durée*; *mudda* is also found in Rāzī's terminology [cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op cit*], and the Ikhwān al-Safā'. In the *Risāla* xv, already mentioned, they speak of [physical] time as a duration which is measured by the motion of the sphere of heaven)

Mudda as the pure duration of life of the soul should probably be described as a mean between *zamān* (accident of bodily motion) and *dahr* (duration of the spirit) This leads us to metaphysical considerations of the relation between time and eternity. The terminology here varies not only because they endeavour to bring Aristotle and Plato into harmony with one another but also because each writer and especially the mystic likes to use his own terms

In a metaphor in the *Timaios* Plato conceives of time as the image and emblem of eternity (cf. *Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles*, ed Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p 107, with *Timaios*, p. 37 *sqq*, and H Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit und Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus* [*Beitr. z Gesch d Philos im M A*, xiii 4], Munich 1913, p 1 *sqq*) Only after the creation of the world-soul and the arrangement of the chaotic matter of the world did time begin with the regular movement of the sphere of heaven The beautifully planned world and with it time will probably not come to an end. From Platonic tradition, especially through the intermediary of the Pseudo-Plutarch and Galen, came the doctrine of beginning without end, and also speculations about time as identical with the motion of the sphere of heaven or with the sphere of heaven itself or even with the world-soul If time was identified with the sphere of heaven and with the world-soul, it was called a substance (contrary to Aristotle who called it an accident).

After Aristotle became known, the suspect philosopher was recognized by his doctrine of the beginninglessness of time. Following the neo-Platonists, the followers of this doctrine were convinced that it was a reality in the form of a stair-case and it was therefore obvious that every kind of being has its own time or eternity. Only God is in the proper sense eternal, if not supereternal. That being and doing coalesce in the first cause (God) was certain to the philosophers, following Aristotle. God is eternal and therefore creates the world. The first creation, intelligence (*'aḳl*; *Le livre de la*

i. e. the moment of the act of creation, while lower time comes from the motions of the sphere of heaven), is less eternal but in everlasting duration (*dahr*) and rest. The soul arising out of the intelligence is above time for it is the cause of time. This is the teaching of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, p. 13 *sqq.*) with Plotinus It is formally stated in the *Liber de causis* (Proklos) God as first cause is above duration, intelligence is equal to duration, the soul is below duration but above time, and nature is the field of the temporal (ed O Bardenhewer, Freiburg i Br. 1882, p 61 *sq.*). The activities of a being who is above time are, of course, carried on without consideration of time. They are compared with the activity of human thought, with the combination of form and matter, with the transmission of light through the world, all of which are timeless (on the question of sudden change, taking place in a flash, i. e. timeless, cf H A. Wolfson, *op cit.*, p 498 *sqq*, 543 *sqq*).

For the theologians the question was at first very simple an eternal God and a temporal world, there is no mean The followers and opponents of the Muslim atomic theory were alike agreed on this. It was the fundamental principle of the atomists, to assert most emphatically that space contains a finite mass of atoms, and the duration of the world is limited to a finite number of moments of time.

The doctrine of a beginning and end of the world in time was defended by Ghazālī in the name of Muslim community against Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā in his *Tahāfut* He attacks with vigour the Aristotelian doctrine of the beginninglessness of the world but a concession is made to Platonism He cannot agree with Abu 'l-Hudhail when the latter asserts that an infinite number of revolutions of the sphere of heaven can be imagined in the future as little as in the past. Ghazālī finds the endlessness of the world conceivable but appeals to religious dogma, which clearly points to an end of the world (Algazel, *Fahafot al-Falasifat*, ed. Bouyges, Bairūt 1927, p. 80 *sq*).

Ibn Rushd rightly insists in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed Bouyges, Bairūt 1930, p 64 *sqq*, also *Kitāb Falsafa*, Cairo 1313, p. 10 *sqq* and L Gauthier, *La théorie d'Ibn Rochd sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, p 103 *sq.*) that much in this polemic is a matter of words only Theologians as well as philosophers distinguish between the eternal unending being (God) and the changing world this is the main thing It is a minor point whether this world as a whole is called temporal or eternal or always arising and decaying.

Only for the mystic, who lives in the eternal, does time in every form disappear In a state of grace (*hāl*) the changing *wakt* in him becomes consolidated in the life in the eternal presence of God (*The Kashf al-Mahjūb*, transl Nicholson, Leyden 1911, p 367—370)

Bibliography· There is no monograph on the subject We may mention the following in addition to the works already quoted P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, i. 271 *sqq*; ii. 465 *sqq*, H. Junker, *Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung* (*Vortr. d. Bibl. Warburg*, i.), Hamburg 1923; see also the articles DAHR, KHAIK, ḲIDAM, MĪḲĀT, WAḲT

(Tj. DE BOER)

ZAMĀN (pl. *azmān*, *azmun*, *azmina*), time. As a guide to the distinction in use between *zamān* (common to the Semitic languages) and *wakt* (only Arabic with the meaning of "time") the following rules may be deduced from the Arabic works of a scientific nature, although they appear to be not infrequently broken even in works that have been compiled with great care *Zamān* is used predominantly for time as a philosophical or mathematical conception in contrast to *makān*, "space" (the similarity in sound between these two words has possibly not been without influence on the preference given to *zamān* over *wakt* in this connection), for longer periods, centuries, length of reign of dynasties, historical epochs, and also in astronomical usage for the numerical value of a period of time which is variable by nature, e g the longitude, which differs with latitude and season of the year, of the "temporal hours" (*al-sāʿāt al-zamānīya*, Gr ὥραι καιρικαί, Lat *horae temporales seu inaequales*) which, in contrast to our "equinoctial hours" which are always of the same length (*sāʿāt al-iʿtidāl*, Gr. ὧραι ἰσομερινάι, Lat *horae aequinoctiales*), are obtained by dividing the period of daylight into twelve; in this case they also talk of *azmān* (more rarely *awkāt*) *sāʿāt al-nahār wa 'l-lail al-zamānīya* In contrast to this, *wakt* (pl *awkāt*) means in astronomy definite points in time, also (usually constant) spaces of time (*wakt intisāf al-nahār*, the astronomical noon, *wakt intisāf al-lail*, midnight; both meanings are found together in al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum*, ed Nallino, iii 192; *al-wakt* ["space of time"] *alladhī taʿūdu fīhi 'l-shams ila 'l djuz' alladhī kānat fīhi fī wakt* ["point of time"] *al-ibtidā'*), and in general, periods of time of short duration, e g the length of a man's life or of a generation. *Wakt* is also used with the meaning of καιρός for the "correct time", it may also mean the astronomical time of observation, but in this meaning the technical term *mīḳāt* (pl *mawākīt*) from the same root is more usual, which in turn can also mean the art of compiling calendars and the time of prayer [see MIḲĀT]. *Zamān* and *wakt* are also both found meaning "seasons of the year" as synonyms of *fasl*

In his *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Taʾwīl* (ed Fleischer, Leipzig 1846, i. 105) al-Baidāwī, discussing the word *mawāḳit* in the *Kurʾān*, Sūra ii 185, gives the following definition of *mudda*, *zamān* and *wakt* "*al-mudda* means, strictly speaking, the period of revolution of the sphere from beginning to end (i e it means the totality of time, "from eternity to eternity"); *al-zamān* is subdivided *mudda* (i e a considerable space of time) and *al-wakt* the *zamān* chosen for any purpose (i. e. *wakt* arises out of *zamān* by further subdivision and means definite shorter intervals or points)". This schematised definition coincides in essentials with that above given

Calculation of time. *a.* The pre-Muḥammadan Calendar. Our knowledge of the early Arab method of reckoning time, which is based on scattered references in what remains of the old poetry is still very incomplete and cannot by any means be regarded as satisfactory on all points. There is much in favour of the view — especially the meaning of the majority of the old names of the months (Ṣafar I, II, Rabīʿ I, II, Djumādā I, II,

Ramaḍān) — that the old Arab year was lunisolar in character and resembled in some degree the Jewish year ("Tishrī year"). We must however make this limitation that it is hardly safe to assume a uniform division of time for the whole of Arabia in the early period. Among the Arab Beduin tribes as well as among other nomad peoples, there was originally a calendar based on the moon only — a so-called pure lunar year, and the adaptation to the solar year only took place later. This assumption is also supported by the statements of various Muslim scholars (used by Mahmoud Effendi in his article in *J. A*, 1858, ser. v., vol. xi), for example al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) agreeing with Abū Maʿshar Djaʿfar b. Muhammad al-Balkhī (*Kitāb al-Ulūf fī Buyūt al-ʿIbādāt*) with whose work he was acquainted, mentions that the transition from pure lunar years to lunisolar years took place about two centuries before the Hidjra under the influence of the Jewish year. The later theory adopted by F. K. Ginzel (*Chronologie*, i. 248) from Mahmoud Effendi (*Mem. des savants étrangers de l'Academie royale de Belgique*, xxx., 1861) which assumes the existence of a pure lunar year in the period immediately before the Hidjra cannot be quoted as a sound argument against the preceding, as it is not sufficiently established that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in March 571 — the "conjunction of religion" (*kirān al-dīn*) — actually took place immediately before the birth of the Prophet and that we have not here to deal with a later conjunction. The Arab lunisolar year, like the Jewish, began in autumn, the year itself consisted of 12, in leap years 13 months, which were reckoned from *hilāl* to *hilāl* (new moon). The intercalation of the thirteenth month which was necessary to fix the beginning of the year at a definite period in the solar year was done empirically from time to time, on the average every two or three years. The much disputed word *nasīʾ* (Sūra ix. 37) indicates, as Moberg has recently conclusively shown (Axel Moberg, *An-Nasīʾ in der islāmischen Tradition*, Lund 1931), this intercalation of the extra month, this was first expressly prohibited by Muhammad in the year 10 A. H. (Kurʾān, *loc. cit.*). The time of the *ḥadjdj* [q. v.] originally associated with autumn — i. e. fixed by the solar year — was fixed presumably by the cosmic setting (*naw*ʾ, pl. *anwāʾ*) of one of the 28 stations of the moon (*manāzil*), this method of fixing solar dates is also found at a later period (cf. the "*Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961*", ed. Dozy, Leyden 1873) and we find it also in early periods in other parts of the world (China, India, Egypt). In Muhammad's time however as a result of insufficient skill in observing and intercalating, the lunisolar year had advanced so far in front of the solar year that the beginning of the year, with the month Dhu 'l-Hidjdja which preceded it and the time of the *ḥadjdj*, fell in the spring.

In the later period of the Djāhilīya the names of the months were already fixed as we know them in the Muslim period, except that al-Muharram [q. v.] in the latter took the place of Safar I; they were Ṣafar I, Ṣafar II, Rabīʿ I, Rabīʿ II, Djumādā I, Djumādā II, Radjab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhu 'l-Kaʿda, Dhu 'l-Hidjdja; it is to be noted that the first half year consisted of three double months. The names of the early Arab these, supplanted by those just mentioned, were al-Muʾtamir (= Ṣafar I), Nādjir, Khawwān, Bussān, Haʾntam or Hanam (vocalisation uncertain), Zabbāʾ or Zubbī, al-Asamm, ʿĀdil, Nāfiḳ, Waghl, Huwāʿ, Burak, some of them are still occasionally found later as epithets of the corresponding Muḥammadan months, e. g. *al-Aṣamm* for Radjab, *ʿĀdil* for Shaʿbān. In addition to these, al-Bīrūnī, al-Maʿsūdī and the Sabaean inscriptions give many other names of months, which differ considerably with the different tribes and sources so that no deductions can be made from them about the earliest period of the Arab calendar.

According to Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 96 *sq*.), the year was originally divided into three months: the period of rain, of drought and of heat. In the old Arab poetry we find a division into four, *Kharīf* or *Rabīʿ*, *Shitāʾ*, *Ṣaif* and *Ḳaiẓ*, roughly corresponding to our autumn, winter, spring and summer, it is possible there was also a sixfold division into Rabīʿ (late harvest), Kharīf (autumn), Shitāʾ (winter), al-Rabīʿ al-thānī (early harvest), Saif (early summer) and Kaiz (summer).

The use of the week of seven days can be proved to have existed at a very early period among the pagan Arabs. According to al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*, p. 64), the old names of the days of the week were Awwal (Sunday), Ahwan, Djubār, Dubār, Muʾnis, ʿArūba and Shiyār. It should not however be assumed that the seven day week was an original invention of the Arabs, on the contrary, many things point to its having been taken from Babylonia or the Jews, among whom it was established at a very early period.

The days were grouped within the month into ten groups of three each, the names of which, reckoned from the new moon (*hilāl*) were Ghurar, Nufal, Tusaʿ, ʿUshar, Bīd, Duraʿ, Zulam, Hanādis or Duhm, Daʾādiʾ and Mihāḳ (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 63 *sq*.). The day itself began at sunset, as among the Jews and as was later the custom in Islām. There is no evidence of the division of the day into 24 hours in the pre-Muhammadan period.

Epochs. The fixed points or epochs used in the pre-Muḥammadan period from which to reckon years seem to have been very numerous. Al-Bīrūnī mentions battles, memorable events, the year of the restoration of the Kaʿba etc. as epochs of the different tribes (*op. cit.*, p. 34). More general seems to have been the reckoning from the "days of treason", *ayyām al-fidjār* (probably between 585 and 591 A. D.), and from the "year of the Elephant", *ʿām al-fīl* (probably about 570 A. D.), the latter, being according to some authors, the year of Muhammad's birth (571).

b. The Calendar in Islām. By the already mentioned prohibition of the *nasīʾ* in the year 10 A. H. by Muhammad there came into use the system of reckoning by pure lunar months which is characteristic of Islām (one pure lunar month = 12 synodical months of $29^{d}\ 12^{h}\ 44^{m}\ 3^{s} = 354^{d}\ 8^{h}\ 48^{m}\ 36^{s}$; the term lunar year is really stupid!) An adaptation to the annual course of the sun was now no longer possible and the beginning of the Muḥammadan year therefore falls about 11 days behind each solar year, coming back to the same solar time in about 33 years; 33 lunar years are therefore almost equivalent to 32 solar years. From

for transforming years A. H. into years A. D. and vice versa:

A. D. = $\frac{32}{33}$ A. H + 622 or A. H. = $\frac{33}{32}$ (A D − 622).

For exact calculations the *Vergleichungstabellen* by Wüstenfeld and Mahler are indispensable (see *Bibl*).

According to the Ḳurʾān (Sūra x. 5, etc.) which expressly makes the moon the measurer of time, the beginning of the month and of the year must be established as in ancient times by actual observation of the new moon and as a matter of fact the popular calendar still does this at the present day For reasons which are readily intelligible, at quite an early period a cyclic reckoning established itself which, starting from the fact that the period of two lunations is approximately 59 days, gave the months alternately a length of 30 and 29 days so that 1 (Muharram), 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 have each 30 days and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 have 29 days The ordinary year thus has 354 days The difference of 8h 48m 36s (almost exactly $\frac{11}{30}$ days) by which the astronomic lunar year is longer was made good by intercalating 11 days (*yawm al-kabs*) in every 30 lunar years The most widely disseminated in Muslim lands is the practice of making years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 and 29 in the cycle of 30 leap years (*sana kabīsa*) The intercalated day itself is always given to the month Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja which in the ordinary year has 29, in leap year 30 days (on other systems of intercalation, especially the Turkish eight year cycle, see Ginzel, *Chronologie*, i. 255)

The day (i e the *νυχθήμερον*, *al-yawm bi-laylatihi*) in the period of the Djāhiliya was reckoned from sunset, as al-Farghānī emphasises, this method of counting comes from the fact that the first day of the month is fixed by the *hilāl* (first light of new moon) which is always to be observed at sunset The division of the *νυχθήμερον* into 24 hours is however to be traced to Greek influence In ordinary reckoning of time temporal hours (see above) alone are used, on the other hand the astronomers very often use equinoctial hours and always expressly describe them as such.

Instead of the old names of the days of the week, we find in Islām simply the cardinal numbers in altered form (from Sunday to Thursday), Friday becomes "the day of assembly" and Saturday the "Sabbath", as follows Yawm al-Aḥad (Sunday), Yawm al-Iṯnain (Monday), Yawm al-Thalāthāʾ (Tuesday), Yawm al-Arbaʿāʾ (Wednesday), Yawm al-Khamīs (Thursday), Yawm al-Djumʿa (Friday), Yawm al-Sabt (Saturday) (In the days of the week it should be remembered as already explained that Yawm al-Aḥad begins on the evening of our Saturday, Yawm al-Iṯnain on the evening of Sunday, and so on, so that the Arabic and European names do not cover exactly the same 24 hours)

In Muslim chronology the year begins on 1st Muharram of the year in which the Prophet made his Hidjra from Mecca to Yathrib (not the day of the Hidjra itself or of the arrival in Medīna, which is usually taken to be the 8th Rabīʿ I, i. e. Sept 20, 622). It was Thursday (*Yawm al-Khamīs*) July 15, 622 A D., called *Taʾrīkh al-Hidjra* (in the Julian reckoning by days, day 1, 948, 439). The introduction of this era only took place under the Caliph ʿUmar.

Besides the reckoning by years from the Hidjra the most varied foreign eras were also in use [see TAʾRĪKH] The most important was the Alexandrian era (called *Taʾrīkh al-Ḳibṭ* — "Copts", Egyptians — or *Taʾrīkh al-Shuhadāʾ* — "of the Martyrs") reckoned by the *shuhūr al-Ḳibṭ* which was the earliest in use. This is a solar era, unlike the Muslim. The year, the length of which, like the Julian, is $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, has 12 months of 30 days not dependent on the phases of the moon, in which 5 days were added to the last month and 6 in leap years Every fourth year is a leap year. The Egyptian names of the months, some in corrupt form, were used According to al-Battānī (*Op Astr*, iii. 100) they were. Tūt (in the Greek historians Θώθ), Bāba (*φαωφί*), Atūr (*ἀθύρ*), Kiyahk (*χοιάκ*), Ṭūba (*τυβί*), Amshīr (*μεχίρ*), Barmahāt (*φαμενώθ*), Barmūdha (*φαρμουθί*), Bashans (*παχών*), Bawūna (*παυνί*), Abīb (*ἐπιφί*), Misrī (*μεσορή*). The five or six intercalated days were called as among the Copts the "little month", *al-shahr al-ṣaghīr*. The years of this era are generally reckoned from 284 A D, the year of the accession of the emperor Diocletian, on the other hand in al-Battānī from Friday, Aug 29, 25 B C (Nallino, i 244 gives an explanation of this) — Another era in frequent use is the Seleucid called *Taʾrīkh al-Rūm* or *Taʾrīkh Iskandar*, usually *Taʾrīkh Dhu 'l-Ḳarnain* after the "two-horned Alexander". It is usually reckoned from Monday, Oct 1 (in al-Battānī, from Saturday, Sept 1) 312 B C and uses the Julian year and the Julian intercalation, with the Syriac-Arabic names of the months, *shuhūr al-Rūm*, so-called because each of these months corresponds to one in the Roman calendar, as follows.

Tishrīn al-awwal	October	31 days
Tishrīn al-thānī	November	30 „
Kānūn al-awwal	December	31 „
Kānūn al-thānī	January	31 „
Shubāt	February	28 or 29 days
Adhār	March	31 days
Nīsān	April	30 „
Aiyār	May	31 „
Hazīrān	June	30 „
Tamūz	July	31 „
Āb	August	31 „
Aylūl	September	30 „

These names of months are also used in the calendar of the Syrian Christians — On other eras see al-Battānī, ch. xxxii. and Nallino's notes, i. 242 *sqq*

The Arabo-Egyptian land-tax year (*al-sana al kharādjiya*), which was introduced after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs and used for long periods, was a solar year, the beginning of which coincided with that of the Egyptian solar year. The years were counted from the date of the Hidjra, there thus arose differences between the number of Hidjra years and those of the khardj-years, which frequently caused confusion in dating In Egypt itself this form of year was also in everyday use among the people (for further information see Ginzel, *op cit*, i., p 264—265).

The Turkish financial year (*mālīye* year) which, along with the Hidjra (lunar) year used mainly for religious purposes, was the official year, is in form — apart from its date of commencement — identical with the Julian year. The names of the months are with slight variations the same as those of the Syrian-Arab year already mentioned. The year begins on March 1; Feb. 29 is the intercalated day and also the last day of the year;

the leap-years are therefore, as can easily be understood, always a year in advance of those of the Christian era The Turkish financial year goes back to an Arabic year introduced in the IVth (Xth) century under the ʿAbbāsids, it was introduced among the Turks in 1087 (1677) The years themselves are numbered by Hidjra years, in order to equate, in this system of counting, with the shorter lunar years, a year is dropped every 33 years, which is called *siwish* (Turk = cancellation) The year 1288 (1871) which ought strictly to have been Siwish was deliberately counted as a full year which threw the *mālīye* years out for a time — Quite recently the Gregorian calendar has been officially adopted in Turkey

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ZAMĪNDĀR (P), a landholder, the possessor of a landed estate In Bengal these holdings are usually extensive and the *zamīndār* is responsible to the Government for the rent of his estate and also in some degree for the maintenance of order therein. In other parts of India *zamīndārs* have smaller estates, held sometimes in common, under a settlement periodically renewable

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(T W. HAIG)

ZAMORA (Ar SAMMŪRA), a town in the NW of Spain, capital of the province of the same name, 2,130 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Duero, has now a much reduced population (16,000). The Arab geographers of Spain describe it as a town in the country of the Galicians (al-Djalālika). It was, after the conquest of al-Andalus, peopled by Berbers and had to be evacuated at the beginning of the VIIIth century as a result of the territorial gains of the Christian kingdom of Leon Retaken by the Muslims, it was reconquered and rebuilt in 280 (893) by Alfonso III. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III attacked it in 327 (939) but without success, at the end of his reign he assisted Sancho of Navarre to reconquer it on his own account in 348 (959) When the *ḥādjib* al-Mansūr [q v] Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, after disposing of his father-in-law, the general Ghālib, undertook in 371 (981) an expedition against Galicia, he gave the Umaiyad prince ʿAbd Allāh called "Dry Stone" the task of taking Zamora He was not able to take the citadel of the town and contented himself with ravaging the country round and carrying off 4,000 prisoners When al-Mansūr had conquered Galicia and Bermudo II had arisen there again, the *ḥādjib*, in 378 (988—989) after taking Leon, laid siege to the Christian prince in Zamora; Bermudo fled and the inhabitants handed the town over to al-Mansūr. A little later in 385 (999), the *ḥādjib* placed a Muslim population in Zamora and gave the government of the town to Abu 'l-Ahwaṣ Maʿn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q. v.] al-Tudjībī This occupation did not last long, for Zamora was attacked by the second ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muzaffar in his expedition of 395 (1005) against Galicia. After this the Muslim chroniclers make no mention of Zamora, which was now to play an important part in Castillan history down to the end of the middle ages, especially in the period of the Cid.

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(E LÉVI-PROVENÇAI)

ZAMZAM, the sacred well of Mecca, also called the well of Ismāʿīl It is in *al-haram al-sharīf* S E of the Kaʿba opposite the corner of the sanctuary in which the Black Stone is inserted. It is 140 feet deep and is surmounted by an elegant dome The pilgrims drink its water as health-giving and take it home with them to give it to the sick Zamzam in Arabic means "abundant water" and *zamzama* "to drink by little gulps" and "to mutter through the teeth"

Muslim tradition connects the origin of this well with the story of Abraham It was opened by the angel Gabriel to save Hagar and her son Ismāʿīl, who were dying of thirst in the desert Hagar was the first to catch its water by building a wall of stone around it. It is at least certain that it was held in reverence at a very early period. In the pre-Islāmic period the Persians used to come there as a line of an old poet shows "The Persians muttered their prayers around the well of Zamzam from the earliest times" According to another poet, the well was visited by Sāsān son of Bābak, the ancestor of the Sāsānids

In the period of paganism, the Djurhumīs filled in Zamzam and threw all their treasure into it. Masʿūdī however remarks that the Djurhumīs were poor and that the treasures buried there must have been brought not by them, but by the Persians

The well was rediscovered and dug out by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the ancestor of the Prophet, who provided it with walls of masonry; he took out of it two gazelles of gold, some "Kalʿīya" swords and some cuirasses. With the swords he made the door of the Kaʿba, which he covered with plates of gold made from one of the gazelles and he put the other inside the sanctuary. The water of the well was distributed to the inhabitants of Mecca.

In 297 (909) Zamzam overflowed, a thing which had never been known before and several pilgrims were drowned

Bibliography: Cf the art. KAʿBA, I and III; Masʿūdī, ed. and transl Barbier de Meynard, s index; H. Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un Pèlerinage à La Mecque en 1910—1911*, Paris 1912, descriptions by various travellers Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr*, Naam- en Zaakregister, s v. Zamzam, picture in Snouck Huigronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, Nrs 1, III.; *The Travels of Alī Bey*, II, pl. LVII

(B. CARRA DE VAUX)

ZANDAḲA. [See ZINDĪḲ]

ZANDJ, the name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 (694), for fifteen years (255—270 = 868—883) terrorised lower Mesopotamia

This rising is very important for it is a war of a classical type, a regular "social war" directed against Baghdād like those of Eunus (140 B C) and Spartacus (73—71 B.C) against Rome, like that of Toussaint Louverture in Haiti (1794—1801), like the strikes of Natal coolies led by Gandhī (1906—1913) against European colonisation

The rebels were, according to Tabarī, our principal source, employed as navvies (*kassāḥīn*), their task was to make lower Mesopotamia arable, to remove the *sebāḵh*, and to pile it up in mounds to make the nitrous lands of the Shatt al-ʿArab cultivable (*shūrdjīya*, from *shūra*, nitre, a Persian term used also in ʿOmān, cf. de Goeje, *Glossaire de Ṭabarī*, s v *k-s-h*, following the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*) They were mainly recruited from imported negro slaves and from the peasants of the country, grouped in gangs of 500—5,000 labourers and penned there homeless and hopeless, all their food being a few handfuls "of flour, semolina and dates". Through contact with the Islām of their masters, by a process of spiritual induction, these unfortunate creatures learned that they had a right to exist and to a minimum of justice, the influence of the Muslim cenobites of the neighbouring hermitages of ʿAbbādān was perhaps also felt.

These slaves then found a leader who was resolved to put an end to their misery, an ʿAlid pretender with a disputed but perhaps genuine pedigree, for al-Bīrūnī says that the Shiʿis still celebrated his festival on Ramadan 26, he took the name of ʿAlī b. Muhammad b Aḥmad b ʿĪsā b. Zaid b. ʿAbbās b ʿAlī b Husain b ʿAlī and was called al-Burḳūʿī "the veiled" Assisted by a certain Rashīd Kurmātī (perhaps connected with the Karmatian propaganda then just beginning), by a miller and a lemonade seller, he had the oath of fealty sworn to him by his runaway slaves (*ubbāḳ*) in an oath *bi 'l-ṭalāḳ* in the Ḳarmatian fashion [cf ḲARMAṬIANS, SURAIDJĪYA]; he raised the standard of rebellion on the 7th Ramadān 255 (868) and uttered the Ḳurʾānic verse called of the *shurāt* (IX 112) devoting himself to war to the knife (*khurūdj ghaḍban bi 'llāh*)

Our sources unfortunately give few details of his system of government which was of a communistic type They refer almost exclusively to the course of the war which was waged mercilessly on the Zandj by the ʿAbbāsid regent Muwaffaḳ. Setting out from Djubbā', the Zandj leader divided his forces, armed with slings, into two divisions (1. the *Zandj* in the strict sense, 2. *Furātīya*, *Ḳurmāṭīya*, *Nūba*) and supported by the Arab tribe of the Banū Tamīm with a fleet he took in succession Ubulla, ʿAbbādān, southern Ahwāz and finally the great city of Basra He advanced as far as Wāsiṭ (264 = 877), Djabbul, Nuʿmānīya, Djardjarāʾīya and Rāmhurmuz. The regent, realising the greatness of the danger, mobilised all his forces for a second offensive It took him three years to finish the war; first he broke through the five enceintes of the camp of Manīʿa, then laid siege to the Zandj headquarters at Mukhtāra (268 = 881), on the canal Abu 'l-Khasīb south of Basra; it only capitulated in 269 (882) and al-Burḳūʿī was killed on 2nd Ṣafar 270 (883) The rebellion was savagely suppressed, those who had fled returned and the old order was restored.

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(L. MASSIGNON)

ZANDJĀN, a town in northern Persia, capital of the province of Khamsa which lies between Ḳazwīn, Hamadhān, Ādharbāidjān and Gīlān.

Geography The town of Zandjān is situated on the river Zangānarūd (the old name of which, according to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 221, was Mādj-rūd), which runs from east to west and joins the Safīd-rūd [q v] on its right bank. Zandjān is an important station on the great road from Ādharbāidjān to Ḳazwīn and thence to Ṭihrān and Khurāsān Zandjān is also at the junction of several other roads to the north, that to Ardabīl [cf. TĀROM] and Gīlān (via Māsūla), to the S W., that to Marāgha [q.v] and to Saʾīn-Kalʿa [q v, N°. 1]; to the south, that to Hamadhān. This last road used occasionally to be used by pilgrims coming from the north who wished to avoid the proximity of Kurdistān.

The country to the south of Zandjān which is under it has been rarely visited by travellers but is represented on our maps with sufficient clearness In 1880 several engineers worked there on behalf of the Persian government, who had learned that there were deposits of gold there

The 17 districts of the province of Khamsa are as a rule named after the rivers of the Safīd-rūd basin (H. Schindler). Abhar-rūd (cf. Yāḳūt, I. 104, in Persian Awhar, explained as "mill water"; its waters flow to the plain of Ḳazwīn), Do-dānge, Khodā-bandelū, Sudjās-rūd (cf. Yāḳūt, III 40 and Istakhrī, p 196, the present capital is Madjīd-ābād), Sohraward (Yāḳūt, III 203 سهرورد often confused with شهرزور, Shahrazūr, q. v.), Idjarūd (to the south of the Zandjān–Takht-i Sulaimān road), Ḳizil-gačirūd, Angūrān, Ūryād (< Oyrat), Golābarūd, Bizinarūd, Ḳani-beglu, Armoghān, Tārom [q v], Khuyūnčay, Gāimāb, Zandjānarūd.

Although Zandjān lies considerably to the east of Ādharbāidjān, it belongs to the Turkish linguistic zone (cf Fortescue, *The Western Elburz*, in *G. J.*, 1924, April, p. 310). The province is mainly inhabited by Afshārs [q. v.] whose amīrs were still able to play a part in politics in 1914—1916. Besides the Afshārs, there is the tribe of Doweyrān, who consider themselves Shāh-sewān [q. v.].

History Andreas (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl.*, i. 731) has very ingeniously identified Zandjān with

Ἀγάνζανα (*Ἀζάνγανα) in Ptolemy, VI 2, 11 Thomas Artsruni (transl. Brosset, p. 193) calls it Žangan. According to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p. 61, the town was built (rebuilt) by Ardashīr Bābakān under the name of Shahīn. Zandjān is rarely mentioned in history. The Muslims coming from Rayy took it in 24 (= 645; Balādhurī, p 322; Yāḳūt, II 948)

Ibn Khurdādhbih, p 57, includes Zandjān in the "Pahlawī" countries (*bilād al-Bahlawiyīn*) and it is curious that according to the *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* the people of Zandjān "speak pure Pahlawī", i e a northern Iranian dialect The intermediary position of Zandjān is reflected in the Arab geographers, who treat it sometimes under al-Djibāl (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 198), sometimes under Dailam (*ibid*, p. 195) sometimes under Ādharbāidjān (Muḳaddasī, p 386), sometimes under Rayy (Muḳaddasī, p 386).

In the tenth century, Zandjān came within the sphere of the activities of the Dailamīs [cf. MUSĀFIRĪ] The stronghold of Sar-djahān is often mentioned in the N E. of Zandjān (to the north of the Ḳohrūd; cf SA'IN-KAL'A, N° 2, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 64) Under the Mongols Zandjān was ruined and the region between Zandjān and Tabrīz attracted the tribes of the conquerors The name of the district of Ūryād still preserves the memory of the Oyrat The Īlkhān Arghūn was buried in the district of Sudjās (*Ḳoruk-i Arghūn*, "Arghūn's sanctuary", *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, p 64, transl p 69) At the beginning of the XIVth century, Zandjān was close to the new capital Sultānīya [q v] The *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, written in 1340, contains many details about the region of Zandjān (p 56, 61, 106, 182, 217, 221) At this time the revenues of the town were 12,000 dīnārs and those of the district 8,000 dīnārs In the post-Safawid period, the arena of Turco-Persian struggle extended as far as Zandjān. In the XIXth century Zandjān was best known as one of the centres of the Bābīs who in 1266 (1850) there offered armed resistance to the government (cf *Ta'rīkh-i djadīd*, transl Browne, p. 135–169)

Bibliography Morier, *A Journey*, 1812, p 261; Ouseley, *Travels*, 1819, III 386 (reckons 10,000 inhabitants in Zandjān), Ritter, *Erdkunde*, VIII. 623—624, Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, III. 91—94, Khanikow, *Khoždeniye v Kerbelu*, in *Trudī Vost Otd I Arkheol Obshč*, 1864, VIII 353—383 (journey of a pilgrim from Tabrīz to Karbalā' *via* Zandjān–Hamadhān; the distance between the two last named places is estimated at 30 farsakhs), de Filippi, *Note di viaggio in Persia*, Milan 1865, p. 180—193, Houtum-Schindler, *Neue Angaben d Mineralreichtumer Persiens und Notizen uber die Gegend westlich von Zendjan*, in *Jahrbuch d K. K geolog Reichsanstalt*, Vienna 1881, p 161—191, do, *Reisen im n-w. Persien*, in *Z. Ges Erdk.*, Berlin 1883, XVIII, p. 320—331 (gold at Kāwand; 20–24 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān; altitude 5,185 feet); cf *ibid.*, 1875, XIV., p. 65, Browne, *The Bābī insurrection at Zandjān*, in *J R. A. S*, 1897, p 761—827; do, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 72—74; Stahl, *Reisen in Zentral- und West-Persien*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, II, 1905, map 2 (roads west of Zandjān); do, *Reisen in Nord- und West-Persien*, *ibid*, III., 1907, p. 121—126, map (road: Tabrīz-Zandjān-Hamadhān; 25–30 thousand inhabitants in Zandjān), Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, p. 221, 223; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 729—731. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ZANDJĀNĪ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. ABŪ 'L-MA'ĀLĪ AL-KHAZRADJĪ, also called AL-'IZZĪ, an Arabic grammarian, who lived in the first half of the VIIth (XIIIth) century The place and date of his birth are unknown and the date of his death is also uncertain The few facts that we know of the his life are given us by Hādjdjī Khalīfa, who in giving the works of al-Zandjānī adds what the latter says about their date and place of composition. We thus know that he stayed in Mōṣul in 637 (1239) where he finished his *al-Mu'rib 'ammā fi 'l-Ṣiḥāh wa 'l-Mughrib*, a work on the dictionaries *Ṣiḥāh* and *al-Mughrib*. Later he was in Baghdād, where, as he tells us at the end of the works, he finished the commentary called *al-Hādī* on his grammatical work *Mabādī fi 'l-Taṣrīf* in 654 (1256) and the two volume commentary *al-Kāfī* on his grammatical work *al-Hādī fi 'l-Nahw* He also finished his *Mīzan al-Hādī fi 'l-Nahw wa 'l-Taṣrīf* at the same time Next year he completed a commentary on the *Kustās fi 'l-'Arūḍ* of al-Zamakhsharī, called *Taṣḥīh al-Mikyās fī Tafsīr al-Ḳustās* According to Hādjdjī Khalīfa, he died some time after 655 (1257) but we do not know the exact date Besides these and other works on grammar, he wrote a book on the use of the astrolabe and made a collection of Arabic poems The latter book, called *al-Madnūn bihi 'alā ghayr Ahlihi*, is an anthology on the lines of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām or of al-Buhturī. It contains verses by Arab poets of the time of the Djāhilīya, of the Mukhaḍramūn [see MUKHADRAM] and of the post-classical period, which he took from their dīwāns and earlier anthologies. A commentary on it was written by 'Ubaid Allāh b 'Abd al-Kafī b. 'Abd al-Madjīd al-'Ubaidī Neither Hādjdjī Khalīfa nor al-Suyūṭī, who mentions al-Zandjānī in the *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabakāt al-Lughawiyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt* (Cairo 1326, p 318), mentions this collection.

Bibliography Brockelmann, *G A L*, I. 283, 474, Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ed Flugel, cf. index, VII 944, E J Sarkis, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de Bibliographie Arabe*, Cairo 1928–1930; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabakāt al-Lughawiyīn wa 'l-Nuḥāt*, Cairo 1326, p 318; al-Zandjānī, *al-Madnūn bihi 'alā ghayri Ahlihi*, ed I. B Yahuda, Cairo 1913—1915.

(ILSE LICHTENSTADTER)

ZANGĪ. [See ZENGĪ]

ZANZIBAR (AL-ZANDJABĀR), capital of the island of the same name, which lies off the east coast of Africa in 6° South Lat The town is on the west side of the island 26 miles N. E of the harbour of Bagamoyo in 6° 9′ S. Lat. and 39° 15′ East Long. and forms a triangular peninsula $1^1/_2$ miles in length, which runs from east to west and affords a roomy anchorage, one of the best in Africa. The peninsula is connected with the mainland of the island by a narrow isthmus on which there is a cemetery; on the bay is the native quarter n'Gambo and there is also an Indian and a European quarter The town which, since the Anglo-German agreement of July 1, 1890, has been the centre of the judicial, military and administrative authorities of the English protectorate and at the last census (1931) had 45,276 inhabitants, owes its rise to Sultān Saiyid Sa'īd of Masḳaṭ and Zanzibar who made it his capital in 1832 and by able policy made it the principal commercial centre of

East Africa from Cape Guardafui to Delágoa Bay He and his successors have also done a great deal for the architectural development of the town Sa'īd himself built a palace in Zanzibar and at Mtoni, three miles away, Sultān Barghash built a new palace in Chukwani, which was connected with Zanzibar by a railway, and other buildings in the town and brought water from Mtoni to Zanzibar The town is noted for its fruits· bananas, lemons, mangoes, oranges, cocoa-nuts; it is connected by good motor roads with the towns of Mkokotoni, Chwaka, and Fumba and by seven miles of railway with Bububu. The Eastern Telegraph Company maintains a cable between Mombasa [q v] (Munbasa) and Zanzibar which secures communication with the ports of East and South Africa, 'Aden, Egypt, India, China and Europe There is wireless telegraphy between Pemba and Zanzibar, which are also connected by telephone Connections by sea are maintained by a number of steamship lines, such as the Clan–Ellerman–Harrison and Ellerman–Bucknall lines, the German East Africa line from Hamburg via the Cape of Good Hope and Suez, the Compagnia Italiana Transatlantica with Genoa, Masawwa', 'Aden, Italian Benadir and Kenya, the Navigazione Libera Triestina with Venice via the Cape of Good Hope and Suez, the United Netherlands Navigation Company with the Dutch Indies and Holland, the Koninklijke Paketvaartmaatschappij with Java, the Osaka Shose Kaisha with Japan and South America, the Cowasjee Dinshaw & Brothers with Kismayu, the British India Steam Navigation Company with Bombay and Durban. In 1931, 346 ocean steamers with a total tonnage of 1,467,000 tons called at Zanzibar as well as 316 coasting steamers of 125,000 reg tons, 3,562 dhows with a total of 69,000 reg tons The principle article of commerce is the clove, the cultivation of which was introduced by the Arabs in 1820, and copra It is to these that Zanzibar owes its wealth The other local products play a smaller part in the export trade, hides and leather, pepper, soap and copal Articles imported for export to the mainland are cotton goods, rice, colonial products, petroleum, soap and provisions. Imports from Africa consist mainly of copra, ivory, hides, leather, copal resin, which are sent to England, India, America and Europe. The harbour is a base for whale-fishers in the Antarctic seas and as such of considerable importance. Zanzibar is also the headquarters of all the firms that trade with the mainland, English, German, Portuguese and Indian Among the population the industrious Indians with 10,926 take second place after the 26,646 Africans. The Parsis, mainly from Bombay, are the largest contingent Some of them engage in intellectual professions but they are mainly merchants and officials in the English service The Muslim population is Sunnī of the Shāfi'ī school, only the ruling dynasty and its relatives are of the Ibādī sect [see ABĀḌIYYA]. Zanzibar has three Christian missions. The Church of England Universities' Mission to Central Africa (founded 1864) maintains a hospital, a training school for teachers and a high school; there is also a cathedral. The Roman Catholic Pères du Saint-Esprit have had a mission in Zanzibar since 1856

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(A. GROHMANN)

II The Swahili population.

Swahili, a name "nowadays generally accepted to mean the mixed race — a blend of the aboriginal coast natives, slaves brought from the up-country region, and Arabs — which lives in most of the towns on the coast and in Zanzibar" (Ingrams, p 30, for a list of the principal tribes referred to, see p. 220) The word is evidently derived from *Sawāḥil* (pl. of *Sāḥil*), a name used from the earliest times by Arab writers to denote the east coast of Africa, but it is not clear when it was first applied to the people, who are usually called *Zanj* [q. v] Strandes points out (p. 161) that the name "Swahili" nowhere occurs in the Portuguese records The mixed race originated as early as the beginning of the Christian era, probably earlier, since the author of the *Periplus* mentions it as an established fact that Arab traders settled on the coast and married native women (Schoff, p 28) Of post-Islāmic settlements, the most northerly would seem to be the oldest, Pate, if tradition can be trusted, was founded in 69 (689). Swahili in general seem to look to this northern area as the country of their origin (*nchi ya asili*) and consider the dialects of Lamu and Mombasa as, in a sense, classical The language of the older poems, which has supplied the conventions of modern poetry, is called *Kingozi* and is said to have been spoken in the district about Malindi (Steere[2]) Duarte Barbosa mentions that the "Moors" of Kilwa spoke Arabic, and this has continued to be the case with recent immigrants and those Arab families who have kept this descent unmixed; but, with the prevalence of slavery and the multiplication of half-castes, many, if not most of whom attained the status of free men, a language gradually grew up, African in structure, but strongly influenced by Arabic as regards vocabulary The language, naturally, would vary locally, according to the tribes with whom the Arab settlers were chiefly brought in contact, or whence their slaves were drawn, but it is clear that these were mainly, if not entirely, Bantu-speaking. It is true that, according to Lamu tradition, the natives found by the first settlers on the island of Pate were Waboni, a hunting tribe who still inhabit the forests of the Tana Valley, speaking a non-Bantu language, of which very little has hitherto been recorded. Whether this is so or not, no trace of Boni speech seems to be discoverable in Swahili.

It is clear that no distinct "Swahili" tribe existed prior to and apart from the extraneous infiltrations above indicated — Arab, Persian (possibly pre-Islāmic and certainly dating from, at least, the settlement of Kilwa, 975 A D.; Ingrams, p. 76, 126, Hollis, p. 275, 282), possibly Indian and Indonesian. — A Swahili, at the present day, may be pure African, without a trace of Arab or other foreign descent.

As might be expected from the circumstances, there is no uniform physical type, but nearly all,

except a minority of pure Arabs, show definite African characteristics Within the same family there may be various gradations of colour, while some members have woolly hair and others wavy or straight Burton's description (p. 414 *sqq*) appears somewhat of a caricature, and this applies still more to his account of their character; but he was apt to look on everything African with a jaundiced eye (cf. Ingrams, ch. xlvii) All Swahili, with insignificant exceptions (conversions to Christianity are very few), are professed Muslims, usually Sunnis of the Shāfiʿī school, the Arabs are all, or mostly, Ibādī (Ingrams, p 188—193, 434) But, as elsewhere, among the less instructed, there is a considerable infusion of animism At Mombasa, e. g., vows and offerings are made at the grave of a saint known as Shehe Jundani, usually in order to injure some enemy Ingrams (p 435 *sqq*) enumerates various superstitions and magical practices, with references (p. 501, 505) to some abnormal occurrences (apparently related on good authority), which have never been satisfactorily explained

The Swahili language, as already stated, is essentially African — and specifically Bantu — in structure, though it cannot be said to be based on any one Bantu language. The Pokomo of the Tana Valley would probably be the tribe with whom the early settlers of Pate and Lamu came most in contact, and, certainly, the influence of their language on the Lamu dialect of Swahili is unmistakable. On a superficial view it would seem that they were the only Bantu-speaking tribe within the reach of the northern Arab settlements until the sixteenth century, when, according to their tradition, the "Nyika" tribes moved southwestward from "Shungwaya" But there is no evidence that this place (now included in Italian Somaliland) was their original home There is no reason to doubt that this migration was preceded by unrecorded movements from the south or the west. Ingrams's argument (p. 64) that the natives mentioned in the *Periplus* could not have been Bantu is hardly conclusive, it must be borne in mind, *inter alia*, that "Bantu" is no more a racial designation than "English-speaking peoples" would be.

The general characteristics of the Bantu languages may be summarised as agglutinative structure, the system of noun-classes and absence of grammatical gender The noun-classes in Swahili have undergone considerable attrition, indicating a long course of development and, also, extensive foreign contact. One is struck by the comparative rarity of vocal images (*Lautbilder*), so remarkable a feature in e. g. Zulu, Nyanja and Yao, and also by the development of the relative clause — a stumbling-block to European students, which is absent in the more primitive forms of Bantu speech.

Of foreign elements in the Swahili vocabulary, the Arabic is obviously the most conspicuous. It has played the same part in Swahili as Latin in the Teutonic tongues, more especially in English. As might be expected, many such are technical terms of theology or ritual: *dua*, *kusali* (*ku-* being the infinitive prefix), *kusujudu*, *imamu*, *hotuba*, etc The adoption of such words as *sultani*, *amiri*, *dola* is an obvious necessity; also names of objects introduced by the Arabs *sahani* = plate, *sufuria* = metal pot, *orofa* = upper story of a house, *jahazi* = sailing-ship, and many more. In some cases the introduction of an Arabic word seems quite unnecessary, e g. *samaki*, for the old Swahili *swi* = fish (found in Pokomo as *nswi*), *wasili* for *fika* = arrive, *rudi* for *uya* = return (cf. Zulu *buya*), *zamani* for *kale* = long ago, *mahali* for *pantu* = place. Arabic influence on Swahili grammar is confined to the introduction of prepositions and conjunctions (parts of speech noticeably wanting in Bantu), such as *hatta*, *lakini*, *wala*, (*kwa*) *sababu*, *billa*, etc, which may be said to supply a felt want and certainly facilitate literary composition.

The pronunciation of Arabic words has, naturally, been considerably modified, largely by the introduction of vowels between two consonants, as *riziki* from *rizk* since all Swahili syllables are open. An interesting point emerges in connection with the words *harufu* (*ʿarf*) and *harusi* (*ʿurs*), where the aspirate, in popular pronunciation, has taken the place of ʿ (it is omitted by some speakers, which, indeed, is considered more correct) Elsewhere ʿ is reduced to a mere glottal stop, or simply disregarded; *gh* — except by pedantic Arabizers — is pronounced sometimes as *g*, sometimes as *h* The vocalisation of Arabic verbs has occasioned some perplexity *nuzuku* from *razaḳa*, *safiri* from *safara* But, as Seidel has pointed out (p 101), Arabic verbs in Swahili are taken from the imperfect, not from the ground-form Persian loan-words occur sporadically, some, possibly, imported at an early stage, e g *boma*, "a fortified enclosure"; *pamba*, "cotton", *kiboko*, hippopotamus" (but primarily the whip made from the animal's hide), from *čābuk* Some have probably come through Arabic, as *surwali*, "trousers", *marijani*, "coral", *bustani*, "garden" Loan-words from Portuguese are not numerous. *meza*, "table"; *gereza*, derived from *igreja*, but now used to mean "fort" or "prison"; *mvinyo*, from *vinho*, and several words connected with card-games Recently there have been extensive borrowings from English

It is uncertain how long the Arabic script has been in use for writing Swahili, no MSS. as yet discovered would appear to be more then 200 years old, yet such a poem as the *Inkishafi*, which Taylor (Stigand, p 94) conjectures to have been composed earlier than 1498, can hardly have been orally transmitted, and, in fact, presupposes a long period of culture The Arabic script is still extensively used for correspondence, especially at Zanzibar and the towns north of Mombasa, though an increasing acquaintance with the Roman character, acquired in Mission and Government schools, is tending to displace it, indeed, is far better adapted for rendering the sounds of Swahili. The Persian ب and ق are very generally used for *p* and *f*, though less educated writers sometimes employ ب and ف, e.g. پِپٖ, پٖفٖتٖ, for *pepo*, *vitu*. *Ch* (*tš*) is rendered, sometimes by ش, sometimes, chiefly by Northern scribes, by ک; *g* by غ, occasionally by ج, and *ṅ*, *ṅg* by غ. A nasal before another consonant (as in the common combinations *mb*, *ny*, *nz*) is usually omitted (thus *nyumba* is written بٖبٖ), but *nd* is frequently rendered by the sign ز (كٖزٖ for *kwenda*). It follows that Swahili in Arabic script cannot be read with-

out the vowel points, and even with them, if carelessly placed. An example of the confusion thus produced is quoted by Steere[1] (p. 6). J

The existing Swahili literature (apart from that produced, under European encouragement, during the last few decades) is confined to poetry The lyrics ascribed to Liongo Fumo, if genuine, probably go back to the xiiith century at latest. Of the numerous poems collected by the late C. G Buttner, three were published by him in *Anthologie*, and one, since his death, by Meinhof, in *Z. K* (ii. 1911—1912) The collections of the late W. E Taylor still remain in MS The art of poetry is still being cultivated, as shown by the recent work of Muhammad b. Abū Bakar b. ʿUmar (Kijuma) at Lamu and Bwana Silimu at Mombasa.

The metric system, originally borrowed from Arabia, has been modified in accordance with the genius of the language, with its uniform penultimate stress and richness of vocalisation

It must not be forgotten that, side by side with these products of conscious literary art, we find a living stream of folk-poetry, comparable to that of Southern Europe Specimens of such folk-songs have been collected by Zache, Velten and others.

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(ALICE WERNER)

ZĀR is in Arabic a loanword from Amharic, as the popular beliefs in the genii *zār* were imported from Abyssinia into the Islāmic world. Similar ideas about genii who may temporarily become incarnate in particular human beings, are found in various Muslim countries of Asia and Africa where they have special names. such as *būrī* (Nigeria and Tripolitania) and *amok* (Malaya). This article, however, is concerned only with the habits of the *zār* adopted with that name in Egypt, Ḥiḏjaz and ʿOmān, besides Abyssinia.

In Abyssinia itself the name *zār* is of non-Semitic origin. *Zār* is very probably derived from the name of the supreme divinity of the pagan Kushites, the God-Heaven called in Agau (Bilen): *ḏār*; and in Sidama languages (Kaffa): *yarō*; (Buoro). *darō*. The ancient pagan god became in christianized Abyssinia a malevolent genius; and in this way the animistic practices, which in the paganism of the Kushites were directed only to the minor superhuman beings, passed into Abyssinian Christianity (and then into Islām) with the proper name of the God-Heaven who had been reduced to a minor rank.

In Abyssinia Christians and Muslims believe that the *zār* (who lives especially in rivers, streams and other running waters) may be driven out of the body of the possessed person by the use of amulets or rites common to the followers of both religions. During these rites the *zār* is summoned "to tell his name", because that would cause him to lose his power.

By the peoples of Southern Ethiopia (Galla and Sidama), however, besides these exorcistic rites, there are other ceremonies intended to force the evil spirit to enter the bodies of initiated persons. When the evil spirit has possessed these persons, they prophesy and each word or gesture by them is believed to be a revelation by the spirit.

In Egypt the ceremonies connected with the *zār* were probably imported in the xixth century; and their Amharic name *zār* and their exorcistic character are clear evidence of their origin from Northern (Semitic) Abyssinia (The popular Arabic etymology recorded by Zwemer: "*zār* because he is a [sinister] visitor" has, of course, no real basis) The exorcistic ceremony is often conducted by a woman. the *sheikha* or *ʿārifa al-sikka*. The spirit must be differently treated according to its place of origin (they distinguish genii from Cairo, Upper Egypt, Sūdān etc) It is necessary, therefore, to get "the right melody, the right song and right clothes", all these things being different for the Cairine or Sūdānese etc. spirits. The songs are accompanied by little drums and dances. A sacrifice of fowls is also usually offered to the spirit The ceremony may last, in special cases, many nights Pamphlets condemning the *zār* practises have been printed in Cairo.

In the Ḥiḏjāz the belief in the *zār* was imported, according to Snouck Hurgronje, by Abyssinian slaves. It has the same characteristics as in Egypt and is widely diffused among Meccan women. The *sheikha*, who conducts the rites, tries to ascertain the nationality of the *zār* by questioning him either in vulgar Arabic or in a particular *zār*-language known only to initiated persons.

To ʿOmān the *zār* has come in the same way. A plural (*sirān*) of the name *zār* in the dialect of ʿOmān seems to be unknown elsewhere.

In Somaliland only do we find, besides the exorcistic rites, other ceremonies intended to procure the incarnation of the genius (called in Somali: *sār*).

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(ENRICO CERULLI)

ZARANDJ, a town in Persia, the former capital and principal town of Sidjistān to the south of Heirāt, at a distance of ten days' journey in a desert traversed by canals led from the river Hindmend (Hilmend) Attacked by al-Rabi' b Ziyād al-Ḥārithī in 30 (651), he left it to the satrap Parwiz on payment of 200 slaves, each carrying a basin of gold. At the end of 2 1/2 years, al-Rabī' was replaced by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura who besieged the satrap in the citadel and made peace on payment of 2,000,000 dirhams and 2,000 slaves. At one time fortified and surrounded by a ditch as was its suburb, it had five iron gates the new gate and the old on the Fārs side in the west, the gate of Karkoye on the Khurāsān side in the north, the gate of Nīshak on the Bost side and the gate al-Ṭa'ām towards the villages The houses were built in vaulted porticoes of brick (*āzādj ma'kūda*) because wood there was eaten by ants It had been a palace of Ya'ḳūb b. Laith, the white Ṣaffārid [cf SAFFĀRIDS] and of his brother 'Amr, inside the town was a building called Arg (fortress, *arx*) which was the treasury built by 'Amr. There were markets around the principal mosque, one of them was built by 'Amr who made it a *wakf* of the mosque, a hospital, and a mosque called Hariām There were canals inside the town Two great reservoirs of running water supplied the greater part of the private houses and gardens The two minarets of the great mosque were famous

It was taken by Timūr in 785 (1383) and destroyed, its inhabitants were massacred Its ruins lie around the modern villages of Zāhidān (remains of a tower) and Shahristān, along the old bed of one of the canals led from the Hilmend and dried up since the middle ages

Zarandj was, in early times, the name of the province (*zaranka*) and of the people who inhabited it (Ζράγγοι, Arrian)

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AL-ZARNŪDJĪ, BURHĀN AL-DĪN, an Arab philosopher. His *ism* is not known and his period can only be approximately stated Ahlwardt in the Berlin Catalogue under N°. 111 says that Maḥmūd b. Sulaimān al-Kaffawī (d. 990 = 1562) in his *A'lām al-Akhyār min Fukahā' Madhhab al-Nu'mān al-Mukhtār* puts our author in the twelfth class of the Hanafīs and from this calculates that he flourished about 620 (1223). In agreement with this is the fact that Eduard van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-Ḳanū' bi-mā huwa maṭbū'*, Cairo 1896, p. 190, describes our philosopher, in agreement with Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, N°. 3134, as a pupil of the author of the *Hidāya fī Furū' al-Fikh*, i. e. Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī [q v.]. The latter died in 593 (1197); and al-Zarnūdjī in fact quotes him in his *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* several times as his teacher and with the eulogy for the dead. The other authorities cited in this book, so far as their dates are known, also confirm Ahlwardt's date. For example al-Zarnūdjī mentions Fakhr al-Islām al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Farghānī Ḳāḍīkhān [q. v.], who died in 592 (1196), as his teacher In another passage he records that the Shaikh Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghīnānī recited verses before him (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 379 puts him rather too late, for his father died in 506 [1112] and the above mentioned Ḳāḍīkhān was his pupil, see vol iii, p. 280, N° ii). He further tells us that he heard a story from Shaikh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī The reference is certainly to Abū Bakr Mas'ūd b Aḥmad (*G A L*, i 375, d 587 = 1191) Finally he tells us that Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Imām Khwāharzāde recited something to him and according to *G. A. L.*, i. 429 he lived about 560 (1165) If we take all these data together, we come to the conclusion that our author flourished a little earlier than Ahlwardt thought but his work was certainly composed after 593.

The only known and only surviving work of al-Zarnūdjī, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim Tarik al-Ta'allum*, is a little vademecum for students to teach them the ethical outlook of the man of learning. The whole book consists simply of utterances of earlier writers but they are not unskilfully chosen and presented in an attractive way. This fact and the brevity of the book are the causes of its tremendous popularity, on the details of which see *G A L*, i 462 It is interesting to notice that the authorities cited by the author, so far as they do not belong to the first century, are almost without exception Ḥanafīs, although the subject matter has practically nothing to do with the doctrine of any *madhhab* — Ibn Ismā'īl's commentary was printed at Cairo in 1311.

Bibliography given in the article.

(M PLESSNER)

ZĀTĪ, one of the most important Ottoman poets of the preparatory classical period His real name was 'Iwaz or Bakhshī or Yakhshī (according to Laṭīfī) Born in 876 (1471—1472) in Balīkesrī in Ḳarasī, the son of a shoemaker, he followed the same trade He had no education In spite of all obstacles his poetical ability displayed itself He was a born poet In the time of Sulṭān Bāyazīd he came to Constantinople. As his original plan of becoming a ḳāḍī after some training fell through on account of his deafness, which also prevented him from obtaining any public appointment, he lived the life of an unattached poet, supporting himself by the presents his poems brought him from the sultān and the notables. He dedicated ḳasīdas to the three sulṭāns in whose reigns he wrote, Sulṭān Bāyazīd, Selim I and Sulaimān al-Ḳānūnī, in return for which he received presents and even a fief which was however later taken from him as he did not give military service.

His talent brought him a large number of patrons and friends (the grand vizier 'Alī Pāshā, the Kāḍī'asker Mu'ayyad-zāde, the Nishāndjī-zāde Tādjī-zāde Dja'far Čelebi, the Defterdār and later grand vizier Pīrī Pāshā, Ḳadrī Efendi, etc.). But as they in turn lost their offices or their lives, he was left penniless He therefore worked as a fortune-teller (*rammāl*) and wrote amulets (*wafḳ*; q.v) He had his booth first of all in the court of the Bāyazīd mosque and later besides Ḳodja Ibrāhīm Pāshā's baths. There the intellect of Constantinople used

to gather, including the poets Khayālī, Yaḥyā, Bāḳī and others. Zātī was for a period a recognised leader and master. He lived in great poverty, besides he drank. He was celebrated for his ready wit and in spite of his ugliness was a popular companion. He died in Ramaḍān 953 (Nov. 1546) and was buried outside of the Adrianople Gate.

Zātī's poetic output was prodigious. This was partly the result of his poverty which forced him to write Laṭīfī credits him with 3,000 ghazels, 500 ḳaṣīdas and 1,000 rubāʿī's and ḳiṭʿa's Zātī's own figures however are 1,600 ghazels and over 400 ḳaṣīdas (according to Ḳınalī-zāde). In the *Dīwān* collected by Pīrī Čelebi there are 600 ghazels and 80 ḳasīdas

Zātī also wrote two mesnewīs *Shemʿ u-Perwāne* (*hezedj*) and *Aḥmed u-Maḥmūd* (*remel*); a *Shehrengīz* of Adrianople, a *Ferruḫ-nāme*, *Fāl-i Ḳurʾān*, *Siyer-i Nebī*, a *Mewlūd*, *Laghuzlar* (puzzles), a *Madjmaʿ al-Laṭāʾif*, and a collection of anecdotes about his contemporaries. None of his works has been printed. His *Dīwān* is very scarce, there is a copy in the Hamīdīye Library in Constantinople

In view of his lack of training and education, Zātī's high poetic gifts are surprising the vigour of his poems and the power and richness of his language especially in his best period Later he became feeble and artificial and continually repeats himself With Aḥmad Pāshā and Nedjātī he is considered a master in the use of proverbs Many of his sayings have in their turn become proverbial

Zātī was the chief of those who prepared the way for the perfect classical style, as typified in Bāḳī After Aḥmad Pāshā and Nedjātī, he is the third founder of the Ottoman poetical language He surpassed all his predecessors in power of language and poetic conception The depth of his religious conviction, which is evident in his poems, may be mentioned He belonged to the Wefāʾ order

Bibliography Latīfī, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1314, p 156—161, Sehī, *Hesht Bihisht* (*Tezkere*), 1325, p 107—108, Ziyāʾ Pasha, *Ḫarābāt*, 1292, iii. 24—27, Muʿallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, 1308, p 141—142, do., *Medjmūʿa-i Muʿallim*, N⁰. 16, p 121—122, Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii 341, Samī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iii 2224; Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *Taʾrīḫ-i Edebiyāt-i ʿOthmānīye*, 1328, p. 59–65, Koprulū-zāde Mehmed Fuʾād and Shihāb al-Dīn Sulaimān, *ʿOthmānlī Taʾrīḫ-i Edebiyātī*, 1332, p 254—258, F. Reshād, *Taʾrīḫ-i Edebīyāt-i ʿOthmānīye*, 1328, p. 232—245; do., *Eslāf*, N⁰ 54 in *Ḫazīne-i Funūn*, ii 63—64, Mehmed Tahir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, ii 176—177; Ibrāhīm Nedjmī, *Taʾrīḫ-i Edebīyāt Dersleri*, 1338, i. 75—77; Hammer-Purgstall, *G O D*, ii 240—248; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la litterature turque*, Constantinople 1910, p. 44—45 (Th. Menzel)

ZĀTĪ (Sulaimān), a Ṣūfī Ottoman poet, of Gallipoli (not Brussa, as often stated), *ḫalīfa* of Shaikh Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī He died in 1151 (1738) as *pūst-nishīn* of the Ḫalwetī monastery in Keshan. He left a *Dīwān* with Ṣūfī poems and a treatise in verse: *Sawānih al-Nawādir fī Maʿrifat al-ʿAnāṣir* (printed together), and two prose works. *23 Esʾele-i muteṣawwifāneye Djewāb-nāme* and *Miftāḥ al-Masāʾil*.

Bibliography Brusalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Muʾellifleri*, i. 72—73, Thuraiyā, *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii. 342; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iii. 2224. (Th Menzel)

ZĀWA, a town in Persia, in Khorāsān near Naisābūr In the time of Muḳaddasī, it was a rural district which did not contain a town; but later (xivth century) there was a fine town there with a citadel built of brick. It contains the tomb of the shaikh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaidar, who was still alive in 617 (1220) whence the name of Turbat-i Ḥaidarī now given to the town. Muḳaddasī mentions a town of the same name near Ghazna (*B.G.A*, iii 50, 297)

Bibliography Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii. 770, 910 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p 282; *B. G A*, iii 319ᵉ, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, iii 79, Kazwīnī, *Āthār*, p. 251, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Le Strange, p 154, transl, p 152; F Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, p. 353, Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 356. (Cl. Huart)

al-ZAWĀWĪ. [See Ibn Muʿṭī]

ZAWĪLA, the name of two towns in North Africa

1 Zawīlat al-Mahdīya (according to al-Bakrī Zuwaila) built by the Fāṭimid ʿUbaid Allāh al-Mahdī (d Rabīʿ I 14, 322) situated a bowshot distant from al-Mahdiya, of which it was a suburb. According to Idrīsī the two towns formed one It had fine bazaars and buildings and many merchants resided there who went to their businesses in Mahdīya in the day The town was surrounded by a wall even on the side facing the sea, the land side was further protected by a great ditch. The wall built by al-Muʿizz b Bādīs Sharaf al-Dawla (d Shawwāl I, 453) was 2 miles long and had iron gates weighing 1,000 cwts, 30 spans high, each studded with 6 lbs of heavy nails In the vicinity of Zawīla were hamlets, farms and country houses, belonging to the people of the town who practised agriculture and cattle-rearing here, the principal products were barley and olives, the oil went to the Levant

2. Zawīlat al-Sūdān (according to Idrīsī: Zāwīla), capital of Fazzān, 10 days' journey north of Waddān on that frontier of the Bilād al-Sūdān which adjoins the province of Africa The town, which lay at an important road junction in the middle of the desert, had no walls, had a mosque, baths and bazaars, palmgroves and cornfields, which were watered by camels The Muslims who lived here were Ibādīs Many traders from Khurāsān, al-Kūfa and Baṣra used to come here. The exports were slaves and leather. The town was taken by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, a general of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ The poet Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī is buried here.

Bibliography. On 1. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed Wüstenfeld, ii. 961, al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, French transl. by Jaubert, i. 258 *sq.*; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Dhikr Bilād Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. G. de Slane², Algiers 1911, p. 29 *sq* ; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G A.*, i. 40, 44, 46, Ibn Ḥawḳal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 66; al-Muḳaddasī, *B. G A.*, iii. 246

On 2. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 345; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ*, French transl. by Jaubert, i. 115; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 960 *sq.*; iii. 890, iv. 911.

(A. Grohmann)

ZĀWIYA, properly the corner of a building, was at first appled to the cell of the Christian monk (cf. the Greek *γωνία*), then to a small mosque or praying room; the word still has this meaning in the Muslim east in contrast to a more important mosque (*masdjid* or *djāmi*ᶜ). On the other hand the term zāwiya has retained a much more general meaning in North Africa and is applied to a building or group of buildings of a religious nature, which resembles a monastery and a school. An excellent definition of the Maghribī zāwiya was given as early as 1847 by Daumas (*La Kabylie*, p. 60) and it seems to be in essentials appropriate at the present day (cf. the quotation in Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v) All or several of the following are found in a zāwiya: a room for prayer with a *miḥrāb*, the mausoleum of a marabout or Sharīfan saint, which is surmounted by a dome (*ḳubba*), a room set aside exclusively for the recitation of the Ḳurᵓān; a *maktab* or Ḳurᵓān school, finally rooms for the guests of the zāwiya, pilgrims, travellers and students. The zāwiya is usually adjoined by a cemetery with the tombs of those who have during their lifetime expressed a wish to be buried here. "The zāwiya" says Daumas, is, to sum up, a religious school and a free hostel, in these two respects it has much in common with the mediaeval monastery".

The conception of a zāwiya has, it seems, undergone a somewhat characteristic change since the middle ages, at least in the Muslim west, in the east on the other hand the term very soon acquired a definite meaning so that it was applied only to the more humble mosques and is not there used as an alternative for the more precise terms like *dar*, *ḵẖānḳāh* or *tekke*, which are used particularly for monastic institutions which as a rule owe their origin to Persian Muslim mysticism In the Maghrib on the other hand the term *zāwiya* appears about the xiiith century as synonymous with *rābiṭa*, i e. hermitage, to which a holy man retired and where he lived surrounded by his pupils and devotees (cf G S Colin, transl of al-Bādisī's *Maḳṣad*, in *A M*, xxvi. [1926], p. 240, s v.). This *zāwiya* or *rābiṭa* is however not always identical with the *ribāṭ*, an institution which served another purpose und was primarily of a military character. In this connection however we may note a statement of Ibn Marzūḳ of Tlemcen (d. 781 = 1379), who in his monograph on the Marīnid Sulṭān Abu l Hasan ᶜAlī, *al-Musnad al ṣaḥiḥ al-ḥasan*, devotes the 42nd chapter to the zāwiyas built by this ruler and says the zāwiya corresponds to what in the east is called *Ribāṭ* or *Ḵẖānaḳāh*. It may be added that the word *ribāṭ* is also found in Morocco used for institutions in which the military activity was particularly directed to spreading Islam among heretics with the sword. this for example was the case with the *ribāṭ* Asfī (cf. SAFI) and Sidī-Shiker on the Wādi-Tansift The first zāwiya hermitages undoubtedly developed very quickly and became not only places of refuge from the world but also centres of religious and mystic life, where the *taṣawwuf*, hitherto the sole possession of urban scholars, was to be brought nearer the masses. They now became centres of attraction, religious schools and to some extent free hostels for travellers in search of spiritual perfection. This explains how Ibn Marzūḳ could say when speaking of the zāwiyas of his time: "It is clear that with us in the Maghrib the zāwiyas serve to give shelter to wanderers and food to travellers" (cf. also RIBĀṬ].

In Muslim Spain we find no zāwiyas before the time of the Naṣrids of Granada. They therefore belong to the same time as those of the Marīnid sulṭān Abu 'l-Hasan and their foundation must have met the same needs. In 1903 W and G. Marçais put forward the attractive hypothesis that the Maghribī *madrasas* were in the intention of their founders, the Marīnid and ᶜAbd al-Wādid rulers of the xivth century, only an "official recognition" of the schools attached to the zāwiyas It is perhaps more possible that these rulers endeavoured by their foundations alongside of the great centres of religious instruction (notably the Djamiᶜ al-Ḳarawīyin in Fās) to weaken to some degree the competition already caused in the towns and outside of them by the zāwiya schools

At the present day the most important North African zāwiyas, whether they are now in the large towns or in the country — where little townships have almost always grown up around them — are the mother houses or branch settlements of the Marabout or Sharīfan religious brotherhoods [see ṬARIḲA and SHORFĀ].

In addition to their religious and intellectual influence the zāwiyas of the Muslim west have exercised a direct political influence on the population of the country in areas remote from the seat of the central government The most striking example of this is the *Z*āwiya al-Dilāᵓ (in the district of Tādlā, in Central Morocco on the banks of the Umm Rabiᶜ), the heads of which took advantage of the troubled times after the fall of the Saᶜdian dynasty (in the second half of the xviith century) to extend their secular power over the greater part of the district which was dependent on Fās In more recent times the example of the Berber zāwiyas of Ilīgh in Tāzarwalt and Aḥanṣāl in the Central Atlas can be quoted.

Bibliography. M van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, p I, *Egypte*, Paris 1903, p 174, 244; W. and G. Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903, p 270–272, G Marçais, *Note sur les ribâts en Berberie*, in *Melanges Rene Basset*, Paris 1925, ii. 395 *sqq* , E. Levi-Provençal, *Le Musnad d'Ibn Marzūḳ*, Paris 1925, p. 70—71, R Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict arabes*, i. 615—616. — On the modern North African *Z*āwiyas there are a number of monographs, e. g.: E. Doutté, *Les Marabouts*, Paris 1900, L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, O Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confreries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ZĀY. [See *Z*Āᵓ.]

ZAYĀNIDS (BANŪ ZAYĀN or BANŪ ZIYĀN, the two vocalisations *zayān* and *ziyān* are classical, we also find *zaiyān*), a Berber dynasty of kings of Tlemcen, who reigned over Central Maghrib from the xiiith to the xvith century A.D., whose claim to noble descent from Idrīs is disputed (cf. *Hist. des Berbers*, transl. de Slane, iii. 328 and *ibid.*, the words attributed to Yaghmurāsan). They are called by the chroniclers also ᶜAbdalwādids (q. v , i., p. 64ᵇ). This is because ᶜAbd al-Wād [q. v.] and Zaiyān were two of the ancestors of the kings of Tlemcen, centuries apart however, the former living before Islām and the latter being the father of Yaghmurāsan (end of the viith [xiiith] century).

After Yaghmurāsan (first independent king of the dynasty from 633 = 1236) and beginning with his son Abū Saʿīd ʿOthmān I, four kings, all direct descendants of Yaghmurāsan, occupied the throne in succession till 737 (1337) The kingdom of Tlemcen was then twice conquered and occupied by the Marīnids from 737 to 749 (1337—1348) and from 753 to 760 (1352—1359)

The first Zayānid restoration (749 = 1348) brought to the throne the brothers Abū Saʿīd ʿOthmān II and Abū Thābit but it was their nephew Abū Hammū I (son of their brother Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf) who in 760 (1359) restored the dynasty to its old position; his descendants ruled till the Turkish conquest in 962 (1554)

The only genealogical difference between the two ruling branches of this dynasty is that the first consisted of the direct descendants of Yaghmurāsan, through his eldest son ʿOthmān I while the second line consisted of the direct descendants of his younger son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

There is no reason — and no document to justify it — to believe with Bargès (cf *Tlemcen, anc cap* etc, p 194 and *Hist des B Zeiyan*, transl *Introd*, p xli.) that it was only the kings of the younger line who took the name of Banū Zayān (from 794 = 1348), all being direct descendants of Yaghmurāsan, were Zayānids as well as ʿAbd al-Wādids, for both lines included among their ancestors ʿAbd al-Wād and Zayān

As to the relationship of these kings to the Marīnids [q v] of Fās, it has been established by the Muslim genealogists who place Wasān, grandfather of ʿAbd al-Wād, among the ancestors of Marīn b Wurtādjin, ancestor of the Marīnids (cf. especially Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist des Berbers*, ii. 240, transl iv 25, *al-Dhakhīrat al-sanīya*, p 10).

Bibliography To the *Bibl* in the articles ʿABD AL-WĀD and ʿABDALWĀDIDS, the following can now be added Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn fī Dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed and transl Gh. Bouali and G. Maiçais, Paris 1917, with a *Histoire des Banu Zayān de Tlemcen* (from the transl. by Dozy in *JA*, 4th series, vol iii, p 382—416), *al-Dhakhīrat al-sanīya*, *Chronique anonyme des Mérinides*, ed Moh Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1921; Alfred Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs* ², Toulouse n d.

(ALFRED BEL)

ZĀYIRDJA, an astrological magic table common in Morocco, the making and use of which is fully described by Ibn Khaldūn in the *Mukaddima*. The word is connected with *Zīdj* [q v]; its fuller name is *Zāyirat al-ʿĀlam*. The inventor is said to have been the Sūfī Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ṣibtī (i. e. of Ceuta) who lived in the time of the Almohad Yaʿḳūb al-Mansūr, i e at the end of the vith (xiith) century The table has on one side a system of concentric circles with divisions corresponding to the signs of the zodiac and others for telling fortunes and answering questions on important matters, with a corresponding system of radii, filled with numerals and letters On the reverse of the table is a rectangle, divided into 55,131 small compartments, some empty, some with letters in them Two verses by Malik b. Wuhaib are used in connection with it; the letters in them are used as starting points in the consultation

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl de Slane, i. 245—253 and iii. 199—205; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v.

(J. RUSKA)

ZEʿĀMET (A.), popular form for *ziʿāma*, Turkish pronunciation *zeamet* and *ziamet*: 1. the quality of *zaʿīm*, 2. (military) fief of a *zaʿīm* (the other meanings of *zeʿāmet* will be found in the Arabic dictionaries) — The word *zaʿīm*, plur. *zuʿamāʾ*, has several meanings which may be grouped round that of "person who puts forward a claim, who intercedes for or answers for one or more weaker individuals". It means, in effect: 1. "caution, surety" (Ḳurʾān, *Dīwān* of Imruʾu 'l-Ḳais, treatises on Muslim law); 2 "spokesman of a group of individuals or metaphorically of animals, acting in name of the group", as in the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1928, ii 117 *sqq.*; 3. "the head of a non-Muslim community" (therefore not enjoying full civil rights). Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ*, iv 194) gives the name *zuʿamāʾ ahl al-dhimma* to the various "patriarchs of the Christian communities"; 4 "the two provosts-marshals or chiefs of police or of the watch in Cairo and Būlāḳ", a synonym of the Arabic *wālī* (*al-shurṭa*) and the Turkish *subashī* (cf J Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, p. 39, notes 1 and 2) — These officials had the supervision of the Christians especially, 5 "honorific title given in Egypt to high military officials and to certain foreign Muslim sovereigns" (for details, cf Ḳalḳashandī, vi. 51), cf the title *zaʿīm al-djuyūsh* given to the Turkish prince of Germian [q v] (*ibid*, viii 13); the expression *al-zaʿīm al-aʿzam* was applied to the highest imām, even to the caliph (*ibid*, iv. 444 and 448); 6 (modern Egypt usage) "leader of a political party" (e g the late Zaghlūl), 7. (Turkish usage, probably since 1375) "holder of a military fief, of an annual revenue of at least 20,000 aspers (*akča* or *akče*)'. — This development of the meaning is perhaps analogous to that given under N⁰ 5 above (thence meaning of "more important leader than a simple timariot"), but it is more probable that it is due to the fact that the *zaʿīm* had under this jurisdiction, mainly fiscal, groups of raïas or peasants, for the most part Christians We know also [cf TĪMĀR] that some of the holders of fiefs had the rank of *subashī* Now the *subashī* were not simple timariots but *zaʿīm* Besides the *subashī* [q. v] in as much as they were police officers dealt mainly with the Christians We have already given above under N⁰ 4 another example of the similarity of meaning between *zaʿīm* and *subashī*

It is with the seventh and last significance that we are here concerned.

Details of the Turkish military fiefs in general and of the *zeamet* in particular are to be found in the article TĪMĀR. Here we shall mainly confine ourselves to adding that this article has been criticised by the eminent scholar Koprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād who rightly reproves the author for not having cited the article IḲṬāʿ in this Encyclopædia and the articles by C. H Becker (*Bizans Muesseselerinin Osmanlī Muesseselerine Teʾsiri hakkinda bazī mulāhazalar* "Some remarks on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions", in *Turk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuasī* "Review of the History of Turkish Law and Political Economy", Istanbul, Ewḳāf Maṭbaʿasī, 1931, vol. I. [all that appeared], p. 165—313; ch x. of this important contribution is devoted to the *Timar sistemi* ["the Timar system"], p. 219—241).

According to Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, the system of Ottoman military fiefs was not borrowed

from the Byzantines but from the Saldjūḳs. I ought indeed to have mentioned the latter [cf IḲṬAʿ, p. 462b] and it was quite natural for the institution to have been transmitted from them to the Ottomans

It is nevertheless true that it is difficult to admit that an organisation so closely bound up with the soil as this could have disappeared from Anatolia with the fall of the Byzantine empire to be replaced by another of the same kind. The Byzantine organisation was not only amalgamated with the Saldjūḳ organisation but continued to exercise its influence on that which the successors of the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor adopted The fiscal system of the *tīmār* bears clear traces of this. This Byzantine influence was perhaps less strong than western scholars, who have not had direct access to the Oriental sources, have thonght, but it seems indisputable

It is not however certain that the organisation of the military fiefs of the Saldjūḳs themselves was not influenced by that of the Byzantines who preceded them (the use of cuirassiers, in full armour or *djebeli*, in particular, goes back to Rome itself). At the present day, we can see how easily military practices are borrowed from one country by another and Turkish military organisation at a very early period attained a perfection which enabled it to accept improvements from foreign countries without hurting the national amour-propre.

While giving due credit to the importance of the Saldjūḳ organisation we would ask that the Byzantine elements should not be omitted in a study of the Turkish *tīmār*.

The few notes that follow are intended to supplement the article TIMĀR

Zaʿīm — According to a MS note by the late René Basset in his copy of Kazimirski's Arabic–French dictionary, the word *zaʿīm* also means "supervisor, convict guard" (*Ghazawāt*, p 4) It would have to be investigated how far this term is connected with *zeamet* or maritime fiefs The same remark applies to the word *zaʿīm* used for a kind of ship in the Red Sea

A Turkish saying has it *ustu baṣhī zaʿīm čadīrīna dondu* "he is dressed like a *zaʿīm* tent"; cf the French "comme une châsse" (Tekezade M Sait [Saʿīd], *Atalar sozu*, 1312, p 55) This saying shows that the tents of the *zaʿīm* were very luxurious.

There was a style of head-dressing called *zaʿīmī* (cf. Ahmet Rasim, *Osmanlī tarihi*, p. 236 and 473).

The name *zaʿīm muteferrikalarī* was given to the *muteferrika* of the Palace chosen from the *zaʿīm* (of the province) Cf Aḥmad Rafīḳ, *Fatihin sarayī*, *Ikdām* of June 8 and 12, 1923.

A specimen of an imperial *berat* granting a *ziamet* is given in Belin, *Du régime des fiefs* . . ., p 109.

Tīmār. — Kōprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ād (*op. cit.*, p. 238—239, note) observes rightly that, contrary to what I have said, the word *tīmār* has in Saldjūḳ texts the meaning of "grant of lands" but he himself adds that this term has a vague meaning in the passages cited. The same vague meaning is found in texts referring to the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire (cf ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, *passim*)

On the expression *tapu ḳīlmaḳ* "to pay homage" cf. ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, ed. Giese, p. 68, l. 15.

Bibliography. Cf. the bibliographies to the articles IḲṬAʿ, TIMĀR and TIYŪL. We may add R. V. Scala, in Helmholtz, *Weltgeschichte*, vol v (cited by Koprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād); Sokolov, *Zemelnïya otnoṣhenya v Turtsii do Tanzimata*, Novïy Vostok, Moscow 1924, N°. 7 (cf. also the same periodical, 1925, N°. 8—9); Jouannin and van Gaver, *Turquie* (*L'Univers*), Paris 1840, p. 35. à propos of the *bedel djebeli*; cf however *zuhuri bedeli timar* in Naʿīmā, v, p 8 (events of the year 1060); Hammer, *Histoire*, ii 206 of the French edition (à propos of the demi-fiefs created by Meḥmed I), *Histoire des Turcs de Chalcondyle*, Paris 1662, ii, illustrations . . ., col 100; J. H. Seyfried, *Imperii Turcici imago, das ist Beschreibung etc*, Sultzbach 1685, p. 75; W. Bjorkman, *Ofen zur Turkenzeit*, p 85, C Jirecek, *La civilisation serbe au Moyen-âge*, French transl by Eisenmann, Paris 1920; article ḲARASĪ, *supra* (after the conquest of Karasī in 735—736, the fiefs were left to the Timariots); de la Guilletière, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*, Paris 1675 (first edition of this year), p 354 *sqq*, 438, Rich Pococke (Pockocke), *Voyages*, French transl, iv 202, Alfio Grassi, *Charte Turque*, 2nd ed, Paris 1826, i 104–134; K J Jireček in British Museum Catalogue. (J DENY)

ZEIBEK, the name of a Turkish tribe in the region of Smyrna The origin of the Zeibek has not yet been fully explained Just as it used to be the custom to say the Takhtadji [q v] were descendants of the earliest inhabitants of Asia Minor, so the ancestors of the Zeibek were sought in the remnants of Thracians who had settled around Tralles. In favour of this we have also the fact that they were called *Gjaur* by orthodox Turks (Lord Keppel, *op cit*, ii 266) This view however is undoubtedly wiong, we must rather see in the Zeibek one of those Yürük tribes, who settled in considerable numbers in the west of Anatolia although their descent still requires elucidation in detail Religious reasons may have played a part in the settlement of the Yuruks [q v] in the particular district of Aidin-eli [q v] and F W Hasluck has called attention to the connection in his study *Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor* (in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropol. Institute*, li. [1921], p 310 *sqq*, reprinted in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, i, Oxford 1929, p. 124 *sqq*, cf. esp p. 127, cf at the same time F. Babinger in *Isl*, xi. [1921], 100 and xii. [1922], 103) Older views on the origin of the Zeibek have been collected by M Tsakyroglous in his little book Περὶ Γιουρούκων (Athens 1891), p 13 *sqq* and 22. The name has been connected in meaning with the Greek *pallikari* (παλληκάρι) (cf. W v. Diest, *Reisen und Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, i 27), but hardly with justice So far we have no early notices of the coming of these warlike and turbulent highlanders whose peculiar dress — disproportionately high head-dress, short trousers, which leave most of the legs uncovered, brightly coloured vests, richly embroidered, called *čepken* — distinguishes them from their neighbours The earliest references to them are found in the travellers of the xviiith and xixth centuries. It looks as if the Zeibek were at one time connected with the Derebeys [q. v.] around Smyrna and with the Ḳara ʿOthmān-oghlu's [q. v.] and served them as

soldiers. With the disappearance of this family under Sulṭān Murād II the Zeibek militia was disbanded; the Ottoman governor Ṭāhir Pāshā forbade them to serve as soldiers and also prohibited their striking dress. The result was a dangerous rising under their leader (*efe*) Kel Meḥmed, in the course of which many Zeibek lost their lives and they had finally to yield to superior force. Down to modern times the Zeibek were recruited as a kind of auxiliary police to support the *zabṭīyes*, whose chief duty was to convoy travellers They were remarkable not only for their dress but also for their usually slim, powerful figures. Gradually they adapted themselves more and more to the life of their neighbours and their picturesque dress fell more and more into disuse In the post-War period the name Zeibek again attained notoriety when the Turkish president Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pāshā endeavoured to make the dance peculiar to this tribe (*Zeibek oyna*) a Turkish national dance

Bibliography In addition to the works mentioned in the text cf George Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balcan* etc, London 1831, ii 124 (history), 253, 263, 265, 316, 322, 339 (on their dress); Lord Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, ii 212 *sqq.*, V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii 349 *sqq* (full details of the dress of the Zeibek with its distinguishing features) Pictures of Zeibek in Keppel, *op cit*, vol i, coloured frontispiece, Eugen v Philippovich, *Nikolaus v Philippovich, das Leben und Wirken eines osterreichischen Offiziers*, Vienna and Tubingen 1913, p 26 (wrong title "ein Vornehmer aus Kleinasien") The Zeibek plays a great part in the Turkish shadow-play, cf the picture 48 of one of these Zeibek figures in H Ritter, *Karagos, turkische Schattenspiele*, Hanover 1924 — Further literature is given by W. Heffening, in *Isl*, xiii 251, where reference is made to further illustrations; J H Mordtmann, in *Vier Vortrage uber Vorderasien und die Turkei*, Berlin 1917, p 101 (according to whom there were also Zeibek in the wilāyet of Brussa)

(Franz Babinger)

ZENĀTA. The Arab historians of the middle ages give this name to one of the two great groups into which the population of Barbary falls According to the genealogical fiction which formed the frame-work of their ethnical classification, the Zenāta, who are descended from Maddghis al-Abtaı, are distinguished from the Sanhādja who are descended from Bernes, Bernes and Madghis were the sons of one father, Berr. Other theories connect the Zenāta with a certain Shana or Djana, who was said to be either of the line of Kanaʿān, son of Shem, or of that of Goliath (Djālūt) The desire to have an imposing Biblical pedigree is sufficient to explain this claim which seemed to be to some extent justified by the kind of existence led by the majority of the Zenāta. While the majority of the Ṣanhādja led a settled life, the Zenāta groups were mainly nomads "in the manner of the Arabs", rearing camels and living in tents. They were found scattered throughout Barbary but mainly in the steppes and deserts from Ghadāmes to the extreme Maghrib The west of the central Maghrib and the adjoining Ṣaharan regions seemed to be and were to remain their particular domain. They were distinguished from other groups by language. The Berber dialects spoken in the oases of Mzāb, Wargla, Wed Righ, in the west of Algeria, including the massif of Warsenis, and in the east of Morocco are still called *Zenātīya.*

As in the case of the Ṣanhādja [q. v] the chroniclers distinguish several Zenāta stocks or rather several waves of population which after living obscurely in the nomad state emerged in succession to the light of history, favourable circumstances enabling them to found empires or impose themselves upon the great existing empires, either as allies or as enemies.

To the first stock of Zenāta belonged the Djarāwa, the Banū Ifren, the Maghrāwa, the Wamānū and the Ilūmī The Djarāwa were said to have their main centre in the Awrās, where the celebrated Kāhina [q v.], their queen, played in the second (viiith) century her well known part in the resistance to the Arab conquest. When this resistance, of which the Awrās was one of the strongholds, took the form of the Khāridjī heresy, the Zenāta Banū Ifren [q v] were its most stubborn champions Abū Ḳurra the Ifremid founded in the second (viiith) century a Khāridjī kingdom at Tlemcen. In the fourth (xth) century, the Ifremid Abū Yazīd, "the man with the ass" [q v]. raised the people of eastern Barbary, including the Awrās, against the Fātimid caliphs in the name of the ancient heresy At the same time Ifgān (12 miles S W of Mascara) and Shella near the site of the future Rabat were capitals of two principalities of the Banū Ifren

The most powerful of the Zenāta of the first wave were those who belonged to the great tribe of the Maghrāwa Among the latter special mention may be made of the Banū Khazar, whose lands lay in the plains of Urania and eastern Morocco. Vassals of the Omaiyads of Cordova, they resisted not without difficulty throughout the tenth century and a part of the eleventh (ivth—vth A H) the repeated attacks of the Sanhādja, supporters of the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya One of the chiefs of the Banū Khazar, Zīrī b. ʿAṭīya, had installed himself in Fās, after the fall of the Idrīsids, and held out there till the coming of the Almoravids (455 = 1063). The eleventh century also saw the flourishing of the other little Maghrāwa kingdoms, that of the Banū Yaʿlā of Tlemcen, that of the Banū Khazrūn of Sidjilmāsa, to which the Almoravid conquest was to put an end.

After this, the history of the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib enters upon an obscure period. We have a struggle between two clans of the same stock the Ilūmī and the Wamānū The latter were to bring the Almohads into the country of Tlemcen.

The Zenāta only became important again with the decline of the successors of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, when the Zenāta of the second wave came to the front. They were regarded as forming part of the group of the Banū Wāsīn, whom the thrust of the nomad Arabs (Banū Hilāl), at first lords of Ifrīḳiya, had driven westwards, in the south of Orania and Morocco In the course of the first half of the viith (xiiith) century, the Zenāta Banū Wāsīn, who had only just abandoned a nomadic life, took from the Almohads the central Maghrib and the extreme Maghrib. The Merinids founded the kingdom of Fās [q. v.], the ʿAbd al-Wādids the kingdom of Tlemcen [q.v.] The latter who were in the traditional territory of the Zenāta tribes, had much difficulty in subduing their brethren,

especially the Banū Tūdjīn. The latter, much weakened in the plains where they had become the serfs of the nomad Arabs, were still quite powerful in the Warsenis, but they led a settled existence there. Their descendants are still to be found in these mountains The name given to the Berber dialect which they speak survives as one of the few memories retained by the Zenāta of the period of their glory.

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ZENDE-RŪD, one of the principal rivers of Central Persia Its source lies about 90 miles W. of Isfahān in the province of ʿArabistān (Khūzistān) in the Zaideh-Kūh, "the yellow hills" (so-called after the yellow limestone found there) which are included among the Bakhtiārī mountains, in which also rises the Kārūn [q. v], the greatest river of southern Persia. After leaving the mountains the Zende-rūd flows through the district of Isfahān after which it is often called Isfahān-Rūd, "the river of Isfahān", and flows about 80 miles E S E. of Isfahān into a large brackish swamp called Gāo Khāneh According to the erroneous view of the mediaeval Arab and Persian geographers, the river continued on a subterranean course and reappeared about 60 *farsakh* (= ca 40 miles) from where it disappeared and then flowed to the sea; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī was the first to point out this error (cf thereon Schwarz, *op. cit*, iii 216–217).

On entering Isfahān the Zende-Rūd separates Isfahān proper on its north bank from its southern suburb, Djulfa [q v] or New Djulfa The connection between the two is maintained by three great bridges (cf ii , p 529 and also the descriptions in Ouseley, *op cit* ; Stack, *op cit*., p. 23; C. J. Wills, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun*, London 1883, p. 194 *sq* , J Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, p 154—155, J Bassett, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p 154—155; Curzon, *op. cit*, ii. 44—50 and E Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, p 289) In Isfahān during the summer months the bed of the river, which is much used for irrigation purposes, is frequently dried up completely The river-system of the Zende-Rūd, especially its upper part, still requires more careful exploration; cf Stack, *op. cit*, ii. 23, 84 *sq* , and Bishop.

The name Zende (Zinda)-Rūd (cf Vullers, *Lexic Persico-Latin.*, i. 151, 152) means "river of life"; the form Zāyinde (Zāyende)-Rūd = "life-giving river", i e. the river that invigorates or fertilises the land, is now more common. At an earlier period we also find the name Zarīn-Rūd = "golden river"; on the reason for this name nothing definite is known; it may be added that a valley quite near the source of this river is called Zarīn valley (cf. Bishop, *op. cit*, i. 269)

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(M. Streck)

ZENGĪ, ʿImād al-Dīn b. Ḳasīm al-Dawla Aksonḳor b. ʿAbd Allāh, atābeg of al-Mawṣil and one of the most distinguished emīrs of the Saldjūḳ period His father Aḳsonḳor al-Hādjib ("the chamberlain"), a Turkish Mamlūk in the service of Sultān Malikshāh [q. v], had received from the latter the town of Halab as a fief; but when Aḳsonḳor on the death of Malikshāh rebelled against his brother Tutush [q v], he was taken prisoner and put to death (487 = 1094) and the young Zengī, who was then only ten years old, lost his father's estates which went to Tutush and the emīrs who had sided with him Zengī several times distinguished himself under the next rulers of al-Mawṣil and as a result was appointed governor of Wāsiṭ in 516 (1122—1123) by the governor of Baghdād Aḳsonkor al-Bursukī, who then supervised the whole of ʿIrāḳ, and later received in addition the governorship of Basra In 518 (1124—1125) Aḳsonkor was transferred from Baghdād to al-Mawṣil but in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 520 (Nov 1126) he fell a victim to the dagger of the Assassins, who hated him as an ardent supporter of the caliphs and Saldjūḳs In the following year his son Masʿūd also died, probably poisoned by one of the Syrian princes with whom he was on terms of enmity A minor brother of Masʿūd now came forward as heir to the governorship of al-Mawṣil and his claims were supported by the commander in al-Mawṣil, one of Aksonkor's Mamlūks, named al-Djāwalī. When the latter sent the ḳādī of al-Mawṣil and a chamberlain of Aḳsonḳor's to Baghdād to recommend Masʿūd's young brother to the sulṭān Maḥmūd, the two envoys to whom al-Djāwalī's plans seemed by no means free from difficulties, were won over by a relative of Zengī's to his side and he was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil and made his formal entrance into the city in Ramadān 521 (Sept —Oct. 1127) The sulṭān gave him his two sons Alp Arslān and Farrukhshāh to educate and Zengī therefore received the title of atābeg. In the same year he took possession of Djazīrat Ibn ʿOmar, Nasībīn, Sindjār and Harrān. In Muḥarram 522 (Jan 1128) he took the town of Halab [q. v.] where utter anarchy reigned until Zengī appeared and restored order. In the following year he got possession of Ḥamāt [q v.] through treachery; on the other hand, he failed against Ḥimṣ and Damascus. Of his other enterprises in this period special mention may be made of the capture and destruction of the fortress of al-Aṯārib between Ḥalab and Anṭākiya, which was occupied by the Crusaders In the struggle for the sulṭānate between the Saldjūḳ prince Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [q. v.] and his brother Saldjūḳ, Zengī sided with

the former (526 = 1131—1132) and when the uncle of the two brothers Sandjar [q. v.] wished to exert his suzerainty he was joined by Zengī and Dubais b Ṣadaḳa [q. v.] The attacks of the two latter on Baghdād were however unsuccessful and the caliph al-Mustarshid was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to take al-Mawsil, which he besieged for three months (527 = 1132 1133). When his successor al-Rāshid quarrelled with Sulṭān Masʿūd, Zengī at first joined the former but was persuaded to approve of the deposition of al-Rāshid and paid homage to al-Muḳtafī In 531 (1137) Zengī after besieging Hims for several months in vain, attacked the fortress of Baʿrīn (Monsferrandus) The Christian commander appealed for help to king Fulk of Jerusalem but the latter was routed and Baʿrīn had to surrender A new enemy now appeared in the field, namely the emperor John II of Constantinople, who had first of all intended to reduce to obedience the rebel ruler Leo of Little Armenia and his ally Raymond of Antioch, but after making peace he made an alliance with the leaders of the Crusaders After taking the fortress of Buzāʿa, he advanced against Halab but soon abandoned his plan of subduing it by a long siege and attacked Shaizar. But when the inhabitants defended themselves bravely, the emperor accepted the commander's terms and returned to Antioch (Ramadān 532 = May—June 1138) pursued by Zengī who took many prisoners and much booty In the same year after long negotiations, the ruler of Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd handed over to Zengī the town of Hims In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 533 (July 1139) Zengī undertook a campaign against Baalbek, after a vigorous resistance the garrison had to capitulate and were for the most part massacred, although Zengī had promised them liberty to depart. The object of all his efforts was still however the rich city of Damascus and in Rabīʿ I 534 (Oct.—Nov. 1139) he laid siege to the town The ruler of Damascus Djamāl al-Dīn Muhammad was not inclined to exchange Damascus for Hims and Baalbek and after what had happened at the latter town could not fully trust Zengī When he died a few months later, the new commander Muʿīn al-Dīn who acted for the minor Muḏjīr al-Dīn b. Djamāl al-Dīn applied to the Crusaders and offered them the town of Bāniyās if they would assist him, whereupon Zengī raised the siege and returned to al-Mawsil After he had taken several strongholds in Northern Mesopotamia, he quarrelled with Sulṭān Masʿūd, who finally declared war on him. Zengī gave in however and purchased peace 538 = 1143—1144) In Djumādā II 539 (December 1144) he took the important town of Edessa from the Crusaders and two years later attacked Kalʿat Djaʿbar in Mesopotamia when he was murdered by some Mamlūks on the night of 4th—5th Rabīʿ II Sept. 13–14), or according to another story, on the 15th Rabīʿ II 541 (Sept 24, 1146). He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī I and in al-Halab by another son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

The Oriental historians bestow the highest praise on the political qualities of atābeg Zengī; on the other hand they are well aware of his unscrupulousness Ibn al-Athīr (xi 72) vividly describes how prosperity returned under his care to lands which had been threatened by the Franks and impoverished by the extortions and frequent changes of governors.

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ZENITH, the vertical point, i.e. the highest point in the visible sphere of the heavens in the direction of the vertical (plumb line) above the observer, at the same time the upper (visible) pole of the horizon

The technical astronomical term for zenith in Arabic is *samt al-raʾs* or *samt al-rūʾūs*, which means "direction (*samt*) of the head", corresponding to the Greek κορυφή or τὸ κατὰ κορυφὴν σημεῖον. Plato Tiburtinus reproduces *samt al-raʾs* in his Latin translation as *zenith capitis* or *zenith capitum*, the Spanish translation of al-Battānī by *el zonte (el zont) de la cabeça* (cf al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii. 337, s v. *samt*) — As Golius early noticed, the form zenit(h) seems to owe its origin to a slip of the pen which made the *m* in *zemt* (*semt*) into *ni*. *zemt* > *zenith*. (The same word *samt* — in the plural *sumūt* — is found in the astronomical term *azimut* [q. v.], Ar. *samt*, i e *min dāʾirat al-ufk*, "direction on the circle of the horizon", calculated in degrees. The *Libros del saber de astronomia* translate *samt* usually by *zonte*, and *samt al-raʾs* by *cenit*).

The (invisible) pole of the horizon directly under the observer, the counter-pole of the zenith, is called *nadir* [q. v], from Ar. *naẓīr*. The largest circles which go through zenith and *nadir* are called vertical circles; among them two are specially distinguished, the meridian (*falak niṣf al-nahār*, ὁ μεσημβρινός) in whose plane the axis of the earth lies and which cuts the horizon in the south and north points and the first vertical which stands perpendicular on the plane of the meridian, cutting the horizon in east and west. The east and west points are also the poles of the meridian, south and north points the poles of the first vertical.

The spherical coordinates of a star calculated in the horizon-zenith system are azimut (*al-samt*) and altitude (*irtifāʿ*, i e *ʿan dāʾirat al-ufk*); while modern astronomy defines the azimut as the length of the arc between the vertical circle covered by the star and the meridian, measured on the horizon from S to W. N, E to S. from 0°—360° — or, if the direction in the heavens is given, from S. via W. and S via E to 180° — the Arab astronomers (which it is important to remember) take the first vertical as the circle of reference, i. e reckon from the east or west point of the vertical. The altitude of the star is the length of the arc of the star from the horizon, measured on the vertical circle which passes through the star. It is calculated from 0° (on the horizon) to +90° (on the zenith) or —90° (on the *nadir*); negative altitudes are frequently called depressions. The altitude is

frequently replaced by its complement, the distance of the zenith which represents the length of the arc measured on the same vertical circle from the zenith The zenith distance of the pole of the heavens is equal to the altitude of the equator in the meridian and equal to the complement of the altitude of the pole or geographical latitude ϕ, i e $Z = 90° - \phi$

A plane parallel to the horizon intersects the visible sphere of the heavens in a circle, which connects all points of the same altitude. Such a circle is called in astronomy a horizontal circle or — using an Arabic loanword — Almukantarat (i e *al-muḳantaraṯ*) [q v].

(Willy Hartner)

ZENTA (formerly Hungarian Szenta, Turkish سنتنه, زنطا, زنطه [*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, iv 2425] and also حنتنه [in Khalīl Edhem, *Duwel-i islāmīye*, 1927, p 323]; Serbo-Croat Senta), a flourishing town on the right bank of the Theiss in the Bačka (since 1929 in the Danube banate) in Jugoslavia, with 30,044 inhabitants (1931), first mentioned in 1216 and made a free city in 1516. After the battle of Mohács (1526) Zenta became Turkish and belonged to the sandjak of Segedīn (Szegedin, cf e g Fekete, *Turkische Schriften . des Palatin N Esterházy*, 1932, p 110 and 324) Ewliyā Čelebi (vii 363) who visited Zenta in the xviith century, describes it as a small *palanka* (fortress) in the above mentioned sandjaḳ and proposes a childish etymology (سنده باش نعمی اوطورك) of its name.

Zenta is celebrated in history as a battle-field When Mustafā II was retiring from Peterwardein, where Prince Eugene of Savoy had shut himself up, after an unsuccessful siege, he wished at first to attack Szegedin but soon decided to cross the Theiss at Zenta and go to Temesvár Kučük Djaʿfar Pāshā (on him see *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, ii 75) was taken prisoner by Prince Eugène and being threatened with death betrayed the Sulṭān's plans Prince Eugène then advanced rapidly to Zenta and surprised the grandvizier Elmās Mehmed Pāshā (cf above iii, p 692 and the article MUḤAMMAD PĀSHĀ ELMAS) just as he was about to transfer the remainder (the greater part) of his army to the left bank. After the onslaught of the imperial troops, the Turks made a wild rush for the bridge, which was being heavily bombarded and it soon collapsed; the Turks were thus cut in two and by evening utterly routed (Sept 11, 1697) Besides the grandvizier, four other viziers, 13 beglerbegs and about 30,000 men fell or were drowned The Sultān himself only escaped with difficulty. In the popular mind this defeat became a synonym for any disaster, as may be seen from the Serbo-Croat proverb *Prokopsao kao turski car na Senti* ("he has met the fate of the Turkish emperor at Zenta"). The defeat at Zenta forced the Turks to the peace of Carlowitz [*q. v*] and meant that they were now definitely driven back into the Balkan Peninsula

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(Fehim Bajraktarević)

ZER MAḤBŪB, "beloved gold", a Turkish gold coin (sequin) In the reign of Aḥmad III (1115—1143 = 1703—1730) a new gold sequin was issued weighing 40 grains (2 6 grammes), in addition to the older sequin of 53 grains (3 44 grammes) (*funduḳ altūnī*) which continued to be issued alongside of it. This coin, known as the zer mahbūb, remained in circulation till the great Medjīdīye recoinage of 1280 (1844), being reduced in weight to 37 grains (2 4 grammes) by Selīm III (1203—1222 = 1789—1807) and to 25 grains (1 62 grammes) in the last years of Mahmūd II (1223—1255 = 1808—1839) Double, quadruple and half and quarter pieces of this denomination were also issued.

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(J Allan)

ZIʿĀMA. [See Zeʿāmet]

ZIKRAWAIH b **MIHRAWAIH**, a Karmaṭian After ʿAbdān, the brother-in-law and secretary of the founder of the Karmaṭian sect Hamdān Karmaṭ [q v] had been disposed of in 286 (899), Zikrawaih took his place as a Karmaṭian missionary. Out of fear of the energetic caliph al-Muʿtaḍid [q v], he had however to remain in concealment and is said to have lived in a hiding-place for four years and only to have come out into the light of day after al-Muʿtaḍid's death in Rabīʿ II 289 (April 902) In the meanwhile the Karmaṭian emissaries had succeeded in winning numerous followers among the Banu 'l-ʿUlais, a clan of the great Bedouin tribe of Kalb b Wabara in the Syrian desert, and towards the end of 289 (902) a large army set out against Damascus Syria was at this time under the rule of the Ṭūlūnids, but the general Tughdj in Damascus was almost independent of the central government in Egypt. On the approach of the Karmaṭian troops he set out against them but underestimated the greatness of the danger and when he came to give battle, was forced to flee and return to the capital Soon afterwards the grand-master of the Karmaṭians (*ṣāḥib al-nāḳa*) fell at the siege of Damascus, he was succeeded by his brother, the *ṣāḥib al-khāl*, who forced the people of Damascus to purchase peace and then continued northwards, plundering and murdering as he went Several towns like Hamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Baalbek and Salamīya were sacked, the men massacred and the women and children carried off as slaves. Finally however, the new caliph's general Muḥammad b. Sulaimān succeeded in completely defeating the Karmaṭians; the *ṣāḥib al-khāl* was taken prisoner and brought to Baghdād where the caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion But the power of the Syro-ʿIrākian Karmaṭians was not broken A disciple of Zikrawaih's, Abū Ghānim ʿAbd Allāh b Saʿīd who had taken the name Naṣr, stirred up the Kalbī Beduins, they joined the Ḳarmaṭians proper and ravaged the country east of the river Jordan as far as Damascus When the caliph's troops approached, the Ḳarmaṭians retired into the desert, filling up the wells so that their pursuers could not reach them for want of water. But when an army under Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ finally penetrated to their

camps in the desert, they had to give in, murdered Naṣr and sent his head as a token of submission to the victor Zikrawaih then at last came out of his hiding-place, appointed al-Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad leader of the ʿIrāḳ Ḳarmatians and had himself worshipped as a saint, never allowing himself to be seen unveiled. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 293 (Oct. 906) they advanced on Kūfa, entered the town and massacred the people in the streets but after desperate fighting with the troops of the governor Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān had to give way and return to the district of Kādisīya In the very same month an army which the caliph sent against the Karmaṭians at Ishaḳ's request was defeated near Ḳādisīya, but when al-Muktafī equipped a new army under the command of Muhammad b Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ, they retired into the desert to waylay caravans In Muharram of the following year (Oct —Nov 906) Zikrawaih fell upon the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, his people killed not only the men but also a number of the women and carried off the rest In Rabīʿ I, according to the most probable statement on the 22nd (Jan. 10, 907), the caliph's troops led by Wasīf b Ṣuwārtagīn came upon the Ḳarmaṭians near Khaffān in the district of al-Kādisīya and fought them till sunset without a decision being reached On the following day Zikrawaih was wounded in the head, whereupon his followers fled on all sides On the way to Baghdād he succumbed to his wounds and his corpse was exhibited in the capital. — Cf. also the article KARMAṬIANS.

Bibliography. al-Tabarī, ed de Goeje, see Index, ʿArīb, ed de Goeje, p 9, 10, 12, 14–18, 36; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed Tornberg, vii 311, 353, 368, 374—381, al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*, *B G A*, viii 374—376, de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn* ², *passim* (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ZINĀ' (A), fornication, i e any sexual intercourse between persons who are not in a state of legal matrimony or concubinage To the pre-Islāmic Arabs, zinā' was not a sin but regarded in certain circumstances as an injury to the rights of property of a fellow-tribesman In the Kur'ān, however, apparently under Jewish or Christian influence, warnings are uttered against zinā' and chastity represented as a mark of the believer, e g Sūra xvii 34, xxv 68; xxxiii. 30 Zinā' is then dealt with more fully in Sūra iv (probably of the period after the battle of Uhud in the year 3) · "(19) If your women be guilty of whoredom, then bring four witnesses against them from among yourselves · and if they bear witness to it, shut them up in their houses until death releases them or Allāh gives them a way (20) Punish both of those among you who commit this sin; but if they repent and mend their ways, let them be · for Allāh is the pardoner and the merciful . (29). (The believing slave-girls whom you marry) shall be chaste and modest and have no lovers". Verse 20 is sometimes with less probability referred to sodomy A new law was made as a result of ʿĀ'isha's celebrated adventure in the year 6 in Sūra xxiv.. "(2) Scourge each of the fornicators with a hundred lashes and have no mercy upon them in Allāh's religion, if you believe in Allāh and the last day; a number of the believers shall attend their punishment. (3) The whoremonger shall only marry a whore or an idolatress and the whore shall only marry a whoremonger or an idolator Such marriages are forbidden to the believers". Sūra iv. 30 must be later than the law in xxiv 2, of which it is a continuation · "But if after marriage they commit adultery then inflict upon them half the punishment of chaste (free married) women". Sūra xxxiii 30 (probably dating from the last part of 5 A H) refers to the punishment in the other world Sūra xxiv. 33 cannot be exactly dated but certainly Medinese ("Force not your slave-girls to prostitution, if they wish to remain chaste, from a desire for gain in this life; if any one forces them, then after they have been compelled, Allāh will be forgiving and merciful to them") and Sūra lxv. 1 is also later (divorced women must not be driven out of their houses during the *ʿidda* "unless they have committed proved adultery") The so-called "verse of the stoning" is said to have been an original part of the Kur'ān as it was acknowledged as such by the caliph ʿOmar "If a man and woman who by have reached years of discretion commit adultery, stone them in every case, as Allāh's punishment". It is improbable that this verse is genuine, the traditions relating to it and the mention of ʿOmar are clearly tendencious, the stories that the Prophet punished by stoning are also unworthy of credence. This punishment, which must have entered Islām quite early, certainly comes from Jewish law (Deut xxii 22) as can still be seen in a *ḥadīth* Other traditions emphasise the rules of the Kur'ān and develop them, zinā' is a very grave sin and not compatible with belief; profit from zinā' and prostitution is unclean, sodomy etc are included under zinā', the flogging which remained as a punishment alongside of stoning is combined with a year's banishment In the system of fiḳh and already in many traditions stoning and flogging are separated as *ḥadd* punishment for zinā' in two categories of criminals, according as they are *muḥsan* or not By *muḥṣan* the law means in this case every individual who has reached years of discretion, is in possession of his faculties, is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage, they however always remain *muḥṣan* even after their marriage is dissolved; the distinction is therefore not based on any moral grounds. According to Hanafīs and Hanbalīs, both the guilty parties must fulfil these conditions; the Hanafīs also demand that the *muḥṣan* should be a Muslim, while the Mālikīs consider neither of the punishments applicable to a non-Muslim The banishment for a year after the flogging is limited by the Mālikīs to the man, by the Hanafīs left to the discretion of the imām. Slaves are punished with fifty lashes, and according to the Shāfiʿīs banishment for six months Zinā' can only be proved by the evidence of four male, competent witnesses; as they must report all the details of the incident and, if their evidence is not sufficient, are liable to the *ḥadd* for *ḳadhf* [q v], the *hadd* for zinā' in practice can hardly ever be inflicted, unless the culprit himself confesses his guilt According to the Hanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, this confession must also be made four times, and according to the general teaching can be withdrawn Marriage within the forbidden degrees is simply zinā' as is rape, which can also be regarded as doing bodily harm. If the husband kills the guilty couple *in flagrante delicto* he is not liable to punishment. In practice the place of the legal regulations was often taken by summary and usually secret action either by the authorities

or by the relatives of the guilty woman; in this case drowning was a common form of punishment.

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ZINDĪḲ (pl. *zanādika*; abstract *zandaḳa*), the term used in Muslim criminal law to describe the heretic whose teaching becomes a danger to the state; this crime is liable to capital punishment (by the application of sūra v 37, xxvi 49, cf. *R M M*, 1909, ix 99—103) and to damnation (the Mālikīs think it useless to ask the culprit to recant [*istitāba*] contrary to the Hanafīs, *takfīr*, often theoretical, is not so strong a term as *zandaka*).

The term was borrowed in the 'Irāḳ from the Irānian vocabulary of the Sāsānian administration; Schaeder, correcting Darmesteter, has shown that Mas'ūdī (followed by Hudjwīrī) was right in saying that among the Mazdaeans, *zandīk* was the heretic, who introduced a new gloss, an allegorical interpretation of a passage in the Awesta (cf in the ninth century, the *zandīk* Abālīsh, studied by Barthélemy; cf *Mēnōkēhrat*, xxxvi 16; *Shāyast nē Shāyast*, vi 7); and more especially the Manichaean, follower of Mani (testimony of the Armenian writer on heresies Eznik, of the fifth century, transl Schmidt, p. 95), or, in a more restricted sense still, the follower of the Manichaean schismatic Mazdak (according to Khwārizmī)

The term being Irānian, A. Siddiqi has shown that we must reject the Aramaic etymology (*zaddīḳ*) suggested by Bevan as well as the Greek (γνωστικος) proposed by Vollers The word *zindīk* must have become arabicised in the mixed Arabo-Irānian society of the *mawālī Hamrā* of Hīra and Kūfa (cf the exiling of the Mazdakīs to Hīra, in which we can see the explanation of the Shī'ī gnosticism of Kūfa in the following century) Indeed it appears for the first time in the 'Irāḳ in 125 (742) in connection with the execution of Dja'd b. Dirham, then from 167 (783) to 170 (786) as an official inquisition was instituted by the 'Abbāsid caliph under a special judge (*'arīf*); it was then that Bashshār b Burd and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs were executed The term became a technical one and literary tradition designates three famous writers, Ibn al-Rāwandī, Tawhīdī and Ma'arrī, as the "three *zanādika* of Islām" But in general use, the term lost its precision and if the official definition of the *zindīḳ* (a dualist ascetic, then a Muslim who is secretly a Manichaean), according to the caliph Mahdī (Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 588), is already carelessly applied to the three first men executed mentioned above, it is clear that it does not at all explain the psychology of the three "*zanādiḳa* of Islām". In practice, the polemics of the conservatives describe as a *zindīk* or "free thinker" any one whose external profession of Islām seems to them not sufficiently sincere (cf. the poet Dj. S. Zahāwī in Baghdād or the critic Ṭaha Ḥusain in Cairo). This is the meaning in which it is already used by Ma'arrī in his *Risālat al-Ghufrān*. The chief works representing this free, radical way of thinking have been brought to light by P Krans (Erānshahrī, Abū 'Īsā Warrāḳ, Ibn al-Rāwandī, Rāzī, Thughūrī); they are preserved in Isma'ilitic refutations.

The evolution of the term is explained by its political character; it brands the heresy which imperils the Muslim state (this is already clear in the trial of al-Hallādj); and as the only crime systematically punished by the Prophet himself by death had been *sabb al-rasūl*, the jurists more and more made *zandaka* an intellectual rebellion insulting to the Prophet's honour (cf. Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Hadjar al-Haitamī)

The stages of this evolution can be brought closer together by summing up the definitions given of the word *zandaka* by the various Muslim schools.

The Hanbalīs, according to Khashīsh (d 253 = 867), recognise five sects of *zanādika*: *mu'attila*, who deny the creation and the Creator, reducing the world to an unstable mixture of the four elements; *mānawīya* (Manichaeans) and *mazdakīya* who are dualists; *'abdakīya* (vegetarian Imāmī ascetics of Kūfa, cf Massignon, *Recueil* . . , p 11—12) and *rūhānīya* (four ecstatic sects, who seek to free themselves from the constraint of observances and laws by an amorous union of the soul with God, a union denounced as implying identity of nature between the Creator and his creatures, in it Sunnī mystics like Rabāh and Rābi'a are ranged alongside of an Imāmī alchemist like Ibn Hayyān) Ibn Hanbal himself describes Djahm as a *zindīḳ* for having maintained that the spirit (*rūh*) is an immaterial emanation, therefore divine.

The Mālikīs of the west (Spain and Morocco) studied by Milliot and Lévi-Provençal instituted trials for *zandaka*, especially for "insults to the honour of the Prophet" (trial of Abu 'l-Khair at Cordova in the reign of al-Hakam II, of Ibn Hātim al-Azdī at Toledo in 457 (1064) and later of Ibn Zakūr at Fās). Similarly the Hanafīs, especially during the Ottoman empire (*fatwās* against the Shī'a, trial of Kābid in 934 (1527), cf Nābulusī, *Ghāyat al-Matlūb*. Pers MS, folio 77).

As to the theologians, the Mu'tazilīs at first saw in *zandaḳa* an amorous devotion seeking liberation from obligatory duties (cf. Thumāma, in al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, abbr and ed Hitti, p 105), then a tendency to the *ibāha* of the Khurramīya, Ghazālī defines it as a tendency to atheism

The Ṣūfīs were early persecuted as *zanādika* in view of their doctrine of the divine love (trial in the year 262 (875) of Nūrī; execution of al-Hallādj); al-Ḥallādj (cf. *Ṭawāsīn*, v. 2) himself recognises in a curious psychological analysis that on the threshold of transforming union, mysticism obtains a feeling of identity with God, which is *zandaka* (*Akhbār*, N°. 52, p. 80*, l 7).

The moderate Shī'īs like to describe the extremist Shī'īs, for an analogous reason, as *zanādika* (emanations that give union with the divine. *da'wā ila 'l-rubūbīya*) The Zaidī imām Kāsim is credited with the authorship of a refutation of the *zindīḳ* Ibn al-Muḳaffa' [q. v] which Guidi has edited and translated.

Lastly, in his *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. 338), Ibn al-Nadīm has given a very heterogeneous list of *zanādiḳa* (the value of which is sometimes overestimated, it is rather imaginative; G. Vajda is

preparing a critical study of this subject), in which Marwān II and the Barmecides are found alongside of Ismāʿīlīs, like Abū Shākir and Djaihānī, an Imāmī like Nāshiʾ and an independent critic like Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ [q. v.].

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(Louis Massignon)

ZINDJĪRLĪ, a village in Northern Syria in the valley of the Kaiasū between the Amanos and the Kuid Dāgh not far from Iṣlaḥiye. Near the village is a tell, the ruins of the old Aramaean town of Sham'al, the capital of the little North Syrian state of Ya'dī (Assyr. *Yaudi*). It was discovered in 1883 by Hamdy Bey, F v Luschan and O Puchstein and excavated in 1888, 1890—1891, 1894 and 1902 by the Berlin Orientkomitee under the leadership of K. Humann, F. v. Luschan and F. Winter with the co-operation of J. Euting and W. Koldewey.

The citadel of Sham'al was surrounded by two concentric circular walls. In addition to reliefs, colossal lions and bulls, there were found at Zindjirlī and the adjoining tells of Gerčin (Gerdjin) and Takhtalī Buñar several Aramaic inscriptions in old Canaanite script and a stele of Asarhaddon of Assyria from which we learn the names of several rulers of the IXth and VIIIth centuries B. C of Sham'al-Ya'dī, namely Gabbaru, Bamahu, Khaiyā, Sha'el, Kilamūwa, Karal, Panamūwa (Pa-namū) I, Barṣui, Panamū II and Bairekub. The finds from Zindjirlī are for the most part preserved in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the State Museums in Berlin, the remainder are in the Museum in Stambul.

In the Arab period there is no trace of Zindjirlī rulers unless we have a corruption of this name in that of the fortress of Zandjara (mentioned in al-Nuwairī, Paris Bibl. Nat., Ms. arab., N⁰. 1579, fol. 161r, quoted in Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʾl-Faḍāʾil, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, XIV. [1920], 602, note 2).

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(E. Honigmann)

ZĪRIDS, the name of two mediæval dynasties of the Muslim west.

1. Zīrids or Banū Zīrī, a Berber dynasty which held a part of Eastern Barbary from the end of the fourth (tenth) century to the middle of the sixth (XIIth) The Zīrids were connected with the great confederation of the Ṣanhādja [q. v.] and led a settled existence in the central Maghrib. Zīrī b Manād had founded Ashīr [q. v.] in the mountains of Titteri about 940. He made it the capital of his territory and a bulwark against the attacks of the Zenāta Maghrāwa [q. v.], allies of the Umaiyads of Cordova. By their resistance to the Zenāta, the Zīrids rendered considerable service to the plans of the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya. Their most signal service was the relief of al-Mahdiya when it was besieged by the Khārijī agitator Abū Yazīd The timely assistance which they rendered to the Fāṭimids on this and several other occasions was rewarded. When the Umaiyad caliph al-Muʿizz left Ifrīḳiya for Egypt in 363 (973) he appointed Buluggīn b Zīrī governor of Ifrīḳiya and gave him by anticipatory investiture all the lands which he might conquer from the Zenāta.

Against these hereditary enemies the struggle was continued under Buluggīn [cf. BULUḲḲĪN] who marched victoriously through the Maghrib and seized all the important towns with the exception of Ceuta, under al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn (373—385 = 984—995) and under Bādīs b. al-Manṣūr (385—406 = 995—1016). During the latter emīr's reign took place the division of the Zīrids into two kingdoms, one in the west went to the Ḥammādids who lived in the Ḳalʿa and the other in the east to the Zīrids with Ḳairawān as capital. An amicable arrangement regularising the division was made in 408 (1017) under al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [q. v.]. In spite of this loss of territory, eastern Barbary enjoyed an undeniable economic prosperity during the reign of al-Muʿizz (406–454 = 1016–1062) which enabled the emīr to enrich Ḳairawān and Ṣabra, the official city, with very fine buildings (ceilings and *maḳṣūra* of the great mosque of Ḳairawan). This wealth encouraged al-Muʿizz to cast off Fāṭimid suzerainty and to repudiate their doctrine which the people of Ifrīḳiya had only accepted with great reluctance. The caliph in Cairo punished this secession by sending in 444 (1052) against the rebels the Arab nomad tribes of the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaim [q. v.]. This was the great disaster. The open country was ruined completely; al-Muʿizz had to leave Ḳairawān

and seek refuge in al-Mahdīya. While the Arabs held the plains, the towns formed republics and independent little principalities. Al-Muʿizz's son Tamīm (454—501 = 1062—1108) tried without much success to regain possession of his kingdom and to thwart the ambition of the Hammādids His successors were to continue this difficult task. What really gives interest to the later Zīrids, Tamīm b al-Muʿizz, Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501—509 = 1108—1116), ʿAlī b Yaḥyā (509—515 = 1116—1121), al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (515–563 = 1121–1167), is the maritime activity developed by these former landsmen now paralysed on the mainland and the repeated attempts made by them to retake the command of the sea from the Normans of Sicily This struggle which generally took the form of piratical enterprises did not however end to the advantage of the Zirids. After an effort to come to an arrangement with the Normans, the emīrs could not prevent the enemy raiding the coast of Ifrīḳiya and plundering the coast towns In 543 (1148) al-Mahdīya was taken by George of Antioch Al-Ḥasan driven from his capital sought refuge at Bône, then in Algiers He was reinstated in al-Mahdīya by the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and spent eight years there before being again exiled, to die in obscurity in the extreme Maghrib in 563 (1167)

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2 Zirids of Spain, a secondary branch of the Berber family of the Banū Zīrī of Ifrīḳiya, who founded an independent principality with Granada as capital at the time of the dismemberment of the Umaiyad caliphate of Cordova

The establishment in Spain of the Ṣanhādja family had taken place only a few years previously It originated in the rebellion in Ifrīḳiya of the members of the family of the Zīrid princes Buluggīn and al-Mansūr who had been deprived of their positions These malcontents gathered round one of Zīrī's sons, Zāwī, who persuaded them to leave Ifrīḳiya They offered their services, which were at first welcomed, to the ʿĀmirid *ḥādjib* of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [q v.]; accompanied by numerous followers they went to Spain where they soon played an important part in the Berber army raised by the ʿĀmirids in which they formed one of the main elements When the caliph Sulaimān al-Mustaʿīn at the beginning of the 5th (xith) century distributed lands to his principal auxiliaries, he gave the Banū Zīrī the district of Elvira [q v.], the old capital of which was gradually being supplanted by Granada, a town of quite recent foundation mainly peopled by Jews. Zāwī b. Zīrī without adopting the sovereign title at once began to act as an independent ruler in Granada. Taking up the cause of the pretender to the caliphate ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd [q. v.], he inflicted on the supporters of another pretender, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murtaḍā, in 407 (1016—1017) a serious defeat in the region of Granada. His authority was naturally strengthened by this success, it is therefore all the more difficult to explain the decision he soon took to abandon his principality and return to his native land of Ifrīḳiya. It was dictated no doubt by the ancient hatred, still alive in Spain, which had divided Africa into anti-Fāṭimid Zenāta and pro-Fāṭimid Sanhādja The Zenāta were daily gaining ground in Spain, where they occupied the mountainous region of the centre and west of Andalusia. Zāwī however retook Ḳairawān with only a very small body of followers in 416 (1025).

On the departure of Zāwī b Zīrī, his nephew Habbūs b. Māksan assumed command of the Zīrids in Granada. He adopted a sovereign title, that of *ḥādjib*, and the honorific *laḳab* of Saif al-Dawla He reigned for over 10 years until 429 (1038) He concluded alliances with the petty neighbouring dynasties and at his death had increased his kingdom by the districts of Jaen [q v.] and Cabra He had entrusted the conduct of his kingdom to a Jewish vizier, Samuel Ibn Naghzala, a thing unprecedented in Muslim Spain The fame of this vizier, not only an able minister, but author of many original works in Hebrew, spread far and in 1027 the Jews of Spain revived for him the princely title of *naghīd*.

On the death of Habbūs b. Māksan, power passed to his son Bādīs b Habbūs, whose long reign marks the culminating point of Zīrid power in Spain He began by inflicting a bloody defeat on the prince of Almeria, his former ally Zuhair [q v] who lost his life in the battle fought in the pass of Alpuente (429) Emboldened by this success and by the victories which he won without difficulty over the troops of the prince of Valencia and Seville, Bādis b. Habbūs threw off the suzerainty (at best only nominal) of the petty Hammūdid caliph of Malaga and annexed his dominions (c 450 = 1058) The years following were marked by the anti-Berber policy of the Arab king of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid [q v] Ibn ʿAbbād, who successfully annexed the little Berber kingdoms of Ronda [q v], Jerez (Ar. Sharīsh [q v.]) and Acros As a result the power of the Arabs in Spain increased considerably and the only bloc of Berber resistance which was still really solid was that of the Sanhādja Zīrids of Granada. Bādīs could not help being disturbed by this advance of the ʿAbbādid kingdom in the east of Andalusia and at the same time by the increasingly marked signs of disaffection among his own Arab subjects. Bādīs in these unpropitious circumstances and against the advice of the vizier Samuel, whom he had retained on his accession, went to war with Seville, but without success. A Seville army led by the prince al-Muʿtamid was fortunately checked in its advance on Malaga.

On the death of the vizier Samuel, his son Joseph succeeded him as Bādīs's first minister. Unlike his father, the new vizier soon turned against himself not only the Arabs of the Zīrid kingdom but also the Berbers themselves, by his extravagance and the luxury with which he surrounded himself and the favours he bestowed on his co-religionists. If

we may believe the Arab historians, his ambitions increasing, he had the heir presumptive of Bādīs poisoned, his son Buluggīn, succeeded in exculpating himself with his master and for a time thought of creating a Jewish kingdom in Spain for his own advantage. He was in secret correspondence with the lord of Almeria, Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, and offered to surrender Granada to him, on condition that Almeria became the capital of a Jewish principality of which he should be ruler. The reaction was inevitable and rapid. On the appeal of the Arab poet Abū Ishāḳ al-Ilbīrī in a poem that became famous, a conspiracy was got up against the Jews of Granada and on 9th Ṣafar 459 (Dec 30, 1066) Joseph Ibn Naghzāla and 3,000 Granada Jews were massacred and their houses plundered.

The reign of Bādīs b. Habbūs lasted till 466 (1073) Granada had now become an important city grouped around the citadel which stood on the west bank of the Darro, it had been built by Habbūs b Maksan and enlarged by Badīs. The residence of the latter, according to local tradition, was called "house of the weathercock" (*dār dīk al-rīḥ*) which is preserved in that of "casa del Gallo". A bridge over the Darro still called "Puente del Cadi" was built in 447 (1055) by the kādī of Granada ʿAlī b Muḥammad b Tawba A mawlā of Bādīs b Ḥabbūs, Muʾammil, left his memorial in Granada in several public works also built in the Zīrid period

When Bādis b. Habbūs died, he left two grandsons, Tamīm, then governor of Malaga, and ʿAbd Allāh, the latter assumed power in Granada while his brother set up as an independent ruler in Malaga This division was to be maintained till the end of the Zīrid dynasty. Events were however soon to move rapidly with the advance of Christian arms The taking of Toledo [q v] in 1085 by Alfonso VI was followed next year by the famous victory won by Yūsuf b Tāshfīn at al-Zallāḳa [q. v] in which Tamīm and ʿAbd Allāh took part with their contingents When in 1090, Yūsuf returned to Spain, one of his first cares, after the failure of the siege of Aledo, was, on the advice of the ḳādī of Granada Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḳulaʿī, to seize Granada and dethrone ʿAbd Allāh The latter abandoned by all had to go to the Almoravid sulṭān who made him a prisoner and soon afterwards dethroned his brother Tamīm in Malaga ʿAbd Allāh was exiled to Aghmāt [q v] on the northern borders of the Moroccan Great Atlas. Tamīm was forced to live in Marrākush where he died in 488 (1095) Almoravid governors were installed at Granada and Malaga to mark the completeness of the fall of the Zīrid dynasty in Spain

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(É. Lévi-Provençal)

ẒIYĀ GÖK ĀLP (Meḥmed Ẓiyā Bey), Turkish author and poet, sociologist and nationalist leader. Born in Diyārbekr in 1875, from a family of Ottoman government officials, he attended the veterinary school in Constantinople; becoming compromised through his relations with the Revolutionary Committee, he was obliged to leave the capital, and return to his province. After the revolution of 1908 he figured among the members of the Union and Progress Committee, took part in the Salonica Congress (1909), and began to spread his social and nationalist ideas through the review *Ghenǧ Ḳalemler*, which was published in that city. From 1912 he occupied the chair of Sociology at the University of Constantinople, was among Enwer Pasha's supporters during the European war, and was exiled to Malta during the Allied occupation of Constantinople.

In spring of 1921 he returned to Anatolia and remained a year at Diyārbekr, where he published the review *Kučuk Meǧmūʿa*, he was then appointed president of the "Translation and Composition Committee" at Angora; he was among the heralds and supporters of the People's Party (*Ḫalḳ Fīrḳası*), founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, and resumed his teaching at the University of Constantinople, where he died, still young, October 25, 1924 His funeral, celebrated by the Great National Assembly of Angora, to which he belonged as member for Constantinople, was a tribute from the whole nation to his memory.

Ẓiyā Gok Ālp was a son of his times, and in a certain sense an anticipator of events, which his strong national feeling foresaw in examining the history of the people and the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire Especially after his death he was recognised as the father of Turkish nationalism. There is however an evolution in his thought from 1908 to 1924, which bears a relation to the events in his country. From his early manifestation of a spirit of modernism and freedom, justified by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's tyranny, he passed, under the influence of books and of currents already dominating the westernized Turkish classes, to the preaching of Panturanism. This programme appears in almost all his early works, it still prevails in the later, and is embodied especially in the poem *Turān*, published in 1914 in the collection *Ḳızıl Elma*, which ends with the lines. "The fatherland of the Turks is neither Turkey nor Turkestān, our fatherland is a great and eternal country. Turān". Ẓiyā Gok Ālp dreamed of an Ottoman fatherland, an Ottoman empire, comprising the provinces it still possessed in 1914, a Muslim empire with a constitutional Sulṭān, where Ottomans would be preeminent politically and intellectually, and which would give rise to a new civilisation, capable of influencing the other peoples of Turkish race, and absorbing them to the point of creating an immense Turanic empire. These same ideas are poetically rendered in the poem *Ḳızıl Elma*, which gives the volume its title, and in the prose writings mentioned below. Prose and poetry, for Ẓiyā Gok Ālp, are slightly different expressions of an identical idea.

In his later years, after the loss of the Ottoman

Empire's provinces, the writer's hopes centred around Muṣṭafā Kemāl's form of democratic dictatorship; the Panturanic idea remains in the distance, as a far-away goal, and he tries to strengthen a pure Turkish nationalism, modernising and westernising. Ẓiyā Gok Alp departs from the *Edebīyāt-ı ǧedīde* school and opens the contemporary movement; he has, however, a singular individuality, which distinguishes him from his contemporaries and from his latest imitators. In his works, which are the fruit of individual study and feeling, it is not difficult to discern the influence of European writers, especially French, whom he mentions, e.g. the sociologists G. Tarde and E. Durkheim, and, in history, L. Cahun. An interesting side of his literary activity is its simple and melodious form, some of his poems seem deliberately written with a pedagogical purpose, but they are inspired by strong feeling, and between the lines flash bold conceptions.

Ẓiyā Gok Ālp is also one of the first, if not the first Turkish writer to have perceived the importance of folk literature as a fount of inspiration for a sincere national culture; in his works are also to be noticed mystical motives. In language, he favours simplicity and a thoroughly Turkish vocabulary and syntax.

He was a supporter of modernisation in religious and social matters, in this he has been far surpassed by recent Turkish Reforms.

Works. Ẓiyā Gok Ālp's writings are partly scattered in many Turkish reviews of the last 20 years, some of which, like *Ghenǧ Ḳalemler*, *Yeñi Meǧmūʿa*, and *Turk Yurdu*, received from him their special character. Many of these articles have been reprinted in his chief works, which we enumerate in chronological order:

1. *ʿIlm-i Iǧtimāʿ Dersleri* (Constantinople 1329), 2. *Ḳïzïl Elma*, collected poems (Constantinople 1330), 3. *Turkleshmek*, *Islāmlashmaḳ*, *Muʿāṣïrlashmaḳ*, eleven chapters in prose (Constantinople 1918); 4. *Yeñi Ḥayāt*, collected poems (Constantinople 1918); 5. *Ālt'ın Ishïḳ*, fables, partly in prose and partly in verse (Constantinople 1339), 6. *Turkǧuluyun Esāslarï*, in prose, lengthy treatise on the principles and programme of Turkism (Angora 1339); 7. *Turk Turesi*, in prose, study of the Turks' ancient beliefs and customs (Constantinople 1339); 8. *Doghru Yol*, in prose, commentary upon the nine points of the People's Party's programme (Angora 1339), 9. *Turk Medeniyeti Taʾrïkhi* (Constantinople 1926).

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(E. Rossi)

ZIYĀD B. **ABĪHI**, viceroy of the ʿIrāḳ. The sources call him sometimes son of Sumaiya or son of ʿUbaid, sometimes son of Abū Sufyān, most frequently however Ibn Abīhi. a solution which can only be described as one of despair but it is the most non-committal of all as regards historical truth. Partisans and enemies of the Omaiyads have for different motives confused the genealogy of this individual as they pleased. Ziyād's mother was Sumaiya, a slave girl of Ṭā'if, a courtesan by profession, adds the anti-Omaiyad version. Abū Sufyān is said to have known her and thus would be explained the mystery of Ziyād's being classed with the Omaiyad family. Whatever we may think of this, the young Ziyād incorporated in his person all the intelligence, alertness and the strength of mind attributed to his kinsmen, the Thaḳafīs. Settling in Baṣra with his very near relatives, the Abū Bakra [q. v.], Ziyād early found himself attached as secretary to the service of the first governors of the ʿIrāḳ. ʿAlī, becoming caliph, decided to make use of his talents and employed him on very delicate missions. After the death of ʿAlī he attracted the attention of Muʿāwiya. The great Omaiyad was anxious to gain an auxiliary of this ability. His first advances were rejected and Muʿāwiya then resorted to a plan, which showed what this ruler was capable of when dynastic interests were at stake. This was the *istilḥāḳ*, the official recognition of Ziyād as a son of Abū Sufyān.

A little later, the caliph appointed his half-brother governor of Basra. A central camp in which were being organised the forces destined to complete the eastern conquests collected from the most restless Beduin tribes whose turbulence constituted a continual threat of anarchy, the post at Basra demanded a man of the first rank. Muʿāwiya intended to devote all his attention to the west of the caliphate. The discourse pronounced by Ziyād on his arrival in the mosque of Baṣra has remained celebrated in Arabic literature. It is called the *khuṭba batrā'*, the "truncated speech", the orator having, we are told, begun *ex abrupto*. In it he developed his programme, announced the rigorous measures to which he would have recourse if necessary. Examples followed to show his threats were not mere words. Order, which none of his predecessors had been able to establish, soon reigned throughout the vast province of Baṣra. In return the caliph hastened to entrust Ziyād with the government of Kūfa also. This town, entirely ʿAlid in sympathies, could not after the death of ʿAlī be consoled for having lost the title and the advantages of capital of the caliphate. As he had done in Baṣra, Ziyād succeeded in restoring promptly in Kūfa the prestige of the Omaiyad régime.

Governor of all the ʿIrāḳ and of the provinces depending on it in Arabia and eastern Asia, Ziyād was able to justify to the end of his life the unlimited confidence shown him by Muʿāwiya. In the Arab historians, he shares with this sovereign the honour of being quoted as the typical statesman, guiding with an experienced hand, without a trace of effort, the reins of government, his ear

to the ground, his eye ever open for events happening in his immense viceroyalty. Annalists and collectors of aphorisms frequently hesitate between the two, when they do not quote both, to point a lesson of high politics, Ziyād is numbered among the four *dāhiya*, great statesmen, of the century. The other three are Muʿāwiya [q v], al-Mughīra b Shuʿba [q.v.] and ʿAmr b al-ʿĀs [q.v.]. In Kūfa he had to keep an eye on the ʿAlid meetings He came into conflict there with the agitator Hudjr b. ʿAdī [q v], an everyday incident exaggerated out of all proportion by anti-Omaiyad tradition, especially by the Shīʿa. To checkmate the ʿAlid opposition and that of the Arab tribes settled in the ʿIrāḳ, Ziyād had recourse to transplantation He moved 50,000 Beduins to Khurāsān. He died of the plague at Kūfa in 56—57.

For our information about Ziyād we have to rely upon the historical school of the ʿIrāḳ The bias of the ʿIrāḳ annalists, very hostile to Ziyād, is inclined to place his birth several years after the Hidjra, in order to be able to dispute his claim to the title of *sahābī*, Companion of the Prophet. As, on the other hand, he could not have been born long before the Hidjra we may credit him with being about 60 at his death The best testimony to Ziyād's ability is seen in Muʿāwiya's decision to hand over to his charge the eastern half of the Arab empire, notoriously the most difficult to govern, the most rebellious against Omaiyad ideas. The great manager of men, the active ruler, so strong-willed in the case of his own relatives, summoned Ziyād to assist him in the exercise of his power and imposed upon himself, so to speak, the obligation of not interfering in the affairs of the ʿIrāḳ in the lifetime of his lieutenant The constant favour, the loyal support given by Ziyād to the Omaiyad dynasty are sufficient to explain the bitterness of the ʿAlid writers against the memory of the Thaḳafī statesman.

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ZIYĀDAT ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM. [See AGHLABIDES.]

ZIYĀDĪ, a Yaman dynasty of 204 to 371 (819—981) or 409 (1018) with capital in Zabīd [q. v.] They were regarded as descendants of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q. v]. But as the latter's genealogy is uncertain, so not even the name of the father of the founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad, has been handed down with certainty

The caliph Maʾmūn was harassed by his uncle Ibrāhīm b al-Mahdī; at the same time tribes in the Yaman became rebellious. The fact that there were ʿAlid schemes afoot there and indeed shortly before Ibrāhīm al-Djazzāi, a brother of ʿAlī al-Riḍā [q. v.], had been plundering in Ṣanʿā', may have decided the caliph to abandon completely his previous ʿAlid policy and to entrust the affairs of the Yaman to a member of the Banū Ziyād, whose hostility to the family of ʿAlī was well known, even if he had been himself in the service of the house of Umaiya A scion of the latter house was associated with Muhammad, as was Muḥammad b. Hārūn of the tribe of Taghlib, whose descendants, the Banū Abī ʿAḳāma, held the office of ḳāḍī in Zabīd during the whole rule of the Ziyādīs and of the Banū Nadjāh who followed them. The execution of all three men may have been already decided upon in the interests of ʿAbbāsid policy; they nowb ecame its supporters The Ziyādīs always recognised the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsids.

Accompanied by trustworthy Khurāsān troops and cavalry and in particular supported by an able freedman Djaʿfar, Muhammad b . Ziyād was able to get a firm grasp on the coast, as far, it is said, as Shihr in Ḥaḍramawt The lords of the fortresses in the highlands, in Djanad and al-Mudhaikhira, recognised him. But in the interior of the highlands the Baghdād government continued to send special governors to Sanʿā' until the Banū Yaʿfur [q v] made themselves independent there from 247 to 289 (859—901) The second Ziyādī, Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad (245—289 = 859-902), had to hand over Ḥaḍramawt and Djanad to Muhammad b Yaʿfur, although in return for tribute The first interruption followed Ibrāhīm's death While the possession of Ṣanʿā' alternated between Zaidī and Karmatian Shīʿīs, the latter under ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl took possession not only of Djanad and al-Mudhaikhira but for a time of Zabīd itself also. Neither the name nor the length of reign nor fate of the third Ziyādī is exactly known. The dynasty revived under Ibrāhīm's other son Abu 'l-Djaish Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm in his 80 years' reign (c 291—371 = 904—981) About 350 (961) even the Hamdānī chief al-Ḍaḥḥāk, then lord of Sanʿā', paid homage to him But in 379 (989) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, who restored the power of the Banū Yaʿfur for a short time, by taking and burning Zabīd put an end to the dynasty of the Ziyādīs.

The actual ruler was by now no longer the young fifth Ziyādī, whose name also is uncertain, who followed Abu 'l-Djaish, but the Abyssinian Mamlūk vizier al-Ḥusain b Salāma, who was able again to save the land from catastrophe and secured a fame which has lasted to this day by making pilgrim roads with mosques and wells through the mountains and the plain. Of no importance was the transfer of the title to a sixth minor Ziyādī, probably Ibrāhīm II, as Ibn Salāma was followed by his Mamlūk Mardjān as independent vizier, who in turn divided the government between his two slaves Nadjah in the northern provinces and Nafīs (or Anīs) for the southern including the capital. The latter seized the crown himself and had the young king and his aunt Hind immured alive (409 = 1018) It was however not he that founded a dynasty but Nadjāh [q v.].

Bibliography see that of the article ZABĪD, especially Kay; also E. v Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 115.

(R. STROTHMANN)

ZIYĀNIDS. [See ZAYĀNIDS]

ZIYĀNĪYA, branch of the Shādhilī Order, has its headquarters at Ḳenādhā; lists of the heads are given by Rinn, *loc cit.*, Dupont and Coppolani, *Confréries*, p 498, and Cour, *loc. cit.*;

he second work a specimen is given of the oma of *muḳaddam* conferred by the head of order, with seal. Their practice is said to differ i those of the other Shādhilīs only in details; ordinary *dhikr* is reproduced by Rinn, *loc cit.*, 111, and consists in the repetition of certain iulae, a hundred, others a thousand times Their iality is the guiding and protection of caravans travellers against brigands; in Rinn's time 4) "no trader would venture to send a conment of goods southwards" without having red protection in the form of a Ziyānī rider ing a letter with the seal of a *muḳaddam*, n the brigands would be afraid to offend. e he calls them the pilots of the Sahara. h the same is said by A. Bernard, writing in (*Le Maroc*, p. 205). The community appears e little known outside French Africa, lists of *zāwiyas* in Algeria with an account of their sion in Morocco are given by Depont and olani, *loc. cit*

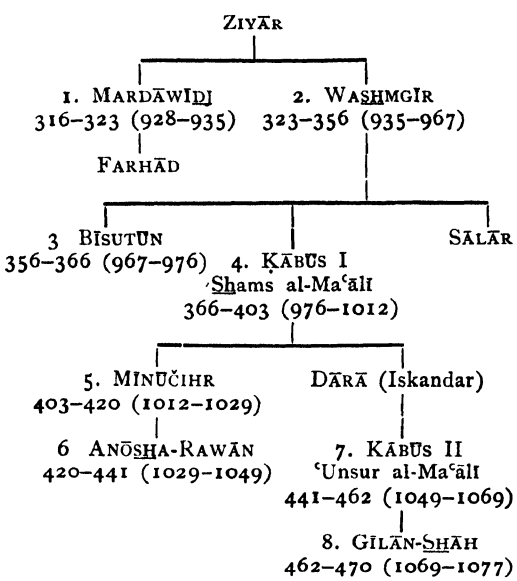
ie order was founded by Muḥammad b al-Rahmān Ibn Abī Ziyān, died 1145 (1733) ie *R. M M*, xii 360—379 and 571—590, A published in French some extracts from a MS aphy called *Ṭahārat al-Anfus wa 'l-Arwāḥ ismāniya fi 'l-Tarika al-Ziyānīya al-Shādhilīya*, an abridgment of an earlier work. This is ly a record of miracles, but furnishes certain ls supplementing those collected by L Rinn, *ibouts et Khouan* (1884, p. 408—415) He born at Thatha near Kenādhā (S W of g in Morocco), studied with Sīdī Mubārak ızza in Sidjilmāsa and after his death went ez, where he studied for eight years under ımmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Fāsī (died 1116 =), Ahmad b al-Hādjdj (died 1109 = 1697), others, according to Rinn, he was expelled Fez by the emperor on the ground of sorcery, to Tāfilālt, where the *muḳaddam* of the ya branch of the Shādhilīya admitted him to ırder, after which he made the pilgrimage to a, and then on his return established himself enādhā, where he founded a *zāwiya* Besides ducing some modifications into the Shādhilī l, and acquiring a reputation for saintliness, ppears to have dug wells and organized ir- ion, his most celebrated miracle, which deter- d the future of his community, consisted in ıppression of brigands His fame and talents cted numerous visitors, who presently formed urishing colony. Like other Islāmic saints, he the head of a family, and left the headship s order to his son

Bibliography. given in the article

(D. S MARGOLIOUTH)

YĀRA (A.), visit, in the religious sense the t to a holy place or to the tomb of ınt, especially to Muhammad's tomb in the ue of al-Madīna, which even under the Wahrule is paid by those who perform the *hadjdj* .]. The ziyāra paid to the tombs of the saints among the *bida*ʿ which were combated by ımmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [cf WAHHĀBĪYA]. details cf W. R. van Diffelen, *De leer der habieten*, doctoral dissertation, Leyden 1927. the Wahhābīs were not the first in Islām uestion the legality of visiting tombs, and of practices connected therewith, appears from naterials preserved in *ḥadīth* (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, s. v. Grave[s]) and from later literature [cf. IBN TAIMĪYA]. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ZIYĀRIDS, a dynasty of vassals of the Sāmānids [q. v] which reigned over ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī and Ṭabaristān, then over Djurdjān from 316 to 470 (928—1077) It took its name from Ziyār, father of Wardān Shāh ruler of Gīlān, who was the father of Mardāwīdj, its founder The following is the genealogical table.



1. MARDĀWĪDJ, see the separate article.

2 WASHMGĪR, see the separate article.

3 His son ZAHĪR AL-DAWLA Abū Mansūr Bīsutūn made peace with Rukn al-Dawla, he died in 366 (976) in the town of Djurdjān.

4 KĀBŪS I, see the separate article

5 MINŪČIHR, by arrangement with ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, had returned to Rayy, there he was attacked by Sulṭān Maḥmūd who pursued him into the mountains but made peace on payment of 500,000 dīnārs and recognised Maḥmūd as his suzerain (420 = 1029) It was to this prince that the poet Minūčihrī [q v] dedicated his early poems and from him he took his name

6. ANŌSHA-RAWĀN [cf ANŌSHARWĀN] recognised the suzerainty of Masʿūd, son and successor of Mahmūd; but in 433 (1041—1042) he was attacked by Tughril Beg the Saldjūḳ who took Djurdjān from him. He shut himself up in a fortress where he died in 441 (1049). During his reign his uncle Dārā, also called Iskandar, was governor of Djurdjān and Tabaristān in the name of Sulṭān Masʿūd (c. 426 = 1035)

7. The son of Dārā, ḲĀBŪS II ʿUnsur al-Maʿālī, son-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, accompanied the latter on his Indian campaigns He died on an expedition led by the emīr Faḍlūn Abu 'l-Sowār of the dynasty of the Banū Shaddād against the Abkhāz, which ended disastrously in 462 (1069). He was the author of the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, a book of good advice addressed to his son Gīlān-Shāh, which was translated into German by Fr. v. Diez (Berlin 1811) and into French by A. Querry (Paris 1886).

8 His son GĪLĀN-SHĀH reigned over the moun-

tainous country only, for Ṭughril Bey before marching on Baghdād had occupied Ṭabaristān. He was dethroned by Mālik-Shāh and died in 470 (1077).

FARHĀD is given as the son of Mardāwīdj but his paternity is uncertain and he was not summoned to succeed his father or any of his cousins. In 414 (1023), when he must have been at least 88, we find him a vassal (*mukṭaʿ*) in Borūdjird In 417 (1026) he accompanied ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla the Kākōyid on his campaign against the Kurds and remained his faithful ally. He fell in battle against the army of Sulṭān Masʿūd (425 = 1034)

Bibliography Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 59, 139, 172, 195, 201, 207, 226, 262, 276, 291, 333, 353, 378, 402, 411, 426 *sqq.*, 506, 519, ix. 8, 97, 111, 251, 262, 284, 340; Ibn Miskawaih, in *G. M. S*, v. 271, 345, 367, 435 *sqq.*, 479 *sqq.*, 572; vi. 9, 33, 55, 204, 270, 296 *sqq.*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʾrikh*, Būlāḳ, iv. 423, 432, 444, 497; Defrémery, *Samanides*, p. 130, 137, 247, 289; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Hist. of Tabaristān*, transl. Browne, p 202, 205, 217, 220, 228, Zahīr al-Dīn, *Geschichte von Tabaristan*, ed. Dorn, p. 174, 196, 216, 311, F Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 441, Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Mém. de l'Acad des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, vol xlii, Paris 1922.

(CL. HUART)

ZOṬṬ (pronounced *Zoṭṭ* in Damascus), the name of a people [cf. also NAWĀZ]. The etymology is certain: *zoṭṭ* > Pers *djāt* (for a similar change cf Pers. *khāne* "house" > Arabic *khann* "rhumb-line").

Firdawsī (d 1024) relates in his *Shāhnāme* that Bahram Gūr, king of Persia (420—438 A.D.), asked the king of India to send him 10,000 Lūrī, men and women, expert at playing the lute (transl Mohl, vi. 60 *sq.*)

In his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, transl. from the Arabic text of Tabarī (829—923), Noldeke has full confidence in this tradition. De Goeje quotes his opinion and adds that there is no reason to suspect Firdawsī's statement (cf. the contrary view expressed by John Sampson, *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, Oxford 1926, p 29, note 1, who wrongly regards the statements as pure legend)

At an earlier date than the Persian poet, Balādhurī (d. 892) says that "the Sayābidja [q v] had been settled in the ports [of the Persian Gulf since] before Islām. It was the same with the Zoṭṭ" (ed. de Goeje, p. 373, l. 2 *infra*). The historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (early tenth century) who, he tells us, "was very well acquainted with the history of the Sāsānids", says the same thing (ed. and transl. by M. E Gottwaldt, p 55 text and p 40 transl.) as Firdawsī who wrote half a century later.

Many Zoṭṭ had settled in the marshes between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra. In the reign of al-Maʾmūn (813—833) they were strong enough to rise in open rebellion against the caliph's authority and cut communications between Baṣra and Baghdād, they only submitted in 834 on condition that their lives and property were spared (de Goeje, p 23 *sq.*).

In his *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leyden 1903), de Goeje used these texts which he supplemented from the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, the *Tādj al-ʿArūs* and a number of Arab geographers. As the title of his *Mémoire* shows, he follows the migrations of the gypsies through Asia, which I need not do here. We need only remember that, according to Arabic and Persian texts, the Zoṭṭ migrated for some reason or other from India into Persia and from Persia into Hither Asia and Europe.

On the east coast of Madagascar there is a tribe called *Ondzātsi*, generally written in Arabo-Malagasy أُنْجَتْ, أُجَتْ or أُجَةْ. The old pronunciation of the three forms is **on-dzāti*. *On-* (pron. *õ-*) is the Malagasy toneless article, *dzāti*, in modern Malagasy *dzātsi*, goes regularly back to an original **djāt* (the change of *-t* > *-tsi* in a toneless final is regular). These are a people, whose ancestors came, they say, from beyond the sea. Although I have been in personal relations with them for several years, I have a feeling that they have not informed me fully about their manners and customs; they have always shown themselves reticent. Their Malagasy neighbours in the southeast say that the Ondzātsi practise incest in secret. The identity of the forms Ondzātsi, Djāt and Zoṭṭ is too complete to be accidental; it is worth recording.

The region in Asia in which the modern Djāts are mainly found is defined roughly as follows: in the north by the lower ranges of the Himalaya; in the west by the Indus, in the south by a line extending from Ḥaidarābād (Sindh) to Adjmīr and Bhopal, in the east by the Ganges. Beyond the Indus there are a few Djāts at Peshāwar, in Balučistān and even west of the Sulaimān range. Finally in Kirmān and the ʿIrāḳ we have a mixed population of Djats and gypsies. There are some 50,000 more in Makrān and Afghānistān (Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Calcutta 1925, i 1).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(GABRIEL FERRAND)

ZUBAIDA BINT DJAʿFAR B. ABĪ DJAʿFAR AL-MANSŪR, UMM DJAʿFAR, wife of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of his successor Muḥammad al-Amīn [q v]. She was born in 145 (762—763) and her real name was Amat al-ʿAzīz "the slave of the Almighty", but on account of her youthful and fresh complexion she was nicknamed by her grandfather, the caliph al-Manṣūr, *zubaida* (diminutive of *zubda* "cream", "fresh butter"; also the name of the marigold, *Calendula officinalis*). Her marriage with Hārūn was celebrated in 165 (781—782) and she died in Baghdad in Djumādā I 216 (June—July 831). On account of her love of splendour, her liberality to poets and scholars and the public works carried out by her, she is little less famous than her husband. Among other things, she had an aqueduct ten miles long laid into Mecca, when it was suffering from a dreadful lack of water

Bibliography *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, cf. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 241 (transl. by de Slane, i 532 *sq*); Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii., see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 437; vi, *passim*, Weil, *Gesch der Chalifen*, ii. 164, 182.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-ZUBAIR B. AL-ʿAWWĀM B. KHUWAILID B. ASAD B. ʿABD AL-ʿUZZĀ B. ḲUṢAIY B. KILĀB ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, with the surname of *al-Ḥawārī* (i. e. the Apostle, an Aethiopic loanword). His mother was Ṣafīya bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, so that he was a cousin of Muḥammad and a nephew of Khadīdja (bint Khuwailid).

Al-Zubair was one of the earliest converts to Islām; according to tradition, he was the fifth who, while still a child, recognised Muḥammad as a

prophet; he is also one of the ten to whom Paradise was promised by Muḥammad.

Of his wives Asmā, the daughter of Abū Bakr, is renowned for her spartan attitude to her son ʿAbd Allāh [q v.] Another son she bore him was ʿUrwa [q. v.]. The third of al-Zubair's sons who also plays a part in the history of Islām, is Muṣʿab [q v.]. Al-Zubair is said to have stuck to Muḥammad under hardships and to have taken part in the two hiǧras to Abyssinia After the hiǧra to Madīna he was united in brotherhood with Ibn Masʿūd, or, according to other reports, with Talḥa or with Kaʿb b. Mālik. He further took part in all the great battles and campaigns during Muḥammad's career, being renowned for his gallantry His epithet *al-Ḥawārī* (cf above) was given him by Muḥammad on account of his services as a spy in the conflict with the Ḳuraiza [q. v.], with the words "Every prophet has an apostle and my apostle is al-Zubair" For his attitude, exploits and death (the latter took place in the Battle of the Camel, at an age which is given with variations from 60 to 67) under the caliphate of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, we may refer to the art. ṬALḤA, because what is said of the latter holds also good of al-Zubair

Tradition emphasises the high esteem in which Muhammad held him, by pointing to the fact that Muhammad in speaking to him, once made use of the formula *fidāka abī wa-ummī*. He obtained, it is said, special permission to wear silk For his testament, cf Ibn Saʿd, III/i. 75 *sqq.*, Bukhārī, *Khums*, bāb 13.

Bibliography Ibn Ishāḳ, *Sīra*, ed Wustenfeld, index, Wāḳidī, transl Wellhausen, Berlin 1882, index, Yaʿḳūbī, ed Houtsma, index; Tabarī, ed de Goeje, indices, Ibn Saʿd, ed Sachau, III/i 70—80, Balādhurī, ed de Goeje, index, Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, ed Barbier de Meynard, general index, Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, N⁰. 2774, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, Cairo 1286, II 196 *sqq* The passages from Hadīth are registered in A J Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s v. — Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, I, Berlin 1861, p 374 *sq*, 422 *sqq*, F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, p 151, 173, Caetani, *Annali*, indexes in vols II/II., VI.; further vol. VII. § 70; VIII § 374 *sqq.*, IX., § 30—225 *passim*, 616—690, A Mullei, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, p. 306 *sqq*, Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index in vol III, W Muir, *The Caliphate*, ed Weir, index, G. Levi Della Vida, in *R. S. O*, VI 440 *sq*, 448 *sq*. (A J. WENSINCK)

ZUBŪR. [See ZABŪR.]

ZUHAIR B ABĪ SULMĀ RABĪʿA B. RABĀḤ B. ḲURRA AL-MUZANĪ (the genealogy in Ibn Ḳutaiba is wrong, as it is frequently the case) was an Arabic poet of the time before Islām and by native critics considered, together with Imruʾ al-Ḳais and al-Nābigha, as one of the three great poets of antiquity Though he was of the tribe of Muzaina, he was born among the tribe of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghaṭafān and spent the whole of his life among them. His father Rabīʿa had married a sister of a certain Kaʿb b Asʿad of the clan of Murra b. ʿAwf b. Saʿd b Dhubyān and had settled among them He left them owing to a quarrel over some plunder taken in a raid against the tribe of Ṭaiyiʾ and took up his residence among the kindred tribe of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghaṭafān. Here Zubair was born and married his first wife, a sister of the poet Bashāma b. al-Ghadīr. This may be the Umm ʿAwf whom he mentions in several of his poems, and to whom he addressed a poem of regret when he had divorced her. All children by this wife died in infancy. The second wife, Kabsha bint ʿAmmār, of the tribe of ʿAbd Allāh b Ghaṭafān, was the mother of his sons Kaʿb, Budjair and Sālim. The first two were poets like their father and lived into the days of Islām, Budjair being an early convert, while Kaʿb [q v] had to atone for his hostility to the Prophet by his celebrated poem, often called the *Burda*. The third son, Sālim, died as a youth through falling from a horse sent to his father as a present. Zuhair lived during the period of the disastrous war between ʿAbs and Dhubyān, two clans of Ghaṭafān, called the war of Dāhis. His most celebrated poem, which has found a place in the collection of the *Muʿallaḳāt*, is in praise of the two chiefs of the tribe of Murra b. Ghaṭafān, al-Hārith b. ʿAwf and Harim b. Sinān They had undertaken to pay the whole of the blood-money due to families in both clans for those slain in the fratricidal struggle and even undertook a further payment when the action of al-Husain b Ḍamdam nearly doomed the treaty of peace to failure. In earlier poems Zuhair celebrates the father of one of these two chiefs, Sinān b Abī Ḥārītha, and his *Dīwān* also contains an elegy upon his death. His poems, as far as they are contained in the collections preserved, do not contain a single poem dealing with his own tribe of Muzaina, though his poems are perhaps preserved better than those of any other ancient Arabic poet. Nearly all his poems refer to affairs of the tribe of Ghaṭafān or personal events There are three poems concerning a slave and cattle robbed from him by al-Hārith b Warḳāʾ al-Saidawī of the tribe of Asad. Others are addressed to various tribes with a view of deterring them from making raids against Ghaṭafān, one is addressed to the tribe of Tamīm (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 6), another to the Banū Shaibān (Ahlwardt, N⁰. 19) and another to the Banū Sulaim. There is also one poem addressed to the king of al-Hīra, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (Ahlwardt, N⁰ 17), but according to al-Asmaʿī, it is not in the style of Zuhair and is by Ṣirma al-Anṣārī, a poet otherwise unknown. Two poems in the collections of his poetry are also attributed to his son Kaʿb (Thaʿlab, N⁰ 17 and 41) Of the former verses are cited in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, and elsewhere sometimes in the name of one or the other. As Zuhair is stated to have been a man of wealth, we do not find in his *Dīwān* poems in which he tries to obtain presents from rich persons. Native critics praise him for not indulging in undue praise nor using uncommon words in his verses. In his poems we find also a pious strain which has by some modern critics been assumed to be an indication of his being a Christian, but all we can assert, is, that probably he may have been influenced by Christian thought, which must have been not unknown in the Arabian steppe In Zuhair and his family we have an example of the art of poetry inherited for several generations, an instance which is by no means isolated in early Arabic poetry Zuhair is reputed to have been the *rāwī*, transmitter of poetry, of Aws b. Ḥaǧar, who in turn was *rāwī* of Ṭufail al-Ghanawī, but from several sources we

learn that he inherited the art from his brother-in-law Bashāma b. al-Ghadīr. As already stated, his two sons Kaʿb and Budjair were poets; so his father had been before him, so was his sister Salmā (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ix 148) His grandsons Saʿīd and ʿUḳba, surnamed al-Mudarrab, were also poets, so were his great-grandsons ʿAmr b Saʿīd and al-Sawwār and al-ʿAwwām, sons of ʿUḳba The latter three had forsaken the desert and lived in al-Basra and with them the poetical talent seems to have died out in the family. The poems of Zuhair have come down to us, apart from the *Muʿallaka*, in three collections, the oldest by al-Sukkarī (died 275 = 888) preserved in the unique MS Socin in the possession of the German Oriental Society, the recension by the Kūfī grammarian Thaʿlab (d. 291 = 904) preserved in two manuscripts in the Escorial and two or three copies in Stambul and a third abbreviated text with the commentary of the Spanish scholar al-Aʿlam (d 476 = 1083). The printed editions all are based upon the latter, which is supposed to contain the text as edited by the Basrian grammarian al-Asmaʿī As the latter employed methods which obscured the ancient tradition rather than elucidated it, by making selections, it is highly desirable that we should have a new edition of the poems of Zuhair based upon the two older recensions, which are in the spirit of the older school of Arabic scholars The work of K. Dyroff has only partly cleared the issue, especially as he did not recognise that we had two entirely different recensions in the texts which he used

Bibliography. The various editions of the *Muʿallakāt* [q v], the *Dīwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed Ahlwardt, London 1870, Landberg, *Primeurs*, vol ii (contains the *Dīwān* in the recension of al-Aʿlam), Leyden 1889, K Dyroff, *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung des Zuhairdiwans*, Munich 1892, Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872, Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed de Goeje, Leyden 1902, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāḳ, ix 146—158 and *passim*; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343, Djumahī, *Tabakāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, ed Hell, Leyden 1916; Cheikho, *Poètes Chrétiens*, Bairūt 1890, p. 510—595 (contains abbreviated the text of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Dīwān* in the recension of al-Aʿlam)

The name of Zuhair is not uncommon among Arabic poets and as their verses are sometimes incorporated among the fragments added to the *Dīwān*, as e g by Ahlwardt, a short notice of the most important may be added.

ZUHAIR B DJANĀB B HUBAL AL-KALBĪ, also a poet of the time before Islām and belonging to a generation earlier than Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā. He is reckoned among the long-lived ones (*muʿammarūn*) and as he is brought into contact with Kulaib Wāʾil and Muhalhil he must have lived in the earlier part of the sixth century of the Christian era The accounts concerning his life are however so legendary that no reliance can be placed upon them. Also in his family the art of poetry was inherited for several generations and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isbahānī enumerates several, the latest in date being perhaps al-Musaiyab b Rifall b. Hāritha b. Djanāb b Ḳais b Imruʾ al-Ḳais b. Abī Djābir b. Zuhair b. Djanāb who in some verses, cited in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, boasts that one of the members of his family had slain Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in 112 A H (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xxi. 93—104; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, N⁰. 117);

ZUHAIR B. DJADHĪMA B. RAWĀḤA AL-ʿABSĪ, one of the chiefs of the tribe of ʿAbs, was slain by Khālid b Kilāb (*Nakāʾiḍ*, p 384; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Lyall, p 788; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 12—17);

ZUHAIR B. HARĀM AL-HUDHALĪ, called al-Dākhil (*Carmina Hudsailitarum*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 263),

ZUHAIR B ʿALAS AL-DUBAʿĪ, better known by his nickname al-Musaiyab (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed Lyall, N⁰ 91);

ZUHAIR B MASʿŪD AL-DABBĪ (*Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, by Abū ʿUbaid al-Bakrī, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, N⁰ 22).

The native lexicons cite verses of all these poets (F KRENKOW)

ZUḤAL, the planet Saturn Zuḥal (without nunation) is derived from the Arabic root *z-ḥ-l* "to remove", the planet takes its name, according to the *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, from the fact that it is "far removed, in the seventh heaven". Another name found in texts from Spain and N. W Africa is *al-Mukātil* "the warlike", just as we have there *al-Kātib* "the writer" alongside of the usual name *ʿUtārid* for the planet Mercury (cf the note on *al-Kātib* in the article ʿUTĀRID).

In Sumerian, according to Kugler, the name of Saturn was *Lu-lim*, in Accadian *Lu-bat Sag-uš* = *Kaimānu* (*Kewan*); the latter is obviously the source of the Hebrew name of the planet כִּיּוּן *Kiyun* (Amos v 26) = כַּיָּן and the modern Persian *Kaiwān* According to Maspero, *Hist anc. des peuples de l'Orient*, Paris 1884, p 78, the Egyptians called Saturn *Har-ka-her*, i e the "Creator from above", but according to the same author in his *Hist anc des peuples de l'Orient classique*, published 15 years later, they called it *Kahiri* (cf L. M Antoniadi, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934, p 94) Achilles Tatius in his *Isagoge*, ch 17, mentions that the Egyptians called Saturn "star of Nemesis" (ὁ τῆς Νεμέσεως), i e that it was sacred to the corresponding Egyptian deity. The Greek name of Saturn is Φαίνων, "the brilliant", also (but only in the later period) ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ; the first name, according to Achilles Tatius, *loc cit*, was also used in Egypt "in spite of the low degree of its brilliance". The Latin name is *stella Saturni* or *Saturnus*. In the Talmud it is called *Shabbetai*.

In Arab astronomy, Saturn (as in Pythagoras and Ptolemy) is placed in the seventh sphere (*falak*) from within, which is also the outermost sphere of the planets; its inner surface is bounded by the sphere of Jupiter while its outer surface touches the sphere of the fixed stars The period of sidereal revolution of Saturn is, according to Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 29 years, 5 months and 6 days, a total of 10,750 days; this is about 9 days less than the true figure (10,759 days, 23 hours). Al-Battānī (*Opus astronomicum*, ed Nallino, ch 50) observes that the apparent diameters of the planets in perigee and apogee are as $1^2/_5 : 1$, i e. 7 : 5. From this he calculates, on a basis of the distance of the apogee of Jupiter which he — it being taken to be identical with the perigee distance of Saturn — had previously calculated to be 12,924 radii of the earth on a basis of successive reckonings by

nalogy [cf. AL-MUSḤTARĪ], the distance of Saturn n apogee at 18,094 radii of the earth and from hese two data he gets the mean distance from the 'arth as 15,509 radii of the earth. The actual geocentric distance is about 14 times larger (224,000 radii of the earth) The corresponding figures of other Arab writers for the least, greatest and mean distance of Saturn are given in the following table:

	Least distance (*Perigee*)		Mea. distance		Greatest distance (*Apogee*)	
l-Battānī	12,924	radii of the earth	15,509	radii of the earth	18,094	radii of the earth
l-Farghānī	14,405	" " " "	17,257½	" " " "	20,110	" " " "
bn Rusta	14,187	" " " "	17,033½	" " " "	19,880	" " " "
Jar Hīyā	12,400	" " " "	15,200	" " " "	18,000	" " " "
ndian (al-Bīrūnī)	13,733⅓	" " " "	15,447$\frac{19}{21}$	" " " "	17,161$\frac{19}{21}$	" " " "
Modern			224,000			

for the authority for the above figures and for he assumptions of the various authors regarding he magnitude of the earth's radius, see the article AL-MUSḤTARĪ)

The apparent diameter of Saturn in mean distance s, according to al-Battānī, following Ptolemy and ater authors, $^1/_{18}$ of the sun's diameter From this he calculates with the help of the numerical value of the listance the true diameter at $4^7/_{24}$ times the diameter of the earth (modern 9.4 radii of the earth), this figure raised to the third power gives the volume of Saturn is 79 times that of the earth (modern 830 times)

The motion of Saturn is represented, as in he *Almagest*, by four circles ("spheres" *aflāk*) cf al-Battānī, *Op astr*, ch 31) The astronomical ables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value 2′ The greatest observed northern geocentric latitude is given by al-Battānī (ch. 47) as 3° 2′, he greatest southern at 3° 5′ (according to Ptolemy)

Zuhal in astrology Zuhal is ruler of the *Buyūt al-Djady* (Capricorn, dayhouse) and *al-Dalw* Aquarius, nighthouse), also day-ruler of the third *muthallatha* (*triquetrum*) consisting of *al-Djawzā'* Gemini), *al-Mīzān* (Libra) and *al-Dalw*, the nightuler of which is Mercury He is also the companion (*sharīk*) of the ruler of the first *muthallatha*. He has his *sharaf* (exaltation) in the 21st degree in Pliny, Firmicus and the Hindu Varāha-mihira erroneously in the 20th degree) of *al-Mīzān*, his *hubūt* (declination) in 21° of *al-Hamal* (Aries) According to al-Kazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib* p 27, "the astrologers call Zuhal "the larger star of misfortune" *al-nahs al-akbar*), because its malevolent influence s greater than that of Mars (called *al-nahs al-sghar*) and they ascribe to it "devastation, ruin, grief and cares" The Arab astronomers refer to Saturn and Mars together as *al-Nahsān* "the two planets of misfortune" and contrast them with "the wo planets of good fortune", Venus and Jupiter, *al-Sa'dān* [q. v] In alchemy Zuhal means lead.

Bibliography: see the articles 'UṬĀRID and MINṬAḲA (WILLY HARTNER)

ZUHARA, the planet Venus The Arabic name comes from the root *z-h-r* "to shine, to illuminate" and is given on account of the extraordinary brilliance of the planet In Sumerian it was called (according to Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*), *Zib*, in Accadian *Dilbat* (identical with Δελεφατ in Hesychius, v 558) The Egyptians called it (according to Maspero, *Hist. anc des peuples de l'Orient classique*) *Bonu* "bird", and as evening star *Uâiti* and as morning star *Tiu-nutiri*. (Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient* of 1884 gives *Bennu* as evening star and *Duâu* as morning star. cf. E. M. Antoniadi, *L'astronomie égyptienne*, Paris 1934). According to Achilles Tatius, *Isagoge*, ch. 17, and Plutarch, Ἐρωτικός, ch 19, Venus was worshipped by the Egyptians and Greeks as the personified goddess of love (ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης; Aristotle also uses this term as well as ὁ τῆς Ἥρας) The Greek name of the planet is Ἑωσφόρος or Φωσφόρος (for Venus as morning star) we also find (in Plato *Epinomis*) Ἓσπερος (evening star). Ibykus is said by Achilles Tatius to have contracted the two names Ἑωσφόρος and Ἓσπερος into one In Latin the planet is called *Stella Veneris* or simply *Venus*, Pliny (*Hist Nat*, ii. 8, 6) further gives the synonyms *Lucifer*, *Vesper*, *Hesperus* (see this article in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopadie*), also *Stella Iunonis*, *matris deum*, *Isidis* In Persian, Venus is called *Nāhīd*, in Hebrew *Malkat ha-Shamayim*, "Queen of the Heavens". *Helel ben Shahar*, "the morning-star" (Is xiv. 12) is sometimes identified with Venus and sometimes also with the moon (= Arabic *Hilāl*, "new moon"; in the text of the Bible however the reference can only be to the crescent of the old moon visible in the morning sky) or with the sun, the assumption that *Mem* (Is lxv 11) refers to Venus is hardly tenable (cf B Suter in *Enc Jud*, Vol iii. art, ASTRONOMIE). The Talmud calls Venus *Kochebet* "star" or *Noga* "splendour" or *Kochab Noga*

Venus in astronomy The identity of the morning with the evening star was well known to the ancients — Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks — and we very early find the same name applied to both appearances of this planet In Pythagoras, Ptolemy and the Arab astronomers, Venus occupies the third position from the centre (in the geocentric system). Its sphere (*falak*) is bounded on the inner side by that of Mercury and on the outside by that of the sphere of the sun This arrangement was already familiar to the Egyptians (according to Dio Cassius, *Hist Rom.*, xxxvii 19), on the other hand Macrobius (*Comm. in Somn. Scip*, i. 19) gives the following order "Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn", but mentions immediately following — in a way that is not quite clear — that Mercury and Venus according to the Egyptians appear sometimes above and sometimes below the sun; it would certainly be going too far if we were to deduce from this passage alone that the Egyptians regarded these two planets as satellites of the sun and had broken down the geocentric system. The Babylonians moved Venus to the second innermost place Moon, Venus, Mercury, Sun, Mars etc. Plato (*Timaeus* and *Epinomis*) to the third in the order "Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars etc.", but according to Plutarch, *De plac. philosoph*, ii. 15, Plato put Venus fourth: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars etc. (as above in Macrobius)

The following table gives a view of the least,

mean and greatest distances of Venus from the centre of the earth, expressed in terms of radii of the earth, according to al-Battānī, al-Farghānī, Ibn Rusta, Abrāhām bar Ḥiyā, also for India, according to al-Bīrūnī; in the last row we give for comparison the modern values (for the references and the length of the earth's radius in the authors named see the articles AL-MUSHTARĪ and ʿUṬĀRID).

	Least distance (*Perigee*)		Mean distance		Greatest distance (*Apogee*)	
al-Battānī	166	radii of the earth	618	radii of the earth	1,070	radii of the earth
al-Farghānī	167	" " " "	643½	" " " "	1,120	" " " "
Ibn Rusta	166	" " " "	622½	" " " "	1,079	" " " "
Bar Ḥīya	166	" " " "	623	" " " "	1,080	" " " "
Indian (al-Bīrūnī)	256 4/21	" " " "	675 5/7	" " " "	1,095 5/21	" " " "
Modern	6,500	" " " "			40,500	" " " "

The Arab values are only about 1/40 of the correct values; it should be observed however that the figure of the proportion of the least to the greatest distance (2/13) as given by al-Battānī, with the help of which the latter was calculated from the former, agrees remarkably with the modern figure. Al-Battānī gives the apparent diameter of Venus in mean distance (*Opus. Astr.*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50) as 1/10 of the diameter of the sun, the true diameter of the sphere as 3/10 of the diameter of the earth (both from the *Almagest*); from this the volume of Venus is calculated at 1/36 of the volume of the earth (modern figures, proportion of diameter of Venus to that of the earth = 0.97, proportion of the volumes = 0.91).

The motion of Venus is represented like that of the other planets by Ptolemy by four circles (spheres, *aflāk*). The inclination of the deferent measures 0° 10′, that of the epicycle 2° 30′. The maximum value of the observed Northern or Southern latitudes is according to al-Battānī (*Op. Astr.*, ch. 47) 8° 56′. For the mean daily motion in anomaly the tables give 0° 37′. This corresponds to a synodic period of revolution of 584 days, which agrees with the actual figure. (The synodic period of revolution of Venus was already known with considerable accuracy to the ancients, it is given as 587 days in Assyro-Babylonian texts).

Venus in Astrology. Zuhara is ruler (*rabb*) of the *Buyūt al-Mīzān* (Libra, day-house) and *al-Thawr* (Taurus, night-house), also day-ruler of the second *muthallatha* (*triquetrum*), consisting of *al-Thawr*, *al-ʿAdhrāʾ* (Virgo) and *al-Djady* (Capricornus) as well as day ruler of the fourth *muthallatha* (*al-Saratān*, Cancer, *al-ʿAḳrab*, Scorpio and *al-Ḥūt*, Pisces). Zuhara has its *sharaf* (exaltation) in 27° of *al-Ḥūt*, its *hubūṭ* (declination) in 27° of *al-ʿAdhrāʾ*. The astrologers call it (according to al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*) "the smaller star of good fortune", *al-Saʿd al-Aṣghar*, in contrast to *al-Mushtarī* (Jupiter), "the larger star of good fortune", *al-Saʿd al-ʿAkbar*, the two auspicious planets are comprised under the term *al-Saʿdān* [q. v.]

In alchemy al-Zuhara means copper.

Bibliography: See *Bibl.* to the articles ʿUṬĀRID and MINṬAḲA are the articles AL-MUSHTARĪ and ZUHAL. (WILLY HARTNER)

ZUHD, a technical term in Muslim mysticism, the virtue of a *zāhid* (pl. *zāhidūn*, *zuhhād*; Sūra xii. 20 seems very far from this meaning). abstinence: at first from sin, from what is superfluous, from all that estranges from God (this is the extreme that the Hanbalīs admit), then abstinence from all perishable things by detachment of the heart (and here we enter into the mystic), complete asceticism, renunciation of all that is created. Thus the term *zuhd*, taking the place of *nisk* (its synonym in the older texts), clearly means more not only than *kanāʿa* (moderation and control of one's desires), but also than *waraʿ*, scrupulous abstention from the use of everything doubtful in law (a Hanbalī virtue). In arranging the gradation of the virtues, Miṣrī notes that the "stage of *waraʿ* brings one to *zuhd*" which Ghāzālī places after *fakr* and before *tawakkul*.

It was in the second—third century that the conception of *zuhd*, deepened from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to Dārānī, became fixed renunciation not only of dress, lodging, and pleasant food but also of women (Dārānī). Then introspective analysis progressing with Muḥāsibī (and with the *Malāmatiya*), stress is laid on inner and subjective asceticism, renunciation of intentions and desires, which leads to the concept of *tawakkul*.

Interesting examples of *zuhd* taken from the biographies of the most illustrious Ṣūfīs will be found presented in an ironical and hostile way in Ibn al-Djawzī, and in the Shādhilī Ibn ʿAbbād Rundī a carefully considered collection of cases of ascetic conscience. On the question of borrowing by Islām of ascetic observances from Christianity, Manichaeism or Hinduism, cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*, Paris 1922, p. 45—80.

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AL-ZUHRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. MUSLIM B. ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SHIHĀB, known as Abū Shihāb, a celebrated traditionist, was born probably in 50 (670) or 51 — according to others, 56, 57, 58 — and received his *nisba* — a member of the Meccan clan of Zuhra. His grandfather had fought at Badr on the side of the Ḳuraish against Muḥammad and inflicted a wound on the Prophet at Uḥud; his father had been a partisan of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubair but the son made his peace with the Umaiyads. When still quite a youth, he had paid his respects to Marwān

(d 65 = 684) (Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix. 445), and later went to the court of ʿAbd al-Malik This had perhaps taken place before 73 (692), for according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii. 313, ʿAbd al-Malik replied to the pious who protested against his prohibition of the pilgrimage to Mecca. "This al-Zuhrī transmits to you the utterance of the Prophet *lā tushaddu 'l-rihālu ilā afdalu min thalāthati masādjida*". As a matter of fact, this alleged saying of the Prophet in which the mosques of Mecca, Medīna and Jerusalem are given together as objects of pilgrimage, is quoted in the canonical collections of Hadīth with the *isnād* "al-Zuhrī from Saʿīd b al-Musaiyab from Abū Huraira" (cf. Bukhārī, *Fadl al-Ṣalāt fī Masdjid Makka*, bāb 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, bāb 94; Nasāʾī, *Masādjid*, bāb 10; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii 234 and *passim*), but in other passages with another *isnād*, in which al-Zuhrī is not mentioned (e g Tirmidhī, *Mawākīt*, bāb 126; Ibn Mādja, *Ikāma*, bāb 196; Ahmad b Hanbal, iii 7, 34, 45, 51, 64 and *passim*) Al-Zuhrī's teacher Saʿīd b al-Musaiyab, from whom he got the ḥadīth, had interpreted a dream of ʿAbd Allāh b al-Zubair as meaning the final victory of ʿAbd al-Malik and the reporter in Ibn Saʿd, v 91, 10 *sqq* himself tells how he hurried to Damascus to obtain the favour of ʿAbd al-Malik by bringing this news. It might be suggested that al-Zuhrī had gone to Damascus filled with similar hopes to give the caliph the hadīth, so useful to his cause, in the name of his teacher If Yaʿḳūbī's story is worthy of belief, al-Zuhrī must have brought the hadīth to Damascus at latest in 73 (692), the year in which the anti-caliph fell, and could not have been more than 23 then This stay of al-Zuhrī's in Damascus, if it is historical at all, could only have been a temporary one; his permanent settlement in Damascus only took place at a considerably later date. He arrived there at a time when Ibn Ashʿath was in rebellion (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, p 93), i e. 81 = 700 (see Wellhausen, *Das arab Reich*, p 145 *sq*) — he had left Medīna in dire necessity — and was introduced to the caliph by Kabīsa b Dhuʾaib, keeper of ʿAbd al-Malik's seal. The latter is said to have asked Ibn al-Musaiyab about al-Zuhrī — but if Yaʿḳūbī's story is true he must have known him long before — then paid al-Zuhrī's debts and alloted him a regular income Al-Zuhrī was particularly grateful to a grandson of ʿAlī's, ʿAlī b al-Husain, because the latter had lifted from his conscience the weight laid on it by his having killed some one through negligence (Ibn Saʿd, v 158; Tabarī, iii 2478); perhaps it was the feeling of gratitude to this ʿAlid that strengthened him when the caliph — according to some, Walīd I, to others Hishām — tried to extort from him the opinion that the unnamed slanderer of ʿĀʾisha in Sūra xxiv. 11 was ʿAlī Al-Zuhrī insisted that the reference was to ʿAbd Allāh b Ubaiʾ. A visit which al-Zuhrī paid the caliph Walīd I on the business of his cousin (Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, p 104) seems to have given rise to a romantic story which puts the event in the reign of the caliph Hishām (*Fihrist*, p 307, 21). To the caliph Yazīd II (101—105) who made him a judge al Zuhrī also made himself useful by his knowledge of poetry (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iv 48) His successor Hishām (105—125) entrusted al-Zuhrī with the education of his sons and in conversation with him al-Zuhrī once spoke critically of the prince al-Walīd b. Yazīd, the later Walīd II. He decided to flee the country on the latter's accession when he learned that some one had reported his words to the prince. But al-Zuhrī died before this could take place in 124 on his estate at Adāmā near Saghb, the possession of which, like many other things, he owed to the munificence of his royal patrons. Even after moving to Damascus, al-Zuhrī used to make frequent and long visits to his native place; he was in the Ḥidjāz as late as 119 (737) (Tabarī, ii 1635).

As a result of his untiring enquiries among young and old, men and women, high and low, al-Zuhrī collected vast masses of traditions and not only endeavoured to establish the sunna of the Prophet but also that of the Companions He is described as the first to fix hadīth in writing; but this was only done under pressure from his sovereigns, in an utterance given by his pupil Maʿmar, he says "We had a disinclination to write down the knowledge, but these emirs forced us to do so" Unlike many of his teachers, who could only be brought to speak with difficulty, al-Zuhrī was very ready to communicate his knowledge to others, he even went so far as to allow his hearers who had copied down the traditions given by him, to transmit them again without we may examining their copies Among his teachers even specially mention ʿUrwa b al-Zubair and Saʿīd b. al-Musaiyab, for ten years he never left the latter's side (Ibn Saʿd, II/ii 131) When he had added his own knowledge to that of his teachers, he was regarded as the most learned traditionist by later generations. "What a man is al-Zuhrī, would that he had not harmed himself by intercourse with princes" saysMakhūl Al-Zuhrī's interests were not entirely devoted to the transmission of hadīth, he also dealt with chronology and was a critic of poetry (see above; cf also Fischer, *Biographieen*, p 71) He is also one of the chief authorities for the *Sīra* and was Ibn Ishāk's most important teacher The latter, like al-Wāḳidī, Ibn Saʿd and Tabarī, owes much of his information to al-Zuhrī; in Tabarī he also appears not infrequently as an authority for the events of the two first decades after the death of the Prophet. According to older authorities, he only wrote one book, a *Kitāb Nasab Kawmihi*. Hādjdjī Khalīfa is the first to credit him with a *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, but it is clear that al-Zuhrī's compilations were confined to collections of traditions, he did not write a regular book like his pupil Ibn Ishāḳ In the stories traced to him he often gives his authorities but as frequently omits them; and when he gets from several authorities a record that agrees in essentials in all of them, he does not separate the different versions but makes one out of them, giving the names of all the authorities; this was the first modest attempt at an independent editing of the material transmitted

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Z.D.M.G., l. 474; Sachau, introduction to Ibn Sa'd, III/I., XIII., XIX.; do., in *M. S. O. S. As.*, vii. II *sq.*; Fück, *Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāḳ*, p. 9 *sqq.*, 28. (J. HOROVITZ)

ẒUHŪRĪ NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD TURSHĪZĪ, a Persian poet of the school of Herāt, who lived for a long time in India and was assassinated in a rising in the Deccan at the same time as his father-in-law Malik of Ḳumm (1024 = 1615, 1025 = 1616 or 1027 = 1618). His poetry is not much esteemed in Persia but is admired in India as is especially his prose with its very florid phraseology His chief works are a *Dīwān*, *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm*, *Khᵛān-i Khalīl*, *Rukᶜāt*, *Abdālīya*, lithographed several times in India, and a *Sāḳī-nāme*, "Book of the Cup-bearer", dedicated to Burhān Niẓām Shāh II of Aḥmadnagar (999—1003 = 1590—1594) His works in prose have been annotated by Abu 'l-Yamīn ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Husainī Sūratī (lithographed at Cawnpoie 1873).

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ZULĀLĪ, a Persian poet at the court of Shāh ᶜAbbās I, born at Khᵛānsār to the north of Iṣfahān, died in 1024 (1615), wrote seven *maṯnawīs* which were collected after his death under the title *Sabᶜi Sayyāra*, "The seven Planets", they include *Maḥmūd u-Āyāz*, begun in 1001 (1592—1593), finished shortly before his death in 1024 (1615), lithographed at Lucknow in 1290, *Mai-khāne* "The Tavern" and *Dhaira u-Khurshīd* "The Atom and the Sun" — Lutf Alī Beg (*Āteṣh-kede*, p 139) mentions a poet of the same name, born at Herāt.

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ZŪN, an Indian(?) deity, of whom there was a famous idol at Zamīn-Dāwar in the country of Zābul, east of Sīstān

In 33 (654—55) ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b Samura, appointed governor of Sīstān, arrived at Dāwar and laid siege to the hill of Zūn (**Djabal al-Zūn*) He entered the sanctuary of Zūn where there was an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān cut off an arm and took away the rubies but left the remainder to the local marzubān, saying that his only object was to show the impotence of the idol (Balādhurī, p. 394).

Marquart found in Chinese sources a mention of the temple of Deva Sun in the kingdom of Tso (= Zābul) before which was placed the skeleton of an enormous fish through the ribs of which one could ride on horseback. The king of Tso wore a crown decorated with the head of a fish in gold and sat on a throne adorned with a golden horse (*Pei-shi*, ch. 97, fol. 3, where the position of Tso is not well indicated). On the other hand, Christian sources also mention a stronghold of Τζουνδαδείρ (Theophanes, *Chronography*, ed. de Boor, p. 163) or of Zundaber (*Victoris Tonnennensis chronica*, *Chron. minora*, ed. Mommsen, II, 194). Marquart restores these names as **Žūn-Dādhwar* "Žūn the Judge" and thus derives the name of the district of Zamīn-Dāwar (in Arabic *Bilād Dāwar*) as well as that of king Žūnbīl or Zunbīl (*sic!*, in place of *Rutbīl* given by al-Djawālīḳī, *al-Muᶜarrab*, ed. Sachau, p. 73).

The name of the god Zūn (sometimes al-Zūr) is mentioned in the Arab poets such as Ḥumaid and Djarīr and it seems that there was another sanctuary of this Indian (?) deity in the ᶜIrāḳ, at Ubulla which was a port which traded with India (cf. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Nasi b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iskandarī, d in 560 [1164—1165], quoted in Yāḳūt, II. 960). According to the *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, XVII. 62, in Persian the name al-Zūn is pronounced Žūn. Marquart locates the sanctuary of Zūn north of Hilmand, east of Bishlang.

Bibliography Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p 39, 289 (under Zābul) and do [with J J M Groot], *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn vom 6.—9. Jahrhundert*, in *Festschrift E Sachau*, Berlin 1915, p. 248—292 (a work of prodigious erudition and perspicacity), Markwart, *A Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Erānšahr*, Rome 1931, p. 89. (V. MINORSKY)

ZUNNĀR. In the form *zunnārā* this word occurs in Aramaic; in Syriac it is as old as Ephraem and means a girdle worn by monks. It comes obviously from a derivative of the Greek *zōnē* In classical Arabic it denotes any girdle, especially that worn by *dhimmīs*, Christians, Jews, Magians, etc. (As a rule only one or two of the protected religions are named by our authorities but, unless the contrary is stated, it is to be assumed that the statements apply to all) In modern Arabic it means the locks of hair worn by Jews on the "corners of the head" (Lev XIX. 27), in Persian the sacred thread of the Brahmans, and in Sūfī poetry the external practices of religion. The *zunnār* was thick and it is usually distinguished from *mintaḳa*. *Ghiyār* is also used as a synonym though properly it means the patch worn on the dress and not the belt. The Patriarch Māramma (c. 26 = 647) is said to have bidden scholars wear the *zunnār* (Pat. Or. 13, 630).

The imposition of this badge was commonly ascribed to ᶜUmar I, but it is not mentioned in the early treaties. If these are later fabrications, the argument against the early use of the *zunnār* is strengthened In 89 (708) the Djarādjima bound themselves to wear Arab dress. So we must agree with the conclusion reached by Caetani: "I do not think it possible to accept the traditional statement that he (ᶜUmar) imposed on the conquered the use of a distinctive dress". Bar Hebraeus says that ᶜUmar II vexed the Christians, forbidding them to ride on saddles and to wear the dress of soldiers, i. e. Arabs. It is also stated in the *ᶜIḳd al-farīd* that he forbade Christians to wear turbans or to copy the dress of the Muslims in any way. Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered the *dhimmīs* in Baghdād to differ from the Muslims in dress and manner of riding. Apparently then ᶜUmar II forbade the *dhimmīs* to copy Arab dress and Hārūn introduced distinctive badges for them. Later the enforcement

of these rules depended on the temper of the ruler, were he caliph or governor. The colour peculiar to the *dhimmī* was that of honey, yellow. In the time of Mutawakkil they had to wear yellow scarves (*ṭaylasān*) with belts, and two buttons on the tall cap (*ḳalansuwa*), and their slaves had to wear two yellow patches, one on the front and the other on the back of the outer garment. So Christians were called "spotted". The colour of the cap was different from that worn by Muslims In Egypt yellow was at first the *dhimmī*'s colour, though blue is mentioned, but under al-Ḥākim the Copts wore black turbans and belts At one time he ordered the Christians to wear round their necks crosses one cubit long and five *raṭls* in weight and the Jews to wear black turbans and to carry billets of wood weighing five *raṭls*. He also commanded the Christians to wear crosses and the Jews bells in the baths. At times *dhimmīs* were not allowed to wear the Persian jacket (*ḳubā*) or turbans or silk clothes

Other restrictions were imposed on them. They might use only a special kind of saddle, or one marked with two balls behind it, donkeys or mules and not horses. They had to cut their hair short on the forehead. When tribute was due they were marked by a leaden seal on the wrist, this, it seems, was removed when the whole payment was completed It is not possible to say whether all these regulations were in force at one time and all over the caliphate.

Other meanings of the word will be found in the dictionaries.

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(A. S TRITTON)

ZŪRKHĀNA (P.), "house of strength", the Persian gymnasium.

There are *zūrkhāna* in many Persian towns and often also in several quarters of a large town From the architectural point of view these gymnasiums recall an eastern bath lit by a skylight in the centre of the little dome. The arena (*gowd*) lies below the level of the floor. The superintendent and the spectators take their places in niches cut in the walls; sometimes there is a kind of gallery reserved for the public.

Among the members of a *zūrkhāna* various degrees are distinguished: a *nowčе* "novice", *nowkhāste* "beginner", *pahlawān* "athlete", *miyān-dār* "referee and instructor" (usually the champion of the establishment), *morshed* "director" (also called *kohna-ṣawār*) who conducts the exercises by beating a drum and reciting appropriate verses (the quatrains are called *gol-e koshtī*).

The wrestlers wear drawers (*long*) or short trowsers of leather or some strong material (*tonoke*) on which a hand is often represented (that of ʿAlī ?). These are supported by the strap of the belt with which the wrestlers catch one another (this is unknown in western wrestling). From the arm are hung amulets against the evil eye and with the same object the *morshed* burns seeds of wild rue (*sepand*).

The programme at each performance begins with exercises for suppleness and exercises with weights (*sang*) and with Indian clubs (*mīl*). The wrestling comes at the end of the performance, it goes on until one of the competitors touches the ground with his shoulder blades (*setāre-shomār andākhtan*. "is made to count the stars"). The wrestling is followed by exercises with a kind of bow on the cord of which are strung very heavy rings (*kabbāda*); the bow is not drawn but is moved from side to side above the head

The organisation of the *zūrkhāna* is marked by a very elaborate terminology, by a spirit of chivalry and by a strictly observed semi-religious ritual.

In putting on or taking off the *tonoke*, the combatants embrace [cf SIRWĀL]. Only the permitted blows may be used, the contest finished, the wrestlers touch their foreheads, the one who has been wrestling with the *miyāndār* kisses his hand.

There are a number of patron saints of wrestling whose names are invoked The principal patron of wrestlers is Pūryā(?) Walī Among famous wrestlers, Husain Wāʿiz mentions the Prophet who wrestled with Abū Djahl, the imāms Ḥasan and Husain, the gnostic (*ʿārif*) Maḥmūd Mūkbār (or Būkyār) and the Shaikh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥamawī The same author distinguishes two kinds of wrestling *kabḍ* (or *shahrī-wāz*) in vogue in Khurāsān and the ʿIrāḳ and *iḳtirār* (or *dailam-wāz*) cultivated in Dailam and Shīrwān

Wrestling is a noble exercise. In Niebuhr's time the notables of Shīrāz devoted the mornings to it and their afternoons to riding A monument in the form of a lion used to be built on a champion's tomb

The beginnings of wrestling in Persia go back to a very early period In the *Shāh-nāma* (ed Mohl, iii. 203—4 = Vullers, ii. 1040) the heroes begin fighting by seizing one another's hands (*hamī dast sūdand bar yāk digar*) and then gripping one another by the girdle (*dawāl-i kamar*). In Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, the old wrestler is represented as knowing 360 tricks (cf. in Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ: 1081 = 360 × 3), cf. several other quotations in Canard.

The organisation of the *zūrkhāna* gives wrestling very special features. As M. Canard rightly points out, the *zūrkhāna* seems to have grown up out of the corporate movement and its special chivalry (*futuwwa*). This movement is closely related to Shiʿī mysticism In the course of a performance a collection (*čerāgh*) is taken twelve times in the name of each of the 12 imāms. It is worth noting that H. Wāʿiẓ's treatise is called *Futuwwat-nāma*, cf. Thorning, *Beitrage z. Kenntnis d. islam. Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913 and the articles FUTUWWA and SIRWĀL; Taeschner, *Futuwwa-Studien*, in *Islamica*, v , 1932, p. 285—333; do., *Die islamischen Futuwwabunde*, in *Z.D. M.G.*, 1933, p. 6—49.

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(V. Minorsky)